

# TRUTH



**WORKERS OF  
THE WORLD  
UNITE!**

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TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA

SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## UNITE THE YOUTH AGAINST THE RACIST STATE... DEFEND BLACK LIBERATION!

Last week the US Supreme Court upheld the Bakke decision, citing a California medical school for "reverse discrimination" because 16 places out of 200 in its school were reserved for blacks and other minorities.

A week earlier, the Supreme Court and a federal court upheld the "freedom of speech" for a small group of Nazi scum to march in Marquette Park in Chicago, the scene of repeated violent attacks against blacks.

Look how fast this "democracy" moves to fight "discrimination" and defend "free speech" when it concerns the defense of RACISM and FASCISM.

Not so fast when it comes to the defense of black people. Does anyone forget that this Supreme Court, this Constitution, this Bill of Rights, existed side by side for 100-YEARS with SLAVERY?

Does anyone forget that it took 200 YEARS for this Supreme Court to grant even formal equality to blacks?

No, we don't forget. And we cannot forget that this bourgeois state is RACIST to the core. We cannot forget that capitalism cannot exist in this country without racism, that

racism and this bourgeois "democracy" go hand in hand.

Nor can we forget that the defense of blacks against this racist attack is the defense of the American revolution. The struggle of blacks for their liberation is a REVOLUTIONARY struggle. The American revolution cannot be made without fighting for black liberation.

The attack on blacks is thus an attack on the vanguard of the American revolution. The Supreme Court decisions are only the tip of the iceberg. Only CONFIRMS the REALITY of the situation of blacks.

But something positive can come out of these decisions. They can be seen as a FINAL WARNING, for both the white and black working class that unless this attack is STOPPED and stopped NOW all the gains of the working class will be taken away and the American revolution will be postponed.

A final warning that the time has come for a NEW LEADERSHIP for the black struggle. The Supreme Court confirmed the fact that the old strategy and leadership has FAILED. That the liberal schemes of affirmative action,



busing, etc. which turned the black movement into reliance on the Democratic Party, the bourgeois state and its courts and which derailed the black struggle into reforms has FAILED. And that these leaders—the hacks of the NAACP, the liberal Democrats, and their Stalinist supporters have betrayed the real struggle and aspirations of blacks.

To defend the fight for black liberation we have to turn in a NEW DIRECTION—against this racist state, against its courts, its police,

its politicians. Against any illusions that this racist system can be reformed.

A new leadership must be built to save the fight for black liberation and to once again inspire the masses of blacks and above all the youth to enter into MASS STRUGGLE against this state.

That is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA, along with the Revolutionary Youth International propose to all youth, black and white, to join and build with us a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST REPRESSION AND WAR.

To organize MASS BLACK SELF-DEFENSE against the racists. To fight police repression. To end the PLANT-ation system in the factories. To win JOBS for ALL youth.

But above all to build a new leadership among the youth that will make the fight for black liberation a central question in the struggle of the American working class.

The Fourth International stands in the forefront of this struggle and we say that the fight for this YOUTH ALLIANCE, an ALLIANCE FOR BLACK LIBERATION is the step forward we must take today. July 6, 1978

## Drop the Charges Against Harper-Grace Strikers!

On the evening of June 27th, James Hatchet, Business Agent for the Service Employees International Union, Local #79, Ruby Gartner, and David Heffelfinger, member SWIU Local #79, were arrested by Detroit police at Grace Northwest Hospital. David Heffelfinger is also a member of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and is National Secretary of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA.

They were arrested as a result of the continual police harassment and provocations against the strike of 1,800 Harper-Grace hospital workers which began on June 26th and is still in progress. Since the strike began, Mayor Coleman Young's police have joined with the hospital ad-

ministration in trying to break the Harper-Grace strike.

Specifically, these workers were arrested when they came to the defense of a woman on the picket line who was threatened with arrest for "parking her bicycle on the grass." In response to this provocation, the entire picket line sat down and refused to let the police arrest this woman.

In the process, these workers were arrested by the police for "disorderly conduct" and "refusing to obey a police order."

But those really guilty of "disorderly conduct" during this strike have been Coleman Young's police who have constantly threatened,

harassed, cursed and even pulled their guns at Harper-Grace workers exercising their right to strike and picket.

These workers must be defended! The entire working class movement in Detroit must come to the aid of these strikers and the Harper-Grace strike by demanding: DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST THE HARPER-GRACE STRIKE! STOP THE POLICE HARASSMENT! POLICE-- OUT OF THE STRIKE!

Over 250 signatures have already been obtained from Harper-Grace workers demanding of Mayor Coleman Young that all charges be dropped and that he keep his police out of their strike. But a mobilization of ALL workers and youth in Detroit is necessary to de-

fend the Harper-Grace strike and the arrested strikers.

Show your support by fighting in your union or factory to send delegations to join the Harper-Grace picket lines in order to help close the hospital down tight. Send messages to: Mayor Coleman Young, Detroit, Michigan demanding that all charges against the Harper-Grace strikers be dropped. July 5, 1978

**INSIDE -  
THESES FOR THE  
4th INTERNATIONAL'S  
6th WORLD CONGRESS**



# CAN CONGRESS END UNEMPLOYMENT?

By JON COHEN

Karl Marx said that religion was "the opiate of the masses." With its delusions of "pie in the sky after you die" religion is designed to lull the working class to sleep, to make it give up its struggle for a decent life on this planet in a hopeless search for a "reward" after death.

A lot of people know this already. That's why they stay away from churches and preachers.

But religion is still a big business. And unfortunately the practitioners of the "art" of religion are not restricted to priests, ministers, rabbis, preachers and their associates.

