

TRUTH



Organ of the Trotskyist Organization USA
Section (sympathizing) of the
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World Party of Socialist Revolution

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fight for the socialist revolution has been blocked by the treacherous leaders of the working class who are committed to a policy of reforming capitalism. Time and time again they have sabotaged the revolutionary struggle of the black masses.

Like the American Communist Party which tied the black struggle to support of Roosevelt in the 30's and today supports the so-called liberals in the Democratic Party who only cover for the racist nature of this system and government.

Or like Martin Luther King who halted the mass demonstrations of blacks in the North and South at the request of Lyndon Johnson and who sought to keep the movement "non-violent." The ghetto

Fight for black liberation is fight for socialist revolution!

Capitalism means racism. As US imperialism continues its decay this message is brought home harder and harder every day to black people in this country. Every passing day proves more and more that the fight of blacks for equality, for democratic rights, for even their right to SURVIVE is totally linked to the fight of the entire working class to end this system of unemployment, repression and war.

There is no other choice.

The situation confronting blacks in this country is proof that capitalism cannot be reformed. Brought to this country as slaves, blacks remain in the lowest levels of society, at the same time providing the backbone for basic industry.

As capitalism deepens its attack on the working class, the attack on blacks as the most oppressed sector of the working class is doubled and tripled. Unemployment is at 40% among black youth, the highest since World War II. The bourgeoisie is abandoning the central cities, which means the denial of decent schooling, health care, and jobs to blacks.

Unable to meet the most basic demands of blacks, the ruling class turns to increased repression. The Supreme Court decision restoring the death penalty, new laws against juveniles and man-

datory jail sentences are all part of the attempts of the bourgeoisie to turn the large industrial cities into concentration camps.

The bourgeoisie doesn't just rely on its own forces -- its laws, courts, police, etc. to develop this repression. It aids and encourages the growth of fascist, anti-working class and racist paramilitary groups like the KKK and the Nazis. The Nazis and KKK are openly marching in the streets of several cities. On Chicago's Southwest side, right-wing, racist gangs have created a situation of terror, violently attacking blacks who drive through or work in the area.

Blacks will never win the fight for equality and rights as long as Henry Ford runs the auto factories. Blacks will never win full employment, decent schooling, and medical care as long as Jimmy Carter and his type are in power. And no one in the Democratic Party, black or white will stop the repression, will smash the Nazis and KKK!

The most advanced young workers, black and white understand this. They understand that the struggle for black liberation is the struggle of the entire working class, is the struggle for the socialist revolution.

But time and time again this struggle to make the fight for black liberation the

rebellions of the late 60's were proof of what the majority of blacks thought about "non-violence." Those who talk about following in his footsteps today have short memories.

Revolutionary black workers must also confront the shameful policy of the centrists like the US Socialist Workers Party, who follow the footsteps of the Stalinists and Martin Luther King. Why do they reduce the struggle of the black masses to a fight for equality and democratic rights, not revolution? Why do they try to divide the working class with such liberal, anti-black and anti-working class schemes of the bourgeoisie as "affirmative action" and "busing"? Why do they call on the police, the assassins of black youth, to "protect" blacks against reactionaries?

Why do all the centrists end up ACCEPTING racism?

They do all of this because despite the fact that they call themselves revolutionaries, their most fervent hope in the world is that the revolution won't be necessary and that capitalism can be reformed. This is why none of the questions of the preparation of the revolution and above all the question of building the party of the working class to lead the revolution, concern them.

OVER --

Black liberation...

CONTINUED FROM THE FRONT

But for black and white workers who stand on the necessity of the socialist revolution as the only road for black liberation, the question of the construction of the party to lead the workers to this task is the most burning question before them. The construction of the Workers Party USA, the party of the world revolution in the US, is a life or death question for the black working class today.

The centrists say "Preferential layoffs!" The revolutionaries say -- NO LAYOFFS! JOBS FOR ALL -- A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS TO UNITE THE EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED. EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK. And if, like in steel and elsewhere, the capitalists cannot meet these demands, the workers will fight for WORKERS CONTROL OF BASIC INDUSTRY, to run industry in their own interests.

In the fight to build our Workers Party, revolutionary militants, black and white, as well as the entire working class must be mobilized in defense of blacks. WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS must be organized in the unions and throughout the community to smash the Nazis, KKK and other right-wing, anti-working class and anti-black groups. This is especially a task of the young workers in the Revolutionary Worker Youth, to organize and impulse these defense guards and insure that these fascists are smashed.

Only a Workers Government can guarantee equality for black people, including the right to self-determination. Fighting alongside the Fourth International to build the Workers Party is the first step in this battle. Its the road forward for our movement today.
September 27, 1977

Defend the Trenton Seven!



