

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

State of Emergency in Florida, Pa. . . The Crisis is Political

THIS 'DEMOCRACY' IS FINISHED

It is necessary to draw clear conclusions from the present situation. The last few weeks have seen a rapid escalation of the political crisis in the U.S.

Dominating the scene today is the "gas crisis"-- a real provocation being organized against the working class directly from the White House. A provocation which has produced the first massive response-- the national strike of independent truck drivers which has virtually shut down transportation of fresh food.

Last week a "state of emergency" was declared by the Governor of Florida as he ordered the National Guard against the truckers strike. Last weekend in Levittown, Pennsylvania a "state of emergency" was also declared as a riot broke out with over 3,000 workers and youth joining the truckers protest.

The latest figures show inflation at 14%-- the highest since 1946. The first mass layoffs and plant closures in several years have been announced in auto. The death penalty has been revived and the KKK is openly mobilizing in the South.

Workers-- EVERYONE is talking about this crisis. But in order to REINFORCE ILLUSIONS-- to prevent you from drawing clear conclusions.

What is clear is that the world-wide political crisis of imperialism and Stalinism has revealed the REAL FACE of this so-called "democracy" we live under. And the TRUTH is that this "democracy" is FINISHED for workers and youth.

An exaggeration? But in this entire situation WHEN have the masses of workers and youth been allowed to decide ANYTHING? The "rights" that still exist in this country are "rights" that are increasingly meaningless as this government is taking away real rights-- the right to a job, to be free from repression, the right to live like a HUMAN BEING.

This bourgeois "democracy" is a living corpse for workers and youth. The truckers strike, the riot in Pennsylvania, express this fact. That "democratic" solutions are impossible, that it is impossible to "reinforce" this rotten bourgeois "democracy" in face of imperialism's attack. Instead, the task is to prepare for the confrontation with imperialism under conditions where the workers CAN WIN.

To prepare the revolution. This is the conclusion of the present political crisis.

Not to reinforce illusions that democracy can be strengthened in the framework of this decaying society. Not to pretend that the working class can win

through a series of spontaneous confrontations over this or that issue.

But to prepare the revolution in a fight to build a leadership for a new society, a society based on WORKERS DEMOCRACY-- a WORKERS GOVERNMENT based on the expropriation of the capitalists, the destruction of their state, army and police and the democratic rule of workers councils.

Today's youth have the most stake in this fight because this "democracy" is most finished for them. In this fight the youth need their weapon, an ARMY, a world army of the socialist revolution-- the Revolutionary Youth International. An army to build the party

to lead this revolution-- the Fourth International.

In today's situation there is nothing more immediate than joining the fight for the socialist revolution in an organized and conscious way. This is why we call all working class youth to join us in the preparation of the FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS of the Revolutionary Youth International which will be held in France at the end of July.

To build an international leadership for the revolution.

To build a new world in face of the decay of the old.

June 28, 1979

TRUTH

NICARAGUA: A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

Three weeks ago the Sandinista guerilla army (FSLN) launched a "final offensive" against the Somoza dictatorship.

The maneuvers of U.S. imperialism to save Somoza have failed. So did its proposal for a "peace-keeping force." The inability of the Carter government to "send in the Marines" reflects not only the mobilization of the Latin American working class, but also the combat of the U.S. workers.

Like the Shah, the U.S. government is forced to see its trusted ally, Somoza, go. But like Iran, the struggle of the workers and youth will not be finished.

Because what is being prepared, with the aid of U.S. imperialism, is SOMOZISM WITHOUT SOMOZA.

This is the program of the FSLN. On June 17 a 5-man provisional government of "national reconciliation," which includes the Sandinistas, was formed. Its program? The expropriation of Somoza's private holdings and a purge of the most

corrupt National Guard officers.

U.S. imperialism? Capitalism? The National Guard? Workers Democracy? LATER...much later.

This is not what the workers and youth of Nicaragua are fighting for-- "human rights" for the rich. They are fighting for an end to oppression and exploitation.

Once again, the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP has shown which side IT is on. In the June 29, 1979 MILITANT it calls the struggle in Nicaragua "this advance for human rights."

Identifying the revolutionary struggle of the workers and youth with Carter's counterrevolutionary campaign. Tying the workers and youth to the FSLN's program which is indeed "human rights"-- for the capitalists.

And they dismiss the problem of the capitalist "provisional government" by writing "and they have seen in Cuba how the masses can sweep aside a handful of capitalist politicians in such circumstances."

In Cuba workers got a Stalinist dictatorship. And NOWHERE

in the world will the masses SPONTANEOUSLY "sweep aside" the bourgeoisie "in such circumstances."

Not without a PARTY and a PROGRAM. A revolutionary party whose program is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie by the independent organs of the workers and peasants, their workers councils. Whose program is the revolutionary unification with the U.S. working class in the fight for the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

A party and a program to confront the treachery of the FSLN leadership.

In 1936 Trotsky stated 3 conditions for the victory of the Spanish revolution: "the party, the party and the party."

These are the conditions for the revolution in Nicaragua and throughout the Americas-- the party and its revolutionary program-- the Fourth International.

June 28, 1979

TRUTH

Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

The IEC calls on all militants of our party to fully take up the preparation of the 4th Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International (Paris, July 28-31) as a struggle for the selection of the revolutionary vanguard.

It is this struggle which concentrates all the tasks of the revolutionary preparation. The present situation is characterized by the rejection of the betrayals of Stalinism on the part of the youth and advanced sections of the workers, the rejection of the vicious circle presented by Stalinism: "Sacred Union or fascism." It is the rejection of this false alternative which has deepened the crisis of Stalinism, in particular of the wing called "Euro-Communist," which has presented itself as "going beyond" Stalinism by shamelessly supporting the bourgeois terrorist states in the anem of "democracy."

By itself the crisis of Stalinism will not lead to the preparation of the proletarian revolution. The bureaucracy and its international apparatus are forced, in face of the workers, to go even further in the reinforcement of imperialism and its states and their anti-Leninist campaigns (SALT II, the visit of the Pope to Poland...). They are developing their attacks against the working class under the smokescreen of "giving life to democracy."

The youth regard this treason with disgust when they see behind the masquerade of the "defense of democracy" the reinforcement of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist bureaucracy. But at the same time, without being armed with the Leninist program, the program of the Fourth International, the youth are drawing false conclusions, they are seeking blond confrontations with the terrorist state, separated from the working class.

While the majority of workers, all the while distrusting the apparatuses, hesitate in face of the revolutionary confrontation, hesitate to draw the real conclusions from their struggles, they keep illusions about the possibility of advancing in the framework determined by the counterrevolutionary agreement between imperialism and Stalinism.

Only the Fourth International can change this situation. The fact that the youth are throwing themselves into blind confrontations is not a fatality. It is only because they have not sufficiently found their place in the struggle for the program of the Fourth International as a struggle for the realization of the immediate demand of the youth-- socialism. The stake of the situation is the capacity of the Fourth International to offer the youth the REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL-- THE WORLD ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION-- in order to experience the program of the Fourth International, in order to consciously prepare the revolutionary confrontation.

The combat to RETURN TO LENIN! concentrates ALL the questions of the preparation of the revolution. It concerns a global activity which covers all aspects of the present situation, a complex situation-- the struggle for the THEORETICAL, POLITICAL CLARIFICATION OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY, the reconquest of BOLSHEVIK METHODS OF ORGANIZATION in the mass struggle and in the party itself.

In the preparation of the 4th Congress of the RYI the Fourth International calls on the youth to construct the vanguard of the unity of the revolution in the East and West as a radical break with all the old frameworks falsely presented by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists as "democratic" by designating the objective-- the real democracy, that of the proletariat established as the leading class through its soviets. It is this struggle for the revolution, the only ideal which can inspire the youth, that the Fourth International calls on the youth to construct the RYI for.

The condition so that the youth can find their place in the fight to realize the program of the Fourth International, to construct the Fourth International, is the engagement of the party itself in this combat. This means a struggle of delimitation in its ranks (a struggle in which the Congress of the RYI is a stage) against all spontaneism, against any conception which is waiting for the beginning of the revolution to come from the movement of the workers and youth alone. Spontaneism, which rests on illusions that the masses can react to the anti-Leninist campaign outside of the Fourth International. It is in fact the pressure of centrism, which renounces the struggle for the conquest of the leadership of the masses and seeks to "use" the old parties of the Stalinist and reformist apparatuses for the revolution, parties which not only cannot become instruments of the revolution, but it is them who are the instruments of the counterrevolution.

The Fourth International cannot respond to the youth as if they have special interests from the point of view of the revolution, but only by posing the global problems of the revolution. That is, by opposing the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the attempt to disarm the working class in face of the attacks of the bourgeoisie with the smokescreen of bourgeois democracy. Attempts in which the pseudo-Trotskyists of all types (United Secretariat, OCI of Lambert-Just) are taking an active place by developing illusions about the possibility to return to a "democratic" domination of the bourgeoisie.

The OCI in particular develops this conception on the international level (East to West) by rehabilitating the old theory of the revolution

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

TRUTH

P.O. BOX 07066
DETROIT, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen

Editorial Board

Kevin FitzPatrick, Ann Nelson

Rich Tetrault

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

— Subscription rates —

— US, Canada, Mexico —

\$5 for one year; \$2 for six month
introductory.

— Airmail to —

Latin America or Europe

\$10 for one year

Inquire for other rates.

