

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

CARTER CALLS FOR "A TIME OF NATIONAL AUSTERITY"
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE US DECLARES:

NO COOPERATION!

NO COOPERATION! -- must be the response of every worker and youth to Jimmy Carter's "voluntary anti-inflation program" announced on October 24th.

According to this program, workers earning more than \$4.00 an hour are to hold their wage increases to 7% a year while bosses will hold their price increases to 5.75%. And if, for some strange reason, workers do not trust Carter, there is a "real wage insurance plan" that will give workers a tax rebate to make up for inflation above 7%.

Carter declared that:"As far as I am concerned, every business, every union, every professional group, every individual in this country has no excuse not to adhere to these standards."

Well, WE have plenty of "excuses" for not cooperating. Here's some of them:

1. THE WORKING CLASS HAS NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR CAPITALISM. This country is controlled and owned by the rich. Workers have no control over this capitalist government and its economy. No worker has the slightest responsibility for the economic crisis created by capitalist greed and its inability to expand. Carter called inflation "our most serious domestic problem." We believe that our most serious "domestic" and international problem is capitalism and the Jimmy Carters who serve it.

2. THE PROGRAM IS A FRAUD. Prices and profits have never been controlled in this country and never will under capitalism.

And does any sane person over two years old believe the fraud of Carter's "real wage insurance"? From the man who gave us his non-existent "tax rebate"? From a Congress that just passed an \$18.7 billion "tax cut" which is really a TAX INCREASE for all workers?

Do you wonder why the Chairmen of the Boards of AT&T, Exxon, GM, Ford and the President of the National Association of Manufacturers all rushed to endorse the program? While the more serious WALL STREET JOURNAL ridiculed it, calling it "a tax plan that has all the earmarks of having been scribbled on the back of an envelope a few minutes before the President went on the air."?

Because the rich know that although this plan is a joke, it is designed to cover-up for its real purpose, which is that:

3. THE BOURGEOISIE IS TODAY ATTACKING ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

This "program" is one more maneuver in the wholesale attack that has been organized against the working class since Carter's election in 1976. The 95th Congress, elected with Carter and concluding its term now, has been the most anti-working class and reactionary Congress in many years.

On all planes the rights of workers and the youth have been attacked. On all planes, this government, under the fraud of "human rights", has been one of the most reactionary governments in US history.

And this "program" is part of a greater effort to deepen this attack, especially in face of the strike wave taking place today and the Teamsters, rubber, electrical, meat-packing and auto contracts coming up in 1979.

We have plenty of "excuses" for saying that every worker has an interest in fighting this attack. And we know that the working class will. This year the miners, railroad workers and public employees have shown that they have no intention of cooperating with this anti-working class government.

NO COOPERATION! This is our pledge. Not as a simple refusal but as a mobilization for WORKERS RIGHTS in this country.

NO COOPERATION!-- with this imperialist, racist and terrorist state--for a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION.

NO COOPERATION!-- with the greedy, slave-driving bosses. A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES--wages to rise exactly with prices. A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS--divide up all the available work among all those ready to work--end unemployment. WORKERS CON-

TROL OF PRODUCTION--no productivity deals!

NO COOPERATION!--with the trade union bureaucrats and their Democratic Party. Young workers--win back your unions! For a new, revolutionary leadership for the unions. Join with us in the fight to build a WORKERS PARTY to win WORKERS DEMOCRACY in this country.

Carter wants "national austerity" for the workers and oppressed in this country. We want a future and a new society.

October 26, 1978

TRUTH

INSIDE 

October 27th



50 Years of Trotskyism in the United States

articles on pages 4 & 10

RYW EDUCATIONAL -

"YOUTH IN REVOLT"

THANKSGIVING WEEKEND

PAGE 2

Only the Fourth International fights to educate the youth

Have you looked around lately and examined the state of education and culture, or what passes for it in this society?

Most high schools in working class neighborhoods are nothing but glorified prisons, with students forced to carry around ID cards and with police patrolling the hallways. Whatever "education" takes place there is certainly accidental.

And even these miserable conditions are constantly under attack through all kinds of "tax reform" schemes designed by the bourgeoisie to take away a fundamental right won by the working class in its years of struggle-- the right to an education.

Colleges and universities? Now rapidly going out of the reach of working class youth, with the "community" colleges becoming pure and simple trade schools for the declining job market.

Under conditions like this it is no wonder that illiteracy is soaring in this country. That for the richest and most industrialized country in the world the United States has a shamefully high illiteracy rate. Many young workers in the factories cannot read or write properly, not have the tools which are as important as guns for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Culture? What can one say about bourgeois newspapers? About TV and the latest "T&A" fad which consciously degrades both men and women? About the drugs and alcohol the bourgeoisie sends into the streets? About the religion and superstition they peddle?

You can say that this destruction of education and culture is not accidental, but a conscious policy of the US and world bourgeoisie to degrade the working class and especially the youth, to disarm it and to take away all of its conquests won through years of bitter struggle.

None of these fundamental problems can be resolved in the framework of capitalist society. It is only through the socialist revolution-- placing the working class in the position of ruling class, making the workers and oppressed the masters of their destiny that the conditions for a real education and culture for all of humanity can be won.

But a fight for this can and must be organized today. As the representatives and builders of this future the Fourth International fights on all levels for the education and culture of the working class and especially the youth. In defense of

the rights to education and culture. In opposition to all the daily degradations of this society.

And specifically, the Fourth International must lead a fight for MARXIST education. It is not just education in general that is under attack. In the last years, not just on the part of the bourgeoisie but on the part of its allies in the workers movement--the Stalinists and centrists-- there has been a wholesale attack organized against Marxism.

Against Marxism as the scientific understanding of this capitalist system and the need for the socialist revolution. Against Lenin who carried the fight for Marxism to its conclusion in the first dictatorship of the proletariat and the party which led this fight. Against the Fourth International which continues this tradition today.

The Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists who are busily developing their theoretical attacks against Marxism play a far more important role in destroying education and culture than the producers of "Charlies' Angels" could ever do. That is because the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists, unlike the producers of "Charlies' Angels," aim their fire on the vanguard of the working class, the most class conscious workers, those most ready to take up a revolutionary fight.

The Fourth International therefore cannot arm the vanguard of the working class without a fight to defend Marxism, for education, against these attacks. Thus, the fight to educate the youth in the Marxist tradition is an essential part of our fight to build the Revolutionary Youth International in the US and to fight alongside our brothers and sisters in the Revolutionary Worker Youth/USA.

That is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA is organizing, along with our comrades in the Revolutionary Worker Youth an Educational Retreat during Thanksgiving Weekend under the theme, "Youth in Revolt." The topics for discussion are listed below and an educational bulletin is being prepared in advance to elaborate these topics.

This Educational is just a small part of our fight for education and culture, a fight which must be carried out everyday in all the activity of the FI and RYI, but it is important nonetheless.

We invite all young workers and welcome militants of other organizations to participate in this Educational with us where everyone will be free to express and argue for their point of view.

TRUTH

Published Bi-Weekly in Detroit, MI
BY TRUTH, INC.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Jon Cohen
Margaret Guttshall
David Heffelfinger
Ann Nelson
Barbara Putnam

TRUTH, INC.

P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

Subscription rates: \$5 a year,
\$2 six month introductory--US.
Same for Canada and Mexico.
\$10 a year air-mail for
Europe and Latin America.
Inquire for other rates.

THANKSGIVING WEEKEND:

REVOLUTIONARY
YOUNG WORKERS

EDUCATIONAL
RETREAT

"YOUTH IN REVOLT"

Topics for Discussion:

1. The Fight For the Revolutionary International.
2. Stalinism-- and how to fight it.
3. The combat for the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

SATURDAYS!

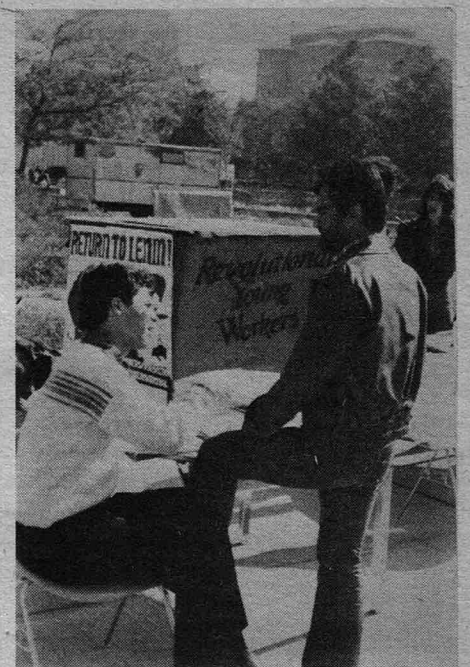
TRUTH MEETINGS-



10:30 am

Wayne State
University

Student Center
Building Rm678



The results for TRUTH #82 were:

Ford River Rouge	17
Chrysler Dodge Main	10
GM Cadillac	3
GM Fleetwood	17
Harper Hospital	7
Detroit high schools	29
Wayne St. University	18
DETROIT (total)	118
US Steel Southworks	24
CHICAGO (total)	70
TOTAL	188

Trade Unions & the Terror of the Bourgeois State

By MARK LUV

In every strike the key political weapon of the bosses has become the open intervention of the government to terrorize the working class. It is an international symptom of the growing terrorism of the bourgeois state towards the trade unions and the self-organization of the workers and oppressed.