By A CORRESPONDENT

Detroit--September 19th-- The trial of the Trenton Seven autoworkers began today at the Federal Courthouse in Detroit. These workers from Chrysler's Trenton engine plant are on trial for criminal contempt of court for violating a federal injunction issued against the wildcat strike of Chrysler workers last August.

On the first day of the trial the courtroom and the hallways outside the court were packed with supporters of the Trenton workers. A demonstration, organized by the Trenton Defense Committee was held outside. Noteworthy for their absence was any representative of the International UAW bureaucracy.

"They wouldn't dare show their faces here," remarked a young worker present at the trial. Indeed they wouldn't, since they joined with Chrysler and the federal courts in attempting to smash the wildcat strike of the Trenton workers.

The Trenton Seven are on trial for fighting for the most basic right of the working class, the right to strike. With the Trenton workers it is even more basic than this. They were fighting for the right to SURVIVE since this walkout took place during the intolerable heat

this summer in the auto plants which claimed the lives of at least two Detroit autoworkers.

The UAW bureaucracy, Chrysler and the government want to set a precedent with the Trenton Seven, to make any strike action not controlled by the bureaucrats illegal and punishable by jail. It is a prelude to the new law before the US Senate, S. 1437 Bill, which would do the same thing on a national level and make it a felony.

Capitalist justice isn't even making a pretense of fairness in this case. The judge was recently a lawyer for Chrysler before he became judge and has owned Chrysler stock. His son currently represents Chrysler. This "judge" refused to disqualify himself and also refused the workers their right to trial by jury.

It is Chrysler, the UAW bureaucrats and the government that should be on trial here. On trial for their brutality and exploitation. On trial for their contempt of democracy and working class rights. **DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST THE TRENTON SEVEN! THE ONLY CRIMINALS ARE THOSE WHO RUN CHRYSLER, THE UAW BUREAUCRATS AND THE FEDERAL JUDGES!**

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Defend the conquests of socialist revolution in Poland

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Among all the struggles of the working class in recent years the one in Poland most represents its future. Workers rose in 1970 and built councils in working class districts. In June of 1976 they rose again and demanded the price of bread come down in defiance of the Stalinist government's ban on all demonstrations.

Their struggle has inspired workers across the world and as news of the terrific repression of the Gierk regime-- dozens of workers killed, thousands jailed, and tens of thousands fired has gotten out-- workers in one country after another have supported the Polish workers and demanded an end to the repression.

Now that the Stalinist bureaucracy is attempting to block this movement by claiming to grant amnesty to the workers and its agents, like the OCI are shouting, "Victory for the working class," it's all the more important to clarify the nature of this struggle and renew the combat to build the International Commission of Inquiry of the workers movement.

This Commission, led by the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International and formed in Paris last June, plans to go into Poland, investigate the repression, make the truth known to the international working class and punish those responsible.

CONQUESTS OF REVOLUTION

The struggle of the Polish workers, like that of workers throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR is, contrary to "popular opinion," one to defend and advance the conquests of the first workers revolution, the Russian revolution. Indeed, it is a high point in this struggle and a major factor in the crisis of Stalinism internationally.

The Polish workers want to organize themselves, impose their will upon society and direct the economy. Their organization of councils and formulation of demands on prices proves this. They have no desire to return to the capitalist methods of production to which the Stalinists have opened the door.

The struggle to strengthen the Commission of Inquiry and win entry for it into Poland is a struggle to bring this truth before the workers movement. By taking up this fight in every country workers can politically and practically centralize the preparation of the revolution and deepen the crisis of Stalinism and imperialism.

This is the objective of the Fourth International and the RYI in the preparation of massive demonstrations demanding free entry for the Commission into Poland on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

This battle in defense of the conquests of the Russian Revolution against the Stalinist apparatus which is destroying them, concerns workers in every country, especially in the US. First, defending the conquests of the revolution is not simply defending the expropriation of the capitalists, the nationalized property and planned economy in the USSR and Eastern Europe. It is defending the class consciousness that has arisen on the basis of these gains-- the understanding by masses of workers that they have the RIGHT to seize what they have built, the POSSIBILITY of doing so, and the NECESSITY to do so.

WORKERS IN EVERY COUNTRY

The struggle of the workers in Poland against Stalinism remains the living proof of this. We cannot conquer new positions without defending old ones. Second, by centralizing the struggle against Stalinist repression and striking a blow against this treacherous apparatus in Poland, the working class can decisively deepen the crisis of Stalinism.

Only strengthening the Commission of Inquiry can achieve this. Not the reinforcement of the various coalitions with bourgeois liberals against repression or any cooperation with those who say that campaigns in defense of worker militants in Poland are anti-communist. In Poland the question is the rights of the working class versus those of the capitalist class-- that Stalinism is nothing but its agent and must be destroyed.