The results for TRUTH #95 were:

Ford River Rouge	20
GM Fleetwood	18
GM Cadillac	15
GM Chevy Gear & Axle	10
GM Livonia	8
Detroit (other).....	50
DETROIT (total).....	121
FLINT	18
OTHER	100
TOTAL.....	239

CORRECTION

In the PLAN adopted by the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA which appeared in the centerfold of TRUTH #95 two errors appeared. At the bottom of the second column, the sentence reading: "In Latin America a policy of support to the treacherous "progressive Stalinism," should read: "the treacherous "progressive national bourgeoisie" by Stalinism." At the bottom of the fourth column, the paragraph beginning "Under this theme" has the following phrase which was omitted after the word "destroy": "the old order of imperialism and Stalinism. In this sense the international campaign of the RYI to FREE KLEBANOV can take an integral place in the mobilization of American youth." TRUTH

SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH!

ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA
SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SEND TO: TRUTH, PO Box 07066, DETROIT, MI. 48207

JUST OUT!

April-May Issue of

FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

The Democratic Party is no longer the "majority" party. . .

A Workers Party or Confusion

By JON COHEN

A recent Harris Poll has confirmed what everyone has known for a long time-- the Democratic Party is no longer the "majority" party in this country-- a majority of Americans consider themselves to be neither Democrats or Republicans.

Of course, the Democratic Party never once represented the interests of the majority of the people in this country, never once fought for the majority, but instead was and is a party of the American bourgeoisie, of U.S. imperialism. But because of the treachery of the so-called "workers" leaders in this country, the Democratic Party has historically counted on the allegiance of a majority of workers and oppressed, it has been considered the "party of the people."

This allegiance is finished. The Harris Poll found that since November 1976 (Carter's election) the number of Americans who view themselves as Democrats has dropped from 51% to 33%-- the lowest figure in modern political history.

Among people who call themselves "liberals," Democratic Party allegiance has dropped from 74% to 41%. Among blacks it has dropped from 92 to 72% and among union members 62 to 44%. As is expected, it is not the Republicans who have gained through this decrease, but the number of people who consider themselves "independents."

All of this comes at a time when Carter's popularity has sunk to only 29% of the population which approves of his presidency. Carter is a hero compared to the U.S. Congress-- only 19% of the population approves of the way Congress is doing its job.

This massive disgust of U.S. workers with the Democratic Party is not simply an American phenomenon. Throughout the world the workers and youth have been massively expressing their rejection of the "traditional" parties of the working class, in Europe, the "Communist" and "Socialist" parties, and expressing their refusal to participate in the farce called bourgeois "democracy."

In June, the elections to the so-called "European Parliament" were a total failure. 70% of the population abstained from voting and the most massive abstention came in working class districts. In Spain, only two years after the supposed "rebirth" of "democracy," 60% of the population abstained in recent elections and in Euskadi massively voted for the candi-

dates representing ETA, the radical nationalist and terrorist organization.

This rejection of the traditional parties, based on a deepened offensive of the workers and youth-- strikes, demonstrations, etc.-- is the source of the deep crisis of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. They can no longer assure the control of the working class through "democratic" maneuvers and must now center all of their efforts on the preparation of direct confrontations with the workers and youth-- the organization of the counter-revolution.

For this reason we must insist that this rejection of the traditional parties, this more and more open disgust with the Democratic Party and the Carter government, is not positive in and of itself. It is a reflection of the workers mobilization, the search for solutions independent from the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy and the search for a political confrontation with the Carter government. A certain balance sheet of the last three years since Carter's election.

But by itself this rejection is not yet a clarification or a positive solution. While the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists have drawn the conclusions from this rejection and are preparing new and more vicious attacks, the masses of workers and youth remain confused, uncertain how to go forward.

This confusion is most obvious among the youth. It is here that the rejection of the Democratic Party, abstention from politics, rejection of the trade union bureaucracy and the so-called "leaders" of the workers movement is most massive.

But the problem, not yet articulated, not yet formulated, but FELT by more and more youth is that this is NOT SUFFICIENT. That a POSITIVE SOLUTION has to be found. In a confused fashion the youth see that this problem of the Democratic Party and its rejection by the masses of workers and youth is not just a problem of "parties," "politics" or "the unions"-- but a crisis which poses the need for a TOTAL SOLUTION to ALL the problems of this society.

This is why more and more youth are turning to other "total" solutions which are FALSE solutions-- religion, drugs, individualism or cynicism. Solutions which disorient and confuse the youth and isolate them

from the rest of the working class.

This confusion and lack of clarification is overwhelmingly due to the TREACHERY of the petty bourgeois "leaders" in the workers movement who represent not the interests of the working class, but the interests of U.S. imperialism. Who are responsible for the rule of the Democratic Party over the working class in the first place and who are working OVERTIME today to prevent workers from drawing the conclusions from the crisis of the Democratic Party. Who want to prevent workers and youth from seeing the need for a TOTAL SOLUTION.

Even if the youth do not directly see these enemies or listen to them, it is their treachery which is responsible for the confusion and disorientation. Even if the masses of youth consider themselves "non-political"-- it is because these traitors WANT IT THIS WAY.

Traitors like the union bureaucrats led by UAW President Doug Fraser who want to "dump Carter" in order to elect Ted Kennedy-- wanting workers to forget that it was Fraser who helped get Carter elected in the first place. Wanting everyone to forget that it was Fraser who was the first to support Carter's "anti-inflation program"-- a 7% wage freeze with inflation at 14%. But above all wanting the youth to think that THIS-- Carter vs. Kennedy-- is the "democratic process."

While any worker who dares to fight for his rights in Fraser's union will most likely get a fist down his throat.

Or the American Communist Party, loyal servants of the Kremlin. The photo in Vienna of Carter and Brezhnev kissing says it all about their position vis-a-vis the crisis of the Democratic Party. By presenting SALT II as having something to do with peace they are DIRECTLY REINFORCING the Carter government and the Democratic Party. All their talk about "dumping Carter" and an "anti-monopoly people's party" is designed to hide from the youth the fact that the destruction of the Democratic Party, a clear break by the youth with it, will be the END OF STALINISM as well.

It will also be the end of the petty bourgeois servants of Stalinism who pass themselves off as "Trotskyists." Like the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While the bureaucrats and Stalinists directly support the

Democratic Party in crisis, the SWP is the leading pusher of the confusion in the workers movement that the break with the Democratic Party can be done half-way and half-assed.

They propose the FICTION of a "labor party" WHICH WILL NEVER BE in order to spread the confusion in the workers movement that the break with the Democratic Party will occur without a program, without a leadership, without clarification. Above all, without the fight for the revolution.

The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, which was held at the end of May, launched a fight against this confusion and disorientation. It declared that the break with the Democratic Party will be REVOLUTIONARY or not at all. That there are no half-way or half-assed solutions, that the class independence of the American working class can only be won in a revolutionary fight against U.S. imperialism. With a revolutionary party-- the Workers Party. And that all other "solutions" only lead to confusion and demoralization.

Our Conference launched the fight to found the Workers Party in the Spring of 1980 as the U.S. Section of the Fourth International. A young worker remarked to us that it seemed that this was "just a fight between the Workers Party and the Democratic Party, just 'politics'." Our job is to convince the youth that this "politics" is the KEY TO THE ENTIRE SITUATION-- the way to end all the confusion, disorientation and false solutions -- A TOTAL SOLUTION.

A Workers Party or confusion. A fight that is first of all a fight for the youth WHOSE MINIMAL DEMAND IS THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. A fight that is first of all an INTERNATIONAL fight because the same problems face the youth throughout the world.

On the international level it is thus RETURN TO LENIN! or confusion. Take up the revolutionary road against all half-way solutions, against all confusion and disorientation in a fight to select, organize and prepare a vanguard to lead this break with the Democratic Party to the road of the revolution.

A fight for Leninism, for the Fourth International.

A fight to take control of the present situation and to do something about it.

June 27, 1979

On the Eve of Its Extraordinary Congress . . .

The OCI Integrates Itself Into the Preparations for National Unity

By LUDWIG SKARGA (From LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE No. 71-72)

From East to West, the premises are accumulating for a new and massive eruption of the working class onto the forefront of the political scene. The coming revolutionary wave will be marked by the repeated efforts of the workers to free themselves from the grip of "Eurostalinism." But, at the same time, it will see the pseudo-Trotskyists, for here also the premises are accumulating, showing up in the front lines, at the express command of Carrillo, Marchais and Berlinguer (leaders of Spanish, French and Italian "Eurocommunist" CPs), to try to repair the holes that have been punched in the international apparatus of the Kremlin.

The tasks of the vanguard flow from this: to prepare the revolution in the struggles that are coming by combining all experiences and concentrating all forces on the selection, the training and the development of a mass revolutionary leadership, as a revolutionary balance sheet of the bankruptcy of "Eurocommunism" and its centrist aides-de-camp.

In France, the Fifth Republic (state apparatus created by De Gaulle's 1958 coup), even though undermined by the renewed attacks of the workers and youth and torn by the internal struggles of the different clans of the bourgeoisie, survives -- thanks only to the determination of the French Communist Party (CP), to support it at all costs as a keystone of the counterrevolutionary status quo in Europe.

After having torpedoed the Union of the Left (Popular Front) -- the responsibility for which they put on the Socialist Party (SP) -- the Stalinists have resolutely taken the road of National Union with the bourgeoisie. The "responsible negotiations" in which they try to confine the workers struggles cover up for and cynically take part in the organization of unemployment and the expansion of capitalist exploitation by the Barre (French premier) government, just as their "anti-autonome" and "anti-terrorist" campaign prepares the way for the anti-worker laws that the National Assembly has lately voted for repeatedly.

The period that began after the last abortive attempt to install the Popular Front in Europe is characterized by deep thought by the workers about the causes for their numerous setbacks since

1968, but also by great disorientation. The youth, who have massively deserted the French CP and its youth movement, throw themselves into individual fights or try to find "individual freedom." They distrust the Stalinists but do not see the necessity of fighting them within the workers movement.