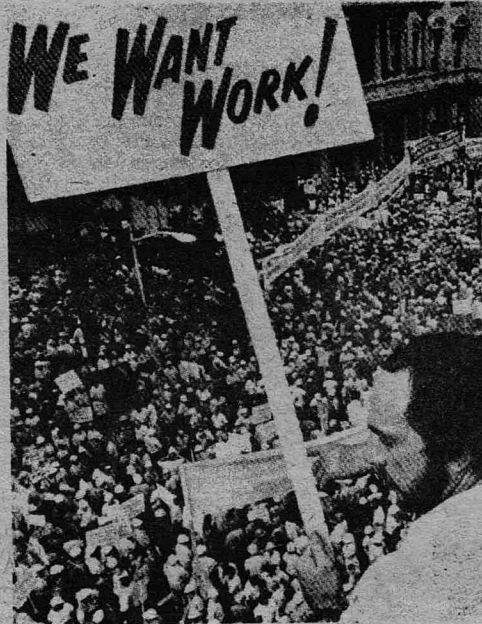
The workers movement has its own form of religion. Its own kind of preachers and priests. People who don't use the name "Christian" or "Jew", and who sometimes even try to pass themselves off as "socialists" or "communists" but whose message to the working class is the same: the delusion that there is some "hope" left for capitalism, that somehow it can be "saved", that perhaps, just perhaps, a workers revolution will not be necessary.

Talking about religion is just another way to describe OPPORTUNISM in the workers movement. Both religion and opportunism have the same basis-- a refusal to tell the TRUTH to the working class and its youth, a refusal to prepare and arm the working class and its youth in face of the REALITIES of this system, and finally, a compromise with capitalism, with this system of unemployment, repression and war.

All opportunists cherish the illusion that the inevitable confrontation between the working class and its capitalist masters can be avoided. They try to lull the working class to sleep by telling them that perhaps capitalism can be reformed and that the working class can win its rights without touching the bourgeois state.

And especially in the United States, in this "Vatican" of world imperialism, they try to tell the American working class that: "Revolution is impossible here. Perhaps somewhere else in the world, but not here."

As Marxists, as revolutionaries, the Fourth International is totally opposed to all



forms of religion, totally opposed to all those who try to mystify and deceive the working class with false promises. And totally opposed to opportunism inside the workers movement.

That is why we want to warn the workers and youth against the latest piece of religion to come out of the pens of the leaders of the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party which falsely claims the banner of the Fourth International in the US. Opportunism and the Fourth International are incompatible.

This piece of "pie in the sky" appeared in the June 30th issue of their paper, THE MILITANT, in a special supplement entitled: "Why can't everybody have a job?" Its centerpiece contained the following proposal from "Socialist Workers Party candidates": "An emergency bill to guarantee the right to a job for everyone who wants to work."

The first words of this "proposal": "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America...!! This "bill" goes on to outline the steps the US Congress should take in order to eliminate unemployment, along with charging the US Congress with the "enforcement" of this "legislation." Written just like they taught you in the eighth grade!

If you elect the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, they will fight for this "bill" in Congress.

But let us say from the

very beginning, and this is where TRUTH comes into the picture-- the US Congress will NEVER end unemployment in this country. Not even that. It will never do the SLIGHTEST THING to end unemployment in this country.

The truth of the matter is that the US Congress is nothing but a weapon of the ruling class in this country and is anti-working class and reactionary to the core. It cannot be reformed and no reforms can come out of it for the working class.

Forget "reforms" for a second. Not one piece of social legislation has come out of this Congress in almost 20 years. They have refused to pass even the meaningless Humphrey-Hawkins employment act. They have refused to pass the "Labor Reform Act" which is nothing but a joke. They have refused to pass a national health plan, making the United States the only major capitalist country without any kind of national health protection.

And over 30 years ago the United States Congress beat the SWP to the punch by passing-- the FULL EMPLOYMENT ACT of 1946! Gentlemen-- "full employment" is already the "law of the land." Just like, "equality." Ask any young black in the large cities-- they'll tell you about this "law of the land."

The only thing to be done with this Senate and House of Representatives-- is to clean it out after the workers revolution and give these thieves and hustlers socially useful occupations.

"But wait a second!" the pseudo-revolutionaries will now cry. "You are just being sectarian and ultraleft again. We agree with you about Congress, but you don't understand, this is a TACTIC, designed to 'expose' Congress."

The opportunists always want to discuss "tactics" and never principles. And their "tactics" always reveal their real "principles"-- contempt for the working class and its youth.

Just like any really successful preacher (the fatter his wallet the better) will tell you he doesn't really believe the stuff he is preaching-- its just "what the masses want," so the pseudo-revolutionaries and opportunists will tell you (in private) that of course, they don't believe all this stuff about Congress-- "but the workers

believe it" and this is a "tactic" to "win the masses."

But this "emergency bill" is no tactic. It is opportunism-- parliamentary cretinism pure and simple and betrayal of the interests of the American working class.

It is no "tactic" because this "emergency bill" comes precisely at a time in the American working class movement when the advanced sections of the working class are getting rid of their illusions in Congress, in the Democratic Party.

Look at the huge percentage of workers who refuse to vote at all in the elections. Look at the rapid and precipitous decline in Carter's popularity and the decline in respect for "politicians" in general.

But it's more than that. In every mobilization of the working class and its youth-- the miners strike being the most important recent example-- but in every factory, union, school, community, the working class and its youth are more and more seeking independent solutions.

Solutions to break the grip of the Democratic Party, to break with the trade union bureaucracy which betrays their struggles, to break with any trust in the capitalist courts, police or government to be able to satisfy their demands.