INDEPENDENT CLASS ORGANIZATION

All the forces of reaction are united in blocking any international workers campaign to defend and advance the socialist conquests by fighting against the repression in Poland. Carter is carrying on his campaign for "human rights" in the USSR and Eastern Europe. While the so-called EuroCommunists and centrists are complaining that he is not serious enough, or that he's hypocritical, they're dead wrong. By "human rights" he means rights for his class of exploiters and he's absolutely serious.

The "Euro-Stalinists" and centrists, with the SWP in the vanguard, have taken up his slogan. They seek a peaceful transformation of the Stalinist apparatus as a way of blocking the workers mobilization; Stalinism with a "human" face. In reality they are only holding the door open for Carter, who heads a state which has never been noted for its "humanity."

Many militants within the USSR and Eastern Europe, thanks to the policy of the centrists (and alleged opponents of this policy like the Spartacist League which thinks defending the conquests of the revolution means building bigger nuclear umbrellas), like Plyusch, have fallen into this trap and formed Helsinki monitoring groups to insure that the Kremlin keeps its "agreement" with the US to uphold human rights. As for the Kremlin, it admits the repression, but insists it is balanced by other "benefits" of the regime.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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Only the construction of the Fourth International through the organization of the youth in the RYI can assure victory in this struggle. The battle it has already begun proves that it is the continuity of Bolshevism. It has revealed the false character of the SWP's claim to represent our party in the United States. Have they defended the working class against Stalinism with its own means and methods? Or do they prefer alliances with the bourgeoisie or silence?

Workers in the US can take this struggle forward by fighting to win their comrades in every struggle to support the Polish workers, to denounce Carter's campaign for "human rights" and Stalinist repression and elect their delegates to the Commission. Join in the preparation of the demonstrations around the world on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. "Workers of the world unite; down with Stalinism and imperialism!" must be the cry.
September 29, 1977

What kind of party does American

"The philosophers have only INTERPRETED the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to CHANGE it."
KARL MARX

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Modern capitalism, characterized by ceaseless turmoil, war and revolution, and erected on the oppression and exploitation of millions, has indeed need of CHANGE. These words by Karl Marx began the struggle of generation after generation of revolutionary workers and militants to build the instrument of social change-- the combat party of socialist revolution, the political party of the masses of the poor and downtrodden.

This question of what kind of party the working class needs to lead it to victory and power is even more significant today. For the revolution in the United States, the heart of imperialism, it is THE question facing all workers and youth.

Though the American working class is one of the strongest and most explosive proletariats in the world, it has had hardly any experience with a mass political party representing its historic interests. Time after time, the false leaders of the American workers in the trade union bureaucracy and liberal movements have succeeded in selling the working class a capitalist party instead of a bonafide workers party. Jimmy Carter is only the latest con man thrown up by the American ruling class to block the workers from building their own party.

But there has always been a continuity to the struggle to build the party of the American revolution. The leaders of this struggle have always been those who fought to maintain the international program and party of the working class and the fundamental principles of Marxism.

Without a doubt the Russian Revolution and its most popular leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, have had the most profound effect on the construction of the party of the socialist revolution. It was Lenin who put the question of the party and the combat it leads to its primal place in the building of a socialist society. The party Lenin fought for, the Bolshevik Party, is a model for all generations of revolutionaries to follow.

BOLSHEVISM.....

An often-heard criticism of Leninism and its principles of party building is that these principles led to totalitarianism and Stalinism. But these criticisms deny the plain fact that Stalin and his followers, far from basing themselves on Lenin's conception of a vanguard or leading party, completely destroyed the traditions of Bolshevism in order to betray the Russian Revolution.

At a time when the leaders of the Second International, or Social Democracy had formulated "theories" whereby the working class no longer needed to seize power from the capitalist class, but

could gradually "reform" capitalism, Lenin, with the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, upheld the necessity of an international, socialist revolution and the seizure of power by the workers, what Marx called the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin's conception of a revolutionary party was completely bound up with the struggle he carried out against OPPORTUNISM AND SECTARIANISM.

As with the opportunists of today, those in Lenin's day worshipped the purely economic struggle of the workers for wages, working conditions, and partial demands (they called themselves "economists"). Though they claimed to be Marxists, they never understood what Marx said--"the point; however, is to CHANGE it." This "economist" policy flowed logically from the revisionist "theories" of the Second International for peaceful reform of capitalism.

Further, Lenin linked the activity of the opportunists to that of the terrorists who represented a sectarian current. Sectarian, because terrorism rejects the capacity of the working class to make the socialist revolution and instead relies on acts of terror to shock the rest of society into changing.

