

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Carter hiding out, kicking trash cans...

WHO WILL RULE?

The President of the United States went into hiding last week. Panicked by his rapid decline in popularity and the confusion in his administration, Jimmy "human rights" Carter took to the hills of Camp David.

On July 4 he cancelled his "energy speech." It was reported that he spent the holiday kicking the trash cans around Camp David, telling people that he had "lost control of the government and did not have real leadership among the people."

For TWO WEEKS the President of the U.S. has been hiding out. It is clear that this incident, like Nixon's "Saturday Night Massacre," represents the political end of Carter's government.

In order to hide his panic Carter has been organizing a "domestic summit" for the past week (after he finished with the trash cans). Helicopters full of the "greatest minds of the country" were deposited on Mount Sinai.

Like a religious ceremony-- first came the governors, then the religious leaders, later the businessmen and finally, the labor and black "leaders." But all this was more than just a public relations gimmick dreamed up by some "chief of symbolism."

Much more. It concerns BETRAYAL on a new scale being organized under the name of "NATIONAL UNITY."

Who is rushing to Camp David to come to the aid of this panicked President, along with the priests and capitalists? Not the "greatest minds" in this country but the GREATEST TRAITORS!

The labor bureaucrats-- Doug Fraser of the UAW, Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO, Paul Hall of the Seafarers Union--the black "leaders"-- Jesse Jackson and

Vernon Jordan, STUMBLING OVER EACH OTHER to get there first! Rushing to save this government because it is ALL THEY HAVE.

Fraser declared that "the administration is probably at the point of no return."

The government is "at the point of no return" but Doug Fraser is there to see that it stays at this point and GOES NO FURTHER! Until the bureaucrats and black traitors can find some new hangman (Ted Kennedy) to replace Carter.

A new "NATIONAL UNITY" of traitors with this bankrupt government. A "National Unity" to see that the question on everyone's minds won't be posed: WHO WILL RULE?

This question is on the minds of American workers and youth, present in all their struggles. It is why Carter is hiding, why the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats are at Camp David.

This "domestic summit," this new-found "National Unity," will soon collapse along with Carter's other failed schemes. It will collapse, but only to prepare new DANGERS and new FALSE SOLUTIONS.

Unless the workers prepare to answer the question, WHO WILL RULE? and prepare to take the POLITICAL INITIATIVE.

Fraser, Jesse Jackson and Co. are not only not taking any kind of political initiative, they are actively trying to DESTROY this possibility. Along with their servants in the American Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party who daily cover for the treachery of these "great minds."

The workers and youth can take the political initiative by breaking with and destroying this "National Unity" of traitors. By

PREPARING TO RULE.

Workers power in this country won't happen overnight. One "big crisis" won't automatically lead to the revolution, everything won't suddenly be resolved when "everyone is in the streets." Workers have to PREPARE to rule by gaining confidence, by organizing and cohering a vanguard.

What are the immediate tasks in this preparation?

-- THE UNIONS must break with this "National Unity," break with the Democratic Party and its supporters. The unions must fight for TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE STATE-- no support to the Democratic Party, not the slightest cooperation with any policy of

"sacrifices." Prepare to rule in every factory through the fight for WORKERS CONTROL based on factory committees.

-- THE ADVANCED WORKERS AND YOUTH must take the lead in the fight for their own PARTY, the WORKERS PARTY. To organize political formations in the unions for the Workers Party. To build a vast YOUTH ALLIANCE for a Workers Party. To unite all the initiatives and struggles of the working class around a party that will lead the struggle for power.

Who will rule?

The WORKERS will rule this country by preparing for the revolution today. With the Fourth International.

July 12, 1979

TRUTH

Workers — This energy crisis is a *provocation!*
NO COOPERATION! NO SACRIFICES FOR THE OIL BOSSES!

But it is the so-called workers "leaders" who stand between us and Exxon, Mobil ... etc! They have decided to lay down & die!

But neither the Fourth International nor you have any intention of laying down!

Your fight is for the revolution —

- EXPROPRIATE THE OIL TRUSTS
- WORKERS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY
- A WORKERS GOVERNMENT
- THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE TO BRING DOWN STALINISM & IMPERIALISM

Your Party is the Fourth International! Join us!

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA

"Facing Reality" and the Energy Crisis

"It's time to face reality." With these codewords the U.S. bourgeoisie, its government and all of its allies have launched the PROVOCATION of the "energy crisis."

"Facing reality" is THEIR reality. Accepting the conditions determined by an old world which cannot SURVIVE and which is taking its last breath of air -- at the EXPENSE of the American working class and its youth.

Since 1914, when capitalism entered its decay, the working class has paid for this reality. With World War I, World War II, the untold suffering of millions, with the barbarism of this old world.

This latest "energy crisis" fortells even more serious crises to come. Above all because this latest crisis is not simply "economic" -- it is a POLITICAL CRISIS of the imperialist and Stalinist order which can no longer control the mobilization of the international working class.

This "energy crisis" is simply the latest in a whole series of provocations of the Carter government against the American working class. It is the last breath of Carter's "human rights."

First, the Carter government told workers to make sacrifices in the name of "human rights," while the bourgeoisie prepared and organized the counterrevolution.

Now, they are calling on workers to sacrifice for "energy," for "the nation." To sacrifice for BIG BUSINESS.

This "energy crisis" is even worse hypocrisy than "human rights." Like the non-existent "human rights" in this country, the "energy shortage" is just as non-existent. THERE IS NO SHORTAGE. EVERYONE knows this.

But there is a crisis. The crisis is not "how to find energy," but is a crisis over WHO WILL RULE.

This is the "reality" that has to be faced by the American workers and youth. That the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION is on the agenda today and that this is the only possible response to this "energy crisis."

But what do the so-called "workers leaders" in this country say? What do those who the workers elected to "represent" them, who are supposed to defend the interests of the workers and oppressed, who call themselves "revolutionaries" or "communists" say? How have they responded to this provocation.

Workers -- they have LAID DOWN AND DIED. They are letting this provocation pass because Carter, the U.S. bourgeoisie DEPEND on them and could not have done this WITHOUT THEM.

The "solutions" they have offered are in a word, RIDICULOUS.

The UAW bureaucracy's proposal for a "one hour general strike" to "write Congressmen and Senators"? The American Communist Party called this proposal "dynamite." We call it a CRUEL JOKE on the two million members of the UAW who have the power to TAKE OVER INDUSTRY and who are FIGHTERS not writers of postcards.

The NAACP's proposal for "fuel stamps," similar to food stamps? Logical for them -- once you start begging the government for food, its best to keep on begging for everything else. Why not "air stamps"?

The American Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party proposals for "nationalization" and "public ownership"? But it is the CARTER GOVERNMENT who they call on to do this, this government which is OWNED by the oil companies. Confusion and treachery.

Face reality. With the present "leadership" of the workers movement this provocation cannot be fought. The biggest obstacle to turning back this attack are these "leaders" who stand between the workers and Exxon, Mobil, etc.

To arm ourselves to fight Exxon we have to CLEAN RANKS. Reject "solutions" that are no solutions! And fight for a program and a party that will prepare the revolution.

A WORKERS PARTY to fight for:

- the EXPROPRIATION, without compensation, of the oil trusts.
- WORKERS CONTROL of industry
- NO COOPERATION with ANY of the energy "plans."
- the INTERNATIONAL UNIFICATION with workers and youth throughout the world in the fight for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

A leadership must be selected for this party. The struggle for a revolutionary solution to the "energy crisis" must be placed on the agenda of every union, discussed in every factory, in every strike.

This is "facing reality."

July 11, 1979

TRUTH

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JUST OUT!

April-May Issue of

FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

The results for TRUTH #96 were:

Chrysler-Dodge Main.....	6
Ford River Rouge.....	5
GM Chevy Gear & Axle.....	6
GM Fleetwood.....	7
GM Livonia.....	3
Detroit (other).....	30
DETROIT (total).....	57
FLINT.....	21
OTHER.....	100
TOTAL.....	178

FINISH WITH THE POLITICAL ZOMBIES

A Revolutionary Candidate in 1980

By JON COHEN

The crisis of the Carter government is now out in the open. After the publication of the latest Harris poll showing Carter's popularity now at 73-25% negative, the lowest in modern political history, lower than Nixon's popularity two months before his resignation, Carter went into hiding at his Camp David "retreat."

He cancelled his "energy speech," kicked around a few trash cans and cried to his wife that he had "lost the ability to govern." Almost reminiscent of Nixon's last, drunken days at the White House.

Carter will not resign, at least for now. But that does not eliminate the fact that politically he is finished. He is a POLITICAL ZOMBIE as one political columnist has written.

But there is a danger with being content with this affirmation.

In modern times the U.S. bourgeoisie has been particularly ruthless with the servants it has chosen to be the "chairman of the board" of its imperialist state. Not one President since Eisenhower has completed two terms of office. Johnson, Nixon and now Carter have been driven out in disgrace.

