

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## California Our Future? — There is no Future Under Capitalism —

# PREPARE THE REVOLUTION!

A few years ago it was New York City. The bourgeoisie tried to make it a symbol of the "greedy cities" in order to attack years of social conquests of the working class.

Now California is the "example." Symbol of America's "love affair with the automobile." California has been chosen to present a "new reality" to American workers and youth -- the "gas crisis."

But what is this "gas crisis" which suddenly appeared last week in California? Is there a gas shortage?

NO ONE believes this. On May 16 Jimmy Carter declared that "even the most patriotic Americans" believe that this is an "artificial shortage being contrived in order to drive up prices." Carter called this a "false analysis."

But when was the last time anyone with an IQ over 20 believed Jimmy Carter?

And "even the most patriotic American" is RIGHT. There is no shortage of gas. From the long lines in California one can view oil refineries FULL of gas.

But it is MISLEADING to view this as simply part of the bourgeoisie's "austerity plan," just another "drive for profits." Business as usual.

It is not business as usual. It is a CRISIS OF POWER. The crisis of U.S. imperialism and its preparation for CIVIL WAR against American workers and youth.

A POLITICAL crisis. Not an "energy crisis" but the inability of U.S. imperialism and its Stalinist allies to control the offensive of the workers and youth throughout the world.

Expressed in the overthrow of the Shah. The crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Southeast Asia and Eastern

Europe. The new workers offensive in Latin America and Europe.

And the failure of the last three years in the U.S.-- the inability of the bourgeoisie to pass Jimmy Carter, his "human rights" and "renovated" Democratic Party off on the American workers and youth.

This is the real "shortage." The shortage of solutions in front of U.S. imperialism and Stalinism other than a direct confrontation with the working class.

As a particular expression of the counterrevolution this "gas crisis" has as its purpose: -- making the working class accept "austerity" as its future -- high prices, inflation, "zero growth."

-- preparing the way for imperialist war in the Middle East-- making the "energy shortage" a consequence of the revolution in Iran and the imperialist "logic" -- if Americans are to have gas, revolutions must be crushed.

But the central purpose of this "gas crisis" is to hide the POLITICAL nature of the crisis of this government. To make workers believe that there are all sorts of "solutions" to the "gas crisis" short of the only REAL SOLUTION-- A WORKERS REVOLUTION to replace this dying system. A revolution which must be prepared through a fight for power.

Down with all "solutions" which hide the crisis of imperialism! Down with all "solutions" which try to save this dying system!

Expose the mockery of "workers control" presented by the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP in order to block a real fight for power! Their "solution" to the "energy crisis"?: "All energy should be publically

owned. Public ownership would include putting the energy under the management of an INDEPENDENT board directly elected and responsible to the American people... Its functioning would be POLICED by workers in the industry." (our emphasis, THE MILITANT, May 18, 1979).

A nice "solution" within the framework of capitalism. In which workers are simply a pressure group to "police" things.

Nothing to do with the struggle for power or the preparation of the revolution. In fact, a treacherous "solution" totally in the framework of the bourgeoisie's preparation of the COUNTERREVOLUTION.

Workers and youth-- this "gas crisis" is a warning. A warning which demands only one response --PREPARE THE REVOLUTION!

A preparation which is above all a political fight. Against all the false "solutions" proposed by the petty bourgeois leaderships in the workers movement. Against the Carter regime-- to finish with it in a mobilization for power.

To take the initiative in

this crisis of imperialism by building a new leadership and a PARTY, a party to prepare and select a vanguard to lead this struggle for power.

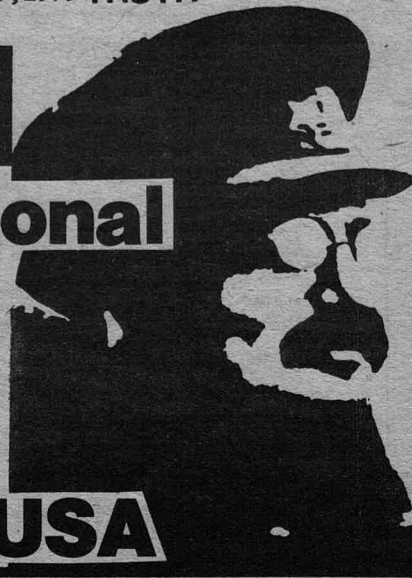
To join with the Trotskyist Organization/USA in fighting to build a WORKERS PARTY, a party to prepare the revolution by responding to all the daily struggles of the working class with a revolutionary perspective, a perspective for the future.

This will be part of the discussion at the FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE of the Trotskyist Organization/USA which will take place on Memorial Day weekend and which will give a revolutionary response to this latest expression of imperialism's crisis.

There is no future, no solutions under this system of unemployment, repression and war and our response to this "gas crisis" is to present the only positive solution for American workers and youth-- PREPARE THE REVOLUTION WITH THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! May 17, 1979 TRUTH

Inside

## The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA



# TASKS IN FRONT OF THE VANGUARD

## The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Several weeks ago 2,000 people attended a panel "discussion" organized in New York by a Dutch TV station. The topic was: "Why have social democracy and socialism not made the headway in the U.S. that they've made in Europe and what is the outlook for socialism in the U.S.?"

If anyone who showed up expected to hear any revolutionary answers they were disappointed. Instead, an overflow crowd heard Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party/USA, Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party, Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (a "faction" inside the Democratic Party) and I. I.F. Stone and Susan Sontag for the "radical chic", explain why "socialism hasn't advanced in the U.S."

For Gus Hall and the American CP the problem is simple -- U.S. imperialism is too strong. In an article in the DAILY WORLD entitled "Why hasn't there been a socialist revolution here?" they write: "Revolutions occur when one class comes to power in place of another. But if that class already in power does not want to be replaced, is the most powerful and ruthless in the world and is working night and day in every possible way to stay in power, then it becomes understandable why it has not yet been ousted."

A parody of Marxism, but the message is clear -- there has been no revolution because U.S. imperialism does not "want" one. From this flows the policy of the Kremlin in the U.S. -- total subservience to U.S. imperialism until the day when it "wants to be replaced." And meanwhile we should get the SALT treaty passed.

"They conclude by saying: "it is something of a miracle that there is a CP/USA at all."

Miracles like this we don't need!

But even more bankrupt was the response of the pseudo-Trotskyist, Peter Camejo. For the SWP, the delay of the revolution in the U.S. is . . . all the fault of the Stalinists! "The American CP has consistently refused to construct a 'labor party'" moaned Camejo. If this "miracle" would happen we could have a revolution.

Workers and youth -- are you sick and tired of all this? Tired of hearing the same professional DEMORALIZERS, the same know-nothing "intellectuals"

explain their fear of the American working class and its revolution? Sick of these has-beens that pass themselves off as "communists" and "Trotskyists"?

Who make it more and more obvious everytime they open their mouths that the chief obstacle to the American revolution is these petty bourgeois leaderships who represent the interests of imperialism inside the workers movement. And that the chief task in front of the working class is not to "discuss" why a revolution can't happen but to PREPARE IT by first of all constructing a new leadership for the workers movement.

Workers and youth -- this is the task that the Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to rebuild the Fourth International in the U.S. is setting for its Fifth National Conference to be held on Memorial Day weekend. Not a discussion of excuses, of conciliations, of asking SOMEONE ELSE to do what only revolutionaries can do.

But a discussion of the tasks of the preparation of the American revolution as preparation of the world revolution. A discussion to organize and select a vanguard to construct the party of this revolution. A discussion of how to prepare the revolution in today's mobilization, in face of the problems of the class struggle today.

This vanguard is still small. We can't promise numbers, swimming pools, movies or discos -- if you want this just give the CP or SWP a call.

But if you want to break with the false solutions of the past, if you want to prepare today's revolution in the mobilization of today, if you want to take your place in the ranks of the international party of the working class in a combat against Stalinism and pseudo-Trotskyism -- the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA is the ONLY place this can be done.

A Conference open to all workers, youth and militants who want to take up the combat to RETURN TO LENIN against all the professional cynics and has-beens.

May 15, 1979

TRUTH

# TRUTH

P.O. BOX 07066  
DETROIT, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen  
Editorial Board  
Kevin FitzPatrick, Ann Nelson  
Rich Tetrault

Published bi-weekly in Detroit, MI  
by TRUTH, INC.

— Subscription rates —  
— US, Canada, Mexico —  
\$5 for one year, \$2 for six month  
introductory.  
— Airmail to —  
Latin America or Europe  
\$10 for one year  
Inquire for other rates.



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# PREPARE THE FUTURE - RETURN TO LENIN!

By JON COHEN

At a recent convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association it was revealed that the average American newspaper is composed of 70% advertising and 30% news. Capitalist greed is not the only reason for this.

It represents a conscious decision on the part of the American bourgeoisie and its press in the last few years to CENSOR the American working class and its youth from what is going on in this country and around the world. Acting according to the theory that "no news is good news" the bourgeoisie is hoping to hide its crisis from the working class.

But no amount of censorship, including the "democratic" variety, can hide the crisis of U.S. imperialism from the workers and youth. Because they can see and feel this crisis for themselves in their daily lives.