This was true in the miners strike and as well with the recent railroad workers strike. It is true in the case of the Postal workers in Canada who defied the Canadian Parliament's back-to-work order only to have the local offices of the Postal union raided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In Latin America, the answer of the puppet regimes of US imperialism to the massive mobilization of the trade unions has been brutal military dictatorships.

Every political tendency in the workers movement today defines itself in relation to the state and its terrorism.

The Stalinist American Communist Party, part of the international apparatus of the Kremlin, gained its hated reputation in the American working class not through its revolutionary opposition to "democracy" and the bourgeois state, but precisely the opposite -- through its total cowardice towards the terrorist state.

Justified by Stalinism's "theory of stages" which preached the necessity for the workers and their organizations to bloc with the "democratic" state, the American Communist Party was responsible for the massive CIO movement being channeled into Roosevelt's "democracy" and World War II. The

Stalinists, who were in positions of leadership in several major trade unions, broke strikes for Roosevelt and signed a no-strike pledge with the government. It was this capitulation which discredited the American Communist Party in the eyes of the most advanced fighters of the American working class and laid the basis for the witch-hunts against "Communism" after World War II.

The Fourth International, the only international party opposing the Stalinist degeneration of the "Communist" parties of the world, maintains the Leninist conception of the bourgeois state which is that--democratic facade or not--the bourgeois state is essentially an arm of ruling class terror. For their revolutionary opposition to Roosevelt and WWII the leaders of the American Trotskyists were the only political current in the trade unions and working class to be imprisoned.

TRADE UNIONISM

Today, centrism is the pseudo-revolutionary current in the trade unions which tries to obscure the clear-cut opposition of the Leninist theory of the terrorist state with the Stalinist practice of support for the supposedly "democratic" state. Centrism is best represented in the United States by the Socialist Workers Party which abandoned the Fourth International in 1963. All the while claiming to represent Trotskyism, the Socialist Workers Party has orchestrated in its theory and its practice a fundamental attack on Leninism.

"Trade unionism" and "democra-

cy" are the code words for the subordination of the trade unions to the terrorist state in the language of centrism. Through the trade union bureaucracy, which in reality has been bought off by American "prosperity," in reality, imperialism, centrism polices the activity of the most advanced workers less they go beyond the established trade union framework which would pose a direct confrontation with the bourgeois state.

Though the bureaucracy has not been totally integrated into the state structure of American capitalism, it nevertheless owes its continued existence to the terrorist activity of the state. The weakness of the present bureaucratic layer in the unions, flowing from their betrayals and cowardice, has prompted the ruling class to more and more open assaults on the unions. In this situation, where the bureaucracy has become discredited in the eyes of the workers and the "democratic" state reveals its essentially terrorist nature, Stalinism and centrism play a vital role in channeling the discontent of the union ranks back into meaningless "reforms."

In the United Steelworkers Union the Stalinists and centrists are making a bloc with the "reform" bureaucrats for the right of USW members to vote on contracts. This "reform" is meaningless, precisely because of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement in steel which denies steelworkers the right to strike. Thus, this "reform" accepts the bourgeois state with its courts and legal system as the only means of struggle for the working class.

In the recent railroad workers strike this was the policy of the SWP, which placed the court suit of the railroad unions as the centerpiece of the railroad workers strategy to fight the injunctions of the federal government.

The only alternative for the workers and the unions, if they are to become weapons of the working class against the terrorist state is the development of WORKERS DEMOCRACY. Fundamentally counterposed to "reforms," Workers Democracy can only develop against the state structure imposed on the trade unions. This means that in every strike and action of the unions, the workers must develop their own INDEPENDENCE from the bourgeois state. An independence not granted by the terrorist state, but rather, taken by the organized power of the workers in newer, more democratic forms.

Thus, the demands of the workers, which cannot be granted by capitalism, must be won through the development of forms of organization and political activity which introduce a new state--the WORKERS GOVERNMENT. Strike committees and factory committees, even mass picketing organized against the bureaucracy and the traditional trade union framework begin to arm the workers for the necessary confrontation with the bourgeois state and the seizure of political and economic power from the capitalist class.

In this sense, "trade unionism" in its traditional form of being dependent upon reforms granted by the terrorist state, is dead. It lives today only through the threat of the intervention of the bourgeois state against the increasingly militant activity of the workers and the capitulation of centrism and Stalinism to the trade union bureaucracy and the "democratic" bourgeois state.

What is very much alive is the striving of the most advanced workers, especially the youth who are uneducated in "acceptable" trade union practices, for newer, more revolutionary solutions to the crisis of US imperialism.

However, the youth often reject the unions totally as an arena for struggle once they come up against the solid wall of resistance organized by the bureaucracy and the terrorist state. The cowering and passive attitude of centrism and Stalinism only pushes the most revolutionary section of the working class further away from working class forms of struggle. Into the arms of petty bourgeois movements.

As a vital force for real change in this society, the only road for the unions and the revolutionary party is against the terrorist state, for the Socialist Revolution. The workers can be won to this struggle through the constant development of WORKERS DEMOCRACY in every action of the unions and workers and the INDEPENDENCE of the workers from the so-called "democratic" state and the political parties which support it.

October 26, 1978

TRUTH

SUBSCRIBE —

\$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY / STATE / ZIP _____

SEND TO TRUTH, INC.* P.O. BOX 07066, DETROIT, MI 48207

THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA

Why are we different from all the others?

By JON COHEN

October 27th marks the 50th anniversary of Trotskyism in the United States. On October 27, 1928 the founders of the Trotskyist movement in the United States-- James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern-- were formally expelled from the Stalinist American Communist Party for the crime of "Trotskyism."

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is celebrating this occasion with public meetings in Detroit and Chicago to explain to the American working class the balance sheet of the struggle of Trotskyism in the US and the continuation of this struggle today as part of the living combat of the American working class.

Of course, we believe that we continue this tradition today. As a matter of fact, we are the only organization in the US that is holding meetings on this date.

But this doesn't end the matter, neither for you nor for us. It is no secret that in the US there are many groups who claim to be Trotskyist, even some who claim to represent the Fourth International.

Every young worker interested in revolutionary politics and in Trotskyism certainly has the right to ask: "Why are there so many groups?" and "How are you different from all the others. Why should I trust you?"

It is made even more confusing by the existence of an organization which is second in size only to the American Communist Party among "revolutionary" organizations--the Socialist Workers Party-- which claims to be Trotskyist and part of the Fourth International, which bears the name of the party founded by James P. Cannon under Trotsky's leadership and whose paper, THE MILITANT, bears the same name as the paper which for 35 years was the voice of Trotskyism in the US.

We welcome any attempt to clear up this confusion. As I wrote in the last issue of TRUTH regarding the question of why we place the hammer and sickle on our masthead for everyone to see and discuss, we welcome the chance to explain who we are to any young worker.

If we aren't the real Trotskyists, and the SWP is, then let the SWP explain this and answer the questions young workers have in front of the entire working class. Already the fact that they aren't holding any public meetings on the 50th anniversary tells you something, but even more-- every worker should know that the SWP has a conscious policy of refusing to publically acknowledge the existence of the Trotskyist Organ-

ization/USA.

What do they have to hide? If they are right and we are wrong, why don't they explain this to the working class? Or at least explain it to their own members who in the last three months have bought over 200 copies of TRUTH?

We don't expect any answers, either on October 27th or in the near future. But because it's an important question, on the minds of many young workers, let's play "make believe" for awhile and imagine such a discussion between a young worker and a leader of the SWP:

ACT I

Young worker: What about this Trotskyist Organization/USA, they say they represent the Fourth International in the US?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader" of SWP: What? Who are you talking about? Oh! You must mean the "Varga group"! They're just a sect.

Young worker: Why do you call them the "Varga group" and not by their right name?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Why are you so nosy? "Varga group" is first of all designed to turn you off to politics in general and to make you think the history of the Fourth International is nothing but a history of personal intrigues and factionalism. At least that's how I got to be a "leader."

But if you insist. Varga is a leader of "their" Fourth International who in 1956 was one of the organizers of the Hungarian Revolution. Our dear friend, Pierre Broue and the other leaders of the French OCI have called him a CIA and KGB agent.

Young worker: CIA and KGB agent! Is there any truth to these incredible charges?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Details. Details. Just between "you and I" of course there is no truth to any of this. But we have to get them off our backs somehow don't we? They bring up too many questions and are getting to be annoying, just like you are beginning to annoy me.

After all, we have to have something to show for sending a paid organizer over to France for an entire year to sit on a "Commission" trying to find some dirt on these people-- we didn't drink all that wine over there for nothing!

And you're beginning to seem kind of "dubious" yourself, asking so many questions.