It is a reflection of the workers mobilization throughout the world and in the U.S.-- a mobilization which has forced the U.S. bourgeoisie to be ruthless with its servants--to throw them to the wolves when they can no longer control the offensive of the workers and youth. Like Johnson, like Nixon, they are now trying to make Carter a SCAPEGOAT, to blame all the problems on him.

In order to try to find someone "new" and of course, "more democratic" in 1980.

It would be dangerous for workers and youth to accept this attempt to make Carter the scapegoat for all the problems. Because the balance sheet of the last 3 years since 1976 is not just the balance sheet of Carter. Everyone wants to hide this from the workers and youth.

Jimmy Carter isn't the only political zombie walking around today.

The balance sheet of the last 3 years is a balance sheet of the total bankruptcy of this capitalist system which has been able to do NOTHING to improve the living conditions of the

masses of people. The unemployment, the inflation, the social decay are products of this system.

The last 3 years are also the total bankruptcy of "human rights." It was more than just another hypocritical mouthing of Jimmy Carter. "Human rights" was an entire system of class collaboration set up between the imperialists and the Stalinists during the last three years to reinforce the bourgeois and bureaucratic states in the name of "democracy" and to attempt to get workers and youth to defend capitalism in the name of "democracy."

An attempt which has failed not only here but throughout the world as masses of workers and youth refuse to accept this "democracy," this "human rights" of the hangmen.

But ABOVE ALL, for workers and youth, the balance sheet of the last three years is that of the TREACHERY OF THE FALSE LEADERSHIPS in the workers movement. Not just Jimmy Carter, not just capitalism, not "human rights" but those who, in the name of the "workers interests," in the name of "the people," defended and supported this system and this government.

This is the real conclusion that workers must draw. The problem of the last three years has been the TREACHERY of the so-called "workers leaders"-- the trade union bureaucrats who elected Carter, the black "leaders" who got 90% of all blacks to vote for Carter, and the so-called Communist Party and pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party who throughout the last three years have spent all their time begging Carter to "really" implement "human rights."

They are the real political zombies walking around today, who should be as discredited in the eyes of workers and youth as Jimmy Carter is.

Finish with the political zombies! The task is not to resurrect this system but to finish with it and build a new leadership for the working class to replace all the old ones.

The task of workers and youth is not to resurrect this bourgeois "democracy" which is DEAD, not to waste time with foolish dreams about Ted Kennedy, but to PREPARE THE REVOLUTION. And to build the

party to organize this struggle. A party completely different from all the others. A party based on the struggle of the only people who resisted and fought "human rights" in the last 3 years -- the Fourth International.

For this reason the Fourth International in the U.S. has launched the fight for a REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE in 1980, a candidate of the Fourth International. A campaign to prepare the revolution. Not to participate in electoralism but to destroy electoralism. Not to reinforce illusions but to shatter them.

To shatter the illusion that there is any choice in the Democratic Party. To shatter the illusion that workers, youth and blacks have no other choice but to choose between the "fox and the wolf."

To convince the youth that abstentionism is no solution either. To prove that this so-called "apolitical" and "apathetic" generation is sick of a certain TYPE of politics but is ready for the revolution and is ready to intervene in the "electoral process" as a fight for the revolution.

A campaign to win workers and youth away from the political zombies who call themselves "Communists" and "Trotskyists" -- the American CP and SWP -- who will undoubtedly have their own "campaigns" to organize a "protest vote" by keeping the workers and youth within all the old frameworks of this system.

To shatter the illusion that these organizations in any way represent the working class or a "protest" of the working class. They instead represent the PETTY BOURGEOISIE in the workers movement and while they call for a "protest vote" they daily support

the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats against the real struggles of workers and youth.

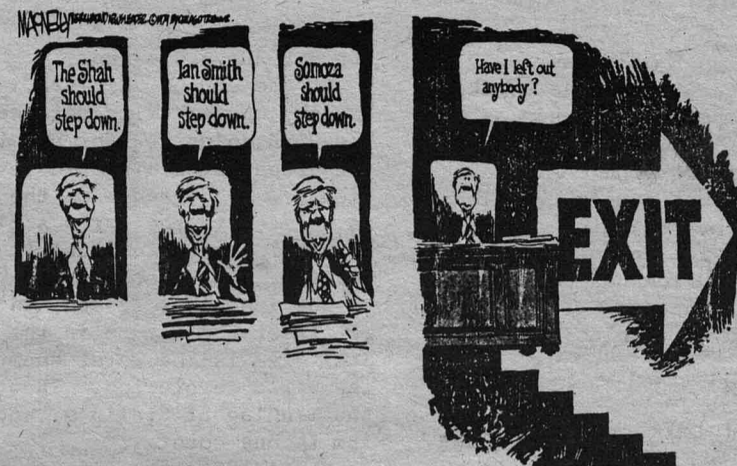
We have said before that such a fight for the revolution is the only alternative to the massive confusion that will be introduced into the workers ranks through the 1980 Presidential elections. That is why our campaign is not just a fight to get on the ballot or get votes, but is a fight to clear up confusion, to organize and select a VANGUARD to lead the struggles of the working class.

A fight to construct the WORKERS PARTY in response to the crisis of the old order. Not to reinforce illusions in this decayed "democracy," but to wage a campaign to RETURN TO LENIN!, for the world revolution.

There are those who will say that we are "too small" to wage such a campaign. That it is more "realistic" to waste your vote on the Democrats or the Republicans (the "fox and the wolf"). Or more of a "protest" to vote for the mouthpiece of the Kremlin in the U.S. or the pseudo-Democratic Socialist Workers Party.

You're free to accept this kind of "logic." But if you are tired of the "realism" of the present, of the living dead and all their "realistic" arguments for accepting this system, if you are beginning to realize that the most crucial question is not "how big" but WHAT STRUGGLE and WHAT FUTURE, your place is in this campaign and the fight for a REVOLUTIONARY candidate in 1980 is your fight.

July 10, 1979



REVOLUTION IS THE BEST DEFENSE OF THE USSR!



By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The Russian Revolution, said Lenin, represented the breaking of the imperialist chain at its "weakest link." What is central is that it was the chain that broke and not merely the link.

From the beginning the fate of the Soviet Union created by that revolution has been inextricably connected with the fate of the world revolution.

STALINISM

Because of the setbacks suffered by the world revolution, because of the isolation of the USSR in a world dominated by imperialism, the socialist conquests of the world's first workers state came under attack. This attack took form in the creation of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the chief agent of world imperialism inside and outside the USSR. This bureaucracy wrested political power from the workers and established the brutal bureaucratic dictatorship that still rules in the USSR. It used this political power as an organizing center for the attacks of world imperialism on the remaining socialist conquests and on the consciousness of the workers.

For the Fourth International, for the workers of the world, the "USSR" that we defend is precisely these gains and this consciousness and NOT Stalinism. The defense of the USSR, in this sense, means the reconquest of POLITICAL power by the workers first of all. And this defense, this reconquest, demands a POLITICAL revolution against the bureaucracy.

That is why our TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM states: "Although it is thus impermissible to deny in advance the possibility, in strictly defined instances, of a 'united front' with the Thermidorian (counterrevolutionary -- KF) section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolution, the chief political task in the USSR still remains the OVERTHROW OF THIS SAME THERMIDORIAN BUREAUCRACY" (emphasis in original).

And because the creation of Stalinism was not a "Russian" problem but a Russian expression of an international one, the political revolution cannot be organized in Russia (or in the other countries dominated by

the bureaucracy) alone.

At the end of his life, Trotsky wrote: "The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution ... The defense of the USSR is related to the world socialist revolution as a tactical task is related to a strategic one."

For just this reason, in order to preserve its rule in the USSR, Stalinism is the worst enemy of the world revolution. That is the meaning of Stalin's "socialism in one country."

Since 1968, the preparation and victory of the world revolution have been raised as immediate tasks. On this basis Stalinism has entered into mortal crisis. But this crisis is not progressive in and of itself. Far from it. It is precisely this crisis that lies behind the greater and greater subordination of Stalinism to imperialism, the greater and greater attacks on the conquests of October -- in the form of SALT II, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, the "Eurocommunist" "anti-Leninism" campaign, etc.

In this desperate crisis, when the youth turn away from Stalinism completely, when the workers begin to rise against its domination of their movement, when the political revolution develops in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., the Kremlin bureaucracy has to find a new way to continue its counterrevolutionary hold over the masses.

PSEUDO-TROTSKYISTS

The tool that it finds is the pseudo-Trotskyist centers, which present the policy of Stalinism under the cover of "Trotskyism," of the stolen banner of the Fourth International.

The leading pseudo-Trotskyist grouping is the so-called "United Secretariat," supported in the U.S. by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In the July 6 issue of the SWP's paper, THE MILITANT, we find a shining example of this Stalinist policy. Under the cover of "defending the USSR" as a "workers state" from a proposal by Soviet exiles for a boycott, as well as on the question of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, these Pabloites in fact oppose any activity directed against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

For the Soviet Union is not a "workers state," period. It is something QUALITATIVELY different, a DEGENERATED workers state, which can be saved only by the political revolution. Our attitude towards any proposal is determined by how it advances the political revolution in the context of the world revolution, not by the abstract characterization of the USSR as a "workers state."