This explains the growth of the roving caravans and mass picketing in the miners strike. The wildcat strikes in the UAW. The spontaneous rebellions of the youth against the Nazis and police in Detroit and Chicago.

It is in this situation that the working class and the youth are asking MANY fundamental questions, of which how to end unemployment is only one of them. The most militant, the most advanced workers and youth are beginning to ask, how to end this ENTIRE SYSTEM of unemployment, repression and war. How to win Workers Democracy in this country.

That is why revolutionaries must tell the truth to the working class. Not reinforce the illusions that they are trying to get rid of. Not to "expose" worthless institutions like the Congress, or have the workers "go through the experience" of more treachery.

But to give an orientation, a PERSPECTIVE to this mobilization of the American working



class. A perspective which can be nothing but that of the preparation of the American revolution, as part of the world revolution.

How to orient the American working class in a fight for its own government-- for the dictatorship of the working class over the bourgeoisie, for Workers Democracy against the rotting corpse of bourgeois democracy? This is the basis for discussing "tactics" for the workers movement today.

And "emergency legislation" calling on the US Senate and House of Representatives to "eliminate unemployment" doesn't fit into this perspective at all. It is only a trap, one more illusion thrown in the face of workers and youth who are massively rejecting the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy.

It is only a left version of all the various schemes in front of US Congress that are supported by the Stalinist American Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy in order to block the working class from breaking with the the Democratic Party and reformism. Only a left version of Humphrey-Hawkins, the Harrington bill, the "Shorter Work Week" bill.

The pseudo-revolutionaries want to try to tail behind the Stalinists, the bureaucrats and the liberal Democrats by presenting a "revolutionary" Humphrey-Hawkins bill. But unfortunately there is no such thing. A rose by any other name...smells the same.

The only way to end unemployment is to mobilize the American working class for the revolution. Not by shouting it from the rooftops, but by organizing all the day-to-day struggles of the workers and youth in a revolutionary direction. By building the independent weapons of the workers-- strike committees, defense guards, factory committees-- against the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy-- in the fight to construct a revolutionary party of the American working class, the WORKERS PARTY, US Section of the Fourth International.

The pseudo-revolutionaries really don't believe that US Congress will end unemployment either. But the German philosopher, Goethe, once wrote that: "A philistine is a gut void of everything but fear and hope that God will have mercy on him."

When you're scared to death of the workers and their revolution there's not much else for you to rely on. July 5, 1978

# Harper-Grace Strike: A Strategy to Win

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

As the strike goes into its second week, I have heard many brothers and sisters asking the question: "is it going to be a long strike?" Almost everyone is prepared to go as long as it takes, almost everyone would refuse to go back without a VICTORY. But it is not necessarily the length of a strike that determines whether you win or lose, it is our POLITICAL strategy that makes the difference.

As each day goes by we are all beginning to learn more, gaining experience, seeing what must be done to win. But there are more experiences than our own to learn from. There are the experiences of workers for more than a hundred years who have fought this exploitative system which places us on the BOTTOM LINE when it comes to rights, working conditions, our lives. Even in the United States, the recent miners strike has many lessons for us to learn from.

"We've got to stop people from going in." That's one thing we've learned. I've heard brothers and sisters saying it all over. Trucks are making deliveries, scabs are working in the Hospital, and they are still hiring.

The hospital, in its propaganda sheet NEWSBRIEF, claims they are working at 60 to 65% of capacity. In the latest issue of their bulletin they print questions like, "How can I cross a picket line?" Furthermore, they say that scabs will not be penalized for crossing our lines. They try to make the union look unreasonable, but if anything we have been TOO reasonable. The hospital's version of things is nothing but lies, plain old lies to break our strike.

The truth is that the hospital is probably operating at about 30 to 35% of capacity. The rooms are filthy. The food is permanent diarrhea. And the majority of the workers who are working, but are not part of the union, support us. And why shouldn't they? We all face the same enemy.

But the hospital IS hiring scabs to take our jobs. They have the POLICE on their side. And the courts will give them an injunction if they press for it. We have to stop them cold if we want to win, if we

want to win what we really NEED.

We have a big plus on our side. The spirit of our strike is still very high. We still have a lot of fight left in us.

I've heard it on all the picket lines. "Walking around in circles is not going to cut it." That's right. 100% right. There's more to a winning a strike than walking around in circles."

PICKETS, POLICE, AND THE PUBLIC

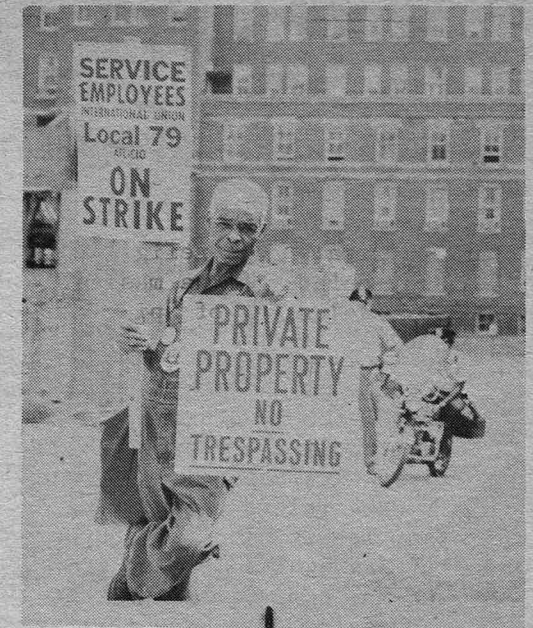
The miners in their strike revitalized one of the most effective weapons that workers have devised for picketing. MOBILE PICKETS, CAR CARAVANS. Flying pickets is what they called them in the '30's. Nothing more than cars full of workers armed with picket signs to chase down scabs and trucks. Follow them home, let them know you don't appreciate their scabbing. It works, too.