A crisis which is a world crisis of this old order of imperialism and Stalinism. Throughout the world-- whether in Iran, Southeast Asia, Latin America, Europe or in the U.S. itself-- the workers and oppressed are engaged in an offensive against the bourgeoisie and Stalinism.

All the attempts of imperialism and its Stalinist allies to break this mobilization have failed. From the guns and planes of the Shah, to the military dictatorships in Latin America, to "human rights" and the historic compromise" all the maneuvers of imperialism and Stalinism have met with defeat in face of the massive break of the workers and youth with the old, treacherous leaderships of the workers movement.

The old world is in crisis. But this statement is still totally insufficient. Above all insufficient for today's youth who can see this crisis but who don't see a solution, a FUTURE, to the situation in front of them.

It is no accident that the youth find it so difficult to see a way out of the present situation, to organize a fight for a decent future. It has nothing to do with a lack of intellect or imagination.

But because all the representatives of the old order, from the bourgeoisie to the Stalinists and their allies, are engaging all their efforts to block the youth from finding a solution to this crisis. If the imperialists and the Stalinist can't stop their crisis, can't take the smallest step forward in making this a better world, they are determined to see that today's youth have no future either. Be-

cause the only future is the socialist revolution which will bury imperialism and Stalinism once and for all.

Thus the bourgeoisie and Stalinism is organizing its "anti-terrorist" campaign to hunt down young revolutionaries throughout the world. Turning schools into prisons. Pushing its drugs in the streets. Organizing "Bible classes" in the factories while they speed-up the line and count their profits.

All designed to turn the youth away from "politics," from organized struggle; designed to present the crisis of imperialism and of Stalinism to the youth as a "personal crisis." As YOUR FAULT!

It is an attack on consciousness. An attack which still wouldn't have the slightest chance of success without those who are carrying out this attack on the consciousness of the youth from WITHIN the workers movement. Centralized in the ANTI-LENINIST CAMPAIGN OF STALINISM AND THE PSEUDO-TROTSKYISTS.

In the last few years the leaderships of the Stalinist Communist Parties in France, Spain and Italy (with their allies in Eastern Europe) have openly renounced Leninism and the struggle for power by the working class. This has led them into a policy of open defense of the bourgeois states and imperialism's "human rights." Thus, the renunciation of Leninism has meant the Sacred Union in France, the "historic compromise" in Italy, support to the Francoist monarchy in Spain.

The counterrevolution. Nothing more nor less. But praised as a "positive evolution" and "opening for discussion" by the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Pabloite United Secretariat. While the slanderers of the French OCI call on these Stalinist hangmen to take power in Europe.

Above all this anti-Leninist campaign is a fundamental attack on the consciousness of today's youth. More dangerous than the drugs, religion and personal solutions of the bourgeoisie. Because it is an attack on the ONLY solution, the only revolutionary future for the youth, the only way for the youth to organize their combat in a positive fashion-- the return to the revolutionary continuity and lessons of the workers movement, the return to the revolutionary party of the working class.

Thus, in the name of "anti-Leninism" the Italian and Spanish CP have joined with the bourgeois police in hunting down the youth-- identifying Leninism with

terrorism and identifying all those who refuse to conciliate with the bourgeois order, who want to organize a revolutionary fight against it, as "terrorists" or "fascists."

The pseudo-Trotskyists have taken their place in this anti-Leninist attack on the consciousness of the youth with their campaign of slanders and provocations against the Fourth International. Initiated by the French OCI of Lambert-Just and supported by the Pabloite United Secretariat the pseudo-Trotskyists join the Stalinists in calling the Fourth International "provocateurs," in labelling the fight for Leninism in the workers movement today a "provocation."

The pseudo-Trotskyists want the youth to believe that the fight for the revolution today is just a "police provocation." To send the youth seeking revolution, seeking Trotskyism and Leninism back to drugs, religion and personal solutions by telling them its all a mistake, that anyone who really wants to fight for the revolution today must be "crazy."

"Magical incantations"! wrote the pseudo-Trotskyists to a group of youth in Poland who wanted to construct the Fourth International and overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland.

But they are lying. It is the REVOLUTION which is being prepared today here and around the world. Nothing more or less. And if one isn't consciously fighting for and preparing for this revolution-- one is deceiving today's youth who are seeking a future.

Because the future is the revolution. And imperialism and Stalinism will allow the youth to find all sorts of "solutions" short of the real solution. Short of preparing this revolution by organizing a fight to construct its leadership, a PARTY to organize this revolution.

In order not to remain passive in face of the world crisis of this old order. Nor to remain passive in face of the massive and organized attack on the consciousness of the youth, on their consciousness of their future. But to take the OFFENSIVE against REVISIONISM AND REACTION by organizing the youth in a fight to RETURN TO LENIN-- a fight to define the revolutionary future in front of today's workers and youth.

It is an immediate task. Because the crisis of U.S. imperialism both here and around the world indicates that it is a revolutionary explosion which

is being prepared. The working class and above all its youth must be PREPARED.

And the party which is BEST PREPARED and in fact is the only party prepared to lead this coming explosion is the Fourth International. The only party which resisted and fought against Carter's "human rights" and the anti-Leninism campaign of the Stalinists. The only party ready to organize the youth today in an offensive to prepare the revolution by fighting to RETURN TO LENIN.

By building a mass REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL to organize, select and educate a leadership, a vanguard for the coming explosion among the youth, who ALONE can insure the future. A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL whose task is to prepare the world revolution by winning the youth to the task of constructing the party of this revolution, the Fourth International.

In a fight for consciousness. In a fight to arm today's youth in a combat against revisionism and reaction, to RETURN TO LENIN against the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists. Against these dope pushers in the workers movement. In a fight to educate the youth in revolutionary Marxism and to prepare the revolution in every struggle of the workers and youth today.

The preparation of the world revolution through the fight to RETURN TO LENIN. This is the axis of the fight for the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International which will be held in Paris at the end of July. It is the axis of its preparation in the U.S. which is the fight of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA to prepare the American revolution as a revolution throughout the Two Americas against imperialism and Castroism, a fight for the construction of the Workers Party in the U.S.

We call on all American youth to join the RYI in this fight as a fight for the future of the youth, as a fight for consciousness and for the revolution. We call on all youth to join the delegation of the RYW/USA to the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA on Memorial Day weekend where the tasks of the Fourth International in the preparation of the American revolution and the fight to RETURN TO LENIN will be at the center of the discussion. A discussion open to all revolutionary youth.

May 16, 1979

# INTERNATIONAL RALLY -- JUNE 2ND

## FREE KLEBANOV!

By ALAIN CAVALIER

Trotsky said, "It is necessary to inoculate the youth against Stalinism."

To succeed in this undertaking through both a practical and theoretical activity, it is necessary to rid the workers movement and its youth in particular, of a status quo situation in regard to Stalinism theorized by the centrists who present this bureaucracy as a "workers leadership." More, as THE workers leadership. Not perfect, but having legitimacy as leadership of the proletariat.

If it is necessary to "inoculate the youth against Stalinism," it is precisely because it is a bureaucracy acting on imperialism's behalf within the workers movement. Whether in power or in the leadership, Stalinism is a bourgeois agency which has nothing to do with the working class, that is alien and hostile to its program.

How can anyone say otherwise after this bureaucracy has used tanks against the workers in East Berlin in 1953, in Hungary and Poland in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and again in Poland in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and again in Poland in 1970 and 1976? After Stalinism has fought every attempt at organization of the workers with the methods of bloody repression, of firing squads and the shattering of individuals in the camps and psychiatric hospitals? After it has allied itself, around the defense of the bourgeois state, in "Sacred Unions" with the Francoist monarchy, the Christian Democracy in Italy, Carter and his dictatorships in Latin America?

To still assert this means for the centrists presenting all the working class resistance to the "Sacred Union," all the assaults of the workers on Stalinist power in Eastern Europe, as pressures for the democratic reform of this "legitimate" workers leadership.

"To inoculate the youth against Stalinism" means a fight. A fight for the new generation to be formed as a detachment of the vanguard of the cadres of the revolution, breaking with the theories and practices of adaptation to this bourgeois society. For it to link up with the fundamental gain for the workers that Bolshevism constitutes, with the combat and the program of the struggle for the seizure of power by the workers soviets.

It is a struggle to RETURN TO LENIN, to Bolshevism living and developing today in the World Party of the Revolution, the Fourth International. This is

the combat the RYI wages in the face of the counteroffensive developed by the "Eurocommunist" faction of the international Stalinist apparatus, in order to disorient and reintegrate all the working class' will to break with its policy, in the Holy Alliance sealed with imperialism.

This is the political basis on which we want every mobilization of the youth to rest, in particular those in which we take the initiative.

The campaign for the liberation of the Soviet miner Klebanov must become a mass mobilization of the youth. A mobilization in which the youth take up their break with Stalinism on the basis of the support and defense of the workers fighting for their independent organization of struggle against the bureaucratic power in Eastern Europe.

For plenty of supposedly moral and "well-intentioned" people present themselves to the youth as drawing a balance sheet of Stalinism. In the front rank is U.S. imperialism in the person of Carter himself. He is clear and ultimately dominates the declarations of all the others. In the final analysis, Stalinism is only an application of communism: the only solution for workers who want to be free is to submit to imperialism.

