

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

TRUTH



Organ of the Trotskyist Organization USA

Section (sympathizing) of the

Fourth International

World Party of Socialist Revolution

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WORKERS CONTROL OF BASIC INDUSTRY!

Last week, Bethlehem Steel, the second largest steel corporation in the country, permanently laid off 7,500 steelworkers-- 4,000 at its Johnstown, Pennsylvania mill and 3,500 at its Lackawanna mill near Buffalo, New York. Ten years ago the workforce at the Lackawanna plant was 20,000. Today only 7,500 workers remain. US Steel has also begun layoffs at its South Works plant in Chicago, forcing workers on a four-day week.

It is the working class which is being forced to pay for the anarchy in capitalist production, the inability of the capitalists to expand the wealth of society. It is a system of profit with nothing in common with either the immediate or long-range interests of the working class.

The Chairman of Bethlehem Steel, Lewis W. Foy explained: "By eliminating these marginal facilities and the costs associated with operating them, we will be able to concentrate our energies and resources on the more profitable opportunities available to us in the steel business."

In 1975 Bethlehem Steel paid no federal taxes. In 1975, as today, members of the USW are denied the right to strike over their contract.

To capitalist bloodsuckers like Foy, 7,500 workers, their families, and workers who will lose their jobs in related industries are "marginal." But for the working class jobs, working conditions, prices, are life and death questions, as they are for the majority of this society.

At the same time that this is happening in steel, GM Chairman Thomas A. Murphy just predicted record car and truck sales for 1978-- 15.5 million units, to exceed the record set of 14.86 million in 1973. Sounds like good news. No "crisis" here.

But every autoworker knows better. They know how GM, Ford, and Chrysler plan to get these record sales and profits. Today there are over 200,000 less autoworkers employed in the auto industry than there were in 1973. Do the auto bosses plan to hire back those 200,000 workers? Hardly. Those record sales and profits will be achieved through the traditional capitalist method -- speedup, forced overtime, harassment and rising prices.

Neither the plans of the steel industry nor the auto industry are acceptable to the working class. Basic industry must be placed UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKING CLASS through the formation and development of factory committees in the steel mills, the mines, the auto plants, throughout basic industry uniting both employed and unemployed workers.

The fight to form and develop these factory committees as the basis for implementing workers control is key if the present mobilization of the working class is to pass from the defensive to the offensive, from a spontaneous movement to a conscious, organized assault that will finish with dying capitalism.

We are not for workers control of basic industry just because this or that industry is in "crisis." The entire capitalist system is the "crisis." To prepare the revolution, workers must learn how to resolve this crisis, they must learn how to run their own society.

To prepare the revolution is to see in the struggles of today the organization of the fight for power tomorrow. Factory committees are nothing magical. They are the permanent and organized expression of the independent weapons that the workers are building today. The roving picket squads in the mines, the



IN 1974 WORKERS OCCUPIED CHRYSLER'S JEFFERSON AVENUE PLANT AND WON THEIR DEMANDS

workers in auto who led and organized the walkouts in the last year are the first steps towards workers control.

The working class needs its own party-- the WORKERS PARTY, the US Section of the Fourth International, to lead and organize this fight. Only the party which we are building, the party of the Workers Government, can unite and organize the struggles of the workers today, to go from the defensive to an assault on capitalism.

No other party will lead this fight. Certainly not the Democratic Party of Carter with his "work-welfare" scheme and his S.1437 "criminal justice bill" designed to destroy the trade union movement. Neither will the American Communist Party which is committed to a policy of reforming capitalism-- above all opposed to the workers doing anything by themselves. Instead, as with their recent support of "Full Employment Week" they ask workers to put their trust in the labor bureaucrats, black liberals and left-wing Democrats.

The struggle for workers control of basic industry is an international fight. The American working class must concretely forge its unity with the struggles of the workers throughout the world who are fighting US Steel, GM, Ford, Chrysler, etc.

This is why the fight to build the International Conference of Metal Workers for the Socialist United States of Europe organized by the Revolutionary Youth International for this December is an important fight for young American workers. It is a way to unite the struggles of the workers throughout the world around a common objective and is a way to build the only party capable of taking these struggles forward, the Fourth International, August 30, 1977

Drugs: Weapon against revolution

By ANN NELSON

"In Detroit, the center of the US capitalism and the automobile industry, 40,000 are addicted to heroin, this is the shameful alternative offered by capitalism," said Jon Cohen, delegate of the Trotskyist Organization and RWY-USA to the International Rally of the Revolutionary Youth International in Barcelona, Spain. The majority of the 40,000 drug addicts in Detroit as in the US as a whole, are young. Even more, drug addiction; to heroin, barbituates, amphetamines and alcoholism plague the most advanced and militant young workers in the factories in the United States.