The Police. They are on the other side. In a strike, the police are always on the other side of the workers. To deal with the police we have to deal with their BOSSES, the government, and we have to stick together. At Grace Northwest when the police tried to arrest a picketer for "parking her bike on the grass," we locked arms and said, "take one of us and you take us all." We weren't prepared for what happened so we were a little disorganized, otherwise we could have prevented ANYONE from being arrested. They can't arrest us all.

The day after the arrests (see article in this issue for details) the Trotskyist Organization and workers at Harper-Grace began to circulate a petition against the arrests, and the response has been great-- over 250 signatures off only a few shifts. We can get thousands and then send them to the cops BOSS-- the Mayor.

The Public, they are on our side. This city is working class and overwhelmingly BLACK. So is our strike. But the bourgeois newspapers, radio, and TV are NOT on our side. They print news for profits, not for workers.

A mass demonstration in Kennedy Square to popularize



our demands and the workers cause would have the support of the masses of workers in this city. WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES, END UNEMPLOYMENT WITH A SHORTER WORK WEEK AND NO CUT IN PAY, FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

A DEMOCRATIC STRIKE, A UNITED STRIKE

Compared to the system we live under-- capitalism, our strike is a model of democracy. Real democracy-- workers democracy.

There are a few in the union who don't like to hear criticisms, who don't like to have discussion. As we saw in the meeting ourselves, most of them are concentrated in the OFFICIAL leadership of Local 79.

But the strike has brought forward more leaders among us. At the noon meeting two weeks ago a lot of workers were fighting against taking a secret ballot vote. For one simple reason. From past experiences they don't trust 79's officials, or the few workers in the union who side with the hospital.

You can't have FORCED unity. There's no such thing. FULL FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION, UNITY IN ACTION. That must be OUR law.

During our strike, not only the Trotskyist Organization, but several other workers' political organizations have approached the picket lines. Most workers listen to what they have to say and make up their own minds. But a few loudmouths insist on chasing them away, on spouting anti-communism to intimidate the rest from making up their own minds. This ISOLATION of our strike is poison. ALL UNIONS, ALL WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS WHO SUPPORT OUR STRIKE WOULD BE WELCOMED BY US. I

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# A YOUTH ALLIANCE TO FIGHT THE TERROR

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Every day our choices are narrowing down to two alternatives: Police-state or Workers Government. With their attacks on the rebellious youth, the government and their police are preparing the first alternative.

Gary Tyler, the Wilmington Ten, Travis Morales, and Hector Marroquin. These are the names of victims of the repression of the capitalist state. There are hundreds and thousands more in the central cities whose names never reach our ears. The black and Latino neighborhoods are flooded with police. The factories are prisons for the youth. The schools are devoid of creative education, they are houses of detention. The streets, filled with unemployed, swallow up the youth for drugs and crime.

This is TERRORISM in the highest degree. TERROR directed against an entire class, the working class, the poor, and oppressed.

Who is responsible? Those who were responsible for the murder of the Black Panthers, and Chicanos in the '60's, are engineering the assault on the youth today. The FBI, the CIA, are still around and growing more powerful everyday under the government of Jimmy Carter.

The youth are asking, why? Where is the failure of the masses of youth who fought so hard in the United States, in France, in Czechoslovakia, to end this system of war and repression to be found?

**AGAINST THE STATE! THE TERRORIST STATE!**

It's the continued existence of the capitalists' state, the government of the greedy minority that rules the planet. Democrat Carter or Republican Nixon, their strategy is the same. Repression against the youth. War on the oppressed nations. Anti-Communism to justify the attack on workers rights, to prepare war on the workers conquests.

The lesson of the struggle of the youth from 1968 on is the need to destroy this state which has always had as its first goal the repression of the most militant fighters of the working class, the youth. But it is not the youth who are responsible for the failure to destroy this state. No, it is the opportunist and bankrupt leaders of the working class

who must bear the responsibility.

The "official" leadership of the unions which has isolated and broken strike after strike are responsible. The Stalinist leaders in the Kremlin who sent the tanks against the young fighters in Czechoslovakia are responsible. The Stalinist Communist Party USA which time after time has channeled the mobilization of the youth into the Democratic party and the Socialist Workers Party which isolated the struggle of the youth from the factories.

**CARTER PREPARES WAR ON THE YOUTH!**

Because the bourgeois state has yet to be destroyed, all the old crap returns. It is the Cubans who are guilty of "aggression" in Africa, not imperialism which owns half the continent. The Russians are "preparing for war", not US imperialism which looks with desparation for an excuse to crush the growing combativity of the workers and youth in Europe, in South America, Africa, Japan and the USA.

Under the slogan of "defense of democracy" and "human rights" Congress is preparing to legislate even more repressive laws, even deeper assaults on workers rights. Like the S-1437 bill which Nixon unsuccessfully tried to pass during his administration. A law which among other things, classifies the assembly of 12 or more people against the government as a riot. It is being considered today in the House after already being passed in the Senate.

Or Senate bill S-2525 which legalizes the domestic spying activities of the CIA and FBI, giving them even wider repressive powers.

The government is streamlining its apparatus in order to be able to better attack the workers and youth, once again. And they are supporting the growth of an illegal arm of repression as well.

In the recent demonstration of Nazis in Chicago, the racist white-power advocates were escorted to the site of their demonstration in police vans. The Supreme Court, the supposed last stand for justice, has given its sanction to these Nazis while systematically turning back the limited gains of blacks.