Now, Klebanov is an embarrassment. Here is a worker who with his comrades shows that there does exist an independent road. That of independent organization vis-a-vis the bureaucracy and, THEREFORE, OF IMPERIALISM, to fight against Stalinist parasitism on the workers state and the placing in doubt of the conquests of October. It is thus impossible to use Klebanov to speak of the "application of the Helsinki Accords" and of "human rights" a la Carter; that is, to present a panygeric about this bourgeois democracy incarnated more and more in the Francoist monarchy, in the suicide prisons of Schmidt and in the military dictators of Latin America, not to mention the Shah of Iran.

At the same time, the path that Klebanov is blazing, which can be opened up by a mobilization OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS, is what can win against the Stalinist repression.

Let those who talk about utilizing Soviet "legality," that of the accords of the Holy Alliance, against imperialism and Stalinism and to obtain a liberalization of the regime, draw a balance sheet.

On this road, they howled with all the wolves, but didn't obtain any result except participating in the isolation of Klebanov.

They howled with the wolves. Carter first, and then the Eurocommunists who seized an opportunity to attack the Red October of 1917 and the dictatorship of the proletariat, creating an amalgam between it and the dictatorship of Stalinism over the workers. These people have also been a concrete base of support for backing the terrorist states of the bourgeoisie in the name of the bureaucracy. And, for a finish, the centrists and the petty bourgeois elements who are tied to the wagon of "Eurocommunism," present its stands in favor of oppositionists in Eastern Europe (platonic), in favor of bourgeois democracy (active), as a positive element of evolution, of the possible reform of Stalinism.

In all this, everyone has "taken a stand," denounced, protested these blows against human rights. This was diplomacy supporting a campaign of imperialism.

But nothing has been gained because nothing was mobilized except the press and media of the bourgeoisie. The working class cannot feel concerned by demands for application of the counter-revolutionary Helsinki Accords.

It will feel concerned in the first place by the struggle of Klebanov and his comrades, by their feverish search to organize themselves independently of the bureaucratic apparatus of the state, by their desire to control production and its use. This is certainly why Carter and the bourgeois and "Eurocommunist" press and media do not speak of Klebanov when they speak of "human rights." For them, Klebanov isn't human, he's a worker.

All those who want to fight against Stalinist repression in the USSR and in the other countries of Eastern Europe must learn these lessons. It is necessary to break the silence around Klebanov and his comrades to resolutely take up a mobilization of the international working class which will renew, in its own interest and through its own methods of action, the struggle for the liberation of all the political prisoners in Eastern Europe, for rights and against the social inequalities introduced by the bureaucracy.

The youth must be the spearhead of this campaign to free Klebanov on the basis of the slogan: "Socialism is one and indivisible." Let the militants of the OCI look

a little into the past. On the basis of this slogan it was possible to force the liberation of Pachmann and Plyusch because the working class of France was mobilized. Now that the leadership of the OCI speaks of the application of the Helsinki Accords, Sabata is still rotting in prison.

It is against imperialism that we are fighting for rights in Eastern Europe, for socialism against Stalinist deformation. In this struggle the only real ally of the workers of the USSR is the world proletariat.

It is on this basis that we propose to all the committees fighting against this or that case of Stalinist repression, without abandoning their own objectives of the liberation of this or that militant but precisely in order to give them a force based on the workers mobilization, to unite with us in the campaign to free Klebanov.

We set as the first objective of this campaign for the mobilization of the youth to succeed in forming an international commission of trade unions and trade union branches charged with inspiring and taking up all the initiatives in one massive mobilization of the workers against Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe, centralized around the DEMAND FOR THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF KLEBANOV.

In order to go toward the realization of this commission, to demand the liberation of Klebanov, we call on the youth and the workers to fight and to mobilize in their neighborhoods and workplaces, in their trade union organizations and in each of their branches, to come out in great numbers June 2 at the demonstration at the Paris embassy of the USSR. This demonstration will be a first instance of international centralization of the campaign and must be so by virtue of the very composition of the delegations from different countries to DEMAND THE LIBERATION OF KLEBANOV.

It will be concluded by a press conference in the course of which all the forces engaged in the campaign will make an initial balance sheet of its results in order to launch it toward its next instance of centralization for which we will call: the constitution of the international commission of trade unions and trade union branches.  
April 22, 1979

# Forward to the Conference of the Two Americas!

## Resolution Adopted in Sweden

On March 25, our Swedish section, the Sveriges Revolutionära Arbetaförbund (SRAF/Revolutionary Workers League of Sweden), held a meeting with Latin American militants exiled in Sweden in order to discuss the CALL launched by the Fourth International (1) for the Conference for the Construction of the Fourth International in the Two Americas this fall. Along with the Swedish revolutionaries, Chilean militants from the MIR and MAPU (2) and militants from the Peruvian PST, one of the numerous crisis-ridden groups in allegiance to Mandel's United Secretariat, participated in the discussion meeting, as well as Andreu Sol of the Central Committee of the PORE and Marek Kantor of the IEC of the Fourth International.

As the resolution adopted, reproduced below, shows, an initial political delimitation was achieved against the international apparatus of the Kremlin in Latin America, especially against its chief prop, the anti-Trotskyist liquidationist centers: the U.Sec. of Mandel and the Organizing Committee of Lambert. It is a question of an initial regroupment of Latin American revolutionary militants determined to carry the fight for a new Leninist leadership into the heart of the bitter struggles of the workers and oppressed masses of their continent, to make the balance sheet of the criminal role of the CPs, of Castro, of the United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee a real political fight for the Return to Lenin, to break the isolation of the revolution in Latin America. It is at the side of the young revolutionaries of the United States, of Eastern and Western Europe, in the preparation of the coming Congress of the RYI, that this clarification and struggle must be deepened and become a vast regroupment of Bolshevik-Leninist youth of the Two Americas to destroy centrism, the chief obstacle to the building of the new leadership. Forward!

### NOTES:

- (1) See issue #91 of TRUTH.  
(2) MIR-- Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolu-

tionary Left), radical petty bourgeois organization whose guerrillaist national orientation compelled it into complete opportunism toward the Popular Front (Unidad Popular) of the Stalinists and Social Democrats. Built thanks to the U.Sec. of Mandel, it ended by being broken up by the military regime of Pinochet. MAPU-- Movimiento de Accion Popular Unitario (Movement of United Popular Action), radical left split from the Christian Democratic Party.

We, workers and militants from Latin America in political exile in Sweden, meeting March 25, 1979, in a meeting organized by the Fourth International and its Swedish section, the SRAF, have decided:

1) To respond to the Call of the Fourth International and to prepare along with it the Conference of workers, youth and militants of the Two Americas.

The Fourth International is fighting for this Conference to be that of the rebuilding of the sections of the Fourth International in North and South America.

2) To prepare this Conference as a political combat to build the international party of the world revolution, against imperialism and Stalinism, in a struggle for the independent seizure of power by the Latin American proletariat in its different countries, for the dictatorship of the proletariat; in a struggle to forge the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and working masses of the Latin American continent with the U.S. proletariat.

3) Our decision is an initial fundamental balance sheet of the bankruptcy and the counter-revolutionary role of all the petty bourgeois and opportunist leaderships who have betrayed the many revolutions and revolutionary struggles, like in Chile, in Bolivia, in Argentina and, right now, in Peru, by isolating the Latin American proletariat from the proletariat of the United States and of Europe, and in subordinating it to the Popular Fronts of the



PERUVIAN MINERS

Stalinist, Social Democratic, centrist and pseudo-Trotskyist parties with the national bourgeoisie.

4) The preparation of this Conference is a combat within the ranks of the workers and militants of Latin America to draw out to the end in struggle the balance sheet of those who falsely claim to be the Fourth International, the United Secretariat of Mandel and the Organizing Committee of Lambert; of their policy of support to and participation in the alliances of Stalinism and Castroism with the national bourgeoisie, as an obstacle to the building of the world center of the revolution, the Fourth International.

5) for this reason, we condemn the police slanders launched by the leadership of the French OCI, which runs the Organizing Committee (OCRFI), against the Fourth International and one of its leaders, Michel Varga, accusing them of being "agents of the CIA and KGB."

Through these slanders, they seek to present those who are building the general staff of the world revolution as "cops" and this task as a provocation. We have decided to take up the fight against these slanderers, enemies of the Fourth International.

At the same time, we oppose the constitutional prohibition

of the Spanish section of the Fourth International, the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain), by the Francoist monarchy as a component part of the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism, of their attack, in the name of "anti-terrorism" and "anti-Leninism", to keep the workers from organizing themselves in an international party and to try to destroy this center, the Fourth International.

6) The preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas is not merely a discussion; it is a struggle and a mobilization against Stalinism. That is why we have decided to participate in the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International in July, a broad movement of the working class youth for the Return to Lenin, against Stalinism and for the renewal of the leadership of the proletariat. And we have decided to build the RYI in the Two Americas.

7) We have decided to carry on the political clarification of the problem and the method of preparation of this Conference in the pages of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, organ of the Fourth International, and of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, organ of the RYI. Stockholm, Sweden March 25, 1979

# BOLSHEVISM VS. TRADE UNIONISM

By MARK LUV

The United Auto Workers Union (UAW) announced last week it plans to obtain a political checkoff plan similar to dues checkoff from the auto industry. Under the plan, an agreed-upon amount of autoworkers paychecks would be donated, right along with union dues, the United Fund, and government bonds (not to mention taxes) to the Democratic Party! A remarkable proposal which would mean no more need to whip up campaign support for the Democratic Party, a party which is already DEAD in the eyes of American youth. A party which few autoworkers would give ONE CENT for.