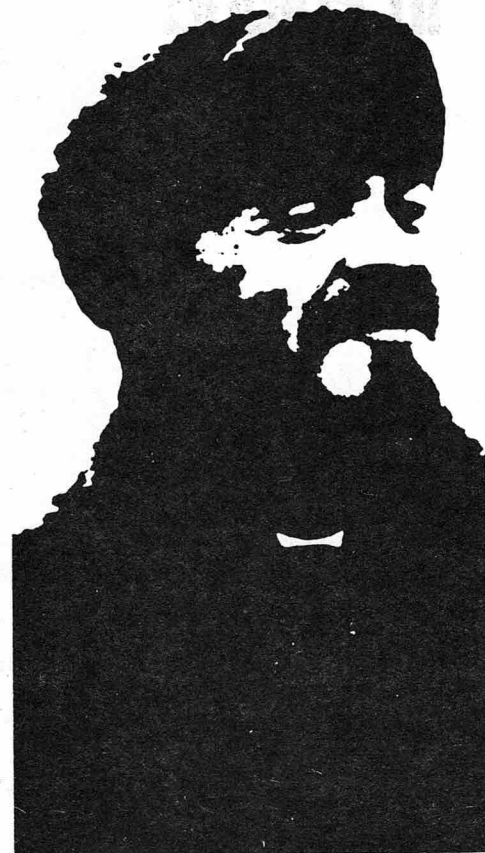
In his book, WHAT IS TO BE DONE? still the most important work of Marxism on the construction of the revolutionary party, Lenin showed what "economism" and terrorism shared in common. Both, he wrote, were forms of SPONTANEISM, "Let the workers wage their 'economic' struggle against the employers and the government... and let the intellectuals conduct the political struggle by their own efforts-- with the aid of terror, of course!" Lenin showed that neither the OPPORTUNISTS or the SECTARIAN terrorists really changed anything fundamentally in the class struggle.

Lenin went further and formulated the principles upon which the vanguard party should be built. He fought to organize the party politically, to build a national party press which put forward the fundamental policy of the majority of the party, and insisted on the necessity of free and open discussion within the party to arrive at a common policy.

These principles of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM have nothing in common with the monolithic Stalinist party founded on bureaucratic whim and intimidation. Free and open discussion is the only way the party can correct its errors and assess its policy and centralism is the only way the party can carry out the combat under capitalism and put a clear policy forward to the workers.

Though they remained a small party for some time, an experience which every revolutionary party has had to go through, the Bolsheviks were rooted in the most oppressed layers of the Russian working class. They had their greatest strength among the youngest workers-- the production workers, the laborers and the poorer peasantry.

These questions of the nature of the



party of the socialist revolution-- the class composition of the party and the necessity to orient towards the working class youth, the question of the need for a COMBAT party and the constant fight against all forms of SPONTANEISM-- are the problems which face revolutionaries at every stage of the class struggle. They are as well the fundamental problems of the construction of this party in the United States.

AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

There is however, an idea on the part of the vast majority of so-called revolutionary organizations in the United States and even among the more politically sophisticated workers, that in this country there are problems which make the methods of the construction of the party of the workers revolution fundamentally different, or even impossible.

"American workers are too backward, they'll never understand the need for the socialist revolution or a mass party to fight for it," or "the American left is hopelessly lost in meaningless theoretical struggles, why can't you all just get together and form one big party--then the workers will support you."

This conception has deep roots in the American radical tradition. The early Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a revolutionary syndicalist organization which at one time was in the vanguard of the struggles of the American workers, was founded on the notion that the United States did not need a party but only

revolution need?

ONE BIG UNION with the workers of the world.

The founders of the Socialist Party rebelled against this but the SP fell prey to the reformism of Social Democracy and the domination of the big city bosses and armchair revolutionaries. The foundation of the early Communist Party was part of the world-wide regeneration of the Communist movement by the youth who flocked to the banner of the Third International and the Russian Revolution.

A participant in all these struggles of the American working class, James Cannon makes the point in his HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM, that though the IWW contained by far the most advanced workers in the US, their deep-rooted mistrust of theory and political organization kept them from joining the Communist International of Lenin and led to their disappearance.

There are reasons for this American exceptionalism--"workers aren't ready for a Leninist party in this country"--which is today openly stated by the Socialist Workers Party and others. In the past the strength of US capitalism allowed for a relatively high standard of living for a certain section of American workers which supported a certain political backwardness, but by no means changed the fundamental tasks of the construction of the party.

In fact, when American workers move as a class they are confronted by the strongest reactionary power on earth--US imperialism--and most certainly need a revolutionary party, built on Leninist foundations.

And as Cannon also wrote and which is one of the most basic lessons of American Trotskyism, the only way a party can be built in the US is on the basis of the international struggle and program of the working class. He said: "I think one of the most important lessons that the Fourth International has taught us is that in the modern epoch you cannot build a revolutionary party solely on a national basis. You must begin with an international program and on that basis you build national sections of an international movement."