Young worker: OK. OK. Now that you've admitted they're of some importance to you, could you try to come up with a political characterization of your opposition to their policy?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": You are too naive. What do you know about politics? I'm a builder of "mass movements." Ed Sadlowski calls me by my first name. So does Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug.

Young worker: I insist.

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Well, if you insist. The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International are a bunch of ultra-left sectarians and besides, they are too small anyway.

Young worker: Finally. But didn't Trotskyism in the US start off with just three people, hasn't the history of Bolshevism and Trotskyism been a history of struggle for principles and not to be big just for the sake of being big? And what is "ultra-leftism" anyway?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": What do you know? This is a Worker-Bolshevik you're talking to, have some respect. Do you know that I have Doug Fraser's private phone number?

An ultra-left sectarian is someone who doesn't want to build "mass movements." They want to throw out the trade union bureaucrats right away instead of "exposing" them like we do by printing their statements in our paper. They're always talking about Stalinism and about being against "stage theories" for the revolution like our "labor party". They want to build a party out of the "youth" and not experienced cadre. And they have this ridiculous idea about the Fourth International being a world center of the revolution and not an unprincipled factional swamp. Why, without unprincipled factions I'd be out of a job! They have this ridiculous notion about wanting to fight for full legal rights for the Fourth International in the US-- probably some cop trick!

Young worker: Calm down. You're too old to be carrying on like this--it's bad for your health. What are these "mass movements" you are always talking about?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Mass movements? The National Organization of Women, the NAACP, Ed Sadlowski, Arnold Miller, Doug

Fraser's "Coalition". Do I have to go on?

Young worker: No. Aren't all these "movements" controlled by the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats who stomp on me everyday?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Sectarian! But never mind. You sound kind of intelligent, why don't you join the SWP anyway, after all, "our party is your party." We have plenty of ultra-leftists in the SWP, as long as they don't cause any kind of trouble or start talking about that "Varga group." And we're having some meetings on the 50th anniversary of THE MILITANT-- you can buy a tote bag to commemorate the occasion.

Young worker: 50th anniversary of THE MILITANT. Isn't that the same thing as 50 years of American Trotskyism. Why don't you say that?

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Sssh. Hush. Boy, you haven't learned anything, you'll never be a "leader" like me. THE MILITANT is a "socialist newsweekly/published in the interests of the working people." Trotskyism-- that's for later. If they knew we were Trotskyists they'd take our ads out of the NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS.

Young worker: I think I know enough about what the differences are. I think I'll go to the meeting of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and find out more about them.

pseudo-Trotskyist "leader": Sectarian! Ultra-leftist! Creep!

(CURTAIN)

Fiction or reality? One discussion can't prove anything to you once and for all. But we are the only ones in the United States ready to openly defend our claim to represent Trotskyism in the US against its pseudo-revolutionary frauds. And we aren't afraid of any of your questions.

Our meetings on October 27th and October 28th will help to organize all interested workers, youth and militants in this discussion and in a common fight alongside our party and alongside the Revolutionary Youth International to prove the meaning of our fight to RETURN TO LENIN in the United States by rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International.
October 26, 1978

CHILE - 5 YEARS LATER STALINISTS & CENTRISTS AGAIN PREPARE TREACHERY

Part III

By PEDRO RAMIREZ

After five years, Pinochet's regime is again submerged in a profound instability, confronted with the resurgence of the Chilean workers movement, being re-composed again after the massacre. This process involves all the Latin American dictatorships because the defeats of the proletariat have not changed the hegemony of the proletariat in the international class struggle, a hegemony won beginning with the General Strike in France and the beginning of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968. This hegemony of the proletariat has made the disorganization of the workers movement after every defeat only partial and transitory. This is the essence of the new revolutionary wave which has shaken the dictatorships in the Southern Cone of the American continent, after a series of defeats which culminated with the Videla dictatorship in Argentina in 1976.

This profound instability in Latin America has forced Carter to try to wash the faces of its dictators, with the collaboration of Stalinism in order to maintain his domination. This is the "solution" that they are preparing in Nicaragua with the Broad Opposition Front and this is the road that Corvalan's Chilean CP is preparing under the best wishes of the US State Department.

FROM THE POPULAR FRONT TO THE SUPPORT TO THE INSTIGATORS OF THE COUP IN CHILE

The collapse of the Chilean Popular Front, the Popular Unity, as well as the attempts to set this up in other countries, due to the impossibility of containing the mass struggles and the open initiative of the proletariat has forced Stalinism to put forward an even closer collaboration with the bourgeoisie and imperialism in order to defend the endangered order of peaceful coexistence. And it is in the framework of this collaboration that the Chilean CP runs to the service of the bourgeois state to prevent the crisis of the Military Junta from turning into the revolutionary mobilization of the masses to finish with it.

This mobilization has already begun with the strike of the El Teniente copper mines, a mobilization limited to wage demands which expresses the stage of recomposition of the Chilean workers'

movement after the massacre set up by the Popular Unity, a recomposition given life by the open response against the Plebiscite organized by Pinochet's Junta. It is this initial mobilization, still limited, which has made the CP accelerate its maneuvers to block the way forward.

Thus, Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean CP stated: "The CP has become convinced that in Chile, probably as well in other countries in Latin America, an understanding is necessary between the working class and the people and the patriotic currents which exist in the military forces" and he proposes that "the democratically designated authorities" arise out of "the participation, not only of civilians, but also the military."

This declaration is a declaration of war against the proletariat in which the CP is ready to defend the state in the hands of the fascist general against the upsurge of the masses. There is no longer any room for the Popular Front and now, as in Spain, the CP must join ranks with the most reactionary elements of the state, with the army, in order to defend it.

With this goal the CP is ready to give all its support to the Christian Democracy. One must not forget the fact that it was this party which prepared Pinochet's coup with the collaboration of the CIA. The CP is ready to support the Christian Democracy in the maneuvers to move Pinochet out of the picture, following the orientation of Carter, with the promise of keeping control over the workers in order to give way to a government which will reform the facade of dictatorship in order to keep the military's control over the country.

The MIR has been incapable of drawing a balance sheet of the defeat prepared by the Popular Front policy in which it was its left support. Since the coup it has launched itself towards a deeper capitulation with respect to Stalinism, participating in the political disarmament of the masses. In such a way that in November of last year they issued a declaration proposing an alliance with the Christian Democracy, hidden in the phrase, "with the sectors who did not participate in the coup." This is a very pretty way of presenting, again from the left, its collaboration with the CP in the policy of subjecting the masses. The Christian Democracy was

the CP, "pressuring it" to take the lead of the mobilization against Pinochet. They still have not understood, nor will they ever, that the CP has embarked in its collaboration with the Christian Democracy and the "patriotic" sectors of the army to prevent the workers from leading the mobilization against Pinochet. The treacherous illusions that they sow among the masses, on the part of both the Chilean Liga



Congress of the French LCR in 1968-- a celebration of guerrillazism

fundamentally dedicated to the preparation of the military coup and if today they show their opposition they are doing it in order to support Pinochet even longer, to stop his fall.

But this is not an attitude just of the MIR. The Chilean friends of the OCI, in the Alliance Committee of the Trotskyist Militants of Chile, also join the train of capitulation. In this case, and in the name of "orthodox" Trotskyism, these usurpers try to channel the recomposition of the workers movement into the Socialist Party. More concretely, into the National Regional Coordination which is fighting to set up the Sacred Union with the Christian Democrats. But it does not stop here. In the resolution of their last Conference they proclaimed the necessity of giving the Chilean proletariat a --democratic-- program. Now the socialist revolution is not on the order of the day, now it concerns realizing a democratic program. On the road of forcing the traditional leaderships to organize a Popular Front?

Sadly for them, the Popular Front has passed into history and the only thing that they can do, which they do in a thousand different ways, is to lead the elements who are seeking the Fourth International into the hands of Stalinism, even if this is through the Socialist Party.

At the same time the Pabloites also put their marbles into the ring of Stalinist plans. On the one hand, they continue the battle to reorient their natural sons, the MIR, washing the face of their policy of open capitulation, while on the other hand, they adapt to

Communist and the friends of the OCI is even more criminal because it is realized in the name of the Fourth International, deviating the revolutionary potential of the workers, disarming them and again leading them to defeat.

In this situation the international campaign of Solidarity With Chile, proposed by the centrists and the Pabloites in particular, deviates the attention of the workers in the name of an empty solidarity, in order to avoid presenting the problem of revolutionary leadership, the problem which we will present in the next and final chapter of this series.

September 18, 1978

TRANSLATED FROM ISSUE #184 of LA AURORA, journal of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

**Subscribe to
LA AURORA !**

**Newspaper of the
Spanish Section of the
Fourth International
(weekly)**

\$13 - 6 MONTHS

**Checks payable to:
TRUTH Inc.
PO Box 07066
Detroit, MI 48207**

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

PART IV. A "FREE INTERNAL DISCUSSION"

By JON COHEN

Now we come to the Big Lie.

In this series of articles dealing with the way in which the pseudo-Trotskyists apologize for and support the crimes of Castroism in the Two Americas; specifically through an examination of Joseph Hansen's DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, we have constantly come up against the Lie.