At the same time, and since the Union of the Left's loss in the elections, the crisis inside the French CP has opened up. Basing itself on the refusal of a large section of the workers to take the "explanations" of the Political Bureau concerning the orientation adopted in September 1977 for good coin, different groupings have formed around Ellenstein, Balibar and Althusser and around certain sections of the UEC (Union of Communist Students), and have expressed themselves publicly outside L'HUMANITE (French CP newspaper). While creating additional confusion with their respective "balance sheets," at the beginning all these factions seemed to agree on remaining united around a "minimum platform" summed up in the demand for "democratization of the French CP's functioning." But because of the rapid march of events in the class struggle, they soon divided .. despite the "tactical" counsels of their supporters of the LCR (French group of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat") of Alain Krivine.

The revolutionary vanguard in France, by intervening in the strikes and demonstrations which reply to the attacks of the existing government, struggles to extract from the experiences of the last ten years the real balance sheet of the Popular Front, as the condition for the break of the workers and youth with the Fifth Republic and the treacherous parties which support it. The Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire of France (LOR, section of the Fourth International) struggles to break the workers from the illusion that the participants in the Union of the Left were workers parties and not parties of the petty bourgeoisie, of the reformist bureaucracy and of the Kremlin bureaucrats; it struggles against the illusion that it is possible to reform the Fifth Republic with or without these parties in power; it opens up the perspective of the renewal of the leadership of the workers movement through the regrouping, selection and training of the

real revolutionary leadership in the fight FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN, for the Trotskyist Congress founding the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY OF FRANCE (POR/Section of the Fourth International).

All the enemies of the proletariat inside the workers movement are re forging their links against this fight. At the very moment when Marchais crossed the threshold of the Elysee Palace to offer his good and loyal services to Giscard and to get him to understand that he has buried the Union of the Left good and deep the centrists of the LCR spread ideas of prostration and passivity by moaning about the supposed retreat of the working class after the elections. The OCI for its part, in the resolution of its first Central Committee meeting after the March 19 electoral loss, proclaim that there is no short term perspective for the working class and that it had to wait for a more advanced stage of the decomposition of the Fifth Republic! And all of them, from the Stalinist apparatus to the OCI, passing through the different regroupments in the French CP and the LCR, agree to support the idea that ... in the long term it is really the Union of the Left that it is necessary to recreate -- this time based on the rank and file. For each of them it is a question of camouflaging their own bankruptcy. For some, the bankruptcy of "gradual democratic changes," for others, the bankruptcy of the orientation of a "CP-SP Government." And for all of them it is a question, with this confusionist smokescreen, of protecting the preparations for National Unity.

When the workers went into motion sooner than the Stalinist and centrist fortune-tellers had predicted, the content of this famous "new Union based on the rank and file" became clearer. The French CP, through the high priests of the trade unions, called on the workers at the time of the Fortieth Congress of the CGT (Stalinist-dominated union federation) to "democratize the factory" as a substitute for "democratizing the state" in the immediate future.

While Krivine's LCR shamefully covered up for this policy by congratulating itself on a phony "democratic evolution" of the CGT, it was the OCI which assumed the major task of blocking the workers' thinking. Its hobby-horse was reproaching

the PCF leadership with having broken off negotiations in September 1977 with its partners in the Common Program (of the Union of the Left.)

If the Stalinists got rid of the Union of the Left it was precisely because it had been used up in defending the Fifth Republic and was not able to sufficiently channel the workers movement into the framework and machinery of the state. The same interests of the Kremlin bureaucrats, aimed at defending the status quo in Europe and therefore at preserving the existing regimes, which guided Marchais in 1977 also guided him five years earlier when he signed the Common Program with the Socialist Party that had been rebuilt for this purpose. And it is precisely this understanding which the workers lack and which is at the root of their confusion.

Thus, this famous complaint of the OCI against the Stalinists, while trailing after the workers thinking, tried to stop it on the level of a superficial and inevitably partial balance sheet. Still more, it constituted a springboard toward the conclusion that the OCI had already drawn in Portugal, Spain and Italy -- wherever the "Eurostalinists" were engaged in the Sacred Union with the bourgeoisie -- that when the French CP abandoned its popular front policy then the Popular Front could and must constitute an indispensable stage in the socialist revolution. As Pierre Lambert (OCI leader) said in April in ROUGE (LCR newspaper) #862: "For us, emphasis is placed today on the UNITED FRONT OF THE TWO PARTIES, to REPLACE the Giscard-Barre government with the CP-SP Government without capitalist ministers" (emphasis added).

The government has made its third "Steel Plan" public: 20,000 layoffs. The steelworkers enter massively into struggle. While confronting the government, its unemployment plans and its repressive forces, they come into conflict with their own leaders who are seeking "responsible negotiations" and organizing a motley array of actions only in order to exhaust the movement. The youth seek a confrontation with the state but think that it is enough to attack the vehicles of the CRS (riot police) in order to advance the struggle, and thus become the target of the "anti-autonome" campaign of the PCF.

5TH CONGRESS OF THE PORE

Spanish Section of the Fourth International

Prepare the Revolution Against Illusions !

By JON COHEN

On June 14-17 the Fifth Congress of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain (PORE), Spanish Section of the Fourth International, met in Barcelona. The Congress included delegates from throughout Spain as well as a delegation from the International Executive Committee, the Revolutionary Youth International and delegations from the French, Polish and U.S. sections of the Fourth International.

The fight of the 5th Congress of the PORE was not confined to the meeting-hall. On Saturday, June 16, the PORE organized a demonstration in front of the Civil Government of Barcelona (see box). The demonstration was for the legalization of the PORE and against the trial the monarchy has launched against the PORE, seeking its dissolution.

The 5th Congress of the PORE met in face of an extremely serious political situation in Spain. In response to the repeated mobilizations of the workers and youth in Euskadi for their national independence, the Spanish government is preparing the intervention of the army, an intervention designed to organize another civil war against the proletariat. An intervention which will not be confined to Euskadi, but will be the organization of the civil war against the entire Spanish proletariat.

In face of this situation, not only have all the so-called "workers" parties and their centrist allies written off the Spanish revolution, they are daily deepening their support for the Francoist monarchy, for its police, for its army. Thus, Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish Communist Party sends telegrams of condolences to the families of the Spanish police killed in Euskadi.

And the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Spanish LCR, perhaps the most servile and cowardly organization in the entire "United Secretariat" (if such a choice is possible), recently declared after its last Central Committee meeting: "the new political situation must be characterized as much more relatively stable than the previous situation."

Barricades and a general strike in Euskadi! Massive and growing unemployment. An open crisis in the Socialist Party.

"Stable" indeed. The only thing "stable" about the political situation is the treachery of the Stalinists and the LCR. The only thing "stable" is their acceptance of the Francoist dic-

tatorship and its "democracy."

The Fourth International has not written off the Spanish revolution. Only the Fourth International and its party, the PORE, declares that today is the hour of the revolution in Spain, that the overthrow of the Monarchy is the immediate task in front of the working class, the only task corresponding to the political situation.

But the Fifth Congress insisted that this revolution has to be prepared. The Spanish working class will not spontaneously make a revolution. In face of all the treachery and deception of the last three years since the death of Franco, the masses of Spanish workers will not enter the road of the revolution until they have confronted the illusions of the last three years and see a new leadership for their battles. A leadership which WILL DARE TO WIN.

Thus, in his report for the out-going Central Committee, Anibal Ramos of the PORE insisted that the preparation of the revolution today is a struggle against all illusions. That "no revolution can be made with illusions, with one foot in the door of bourgeois society."

Ramos listed five "paralyzing illusions" which center the combat of the PORE in the coming period. The paralyzing illusion in "democracy" -- the dangerous idea, reinforced every day by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists, that there can be a "democratic road" to the revolution. While every day the bourgeoisie reinforces its terrorist state.

The illusion that there can be a peaceful evolution of the present situation. The "stability" of the LCR. Civil war is being prepared TODAY and only the proletarian revolution can prevent it.

The third paralyzing illusion is in the opportunist "workers parties." Not that workers and youth aren't disgusted in them. But there are still illusions, practiced above all by the pseudo-Trotskyists, that these parties can be **PRESSURED**, that these parties represent the "workers movement." The Fifth Congress of the PORE insisted that the only continuity of the workers movement is the Fourth International, that without the Fourth International the "workers movement" can only be an appendage of bourgeois "democracy."

Ramos declared that the

fourth paralyzing illusion was in "a confrontation which will create better conditions than the present." The idea that "one day" there will be an inevitable battle, a violent explosion which will allow the party to surpass the present confusion in the workers movement. This illusion avoids the entire battle of preparing the revolution, sees the problem of the revolution as something else than the construction of its party.

The last illusion is that which sees the revolution as an "objective" process and not a **CONSCIOUS** struggle under given objective conditions. Ramos declared that illusions are everything which does not see the revolution as a conscious task, as **OUR** task-- the masses can advance only to the degree that they are organized by **US**.

This struggle to prepare the revolution was centralized by the Fifth Congress of the PORE under the theme of **RETURN TO LENIN!** as the immediate struggle in front of the vanguard of the working class. As defined by the **THESES** preparing the 5th Congress, **Return to Lenin!** is: "uniting all the experiences, concentrating all struggles and organizing all forces towards the **SELECTION, EDUCATION and DEVELOPMENT** of a revolutionary leadership of the masses which **PREPARES** the revolution in its theory and policy, which **ORGANIZES** the revolution in its interventions in the workers struggles, which **LEADS** the daily battles towards revolutionary objectives, which constantly assures the class independence of the proletariat through an intransigent delimitation in theory and practice in face of all the

opportunist leaderships, in face of all the vacillating groups and spontaneist currents."

The Trotskyist Organization/USA participated in this Congress to prepare the Spanish revolution as part of the world revolution. Against the **WORST** illusion-- that a revolution can be prepared in a national framework and with a "national" party.