Young workers, overworked to exhaustion by forced overtime and speed-up in the auto and steel factories turn to drugs as an escape from these intolerable conditions. The bosses in the factories know this as well. The company doctors in the auto plants, especially Chrysler, dispense amphetamines to workers by the handful when they complain of being too exhausted to work.

The Trotskyist Organization says openly to the most militant young workers that dope and alcohol are not the way out, the only alternative to the intolerable conditions in the plants and of life in general is the struggle to build the party of the working class to overthrow the system that profits from drug use and addiction, the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on the revolutionary young workers and particularly the militants of the Revolutionary Worker Youth to open up a wide discussion of drugs to expose drug addiction as a conscious plot of the bourgeoisie against the consciousness and health of the vanguard of the revolution; the younger generation of the working class.

Leon Trotsky posed the seriousness of the problem for Russian youth when speaking about alcoholism, although he could have been speaking about heroin addiction today when he said: "For the working masses the struggle against alcoholism is a struggle for physical, spiritual, and most of all, revolutionary survival (PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE).

1968 AND THE CIA

Recently, CIA experimentation with drugs, particularly with LSD, has begun to come out into the open. That drugs are a part of the plot of the bourgeoisie against the most advanced youth is the conclusion that must be drawn from these experiments. The CIA has used LSD on hospital and mental patients, on prisoners and even on unsuspecting bar patrons in both San Francisco and New York. The CIA's given purpose for this fascist type of experimentation has been to find a way to "control someone's mind against his will and without his knowledge." The CIA has gone so far as to review the brutalities of the Nazis in World War II.

That the CIA and the government use drugs to their benefit is probably not surprising to most workers. Many workers know how cops use and sell drugs. What is significant is that the CIA's use of LSD began at the very time of one of the most militant mobilizations of US youth and world youth against capitalism, in 1968.

The huge demonstrations of US youth against the war in Viet Nam, the barricades and factory seizures in France and Czechoslovakia were a tremendous proof that young militants around the world wanted to finish with capitalism as a system of exploitation and oppression. One of the insidious weapons the US bourgeoisie used to attempt to break this mobilization was the "drug culture" and the "philosophy" that went along with it--"tune-in, turn-on and drop-out."

The most important thing for young workers to comprehend about drugs is that it is not a problem isolated from the unemployment, the harassment on the job and the speed-up. It is not a personal or individual problem, but a method through which the ruling class attempts to strangle the revolutionary aspirations and mobilization of the youth. It is only a rotten system that must employ such degrading and destructive methods in order to save itself. The huge mobilization of the youth against capitalism, begun in 1968 has not ceased, in fact it has grown in awareness. It is this awareness and this consciousness of the youth that the government, the CIA and

the police attack.

This was also shown in Viet Nam, where it was necessary to create probably the most heavily drugged and demoralized army in world history, in order to prevent the young workers in the military from rebelling. Thousands of young soldiers became heroin addicts in Viet Nam. But even this method did not prevent the youth from turning on their officers and hundreds of officers were "fragged."

Unfortunately today some so-called progressive, or even "revolutionary" organizations uncritically advocate the legalization of marijuana, something Carter is now proposing. The increased use of marijuana or any other drug is of no benefit to young workers who already have their senses and minds deadened by the long hours and inhuman conditions in the factories, or who already feel wasted as it is from the despair of unemployment. Drug use should be decriminalized. The laws are not used to punish the bourgeoisie which is responsible for the drugs, but to harass the youth who are trapped by this disease.

The biggest danger in the bourgeoisie's use of drugs against the youth is that it also victimizes the best fighters against capitalism. This is why drug addiction must be exposed by revolutionaries for what it is, and fought particularly among the youth. The drugs must be driven out of the factories.

The problem for revolutionaries of dope and alcohol is not a moral or legal question. We oppose them because they are weapons of the bourgeoisie against the growing mobilization of the working class, a mobilization in which we must struggle most of all for consciousness. The Trotskyist Organization calls on young workers and on the Revolutionary Worker Youth to take up a resolute fight against this weapon of the bourgeoisie. The RWY must provide its own alternatives to the youth who are slaving in the factories; sports, dances and other forms of relaxation.

The Revolutionary Youth International is building its own army, an army of young fighters against a rotten and decayed system. Young workers, take up this fight.

JOIN THE RWY! RETURN TO LENIN!



The real hope in Detroit mayoral elections

By JON COHEN

The candidates of the bourgeoisie in the Detroit mayoral campaign have been trying to stir up some excitement in the last weeks. Coleman Young, the mayor, and the candidate of Henry Ford and the UAW bureaucracy has accused his main rival, Ernest Browne of being "the black white hope." Browne has been endorsed by the racist Patrolman's Association and the Fireman's Association and various other all-white organizations. Browne, in turn, has accused Young of trying to "stir up race hatred."

All of this is not just a series of maneuvers to get some votes and stir up some interest in the campaign. It is part of a conscious attempt on the part of the left-wing of the Democratic Party, the labor bureaucrats and the American CP to make the working class believe that the only choice they have is between the "lesser of two evils."