LABOR PARTY SLOGAN

The key importance of the line between the working class and the ruling class in the US, together with the explosive mobilization of American workers prior to WWII in the CIO industrial union movement, led Trotsky to suggest to the US Section of the Fourth International that it use the slogan of a "Labor Party" to keep the powerful mobilization of the American workers from being derailed by the Stalinists and the Democratic Party. Trotsky saw the "Labor Party" as a means for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to reach the masses of advanced workers who were looking for a political road for their movement. It was a means for the American Section, still small, to build the revolutionary party.

Today, the SWP, which no longer bears any resemblance except in name to the party which fought side by side with Trotsky, has turned this slogan and the method behind it into its opposite. The "labor party" slogan today, is used by the SWP to make an appeal for an alliance of the trade union bureaucracy and the workers. The SWP, which has given up the struggle to construct the revolutionary party, has given up the struggle as well against opportunism and the most treacherous exponents of modern day "economism," a la George Meany, Fitzsimmons, and Fraser.

To further confuse matters and carry American exceptionalism to its extreme, the SWP also calls for a Chicano party, a black party, etc. as a means both to derail the mobilization of black and Chicano workers into a reformist conception of the revolutionary party, and as a means to warm up to the various opportunist, reformist currents which already exist in these movements--Black nationalism, and the La Raza Unida Party.

Even the American Stalinists have come up with a similar version of this "strategy," calling for an "anti-monopoly people's party, while sponsoring "progressive" members of the Democratic Party for office.

Both the Stalinists and the SWP continue the idea that workers in the US must have something less than a revolutionary party. In place of Lenin's resolute struggle against opportunism, the SWP proposes that the workers unite with

the trade union bureaucracy. But even more, the leadership of the SWP uses the "labor party" slogan along with its "turn to the working class" campaign to support the old formula of the Economists--"Let the workers wage their 'economic' struggle against the employers and the government... and let the intellectuals conduct the political struggle."

The foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International in 1975 at the initiative of the Fourth International, constitutes the main means for the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International. The RYI was founded so that the youth, who no longer trust the old leaderships of the workers movement--Stalinists, Maoists, anarchists, and centrist claimants to Trotskyism-- can struggle at the side of the World Party through their own means. Today, more than ever, the working class youth must have an organization that is both autonomous organizationally and politically oriented toward the struggle of the Fourth International.

The slogan of the RYI, RETURN TO LENIN, places the construction of the Leninist party at the forefront of the aims of the workers and youth of the whole world and places this task in their hands. It is fitting, because the youth have always been the means to regenerate the Communist movement from the betrayals of opportunism. It is they who are free of the centrist baggage of the past, and to whom the future belongs.

The abandonment by the SWP of the objectives of the socialist revolution--the seizure of state power by the workers and the international revolution, concentrated in the fight for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, has left the youth and workers of the US in the hands of the Democratic Party.

Thus, the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization, Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International, is as important for American workers today as the foundation of the US Section by Cannon and the leaders of the early CP. It is not simply an American problem. It is a problem of the world revolution.

Just as Lenin fought all spontaneous conceptions to arrive at the Russian Revolution in 1917, so we in the US must fight the notion that the class battles of the European proletariat, where the powers of Stalinism and imperialism are concentrated to deal a deadly blow to the world working class, can somehow be resolved without a world party.

We must fight the illusion spread by the centrist SWP that the American revolution can somehow occur without being part of the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, just as Cannon and others had to fight in the IWW and SP for the importance of the Russian Revolution and the Leninist methods of building a revolutionary party. The party of Lenin, the party of Trotsky, the party of the working class -- this is what kind of party the American revolution needs.



Movement of working class against centrists

By JON COHEN

On the mind of every militant worker today are the questions: How can we build a movement that can put an end to this system of capitalist slavery, how can the working class win liberation not only for itself but for all of society? Does the working class have the forces to win?

This last question is especially important today as workers are drawing a balance sheet of the mobilization of the working class during the last year since Carter's election. A mobilization which expresses the massive discontent of the working class and above all its youth with this system of unemployment, repression and war.

This mobilization has been characterized by the attempt of the working class to break loose from the stranglehold that the Democratic Party and its agents in the unions have over the working class. The working class is drawing the lesson that it cannot go any further without driving these traitors from its movement, breaking with the Democratic Party and building its own party of class independence.

A BALANCE SHEET

This was the struggle of the autoworkers who last fall struck all three auto companies, rejecting the bureaucrats and their support of Jimmy Carter. It was expressed in the overwhelming resistance in the UAW to the national contract, with local after local striking this spring, either officially or illegally against their local contracts. The explosive consciousness of the auto workers was indicated in the massive heat walkouts that spontaneously took place this summer.

The same mobilization has taken place in the mines, where the young workers have repeatedly wildcatted against the coal companies and the bureaucrats. A march on Washington organized by the UMW bureaucrats to pressure the Democratic Party only spurred more wildcats as the workers saw the refusal of the Carter regime to come to their aid.