Nevertheless, the proposal points out a fundamental roadblock to the struggles of autoworkers, and for that matter, to the entire American working class. The ties of the bureaucratic apparatus of the workers unions with the political and governmental apparatus of American capitalism. A rope around the workers necks woven of continual betrayals in "contracts" and elections.

Even the most advanced young workers in the unions fail to see the significance of the POLITICS of the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. Fail to see that the central task of American workers today is the construction of their PARTY. And that even the most REVOLUTIONARY brand of union struggle, which limits itself to the framework of

immediate and economic demands of the workers, fails to confront the question of political POWER.

"Revolutionary" trade unionism among the most advanced youth co-exists with the ABSTENTIONISM of the vast majority of the youth in the factories from union politics. An attitude generated by the policies of the union bureaucracy which: "in essence transform the trade unions into some sort of concentration camp for the workers during the decline of capitalism." (Leon Trotsky, ON THE TRADE UNIONS).

This is the source of the "vicious circle" of contract rounds with all their convulsions and upheavals, followed by periods of relative peace. As in auto, where every three years the UAW leadership talks militant. "Jimmy Carter, stay the hell away from the auto talks," chimes Doug Fraser of the September contract round. As if it was not Doug Fraser who put Carter in office in the first place!

Yes, a VICIOUS circle because this roller coaster ride means DANGER for the young workers who are the most combative among the working class. DANGER that the flame of the American revolution, the youth, will draw the conclusion that nothing can be done, that politics is a dead-end altogether. A conclusion which only allows time for the continued preparation of the COUNTERREVOLUTION by the bourgeoisie.

LESSONS OF 1973

An entire generation of young autoworkers, particularly black

workers in Detroit, went through this "vicious circle" and even with the most militant trade union programs were disarmed and disillusioned. This movement among Detroit autoworkers began in 1968 with the general upsurge of youth all over the world. The Revolutionary Union Movements (DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, etc.) were the expression of this world upsurge in Detroit, the working class stronghold of the United States.

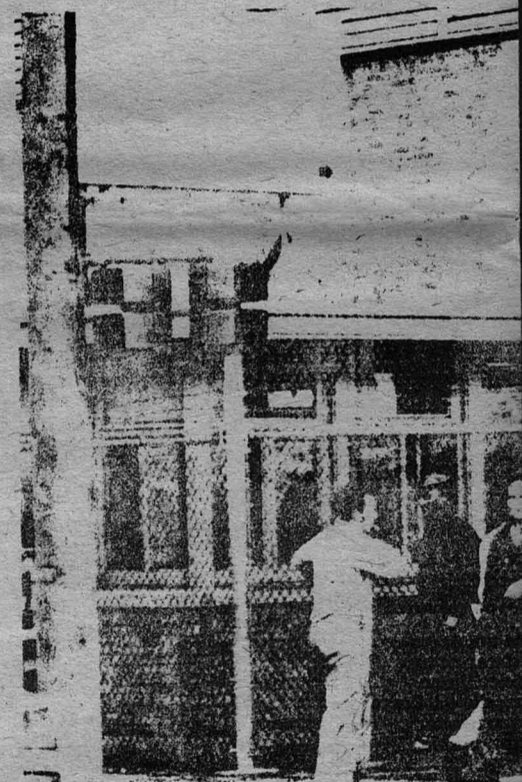
The advanced struggle of Detroit autoworkers was a foundation for the "crisis" which led the best of the student movement as well to turn to the working class as the historical vehicle of revolution. A break occurred between those who saw the American working class as backward and "bought off" and those who saw in the struggle in the auto factories a clear vindication of Bolshevism -- a party founded among the workers to lead them to seize power.

A "break", however, that was not wholly complete but rather continued to adapt itself to the notion of the "backwardness" of American workers. A theory of American exceptionalism which concluded that the revolution was not on the agenda, rather a period of "defensive" struggle and fights for reforms under this system. Perspectives which would lead the founders of the Revolutionary Union Movement like Kenneth Cockrel and General Baker into the trap of the Democratic Party.

The sitdown strikes and general upheaval of Detroit autoworkers in 1973 showed this per-

spective not only to be bankrupt but, fundamentally, a complete betrayal of the youth in the factories. It is even correct to say that the Mack Ave. incident, where UAW President Doug Fraser (then head of the UAW's Chrysler department) organized a 1,000 man goon squad to crush the Mack Ave. factory occupation, was prepared by the political bankruptcy of the perspective of "revolutionary" trade unionism and those leaderships which adapted to it totally.

The RUM movement, as opposed to almost every other perspective in 1968 for black workers, claimed to stand on the fight of Lenin. That is, for a vanguard revolutionary party to organize and lead the entire working class to seize power in its own name. The destruction of the capitalist



LYNCH ROAD ASSEMBLY, DETROIT

state and its replacement with a Workers Government founded on the basis of workers councils, the organs of state power for the working class. And the understanding that capitalism had entered its death agony, the stage of IMPERIALISM where reforms were no longer capable of being extended and defended under capitalism, rather the only solution was one of PERMANENT revolution, the international socialist revolution. Formally, that is, the leaders of the RUM accepted Leninism.

Only formally. The RUM, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers founded on the basis of the RUM movement, was never a politically homogenous party. Its notion of power for the workers extended all the way from "community control" to the

"extra-union" caucus but never went beyond a program of radical reforms for imperialism. In an interview with Ken Cockrel and Mike Hamlin, leaders of the League, Cockrel states, "you're going to have to have some sort of control over the apparatus of state power which is what we're after." In other words, political power ala the Detroit City Council and the Democratic Party which is where Cockrel ended up.

As well, while formally recognizing the revolutionary potential of black workers, Hamlin states of white workers, "Whites in America don't act like workers. They don't act like a proletariat. They act like racists. And that is why I think that blacks have to continue to have black organizations independent of whites." Yes, and if whites can be bought

RUM was surpassed in the factory occupations and strikes that took place in 1973. Struggles which had the support and participation of autoworkers particularly among the youth, throughout Detroit. Surpassed, but fundamentally still unable to arm the autoworkers for the DEFEAT at Mack Ave. in 1973. Many who were present on that day in front of Mack Ave. when Fraser sent his goon squad to attack the strikers actually thought that the UAW was marching toward them to SUPPORT the sitdown. A fact which itself expresses the political confusion of the leaders of the sitdown.

And Mack Ave. also precipitated a crisis within the workers movement. Many drew the conclusion that the unions couldn't be fought, it was necessary to bypass them. Many were defeated

only be characterized along with the role of Stalinism internationally as one which PREPARES THE COUNTERREVOLUTION.

Numerous centrist organizations as well share the blame for 1973. The International Socialists, which was itself in the midst of factional crisis, with its rank-and-file caucuses in the unions. Caucuses which ADAPTED themselves to the revolutionary perspective of the youth in the factories while BETRAYING it by maintaining close ties and allegiances to the UAW bureaucracy.

And the Socialist Workers Party which has lately discovered the American working class, played a role of CRITIC of the youth in their "ultra-left excesses" in 1973. Mack Ave. PROVED, according to the SWP's theory of "new radicalization", that attempts to fight in the workers movement were doomed to failure. Particularly, if the fight was directed against such stalwart institutions in the "labor" movement as the trade union bureaucracy.

What is important about 1973 is that despite the viciousness with which the UAW bureaucracy defended the capitalist order against the strikers, NONE of these misleaders have changed their attitude or perspective for the American revolution and the struggle in the unions. For them 1973 was a VINDICATION of their notion that American imperialism is too strong, that the trade union bureaucracy is too vicious and cannot be fought, and that therefore the task is to keep the revolutionary youth from organizing a Leninist revolutionary party to block the youth from making a revolution.

And this policy was carried out in the 1976 auto strike where the centrists consciously fought to limit on every terrain the struggle of autoworkers to the context of a "contract struggle." Resisted and fought autoworkers who tried to go beyond this frame-

work and fight for political power within their unions. For in 1976, the CONDITION for victory for autoworkers was in the total DEFEAT of the UAW bureaucracy, the renewal of the leadership of the unions and the mobilization of the entire UAW against the election of Jimmy Carter.