Many workers know that Coleman Young is supported by Henry Ford. They know that he is supported by the UAW bureaucrats. They know that he has basically nothing to improve the conditions of the working class and the youth in Detroit. But they think things would be worse if Young was not Mayor. For them the other candidates are even worse. Their job is basically to make Young look good in front of black workers. By talking about bringing back STRESS, by being against the hiring of black policemen and firemen, the other candidates use all the code words that mean racism to black workers.

So they either vote for Coleman Young as an alternative to racism or don't bother to vote at all. This position is constantly being reinforced by the entire policy of the labor bureaucracy which every year, during every election, tells workers to put their faith in the Democratic Party against the Republicans or in "liberal" Democrats against "conservative" ones. This is reinforced by the Stalinists who constantly present an alliance with the Democratic Party and a policy of pressure as an alternative to the independent mobilization of the workers.

This policy of the bureaucrats and the Stalinists is more than a mistake. It is treachery. It covers up the repression of the capitalist state, organized by the Democratic Party. The US bourgeoisie will not tolerate workers going beyond the framework of the Democratic Party or the trade union bureaucracy. If they attempt to do so, the workers must be crushed.

This is why Coleman Young sent riot police and attack dogs against Michigan Bell telephone operators who went out on a wildcat strike in Detroit. If it was an "authorized" strike, Young would have never done this. But a strike outside the control of the union bureaucracy, outside the control of the Democratic Party is a threat to the bourgeoisie.

The same is true with the Democratic Party-appointed judge in Trenton, Michigan who declared UAW members engaged in a wildcat strike in contempt of court and had them arrested. It is why the Democratic Party Congress is preparing a new law, S.1437 designed to attack the right to strike, organize and picket, a law directed explicitly, not against "legal" strikes, but against wildcats.

It is more repression, not less that is the inevitable result of the policy of support to "the lesser of two evils." This is the same policy followed by the Stalinists all over the world as they force workers to accept the bourgeois regimes that are already in power because somebody else "would be worse."

The mayoral campaign in Detroit is particularly important in this regard. Coleman Young has the honor of being the pride and joy of both the Stalinists and Jimmy Carter. He is at the center of this unholy alliance organized by the Stalinists, the left-wing of the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucrats against the workers mobilization.

The working class must confront this alliance openly and clearly. The working class in Detroit must refuse to support any of the bourgeois candidates of Mayor, whether they be the candidates of Henry Ford or the police.

But it is not enough just to refuse to support bourgeois candidates. A lot of workers will just not vote. The working class must prove it has a revolutionary alternative.

They will not find this revolutionary alternative, which is the only way to crush this unholy alliance, in the candidate of the



"There is no other hope... than that which represents the struggle of the international working class for its emancipation"

SWP, Trudy Hawkins. In an interview in the DETROIT FREE PRESS she said that she was running "because the Socialist Workers Party asked me to. I'm young and black and a woman; This is not what the young workers and youth in Detroit view as an alternative.

In July, 500 youth from all over the world gathered together in Barcelona, Spain at the call of the Revolutionary Youth International to declare: "There is no other hope for us, youth of the entire world, there is no other future for the working and oppressed masses of the entire planet, than that which represents the struggle of the international working class for its emancipation: the world socialist revolution."

This is the only real hope in the Detroit mayoral campaign. To use this campaign as a means to rally the young workers and youth around the fight for the socialist revolution, the only real alternative to the situation of the working class. Only the candidate of the Trotskyist Organization, Jon Cohen, is waging this fight.

The Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth urge the workers and youth of Detroit to write-in the name of our candidate in the September 13th primary. Young workers who write-in our candidate and who join in the fight to convince others to do so can prove that there is an alternative and can in a practical and measurable way strike a blow against this unholy alliance of the Democrats, the Stalinists, and the centrists. The real "black hope" and "white hope" is building the party that can organize the socialist revolution.

August 30, 1977

MEANING OF STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE FOR U.S. WORKERS

1. The International Rally of working class youth for the Socialist United States of Europe held on July 9th in Barcelona, Spain represented an important step forward in the development of the Fourth International. Over 500 working class youth from Spain, France, Sweden, North Africa, Eastern Europe and the United States responded to the call of the Revolutionary Youth International to engage in a revolutionary struggle for the world socialist revolution and the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe as the first stage in this struggle. The young workers at Barcelona said in the Resolution they adopted following the Rally: "With the Revolutionary Youth International and with the Fourth International we are meeting in Barcelona to demonstrate our determination to fight for the victory of this proletarian offensive; for the destruction of the capitalist states in the West and for the reconquest of the power of the working class in the East, for the power of the working class organized in its Councils."

With this Rally and the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International, the Fourth International has engaged the first forces in the offensive unleashed by the Fifth World Congress of the Fourth International to RETURN TO LENIN!, to renew the leadership of the working class through a political offensive to win the working class youth to Bolshevism, to the construction of the world party of the socialist revolution.