The bourgeoisie cynically

justifies the beefing up of the police in the central cities because of "crime." With millions of unemployed youth, with social services being cut to the bone, with the rot of culture and education, there is no reason for crime! In every major city in the country, federal funds for jobs under the Comprehensive Education and Training Act (CETA) are routinely used to hire more police.



**STRATEGY FOR YOUTH**

The situation of the workers and youth today demands an alliance of all the youth. It demands the united front of all workers and youth organizations against WAR and REPRESSION!

**AGAINST WAR!**

1. IMPERIALISM OUT OF AFRICA!
2. UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF ALL OPPRESSED AND COLONIAL NATIONS AGAINST US IMPERIALISM!
3. NOT ONE PENNY FOR MILITARY SPENDING! Convert the military budget into a massive program

of public works!

**AGAINST REPRESSION!**

1. STOP THE ATTACK ON WORKERS RIGHTS! Down with the S-1437 Bill!
2. AN END TO THE FACTORY PLANT-ATION! Full rights for new hires, unconditional right to strike, a sliding scale of working hours to provide jobs for youth.
3. WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS. Organized by the youth and unions against the police and Nazis goons.
4. FREEDOM FOR ALL VICTIMS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION. The Wilmington Ten, Gary Tyler, Travis Morales and his comrades in Houston, Political Asylum for Hector Marroquin.
5. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, FREE SPEECH, ORGANIZATION AND ASSEMBLY FOR THE YOUTH AND WORKING CLASS PARTIES!

In every struggle the youth are asking, who can we trust?

But there IS a party which exists today for the youth. A party which has fought to advance the workers' cause against the tremendous betrayal of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. There IS a party which is based on the revolutionary experiences of the working class since the first revolutionary International of Marx and Engels.

It is the Fourth International which fights today under the banner of LENIN and TROTSKY. For the party of COMBAT, the party which organizes the youth, the most class conscious vanguard of the working class to destroy the terrorist state and to replace it with WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

The Fourth International and its US Section (sympathizing) the Trotskyist Organization, do not ask the youth to accept us at face value. FIGHT with us by joining in the Revolutionary Youth International. Learn the lessons of more than a hundred years of revolutionary struggle through your own experiences, through your own combat. The RYI and its international newspaper INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, is YOUR WEAPON to build an ALLIANCE OF YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION!

July 2, 1978



## ST STATE

## "YOUTH TERROR" - A BOURGEOIS FICTION

By BARBARA PUTNAM

"YOUTH TERROR: The View Behind the Gun", a pseudo-documentary, was aired over ABC TV last Wednesday night and viewed by millions. It is not a sudden concern or interest in the fate of the youth that prompted the multi-billion dollar network to produce such a film-- it is the pressure of the rich and powerful who want to contain the rebellion of the youth in the strait-jacket of imperialism-- who want to rationalize the rotten social order and make us believe the problems facing the youth can be remedied through a few reforms, which they can not grant.

This "documentary" takes off from the point of view that youth are "terrorists", armed mobs, ready to attack and kill the rest of the population who are of course living quiet, "normal" lives like all "good" citizens should. By putting the youth in this framework, the question is posed-- "Why are you kids so rotten?"

I couldn't stay awake for the "answer" to "YOUTH TERROR" which came on at midnight-- I knew it would be some civilized monologues about poverty programs, job training, more cops, etc., etc., the same tired old

formulas that have gotten nowhere before and will go nowhere now. I knew Jesse Jackson would be there talking his preacher's double-talk and telling blacks they should just try harder...but I fell asleep.

The youth themselves were more interesting and thousands of times more sensitive to the conditions of life of the masses. They tried, in spite of the stupid line of questions to present their lives in a true light. From Brooklyn, Manhattan, New Jersey, they told about the drug traffic, life in the streets, robberies, beatings, filth and poverty, how there aren't any jobs, no hope for a job or a future, how they hate the police and think police beatings have made them feel like "cracking heads"-- life holds little meaning for these youth, there is no place for them outside their own circles and gangs.

To want to live, you have to have something to live for. What do these youth have? Decaying cities strewn with broken glass and human refuse. Police harassment, laws that force them into a furtive animal-like existence, a

future with no income, decay, the rottenness that seeps into every pore of society and makes life utter barbarism.

It is no wonder that the suicide rate has risen 187% since the mid-50's in Detroit for young blacks. With no alternative to the way of life under imperialism-- they would rather die, than be a part of it.

After seeing this movie a lab technician from a middle class background said "all of middle class America will want to line these kids up and shoot 'em." This was the purpose of showing this film-- to turn everybody against the youth.

Many of the youth who talked in the film were unemployed and spent most of their time in the streets forming clubs or gangs and just hanging around-- a few had become so hardened by this life that they would sell their own mother for a buck or knock over old ladies in their neighborhood.

The producers coyly introduced the second half of the show with a caution to parents for parental guidance

as there would be some bad words. They did all in their power to make the youth appear as barbarians who should be put away.

But the more political youth and really the majority even in this film, KNOW and expressed this knowledge, who the enemy of all the people is-- they said "as long as the big guy is ripping off millions in profits-- there will always be crime in the streets, they are the real criminals."

The teenagers in "YOUTH TERROR" are not the enemy-- many of them will join the side of the working class in the coming revolution-- their worst enemy is the terrorist state, the poverty-crats like Rev. Jesse Jackson, who see in their misery the opportunity to make a buck, to get a "hit" from the federal government for phoney programs that only line the pockets of the bureaucrats.

"Youth terror" is an excuse to hire more police, for strengthening the police apparatus against the youth and workers-- the central elements in society who do not accept a society that thrives on unemployment, repression and continual wars.