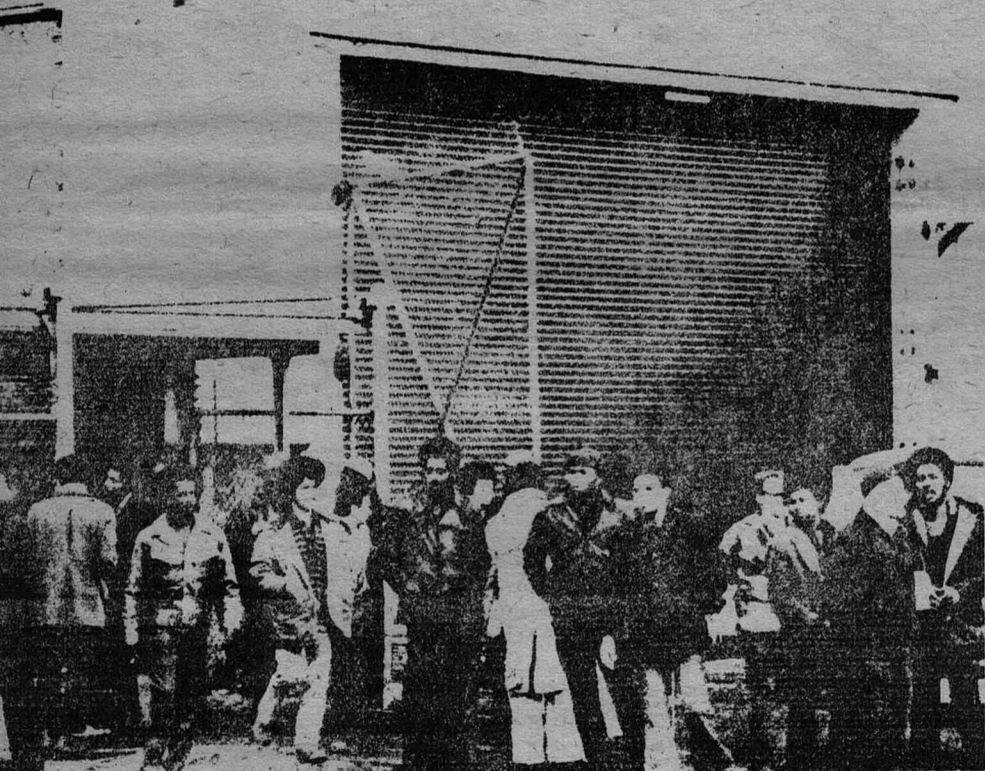
Precisely what is the Leninist perspective in the trade unions today?

A policy of NO COOPERATION with Carter's sacrifices. For with all their rhetoric the trade union bureaucracy wants to aid Carter in holding down the living standards of American workers, wants to smash the mobilization of the most advanced workers in the unions.

For INDEPENDENCE from Carter's government and the Democratic Party, through the building of a Workers Party to lead all workers against this system of unemployment, inflation, and repression. A party which fights for independent organs of power for the working class in their strikes -- strike committees centralized on a national scale for a GENERAL STRIKE to bring down Carter's government. A party which prepares the entire working class to take power, a party which PREPARES THE REVOLUTION.

For a combat to DEFEAT the trade union bureaucracy and renew the leadership of the unions. A fight against the notion among even the most advanced youth in the factories that the struggle against the bureaucracy can be bypassed. A notion which co-exists with a perspective of struggle over immediate and local demands of workers without posing the question of WHO RULES in America and the world. And a fight to win the vast majority of the youth to a POLITICAL combat against this system and away from ABSTENTIONISM.

A fight to Return to Lenin! in the unions today.  
May 18, 1979



off by the overwhelming power of American imperialism so can blacks, can't they? And of course this is precisely what has happened to Ken Cockrel, isn't it?

A notion which is the continual source of BETRAYAL by petty-bourgeois black politicians who are on the OTHER SIDE of the class line from black workers.

Leninism then, was not the basis for RUM or the League of Revolutionary Black workers. Rather, a notion of "revolution" which inspired thousands of autoworkers but failed to clarify for them the lessons of Leninism -- a hundred years of working class struggle and the Russian revolution.

In a real sense, in the lessons learned by workers in Detroit, the struggle of the

altogether. Conclusions, which, though wrong, had been prepared by the political prostration of opportunist leaderships in the workers movement to the UAW bureaucracy.

Because, fundamentally, it was Stalinism and centrism which prepared the defeat at Mack Ave. in 1973. The American Communist Party (Stalinist) in particular has maintained high posts in the locals and international of the UAW. They supported then, as they do now, the Doug Frasers and Leonard Woodcock's as the "lesser of evils" (to what?) in the unions. The forces which smashed Mack Ave. strikers in 1973, according to the American Communist Party, were to be in the forefront of a new "anti-monopoly peoples party" for workers. Their role in 1973 and thereafter can



## For Thinking Not to Work Against You...

# TO THE WEAPON OF EDUCATION!

By ANIBAL RAMOS

On April 12-15 the first DAYS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD will take place. In other times this type of initiative would pass almost un-noticed, as something routine. But today this initiative can be a real political event. If not, let the reader read again the title of this meeting: "days of COMMUNIST EDUCATION"... Yes-- EDUCATION and COMMUNIST. Not an excursion accompanied by a meeting, not a political carnival, nor a festival of leftists, nor any other variety of petty bourgeois events that try to reconcile the customs of bourgeois society with "being a leftist."

This is different and it concerns nothing less than the communist education of the working class youth. In the midst of the anti-Leninist campaign of Santiago Carrillo! In the midst of the flourishing of all forms of theoretical revisionism and the cults of ignorance and obscurantism! And even more, the reader should pay attention to who is organizing this event: INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD. Not a trace of pacifism, of patriotism, nationalism nor "fashionable" democracy. Not one concession. If the youth respond to this meeting of its young vanguard and if these days fulfill their function, forging in this spirit the organization of the combat of the revolutionary proletarian youth, in these times it would be a real political event.

We are living in a time of theoretical REACTION. To a great degree this reaction reflects the social imperialist character of the regime, that is, the complete decadence of the bourgeoisie and its political expressions and thought. When this bourgeoisie was an ascending young class against feudalism one was permitted to struggle against superstition, to support science, to develop thought. Always with precautions, always with compro-

mises with the Church! But the contemporary bourgeois decadence does more than compromise-- it tries to disguise itself behind superstitious, religious REACTION, proper to a class without a future in this material world, afraid of the appearance of a new sophisticated development of science and thought. In the universities of the bourgeoisie, where for centuries one struggled against obscurantism, today they discuss so-called "advances" such as the incorporation of "occult sciences", para-sciences, while the Church is step by step regaining its control over education. In the science and thought of the bourgeoisie you can see the systematic and official RETURN OF MAGICIANS and THE INQUISITION.

Along with this the "advanced" bourgeoisie is also reducing the number of students and studies. After all, "Why should an unemployed or peasant youth want to know how to read?" ask the miserable "democratic" slave-owners of today. For them, education, besides being "un-economical," is dangerous. The new OVERSEERS for the modern "democratic" slave-owners, that is, the so-called "workers leaders" that collaborate with the capitalist state, think along exactly the same lines. In such a way that they never protest when the "civilization of human rights" supports itself more and more on the police and less on bourgeois education and when the functions of policeman and educator are beginning to come together and be confused.

But the theoretical REACTION in the workers movement consists in the wave of revisionism, in the capitulation in face of the ideas of the bourgeoisie and its Church, in the invasion of a spirit of compromise into the decisive political questions, in the generalized scepticism towards the revolutionary theory of the proletariat. But this REACTION does not proceed, as in other

periods of the class struggle, from a defeat of the workers and the consequent euphoria of the leading classes. This time it concerns the opposite.

In face of a difficult but constant rise of the struggle of the workers and youth, in face of the perspective of a workers socialist revolution, the treacherous leaders of the workers movement who were incorporated into the defense of the bourgeois order during the years of defeat and retreat are now engaged in a clear-cut attempt to politically disarm the revolutionary class. The spearhead of all the THEORETICAL REACTION existing in our times, including bourgeois obscurantism, is not in the general decadence of bourgeois society and still less in a retreat of the proletariat. It is in the premeditated attack of the very leaders of the proletariat against its CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

This attack attempts to hide the understanding that the growing revolution has its own ends and methods. This attack thus tries to delay the explosion of the revolutionary masses, to block its organization, to reduce the possibilities for its victory, to open the door to the material, political and ideological pressure of the bourgeoisie and its state on the ranks of the workers. Here is found the explanation of all other forms of theoretical reaction. In the end result, at the center of all the advances in social thinking since the bourgeoisie began to decay has always been the PRESSURE, THE THREAT AND ORGANIZATION of the international proletariat and its struggle against the various politicians, ideologues and charlatans of the bourgeoisie.

The importance of these DAYS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION of the International Young Guard consists in that it closes the door to this attack against CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS and that,

by adopting the theme of a RETURN TO LENIN, the young generation of the working class is ready to TAKE UP THE WEAPONS OF EDUCATION to reinforce and organize the consciousness of the workers, above all by building its party for the seizure of power.

But it is impossible to speak of these DAYS without referring to the sorry role played by the anarchist leaders. In the end result: not so much because of their merits, but because of the rejection of the policies of the CP and SP by the youth, the anarchists find themselves able to influence a mass of youth who continue to listen to them. In this context we must take up the central reactionary slogan which closed the latest declaration of the CNT on the present situation and which proclaimed: "IF NOBODY WORKS FOR YOU, LET NOBODY THINK FOR YOU." Let us examine how this slogan fits into the present theoretical reaction designed to hide the revolutionary consciousness of the workers and youth.

It is a poisonous slogan for the working class youth. The anarchist leaders who have put it forward are at least consistent-- for a long time they haven't THOUGHT about anything and it is doubtful that they work for anyone either. But if they limited themselves to saying this phrase as a justification for their total mental and physical passivity in face of the crisis of the CNT, the militants would throw them out into the streets saying: "This is a great philosophy of yours-- but it would be good if you thought a little for the Confederation and not only for yourselves!"