But the struggle must continue. The forces regrouped in Barcelona represent only a beginning of this offensive, it must be developed and enlarged. Above all it is not the question of numbers that is the determining factor in the continuation of the fight to RETURN TO LENIN! It is the political struggle that the Fourth International and all of its sections leads in the mobilizations of the working class youth to make these mobilizations conscious and organized that is decisive. It is the recognition by the masses of working class youth that it is the PARTY, the Fourth International, the inheritor of Lenin and Trotsky that is the decisive question before the vanguard of the working class today. And that the leadership of the workers movement will be renewed through the youth, through the battle to construct the RYI.

PREPARE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
--REBUILD THE US SECTION OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

2. The International Rally in Barcelona demonstrated what has been shown time and time again in the history of the American working class movement-- that the struggles of the American working class are totally linked to that of the international working class and above all to the confrontation that is now taking

place against Stalinism and imperialism in Europe. This is part of the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN! in the United States because the history of the struggle for Bolshevism in the US has been the history of the constant struggle in the American working class for the world unity of the proletariat in the face of US imperialism.

The American communist movement was founded in this fight, American Trotskyism was founded in this fight and the betrayals of all those who have abandoned the fight for Bolshevism in the United States is above all marked by their attempts to keep the American working class isolated from the rest of the world. The fight for the Socialist United States of Europe is our fight also. It means the fight to prepare the American Revolution.

Thus, the Barcelona Rally and the political offensive of the Fourth International as a whole has provided the Trotskyist Organization of the US with the basis for taking the qualitative step forward necessary to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, the central task of the Trotskyist Organization since its foundation. It is the meaning in the US of the political offensive of the Fourth International to RETURN TO LENIN which is a task of the entire vanguard of the American working class. 3. The rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International must be seen as a specific stage in the preparation of the American revolution. The Congress of the Trotskyist Organization, which will proclaim the US Section of the Fourth International rebuilt, must regroup the vanguard of the American working class around the CENTRAL TASKS of the preparation of the American revolution-- the construction of the Workers Party of the US, as the American section of the Fourth International which must lead the fight for the Workers Government and the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas. This struggle for the Workers Party and the Workers Government must be led in a political confrontation in the American working class movement against Stalinism and centrism, above all against the Socialist Workers Party.

The movement of the US working class must be renewed by the youth. The rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International thus passes through the fight to construct the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States and its organization, the Revolutionary Worker Youth (RWY) as the spearhead of the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN in the US.

The Trotskyist Organization must take the leadership in this struggle to win the young generation of the proletariat to the Fourth International in the United States. This is a struggle which cannot be accomplished without a political confronta-

tion with all the forces in the US workers movement which attempt to block the revolutionary youth from coming to the Fourth International by blocking and betraying all their daily struggles.

We say that the US Section of the Fourth International must be REBUILT because this word summarizes the central task of the renewal of the leadership of the working class in the United States. The old leaderships of the American working class have betrayed the workers. A new leadership must be forged. This leadership can only be the Fourth International.

But there is a problem. The American working class, even if not always totally conscious of this, remembers both its friends and its enemies. The Fourth International has a long and proud history in the United States. Coming out of the revolutionary wing of the Stalinist American Communist Party in 1928, American Trotskyism, through the Socialist Workers Party led the struggle for Bolshevism in the United States. But in 1963 the Socialist Workers Party abandoned the Fourth International, took the side of those who capitulate to Stalinism, and today is an active obstacle to Bolshevism and to the socialist revolution in the United States.

But the American working class has a memory and the SWP still speaks in the name of the Fourth International today. Our movement cannot be renewed, the fight to construct the Workers Party in the US as the section of the Fourth International cannot be accomplished without the political destruction of the Socialist Workers Party in the living mobilization of the working class. The Trotskyist Organization must rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International by politically destroying the Socialist Workers Party by winning the vanguard of the working class youth to the political offensive to RETURN TO LENIN in the US.

This fight takes on an even greater urgency as the leadership of the SWP has stepped up its campaign to erase, slander, and soil any living memory the American working class or its militants have of the gains of the Fourth International in the US. The decision of the just-held 29th convention of the SWP to "fuse" with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee, a state capitalist grouping which refuses to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism, is not only an abandonment of the Program of the Fourth International. This reunification with American Shachtmanism is as well an attack on the entire history of the SWP and part of the attempt to liquidate the proletarian wing of this party.

AGAINST SPONTANEISM

4. The problems and difficulties in re-

SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF

LESSONS OF BARCELONA RALLY AND TASKS IN US



JON COHEN, BRINGING GREETINGS OF THE RWY USA TO THE BARCELONA RALLY

building the US Section of the Fourth International have been the problems of the American working class and above all its vanguard. Time and time again in the course of the struggles that the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth has led to direct and organize these struggles we have found that the problem is not the militancy, the determination, or the willingness to seek and fight for revolutionary solutions on the part of the working class youth.