We saw how Hansen begins his book by saying he is writing it because "Cuba is again in the news," covering up for the fact that he is really writing it because inside his own organization there is a developing opposition to his support to Castro, an opposition which he must try to answer. And that in Latin America itself more and more revolutionary militants are trying to draw a balance sheet of the betrayals of Castroism.

We also showed how in a book of over 400 pages Hansen managed to "forget" mentioning the Cuban working class, much less its revolutionary potential. That this was no omission but a conscious lie on Hansen's part to identify the Cuban Revolution with the Stalinist leadership which betrayed it, to make workers believe that everything in Cuba happened through the actions of Fidel Castro and his petty bourgeois July 26th Movement.

Finally, we exposed the fraud of the "orthodox" Joseph Hansen of today who now claims to oppose guerillaism and "armed struggle." That Hansen joined the Pabloites in 1963 on the basis of support to guerillaism, that he was the most fervent cheerleader for Castro's guerilla policy until Castro himself became "orthodox" and directly integrated himself into Jimmy Carter's "human rights" policy with the SWP tagging along.

The Lie is part and parcel of capitalist society and the bourgeoisie's domination of the working class. Every worker and youth knows that there isn't a single aspect of bourgeois society -- government, schools, religion, the mass media -- that isn't dominated by the principle of the Lie.

The "pseudo-Trotskyists" continue these lies in the name of the Fourth International -- in order to confuse and demoralize revolutionary-minded workers and youth who, if they want anything out of revolution and a revolutionary organization, want the truth.

What is Hansen's Big Lie that is icing on his centrist cake? In his Introduction Hansen refers to the documents that are being published in the book as "documents that were part of a free internal discussion held in the SWP in 1960-61."

What's the big deal, you may say? After all, even if this turns out to be a lie, it can't be as bad as all the others in the book?

But it is indeed as bad and is indeed the Big Lie. Because what Hansen calls a "free internal discussion held in the SWP" are "polite" and lying words for the decision of the leadership of the SWP to abandon the fight for the Fourth International

in the United States and to join its liquidators in 1963.

A decision Hansen wants to push under the rug because this is indeed what the "Cuban discussion" is all about and its real significance for American workers. Trotskyism has existed in the United States for 50 years. The Socialist Workers Party, as a founding organization of the Fourth International, was once the pillar of the Fourth International. From 1928 until 1963 the Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party represented the revolutionary party of the American working class.

Hansen wants to pass the abandonment of all this off as "a free internal discussion." Something which was neither "free" nor "internal" and least of all a "discussion."

What Hansen wants to hide from workers and militants of the SWP is the struggle of those who fought this capitulation and who continue to fight against it today. What he above all wants to hide is a real discussion of what the Fourth International is all about.

In 1953 an open crisis had developed inside the Fourth International. By 1953 a pro-Stalinist tendency had developed inside the FI under the leadership of a man called Pablo. The tendency, called Pabloism, denied the independent and decisive role of the Fourth International. It proclaimed that Stalinism was a historically progressive tendency, that what was before the working class was "centuries of deformed workers states" in which the Fourth International could only swim with this tide alongside Stalinism.

It was not just a "theory." The Pabloites dissolved the sections of the Fourth International into the Stalinist and Socialist parties wherever they were unopposed. And in 1953 they hailed the Kremlin for sending its tanks into East Berlin to crush the workers uprising there.

But the Fourth International was saved from betrayal and liquidation. An opposition beginning with the French Section, joined later by the English and the SWP began a fight against Pabloism. This fight was culminated by the OPEN LETTER of the SWP leadership which in 1953 proclaimed the "total and irreconcilable split with the tendency called Pabloism" and organized the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE of the Fourth International.

The International Committee preserved and represented the continuity of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky against the Pabloites who were organized in the International Secretariat.

In 1963 Hansen and the SWP LEFT the International Committee and joined the Pabloite "United" Secretariat. A fact. Something no one in the world can deny. But it is this fact that receives no mention in Hansen's book and is instead referred to as a "free internal discussion."

You would think that if you leave one organization and join another there should at least be some explanation. But not if you are a liar and a pseudo-Trotskyist.

Hansen's "free internal discussion" is in fact the process by which the leadership of the SWP abandoned the organizational and political fight of the International Committee, that is, the continuity of the Fourth International and went over to the side of its liquidators -- the Pabloite United Secretariat.

This is what the "discussion" over Cuba was all about -- the political rationalizations of Hansen and the rest of the SWP leadership for abandoning the Program of the Fourth International and accepting all the fundamental tenets of Pabloism.

One only has to read the document of their 1963 "Reunification" Congress to see that all the fundamentals of Pabloism were accepted by the SWP -- "entryism," "integration" into the "Fidelista currents," "building the party in the process of the revolution itself," etc., etc.

And one only has to look at the immediate practical conclusions of this "reunification" to see how little it had to do with the Fourth International: a year later, in 1964, Pablo himself broke with this "United" Secretariat to become an official in the Ben Bella government in Algeria and on July 5, 1964 the LSSP of Ceylon, proclaimed by the Pabloites as the "only real mass Trotskyist party in the world" joined a bourgeois government. This is the "International" the SWP chose.

It was not an "internal" discussion as Hansen claims. It was INTERNATIONAL and an opposition was organized on an international level to defend the International Committee and the continuity of the Fourth International against Hansen, led by the British SLL (now WRP) and French OCI. And on all the fundamental questions, from the nature of the revolution in Cuba, to the question of the continuity of the Fourth International, the International Committee fought Pabloism and the capitulation of the SWP to it.

Now was the discussion "free." Hansen neglects to mention that those inside the Socialist Workers Party who opposed this capitulation, not just on the question of Cuba, but on the question of the International Committee as well, were all bureaucratically and un-democratically expelled, under one pretext or another, from the SWP. Those who led this opposition, but soon themselves abandoned the International Committee, are today called the Workers League and Spartacist League.

Finally, it was not just a "discussion." At stake was not a little academic debate over the "nature" of the Cuban state or over "whether one can recognize a revolution when one sees it," but over the Fourth International itself. Over the existence of the organization which represents the only hope for humanity.

dynamics of the cuban revolution

the trotskyst view
by joseph hansen

A centrist apology for Stalinism

At stake with the revolution in Cuba was the question of Castroism and the response of the Fourth International, as the world party of the socialist revolution, as the continuity of the Russian Revolution of 1917 to it. Either affirm the Fourth International against Stalinism, which is the only reason the Fourth International exists, or abandon it in favor of Stalinism. The leadership of the SWP chose the latter course.

The characterization that the International Committee made in 1966 of the policy of the SWP remains true today:

"The building of an independent workers party and the establishment of workers' councils in Cuba as part of a proletarian internationalist orientation, with the extension of the revolution to Latin America and a revolutionary alliance with the workers of the USA and the rest of the world is completely abandoned. The "aid" of the Soviet bureaucracy is not seen in the context of the international class struggle, with the bureaucracy striving to trade the Cuban revolution for its own purposes, but as a "progressive" assistance to Cuba. The theories about petty bourgeois revolutionists being "unconscious Marxists" about "Jacobin leaderships sui generis," about "revolutionary parties being built in the course of the revolution itself" about "special conditions" in the backward countries which outdate the theory of the crisis of leadership, all of these have served in practice to assist the petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist leaders, who assisted by Stalinism, have managed to contain the mass revolutionary struggles in the colonial countries within the framework of continued world domination of imperialism."

It was the Fourth International that was at stake and Hansen's betrayal had its practical conclusions. Entire sections of the International Committee followed the SWP's "reunification" and totally disappeared (Chile). Thousands of youth in Latin America were lost forever to the Fourth International after being led into the dead-end of guerillaism and Castroism. And thousands of youth in the US were forever lost to Trotskyism, who, seeking the Fourth International, only found the creeping pacifism of the SWP in the anti-war movement.

It continues today as Hugo Blanco of the United Secretariat can speak to thousands of workers in Peru about "revolution" without once mentioning the Stalinists who are actively betraying the miner's strike taking place under his nose. Or as they can blithely write about Nicaragua: "In spite of the slaughter during the dark days of September, the insufficient organization of the masses, and the crisis of revolutionary leadership, the Nicaraguan revolution is continuing its course." (MILITANT, October 27, 1978)

For the pseudo-Trotskyists, in the end



CASTRO BEGINS A "DIALOGUE" WITH "GUSANOS"

Fidel Castro and the Stalinist bureaucracy which rules Cuba are a daily menace to the socialist conquests of the workers and peasants in Cuba.

As we have said before, it was not Castro and the July 26th Movement which made the revolution in Cuba. It was the Cuban workers who seized the factories and land, who defended their conquests at the Bay of Pigs against US imperialism and the Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

But it was Castro and the Stalinist bureaucracy which deformed this revolution, which took power out of the hands of the Cuban workers, which organizes a reign of terror against them today in the service of US imperialism

Castro and the Stalinist bureaucracy are agents of imperialism. And everyday they threaten to destroy the conquests of the workers in Cuba through their policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, a policy which is getting more and more treacherous each day.