To prevent such dangerous thoughts these leaders have converted the philosophy of their own egotistical individualism into the general slogan of the union. The reactionary basis of this slogan comes to light if we



write it in another way: Let everyone work for himself and think for himself." How can one reconcile a workers movement, a class movement, solidarity and organization with such a petty bourgeois artisan, individualistic, mistrustful, self-sufficient and anarchist slogan?

One can't. And for this reason the CNT is dissolving and is disorganizing itself, poisoned by the "theories" of these leaders. The CNT was formed as a great battle for class solidarity and as such became a force. Its first name, WORKERS SOLIDARITY says everything. It is true that inside this movement the anarchist leaders always placed their individualist ideas which are the ideas of the peasant who works alone and for himself and whose thinking cannot break out of the mistrustful and cynical framework of "popular proverbs." This slogan "IF NOBODY WORKS FOR YOU, LET NOBODY THINK FOR YOU" can effectively be incorporated into the more reactionary refrain and placed alongside: "A BIRD IN HAND IS WORTH MORE THAN 100 FLYING."

But the petty bourgeois anarchist ideal, in the historic rise of the CNT, did not succeed in destroying the CNT, only in deforming it and making it useless in the end. On the contrary, the leaders who organized the legality of the CNT through a tacit pact of neutrality with the monarchy are today trying to DESTROY FROM WITHIN the CNT as a union, to convert it into a reactionary petty bourgeois movement of insolidarity. It is evident that they STILL HAVEN'T SUCCEEDED, that it is a process and that the working class base is resisting. Neither work, nor thought and still less the class of wage earners can be reduced to individuals and still less hostile to SOCIAL thought. It would be equal to saying: "LET NOBODY THINK."

Also, the slogan is made with a mentality that is hardly working class. The leader who launched it seems to think that workers want someone to work for them. But this would offend any worker. The slogan can also be written: "SINCE YOU HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN FINDING SOMEONE TO WORK FOR YOU, AT LEAST SEE TO IT THAT OTHERS DON'T THINK WHILE YOU WORK." Naturally, in this brutal form, every worker will be disgusted. But all the meanings given to this slogan cultivate the most backward and demoralizing aspects that can influence working class mentality against a real class consciousness. The worker does not want anyone to work in his place, not to oppose his work to that of other workers, but to EMANCIPATE WORK, to organize free and collective work, so that everyone will work for all and this

will allow for social work to be done not at the cost of others (the majority) and for the benefit of others (the minority) but in favor of the development of all individuals as active members of a society of associated producers. This will also allow for everyone to freely think for everyone, that is, the workers will appropriate the thought of all humanity and develop it as an arm of the enrichment of society and its individuals.

But the anarchist slogan is especially directed towards disorienting the youth who are looking for a road. Here a new contradiction begins. The youth, and more and more, are not able to work. They are not looking for someone to work for them, like the author of the slogan, but are simply looking for work. For this unemployed youth, who wants to find HIS work, the reactionary anarchist slogan can be translated like this: "SINCE YOU DON'T WORK FOR YOURSELVES OR ANYONE ELSE, DON'T THINK ABOUT ANYONE OR ANYTHING."

It concerns something very serious. These incapable holy anarchists thus help the bourgeoisie to create a mentality according to which to think, to discuss, to passionately seek the real fight, to struggle to convince, to win others, all this is called "being uncool."

We aren't exaggerating. No one and still less a youth thinks only "for himself." Between his thoughts and his actions, between his convictions and those of others, he always seeks to find the least distance, for thought to be communicated, for it to pass to action and to collective action, for action to develop thought... This is the strength of the youth! And how does the bourgeoisie and its lackeys try to deprive the youth of modern free thought? They tell every youth to take refuge in his own limitations, in his own solitude created by the bourgeoisie against class consciousness, in his own ignorance organized by the slave "cults," responding: "I won't be uncool..."

There is a bit of truth in the slogan above, although it is a bit of truth hidden by a mountain of lying and reactionary suggestions. It is the truth to say to a worker, to young workers, that NOBODY CAN SUBSTITUTE FOR EITHER WORK OR THOUGHT, neither as an individual nor as a class and that one has to open up one's own path. But this bit of truth, in the slogan above, is cancelled out by the trap of insolidarity and the cult of ignorance. And the young worker must understand that HIS OWN ROAD, his road towards the emancipation of work and towards freedom (in the largest sense of the word) passes through class

unity and the formation of its vanguard and organized consciousness. The worker, AS A WORKER, cannot think ON HIS OWN, but only through his effort to construct with other workers and fighters the organization of the class.

His thoughts as a FIGHTING individual will be much more free, more audacious and independent the more they contribute to the reinforcement of CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS and its organization of combat. And at the same time, this is not only the theoretical and practical work of many, organized and not individual work, but also demands MAKING USE (through organization) of all the conquests of revolutionary thought made by workers and fighters throughout history WHO HAVE THOUGHT AND WORKED FOR US.

The slogan in question supposes that the opportunist bureaucrats are characterized as "thinking for the workers." But it does not concern this. Bureaucrats think very little, to begin with. And they think for themselves, for their bourgeois brothers and against the workers. Against these bureaucrats it is necessary to organize the youth who can link their spirit of independence with their capacity for sacrifice into a combination explosive enough to renew the leadership of the workers movement. For this reason, to unite these factors, it is necessary to avoid any kind of paternalist educa-

tion of the youth, but also to avoid self-satisfied ignorance.

The slogan that best expresses the manner of thinking and acting for the young generation of revolutionaries is that launched by the Days of Communist Formation. Nothing like the distrustful and self-satisfied "let nobody think for you." No. The formation of communist thinking is an arm of revolutionary action. It is necessary to take this up-- to use this weapon in action and discussion. TO THE WEAPON OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION! This is the best slogan for the creative, practical and revolutionary thought of the new generation of the proletariat.

April 3, 1979

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# BUILDING THE WORKERS PARTY MOVEMENT IN THE UAW

## Resolution of May 13 GM Workers Conference

Printed below is the resolution of the GM Workers Conference in Detroit, organized by the Trotskyist Organization/USA. The discussion at the conference of which this resolution is the result centered on the necessity of waging the fight in auto as a REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT, that no gains can be made by the autoworkers outside the perspective of a struggle for the overthrow of American imperialism represented today by the Carter government.

In particular, the Conference discussed the necessity to build a NEW REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP in every fight as the immediate task in the preparation of the revolution. This is the true meaning of the Workers Party, not a different name for the "labor party" of the trade union bureaucrats and their hangers-on.

The Conference also determined that this revolutionary fight and building of the new leadership cannot be separated from a COMBAT to lead every struggle in this revolutionary direction. The key to this is waging a fight for NO COOPERATION! — not merely with Carter's guidelines, but with the whole framework of class collaboration which they express.

In this context, a discussion took place on the necessity of intervening in the elections at various GM plants, not to make revolutionary propaganda but to take a leading role in fighting these elections as a tool of the bureaucracy to legitimize their hold over the unions and to foster a mood of abstentionism among young workers in particular.

A decision was made to intervene in the Chevy Gear and Axle elections on the basis of calling for NEW ELECTIONS, in order to give a rallying point to young workers who want to fight the bureaucracy and its betrayals, and to point this fight in the direction of the independent power of the workers. Similarly, the Conference determined to begin to prepare now to intervene in the June elections at Fleetwood, to wage the fight for a new leadership.

On this basis, POLITICS will appear before the young workers not as something alien to their

struggle, but as the way in which their struggles can win — by advancing toward the winning of political power.  
May 15, 1979

1. The key to victory for autoworkers in 1979 is the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION. This victory cannot be won in a contract, a signed agreement with the masters of the PLANT-ation, but rather in a fight to mobilize workers and youth for a POLITICAL COMBAT against Carter, his Democratic Party, and the UAW official leadership which seeks to bind the autoworkers to the Democratic Party and this system. If not through Carter, then through another "Democrat" of betrayal.

2. The meaning behind speedup, layoffs and harassment in the plants goes beyond "working conditions" or "economic" issues. So too, the meaning behind Carter's "human rights" campaign, which has been totally unable to hide the terrorist and anti-worker nature of his government. The issue is the preparation of the COUNTER-REVOLUTION. The specific means through which the American bourgeoisie attempts to gain time in order to halt the mobilization of workers and youth around the world.

3. The attitude of every autoworker and every strike and action they undertake, ought to be one of NO COOPERATION with Carter's program of "sacrifices." NO COOPERATION, not only with "wage guidelines" and drives for "productivity", but more importantly, NO COOPERATION with the attempts to limit the autoworkers fight to "contracts," or "local issues." The question that should be brought to the forefront of every struggle, no matter how small, is the question of WHO RULES in America. Workers or capitalists. WHO RULES in the unions—workers or bureaucrats.

4. The goal of autoworkers in the 1979 contract fight and beyond, in fact the goal today, should be the formation and education of the most advanced fighters to PREPARE THE REVOLUTION! A goal which will be reached with the building of a

WORKERS PARTY to lead not only autoworkers, but all workers and youth to bring down the Carter government and form a Workers Government.

4. (a) The Conference decides to wage this fight at Chevy Gear & Axle (Local 235) through a petition campaign for NEW ELECTIONS against the farcical and betraying elections of the UAW bureaucrats.