The problem is that this militancy, this determination and this revolutionary willingness is not forged in a conscious and organized fashion, above all in the construction of the party of the working class which is the only weapon the workers have to make their struggles conscious and organized. The young workers believe too often that merely experience, more numbers, or more militancy will solve the problem in front of them and too often, the Trotskyist Organization, in its fight to lead and organize these struggles has not seen the problem of spontaneism and the party as the central problem in the mobilization of the American working class.

This is why rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International-- a political offensive to prepare the revolution, a political offensive to renew with Bolshevism, a political offensive against spontaneism, and a political offensive against Stalinism and centrism is a task of the American working class, a stage in the organization of their daily struggles and is not merely an internal affair of the Trotskyist Organization.

Thus, in the offensive to prepare the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization, the TO must lead a combat against spontaneism, against all spontaneous conceptions of the preparation of the revolution. This must be done in the first place through the development of the RWY USA and the formation of the young militants in its ranks as revolutionary cadre, as conscious builders of the world party of the socialist revolution.

The revolutionary young workers don't

really aspire to be "rank and file militants," "trade union activists" as the centrists claim. They want the revolution and they want to be revolutionaries and it is the task of the RWY to give a conscious and organized expression to this sentiment among the youth.

It is a struggle that must be carried out in every mobilization of the working class, especially in the factories and unions. In every mobilization the Trotskyist Organization must fight to place the central questions of the revolution and its preparation at the center, in every mobilization we must lead the fight to RETURN TO LENIN, and in every mobilization must confront the Stalinist and centrist misleaders of the working class.

5. Our central weapon to forge this Marxist consciousness against spontaneity is the revolutionary press, TRUTH, the paper of the Trotskyist Organization and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, organ of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International. Without a Marxist press there is no Marxist activity. In the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International the Trotskyist Organization must RETURN TO LENIN in this sense as well by making TRUTH a weapon in the construction of the party in the US, a weapon to arm the working class against all their enemies and to confront the illusions of the workers.

The press of the SWP is a perfect expression of their adaptation to Salinism and to the spontaneous movements of the middle classes. TRUTH must be the expression of the conscious, organized fight of the vanguard of the working class to prepare the revolution in the US as part of the world revolution.

It must confront and answer all the problems involved in the preparation of this revolution. It must at the same time become the organizer and agitator of the daily struggles of the workers, placing the revolutionary stake of each struggle at the center. To the extent that TRUTH has not succeeded in carrying out these tasks we have been delayed in completing the rebuilding of the

US Section of the FI.

FORWARD TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

The rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International passes through the offensive to construct the RYI in the US as a mass organization of working class youth ready to build the world party of the socialist revolution. The RYI will be holding its Third Congress in Paris, France in the Spring of 1978, the 10th anniversary of the May-June General Strike in France. 1968 signalled a tremendous upsurge of the working class youth throughout the world.

On the anniversary of this upsurge, our task is to organize this spontaneous rebellion of the working class youth into a conscious and organized fight to build the world party of the socialist revolution. The Revolutionary Worker Youth must deepen its offensive to win the most combative working class youth in the bastions of the US proletariat to the Revolutionary Youth International and to the construction of the Fourth International in the US. To do this it must respond to the central problems of the working class youth in the US and arm them against the Stalinists and the centrists.

The axis of the preparation of the Third Congress of the RYI will be an INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF METAL WORKERS FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE in Paris this December. The Trotskyist Organization proposes that the RWY lead the preparation of this Conference in the US through its fight to regroup the revolutionary young workers who are in the vanguard of the struggles of the US working class in auto, in steel and in the mines around the central demands of the workers in these industries, constantly seeking to unite these struggles around the fight to construct the Workers Party in the US.

There is no way that the RWY can develop the full content of its fight without the mobilization of the American working class youth against Stalinism, the gravedigger of the world revolution. The TO, in the preparation of its Congress to rebuild the US Section of the FI, must reinforce and impulse the mobilization of the RWY around the fight for the International Commission of Inquiry into the Repression Against the Workers in Poland. This is a means to mobilize the young workers in auto, steel, the mines, in the schools and militants of the SWP/YSA and other organizations against Stalinist repression. This fight will be concentrated around and International Day of Action on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in October.

THE SECRETARIAT, TO/USA

RWF/UAW FIGHTS FOR ONE CENTRAL UNION!

By FRED VITALE

Detroit--At the UAW Convention in Los Angeles last May the delegates voted to authorize a Special Convention of the UAW in September on whether to "reaffiliate" with the AFL-CIO. Fraser recently announced that he's in favor of it. This "reaffiliation" is an attempt by the union bureaucracy to crush the developing revolutionary wing in the unions, especially among the auto and steelworkers.