But the SWP studiously avoids even mentioning this perspective. What it proposes instead is "human rights." And "human rights" is precisely the current (but failing) focus of the defense of the old order, of the whole counterrevolutionary framework erected by imperialism and Stalinism. It is the cutting edge of the attacks on the Russian Revolution, on Leninism. Threatening the Kremlin with "human rights" is like threatening Br'er Rabbit with the briar patch. Even the Olympics and a tactic toward them cannot be understood outside this framework. "Good sportsmanship" and "peaceful competition" are the athletic face of "detente" and "peaceful coexistence."

Another pseudo-Trotskyist (more exactly, anti-Trotskyist) grouping is the U.S. Spartacist League, which is in charge of doing for Stalinism what the USec still finds too dirty. This "supply corps of the KGB" (Kremlin's secret police) announces in screaming headlines that the Jewish militant Schcharansky is "guilty as hell!" It sarcastically places quotation marks around the word "free" in the struggle of Klebanov and other Soviet workers for Free Trade Unions. And it is the chief spreader, in the good company of the Hungarian secret police, of the slanders of the French OCI against Michel Varga, a leader of the Fourth International, characterizing him as a "highly dubious figure" and "agent of the CIA."

On this basis, we can understand the meaning of its recent enthusiasm for the "military defense" of the USSR which, posed as it is outside the framework of political revolution, easily becomes support to the counterrevolutionary military alliances of the Krem-

lin. The nature of this defense is made clear by its counterposing of "judiciously opposing the excesses of the bureaucracy" to Klebanov's struggle -- without discovering that the chief "excess" of the bureaucracy is its existence!

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The struggle of the Fourth International to prepare the revolution on the world scale is the defense of the USSR! In this framework it takes up the particular tasks of the political revolution through the struggle to unite the workers from East to West, from the USA to the USSR.

This is why we are struggling for the liberation of Klebanov. Not as empty "sympathy" or "solidarity," but as an active defense of the struggle of Soviet workers to take over their own organizations to begin the struggle that culminates in the seizure of power. And, at the same time, this struggle has a real immediacy in the West as well, where workers organizations are likewise subordinated to imperialism. In both cases it is a question of conquering the class independence of the proletariat; that is, the preparation and carrying out of the revolution.

As an advance in this struggle, and in the whole struggle for the unity of the world revolution, the Fourth International is organizing a Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin (see the CALL in FOURTH INTERNATIONAL #70-72, now out). The Return to Lenin means taking up the struggle represented by the Russian Revolution and carrying it to its conclusion on the world scale. On this basis Stalinism, as a product and expression of the delay of the world revolution, can be crushed and all the gains of 1917 be developed through the revolution on a world scale, providing the basis for overcoming all backwardness by building world socialism, the only ultimate guarantee of the socialist conquests.

This struggle today is the road to the political revolution and the defense of the USSR against ALL its enemies.
July 8, 1979

Why the Slanders?

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Why do the pseudo-Trotskyists slander the Fourth International?

They say they are Trotskyists. They even claim to represent the Fourth International. So why don't they defend it?

The pages of their press are full of statements in defense of various allegedly "progressive" people fighting for allegedly "progressive" causes.

In the last issue of THE MILITANT alone, the Socialist Workers Party approvingly quoted Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan for his decision upholding affirmative action and the reactionary, racist AFL-CIO bureaucrat George Meany for his support to same.

They reprinted excerpts from a United Mine Workers bureaucrat's speech favoring coal production over oil production as a way to resolve the "energy crisis"; issued a statement in support of the Sandinista Liberation Front; reprinted a statement from Castro's bureaucracy in Cuba. A few weeks ago they took a whole page to defend the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR and Vietnam against folk-singer Joan Baez.

Why don't youth fighting the imperialist state, the imperialist union bureaucracy, the international Stalinist apparatus, get the same consideration? Why doesn't the Fourth International?

Indeed, a year ago THE MILITANT denounced young people of Iran who wanted to rid themselves of the Shah as "ultralefts." They said the same thing of young miners who wanted to rid themselves of the UMW bureaucracy.

Just weeks ago THE MILITANT published the testimony of one of its leading members, Hector Marroquin, DENOUNCING his former comrades in Mexico. He said their policy of violence against the brutal dictatorship "gives a pretext to those that really commit the violence in Mexico. A pretext to torture, assassination, imprisonment ..." continuing a 15 year tradition of the SWP of denouncing its OWN comrades to the imperialist state (they denounced the Internationalist Tendency of the SWP to the government as terrorist).

The Fourth International has been waging a campaign since 1972 against the slanders of the OCI, (according to which our struggle for a world center of

the revolution is a provocation, we are provocateurs, and Balazs Nagy (Michel Varga), leader of the Hungarian Revolution and the Fourth International, is an agent of the imperialist and Stalinist secret police)-- the basis of which the OCI has organized violent attacks against our comrades in France.

The SWP has never issued a statement against this. Indeed, the SWP and the "Spartacist League" organized a commission to revise the OCI's campaign, to streamline it, strip it of its excesses, make it more defensible, and undertake their own slanderous campaign under the table, according to which we are "dubious." The SWP has just characterized the "Spartacists," its principal partner in this miserable adventure, as a "small sect," "echoing imperialist propaganda," "organizing a counter-revolutionary picketline." This says as much about the SWP and what it was doing with "Spartacist" in this commission as it does about "Spartacist."

Why don't the youth and the Fourth International get the same consideration as Supreme Court justices, imperialist politicians, union bureaucrats, Stalinists hacks? Why the slander?

Because neither the youth nor the FI are part of this corrupt, decrepit, decadent, moribund "democracy," and the "official" workers movement which supports it. Indeed we are fighting to build the world Leninist party with the youth to prepare the revolution and destroy it, establish the workers dictatorship.

The pseudo-Trotskyists like the SWP support this "democracy," this official "workers movement," against the real workers movement, the youth, the Fourth International, and the only possible democracy -- the revolution, the workers dictatorship. Like the "democrats" and bureaucrats whose approval they want so much, be they in Washington or Moscow, they have nothing to offer the youth and workers but terrorism, slander.

There is no combat against imperialism and Stalinism without a combat against its pseudo-Trotskyist supporters.

Drive the slanders out of the workers movement!
July 9, 1979

"The French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste leads a campaign of slander against Michel Varga and the Fourth International."

THE WHITE PAPER of the Commission of Inquiry's Work

— Translated from the French Edition —
Preface and Postface of the Fourth International

A TRUTH PUBLICATION

ISOLATE SLANDERERS !

Several weeks ago a young Ford Rouge worker who is a member of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA encountered a militant of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League selling their paper, THE BULLETIN in his neighborhood.

The Rouge worker asked the militant of the Workers League what he thought of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and TRUTH.

The Workers League told him that we were "a small group of violent radicals" and then proceeded to invite him to a meeting to discuss "building a labor party."

The militant of the RYW told him to leave the neighborhood and never come back. A proper response to slanderers who should be driven out of EVERY working class neighborhood, out of EVERY factory!

The Workers League, which has some relationship to a pseudo-Trotskyist international center called the "International Committee," has gained a particular notoriety in the workers movement in the last years as the authors of a spy-story history of the Fourth International and a series of vile Stalinist slanders against members of the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, accusing them of being FBI agents.

Workers must understand that there is a method behind what is often perceived as simply the madness of the Workers League. The method is POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY. Having no political arguments they must resort to slander. Having to in some way justify their abandonment of the Fourth International which they once fought for, they must now concoct a Stalinist theory according to which the Fourth In-

ternational was and is nothing but spies. Having themselves become demoralized, they must now actively try to demoralize the workers and youth who DESPITE the efforts of the Workers League are seeking the Fourth International.

There is something else. We have never committed any act of "violence" against anyone or any organization in the workers movement. Nor are we proponents of individual, isolated acts of violence against the state and its supporters.

This SLANDER of the Workers League, by calling those who fight for the revolution "violent," joins the Workers League with the ANTI-TERRORIST CAMPAIGN of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism, which is a campaign to reinforce the repressive apparatus of their states against the workers and youth. The Workers League prefers the slanders of the hangmen to the political struggle to clarify the tasks of the revolution.

These slanders, rather than being simply a "bad method" of this organization, have become the reason for ITS EXISTENCE. We call on all workers and youth to not only reject the slanders of the Workers League but to reject the political bankruptcy behind it, the same political bankruptcy they share with all the pseudo-Trotskyists, even the ones they slander.

And to place the Workers League where it belongs-- thousands of miles away from every factory, every neighborhood, every decent and honest worker.

July 10, 1979
TRUTH

RETURN TO LENIN! . . . Or Some Other AMERICAN YOUTH AND DEMOCRACY

By JON COHEN

The Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International will be held in Paris at the end of this month. The task of this Congress is to take a step forward in the organization and selection of a leadership to forge the RYI as the world army of the socialist revolution, as the weapon of the youth in the construction of the Fourth International.

The 4th Congress of the RYI will meet under the banner of RETURN TO LENIN! RETURN TO LENIN! has symbolized the axis of the combat of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International in the last year.