In steel, this mobilization was sabotaged by Sadlowski and the Stalinists and centrists who supported him, blocking the attempt of the steelworkers to break from the Democratic Party and the ENA. The result -- a rotten contract and thousands of steelworkers being laid off as plant after plant is closing. And in the Mesabi Range, the young ironworkers have been on strike for over two months, alone against the steel companies.

This struggle has raised many questions in the minds of the militant workers who have participated in them or who look to the auto workers, the miners, the steelworkers, for leadership of their struggles. Despite the power of the workers' mobilizations, they have not achieved the results they are looking for and a great deal of political confusion exists.

POLITICAL CONFUSION

This political confusion continues to exist to a great degree because of the absence from many of these struggles of the Trotskyist Organization, the only party in the United States which is fighting for the conscious organization of these struggles into a mobilization to construct the Workers Party, the party of class independence in the US. Our forces have not yet grown with the rapidity with which the class struggle is developing in the US.

And even where the Fourth International has been present in these mobilizations, such as the Ford River Rouge in Detroit, many workers still are confused about the balance sheet of their struggle. Due to the fact that the Trotskyist Organization has not yet succeeded in winning the political leadership of the struggle at the Rouge as part of the struggle of all the autoworkers, many workers believe that the fight of the Rouge workers against the contract and the bureaucrats and centrists who support it, a fight which we led, is a fight that is defeated. "We know that the bureaucrats, the centrists, are no good, but if you try to fight, you will only get crushed," say many workers.

Miners, autoworkers, steelworkers, all workers are asking the same questions -- we know that we can fight, we know that we don't like what is going on, but how can we win? How can we stop our struggles from being betrayed each and every time by the bureaucrats and the Democratic Party and those who support it?

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY

The only way to unleash a fight to win is to organize the current struggles of the working class into a conscious fight to construct the party of class independence in the US, the Workers Party, the party to lead the fight for the Workers Government. Time and time again it has been those who have said that capitalism can be reformed, that the trade union bureaucrats can be forced to change, that the Democratic Party can be pressured into helping the workers who have led the mobilization of the working class to a dead-end and to defeat.

We insist that the rebellion taking place in the working class today is the struggle of the US working class to break from the Democratic Party. And this break can only be successful if it is led in a revolutionary direction, in the construction of the Workers Party, the US Section of the Fourth International.

This is the only way that the working class can bring the rest of society along with it in the struggle for power. By building a party that will fight for the demands of the entire working class and oppressed, and will fight to unify the American working class with the working class around the world in a common

struggle against US imperialism, the working class will win allies in its fight.

This is the only way for the working class to win. The political fight for the Workers Party is the central means to overcome the confusion that exists in the workers mobilization today.

It is precisely to block this struggle that the centrists and other confusionists in the working class movement enter the picture in order to divert the working class from this fundamental task. The centrists and petty bourgeois confusionists, especially the US Socialist Workers Party which once represented the Fourth International in the United States, are in the process of attempting to resurrect the petty bourgeois movements of the late 60's in order to confuse and hide the revolutionary character of the workers mobilization taking place today.

WHAT DO ALL THESE "MOVEMENTS" HAVE TO DO WITH THE WORKING CLASS?

Quoted in the Report to the last National Convention of the SWP, by Jack Barnes is the remark of a coal miner in West Virginia: "If the homosexuals of this country can get recognition, so can the coal miners." Barnes calls this "political thinking of a kind to be praised." We call this confusion sown by the centrists.

What does the SWP mean by this, since they are by and large responsible for this attitude among coal miners and other workers, since the front pages of their press are plastered with the news "gay rights," "nuclear power," "feminists" and various other movements led by the petty bourgeoisie while the news of the struggles of the miners, and autoworkers is relegated to the back pages?

The idea is to introduce a tremendous confusion into the workers mobilization. All "movements" are the same, according to them. The class struggle in the US is characterized, not by the fight of the workers in basic industry to break from the Democratic Party and enter on the path of revolution, but by the fight of various sections of the working class or worse, of the petty bourgeoisie, those who have no independent place in this society, for various reformist demands.

The task in front of the workers is therefore not to build a united working class party to confront the Democratic Party, its allies and the Carter regime, but to put together a series of coalitions with the Stalinists, the Social Democrats and the left-wing of the Democratic Party to win various reformist demands and hide the class and revolutionary character of the workers mobilizations.