One only has to look at a recent press conference given by Castro in Havana on September 6th. The text of the conference has been reprinted in the US in both the journals of the American Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (great minds think alike?).

Everyday, Castro makes more and more concessions to US imperialism. He already finked on the Katangan rebels who invaded Zaire to the US State Department. He has already declared himself ready to vote for Jimm Carter in 1980.

Now he says that US imperialism has no counter-revolutionary intentions towards Cuba: "But we cannot say that at present the Government of the US is giving support to terrorism or to armed counter-revolutionary actions against Cuba."

What a deception! What a way to disarm the Cuban and American workers! If US imperialism is today not directly organizing "terrorism" and "armed" actions it is only because they have a better way to open up Cuba to capitalism and capitalist restoration -- the Castro bureaucracy itself. And the US Naval Base at Guantanamo? Probably there just for the nice weather.

And now Castro has entered into a discussion with the US bourgeoisie

result the Fourth International does not matter. That is the meaning of the above quotation and the meaning of the Big Lie of DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

This is what the "free internal discussion" was about. This is what every "discussion" today over Cuba and Castroism is all about.

Its about those who defend and continue the fight of the Fourth International against those who have abandoned it and betray it today in its name.

The construction of an international center of the world revolution. This is what is at stake in the fight against Castroism and its centrist supporters in the Two Americas. This is what is at stake in the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International against Hansen's Big Lie and to rebuild the Fourth International throughout the Americas.

Join us in this fight in the US and throughout Latin America in the preparation of the Fourth International's Conference of the Two Americas which will take place this coming Spring.
October 25, 1978

through the means of a "dialogue" with what he now calls the Cuban "community" in the US.

Castro declares that the old term, "gusanos" -- meaning counter-revolutionaries -- no longer applies to the Cubans living in exile. They are no longer counter-revolutionaries, but part of a "community."

"The fact that they do not support the Revolution doesn't matter, but we are pleased to see ... that the Cuban community tries to maintain its languages, customs and national identity. This arouses our solidarity and appreciation, even if they don't support the Revolution." It doesn't matter to Castro: "whether they are a Cuban millionaire or a workers in the emigre community... this is a national and not a class question."

But it is indeed a class question and Castro is on the wrong side. All of this talk about "community" is designed to cover up for a closer and closer alliance of the Stalinist regime in Cuba with US imperialism which means closer and closer ties with both the US and Cuban bourgeoisie.

This Cuban "community" that Castro refers to are indeed, as a whole, counter-revolutionary. Their fascist gangs are a daily threat to any left-wing or workers meeting in Miami, where they are concentrated. They are consistently used by the US bourgeoisie to break the trade union movement in Miami. And the Cuban bourgeoisie in the US has become a financial conduit for the South American bourgeoisie, trying to move their saving out of their countries.

And Castro dares to compare, in this interview, these counter-revolutionaries with "Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, blacks and Indians" in the United States, upon whose rights these "gusanos" have consistently trampled.

This latest "dialogue" only confirms what the Fourth International has always said -- the revolution in the Two Americas cannot take place without removing this parasitical bureaucracy headed up by Castro.

J.C.
October 23, 1978

BOURGEOIS FEMINISM IS AN OBSTACLE TO WOMAN'S LIBERATION

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

A few weeks ago the US Senate decided to prohibit states in favor of the ERA (an amendment to the US Constitution declaring equal rights for women) from reversing their positions. It decided to allow other states more time (July 1982) to pass the amendment.

Days later, NOW, the National Organization of Women, associated with the Democratic Party's liberal wing, met to figure out how to implement this decision.

Both the Stalinist Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party are heralding these decisions as great victories for the working class, as a defeat for the "ultra-right."

Most young workers are probably inclined to ignore all this, as they are most things associated in any way with the racist, imperialist US Senate. Others probably think: "Well, that's cool; at least they did something right. Maybe we'll get something out of it."

But working class youth must take up the struggle to organize the masses of women of their class and to defend and fight for their rights.

They must reject, isolate, and defeat the pseudo-revolutionary SWP, which like the Stalinist Communist Party presents collaboration with this totally bourgeois organization, NOW, and passing an amendment to the Constitution as "women's liberation."

With the rest of the young generation of the working class, young women have begun to take their place in the front lines of workers' struggles -- the Essex strike in auto, the steel strike, the miners' strike, the recent public workers' strikes. They want education, jobs, the social services they need for their families and themselves without which "Equal Rights" is a joke. They have less and less confidence in the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie is incapable of providing even education and jobs for young women, much less the massive investment necessary to build the public dining rooms, laundries, childcare centers necessary to really free working class women. It has no hopes of containing their struggle. So it seeks to CRUSH the youth, while CHANNELING the masses into struggle for reforms; on this basis it will proceed to crush the movement as a whole.

Thus the bourgeoisie makes it difficult to get abortions, a service used most by young people. It even encourages the formation of right-wing gangs which attack young women using abortion clinics. "Girls who play must pay," says a "distinguished" Senator in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. If you can't

get an abortion, what does "equal rights" mean? Nothing.

At the same time, the majority of the bourgeoisie supports NOW and the Equal Rights Amendment. They want to give the impression they are still reformable; that workers need not build a party to do away with the bourgeoisie and its institutions.

And the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party is right up alongside them, with front page editorials, congratulating the bourgeoisie for being so responsive, giving this fraud a "progressive," even "revolutionary" and "Trotskyist" veneer, covering up the bourgeois plot against the youth and workers. They want young women of the working class to join them, to start campaigning with NOW for the ERA.

WHAT TO DO?

Working class youth must organize the women of their class alongside the masses of workers. They must make them conscious of their place in society, of their rights. They must rouse them to fight for EVERYTHING they need, a total revolutionary transformation of this society, against this state which supports all the reactionary old ways.

The workers forces must be united. All the questions which concern the masses of workers concern women as well. They must deepen this struggle with further demands against the bourgeoisie and its state. They must not settle for half-measures.

Working class women must be won to the construction of the Workers Party and the destruction of the state which profits from and maintains their oppression.

Working class women must be won to Leninism and Trotskyism. Lenin and Trotsky built the party which led the revolution in Russia, which involved the masses of women and won them freedom. They not only began to build all the material things necessary for women to be free, but they also began an educational campaign to free the masses from all the reactionary and religious prejudices against women.

The lessons of this struggle are summarized in the resolutions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International. Here the International dedicates itself to the struggle across the world to rally working class women for their rights against the bourgeoisie, to win them to the ranks of the world party and turn them into fighters for the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"All relationships of the woman worker with bourgeois feminism, as well as all support given to the tactics of half-measures of the social coalitionists and the opportunists can only weaken the proletariat's forces

SWP militant Dianne Feeley with her bourgeois feminist "friends." Midge Costanza is a former White House aide to Jimmy Carter. (photo from THE MILITANT)



GLORIA STEINEM



KATE MILLETT



JEAN O'LEARY



DIANNE FEELEY



MIDGE COSTANZA



ARLIE SCOTT

and, by delaying the social revolution, block the realization of communism, i.e., the liberation of women."

Further: "(We must) dissuade workers of all countries from ANY (our emphasis) sort of collaboration or coalition with bourgeois feminists..." ("Theses for Propaganda Among Women").

Is there any reason not to continue this struggle, not to fill working class women with hatred for the bourgeois National Organization of Women and its half-measure, the ERA?

AN OBSTACLE TO THIS FIGHT IS THE SWP

They build up bourgeois feminists, say the NOW Convention is a step forward. The October 20th MILITANT contains a long report on it, publishes its resolutions. Their only qualm about NOW is that it didn't endorse the SWP proposal for ERA demonstrations. Instead NOW wants to lobby for the ERA and expel the SWP! What gratitude!

They try to find issues on which to agree with bourgeois liberals, like the ERA. "Our strength lies in the potential to build a mass movement that includes Democrats, Republicans, socialists, women form all walks of life" they say.

Because this policy of collaboration with bourgeois feminists and support to half-measures goes against all the experiences of the workers movement -- the feminists have always stabbed the women workers in the back, sooner or later -- the SWP attacks the workers movement.

They say Lenin and Trotsky didn't see the importance of an "independent movement" to fight

for women's rights. They say they learned this from the masses. That's why they're "socialist-feminists" now.

What they mean is that Lenin and Trotsky didn't see the need for a movement INDEPENDENT of the workers' movement and DEPENDENT on the bourgeoisie. That they didn't see the need for socialists to adapt themselves to it, to call themselves "socialist feminists," as if socialism, that is, the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, were compatible with feminism, the limitation of struggle to reform.

But they are wrong. Lenin and Trotsky did see this "need." They called it opportunist. They denounced it.

The SWP's participation in this bourgeois plot has two effects. It turns young workers off to Trotskyism. It makes Trotskyism look like suburban radicalism. The young men and women of the working class have enough people looking down their noses at them. They don't need to join a movement with some self-proclaimed feminist saviours.

They give credibility to the bourgeois feminists they wouldn't otherwise have. Nobody paid any attention to NOW until the SWP dragged it out of the moth balls. It was washed up.