July 3, 1978

# 120°F - How many will you murder this summer, Henry Ford?

By FRED VITALE

On July 6th last year, Henry Ford murdered a young worker, Grant Schneider. Ford Motor refused to let him leave the suffocating 120° heat at the River Rouge plant. Finally, while driving home, he collapsed and died. Two more workers died later.

response to these murders, as well as the continued heat, walkouts occurred all over Detroit. These heat walkouts will probably occur again this summer. The conditions in the plants have not changed one bit. The walkouts are the ONLY way for the workers to save their lives. We support them unconditionally.

The oppressive heat is how the capitalists make PROFIT.

This is how they make "the economy" work. Through oppression and murder.

One of the walkouts last year was that of the Trenton Chrysler workers. As soon as they walked out, Chrysler disciplined over 200 workers. Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers union, too took Chrysler's side AGAINST the workers of the UAW. Told them, "Back to work, We'll negotiate!" The leadership sabotaged the walkout.

Chrysler took 7 militants to the "impartial" courts. The judge's son represented Chrysler. They were sentenced to a week in jail for "contempt" of court" and then Chrysler turned around and fired them for being "crimi-

nals."

Young workers! You can see who your enemies are! Obviously, Ford Motor Co. But more importantly, the terrorist state with its courts; the terrorist state WITH ITS LACKEYS IN THE UNION.

And you can see your allies. The autoworkers of Detroit. They are organized in their union, but their power has been taken by the bureaucrats. Our unions must be WON BACK!

The only way to end this PLANT-ation system in the auto factories is to wage a fight for WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION. Production should be controlled by the workers themselves-- to regulate the conditions in the factory, the health and safety of all

the workers.

The bosses, the foremen, the union bureaucrats cannot be trusted with protecting the lives of the workers in the factories. In response to the heat and the slave conditions in the auto plants this summer, the young workers should make the fight for their CONTROL of the conditions in the factories their revolutionary objective.

And should throw out the UAW bureaucrats who stand in the way of this fight.

STOP THE PLANT-ation system--  
WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

July 3, 1978



# WHY IS JOSEPH HANSEN SHOUTING ABOUT CASTRO?

By ANN NELSON

After 15 years of virtual silence, Joseph Hansen, a central leader of the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, has chosen to begin a "discussion" on the nature of the Cuban revolution. The June 26, 1978 issue of INTER-CONTINENTAL PRESS-IMPREGOR contains Hansen's introduction to a soon to be published book entitled: DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

Why does Hansen want to "discuss" Cuba? Because of his interest in the Cuban working class? Because, after 15 years, the American and Latin American working masses are questioning the "nature" of the Castro regime?

No. Hansen doesn't mention the working class of ANY country in his article entitled "Why Carter Keeps Shouting at Castro - The Dispute Over Cuba's Role in Africa." The "dispute" does not concern the working masses at all, the "dispute" is between imperialism and Stalinism according to Hansen, and Hansen chooses to apologize for Stalinism.

The Fourth International, and its relationship to Stalinism as its mortal enemy is not mentioned in Hansen's article. Africa is really hardly mentioned, so the real question arises - Why does Hansen keep shouting about Castro?

Hansen's article begins on the first page to hint at why he wrote it. He says: "They (theoretical conclusions) are included in documents that were part of a free internal discussion held in the Socialist Workers Party in 1960-61 while the party at the same time carried out energetic defense work in support of the Cuban revolution and against the American imperialist effort to smash it!" Hansen thus refers to a fundamental battle which took place in the Fourth International in which Hansen and the SWP aligned on the side of Stalinism as a "free discussion" on Cuba!

A "free internal discussion" in which all those in the SWP who opposed Hansen on Cuba were expelled!

This is reason #1 for



JOSEPH HANSEN

writing the article, to begin by covering up the SWP's abandonment of the Fourth International in 1963 in order to end up with the logical conclusion -- support to Stalinism. This is why Hansen doesn't mention the working class or the Fourth International.

In 1953, the SWP led a fight against the policies that Hansen follows today. This fight was against PABLOISM, a Stalinist tendency inside the Fourth International which gave a revolutionary role to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Pabloism stood for the liquidation of the Fourth International into Stalinism.

In 1953, James Cannon, the founder of the SWP said:

"The present split is different from 1940 in that it is more definitive. There is not a single member of this plenum who contemplates any later relations with the strike-breakers of the Pablo-Cochran gang... The essence of Pabloite revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part--the conception of the crisis of mankind as the crisis of leadership of the labor movement summed up in the question of the party. And that is what the Pabloites are throwing overboard in favor of the conception that the ideas will somehow filter into the treacherous bureaucracy, the Stalinists, or reformists and in some way or another, 'In the Day of the Comet' the socialist revolution will be realized and carried through to conclusion without a revolutionary Marxist, that is, a Leninist-Trotskyist party. That is the essence of Pabloism. Pabloism is the

substitution of a cult and a revelation for a party and a program."

Fitting words to describe Hansen's apologetics for Castro today. We refuse to accept Hansen's false and lying "discussion" on the "nature of the Cuban revolution." The real question for workers in the US is to understand Hansen's revisionism and why this is not the policy of the Fourth International which Hansen falsely claims to represent.

Although Hansen characterizes the Castro bureaucracy as the great defenders of the proletarian revolution in Africa, he does make a few suggestions which he thinks could "improve" Castro's "methods."

He thinks Castro could use a "Leninist-type party." As if the question of the party of the socialist revolution, the ONLY way to organize a successful workers revolution, is just a matter of sugar in one's coffee. Or worse-- that the STALINIST parties can be reformed and made revolutionary.