We also participated because the fight to **RETURN TO LENIN!**, to prepare the revolution against illusions, to subordinate all tasks and discussions to the construction of the **PARTY** and the fight for its **PROGRAM**-- the Fourth International -- is our fight as well. Our immediate task in the U.S. is also the preparation of the revolution in a fight for revolutionary consciousness, to create the **CONDITIONS FOR VICTORY** in the coming confrontations.

This is why the clarification and struggle of the Fifth Congress of the PORE is also a struggle for American workers and its party.

In its Report, the out-going Central Committee quoted these words from the **TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM**: "To look reality in the face, not to seek the line of least resistance, to call things by their right names, to speak the truth to the masses no matter how bitter it may be, not to fear obstacles, to be true in little things as in big ones, to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives-- these are the rules of the Fourth International."

They were the rules of the 5th Congress of the PORE and are our rules today. June 26, 1979

IN THE STREETS

Barcelona

El PORE, por la vuelta a Lenin

En el día de ayer el V Congreso del PORE aprobó una resolución central, basada en la lucha abierta en todo el movimiento obrero por el retorno a Lenin.

Tras la sesión, una delegación del Congreso, de la que formaba parte la Joven Guardia Internacional (sección de la Internacional Revolucionaria de la Ju-

ventud), así como miembros de las secciones francesa y norteamericana de la IV Internacional, junto con trabajadores y jóvenes, se dirigió desde Jaime I, por la calle Platería, agrupados en manifestación, bajo las consignas: «Aquí está la IV Internacional». «Luchar, vencer, obreros al poder». «Libertad, libertad, a la huelga general». Llegados a la Pza. Palacio, y ya frente al Gobierno Civil, el casi centenar de manifestantes se concentró, tomando la palabra, como miembro del Comité Central del PORE, Anibal Ramos, para explicar la lucha que sostiene el

PORE por su legalización inmediata, e inscripción incondicional en el registro, así como la retirada del juicio que pretende su disolución.

Miguel Salas, trabajador de Banca de Barcelona y Jesús M. Rodríguez Mesas, trabajador de Iberia de Madrid, hicieron entrega al oficial de guardia, dentro del Gobierno Civil, de las exigencias de la legalización del PORE, en ausencia del gobernador, tras lo cual y, bajo la coacción policial la manifestación se disolvió ordenadamente.

FOR UNIONS OF WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE! SMASH THE B

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

UAW and Chrysler negotiators have reached agreement on a political checkoff plan. That's right. Now workers can have a regular deduction from their paycheck sent to the rotten, decrepit Democratic Party. It should come as no surprise that Chrysler agreed so quickly to the political checkoff. Why didn't they think of it first!

More is involved here than just another deduction from autoworkers' paychecks, or the traditional support of the UAW and other unions for the bosses' Democratic Party. At stake here is the desire of trade union bureaucrats to transform the unions into mere appendages of the capitalist state.

DICTATORSHIP

The working class lives under a brutal dictatorship of a small minority of exploiters and super-rich. But the traditional union struggle of "the company vs. the workers" is a completely disarming formula. In reality, it is a lie which gives the notion that the bourgeoisie's government, the STATE, is a neutral arbitrator between the classes. Sometimes on the workers side, sometimes on the capitalists side, more often than not on the capitalists side. This is "militant trade unionism."

In reality, the capitalist state is simply an arm of TERROR for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The deepening crisis of American imperialism, the economic crises, the "gas crises," and the resulting political crisis of the ruling "Democratic Party," steadily strip away the aura of "neutrality" surrounding the so-called "democratic" institutions such as Congress, the court system, etc.

Their powerlessness to deal with the decay of society is a constant source of scorn and frustration for workers, and a political crisis within the trade union bureaucracy. More and more, every day, the solutions of the STATE become clearer -- police detachments against workers strikes, repressive laws and campaigns against the "lawless youth," capital punishment, longer prison terms, anti-union legislation ... Yes, it is a TERRORIST STATE, consisting of police and prisons.

All the rest is window-dressing to hide this essentially repressive nature. And nine-tenths of the workers movement from the unions to the so-called "revolutionary" parties uphold this myth of a "democratic" bourgeois state. It is a "Holy Alliance" of trade union bureaucrats, Stalinists ("communists"), centrists ("socialists"), and ... the hangmen of the bourgeoisie.

CRISIS

And today imperialism and this "Holy Alliance" are in crisis. The inability of Carter's government to intervene militarily in Iran, the impossibility of crushing the American workers resistance to Carter's austerity program, are clear expressions of the fact that imperialism is growing weaker. Weaker, but not yet dead, because the American working class and

its unions remain in the hands of a "little" bourgeoisie -- the petty bourgeois trade union bureaucrats, the "labor statesmen."

Are the solutions of the trade union leadership merely not sufficiently militant, not a strong enough fight against the TERRORIST STATE? On the contrary, the solutions of the trade union bureaucrats are designed to STRENGTHEN the bourgeois state.

The UAW bureaucracy, together with some Democratic liberals, recently co-sponsored a demonstration in Detroit to "stop the oil-profiteering." George Meany and Doug Fraser have come out openly for solutions such as gasoline rationing and "a public oil corporation." Solutions which are essentially the military regimentation of production and distribution by the terrorist state.

The bureaucrats are for wage-price controls, for beefing up police in the inner city to "stop crime," all solutions to strengthen the state. And the liberals' and bureaucrats' candidate for the 1980 presidential elections, Edward Kennedy, sponsored the notorious S-1437 bill. A revision of the of the federal criminal code to prepare the government for "states of emergencies" and civil war against the American working class. A bill that Richard Nixon was unable to get through Congress, but which has already passed the Senate under Kennedy's guidance.

Last week, Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the Teamsters Union, demanded that the National Guard be mobilized against the independent truckers strike!

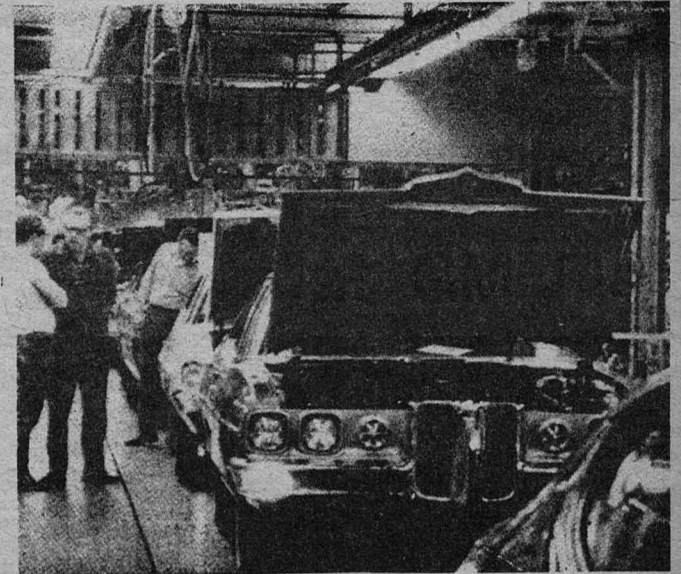
WORKERS DICTATORSHIP

The "Holy Alliance" of bureaucrats, pseudo-revolutionaries and hangmen is formed around "reform" of the bourgeois state. "Reforms" which in reality strengthen its repressive character. Supposedly "passive" and "non-violent" approaches to change which sharpen the bloody sword of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. "Peaceful co-existence" and "detente" against the strongest arm of terror in the world -- the terrorist state of American imperialism. The Christians had a better chance against the lions!

The repressive character of the bourgeois state is transmitted by the petty bourgeois union officials into the unions. Union "democracy" is as much a fraud as bourgeois "democracy." The official regime of the unions is a bureaucratic dictatorship over the workers' own organizations.

The unions therefore have two roads to follow. The road of the trade union bureaucracy, transforming the unions into repressive bureaucratic dictatorships in the service of the TERRORIST STATE. Or the destruction of the TERRORIST STATE at the side of the workers socialist revolution.

What precisely is the revolution? It is precisely, the WORKERS DICTATORSHIP. The dictatorship of the vast majority, the producers of wealth, against the minority of exploiters. The necessary suppression by force of the terrorist



state of the bourgeoisie by the WORKERS STATE.

CLASS INDEPENDENCE

This is the essence of what divides the workers interests from the interests of the bureaucrats and their Stalinist and centrist, so-called revolutionary, allies. The CLASS INDEPENDENCE of the unions and WORKERS DEMOCRACY can only be guaranteed through the revolution and the workers dictatorship. There is no "militant trade unionism" which doesn't clearly place the unions at the side of the revolution. The contract rounds, the "company vs. union" rhetoric of union officials, the "Dump Carter" campaign, has no progressive content for the American working class. They are maneuvers to strengthen the terrorist state.

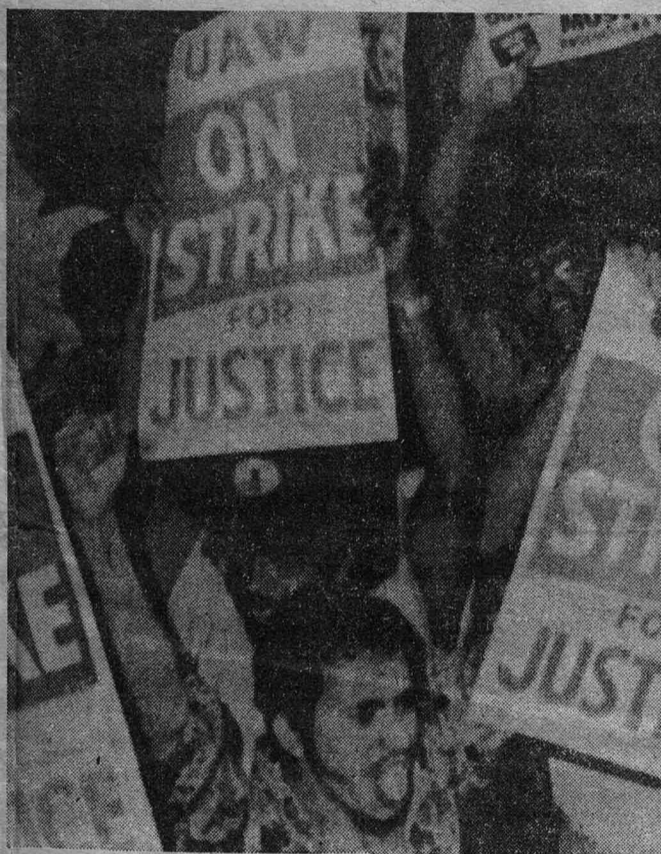
It flows from this that the fight of workers to win control over their unions is not only a struggle for COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN RELATION TO THE CAPITALIST STATE. But as well it is a struggle to advance more open, bolder workers organizations. STRIKE COMMITTEES elected by workers as a means to organize independently of the bureaucratic apparatus in strikes. FACTORY COMMITTEES which together with FACTORY OCCUPATIONS pose the question of power, of who rules on a daily basis.