To organize the working class youth it is above all necessary to distinguish the revolutionary policy concerning the liberation of women, Lenin's and Trotsky's policy, against the SWP and NOW.

Workers play for keeps. Let the SWP fool with feminism. But don't let anyone think this has anything to do with Leninism and Trotskyism.

October 24, 1978

SWP's Dilemma --

Who do you discuss with if there aren't any "Euro-Communists" around?

Look at the leaflet reprinted alongside this article. "The Militant Forum" are meetings organized by the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

The third, "bureaucrat's viewpoint", that of AFL-CIO head Tom Turner, did not bother to show up for the meeting.

Thus, those attending had the dubious pleasure of being harangued for several hours by the openly bourgeois proponents of "tax reform"—just one more counter-revolutionary scheme of the ruling class.

Throughout the country, beginning with "Proposition 13" in California, the ruling class has begun a mobilization of the middle classes against the workers and oppressed under the guise of "tax reform." Everywhere, this "tax reform" means more profits for the large corporations, cuts in social services and education, layoffs and union-busting for the workers and poor.

The speakers from the wealthy suburb of Bloomfield Hills (where the auto bosses live) made this crystal clear. (They had no idea that "socialists" were organizing the meeting and were at least honest).

One speaker, who scabbed during the OAKLAND PRESS strike and was "proud of it" denounced an auto worker in the audience for being "greedy" and attacked a black woman who asked about money for schools by saying: "schools are nothing but free babysitters for all these women out working."

The other speaker showed a film based on quotations from the economist, Milton Friedman, the author of Pinochet's "austerity plan" in Chile.

The meeting was a disaster for the SWP. They had relied on the AFL-CIO bureaucrat to give the "workers viewpoint" and were totally disarmed. The politeness and conciliation of the SWP leadership towards this bourgeois trash disgusted even some militants of the SWP who tried to wage a fight against these counter-revolutionaries.

The disaster was made obvious by our intervention, an intervention which denounced this fraud of "tax reform" and all those involved with it. After we intervened, the bourgeois speaker cried out: "Why, you're talking about a revolution in this country!" Then, he thanked our comrade, saying, "At least somebody here has some opinions."

Things were so confused for the SWP that many of the independent workers present thought that the Trotskyist Organization/USA represented the audience of the meeting (workers, members of the SWP) and that the "Militant" re-

TAX REFORM IN MICHIGAN: THREE OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS



"The figure shows that to maintain a middle-level standard of living, a family needs an upper-level income."

HENRY DODGE
TAXPAYERS UNITED FOR TAX LIMITATION

REPRESENTATIVE
COALITION FOR PROPERTY TAX REFORM IN MICHIGAN

TOM TURNER
PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO METRO COUNCIL

THE MILITANT FORUM
Sunday, October 15, 1978 - 7:00 pm
Hilberry C
Student Center Bldg.
Wayne State University

FOR MORE INFORMATION: 86-8877

LABOR DONATED

presented the bourgeois speakers and the SWP leadership. Politically, but not yet organizationally true.

But there is a method to this madness. This is the consequence and practical conclusions of the "socialist unity" being organized by the pseudo-Trotskyists around the world. This is how they are preparing their coming 11th Congress.

Around the world they have entered into "discussions" with all the traditional leaderships and enemies of the working class.

It is above all a "discussion" with the Stalinist apparatus. Specifically, with its "Euro-Communist" wing, a faction of world Stalinism which openly defends "democratic" capitalism. The pseudo-Trotskyists claim that this is progressive, that there is a "democratic evolution" of Stalinism, that under "pressure" the Stalinist parties in Europe can be reformed.

Thus, in Spain the pseudo-Trotskyist comrades of the SWP attend meetings of the Spanish Communist Party. They go to its cocktail parties. They even have joint soccer matches! In France they "debate" the most right-wing, pro-capitalist factions of the French Communist Party. In Mexico they sign joint statements.

This is all called "socialist unity" and "non-sectarianism."

But alas! There are no real "Euro-Communists" in the United States to "discuss" with. At least not the American CP, which still talks about "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" and "Trotskyite police agents."

How can the SWP leadership carry out the "socialist unity"

line of the 11th Congress? How can it prove how "non-sectarian" it is?

Don't worry. While "Euro-Communists" may be lacking, there is no lack of defenders of capitalism either inside or outside of the workers movement in the United States. To "discuss" with.

And the SWP leadership seems to have found them all. Right-wing trade union bureaucrats like Tom Turner and Doug Fraser. Left-wing bureaucrats like Ed Sadlowski. Democratic Party politicians in NOW (National Organization of Women) and the NAACP.

Even openly bourgeois trash like these proponents of "tax reform."

A friendly "debate", not with "Euro-Communists" but with the

direct representatives of US imperialism. Which should give the SWP leadership the first prize for "socialist unity" at the 11th Congress for solving this dilemma. Although there is plenty of international competition.

A Congress which has left just one thing out of its preparation—the world revolution and the interests of the working class and youth.

A Congress and a "discussion" which is an obstacle to this revolution.

A Congress whose "preparation" turns into chaos whenever it is confronted with the conscious intervention of the Fourth International.

J.C.

October 24, 1978

RAMÓN MERCADER: Another Stalinist assassin escapes justice

On October 18, 1978 Ramon Mercader died of cancer in Havana, Cuba. He was 65 years old.

Who was Ramon Mercader? He was the man who, on August 21, 1940 assassinated Leon Trotsky, the founder and leader of the Fourth International.

Mercader spent twenty years in a Mexican prison for this crime.

But he did not act alone. There is today no doubt that Trotsky's assassination was organized by Stalin in Moscow. That the Stalinist secret police, the GPU, which had already gained a wealth of experience in the assassination of revolutionaries and Trotskyists in Spain, organized Mercader, as a member of the Spanish Communist Party to carry out this counter-revolutionary crime.

And there is no doubt that along with the international Stalinist apparatus as a whole, both the Mexican and American Communist Parties participated in this assassination.

Although cancer saved Mercader from the revolutionary justice of the working class for his crime, the story is not over. There remains individuals in the ranks of the Kremlin, the Spanish, Mexican and American Communist Parties who played a DIRECT role in Trotsky's assassination. These criminals who provided a tremendous service to the international bourgeoisie must be tried and brought to justice by the

working class.

This is part and parcel of the revolutionary fight of the workers and youth throughout the world to DESTROY the Stalinist apparatus as the central obstacle in front of the world revolution today.

In this fight the pseudo-Trotskyists who today are begging the Stalinist apparatus for the "rehabilitation of Trotsky", begging for the recognition of Trotskyism as a "legitimate current" must be exposed and scorned by every revolutionary worker and youth, by everyone who remembers Trotsky's assassination and his assassins.

The pseudo-Trotskyists deserve nothing but contempt for asking these mass murderers and assassins for Trotsky's "rehabilitation". They spit on Trotsky's memory and block the revolutionary workers from finishing with Stalinism once and for all.

And one more thing. Mercader lived out the last three years of his life peacefully in Cuba sheltered by the Castro regime which the pseudo-Trotskyists call "revolutionary" and a "workers state." Living as a guest of honor while Trotskyists and other revolutionaries continue to rot in Castro's prisons.

Mercader escaped justice. The workers and youth must see to it that the rest of the Stalinist apparatus and their allies do not. October 24, 1978

50 YEARS OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

OUR PARTY IS THE PARTY OF LENIN!

By ANN NELSON

More than ever before, the Stalinists-- of the Kremlin as well as the "Euro-Communists"-- are attacking the foundation of Leninism. The method of this attack is the attempt to identify Stalinism (the lack of political freedom, the betrayal of the working class) with Leninism (the revolutionary road forward for the working class.)

What does this mean for working class youth in the United States? It means that many turn away from revolutionary methods because they reject Stalinism. They reject the political repression in the Soviet Union and many youth refer to the lack of rights in the factories as "communism." In this way the Stalinists reinforce the propaganda of Carter's government that it is no use to struggle because "all leaderships turn bad, bureaucratic and dictatorial." It is with this lie that imperialism tries to make the youth accept the fierce repression of the capitalist State and its police, the unemployment and the lack of freedom in the United States.

The "Euro-Communists"-- the leaders of the French, Spanish and Italian Communist Parties-- have gone even further in the attack on the working class. They have added into their Congresses and resolutions that it is Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat that is the source of the repression of the Soviet State and its collaboration with the capitalists. This is not a new argument, but was begun by the capitalists themselves when Stalinism began to usurp the power of the workers revolution in the 1920's and 30's. They said: "See, Leninism led to Stalinism". This is precisely the source of the "revelation" of the "Euro-Communists"-- imperialism itself. This is real anti-communism.

The policy of the Trotskyist Organization USA and the Fourth International is to stop this attack of the "Euro-Communists" and the centrists such as the "United Secretariat" who say these "Euro-Communists" are "more democratic" than the "real Stalinists."

We are leading this fight under the banner of "Return to Lenin."