RETURN TO LENIN! can mean a lot of things for American youth or it can mean very little. It can appear as a meaningless abstraction, the "correct" revolutionary policy, but passing over the real concerns of today's youth. It can appear as simply a question of re-reading Lenin's books, outside the struggles of today.

But if the Fourth International is calling on American youth to take up this struggle to RETURN TO LENIN! it is because we INSIST -- this struggle is an immediate struggle for American youth. The struggle to RETURN TO LENIN! concentrates every significant problem facing the American working class youth.

Today's political situation is dominated by the world crisis of imperialism and Stalinism in face of the uninterrupted mobilization of the working class and oppressed. Every day brings a new example of this crisis.

This crisis is now obvious to everyone, especially the youth. Because above all the youth have no real ties to this old order and are concerned first of all about their future. They see the world shaking around them and see the cruelty and hypocrisy of this system of imperialism and Stalinism. Only fools still talk about the "American dream" and the "land of opportunity." Only fools try to hide the crisis.

The crisis is obvious, BUT THE SOLUTIONS ARE NOT SO OBVIOUS. At the same time that the youth see the crisis and are disgusted with this old order it is also clear that the break of the youth with this old order is taking place amid tremendous confusion and disorientation. Intellectual confusion, psychological confusion, above all POLITICAL confusion.

Today's youth searching for solutions will encounter literally hundreds of FALSE SOLUTIONS and ILLUSIONS in front of them. These false solutions and illusions do not fall from the sky, nor are they inevitable or invincible. They are SOWN by the bankrupt, false petty bourgeois "leaders" of the working class -- the Democratic Party liberals, the trade union bureaucrats, the false "communists" and pseudo-Trotskyists. Precisely to prevent the youth from finding the only real solution possible in today's situation -- the revolution and its party, the Fourth International.

We could spend time listing all the illusions and false roads. But it is most important now to recognize that in this country, ALL the other roads, ALL the illusions in front of the youth are concentrated around the illusion in BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY. Faith in the "democratic way of life." All the "democratic" arguments to con-

vince the youth that revolution is not necessary and that this system can be reformed.

We are not saying that it is the youth who have the most illusions in this "democracy." On the contrary, it is the youth who are most disgusted, the most aware of the fact that this "democratic system" is a system of police terror, of racism and unemployment and that "democracy" is a hypocritical mask designed to lull the masses of workers to sleep. En masse, throughout the world, they have rejected all the false "democratic" solutions and the false leaderships who propose them.

But the youth are NOT YET ARMED to CONFRONT these illusions, to shatter them, to boldly and forcefully present the REVOLUTIONARY ROAD to the masses of workers against all the "democratic" solutions and roads proposed by the false leaders. The youth have their gut-level disgust with this "democracy," but these feelings are not enough -- the youth have to be able to CONVINCED others, to shatter the "arguments" of the traitors, to offer new and better solutions. Because of the treachery of the Stalinists and centrists who have tried to break the historical continuity of the international workers movement, today's youth have to be RE-ARMED.

RETURN TO LENIN! is this. The theoretical, political and organizational re-arming of the American youth in face of today's situation. This re-arming, this RETURN TO LENIN! is concentrated in the fight to arm American youth against all "democratic" illusions and "democratic" roads.

To convince the youth and the masses of workers that they have no place in this "democracy," that this "democracy" is the source of confusion and demoralization. And that their road is the road of the revolution and its preparation.



200 people arrested during "gas" riot in Levittown, Pa.

But is this true? Is there some other road in-between the proletarian revolution and the present system. Can we go back to a better form of "democracy"?

In the First Congress of the Third International Lenin emphatically answered: NO! He stated in his "Thesis on Bourgeois Democracy and the Proletarian Dictatorship" that:

"The most important point, which the socialists don't understand and which constitutes their theoretical myopia, their imprisonment in bourgeois prejudices and their political betrayal of the proletariat, is that in capitalist society, as soon as the class struggle begins to develop, there is no milieu between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. All dreams of an intermediary solution are only the reactionary lamentations of the petty bourgeoisie."

It is even more true today. All the talk today -- about "human rights," the "democratic road to socialism," "Constituent Assemblies," the "freedom fighters" in Nicaragua, the "struggle for 'democracy' in the unions," etc. . . . comes not from any real possibility in reforming this system, but from the fear of the IMMINENCE OF THE REVOLUTION. The more the class struggle develops, the more the petty bourgeoisie and the traitors in the workers movement talk about "democracy" within the framework of this bourgeois dictatorship.

For what they precisely try to hide and what the American youth must understand is that this "democracy" is a DICTATORSHIP. A dictatorship of the bourgeoisie -- the small minority who own the factories, the banks and through this control the state with its police, army, courts and government.

er Road?

real problems facing today's workers and youth.

But not only is this capitalist system incapable of granting the slightest meaningful reform but more importantly, it is THE REVOLUTION WHICH IS THE LOCOMOTIVE OF HISTORY. What does this mean?

It is a fundamental question of Marxism, denied by every traitor in the working class today. The "revolution is the locomotive of history" means that every REFORM, EVERY CHANGE, EVERY REAL IMPROVEMENT in the conditions of the masses of people and oppressed has come about through REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE, through REVOLUTIONARY methods, through a policy of NO COMPROMISE.

Slavery was abolished not through an "Emancipation Proclamation," but through a CIVIL WAR. Unions were recognized in this country not through a "National Labor Reform Act" but through SIT-DOWNS, GENERAL STRIKES. "Civil rights" were won in this country not through any "Civil Rights Act" or even "non-violence," but through MASS CONFRONTATION.

And don't anyone tell you that this point of view has anything in common with the "mass actions," of the pseudo-Trotskyists who try to use the pressure of the masses to win "reforms" on the terms of the bourgeoisie, that is, NO REFORMS. They say that they are for the revolution but that it is necessary to fight for "reforms," for bourgeois "democracy" until we are "bigger," or until the masses are "ready" for the revolution.

No! We insist -- everything in the last 200 years has proven that REVOLUTION is the locomotive of history in this country. That only the PROGRAM and METHODS of the revolution can win change for the workers and youth, because these reforms prepare the way for the only real reform -- the workers revolution.

The traitors fill the youth with all sorts of confusion about the various "tactics" and "strategies" for "reforming" this "democracy." The "tactics" and "strategies" are endless because the confusion is endless.

But for the revolution there is only one method -- WORKERS DEMOCRACY. Counterposed to all the maneuvers and "tactics" which have their roots in the old frameworks of the rotting corpse of bourgeois "democracy." Counterposed to all strategies" which accept this DICTATORSHIP of the bourgeoisie.

WORKERS DEMOCRACY is the method and historical experience of the struggles of the workers and oppressed. The experience of the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Chilean "cordones industriales" and the Peruvian popular assemblies of today. The method is of the TOTAL INDEPENDENCE of all working class struggles from the bourgeois state and its frameworks. The method of a new society in the process of creation within the old. It is the method of the revolution. It is the DEMOCRACY for American youth.

And RETURN TO LENIN!, through the fight of the Fourth International, is the junction between the experiences and struggles of today's youth and WORKERS DEMOCRACY. Because all the past and present experiences of the youth prove that bourgeois "democracy" is no road for the youth.

The experiences of American youth, betrayed time and time again by the "Democratic" Party and the black leaders, constantly confronted with the "reactionary lamentations of the petty bourgeoisie." The experience of the youth throughout the Two Americas, betrayed by illusions in a "progressive" national bourgeoisie, in a "democratic" revolution and in "Constituent Assemblies" under the boot of military dictatorships. The experience of the youth in Eastern Europe, betrayed by illusions in a "democratic" reform of Stalinism. The experience of the youth in Western Europe, betrayed by the illusion in a CP-SP government in the framework of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

RETURN TO LENIN! flows from this experience -- a re-armament of the youth in the fight for the world party of the socialist revolution. A

fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, for the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the democratically-elected soviets of the workers and oppressed, for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT.

There is NO OTHER PLACE for the youth. There is no other positive solution. And not coincidentally, it is only the Fourth International which finds a place for the youth in its combat -- in the WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION that is the Revolutionary Youth International. All other parties either ignore the youth or organize them into "youth groups" for "juniors" and then invent "special" struggles for the youth.

Only the Fourth International says that the youth is the ARMY of the socialist revolution!

In the U.S. this fight for RETURN TO LENIN! is concentrated in the fight to construct the WORKERS PARTY. A party of class independence of the American working class that will lead the massive re-armament of the youth in the fight for the preparation of the American revolution. The only party in the U.S. that says that the youth have one place and one place only -- in the fight for the revolution -- and that the youth have NO PLACE in this rotten "democracy" and all its rotten frameworks.

It is a difficult struggle that we are proposing. Not impossible or even as difficult as it may seem. But requiring a CONSTANT STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS.

A struggle to reject all the secondary, false and confusing issues. To reject any discussion that leads only to disorientation. To see that the real problems in front of the youth are not "how" to lead this or that struggle or "how big" the forces of the revolution are at a given moment, but WHAT.