The UAW bureaucracy has been told too many times recently to "go to hell" by workers on wildcats; so has the miner's leadership. Non-union workers have battled against the capitalists, the courts and cops, and cowardly union "leaders" to unionize their factories. As the working class offensive grows and these guards fail to keep the workers properly penned, the government steps in and forces the workers back through the NLRB, cops and courts. The workers' hatred for the government grows.

These changes in consciousness take place in a spontaneous and uneven way. But, given the rapid tempo of the developing struggles, no chances can be taken. The capitalists with their government and parties must regroup their guards into one apparatus. The bureaucrats will try to buy some time by confusing the workers with talk of "unity of labor" and the "left" image of the UAW. But there is no fundamental difference between Fraser and Meany.

ONE CENTRAL UNION UNDER REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP is what the workers need to defend their interests against the government and the capitalists. At its greatest moments, the US working class has sought to realize this. The Industrial Workers of the World in the early 1900's fought for one industrial union and the movement of the CIO in the thirties was similar. The most rebellious workers, i.e. the miners, teamsters and auto workers are all in separate unions precisely because of their feared united power.

Today more than ever, with the attack of the capitalists coordinated down to the last detail behind the doors of the Oval Office, the unions must be united against the government. It is solely because of the government, and the agreement of the bureaucrats with it, that only 20% of all workers are organized, and that organizing is made harder and harder. One central union could declare a general strike for the complete unionization of the country.

Also the workers are rebelling against the conditions of production, the intolerable speedup and overtime, layoffs, etc. Workers control of production is the only way for the workers to resolve these problems. For example, the president of GM said recently that next year will be a record year in car sales. The autoworkers must say; "We'll decide how many cars from which plants, with how many workers, how safe the cars will be."

For workers control it is necessary to build and elect factory committees to lead this struggle on a daily basis. These committees are the organs of workers power against the capitalists that prepare the way for their overthrow. The miners, with their delegations of strikers from mine to mine are in fact, the beginning of factory committees. The autoworkers' wildcats develop spontaneous strike committees which are also the beginning of factory committees, i.e. independent organization of the workers. The fight must be developed consciously beyond this.

With the fight for one central union under revolutionary leadership, fighting for workers control of production through factory committees, the Revolutionary Workers Faction--UAW, the faction of the Trotskyist Organization, tries to make it clear that the union must become weapons for all the oppressed and shows how this can be done in the struggles of the workers today. As Trotsky pointed out; "The idea of a fixed class of unemployed -- such an idea is absolutely the psychological preparation of fascism. Unless this division (between the unemployed and employed - Author) is overcome IN THE UNIONS (our emphasis) the working class is doomed."

BALANCE SHEET OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS FACTION

During the last year the RWF has fought for a revolutionary leadership in the UAW that will throw out the bureaucrats and their contract and will organize strike committees in order to prepare a general strike to meet the demands of the autoworkers. In the strike last fall, in the fight of the Stamping unit workers at Ford River Rouge to organize a strike against their still-unsigned contract, and in the fight for the UAW Convention, the RWF regrouped significant numbers of young workers at Ford River Rouge and Ford Torrence. Our candidate for UAW delegate received 150 votes at Ford Torrence.

But the struggle has to advance. The task of the RWF is above all to construct our party inside the trade unions. Thus, in every struggle that the RWF leads or engages in, its goal must be to pose before the workers the fundamental problems of the construction of the revolutionary party in the mobilization of the workers.

This is not opposed to struggles around and for immediate demands and problems. But in all these immediate and particular struggles the RWF must fight to organize the workers CONSCIOUSLY, that is, to advance the revolutionary consciousness of the UAW workers. The RWF can only do this by placing itself at the forefront and by fighting to lead all the struggles of the autoworkers.

The RWF will place at the center of its fight the fight to throw out the present bureaucrats and elect a revolutionary leadership for the UAW. In particular the RWF must develop a specific campaign against the repression now taking place in the UAW. As a result of the wildcats that have taken place throughout the country since the fall contract, the latest being the heat walkouts, tens of militants have been victimized by the auto companies and even by the courts as in Trenton, Michigan. The workers have been victimized with the active support of the top UAW leadership. The RWF must wage a campaign to defend these workers and to win their re-instatement.

Linked to this repression against individual militants is the repression being prepared by the capitalist state. The S.1437 Bill, the new version of the S.1 Bill is a new law before Congress that will revise the entire US criminal code. Part of this "revision" is a series of vicious anti-trade union laws which can make strikes, pickets, demonstrations illegal. This law also attacks our world party, making it illegal for US workers to belong to an international workers organization.

The AFL-CIO Executive Board has attacked this law. But they will only pressure the Democratic Party to try to reform this law. We also know that when it comes to attacking wildcat strikes and having revolutionary workers arrested, the government has the full support of these bureaucrats.

In the development of the RWF's fight to prepare the Revolutionary Youth International's Conference of Metal Workers for the Socialist United States of Europe in Paris this December in the auto industry, the RWF will link this fight against repression and against these reactionary laws to the overall fight for workers control of production and one central union of all the workers under a revolutionary leadership.