4. (b) Likewise, the Conference urges young workers at Fleetwood (Local 15) to join in the political fight to build a new revolutionary leadership, by fighting along with the Trotskyist Organization/USA for an independent, revolutionary candidate on a revolutionary program in the June elections, against abstentionism which only plays into the bureaucrats' hands.

5. The participants in the GM Workers Conference solidarize themselves with autoworkers and workers of all countries. In

particular, we propose COLLABORATION with Spanish autoworkers and the Conference of Autoworkers being organized in MADRID on May 27th. We send our greetings to this conference, and our support for the resolution which has appeared in LA AURORA, newspaper of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Espana. (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain/PORE).

6. The Conference also demands the immediate liberation of the Soviet miner, Klebanov, and supports the campaign undertaken for this goal by the Revolutionary Youth International. This is particularly important because of the necessity for unions of class independence, a fight carried on by Klebanov in the USSR, which is of equally critical importance for autoworkers in the United States and because it is a blow against Stalinism, which supports U.S. imperialism and its Democratic Party.

Detroit  
May 13, 1979

## Free Negri and the "Autonomes"

On June 10th the European bourgeoisie, with the support of the Stalinists and centrists, is organizing a "European Parliamentary Election." Supposedly to better organize the "unity and cooperation" that is capitalist Europe.

This European "Parliament" is a failure before it has even begun. In all the years of the "Common Market," which has supposedly laid the basis for this "Parliament," the European capitalists have not succeeded in "uniting" or "cooperating" on ONE THING of the slightest importance. From the question of Great Britain's participation, to a real regulation of currency or agriculture, they have agreed on NOTHING.

This type of "cooperation" over nothing has even extended to the various "Communist" parties of Western Europe. The French and Spanish CPs are at war with each other over the French CP's opposition to Spain's admission to the Common Market — because it "will threaten French agriculture!"

But there IS one thing that they ALL agreed on. The reinforcement of the capitalist states, the police and terrorist plans against the European workers and youth. Bourgeois and bureaucrats in Europe are all united in the preparation of the civil war against the proletariat.

The French government has out-

lawed all demonstrations "where public order cannot be assured." And who is to assure the "public order" of the bourgeois state? The "leaders" of the workers movement, of course!

Thus, on May Day, the "defense guards" of the French CP and LCR (sister group of the American SWP) presented themselves to the police for "approval" and spent the entire May Day demonstration "protecting" the CRS (riot police).

In Spain, an 18-year old member of the Spanish CP was murdered by a fascist gang and fascists fired on the May Day demonstration in Madrid. And the response of Santiago Carrillo, leader of the Spanish CP? "There are two solutions in face of these people (fascists): violence or to demand that the authorities prevent these acts. The Spanish CP rejects the first and follows the second."

The same "authorities" who are now organizing a trial against the Spanish Section of the Fourth International because it "recognizes the class struggle."

But the terrorist plans of the bourgeoisie and Stalinists have now taken a qualitative step forward with the recent arrest of the professor, Antonio Negri, and other intellectuals in Italy. They are accused of NO ILLEGAL ACTIVITY — only of being the "ideological" inspiration for the Red Brigades and for having writ-

# NUCLEAR POWER — WHO WILL CONTROL?

By RICH TETRAULT

In this land of capitalist control and exploitation, it is of no great surprise to uncover yet another crisis facing the American people. Nuclear power and its total and unscrupulous mismanagement from the beginning to the present represents once again the crisis of imperialism. The complete inability of the bourgeoisie to logically and scientifically deal with nuclear energy is not merely a mistake nor is it a matter of confusion.

Not at all — it is the only means by which this degenerate, decaying system of "free enterprise" can operate and respond. To the workers and youth of this country it is no answer — no response. More than this, the nuclear crisis is just one more example that this government of Jimmy Carter, petroleum conglomerates, trade union bureaucrats, cops and energy monopolies is organized and operates against the advance of the working class in the U.S. and around the world.

The fight to solve the problems and eliminate the dangers of nuclear energy is above all a fight for workers to have control of the energy industry through a revolutionary confrontation with the bourgeoisie and all those who make excuses for its "errors of the past." Only a revolutionary fight, a fight to crush this repressive system can guarantee the working class a means to victory.

The entire mobilization

which has evolved in opposition to nuclear energy and its control by the capitalist class, represents a significant advance of the workers and youth in the U.S. An advance which has a positive character but nonetheless has been confined within the framework of petty bourgeois activism and capitalist reform through the betrayals perpetrated by the pseudo-revolutionaries and the Democratic Party.

The REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS in the U.S. is fighting to bring a proletarian fight into the anti-nuclear movement in order to lay the basis for a real political combat. Only through a fight for Bolshevism, a fight for class independence of workers and youth and the fight to build the American Revolution can the working class in the U.S. break with the treachery and the lies of the past and move forward. This advance can only be made through a continuous struggle to develop and implement a revolutionary political perspective — for workers control of industry and society.

Workers control through the American Revolution. This revolution is being built and organized right now with workers in the factories, with the youth in the schools and in the streets, with the oppressed masses everywhere. This movement must be built in opposition to the imperialist tyranny of the Carter regime, in opposition to the opportunistic program of the pseudo-Trotskyists organized in the Socialist Workers Party,

and against the slander campaigns of the Stalinists and their verminous supporters.

The anti-nuclear movement is gaining strength in the working class on a daily basis. It is not simply a matter of growing opposition to nuclear power, but much more. It is above all part and parcel of the break of the working class with the Democratic Party and the false leaderships of the past. In fighting to clarify this break, to bring it to a conscious political level, the Revolutionary Young Workers alongside the Trotskyist Organization/USA, outlines the necessity for this break to be carried to its fullest potential, to be utilized as a vehicle in the construction of the Workers Party.

Around the world and especially in the U.S., the movement to halt nuclear anarchy is a movement to destroy imperialism. In Europe, workers have successfully shut down and occupied nuclear plants in direct defiance of the state. Only the organized combat of the working class can bring about real solutions, to determine what must be done to advance humanity to a higher level.

In the U.S. the growing disgust of the workers and youth for this system of exploitation and no solutions is being voiced ever more loudly in a movement to determine the fate of nuclear energy. Demonstrations and rallies around the country are gaining tremendous support from the youth. The youth want to take up this fight as a way to destroy imperialism, as a way to establish workers democracy. On April 28, 15,000 demonstrators converged on the Rocky Flats nuclear bomb plant in Colorado. On April 21 some 4,000 workers and youth joined a demonstration at Midland, Michigan to protest the nuclear madness of the capitalists.

Similar demonstrations have taken place in several states. It is precisely at this point that a revolutionary leadership must come forward in order to direct and develop the upsurge and bring it to a complete, political level. The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is fighting to construct that leadership, to build the vanguard of the American Revolution now.

On May 6 in Washington, D.C., over one hundred thousand workers and youth poured onto Capitol Hill to join forces, to build an opposition to the terrorist state of the capitalists. The significance of this event cannot be lessened by the bourgeois press. These thousands of people were amassed out of a natural compulsion to concentrate their opposition to the tyrannical rule of the Democratic Party and big business. An end to nuclear power was the overall sentiment of the

demonstration. No trust, no cooperation with the Carter government of lies and deceit. Even the least advanced workers determined this government of the capitalists to be their main enemy.

Also incapable of discouraging the working class from organizing are the feeble attempts of the slanderous "Spartacist League." In the May 11 issue of WORKERS VANGUARD the Spartacist League compares the demonstrators to "hippies" and "flower children," a "counterculture happening." They refer to the no-nuke crusade as downright perverted and conservative to the core. They continue their slanders of the working class claiming that the anti-nuclear movement is simply a middle-class fiasco, identifying the workers with the petty bourgeois leaders. All this from the group which slanders the Fourth International as well as the international working class.

At the same time we find the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party busily derailing the mobilization of the working class into the framework of the Democratic Party. This centrist treachery can clearly be seen in its support of various bourgeois politicians including Jerry Brown and Tom Hayden. The SWP is happy to base their policies on pressuring the Democratic Party into reform and "more consideration for the workers." Such a mediocre position not only disgusts the more advanced workers but also wastes the energies of the least advanced who are searching out a principled, revolutionary solution. Anyone who says the fight for class independence can be won by "making deals" and working with the capitalist class is lying. Trade union bureaucrats, Democratic Party officials, opportunists and all other traitors of the workers movement are the allies of the centrists.

The whole question of nuclear power is an extremely important question, but at the same time is no different, neither more nor less critical, than racism, oppression, inflation, unemployment and all other manifestations of imperialism. The workers and youth of the U.S. and around the world will conquer imperialism and Stalinism in a struggle to Return to Lenin, to build a Bolshevik party, to prepare the American and world revolutions.

The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is fighting to build the revolution, preparing its vanguard, through a fight to construct the Workers Party. Only a revolutionary fight can patrol nuclear energy. Only a revolutionary fight can guarantee the oppressed masses victory and control of society. WORKERS CONTROL OF ENERGY! BUILD THE REVOLUTION! JOIN THE RYW! May 16, 1979

ten in magazines "about the insurrection against the State."