NOTHING TO DO WITH REVOLUTION

This is a direct attempt to SABOTAGE, to the benefit of the Democratic Party, the revolutionary mobilization of the working class. For example, the SWP

Our History

Fight in American Communist Party

gives credibility to a fictitious "feminist movement" in order to ally working class women with the bourgeois NOW (National Organization of Women) and the Democratic Party, instead of with a common struggle with the rest of the working class to make the demands of women's liberation part of the revolutionary struggle of the workers. How different their policy is from that of Bolshevism, of the Third International, of Lenin and Trotsky, which stated: "There are no "specially feminine " questions. Any relation of the working class with the bourgeois feminists, as well as any support given by it to the tactic of half-measures and the open treachery of the social-coalitionists and the opportunists, can only weaken the forces of the proletariat. And by delaying the social revolution, prevent at the same time the realization of communism, that is, the liberation of women." (Third Congress of the Third International)

But of course the lessons of the communist movement do not apply here say the centrists. "The American workers are backward and not ready for the revolution."

In reality the workers are not backward. It is the centrists who stand in their way. Thus, the centrists also turn the revolutionary struggle of blacks into a "busing movement", they turn the fight of immigrant workers against repression into an "anti-deportation movement."

And they create the illusion that such petty bourgeois movements as the "gay rights" and "nuclear power" movements have something to do with the fight of the working class for its emancipation. That the working class and its party defends the democratic rights of homosexuals or that it will wrest the control of nuclear power from the hands of the capitalists, has nothing to do with the cynical way the centrists enlarge these movements in order to divert the working class from the construction of its own party.

AN OBSTACLE TO GOING FORWARD

In drawing a balance sheet of the workers mobilization and the tasks ahead of us, the working class must see this new turn by the centrists towards "coalition politics" and the resurrection of these petty bourgeois movements as an obstacle to the struggle to organize the working class movement. By launching the fight to construct the Workers Party, the workers can prove that they can indeed win by relying on their own forces and can offer a program that will liberate all of society from capitalist oppression. The movement of the working class to build its own party and install its own government is the only real movement in front of us today.

September 28, 1977



WORKERS DEMONSTRATE IN CHICAGO 1932

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

From the beginning, the fight for Trotskyism in America was one to maintain and develop the struggle initiated by the Communist Party. Revolutionary militants of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) that were drawn to the Russian Revolution of 1917 formed this party in a bitter struggle against the SP leadership's class collaborationism and the IWW leadership's abstentionism.

They continued this struggle after the foundation of the party against tendencies in the Communist Party (CP) content to leave the leadership of the American working class to the SP and IWW, interpreting Bolshevism in a religious and sectarian fashion.

On the basis of this struggle the American Communist Party achieved a great place in the American working class struggle. It formed a party which operated openly against the terrific repression of the post-WWI governments. It became known to masses of American workers through its courageous struggles in defense of class-war prisoners, the International Labor Defense, and its fight in the trade unions against the reactionary leadership. And James Cannon, a leading founder of American Trotskyism and his comrades were in the forefront of this fight.

But this revolutionary wing of the Communist Party, while it waged a constant struggle against opportunism, was unable to provide a clear political alternative for the party. Thus factions, not based on clear platforms, but still reflecting the class differences within the party, arose. "Cannon's Faction" of party workers and workers, William Foster's faction of workers and trade unionists, and Jay Lovestone's faction of intellectuals and professionals.

The confused conflicts between them dominated the life of the CP for several years and a poisonous atmosphere enveloped the party. While under Lenin and Trotsky the Third International and its leadership, the Comintern, helped the young party work out its difficulties, under Stalin it began to exploit the difficulties in order to strengthen its own position and weed out the independent proletarian elements.

In 1927, the party born of the greatest hopes of the American working class was not only stagnating. All its gains were in danger of being destroyed.

The political struggle led by Cannon "for the Russian Opposition," maintained and developed the Communist Party's struggle, regrouped the best elements of the Communist Party and began to overcome this crisis precisely because it was based entirely on the gains of the international working class. Their clear program and determination was decisive.

When Cannon returned from Moscow in 1927 he circulated Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern" and his own "The Right Danger in the Party." He stressed that only the struggle against Stalinist opportunism on the international scale would be able to defeat the opportunists at the head of the American section.

This inspired many youth and proletarian militants. Others, notably those of the Foster group, decided to get away from Cannon as far and fast as possible. Both the Lovestone and Foster groups were later either expelled or driven into total silence. Both disintegrated. It's to the Foster group that the "militant" Stalinists of today (the CLP, PL, etc.) trace their origins.

From the beginning the opportunists, bent on destroying the acquisitions of the American working class in the interest of collaboration with imperialism, understood the stake of the struggle. The moment Cannon spoke openly for Trotsky he and his closest collaborators, Shachtman and Abern, were expelled.

The moment they hit the streets with the first issue of their press, THE MILITANT, on November 15, 1928, the Stalinists sent goons to attack them. And the first time they held a meeting the Stalinist goons came to break it up.

But the first Trotskyists held their ground. Not even with these methods could Stalinism stop them.

As the first Trotskyists fought to maintain and develop the continuity of Bolshevism, so does the Trotskyist Organization of the US today. And today as before, this demands a fight to the finish against the opportunist leaderships within the workers movement, above all the Socialist Workers Party which falsely claims our heritage. The cynical maneuvers of its present leadership resembles the activity of Foster and Lovestone, not Cannon.