In the fight for delegates to the UAW Special Convention the RWF will fight to win the support of UAW members for this International Conference which will unite auto and other metal workers from all over the world around our revolutionary objectives.

AGAINST FRASER'S "REAFFILIATION"!
ONE CENTRAL UNION; WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION!
STOP THE VICTIMIZATIONS! DOWN WITH THE S.1437 BILL!

August 28, 1977

OUR HISTORY

In the course of our struggle to complete the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International, many young workers and militants, in particular of the Socialist Workers Party, have asked: "Where do you come from?"

We want to answer that question. We want to bring fighting young workers and militants the true history of our struggle and by drawing out the principle lessons of it show it is the Trotskyist Organization of the USA, the section of the Fourth International in this country which continues the fight for Trotskyism. It's not the SWP. Only with the truth about our history and a clear understanding of the lessons of it is it possible to take forward the struggle for Trotskyism.

The only others who have ever tackled this question are James Cannon, who founded American Trotskyism and played a key role in the formation of the International, yet later split with it (along with the rest of the SWP in '63) and Tim Wohlforth who led the fight in the US against this split, yet later did the same thing himself.

Cannon's HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM and Wohlforth's THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES are indispensable contributions to our understanding. But both are often confused and even politically false. While we do not have sufficient space for a detailed critique of these works, we will in the course of this history, take up the fundamental questions posed by them. We aim not only to better understand what political weaknesses allowed these men to turn against the Fourth International, but also to arm young workers and militants against the current leadership of the SWP.

We hope the understanding developed in this short account of our history will be an inspiration to young workers and militants to join us in the combat to complete the rebuilding of the US Section of our party, to continue and lead to fruition the fine revolutionary tradition of the American working class.

THE BEGINNING

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

In the spring and summer of 1928, delegates from across the world gathered in Moscow for the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (CI). While Trotsky and other members of the Left Opposition had been excluded from the Congress and exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin and the rest of the gravediggers of the first socialist revolution, a copy of his document "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Critique of Fundamentals" was distributed to members of a commission established to consider the political program to be adopted by the World Congress.

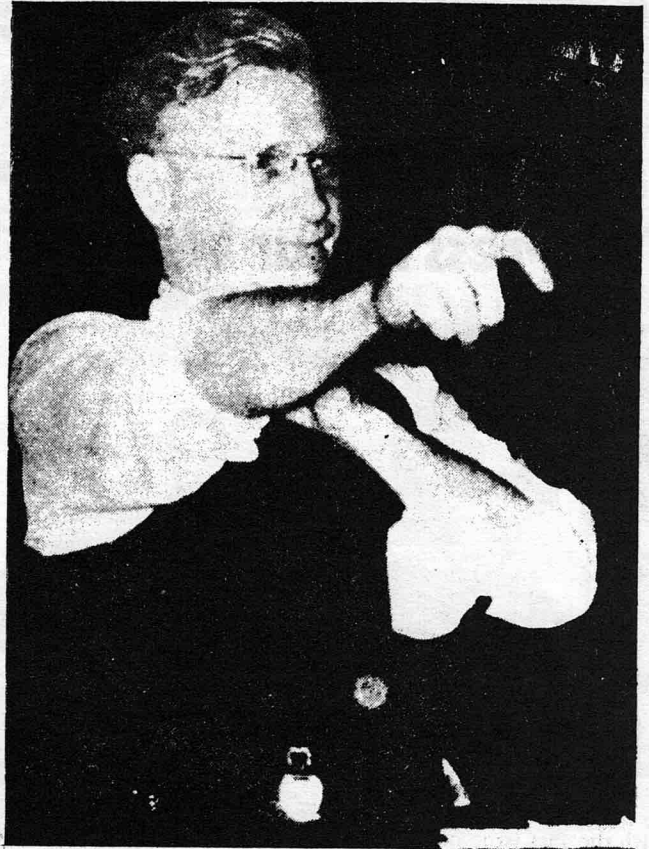
Among the delegates were James Cannon and Maurice Spector, leaders of the American and Canadian sections and members of the Program Commission. They read Trotsky's critique, studied and discussed it, and decided they agreed with it.

So began the fight for Trotskyism in the US.

The development and distribution of Trotsky's Critique of the Draft Program was the continuation and deepening of the combat the Left Opposition had opened up for the international socialist revolution against the Stalinist leadership which began to take over after the death of Lenin. Cannon, an early defender of the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Party, and Lenin, while still knee-deep in the confused faction fights that dominated the US Section at that time, had become discontent with this leadership and suspicious of it. He refused to take an active part in the campaign against Trotskyism, because he didn't want to take a position on something about which he knew nothing. "Who am I to condemn great leaders of the Russian Revolution?" he asked at the time. While he was totally preoccupied with "the American question," and uninterested in "international questions," he was open for an alternative.