For the youth who are fighting all over the world to gain the weapon of all the experiences and methods of the revolution as their own to stop the attack of the imperialists which becomes more acute every day. This is contained in the resolutions of the 6th Congress of the Fourth International which are available in the English edition of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and in the Theses of the Trotskyist Organization both of which are available from TRUTH (see advertisements on this page).

What are the lessons of

Leninism? What was the fight that Lenin led? And why are these weapons for the youth in the United States?

It was Lenin who defined the dictatorship of the proletariat against the renegades of his time who were calling for a "democratic" dictatorship of several classes and many parties in Russia in 1917. Under the slogan "democratic" dictatorship, the renegades of 1917 were in fact renouncing the taking of power by the working class. Lenin fought for the seizure of power by the WORKING CLASS as the only class capable of achieving a complete democratization of social relations.

In this way Lenin defined WORKERS DEMOCRACY as opposed to abstract democracy or "democracy" in general which is in fact democracy only for the few who hold power under capitalism. The workers in the US always doubt Carter's or Kennedy's calls for "democracy." Lenin said that THERE IS NO SUCH thing, only CLASS democracy and he fought for the democracy of the workers against the capitalists whose "rights" do not have the same meaning.

Not only did Lenin define the only revolutionary democracy-- Workers Democracy-- and its organized expression: the dictatorship of the proletariat, but he led the construction of the first revolutionary, disciplined combat party. This party had one purpose-- to organize the seizure of power by the working class. And even before the Russian revolution Lenin fought for the revolutionary INTERNATIONAL party-- the Third International.

The dictatorship of the proletariat meant that NO OTHER solutions were real for the masses of workers. NO reform was possible of the capitalist government which can only be based on exploitation and repression. No half-way measures could be taken but the complete destruction of the capitalist state-- its police, courts and all its other means of maintaining power over the working

class. The truly democratic methods of radically changing social relations were the soviets, the representative bodies of the workers themselves. The leadership of the government is the party of the working class. Lenin said that it would be necessary for the working class to exercise its own dictatorship which was done after the Russian revolution.

This is very different from the proposals of the Socialist Workers Party which in the United States has given itself the role of the "Euro-Communists" in attacking the fundamentals of Leninism. According to the SWP revolutionary methods are supporting the trade union leaders in reformist calls for a "labor party."

In the latest issue of the MILITANT (newspaper of the SWP) a worker would get the impression that the Bolsheviks used elections as the means for attaining power in the Soviet Union. But this is not the case. It was above all through the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat against reform of the government that the Bolsheviks took state power. The centrists have openly attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat substituting for it in recent resolutions the notion of a "multi-tendency revolutionary party", electoralism and reliance on the

trade union bureaucracy. To coincide with their renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the SWP now tries to reform Stalinism by calling for "democratic rights" in the Soviet Union instead of the political overthrow of the bureaucracy.

This is today the principle obstacle in front of the working class youth in the United States. In their rejection of Stalinism, the youth are confronted with those calling themselves "Trotskyists" who tell them to respect Stalinism, who aid the capitalists and the Stalinists in identifying Stalinism with Leninism.

The fundamental tenets of Leninism: a revolutionary combat party, Workers Democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat are weapons of the working class youth. It was the fight of Lenin and the Bolsheviks which spurred the founding of the first revolutionary party on American soil-- the American Communist Party in September 1919. It is in the tradition of these first communists and all the struggles of the American working class that the US Section of the Fourth International is being built today. It is being built in a fight to win the working class youth TO RETURN TO LENIN.

October 24, 1978



**GET
YOUR
COPY
TODAY!**

**FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL
JUST OUT!**

**-- CENTRAL
RESOLUTIONS
FI 6TH CONGRESS**

**BUILD THE PARTY
OF THE
AMERICAN
REVOLUTION!**

**Theses on the Rebuilding of the
American Section of the
Fourth International**

Send \$1 to TRUTH

APPEAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL: FREE KLEBANOV!

To the youth of the entire world-- to trade union militants and political parties!

Comrades!

On February 1, 1978 several Soviet workers, including Vladimir Klebanov, an unemployed miner from Donbas, held a press conference in Moscow during which they announced the CREATION OF A FREE TRADE UNION (AND INDEPENDENT FROM THE BUREAUCRACY) IN THE SOVIET

"Palestinian" Puts Palestinians to sleep By RICH TETRAULT

The position of centrist organizations, such as the SWP and the Workers League is too well known. For years they have diffused the strength of the workers by calling for reforms.

In keeping with this pseudo-revolutionary policy, the Workers League (WL), supported and kept alive in great part by one of its well-known members, Vanessa Redgrave, produced a movie which was supposed to explain the repression against the Palestinian people and as an organization claiming to represent the Fourth International, it should be able to offer the road forward for the Palestinians based on the policy of the Fourth International.

The movie failed on all accounts.

The movie, entitled, "The Palestinian," was released several months ago and recently shown in Detroit. The Trotskyist Organization/USA attended and, using the most recent copies of TRUTH and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, discussed the Palestinian situation and the policy of the Fourth International with many young Palestinians who debated vigorously with the TO/USA prior to the movie.

It was generally agreed that the Palestinian situation was not particularly unique, but yet another example of the treacherous imperialist state. It was further pointed out that the only means of combatting such an enemy is through an international organization that wages a constant battle against imperialism and supports the oppressed masses throughout the world.

During our discussion with the youth present, members of a group passing out literature slandering the PLO interrupted our discussion only to be threatened by the fiery youth nearby. We demanded an explanation from this group, which claimed to belong to no organization but insisted that the PLO was "terrorist." Members of the WL present interrupted and called on the Palestinian youth present to retreat from the discussion. It was obvious that they did not want to take a position.

The movie began with Vanessa Redgrave interviewing a doctor

UNION. Their first document carried the signature of 43 persons.

It is the first attempt in a long time to create a working class organization in the USSR outside of the state machinery. As well, this initiative goes beyond the framework of the USSR itself-- since then in Poland; at Katowice and Glansk, associations of free trade unions have been formed. Similar attempts have been effectuated in Rumania.

who was part of the staff at Tel Zaatar. The doctor described in great detail the poor conditions at the camp. Ms. Redgrave's facial expressions were a virtual reflection of the doctor's descriptions.

The movie continued in true travelogue style, bouncing from the sundrenched coast to bombed out cities to the Lebanese border and the front lines. It became clear that the movie was devised to bring about erratic emotional responses.

But the people who came to see "The Palestinian", most of whom were Palestinians, were fully aware of the conditions in their homeland. Many were lucky enough to escape with their health and families. Others paid heavily. But they had no need whatsoever for this kind of education in their past. What they needed was a framework for victory.

At the close of the movie, Ms. Redgrave, in an interview with Yasser Arafat, tries to build up the PLO as the salvation for Palestine. While the WL and their "Fourth International" stands in the shadow.

When the lights came back on the crowd was subdued. Flanking the movie screen are banners hailing the PLO on the left and on the right a banner suggesting that the WL represents the Fourth International. This same crowd that three hours earlier was full of fire and anticipation was beaten back, emotionally drained and totally confused.

This is the work of centrists like the WL and SWP-- to soften and channel young militants for a reformist policy.

The movie offered very little to people in need of a revolutionary solution. It is no longer necessary to hear bombs explode to know that innocent people are dying. It is necessary to lead a real fight under the banner of the Fourth International to realize true victory. Young Palestinians-- Beware of those falsely claiming the banner of the Fourth International-- Join the TO/USA in rebuilding the FI in the US-- for a world free from imperialism.

October 25, 1978

This initiative of the Soviet workers is also one of the first attempts at the independent organization of the proletariat against the bureaucracy.

On February 6, 1978 four members of the new union were arrested.

On February 7, 1978 Vladimir Klebanov was arrested and sent to a psychiatric hospital (where he had already been sent from 1968 to 1973, then again in 1977).

Today, Vladimir Klebanov and his comrades are in prison or in psychiatric hospitals. This is unacceptable!

FREEDOM FOR KLEBANOV AND HIS COMRADES!

THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO FORM THEIR TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE USSR!

Already in France the unions (CGT, CFDT, FO, FEN) have taken a position during a press conference on April 18, 1978 in favor of free trade unions in the USSR and for the liberation of Klebanov and his comrades. Many trade union sections (such as printing) have also taken similar positions.

In Great Britain the AUEW (auto-workers union) and the NUM (miners union) are ready to take an official and public position if no response is given to the efforts they have begun in favor of Klebanov and his comrades.

Other unions, notably in

Italy have taken positions.

TODAY, FROM DECLARATIONS, IT IS NECESSARY TO PASS TO ACTIONS!

Our activity must be organized, concentrated, extended to all countries.

Already a demonstration has been convoked by the Revolutionary Youth of Spain (section of the Revolutionary Youth International) for December in front of the Soviet consulate in Madrid.

Begin to organize similar demonstrations in all countries!

Every visit by Soviet diplomats must be an occasion to demonstrate our determination to free our imprisoned comrades!

Telegrams, petitions and appeals must be sent to the embassies of the USSR in all countries.

The unions and political parties (in particular the 40th Congress of the CGT in France) must take clear positions in favor of such actions.