September 29, 1977

DETROIT ELECTIONS: Workers must say no to Young!

By ANN NELSON

Detroit-- On September 13th only 30% of the registered voters in Detroit voted. Coleman Young, the almost-sure victor in November, received 55% of the vote and Ernest Browne received 21%, making these two bourgeois politicians the only two candidates allowed on the November ballot for Mayor of Detroit.

Those in charge of the Detroit elections have made it impossible to find out how many votes the Trotskyist Organization's candidate for Mayor, Jon Cohen, received since all write-in votes are counted together. The Socialist Workers Party, which was on the ballot received 947 votes which is an insignificant number since between 800 and 900 votes was the number of votes received by all the "minor" candidates, including the woman who jumped naked into the Detroit River to get votes and spent the rest of the campaign in a mental institution.

There are two outstanding things about the election results. The high abstention rate indicates a certain rejection of the "alternatives" offered by the bourgeoisie. The second result was that the vote was divided strictly along racial lines, with 90% of the blacks voting for Young and 90% of the whites voting for Browne.

The bourgeoisie and their press would like Detroit workers to think that the "issues" in the election (whites moving out to the suburbs and the degeneration of the inner city, poor schools and crime) are questions of race and not of the working class against the bourgeoisie. In fact, the increasing "racial tension" is due to the failure of the liberal bourgeoisie and Young in particular, to meet the needs of the workers and oppressed in Detroit.

The issue of "race" is being played up for a reason; to obscure the stake of the elections for young, militant Detroit workers--either buying the line of the Democratic Party and accepting the lesser of two evils, or taking the future into their own hands by beginning to build their own Workers Party to fight for a Workers Government.

YOUNG/BROWNE--NO ALTERNATIVE

In Detroit, a stronghold of the working class in this country, the workers are more politically conscious and the trick of the liberal Democratic Party and its "lesser of two evils" can be exposed more sharply.

The play that has been set up, with both Young and Browne playing their parts is that in order to stop the degeneration



of the city black workers must vote for Young. But most young workers want something better than Young, which is why the majority didn't vote anyway. But the task still remains to convince young black workers that only their own independent revolutionary struggle, AGAINST YOUNG IN PARTICULAR, can provide a true alternative for the working class.

"NEW DETROIT" AND ITS SUPPORTERS

In order to keep the faith in the Democratic Party the chauvinist "New Detroit" campaign to create a "Renaissance" for Detroit was developed by the liberal Democrats. This campaign did not develop out of thin air, but out of the desperation of the bourgeoisie in the face of the revolutionary mobilization of Detroit workers in the late '60's and early '70's.

In the factories of Detroit there were the first occupations since the '30's as well as a tremendous mobilization against the fascist brutality of the special police force, STRESS. It was the mobilization of the working class, NOT Coleman Young, which brought an end to STRESS.

But it was Coleman Young who attempted to head off this mobilization into the Democratic Party. This treacherous history is also Ken Cockrel's life story. Cockrel went from a young militant leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers to completely sell-out this movement in favor of the Democratic Party. Now he will probably be elected to City Council on a totally reformist program.

Young workers do not need a "Renaissance" Center that they can't afford to visit. They need a solution, they need an international revolutionary party, not the "lesser of two evils" conspiracy.

"VOTE, VOTE, VOTE"

"Vote! Vote! Vote! for Coleman Young" is the cry of the UAW bureaucrats.

These leaders, who have driven striking workers back into the factories with chains, are also trying to convince the youth that Young is their only alternative to "reaction."

Lawyer F. Thomas, a local UAW President, echoes the sentiment of the whole bureaucracy when he says that Young "beat all odds against the forces of reaction to become the first black Mayor in Detroit history and began turning things around."

Young has turned nothing around. He refused city workers even a small cost-of-living increase and sent the police to attack striking telephone workers. Unemployment has gone up faster in Detroit than in the rest of the country. Young has proven himself a much better friend of Jimmy Carter than of the workers, black or white, in Detroit.

BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS! THE ALTERNATIVE IS THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

The so-called "Non-Partisan" ballot in Detroit prohibits all but the two candidates of the bourgeoisie to be on the ballot. Working class candidates are prohibited from running in the name of their party.

A decisive question is still posed before the working class and its youth: it is necessary to break from the liberal-labor-black alliance of the Democratic Party against the working class.

The other working class parties are passively accepting Young's victory in November. We call on the working class and youth of Detroit to actively boycott the elections in November.

Don't campaign or vote for Coleman Young. Join the Revolutionary Youth International and its demonstrations on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Join the RYI in organizing a winning fight against the attacks on the working class, against racism and against unemployment.
September 29, 1977