Join the
World Army of
the Socialist
Revolution!

Join the
RYI!

WHAT struggle, WHAT problems, WHAT methods, WHAT party. And to center every discussion on a discussion of the preparation of the revolution, the only discussion for the youth worth having.

This bloody "democracy" or RETURN TO LENIN? The "lamentations of the petty bourgeoisie" or the methods of the proletariat? Join the revolution as the locomotive of history or crawl on your knees?

The future of American youth depends not on our numbers at the moment, especially when all the old organizations who have one foot in the old order are falling apart, but on CLARITY. On giving a clear response to this crisis of "democracy," on re-arming the youth for the revolution.

The future depends on the fight to make RETURN TO LENIN! a living reality in the mobilization of the American youth. Their weapon against this "democracy" and everything that it stands for.

July 11, 1979

Certainly, this dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the United States has "democratic" forms -- a Congress, the right to vote, a Bill of Rights, etc. But even the most "democratic" bourgeois regime, as in the United States, remains a DICTATORSHIP ruled by a small ruling class and this fact become OBVIOUS when anyone TRIES TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT.

Again, as Lenin's "Thesis" said:

"The history of the 19th and 20th centuries demonstrated, even before the war, just what this famous pure democracy was under capitalism. Marxists have always said that the more developed democracy was, the purest it was, the more living, bitter and merciless was the class struggle and more and more clearly did the grip of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie appear. The Dreyfus affair and the French republic, the bloody violence of the goons paid and armed by the capitalists in the free and democratic republic of America, these facts and thousands of others prove this reality that the bourgeoisie tries to hide -- that it is precisely in the most democratic republics where the terror of the bourgeoisie reigns in reality, a terror and dictatorship which openly appears everytime it seems to the exploiters that the power of capital is beginning to shake."

Sure, we have the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. But don't try to challenge the right of the bourgeoisie to rule, don't try talking about WORKERS rights in this country. Because then you'll find, that not only are all these "democratic" forms merely trappings, but you'll also discover that this United States "democracy," this "most democratic republic in the world" is factually the BLOODIEST, MOST VICIOUS and UN-DEMOCRATIC regime in human history.

No other regime has been guilty of more mass slaughter, more destruction, more enslavement of peoples than this regime. No other regime has talked more in the name of "democracy" precisely in order to SUPPRESS it, including against its own working class and youth.

Take your Bill of Rights and ask Henry Ford for a job, even ask him to turn down the heat in his factories and see how far this "Bill of Rights" gets you.

Even when American youth understand this they constantly have to confront those who point to all the "reforms" that have been granted in the 200-year history of this country. If "reforms" have been granted in the past, perhaps they can be granted now.

Not only do some people talk to the youth about "democratic reforms," they make a PROFESSION out of it. The black mis-leaders, the NAACP, Congressional Black Caucus, NOW, the ACLU. Entire organizations exist in this country for the sole purpose of winning one or two "democratic reforms."

So-called "Communist" organizations like the American Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party also spend their entire political lives supporting these reforms, claiming, unlike the NAACP, NOW, etc., that this is the road to the revolution.

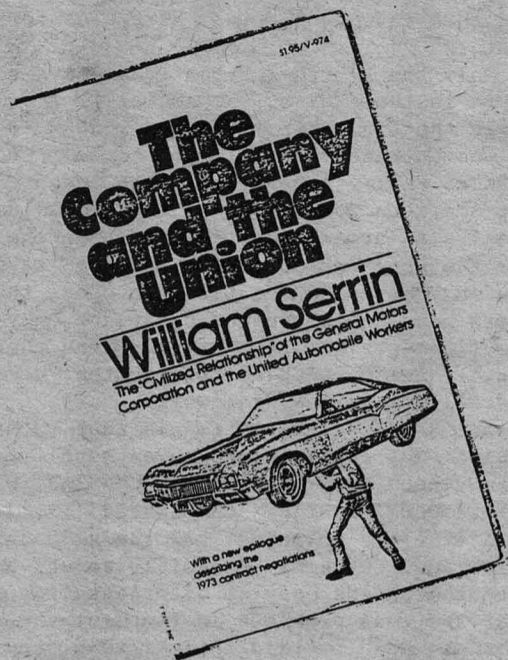
Never mind the pitiful nature of these "reforms" and how meaningless they are for the

Lessons of the 1970 GM Strike

BOOK REVIEW

THE COMPANY & THE UNION

By William Serrin



As a textbook course for workers in the lies and maneuvers of the bureaucrats and the auto companies at negotiation time, this book has valuable material. Politically, it is another liberal expose of capitalism, which has nothing to offer in the way of solutions, and views autoworkers as so many lambs to be fleeced by coniving bureaucrats and slick company men. Still there is something for workers in this book which the author dedicates ". . . to those people -- they know who they are -- who hoped that I would fail."

The national 1970 strike of General Motors, the scene around which the "civilized relationship" of the UAW and GM unfolds, is an important landmark in the class struggle in the United States. The strike lasted two months, one of the longest in the UAW's history, and was not simply a bundle of shallow maneuvers by the company and the union, an impression the book leaves you with. Rather it signaled the very deep break of the working class youth in auto with the so-called "civilized relationship."

The book has special importance this year, when once again the "target" company will probably be GM. The characters have changed, Woodcock was head of the UAW in 1970 and Roche the top man at GM, but the bluff and blunder remains.

"The strike was a political strike, a strike not to win agreement but to win RATIFICATION." (our emphasis). This conclusion of the author reveals more insight than a worker could find in the press of the pseudo-revolutionaries. It expresses a very important fact for young workers

to understand -- fundamentally, a strike led by bureaucrats is a strike against the workers.

For in 1970, as today, the real issues being negotiated were the survival of the bankrupt, bureaucratic leadership of the UAW. How can we sell this contract and this union to the workers, was the problem presented both to GM and the UAW tops? By the 1973 strike, which saw wildcats throughout the Detroit area, this fact was even clearer. And the bureaucrats revealed their "solutions" with brutal means -- the 1,000 man goon squad organized by the illustrious "labor statesman," Douglas Fraser, against Mack Ave. strikers.

And any worker can't help but begin to wonder how contract year after contract year, the pseudo-revolutionaries -- the Maoists, the Stalinists, the pseudo-Trotskyists -- can peddle the same garbage the trade union bureaucrats throw out to confuse workers. Remember the "take-away" demands of 1976, the talk over whether or not the contract is "inflationary"? All garbage to derail workers from seeing that what is at stake is not this or that reform or demand, but the very survival of capitalism. Survival which depends upon the continued collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy and their "revolutionary" critics. The book is fairly full of such revelations.

There is the statement of Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW: "I think that strikes make ratification easier. Even though the worker may not think so, when he votes on a contract he is reacting to economic pressures. I really believe that if the wife is raising hell and the bills are piling up, he may be

more apt to settle than otherwise."

Mazey, at another point in the book, explains the "democratic process" during negotiations: "The basic decisions were not made by the (elected negotiating) committee; we made the decisions, the top leaders of the union. And the decisions are conveyed to the committee and they agree."

Or perhaps workers would rather read about Leonard Woodcock dodging reporters, sneaking through a back service elevator in the GM building, in order to avoid being seen having a private meeting over how to end the strike with Roche, top man at GM.

Then there is the frustration of being a union bureaucrat when the whole system is in crisis, expressed by an assistant of Woodcock when it came time to present the agreement to the workers: "My God, the conference will tear it apart!"

There are plenty more eye-opening passages, but we must warn workers clearly. This book offers no solutions, worse it is a cynical liberal analysis of the workers' fights. The 1970 national strike of GM was not just a show put on for the workers by bureaucrats and bosses, it was a tremendous confrontation with American imperialism, with Nixon, with the trade union bureaucrats.

When the Socialist Workers Party, a pseudo-revolutionary claimant to the Fourth International, was still calling the American working class too "backward" to make a revolution, the workers at Lordstown in 1970 were spitting in their face.

Lordstown. The product of automation. Located in a small American town. A prime workforce of young, small-town workers unlikely to make trouble. GM put a lot of chips on Lordstown, a grand attempt to take auto production out of the decaying central cities with their street-wise proletarians. But it didn't work. Instead, the revolt of young workers against the automated line became a rallying cry for youth all over the country.

At some points the author comes close to reflecting the way young autoworkers look at the union. An autoworker is quoted: "The union and the company, they are more or less business partners."

But it does not show the place of the unions in the revolution. When the UAW was built it was not built in "negotiations" but in bloody battles. It was

built in the sitdown strikes of the late thirties. The construction of unions in the United States was CLASS WAR and was not at all pre-determined where it would head -- to revolution, or to the bureaucratic degeneration of the leadership. The truth is that today, despite the degeneration of the unions, the question is still undecided. The struggle in the unions cannot be bypassed because this fight concentrates all the illusions that workers have in capitalism.

This is what is completely missing from liberalism and liberal exposes, like THE COMPANY AND THE UNION. There is no combat against illusions in reforming this rotten system. "Humanism" is the author's conclusion. Autoworkers need "humanism." Like "human rights," "humanism" is only a shallow maneuver to mask the bloody, brutal face of the American bourgeoisie and its government. Not "wages" but "working conditions." Another often heard cry of bankrupt liberals and pseudo-revolutionaries. But who can talk about improving working conditions when more than half the young working class is unemployed?