Comrades!

Our fight for socialism is inseparable from the struggle for trade union and political rights in the USSR and the other countries in Eastern Europe.

Today it is necessary to actively organize this struggle!

SUPPLEMENT TO INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD #23

FREE TOMMY LEE HINES!

Southern "justice" is at it again. On October 13th an all-white jury in Cullman, Alabama sentenced a young black man, Tommy Lee Hines, to 30 years in jail for supposedly raping three women.

Hines is totally innocent of the charges, another victim of this racist state. He is severely retarded, with a mental age of six years old which physically invalidates any of the charges against him. He has neither the mental nor physical coordination to carry out the crimes he is accused of.

But this case is more than another terrible Southern frame-up. The preparation of the ruling class for war against the workers and oppressed in this country has removed the facade of the "New South" so patiently set up during the last few years.

Lynch law has returned to the South. During Hines' trial the Ku Klux Klan mobilized over 6,000 people for a cross burning on the steps of the courthouse in Decatur, Alabama. A KKK mob turned back a demonstration of the SCLC in Cullman and the police arrested the national and state leaders of the SCLC along with 20 other marchers.

KKK terror is on the upsurge throughout the South.

There is a reason for this upsurge of racism and terror. The black masses and workers fighting for their rights in the South are today disarmed in the face of this offensive of the ruling class and their hired scum.

The resurgence of the KKK is the legacy of the "non-violent" dead-end strategy of the NAACP, the SCLC and the Martin Luther Kings. It is the legacy of all those who said that this racist system could be reformed, that blacks could win full equality under capitalism. The legacy of all those who put their trust in the "New" Southern Democratic Party of the Jimmy Carters.

It will be relatively easy to take care of the KKK and scum like them once we are politically organized. The hardest task, the condition for being able to fight the KKK and defend innocent victims like Tommy Lee Hines, is to rid the black movement and the workers movement of the treacherous reformist leaders who have allowed the KKK to come back.

This is part of the fight to build a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION to unite all youth and their organizations in a revolutionary fight against this terrorist, racist state.

October 24, 1978

TRUTH

DOWN WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HANGMEN & BUREAUCRATS!

-- "The issue is: will citizens participate effectively, or nominally, in the management of the affairs of the American nation?" (Interim Working Paper, UAW Political Action Conference, October 17, 1978, Detroit)

-- "We need a NEW STYLE of politics for the next decade." (Ronald Dellums, liberal Democrat speaking at UAW Political Action Conference)

-- "We can no longer afford to fight the bosses inside the shops every day (!) and then vote for the bosses' representatives in government ..."

(Resolution of the United Electrical Workers Union Stalinist controlled Political Action Committee, At their International Convention September 11-15, 1978, Minneapolis)

-- "The interests of the majority of Texans -- workers -- need to be REPRESENTED on the (Railroad) Commission. That's why workers in the energy industry like myself should run for office."

(Socialist Workers Party candidate for Texas Railroad Commission, in the MILITANT, October 27, 1978) (All emphasis ours)

All this sound like "election-

time politicking" to you? Sound like blustering talk you've heard from union bureaucrats and politicians before? You're right. Not ONE of these -- liberal Democrats and union bureaucrats, the Stalinists or the centrists of the Socialist Workers Party (falsely claiming to be the Fourth International), say the truth to the youth of this country. First, what youth already feel -- that this system offers them nothing, that this government and all it represents must be destroyed, and second, they HIDE from the youth what they must learn -- that to do this, requires above all a combat party, a Leninist party, different from all other parties.

In the past several weeks, many "affairs" have been held by the above-quoted to organize their political attack on the consciousness of the youth and all workers. This is being tried especially through the unions, which are the only mass organizations of the workers and thus must be directly brought under the control of the government and its parties.

Last week the UAW called a "Political Action Conference" where bureaucrats from over 30 international unions and 75

liberal organizations (the National Organization of Women (NOW), the NAACP, etc.) came together to try and "discipline" the Democratic Party and make it "accountable" to the people to "generate enlightened consent to government decisions." (!) Blowing away the smokescreen, it means that the bureaucrats, while being forced to more and more support this government and its counter-revolutionary attack on the workers and their organizations, are begging that a few of the cheaper promises that the politicians made be kept -- like Labor Law Reform and a "full" Humphrey-Hawkins Bill.

The Communist Party/USA hailed this meeting in the DAILY WORLD as a "historic Conference" where "100 Groups Fight Carter and Congress" (!)

But "reform" of the Democratic Party is not the only trick in their bag. They have something more sophisticated called "a labor party." In September, the United Electrical Workers of America (UE), a Stalinist-controlled union, came out at their convention for "a labor party." And lest anyone be afraid that such a party would really fight the capitalists and overthrow their government, they explained, "not every member of Congress can be painted with the same brush." The UE president, who has never fought "the bosses inside the shops," is going to quit his job and "work full time to build a labor party."

Finally, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for public offices are also for "a labor party" that is NO DIFFERENT than the Stalinists'. Their "labor party" also wants to "get workers to run for Congress" and will "stand up and fight in Congress for an Emergency Jobs Bill." As if this Congress could end unemployment, anymore than it can grant "equal rights" to women!

It is clear why the liberal Democrats came out with the "reform" of the Democratic Party and why the Stalinist come out with "the labor party." For the bourgeoisie to draw the Stalinists and the Stalinists to draw the centrists closer and closer to open support for the bourgeoisie's attack on the youth and workers.

It is absolutely essential that this capitulation be cloaked in the name of Lenin and Trotsky, the name of the Fourth International, the only banner that has never betrayed the youth and workers. Two things begin to happen: 1) the youth identify the Fourth International with the treachery of the Socialist

Workers Party and then reject this swindle; 2) the worst illusions of the older and more backward workers in this system are used to mobilize them against the rebellious youth.

While this process is more pronounced in Europe, it has already started here with the attacks launched against the young militant miners by the CP and SWP and recently by the UAW bureaucrats against the Volkswagen wild-cat leaders, calling them "communist elements."

The only way for the youth to stop the attack of the ruling class is to fight to take up "politics" The fight to build their own combat party. A Leninist party that fights all those who betray them to the capitalists. Against those who want to "reform the Democratic Party," "build a labor party," and tie the unions to the state. A political combat to learn every lesson from their past struggles, and bring that together with the anger and audacity that belong to the youth alone. This is how to stop the "reform" of the Democratic Party and bring about its death. F.V.

GM FLEETWOOD

On September 26th nearly 4,000 workers at GM Fleetwood voted to strike. Only 400 voted against, according to one Fleetwood worker.

The Fleetwood workers are continuing their struggle against GM. Conditions there are worse than ever. 500 workers were laid off and the ones left have to do their work.

But Doug Fraser, UAW head, has just vetoed the strike. He says he's going to send a task force to "investigate" the situation and "talk" to the company. He's stalling, demoralizing the workers, working with the company as he's done a hundred times.

This isn't just because Fraser is a coward or a traitor, which he is. It's because he politically supports capitalism and the capitalist state. The Carter government doesn't want strikes, so Fraser doesn't want strikes. And let there be no doubt, Fraser will do anything and everything to stop them.

So far the leadership of Local 15 has remained completely silent in the face of Fraser's attack. The Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its satellites have criticized Fraser, but proposed nothing. They have no confidence in the young workers capacity to lead the masses.

When the union bureaucrats refuse to "lead" a struggle, they're paralyzed.

This has made a lot of young workers hostile to political organizations which claim to represent the workers. They figure they're all the same.

The Trotskyist Organization is beginning to break through this with TRUTH. Last week, over a dozen workers began to read TRUTH and think about the struggle we're leading to build a Workers Party, take over the unions, and get rid of strikebreaking bureaucrats like Fraser.

Most of these young workers were going to walk right by. But when they heard the TRUTH distributor say -- "This paper's different from all the others. It has confidence in the young workers. It'll organize your struggle against the bureaucrats" -- they stopped.

This week TRUTH distributors will meet with Fleetwood workers to plan how to advance their struggle and discuss the role TRUTH will play in this. Workers are preparing this meeting by reading Mark Luv's article on the revolutionary fight in auto and discussing it with their friends.

M.G.
October 24, 1978

Harper - Grace CHARGES DROPPED

We have just been informed that the charges pending against the five Harper-Grace Hospital strikers who were arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct" during the hospital strike this summer have been dropped and there will be no trial.

Even the courts must have realized the flimsy legal basis of these charges-- that they were police harassment pure and simple. And neither the union leadership of the SFIU whose lawyers got the charges dropped nor the Detroit police of Mayor Coleman Young would have wanted the truth about these arrests and the Harper-Grace strike discussed in open court.

This is a victory for the Harper-Grace workers and those who fought to organize a militant and victorious strike! It is a victory for the over 500 hospital workers who signed petitions demanding that the charges against David Heffelfinger, Ida Jefferson, Victor Jacobs, James Hatchet and Ruby Gartner be dropped and who demanded an end to police harassment of the strike!

It was this mobilization which made the courts retreat. We thank all those who were part of it.
October 25, 1978