A struggle in which the bureaucratic dictatorship in the unions cannot be ignored, which is a feeling of many young workers today who are totally disgusted with the treachery and servility of the unions to the class enemy. Thus, it is necessary to RENEW THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNIONS by advancing workers candidates on a revolutionary program, a program of demands to provide a solution to the crisis of imperialism.

In the framework of the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION the unions are not pressure groups on the "progressive forces" at large. Not sources of contributions to the capitalist Democratic Party. They are workers organizations, to be won to the side of the socialist revolution, through a combat to destroy the TERRORIST STATE and its political apparatus in the unions -- the trade union bureaucracy.

BUREAUCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

21 Flint Autoworkers Support RYI Delegation to UAW Headquarters



WE, THE UNDERSIGNED YOUTH AND WORKERS, SUPPORT the Revolutionary Youth International's call to form an International Commission of Unions to free Klebanov, leader of the struggle for independent unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe, persecuted by the Kremlin bureaucracy. WE DEMAND that all unions in America place themselves on the side of this struggle.

OUR PROBLEMS ARE THE SAME-- lack of freedom, liberty. Our enemies are the same-- imperialism and Stalinism, the bourgeois and bureaucrat, Carter and Brezhnev. Our struggle is one-- the working class, the revolution. INDEPENDENT UNIONS IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE!

AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF UNIONS TO FREE KLEBANOV!

JOIN WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL IN A DELEGATION TO UAW HEADQUARTERS!
JUNE 30!

DOWN WITH STALINISM AND IMPERIALISM!

(Signed by 21 workers--UAW Local #599, Flint, Michigan)

New Elections at GM Fleetwood!

We, the undersigned workers at Fleetwood, do not think that any of the candidates running in the committeemen elections really represent the working class. We want a revolutionary leadership in the UAW which will fight for the foundation of the Workers Party to insure that the will of the working class, not the will of the Carters, Frasers and Brezhnevs, presides. Thus we demand new elections prepared by independent committees of workers delegates elected in every department, and call on our fellow workers to join us in a fight to build a revolutionary leadership to win back the local.

NO MORE COMMITTEEMEN WHO DON'T REPRESENT THE WORKING CLASS! DOWN WITH CARTER, FRASER AND CO.!

A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN THE UAW!

NEW ELECTIONS IN LOCAL 15! CONTROLLED BY WORKERS!

(SIGNED by 13 Fleetwood workers)

GM BUICK - UAW "SETTLEMENT"

An article in the Detroit FREE PRESS on June 22 announced a "milestone" agreement between Local 599 of the UAW and management of the GM Buick Flint plant over a local contract. Buick personnel director Bill Rowland was quoted as saying, "This is not only a Buick first, but a GM first and an industry first."

A "first" indeed! And autoworkers might well ask what is behind the happy relief of union and company officials alike at the signing of this agreement.

The chairman of the Local 599 bargaining committee claimed the desire of union officials was to enable the Local to give its "undivided attention" to national bargaining.

Pardon us, dear sirs, while we choke on that response.

TRUTH would be the first to champion the "undivided attention" of autoworkers to what goes on behind closed doors in national auto contract negotiations, for the sake of preventing the trade union bureaucrats from once again knifing autoworkers in the back. But in this

case we think the "agreement" at the Buick plant is another maneuver of the UAW bosses to organize a bureaucratic strike in 1979.

It is a well-known fact that the biggest thorn in the side of the UAW national leadership is the right of local unions to strike over "local" issues. In reality, autoworkers in the 1976 contract round used this "right" to register their disgust with the national contract and the traitors who now run the UAW. Doug Fraser, current UAW president, had to go so far as to sanction the firing of dozens of workers in Indianapolis in '76 in order to reach an "agreement." It looks bad for these strikebreakers to have all these locals sabotaging their national sellouts.

But attention Buick workers! This "agreement" has yet to be accepted by you, and we recommend REJECTION on the grounds that every settlement negotiated by the UAW bureaucrats is an agreement to organize a "recession" against the American working class. Every agreement is an attempt to tie the workers hand and foot to this rotten

system.

This "agreement" at the Buick Flint plant is one that the UAW tops would like to get in every local before the national negotiations begin. Then they could bureaucratically organize a strike just long enough to make autoworkers feel the crunch. The plan would be that then autoworkers could be forced to accept the contract.

The plan, however, has a few setbacks. About 800,000 of them to be exact. For these maneuvers do not settle the question with autoworkers. Contract or no contract, local agreement or not, the American bourgeoisie and the "little" bourgeoisie in the official union leadership must develop a full-fledged confrontation with autoworkers in order to organize the "recession" we have been hearing so much about.

"To the best damned union men in the world." That was the message the Local 599 leadership sent to the UAW International for the Special Bargaining Convention in April, in banner headlines on the Local's newspaper. Who were they talking to? The strikebreaker Fraser, that's who.

Workers of Local 599! The Flint workers have a great tradition among the autoworkers. A tradition of the Flint Sitdown strike in 1937. Don't let this great tradition be soiled by the dirty tricks of Fraser and his Local cronies. NO TO THE TREACHEROUS AGREEMENT!
D.H.

June 24, 1979

FREE KLEBANOV!

Soviet Workers Fight Stalinism

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

What does it mean for American workers to unite in a revolutionary fight with Soviet workers?

We can answer this question in taking up the struggle to free Vladimir Klebanov, the founder of the movement for free trade unions in the USSR.

FREE UNIONS

The gains that were made by the Soviet workers in the 1917 Russian Revolution have been under constant attack by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the servant of world imperialism, for more than half a century. Every conquest of the workers except the barest minimum -- capitalism does not exist in the USSR itself -- has been taken away, especially political power.

But the Soviet workers have never conceded any of these gains peacefully. They look upon the bureaucracy as an alien body that is leeching off THEIR revolution.

In this "workers state," the workers have no rights. This becomes clear to workers particularly on the job, where the attack of the bureaucracy to subordinate the socialist conquests to world imperialism takes place directly. Naturally, the workers turn to their unions to defend them. But when they do, they find that these "unions," far from being workers organizations, are actually means of organizing this bureaucratic attack and of crushing the workers struggles.

Vladimir Klebanov, together with a group of other workers from throughout the Soviet Union, took up the struggle against these bureaucratic "unions." They founded an Association for Free Trade Unions which originally involved hundreds of workers and which found a response among thousands.

The response by the Stalinist bureaucracy was typical in its counterrevolutionary viciousness. Its secret police, the KGB, immediately arrested the leading members of the Association and committed Klebanov and several others to the "special" psychiatric hospitals that it runs. "If you don't like Stalinism, you must be crazy!"

SYMPTOMS

The Stalinists thought they had crushed the movement. In fact, the movement grew and deepened to the extent that not only a second attempt developed, but a third as well (see the letter to American workers from Yuli Zimm, leader of this third wave,

in TRUTH #85).

Klebanov and his comrades are not a few isolated malcontents. No, these few hundred workers actually represent the feelings and needs of the ENTIRE Soviet working class. On this basis, we can see that the significance of their struggle goes beyond even the limitations that they themselves imposed on the movement.

Their fight is SYMPTOMATIC of the growing revolt of the workers and oppressed in the USSR against the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is a fight which can end only in the POLITICAL REVOLUTION -- the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the re-conquest of political power by the workers, organized in their independent unions, committees and workers councils (the soviets).

And these symptoms are not restricted to the organized workers. In late 1978, news reached the U.S. of the arrest by the KGB of a 24-year old Leningrad student named Aleksandr Skobov and others. Skobov was the leader of the Revolutionary Communist Youth League (also known as the "Left Opposition") which issued its own publication and which organized discussions in the "Leningrad Commune" between hundreds of youth from all over the Soviet Union.

On December 5 of last year 200 youth demonstrated in Leningrad against these arrests. And even these hundreds are only the tip of the iceberg. For one of the charges against Skobov and the others is that they were trying to organize an "All-Union (USSR-wide -- KF) Conference of Left-wing groups." That is they were seeking to organize the youth throughout the USSR against the bureaucracy, thus heading in the same direction as Klebanov.

At the same time, the struggle of the national minorities in the USSR against the Russian chauvinism of the Stalinist bureaucracy grows ever more bitter. The Kremlin murder gang recently executed three Armenian militants, on frame-up charges of causing an explosion in the Moscow subway several years ago.

Similarly, the heroic struggle of the Crimean Tartars to return to their homeland, from which Stalin exiled them, continues. The latest expression of this fight was the exile to Siberia in April of this year of Mustafa Dzhemilev, the leading opposition figure among the Tartars. This is Dzhemilev's FIFTH exile, expressing the militancy and determination of these fighters. The national rights of all the minorities in the USSR, includ-

ing the right to separation (as in the Ukraine, for example), can only be successful in a struggle for the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

TRADE UNION COMMISSION

The Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International have taken up this struggle of these Soviet workers and youth against Stalinism. In particular, we have determined that the struggle to free Klebanov will deal a real blow to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

This is not a struggle for empty sympathy, for "solidarity" in the abstract.