Hansen also thinks that the policy of guerillaism is a "mistake." The SWP and its international co-thinkers made the same "mistake" when they dissolved their Chilean section into the Castroite MIR.

A "mistake." Just like Hansen labels Castro's support for Allende a "mistake."

But there was no mistake. Castro's support for guerillaism and his support for Allende were part and parcel of the same STALINIST policy of leading the youth in Latin America into a dead-end and into defeat. A "mistake" which is responsible for the present dictatorships in Latin America.

Hansen also "forgets" a few of Castro's "mistakes." Like the fact that there are NO RIGHTS WHATSOEVER for the work workers and peasants in Cuba, not just a case of repression against a few intellectuals as Hansen tries to make believe.

He also "forgets" a few items which have "been in the news lately." Like the fact that Castro said he would vote for Jimmy Carter in 1980 if he was an American. And the fact that Castro proved his loyalty to imperialism by INFORMING the State Department of the planned invasion of Katanga,



tearfully exclaiming that "it's the first time in my life" that he has done such a thing.

All of this is simply shameful apologetics for Stalinism. Revolutionaries do not keep silent about Stalinist betrayal just because Cuba is being attacked by the imperialists. On the contrary, the Cuban revolution can only be defended by overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin and in Havana who are a parasitic growth on the backs of the working masses in the USSR and Cuba. And we refuse any discussion with them as any kind of "legitimate" tendency in the workers movement.

Imperialism has kept its rule since the Russian revolution only because of their aid. The workers throughout the Americas can win a victory against capitalism only by a fight against imperialism's Stalinist agents. The independence of the workers and peasants throughout the Americas can be forged only through its conscious revolutionary party--the Fourth International.

This is who Hansen abandons in order to support the repressive Castro bureaucracy-- the workers of North and South America.

Hansen ends his article on the nature of the Cuban revolution by concluding that no political revolution in Cuba is necessary. Only two "camps" in the world agree with him, the only two "camps" that Hansen, with his revisionist eyes, is able to see-- imperialism and Stalinism. He has placed himself in their camp against the working class and its party.

July 5, 1978



(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

personally have had to defend a few of these organizations, not to mention my own, from the loudmouths, despite the fact that I don't agree with them politically.

OUR DEMANDS

One question that you hear a lot is, "what are we asking for?" That's a question we shouldn't have to hear, period. We should decide on our demands by democratic discussion and decision and stick to them.

The Trotskyist Organization has proposed these demands since the beginning of the strike: \$1 AN HOUR ACROSS THE BOARD, FULL COST-OF-LIVING, FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. We propose them because they are NECESSARY, they are FAIR, and they will attract the support of workers all over. With these demands we can take a leading role in defending the rights and livelihood of ALL workers.

It's amazing, but we don't even know what's being negotiated. NO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS! A DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN to keep us informed, with an open editorial board.

IS A STRIKE COMMITTEE NECESSARY?

Unions are for workers. Strikes are for workers. When the unions were organized in the United States in the 30's, they were organized by pitched battles with the BOSSES, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE POLICE. Today, we have BUSINESS UNIONISM. The bosses, the government, the police, and the union officials together. The only winning strikes in America have been strikes which were organized by the workers themselves. Like the recent miners strike which has Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, saying he feared for his life from the miners. No wonder, he tried to sell the miners out with every proposal he made to the coal operators.

What we have in the unions today is a BUREAUCRACY. Like any bureaucracy it defends the status quo, doesn't like to be upset and will resort to anything to defend its privileges. Everything is organized from the top down. Like how the Local 79 officials were saying at our meetings: "you gave us the power, now listen to us." NO! We didn't give anyone our power or our rights. If it wasn't for US this union wouldn't even exist! The same cannot be said for the trade union bureaucracy, however.

The strategy of the trade union bureaucracy is to support the Democratic Party, to make deals with the bosses and the

# Drop all charges against Miguel Salas & LA AURORA!

Reprinted on this page is a copy of the official act of accusation against Miguel Salas, the editor of LA AURORA, the newspaper of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International, the PORE. He is accused of "insulting" the Spanish military. Specifically, for an article which appeared in LA AURORA referring to the military as a "band of assassins."

For this, Miguel Salas faces a Military Tribunal and four to five years in jail.

His defense? That calling the Francoist military a "band of assassins" is not an "insult." It is the TRUTH. A precise, scientific, historical, and Marxist characterization of the Francoist military.

Let no one forget that the present Spanish military came to power through an ILLEGAL uprising against the Spanish Republic in 1936. But facts speak for themselves.

During the Spanish Civil War between 100,000 and 125,000 people died on the battlefield.

Bad enough. But between 150,000 and 200,000 people were EXECUTED and SHOT by the Francoist army in zones they controlled AFTER the fighting was over!

These figures are from the official press.

What IS the legal and scientific name for this kind of mass slaughter?

What IS the legal name for the executions, without any real trial, with the Medieval torture of the GARROT, of the Basque militants several years ago?

What else would you call the Francoist military BUT a "band of assassins"?

Of course we know that the Spanish military is not really interested in defending itself against these "insults." It is interested in using its power

government. They told us to put Carter in office and this would make things rights. Well? They tell us to be careful when we picket so as to not provoke the police. But it hasn't stopped the police from provoking us.

"Won't we be alone?" That's a question a lot of workers ask when it comes to electing a MASS INDEPENDENT STRIKE COMMITTEE to lead the strike. But the fact is that if we rely on the Democratic party,

to silence the revolutionaries in Spain, beginning with our party and with LA AURORA. It wishes to silence the TRUTH.

Miguel Salas and LA AURORA must be defended by the American working class and all those committed to democratic rights in Spain. It is urgent the trial is being planned for the end of July or beginning of August!