What is at stake in fighting the "civilized relationship" of the UAW and the auto companies is the very survival of this system. GM is not simply any "company." It is at the pinnacle of power within the bourgeoisie. A world power of exploitation and oppression that routinely orders around its paid politicians. Companies like GM pull the strings in the bourgeoisie, but what keeps them in power? Trade union bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionary traitors who continually mask the true nature of imperialism.

They perform a very necessary function for the bourgeoisie to prepare its recessions and counterrevolutionary plans. THE COMPANY AND THE UNION misses this point. A confrontation is coming, one in which the shallow maneuvers of the company and the union around contracts will count for nothing. All that will count is who is prepared to win. Thus the only correct conclusion one can draw from this book is: PREPARE THE REVOLUTION, arm its vanguard, the youth, against illusions and false leaders.

July 11, 1979

DAVID HEFFELFINGER

THE WORLD CRISIS IN AUTO

From Auto Platform of the PORE

We are publishing some excerpts from the Auto Platform of the PORE (Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Espana) section of the Fourth International.

This Platform on the world crisis in auto points out the political nature of this crisis: that it is an organized attack on all the conquests of the working class, on its strongholds in the great factories in which the revolution can begin, on the youth.

Naturally, the Platform deals with Spain particularly. But it does so in the context of the world situation and of the international struggle of the proletariat.

The United States is far from exempt from this crisis. The interests of American and world imperialism which demand the "restructuring" of auto in Spain have taken different forms in the U.S., but the essence remains the same.

Dodge Main is to be shut. The dismantling of Ford River Rouge continues. GM has now openly announced the removal of Cadillac Seville production from Detroit (Fleetwood and Cadillac plants). In the case of Cadillac this goes hand in hand with the moving of the engine plant to the suburbs-- that is, the rapid dismantling of the whole plant.

The UAW bureaucrats, like the bureaucrats in Spain, are the chief assistants in this attack. When the rumors about a VW purchase of Chrysler circulated, UAW president Doug Fraser announced it would be "in Chrysler's best interest." This touching concern doesn't extend to Chrysler workers who would be subjected to the "rationalization" of Chrysler that would mean only more lost jobs. It doesn't mention the attacks that have produced a whole series of "illegal" strikes at VW's two U.S. plants already. It doesn't raise the fact that "foreign investment" by Renault in AMC has led to greater, not fewer, layoffs.

The only answer to all these attacks lies in the opening up of a political offensive. A struggle for workers control over production is the ground on which the building of a new revolutionary leadership for the working class will arise. This struggle, counterposed to all LIES about "saving" Dodge Main, etc., outside a revolutionary fight, is at the center of the necessity to reject the upcoming "contract" of the bureaucrats and to strike the Big Three in a mass mobilization for power, for REAL workers democracy, over the fate of the working class in this country and internationally.

July 9, 1979
TRUTH

Comrades throughout the auto industry:

The Government of the Monarchy has just finished planning a "restructuring of the auto industry" dictated by the big imperialist bosses of FIAT, FORD, GENERAL MOTORS and CITROEN.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain (PORE), Section of the Fourth International, calls on you to oppose this plan, to prevent its application, to defeat it through the means of a GENERAL STRIKE OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY. This strike will be the occasion and the first step towards BRINGING TOGETHER all the strikes and mass movements in a GENERAL STRIKE against the Monarchy, against its anti-democratic repression. DOWN WITH THE PLAN TO LIQUIDATE THE AUTO INDUSTRY! TO THE GENERAL STRIKE!

ATTENTION COMRADES!

Thousands of jobs and hundreds of auxiliary industries will be closed if the Monarchy succeeds in applying this imperialist "restructuring." Those who keep their jobs can only expect harder and more brutal speed-up, more and more exploitation each day. Many people will have to move if they want to keep their jobs. The dictatorship of the bosses and their private police (the "factory security forces") will get tougher in all the factories. What remains of the nationalized industry will pass into the hands of the Francoist army, to the war industry and the workers there will work under the constant threat of militarization . . . If the monarchy succeeds in this "restructuring."

The youth will be shown the doors of the factories -- dangerous for the bosses! useless for the future of the factories!

. . . Comrades -- We must NOT THINK FOR A MOMENT that this plan will be applied -- the bourgeoisie, its government and Cortes have to do it OVER THOUSANDS OF ORGANIZED WORKERS in the best concentrations of the industry, in the bastions of the unions. THERE WILL BE STRUGGLES. But when will it begin? It is impossible to know. The important thing is to not lose a day, the important thing is to PREPARE the struggle against this plan, to begin it IN A WAY THAT WILL REGROUP WORKERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES, first in auto and then extend it to other branches, the unemployed and all the oppressed. THERE WILL BE STRUGGLES.

. . . The "restructuring" of the auto industry, in the present crisis, represents a real capitalist PROVOCATION against the most concentrated, most organized, most conscious detachment

of the Castilian, Basque, Catalan . . . workers, all the nationalities of the state. A PROVOCATION against the sector of the proletariat that can centralize around eight or ten large factories all the workers and oppressed against the Monarchy.

. . . The youth, unemployed workers, the most exploited sectors, will continue to fight against the situation, against the growing repression, against the growing treachery of the "communist" and "socialist" leaders of the unions. But immediately, from from the time it starts, the WAR IN AUTO will draw the attention, the hopes and forces of everyone. But what the working class is waiting for and what the PORE proposes is that this struggle in auto be prepared beginning now as the FIRST STEP, the most difficult and necessary, towards organizing the entire class in the general strike. The coordination of your factories can organize all industry and serve as a point of centralization for the entire working class.

. . . The worst enemies of the working class are those who beautify capitalist exploitation, slandering the workers. The trade union bureaucrats talk about the autoworkers as "privileged," trying to say that they should be happy with their wages, while many other workers are unemployed. Or they pretend that it "is necessary to make sacrifices for the general good," the "national economy," etc. . . In order to sign the Moncloa Pact these miserable lackeys of capital pretend that by freezing wages unemployment will be reduced. This is the logic of the bourgeoisie. But WHEN THE BOURGEOIS REGIME IS IN CRISIS its logic NEVER pardons the workers -- unemployment is rising at the same time that prices are driving wages back many year years.

While the capitalists have POWER any "sacrifice" on the part of a sector of the workers ONLY BENEFITS THE BOSSES, ONLY AGGRAVATES THE SITUATION OF THE REST OF THE WORKERS. This is a law without exceptions! The law which forces the workers to think about and to prepare for the seizure of power! . . .

No! Unemployed workers DON'T NEED the wage "sacrifices" or job sacrifices in auto. On the contrary! By fighting for your rights, autoworkers, by defending your wage gains, you will BREAK THE WAGE CONTROLS and bring the entire class forward; by demanding the immediate reduction of working hours without decreasing wages you will REALLY FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT. By defending every last job against the plan of

¡ALTO A LA "REESTRUCTURACION" DEL SECTOR AUTOMOVIL! CONTRA LOS PLANES DE LIQUIDACION DEL SECTOR:

A LA HUELGA DE LA INDUSTRIA DEL AUTOMOVIL
PRIMER PASO HACIA LA HUELGA GENERAL
LLAMAMIENTO DEL P.O.R.E. sección de la IV INTERNACIONAL



"restructuring" you will also defend all the families who depend on auto and its auxiliaries. If there is any kind of sacrifice to make it is only the sacrifice of FIGHTING WITH THE UTMOST DECISION FOR YOUR OWN OBJECTIVES, so that the working class can unite, with its class objectives, around your working class bastions, against the regime and the capitalist state...

In all countries wage controls, threats of closures are taking place. The auto industry is in constant motion-- the bosses move from country to country trying to build new factories. The crisis not only forces every factory owner to reduce the wages and work of his employees, it also sets owners against each other, makes them struggle to control markets, to reduce costs. But at the same time, in this war, bosses of all kinds use the same weapons--reduce wages, reduce the numbers of workers, increase the speed-up, use workers to the limit and throw away the "surplus."

And in all this process a single, systematic, implacable law-- THEY ARE CLOSING THE LARGE INDUSTRIES, FREEZING WAGES... AND CAPITAL IS EMIGRATING IN SEARCH OF LOWER WAGES, LESS QUALIFIED WORKERS, LESS ORGANIZED FOR STRUGGLE, EMIGRATING TOWARDS MORE BACKWARD COUNTRIES AND REGIONS, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF POLICE AND SEMI-POLICE REGIMES, FAR FROM THE MOST COMBATIVE CENTERS OF THE WORKING CLASS...

The planned economies of the USSR and Eastern Europe are also threatened by the crisis. The Stalinist bureaucracies betray the struggle of Lenin by adopting the reactionary theory and practice of "socialism in one country." The present logic of the world class struggle and the crisis of imperialism is incompatible with this anti-Marxist policy of "national socialism." The agreements between the capitalists of FIAT and the bureaucrats of the Krem-

(Continued to Page 10)

"Police in the factories"

This is the conclusion that a worker at GM Fisher Body Livonia drew about the union there. The UAW.