TROTSKY'S CRITIQUE

In the Critique of the Draft Program, Trotsky takes up a fight for the continuation of the Russian Revolution, for the international socialist revolution, as the only means



JAMES P. CANNON,
FOUNDER OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

to defend the conquests of the first workers revolution. "The program of international revolution or the program of socialism in one country?" he asks, referring to Stalin's theory, program, and practice of attempting to confine the struggle for socialism within the borders of the USSR, concretized in the Draft Program. Trotsky shows international revolution not only is the only way forward for the workers movement but also has always been the policy of Marxists and Leninists.

On this basis he argues that the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE must be at the center of the program of the international. He argues that the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe is decisive in the defense of the Russian Revolution and the continuation of the world revolution IN PARTICULAR against the increasing domination of US imperialism. He denounces the Stalinists for first limiting this struggle to the European parties and then abandoning it altogether.

The program of socialism in one country, he argues, necessarily leads to a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisies of other countries and thus the suppression of the workers' movement in these countries and the liquidation of the International.

Trotsky takes up the central questions of strategy and tactics in the revolutionary epoch and the principle examples of the struggles in which the Stalinist policy had proven its disastrous character -- England and China. He concludes with a discussion of the bureaucratic and undemocratic nature of the leadership of the Comintern and a call to replace it.

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The Press is Our Weapon!



By BARBARA PUTNAM

With the last issue of TRUTH (#55) preparations began for the Conference of TRUTH Readers, September 11. Our objective is to expand and develop TRUTH as a workers paper, the central organizer and political leader of the struggle of the American workers. There has been a continued, though still insufficient effort to discuss TRUTH with the workers and youth who read and buy it.

To develop the growth of the Fourth International in the US among the advanced sections of the working class and the youth it is necessary to analyze the questions and problems related to reading, writing, distributing and discussing TRUTH with readers. Think of the problems or questions you see with TRUTH and bring them to the Conference.

Have you ever tried to sell the paper? What happened? How have fellow workers and friends responded to TRUTH? Where do you read it? At home, school, work?

What articles do you think were the clearest? Most interesting? Were the articles helpful in convincing other workers? How? Overall, how do you think TRUTH could be improved? What questions were answered for you by TRUTH? What questions do you feel were not answered?

Write letters to TRUTH explaining your views about the paper. How the paper can become more readable, lively, interesting and clear. How it can better reflect the lives of the American workers and answer the problems of the American working class.

Come to the Conference with your suggestions to help organize this discussion, bring your friends and fellow workers.

**ALL OUT TO THE CONFERENCE OF
TRUTH READERS!
SEPTEMBER 11 2:00 PM
3363 MICHIGAN, DETROIT**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

When Cannon and Spector found this document, they dropped everything. "We let the caucus meetings and the Congress sessions go to the devil while we read and studied this document," says Cannon. "Then I knew what I had to do, and so did he. Our doubts had been resolved."

They resolved to open up a fight for Trotskyism when they got back to America. They succeeded in smuggling a draft of the document out of Russian and began secretly circulating it among militants of the Communist Party in the US.

Thus, the American section of the International Left Opposition, the precursor of the Fourth International, was not founded, even if all its members were not fully conscious of this, on the basis of a sentimental attachment to the Russian revolution or an abstract internationalism, but concretely on the basis of a political fight for the program of the international socialist revolution against the program of socialism in one country, for the Socialist United States of Europe and the construction of the world party as the only means to defend and continue the October Revolution. On this basis Cannon and his comrades were able to begin to resolve the "American Question" in which they had been embroiled.

How opposed is this to the SWP which not only openly rejects any combat for the Socialist United States of Europe and the construction of the world party here, but seeks to assure the defense of the Russian revolution by reforming the Stalinist bureaucracy with Jimmy Carter and his imperialist campaign for human rights!

Our account of the beginning of American Trotskyism may come as a surprise to workers and militants of the current American workers movement, accustomed, thanks to the SWP, to seeing the fundamental questions of the world revolution treated as topics for dinner table conversation while parties are built on the basis of narrow national conjunctural issues (desegregate the schools, pass the ERA, etc.).

In his discussion of the beginning of American Trotskyism, Cannon brings the fundamental question of the international program and party to the fore: "You must begin with an international program and on that basis you build national sections of an international movement." But this remains very abstract because he doesn't discuss what the fundamental questions of the international program were, like the relationship between Europe and America and the relationship between the Russian, European, and American revolutions. He simply says; "Trotsky was right on all the fundamental questions." Nor does Wohlforth.

Our generation must clarify this program, elaborate it and realize it on American soil!

If you want to learn more about the beginning of American Trotskyism you should read: The Critique of the Draft Program published in the THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN (Pathfinder), the first three chapters of the HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM (Pathfinder), and the Second chapter of THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES (Labor Publications.) In our next article we will take up the struggle within the Communist Party, the expulsion of the Trotskyists from the CP, and their first public meeting.

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