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR is not a "Russian" phenomenon. INSIDE THE USSR it is the agency of world imperialism against the workers and the conquests. ON THE WORLD SCALE Stalinism and imperialism have established together a world framework of counterrevolution, a Holy Alliance, most recently seen in the slobbering embrace of Carter and Brezhnev at the SALT II signing.

In particular, the question of independent unions is not one restricted to the USSR. It is OBVIOUS there, where the "leaders" are directly appointed by the Stalinist regime. But it is no less REAL in the imperialist countries, including the USA. Here too, under the facade of "democracy," workers find that "their" unions do not represent them at all but, because they are led by BUREAUCRATS who are agents of the bosses (similar to the Stalinist BUREAUCRATS), are actually means through which these bureaucrats transmit the attack of the imperialists onto the backs of the American workers.

The fight we are organizing for an INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMISSION is thus a struggle against these bureaucrats, both Stalinist and trade unionist, for the independence of the unions as organizations of the workers, for the CLASS INDEPENDENCE of the workers; in particular for the unity of the U.S. workers and the Soviet workers.

This unity is one of struggle, but on a clear and conscious level. This struggle cannot be organized even on a general understanding of the common interests of all the workers East and West, of a general understanding of the need to unite the political revolution with the social revolution against imperialism.

This unity can be achieved only in and through the struggle



VLADIMIR KLEBANOV

to build the world party, the Fourth International. Not just because the revolution needs leadership in general but because it must be PREPARED.

This PREPARATION is a question of renewing the leadership of the working class, of taking the revolutionary youth in the East and West and placing them at the head of the movement of the working class. That is why the RYI has taken up the struggle to free Klebanov as part of its fight to build the Fourth International.

And that, in particular, is why the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, in preparing the Fourth Congress of the RYI through its own National Conference, has organized a fight in the UAW -- a petition campaign for the liberation of Klebanov and a delegation to Solidarity House to confront the UAW bureaucracy and compel it to openly reveal its position. This is especially significant today because a group of UAW bureaucrats from Cadillac Local #22 (of "progressive" bureaucrat Frank Runnels) are going to the USSR to confer with their fellow bureaucrats over "matters of common interest."

The "common interest" of the American and Soviet workers lies in driving these bureaucrats out of the workers movement by building the party that really represents their independence, the Fourth International.

June 24, 1979

Peru: the Road Forward

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The Peruvian working class is renewing its offensive against the brutal military dictatorship. As of June 14, 140,000 public school teachers were on strike. In the last year capitalists have cut wages by 37%; leaving over half the population without full time jobs or adequate food.

This offensive isn't an isolated event, but an expression of the revolutionary mobilization of the working class throughout South and North America, clearly expressed in the uprising in Nicaragua.

The government, which both the "democratic" capitalist Jimmy Carter and the Stalinist Castro have praised for its regard for "human rights," (last year when the workers bordered on toppling the government, it granted them the "right" to stop their strikes, abandon their independent organizations, and go to the polls to select some bourgeois and pseudo-socialist politicians to constitute a Constituent Assembly and write up a Constitution), has responded with tear gas, mass arrests and at least one attempted kidnapping. Hugo Blanco, the principal leader of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat in Peru (the Socialist Workers Party's international affiliate) and a member of this "Constituent Assembly," has also been arrested.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA supports the struggle of the Peruvian workers and peasants. We condemn the attacks on their movement and demand the release of Hugo Blanco and all political prisoners.

What has happened in Peru is one more proof that the "democracy," the "human rights," the "Constituent Assemblies," about which Carter, Castro AND Blanco have talked so much in the last year, are traps which served only to give the military dictatorship time to recover itself. Working class rights and the existence of this state are incompatible.

But we cannot stop here. The conquest of the rights of the workers and oppressed peasants of Peru, of all of Latin America, BEGINS with a combat to elevate the consciousness and organization of the proletariat to the revolutionary TASK of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the destruction of this reactionary state, against all the false solutions offered by imperialism through its lackeys in the workers movement.

The renewal of the working class offensive in Peru is exacerbating the already deep crisis not only of the military

dictatorship, bourgeois liberal pseudo-opponents, Stalinists, and FOCEP (Workers, Students, Peasants and Popular Front, the coalition of pseudo-revolutionary parties and radical politicians organized by Blanco for the last elections) which has split, but above all of the United Secretariat (USec) and the Organizing Committee (OCRFI).

Their parties, the PRT led by Blanco and the POMR of the OCRFI were brought to the forefront in Peru precisely because they call themselves revolutionary and Trotskyist, and thus could lend a legitimacy to last summer's elections that the openly bourgeois and Stalinist parties never could. Now they are in a terrible crisis as neither the working class nor the bourgeoisie, Stalinists, nor their radical election campaign partners are acting as the USec and the OCRFI planned.

The working class did not abandon its strikes and independent organs of power to line up outside the halls of the "Constituent Assembly" which the Socialist Workers Party once brashly called -- the "Tribune of the People."

It didn't declare itself on the defensive after some very difficult setbacks caused by these false leaders as the Socialist Workers Party predicted and planned just a week ago.

Nor has the military put down its arms and transformed itself into peace-loving citizens under the pressure of a coalition of liberal bourgeois, Stalinists and centrists led by the "workers deputies" in the Constituent Assembly.

Nor is there one big pseudo-Trotskyist party as the USec and the OCRFI announced there soon would be, presiding over this reactionary fantasy projected by the United Secretariat and all of its "sections."

Thus not only are youth and workers confronted with this vicious fraud of a peaceful and orderly transition from military dictatorship to bourgeois democracy through a Constituent Assembly now calling these parties into question. So are their own members.

This is obviously an intolerable situation. Thus the leadership is trying to resolve its crisis with a hysterical campaign to free Hugo Blanco addressed to all the "defenders of human rights."

"Since there is no hope that the bourgeois majority of the Constituent Assembly will bring respect for the human rights of the Peruvian people, and since

the Assembly is now about to adjourn and then there will be escalating attacks against us . . . raise your voices in protest . . . The voices of the working people and of the defenders of Human rights around the world must block the wave of repression being prepared . . . for after July 15."

So reads Blanco's appeal.

If all the bourgeois politicians elected to the Constituent Assembly on a platform of "human rights" last year won't protect the Peruvian people, why should their counterparts in another corner of the planet? Jimmy Carter, perhaps? Blanco's "call" is a call to nothing. It's a statement of bankruptcy.

But it's worse than that. It's an attempt to politically and organizationally reinforce the Peruvian bourgeois state, isolate the working class, especially its vanguard. Give the people the impression that "voices" will affect the regime, that it will be democratized, peacefully transformed and that the Stalinist party, with pressure, will lead this. No Leninist party, no revolution, no proletarian dictatorship is necessary.

Renewed efforts to unify the PRT & POMR of an even more bureaucratic character are inevitable. It gives workers who still think the OCRFI has something to do with the Fourth International, the impression that the resolution of its problems lies not in an increased combat against Stalinism and its centrist agents, but in conciliation with them. A great way to blot out the memory of the Leninist struggle in Latin America, to attack the Fourth International which continues it.

When workers in Peru went on a general strike last year and built independent committees for power it was the United Secretariat (the SWP, PRT and Co.) with the support of the OCRFI (the OCI, POMR) which told them to abandon this struggle and go to the polls at the behest of Carter and Castro. They formed a rag-tag slate which made a lot of false promises about making a revolution. When the first large strike broke out, they told the workers committees to associate themselves to the Constituent Assembly. When this Assembly betrayed the workers, as any bourgeois imperialist body will, this same USec started listing all the attacks, arrests, assassinations, in an effort to demoralize the workers and declared them defeated, "on the defensive." The only politi-

cal perspective left -- the 1980 elections to the "new" Constituent Assembly. One week later, when they find the workers won't accept this, they declare they are on the offensive again, that uniting all defenders of human rights to Free Hugo Blanco is the key to victory, etc., etc., ad nauseum.

This is a petty bourgeois party with a petty bourgeois policy serving the domination of imperialism and Stalinism. This nature is responsible for its crisis.

The political offensive of the youth on the international scale, but especially in North America -- for the revolutionary unity of workers East and West, the Return to Lenin -- is the only thing which can really open up the perspective of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to workers isolated in Peru.

More than this, a political offensive for the United Socialist Republic of North and South America is necessary. The more and more U.S. imperialism attempts to bring the countries of Latin America under its domination, the more and more the Kremlin and Castro collaborate in this, the more the U.S. working class must show that it and it alone is ready to fight for the independence of workers and oppressed peoples against imperialism for the destruction of the imperialist and Stalinist order.

The construction of the Fourth International can insure this independence of the U.S. working class vis-a-vis imperialism, this revolutionary unity vis-a-vis the workers and oppressed masses of South America.

This political struggle will show the Holy Alliance of Carter, Castro, Blanco and Co. for what it is -- a representative of an alien class doomed to extinction. It will prepare the working class for power and contribute to shattering the "reunification" of the renegades from the Fourth International across the world.

DOWN WITH THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN PERU!

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN WORKERS AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM!

FORWARD TO THE CONFERENCE BUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS!

June 27, 1979

IEC continued

by stages: the first (the present) being the struggle for democratic rights, the second will take place once the "rights" are won (all the while leaving intact the dictatorships of the bourgeoisie and bureaucracy) and will be the stage of the revolution. To struggle against this policy is essential for the youth to find their place and interests in the conscious preparation of the revolution with the Fourth International, because this policy disarms the masses of workers and leaves the youth without defense or revolutionary perspective in face of the terrorist state. Today there is no possibility of defending oneself against the terrorist state without passing to the OFFENSIVE for the seizure of power!