Where do workers get this idea? They get it every day when they see that the union is represented by a small clique which constantly tells them what they can't do.

At GM Livonia workers saw this after a struggle against the harassment of some workers by a particular foreman. A petition was signed by several workers who felt that the harassment was wrong. The company suspended a worker who they pegged as a "ringleader." It happens every day in the auto factories.

But what did the union committeeman say? He said that the company was wrong, of course and that he knew what the company was going to do because he had heard them talking about what they were going to do to this worker. But he refuses to tell what he had heard because that would ruin his "bargaining relationship" with management. "Bargaining Relationship"!

This would convince any worker that the unions were police.

Other GM Livonia workers involved have said that we have to get all the workers united in order to fight this system and finish with it "once and for all." But even getting together all the workers to agree that the unions act like police won't solve any problems by themselves.

PORE (cont.)

lin illustrate the imperialist threat that weighs over the planned economy, over that which remains from the heritage of the Bolshevik revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucrats are dedicated to saving their caste privileges in this crisis, integrating themselves even more into the imperialist order, acting as an agent for the penetration of the monopolies and the dismantling of the planned economy, state industry, full employment and all the revolutionary conquests. Their agreements with the auto bosses to produce in the USSR are oriented towards making Soviet production "profitable" from the point of view of the world capitalist market. That is, they are going to submit the USSR worker to the law of the jungle of bourgeois competition in the epoch of its crisis, threatening the Soviet auto industry based on

Because the unions will still be left as they are.

The whole problem with the unions is that they are run by a bureaucracy that wants this system to survive. They want to preserve capitalism, with a few small changes, of course. And this idea holds back a lot of workers who feel that they can get solutions without a revolution. Without getting rid of this system "once and for all."

The unions have influence among some sections of the working class because they were built by workers and because they are the only organizations that American workers have to represent them.

That's why we say that the union bureaucrats have to be defeated. This can only come about if the workers who see the clearest right now put forward a program of solutions that workers can fight for, that the unions can fight for. This requires a political discussion among GM Livonia workers, an on-going discussion to develop the revolutionary program among the other workers.

It means that workers must fight for a new leadership in the union based on this program. Two demands are already clear in the fight at Livonia:

--NO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS!
-- FOR WORKERS SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST HARRASSMENT AND INTIMIDATION!

July 11, 1979
D.H.

full employment, state and planned property...
... Czechoslovakia, 1968... The tanks of the Warsaw Pact intervened in order to stop the revolutionary process which had begun in the entire country. In the factory of CSK, in auto, the workers clandestinely received the XIV Congress of the Czech CP which organized the opposition in order to confront the military occupation of the country by the Kremlin's troops. The same workers of the factory formed the defense guard for the protection of the clandestine Congress. Who will dare say that the Czech workers asked Moscow for "help"? CSK showed to the world where the Czech workers were and are.

Italy, 1968... The strike movement which swept Italy throughout the year broke out of the trade union frameworks. Various organisms of unity, of direct representation, of class democracy developed in the factories and were generalized. In Turin, in FIAT, the movement developed its most massive and



No Pay to Democrats!

At the end of June Chrysler and the United Auto Workers (UAW) agreed on a payroll deduction plan whereby money from workers' checks would be donated to the union's Political Action Fund—which means that it will be used to elect Democrats.

Of course, the company and the union explain, the deduction will be "voluntary." But if that's the case, then why have a paycheck deduction plan in the first place? Any worker who is foolish enough to do so can donate money to the Democratic Party (UAW Political Action Fund, that is). Obviously, the purpose of the plan is to get workers to agree to the deduction through pressure and coercion, and then the union can milk their paychecks continuously.

Take the example of Carter. Without the UAW bureaucrats' support he never would have been elected. Oh, how Fraser and Woodcock made those promises about Carter "delivering" for the workers. They probably could have convinced a lot of workers to agree to a regular deduction in the heat of all that campaign

energetic expressions. For months the Factory Councils defied the authority of the bosses, of Agnelli and Co. and their police, politicians and "union" servants. The European working class youth popularized this movement of Turin, of Milan and its influence was without a doubt felt in the growth of elected strike committees and decision-making assemblies in Spain after 1971 and in Portugal after 1974. In all the worthwhile revolutionary experiences of the workers, the autoworkers began them by taking up the front ranks!

And throughout the world. It was the GM strike in the United States which signalled the eruption of the American workers, decisive for the retreat from Vietnam. It was an insurrectional strike of the Argentine city of Cordoba, supported by the large auto factories which condemned the military dictatorship of Lannuse and impulsed the Latin American revolutionary process, only later broken by the treachery of Peron and

'bull. Now, every worker in the country hates Carter worse than Nixon, but the UAW Political Action Fund would still be milking their paychecks for another Democratic Party traitor.

Obviously, the real issue here is not "freedom to donate," but rather NO SUPPORT TO CAPITALIST PARTIES— FOR A WORKERS PARTY! The trade union bureaucracy donates money to Chrysler, Ford and General Motors every day, in the form of their paychecks paid by workers dues. Dues which instead of building a fighting union are used to prop up American capitalism and the major party of this system, the Democratic Party.

NO DUES TO DEMOCRATS!
NO SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY CANDIDATES IN 1980!

Join the fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to build a WORKERS PARTY to end this rotten system and make the socialist revolution. Build a campaign with us against the political check-off!
July 11, 1979
D.H.

Allende and the criminal coups of Pinochet and Videla. ... The working class youth continued to fight and revolt. The depth of the crisis, the violence of the counter-attack of the bourgeoisie and their police and repressive laws, the cynicism of the treacherous workers leaders even ACCELERATED the radicalization of the working class youth. But the decisive intervention of the proletariat in industry remained delayed, the intervention which would bring strength, calm and organization to the present battles. To a large degree the present CONFUSION over the proper forms for struggle, over working class methods and program, reflects this delay in the entry into action of the bastions of the proletariat. They are late in drawing the lessons of the past battles whose common denominator is one— THE TREACHERY OF THE LEADERS WRONGLY CALLED "COMMUNISTS" AND "SOCIALISTS," the necessity for new perspectives and a new leadership in order to recommence the battle...

DELEGATION TO UAW HEADQUARTERS TO FREE KLEBANOV -

"Klebanov has a low priority now - we're in negotiations"

The first obstacle any auto-worker will run into in reaching the high priests of the UAW at their "corporate" headquarters -- Solidarity House -- is their security guard shack.

The guard eyed us suspiciously as all these would-be cops do.

"Can I help you?"

"Perhaps. We're here to win the political support of the UAW to free the imprisoned Soviet miner Klebanov, who founded the first free union in the USSR since the 1920's and has been imprisoned in an insane asylum. In particular, for the UAW's participation in an International Trade Union Commission to go into the USSR and win the freedom of Klebanov and his followers."

He glared for a few more seconds.

"Well, all right, you can park over there."

Inside, we spoke by intra-house phone to the Community Action Program (CAP) office, the political arm of the UAW bureaucracy in maintaining the Democratic Party and the order of imperialism and Stalinism the world over. We repeated our request to them and were told to wait.

When we entered CAP official Sam Fishman's office, we saw why. There were two dull-eyed goons sitting there. That they were goons became completely obvious when he invited us to

sit down saying: "As you can see I'm in a meeting(!) But, you are welcome to talk about whatever you want."

For the third time we stated our purpose adding that we were from UAW Local 174 and the Trotskyist Organization/USA.

Fishman's ears perked up. "Are you from the SWP?"

The "SWP," Socialist Workers Party, is part of the "United Secretariat" claiming to be the Fourth International. He knew we weren't from the SWP. We hadn't used the "proper" channels (perhaps a private phone number?). But it was his point of reference for "Trotskyism."

The SWP is a critical political ally of the UAW bureaucracy. As in Europe and throughout the world, the break of the workers and youth from the old order must reach a positive conclusion -- Bolshevism, the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. To detour the youth from reaching the Fourth International the United Secretariat gives "Trotskyism" and the Fourth International the filthy, traitorous name of "best builders" of the miserable "reform" movements of the bureaucracy and the Stalinists. "Movements" which reinforce the terrorist states.

We said we weren't from the SWP. Since Fishman trusted the

SWP he knew we must be "sectarian" (in the SWP's vocabulary).

"Do you support dissidents in general, or just working class dissidents?" he asked.

"We support all dissidents. But working class dissidents represent the movement of the workers distinctly as a class against the Soviet bureaucracy. This movement has the potential to restore the workers to power in the USSR. That of the dissidents does not."

But Fishman was not interested in workers power, in Klebanov. He wanted to learn more about these possible enemies of his bureaucracy and the SWP. Looking at TRUTH he said half-questioning "It says here 'sympathizing' section of the FI, the SWP is the official one then."

"No. The Socialist Workers Party has nothing to do with the Fourth International today. It abandoned the fight for the world party in 1963 through its support to Stalinist reaction in Cuba. We are 'sympathizing' because it's against the law to belong to an international organization in the US."