This is a new terrorist PROVOCATION against every revolutionary, against every worker and youth. The bourgeoisie and bureaucrats now want to attack everyone who dares to even speak or write about the necessity to overthrow capitalism and Stalinism.

To allow the bourgeois police to treat the real Leninists in the workers movement as "terrorists." In which the anti-Leninist campaign of "Euro-Communism," supported by the pseudo-Trotskyists provides the cover.

It is an attack also directed against the Fourth International, which while opposing individual terrorism, has never hidden its aims from the workers and youth throughout the world — the overthrow of the old order of capitalism and Stalinism through the insurrection of the masses.

Nor is it just a "European" problem. This is the "human rights" of U.S. imperialism. The "rights" of police to terrorize the workers and youth.

"Human rights" is the police brutality in Newport News. The lawyer in Georgia jailed for "contempt of court" for insisting that the judge address his

black client as "Mister" and not by his first name! And "human rights" is the S.1437 "revised criminal code" passed in the Senate which makes wildcat strikes "blackmail" and membership in the Fourth International "espionage."

And finally, "human rights" are the pseudo-Trotskyists — the LCR in France which "specializes in anti-autonome struggle" (LE MONDE, 5/4/79) and the SWP in the U.S. which has recently asked to be declared "legal" (when no one says they're not) in order for OTHERS to be declared illegal.

This is the "cooperation" being orchestrated today in Europe by U.S. imperialism. A cooperation which U.S. workers and youth can help break by joining in the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN — to confront

A cooperation which U.S. workers and youth can help break by joining in the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN — to confront the terror of the bourgeoisie and bureaucrats by preparing the revolution.

FREE NEGRI AND HIS COMRADES IN ITALY!  
WORKERS DEMOCRACY, NOT "HUMAN RIGHTS"!  
May 15, 1979  
TRUTH

## Not "Defeat" but Betrayal at Newport News

By Kevin FitzPatrick

The eighty-five day strike by members of Steelworkers (USW) Local #8888 at the Tenneco Corp. shipyards in Newport News, Virginia, is over. The workers are back without any concessions from the company, never mind "union recognition." The struggle continues, but not on the workers' terms.

But make no mistake, the workers were not "defeated." Nor is there any tactical "retreat" involved. Both these lies cover up for the fact that it was not the strength of their enemies that forced the workers back, or their own lack of strength, but treason in their leadership and among those who pose as this leadership that is responsible. What has happened at Newport News is not a "defeat," not a "retreat," but a BETRAYAL.

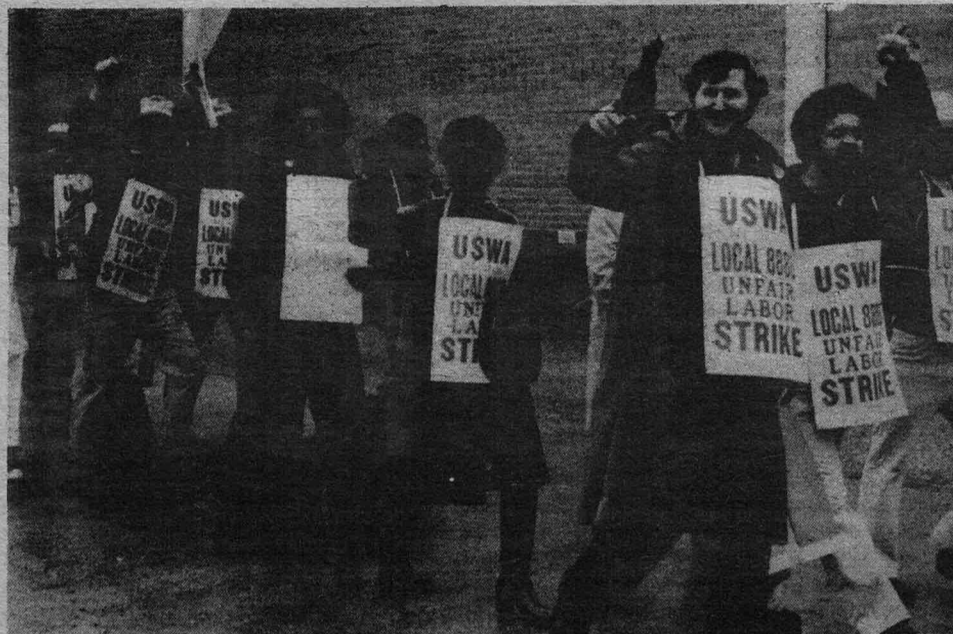
### REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT

From the beginning of the strike, it was posed as a key battle in the struggle to organize the South. And this was true. But "organizing the South" is posed by the trade union bureaucrats and those who mouth their words as a merely trade union-- "militant," to be sure-- and legalistic fight. This is betrayal #1.

The reason the South is NOT organized is because preserving it as a bastion of reaction and poverty is central to the continued rule of American imperialism. On this basis, the U.S. ruling class through its Democratic Party made a pact long ago with the trade union bureaucracy NOT to organize it, not to attack the rule of the racist Democratic Party North and South, to create a status quo.

The South will never be organized outside of a great REVOLUTIONARY upsurge that will not only sweep away the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy but will be an essential part of the American Revolution.

For the enemies in the South are the Democratic Party, the National Labor Relations Board, the police, the huge capitalist corporations, the right wing terrorists like the KKK. How can these be defeated by a trade union and legal struggle? They cannot, and that is why the South remains basically unorganized. And defeating them-- all these aspects of imperialism-- is that conceivable without its amounting to the overthrow of this whole



bastion of U.S. imperialism?

### BUREAUCRATS AND "REVOLUTIONARIES"

This fundamental betrayal of the bureaucracy is the key to all the ones that followed. A strike of three months duration conducted virtually without meetings. Sabotage of mass picketing and any attempts at independent initiative on the part of the workers. Constant reliance on the courts and NLRB-- of this capitalist state that the corporations own-- to obtain "rights" and "justice."

The culmination of this betrayal was the attempt on April 13 to force a return to work on the company's terms. This was UNANIMOUSLY defeated by the strikers. But only five days later-- following a vicious "police riot" no doubt inspired by the determination of the workers-- the bureaucracy announced a "victory" and ordered a return to work.

The fact that the initial attempt by the bureaucrats to sell out the strike was so crushingly rejected shows that many workers-- the most advanced-- had already made a preliminary balance sheet of these traitors. But the problem is that it is not sufficient to REJECT an old leadership, it is necessary to build a NEW LEADERSHIP. It is precisely here that the Stalinists (Communist Party) and particularly the pseudo-Trotskyist centrists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) played their role.

These Stalinists and centrists, posing as "communists,"

"revolutionaries" and "socialists," accepted from the beginning and reinforced the lies of the bureaucracy. The lies about "organizing the South" without disturbing the status quo. The lies about militant actions being "provocations." The lies about "labor solidarity" that boiled down to canned goods and hot air.

But more. THE MILITANT of the SWP continually presented the bureaucracy not as an alien force, but as one a little backward-- "reluctant" to call meetings, "unwilling" to expose the NLRB. It praised to the skies the vicious charade of the "Civil Rights Conference" of the USW bureaucracy. And it presented to the workers who saw the rotten nature of the Democratic Party the lie of a "labor party," led by these same bureaucrats who were betraying every day, as a "political" solution.

Their role culminated too in the betrayal that produced the back-to-work order. THE MILITANT simply reproduces this "victory" statement, without comment, and then gets a sampling of opinion from workers as to whether this is good or bad. To the end, it covers for the betrayal of the bureaucracy-- complete with assertions that going back to work is merely continuing the fight in a different way, and then discovering a week later that the company and state are launching vicious attacks on the returning fighters.

The fact that numbers of workers were open to THE MILITANT expresses the same thing as their rejection of the bureaucracy--

that they were looking for a revolutionary solution, a REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP. Instead, the centrists and Stalinists sold them a bill of bureaucratic goods.

### PERSPECTIVE FOR VICTORY

The workers who have already learned that the bureaucrats are their enemies must also learn that the pseudo-revolutionaries are intimate and necessary helpers of the bureaucracy.

On the basis of seeing the struggle FOR WHAT IT IS, victory is possible. The behavior of the company and state apparatus was not "outrageous," as the bureaucrats and their allies pretend. The imperialist system saw this strike as a revolutionary struggle and fought it on those terms with COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY means. The problem was that the strikers were PREVENTED from seeing this revolutionary character and PREVENTED from fighting it by REVOLUTIONARY means.

A new leadership must be built to wage the struggle on this basis. The bureaucrats must be driven out of the union. Independent committees can and must lead the strike. A perspective for a general strike of workers in the Newport News area-- not merely resolutions, rallies and demonstrations-- to completely crush the whole combination of counterrevolution. Steelworkers throughout the country must prepare for spreading this strike throughout the whole union. Of course, this is all "illegal," under the very law (National Labor Relations Act) that the bureaucracy supports. This means a fight for class independence. Not merely for the complete independence of the unions from the state, but for a perspective of destroying this state and building a WORKERS GOVERNMENT in its place.

This perspective of revolutionary struggle is the basis on which the Workers Party will be built, not as the "labor party" of the centrists which could "help get the courts and cops off the Steelworkers' backs." This is the true "political solution."

Not "realistic"? Ask the workers at Newport News where the "realism" of the bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries has landed them.  
May 15, 1979