The French Section must be at the head of the struggle of the entire International against the policy of the OCI and its bankrupt Organizing Committee. Against this policy which is trying to return France to a "democratic" parliamentary regime in face of the crisis of the Bonapartist 5th Republic, to return to a regime which would be "democratic" because it will be led by a CP-SP government in the framework of an intact bourgeois state. In face of this policy, in face of the dangerous illusions that it can nourish in the service of Stalinism, the

OCI continued

The LOR intervenes in these struggles by basing itself on the renewed efforts of the workers to build their class independence. It fights for opening the books and for workers control over production, for factory committees. It fights finally to unite all the strikes and demonstrations in a general strike to bring down the Fifth Republic. It proposes to the youth that it organize into Youth Assemblies to organize this independent struggle against state terrorism, and to organize independently of the Stalinists and centrists in the Revolutionary Youth International, FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN.

On the other hand, the OCI prepares the way for a maneuver of the Stalinist apparatus. It threw itself into the construction of "Democratic Assemblies" as vague and opportunist regroupements of militants of the PS, the PCF and the OCI around a petition addressed to Marchais and Francois Mitterand (SP leader), asking them to realize a "united front of their two parties." As the first step on this road, Lambert proposed a march on Paris, on the National Assembly. The General Resolution of the Twenty-Second Congress of the OCI was devoted entirely and exclusively to justifying such an orientation. It proposed the march for April 2, the day on which the parliamentary session reconvened! Barely a few days after the

4th International fights in France to bring down the 5th Republic--centerpiece of the bourgeois order in Europe--through the proletarian revolution, it opposes all "left" rehabilitation of the "human rights" of Carter in order to fight for real democracy, the workers democracy of the soviets and the construction of its instrument: the Revolutionary Workers Party of France (Section of the 4th International).

The preparation of the 4th Congress, the struggle itself of the Congress, is concretized by the construction of the international leadership of the RYI, the selection of the future leaders of the world revolution in the break with all policies of conciliation with the existing frameworks (parliament, unions such as they are, integrated in the defense of the state) in a large struggle, but without any concessions, for the independence of the class. The task of the sections of the Fourth International is to win the youth to this combat of Return to Lenin. All recruitment must be a reinforcement of the RYI as an International, all integration of the youth into the party must signify the construction and reinforcement of the international leadership of the RYI.

The preparation of the Congress of the RYI is above all its political preparation. The 4th International, through THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, elaborates and makes precise its interna-

closing of the OCI Congress, the CGT called on steelworkers to demonstrate in Paris on March 23. Yet another "national day of action" without any follow-up in order to exhaust the movement and permit the pursuit of "responsible negotiations." At the last minute, the OCI supported this call by Seguy (CGT leader).

On March 23, the OCI was nowhere to be found at the rally site.

The LOR intervened in order to separate the workers and the youth from the trade union bureaucrats and the prophets of prostration. Afterwards, in an interview published in ROUGE, Lambert gave a series of explanations, each one more false than the last, to explain away his flight: the CGT had limited the march to the "threatened regions" (steel areas) while the OCI would have supported a national march, and then the "political parties" were absent ...

Nevertheless, right afterwards, the OCI rejoined the Stalinists and the friends of Krivine, but in the sphere of slanders. A number of workers and youth had attacked the CRS, thus expressing their rejection of the limitations of the Fifth Republic and of the forces of order that the CGT sought to impose on the demonstration. The bureaucrats immediately charged them with being "provocateurs paid by the Police Department," while the OCI suggested that it was, rather, a question of "apprentice Nazis."

tional policy of the construction of the party of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat of the USA to the USSR. The task of the "FI" is to bring the elements that will allow the Congress to take on its character of that of the formation and selection of revolutionary leaders.

Thus THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL will take up in its next issue the question of the political revolution and the Socialist United States of Europe and the revolution in the Two Americas and the European revolution. Questions which will be at the center of the Congress of the RYI. The political and organizational preparation of the Congress of the RYI must be a stage in the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas and the Eastern European Conference for the Return to Lenin which the 4th International is organizing for the end of the year.

The IEC calls for the reinforcement of the struggle in the ranks of the youth, in its organizations, in the unions, to prepare the INTERNATIONAL MEETING for the LIBERATION OF KLEBANOV which will take place on the eve of the Congress of the RYI, July 27, in Paris. It concerns a large battle, a real campaign, it is by giving it this depth that this struggle can be a means for the youth to unmask Stalinism and form the youth for Bolshevism against Stalinism.

The Congress of the RYI will

Thus, the knot is tied. Slander and repression are always the means for the Stalinist bureaucrats to isolate the workers who are escaping from their control, to isolate the revolutionaries above all, to frighten those who are seeking the road of class independence. The OCI, for its part, has not been far from slander either since 1972, when it dissolved the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International for the sake of an abnormal opportunist body, in which "each organization develops its own policy." It hoped in this way to attract some organizations of the "United Secretariat" of Mandel and Krivine (to which the American Socialist Workers Party belongs), which it had fought until then as a transmission belt for the popular front policy of the Kremlin apparatus. To the living forces of the Fourth International, that refused to follow the OCI in capitulating to the international apparatus of the Kremlin, Lambert, Stephane Just and Charles Berg (OCI leaders) counterposed Stalinist slander. The OCI leadership accused Balasz Nagy, Hungarian revolutionary of 1956 and one of the leaders of the Fourth International rebuilt in 1976, of being a double agent of the CIA and the KGB (Kremlin's secret police).

Today, the OCI is in the process of reunifying with the "United Secretariat" of the

launch the battle against the reinforcement of the counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance of Stalinism and imperialism which is preparing the November 1980 meeting in Madrid of the leaders of Stalinism and the bourgeoisie as the continuation of the Helsinki and Belgrade conferences. The Congress of the RYI will launch the preparation of a COUNTER-CONFERENCE of the revolutionary youth in face of this meeting of the enemies of the proletariat and will organize the BOYCOTT of this Conference.

The IEC took recognition of the formation of a Committee for the Rebuilding of the Norwegian Section of the 4th International, as a result of the intervention of the Swedish Section of the 4th International. The IEC accepts the membership of this Committee as a sympathizing organization. The IEC determined the task of this Committee as the preparation of the Congress of the RYI around the edition of its Call in Norwegian and by the intervention in the working class, in the youth and its organizations with the goal of massively bringing the youth to the 4th Congress of the RYI.

This struggle is the means for the clarification of the fundamental problems of the revolution with these militants and only this struggle can lay the basis for the foundation of the Norwegian Section of the Fourth International.

JUNE 1979

centrist Krivine precisely on the basis of these slanders against the Fourth International.

As a dowry to this "marriage of convenience," the OCI wants to bring a "party of 10,000 members"; "not yet the revolutionary party, but a party." "An OCI with 10,000 members would certainly be a party, but the traditional parties, the PCF and the PS, will remain the dominant parties of the working class" -- explain the documents of its Twenty-Second Congress. In other words, a party of the "PCF-PS united front."

This "third party" is only the other side of the slanders. The objective of the slanders was to identify as a police plot every more consistent and more determined struggle against the apparatuses, for class independence, and all the more, the conscious and organized struggle of the Fourth International to insure the class independence of the proletariat through an intransigent delimitation of the program of world revolution against all the petty bourgeois and opportunist leaderships.

To the militants and youth who are breaking with reformism and Stalinism and who do not conclude from it that it would be better to continue the struggle as before or who, disgusted, do not throw themselves into individual and desperate actions,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



Declaration of the Rewolucywna Liga Robotnicza Polski (Revolutionary Workers League of Poland)

It is precisely at the moment of a new step forward in the mobilization of the working class in Hungary and Poland, of new strike waves and the reinforcement of the struggles already underway, that the head of the Catholic Church is undertaking his trip to Poland.

This voyage represents the latest attempt to prevent the open explosion of the political revolution, to prevent the eruption of the working masses onto the political scene in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Once again, the Stalinists are reaching into the old arsenal of Middle Age obscurantism, trying to bring back the ancient ideas of the Inquisition in order to suppress the radicalized working class youth, in order to destroy the class consciousness of the proletariat.

The voyage of the Pope to Poland, organized with the agreement of the Kremlin independently of the contradictions which this poses to them, is deepening the Holy Alliance of Stalinism and imperialism and is becoming one of the elements preparing the Madrid Conference which is to follow that of Helsinki.

Through this they are seeking new forces in order to revive the Helsinki agreements, buried by the revolutionary struggle of the workers on both sides of the Berlin Wall.

The voyage of the Pope is the third category of the "free circulation of men and ideas"! Which signifies only FREE circulation for the capitalists in order to "buy" the socialist conquests of October 1917, FREE circulation for backward and anti-working class ideas.

The Pope chants prayers to glorify the Stalinists who work for the unity of the Polish nation -- with machine guns, through the repression of workers who are organizing independent unions. Along with this, the courtesy of Marchais, Berlinguer, Gierak and Brezhnev towards the Pope testifies to one clear thing -- these gentlemen wish to block at any cost the revolutionary eruption of the Polish workers which will, as the vanguard of the political revolution, shake all of Eastern Europe.

The Pope comes as the fellow-traveler of capital, as the propagator of the "human rights" of Carter, the rights which he has declared to be "spreading the Word."

At the same time militants of the working class are being hunted down. Those like Klebanov, founder of a union that is free and independent from the state, is rotting somewhere in a psychiatric "hospital." Even the oppositionists who are allies of the Church, like the KSS-KOR, fell victim to repression on the day "His Holiness" arrived.

The renegades of Trotskyism have had nothing to say regarding this voyage. They are astonished, along with the Western press, by the religious demonstrations. The thousands of people praying panic them, giving them a new pretext: "See, in Eastern Europe the workers are backward, one cannot organize them in the Fourth International." With thanks to the papal benediction, Mssrs. Mandel, Krivine and Lambert can deepen their alignment and their alliance with the Euro-Stalinists.