"Uh, yes, I'm familiar with that."

Now that he had oriented himself -- we were not friends of his friends and didn't look like we ever would be -- he took his stand.

are firm in our convictions and offer no concessions, no room for adaptations to petty bourgeois reformism. We are open to all youth who seek revolutionary solutions, who have no illusions in "human rights," and who are ready to learn and fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. 5. The production of IYG is critical to the daily life of the RYI. It is the task of every member to develop and clarify IYG as a means for discussion and education. Every member is responsible for correspondence with young workers. We shall be the new leaders, the best in everything we see as necessary to our tasks. It is the job of the Editorial Board to further coordinate correspondence and activities and in turn to maintain correspondence with the various national sections and the International Bureau in Paris. It is the objective of every member to do as much as possible, to fight for leadership, to refine IYG, and construct the RYI in a massive way. 6. IYG is scheduling an educational on the weekend of July 14 to further answer the questions

"You've really gone about this the wrong way. Naturally, we are supportive of the dissidents. But you should write a letter to Doug Fraser's office and they will respond. But it has low priority right now -- since we're involved in negotiations."

He meant -- We have no principles -- your Fourth International is not going to be our political ally against the workers as the SWP is. We see no reason to support Klebanov and participate in the International Trade Union Commission. Besides, we've got to tie a contract noose around the workers' necks.

Klebanov and his comrades did not stop their fight because of the lack of real support from the unions of capitalist Europe. Neither do we. In fact, the campaign can only grow as a centralization of the break of the youth from Stalinism and the treacherous leaders of the unions like the UAW bureaucracy.

As the Revolutionary Youth International and the Fourth International grow and gain the confidence of the workers and youth from the USA to the USSR, all the Sam Fishmans and their goons of the Kremlin and Solidarity House will not save their crumbling order.

July 9, 1979

F.V.

CONFERENCE IYG (continued) (continued)

this way the RYW/USA fights at the side of youth and workers of the Soviet Union who have undertaken the task of building unions independent of the Stalinist state apparatus. We fight for the liberation of our comrade Klebanov, who founded this movement in the USSR.

FOR UNIONS OF WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

In order to center all of the fight of the youth around the formation of REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS the Revolutionary autoworkers. Our major fight looking beyond the Congress will be centralized around the preparation of a CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH IN AUTO to be held in early September.

With this struggle we engage the preparation of the Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International as the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION!

ary practice is impossible. It is through the RYI, through the school of communism, through the selection and preparation of a vanguard that the youth can advance and hold IYG high as their weapon.

4. The RYI is not a half-way house to revolution and its paper, IYG, is not a forum for mediocrity. Every action, every response will be dealt with completely and to its very end. The youth have no time and no place for wasted energy and wasted breath. Our task is to prepare the revolution, to make it the final word in every mobilization, in every presentation. IYG is developed to win young workers, students, the unemployed to our program, the program of the Fourth International. Our fight is no more, no less than the continuity of Bolshevism, the realization of the world revolution, to construct the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, for above all-- we are a party of combat! We youth organized in the RYW

of the youth on all fronts. The two themes for the educational will be: 1) What is the RYI? and, 2) The Revolution in the Two Americas and the European Revolution. Literature dealing with these two topics will be assembled and given to members and guests prior to the conference. It is the objective of such educational to further prepare and educate youth in the ways and means of Leninism, to make the youth the best fighters, the best politicians, the best organizers of the working class. 7. The 4th Congress of the RYI at the end of July is the central objective of the RYW. In the next three weeks, all energies should be focused on its preparation in the U.S. Sales of IYG and contribution tickets is imperative to insuring a delegation.

8. Only through the sales of IYG can we insure its future production. The RYW must insure its financial independence through paper sales and contributions. It is the task of members in the RYW to distribute IYG in a massive way and collect funds wherever possible. July 1, 1979

The Revolution Needs an Army! Arm the Youth with the Program of the Socialist Revolution

Below we are reprinting two resolutions, a Central Resolution and a Resolution on the role of the journal, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, which were adopted at the July 1 National Conference of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA. We call on young workers to read and study the resolutions of the Conference which was held in preparation of the 4th Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International.

The National Conference of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA (sympathizing) section of the Revolutionary Youth International, calls on American youth--in the factories, in schools, in the streets--to join in the preparation of the 4th Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International as a movement to RETURN TO LENIN! It signifies that today all the problems facing the youth, from the struggle for decent jobs to the attack on our rights, cannot be resolved within the framework of the system Lenin called IMPERIALISM! A worldwide system of national and economic exploitation by a small but ruthless minority of the world's population, the capitalist class, or the modern bourgeoisie. A system which continues to survive only because of the betrayals of the counter-revolutionary international apparatus of STALINISM, the gravediggers of the Russian revolution. An international apparatus which is fully integrated into the defense of IMPERIALISM under the slogan of "human rights," which means all rights are allowed which do not threaten the STATE TERRORISM of the governments of the bourgeoisie. In defense of "human rights" the so-called Euro-Communists launched their campaign against Leninism.

The question asked constantly by youth of the Revolutionary Young Workers: "what is the nature of the Revolutionary Youth International," can only be answered in one way. A political struggle for REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS among the youth. From the moment of its foundation with a demonstration at the Berlin wall for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, in December 1975, the Revolutionary Youth International has fought at the side of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution. The Revolutionary Youth International is an army of the youth, its Program is the Socialist Revolution -- the complete and total liberation of the working class

based on the destruction of the world order of IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM. Its strength consists in its constant political struggle against the pseudo-revolutionary, centrist currents in the working class who conciliate themselves with Stalinism and "human rights."

On the contrary, the program of the Socialist Revolution is a program for CLASS INDEPENDENCE. And only the International Party can insure the independence of the working class and the youth. Because the whole history of the workers movement and the fight of Lenin in the Russian Revolution can be summed up as a struggle AGAINST SPONTANEISM. Spontaneism which appears in various forms such as:

- (1) The notion that one day the economic and political decay of Imperialism will provoke a violent explosion of the working class.
- (2) That simply by fighting for reforms and a more democratic Imperialism the tasks of the revolution will be fulfilled
- (3) The idea that there can be a peaceful resolution of the situation facing the working class today
- (4) That the revolution is an objective process which no one can determine.
- (5) The illusions in the OPPORTUNIST workers parties. That if everyone who called themselves revolutionary simply got together there could be a revolution.

All illusions which are necessary for the bourgeoisie to remain in power because they lead the youth away from a CONSCIOUS struggle to do away with this system. The international party, the Fourth International, is the essential ingredient for the victory of the revolution.

The program of the youth is the program of the Socialist Revolution. The program of Socialist Revolution is that of the aims and goals of the working class. But in order to achieve even the most limited demands it is necessary for the working class to hold power, for the bourgeoisie to be suppressed. This is the fun-

damental characteristic of Stalinism and its centrist allies; they reject the workers dictatorship, the WORKERS GOVERNMENT, a government of the vast majority based on the organizations of workers power -- workers councils. In reality they form one part of the "Holy Alliance" to save the so-called "democratic" state in order to limit and hold back the workers fight. East and West, from the White House to the Kremlin, the goal of the youth is the same -- to raise the working class to power.

This goal cannot be achieved without a political confrontation with the remnants of the old order in the workers movement. Remnants which regroup themselves around the defense and reinforcement of the political apparatus of the bourgeois state in the unions, that is the trade union bureaucrats. Though they play a passive role in the workers mobilization, though they appear to the youth as bourgeois institutions, the

unions are the conquests of the workers and the struggle to free them from the hands of the bureaucrats cannot be by-passed. The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA sets itself the goal of the re-conquest of the unions for the workers and the revolution. Young Workers/USA fights for a vast YOUTH ALLIANCE FOR THE WORKERS PARTY. In this way we counterpose the party to all other false forms of "liberation" -- religion, drugs, and individual solutions.

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY!

The battleground of the RYW is among all the youth, but in order to gain a decisive influence in the working class we concentrate our fire in auto and the autoworkers union, the UAW. The RYW will concentrate the preparation of the 4th Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International among young through the RENEWAL OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNIONS. In

Resolution on INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

1. In every step forward, every confrontation with the corrupt ruling class, working class youth around the world are seeking the means to advance the world revolution. The Revolutionary Young Workers is forged in combat, built in the struggle of the youth to RETURN TO LENIN and puts forward its journal, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, as the main weapon of the youth in education and combat.
2. INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD is an international organ and thus reflects the consolidation and coordination of the working class youth on a world scale. To unite the youth in the Two Americas, from the USA to the USSR, to organize and prepare the world revolution. Only the RYI fights to politically prepare the new
3. IYG is the weapon of communist education. It is the means by which the youth will be trained in the issues of Leninism and will understand the dynamics of RETURN TO LENIN. Only through our own paper, as our weapon, can working class youth confront their enemies. This is the means for the youth to learn and take up revolutionary politics as the only solution for the working class today, the only way for the youth to insure their independence. Without revolutionary theory, without the knowledge to beat the bosses, revolution-