Carter, the Euro-Stalinists and the Pope, with their habitual cynicism, have not stopped speaking of "human rights." But precisely this anti-socialist repression, this is the "human rights" signed at Helsinki.

We, of the Polish Section of the Fourth International, turn towards the working class youth in order to organize it alongside its class brothers in East and Western Europe. We call on the youth to prepare with us the Conference of militants of the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, all the Eastern European countries, for the RETURN TO LENIN.

We propose to you a struggle, a policy which has nothing in common with the Church, a pillar of anti-working class power of yesterday and today. We propose to you a revolutionary policy to bring down the power which has usurped the place of the working class, which has expropriated its state. A policy which has nothing in common with an opposition which seeks its "room for freedom" under the umbrella of the Catholic hierarchy.

Return to Lenin! means organizing the struggle for the independence of the working class, for the reconquest by the youth of the Bolshevik heritage buried by Stalinism and against which the Pope, the heads of the treacherous parties and the trade union bureaucrats who try to stop the radicalized youth from the East to the West are united.

We, the Fourth International in Poland, call on all youth to rally under the banner of the

Revolutionary Youth International which struggles for Return to Lenin!, for the rebuilding of the Bolshevik Party in the USSR, center of the international Stalinist apparatus.

Your place, young dockworkers in Gdansk, young autoworkers of the Free Trade Union in Zeran, miners in Slansk, young students, young soldiers, children of peasants, your place is alongside your brothers in the West -- of Volvo, of Renault, of Ford River Rouge, of SEAT-Spain -- in order to construct the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution. Through your struggle the counterrevolutionary plans which will be signed at Madrid will be null and void well before this sinister meeting of the oppressors of the people.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland calls on you to prepare with us, through the massive distribution of WALKA KLAS, through the discussion around our, your journal, the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International.

In this way we can unite the first militant forces to prepare the Conference of Eastern European Militants for RETURN TO LENIN.

-- Against the Europe of unemployment, repression and oppression of peoples!

-- Against the Europe of the bourgeois and Stalinists!

-- For the unification of the proletariat of Eastern Europe with the proletariat of the West!

June 1979

OCI Continued

the OCI proposes the "party of 10,000," in which they might avoid going all the way to the end in their break and in which they will remain tied, through the orientation of this party and by their own illusions, to the apparatuses.

The knot is tied, also because today the OCI finds itself at the conclusion of the capitulation, at the end of the road taken in 1972. It has recorded a whole series of defeats.

The Fourth International has been rebuilt in a struggle of delimitation against the liquidationist centers: the "Organizing Committee" of Lambert

and the "United Secretariat" of Krivine. Now it is the international body led by the OCI, reduced to a pitiful shell, which begs the USec for reunification. At the same time, the popular front orientation of the OCI for the "CP-SP Government" has failed miserably in France, as elsewhere, while it was to be able to develop this policy that the OCI abandoned the centralized fight of the Fourth International against Stalinism, for the world revolution. The youth have quit the OCI, disheartened by its cowardice. The Alliance of Youth for Socialism (OCI youth group) is only a skeleton of the revolutionary and combative organization which was able, before the OCI's capi-

tulation, to have 20,000 youth demonstrate in Paris for the slogans: Long Live the Socialist United States of Europe! Long Live the Fourth International!

The class struggle grants no respite to Lambert's organization and Stalinism demands that it be of greater service to it. From this arises the more and more chaotic, and even hysterical character of its policy, accompanied by a more and more driven opportunism. But from this also arises the crisis in its ranks, which the leadership can no longer hide. A number of militants hesitate to take the final step in capitulation; that is, to join Krivine in a common organization.

Among the OCI bureaucrats,

Charles Berg was hostile to the reunification, which is why he has just been expelled under the pretext of having embezzled money. But opposition and uneasiness inside the organization seem so strong that Lambert and Just feel obliged to call an Extraordinary Congress, barely three months after holding the Twenty-Second Congress. They have to "normalize" things all over again.

For the remaining healthy elements in the OCI, the road of the revolution passes through the balance sheet of 1972, which is at the core of its present crisis. There is no intermediary position between the new capitulation and the struggle for the Trotskyist Congress founding the POR of France, section of the Fourth International.

DODGE MAIN: Revolution vs. Counterrevolution

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Chrysler's attack on Dodge Main, the plot to throw it and at least 5,000 workers on the scrap heap by next year, is part of the preparation of the COUNTER-REVOLUTION on the world scale. It can be defeated only through the conscious preparation of the REVOLUTION

STRONGHOLDS

All over the world, the big factories (especially the auto plants) are STRONGHOLDS of the working class. These factories are key positions which, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, can be the starting point for the revolutionary upheaval.

That is why imperialism is trying to break up, to dismantle, the strongholds. They are trying to shatter the concentration points of the proletarian army in advance of the revolutionary explosion. That is, today they are laying the groundwork for the smashing of the working class-- they are preparing the counterrevolution.

Whether this attack takes the form of "restructuring" auto in Spain, or "rationalization" as with the Renault/American Motors deal, its essence is the same.

So it is no accident that the attack comes against Dodge Main. All the way back to the 1930's when sitdowns organized Chrysler in Detroit, Dodge Main has been one of these key points.

In 1968, Dodge Main expressed the beginning of the new period of the imminence of the revolution and counterrevolution in the mobilization that produced the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). And in the early 70's it was the site of an upsurge by Arab workers against the pro-imperialist UAW bureaucracy and its support to Zionist Israel.

The "economic crisis" that Chrysler blames for its attack, the organization of recession, are really the FORMS that this preparation of counterrevolution take. Chrysler is at the center of this crisis because it is the largest employer, and the owner of the majority of these strongholds, in the key political center-- nationally and internationally-- that is Detroit.

BETRAYAL

By itself, imperialism could never succeed in these counter-revolutionary attacks. It depends on the traitors inside

the workers movement.

In the front ranks of these traitors are the UAW bureaucrats. It was they who crushed the 1973 upsurge in Chrysler and prepared the recession of 1974-75. It was they who got Democrat Coleman Young elected mayor, with his policy of "Renaissance" in the interest of the ruling class in Detroit at the expense of the workers. Dodge Main today shows the real face of this "Renaissance"!

From the very moment of the "surprise" announcement of the plan to close Dodge Main, these bureaucrats have been working overtime to help in this counter-revolutionary attack, to derail, stop and betray the workers mobilization.

The June 3 demonstration of several thousand workers was designed as an empty protest without a single practical conclusion. Those workers who went were actively demoralized by this perspective and by the speeches from the same capitalist politicians and bureaucrats that have been betraying them for years.

So it was no "surprise" when UAW Chrysler department head Marc Stepp (the UAW's top black bureaucrat), announced-- following some more speeches by Democrats in the next weeks-- that in the next contract negotiations "language"(!) on plant closures would be discussed. But as for Dodge Main, "there's nothing we can do." As he further stated, "they own the plant." He might have added, "and us bureaucrats, too."

But large numbers of workers, especially young ones, had placed no hope in the bureaucrats in the first place. To stop these young workers from taking the road of revolutionary victory, the company and the bureaucrats relied on the Stalinists and the centrists.

The Stalinists of the American Communist Party play the dominant role in this support. They have been active for years at Dodge Main in completely supporting the UAW bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. The June 3 demonstration was swamped with copies of the CP's DAILY WORLD.

All the centrists arrange themselves in different ways around the Stalinists. The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has said virtually nothing about Dodge Main, thus leaving everything in the hands of the Stalinists and of those who they ever so politely refer to as "union officials." The situation is too touchy for the



JUNE 3RD DEMONSTRATION IN HAMTRAMCK

SWP to even make noises about right now.

Under the cover of various "militant" slogans, the other centrists avoid the key questions. They try to spread the idea that it is a question of Dodge Main alone. They try to tell workers that the bureaucrats who are betraying them every day can organize a "labor party" or "sitdown strikes" and thereby "save" Dodge Main.

Anything, rather than open up the perspective of the preparation of the revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT

Preparing the revolution means above all building a new leadership to take over the command of the unions, to build the proletarian strongholds into organizing centers for the revolution.

Even the best slogans in the world for the best tactics, such as sitdowns, are only deceptions as long as they exist outside the framework of the question of LEADERSHIP.

Who will organize the sit-downs? Who will spread them beyond one isolated plant? What are the political objectives of the actions undertaken? How will they be defended?

This struggle for the new leadership is the difference between the fight of the Revolutionary Workers/USA and the Trotskyist Organization/USA for the WORKERS PARTY-- the organization of this new leadership-- and those who tell you that the same bureaucrats and Democrats who are mis-leading you now can

change their nature by changing their name to "labor party."

The struggle at Dodge Main and at Chrysler cannot be allowed to be isolated. Reject the bureaucrats' contract of layoffs and betrayal! Reject the fraud of the "target company"! Only a strike of the Big Three as a mass mobilization of the workers can defeat this particular attack and all of them. The fight to achieve WORKERS CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION is the framework in which the sitdown can be a valid tactic. On this basis, plants can be occupied, the books of the companies opened, the real situation be revealed to all the workers and youth and the plants and their workers be saved.

This struggle means the building of the new leadership, of those who will come forward in this fight and take up the tasks that confront the workers. The organization of the fight for a strike of all three companies and for workers control will bring to the fore the most conscious and devoted elements, the ones who will build the Workers Party as the leadership of the coming revolution.

Today, this fight demands the building of a Committee for Workers Control. Starting from Dodge Main, but reaching out to involve all autoworkers, all the youth, who see a victory at Dodge Main and the cohering of a conscious leadership as the road to the defeat of all these attacks.

June 26, 1979