The mobilization to defend Miguel Salas and LA AURORA in the US has begun. Along with signatures of workers and youth in Detroit and Chicago, in working class neighborhoods and in the factories, this fight has been endorsed by: Robin Mace, Florence Robinson and Don Bechler, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Governor, US Senate and Lieutenant Governor, by David McCullough of the International Socialist Socialists, members of SPARK, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Young Socialist Alliance, Pete Camaratta of the Teamsters for a Democra-

tic Union, the Executive Board of the Wayne State University Staff Association, and Harper-Grace strikers.

It is urgent and necessary to continue this mobilization. Mass unitary meetings are being held in Spain on July 18th and it is necessary to plan for demonstrations in front of Spanish embassies and consulates throughout the country on the day of his trial.

Please send messages to: Exc.Senor Capitan General, 4th Region Militar, Paseo Colon, Barcelona, Spain. Financial support can be sent to: Cuenta Corriente #11-78300000, Banco Atlantico, Barcelona, Spain. Please send copies to TRUTH.

DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST MIGUEL SALAS AND LA AURORA!

LEGALIZE THE PORE AND ALL ANTI-FRANCOIST ORGANIZATIONS!

BRING THE ASSASSINS TO JUSTICE!

July 6, 1978



MIGUEL SALAS

0E0030453

A U T O: En Barcelona, a trece de Mayo de mil novecientos setenta y ocho.

RESUMIENDO: Que existen indicios que suponen que el mismo Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, es el responsable de la publicación de un artículo en el número 151 correspondiente a la semana del 30 de Mayo de 1977 en el número 157, página 30, publicado un artículo titulado "Bandas de asesinos" que se refiere a las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida.

Que en el referido artículo se afirma que el mismo Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, es el responsable de la publicación de un artículo en el número 151 correspondiente a la semana del 30 de Mayo de 1977 en el número 157, página 30, publicado un artículo titulado "Bandas de asesinos" que se refiere a las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida.

CONSIDERANDO: Que los hechos relatados en el artículo de Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, y con respecto de las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida, se refieren a los hechos relatados en el artículo de Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, y con respecto de las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida.

CONSIDERANDO: Que por virtud de lo contenido en el artículo de Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, y con respecto de las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida, se refieren a los hechos relatados en el artículo de Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, y con respecto de las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida.

CONSIDERANDO: Que la autoridad judicial militar en su poder tiene el expediente de Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, y con respecto de las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida.

SE DECLARA: Proceso por este Tribunal a Miguel Salas, cuyo cargo dice de afiliación a la UGT, y con respecto de las tropas militares que firman por armamento de guerra, cuya identificación es desconocida.

SE DECLARA: La libertad provisional del procesado.

Lo mandó y firmó: el Jefe de lo que soy Jefe.

Copy of Official Act of Accusation Against Miguel Salas

the government, and the police to defend us, we really will be alone. These thieves are the ones LEADING the attack on the workers right now.

That is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting to build a WORKERS PARTY, a party to take power from the bosses and their state and build a WORKERS GOVERNMENT. To elect a strike committee means to turn the working class and the oppressed into our ALLIES in our struggle. Our only allies.

Independent struggle. That is the road to victory in our strike. It is the road to victory for the entire American working class. Everyday the capitalist parties-- the Democrats and Republicans-- intensify their assaults on our rights. The right to a decent living, the right to a job, the right to strike, to assemble and organize freely, these are rights that only the working class can win. And WE CAN WIN! July 5, 1978



## 1000 COPS SAVE 30 NAZIS

By FRED VITALE

By FRED VITALE

Chicago-- 30 Nazis had a "victory march" (after the Supreme Court supported their "civil rights in downtown Chicago on June 24th. 6,000 people showed up to stop them. The Nazis demonstrated for ten minutes under the protection of 1,000 Chicago cops and under a barrage of bottles, eggs and rocks from the demonstrators.

Not only did the cops protect them in front of the Federal building, but they had them loaded into a police van a mile away and driven in secretly! The cops arrested 14 anti-Nazi demonstrators.

The government-- the Supreme Court, the Carter regime-- protect the Nazis. The government says it's a question of "civil rights," of "democracy".

No! This government defends the Nazis' civil rights because the Nazis are their servants. How much difference is there really between the Nazis' desire to kill all blacks and the government which maintains huge police contingents in the black neighborhoods, which condemns the vast majority of youth to no future, which prepares their slaughter in another war in Africa or the Middle East? This is "civil rights" for the masses of youth, masses of blacks and all the working class.

The banners of all the "socialist" organizations-- the Maoist groups, the Communist Party/USA, and some religious groups all expressed hatred for the Nazis. No one tried to organized the youth against the government that was protecting them. This is very important.

Without waging this POLITICAL offensive, it is impossible to beat the Nazis. Behind a couple of hundred Nazis stands the most powerful, most repressive government on the planet. When confronted with this fact, all the organizations there said, "of course." But, what they DON'T believe is that it is POSSIBLE to fight the Carter government and that this is an IMMEDIATE perspective. This is what separates them from the masses



of fighting youth.

After the Nazis left, the youth started yelling "Gestapo" at the cops and some fighting broke out. The youth understood instinctively who stands behind the Nazis.

But this isn't enough. The cops ARE what this "democracy" is all about.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA was present in Chicago

and said-- THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE! That the desires of the thousands of youth who wanted to fight the Nazis could not be organized in a positive direction without confronting their MASTERS-- the police, and the imperialist state.

It is not just "death to the Nazis", but "death to the 900 police" who stood there

protecting these fascists.

This is the only way to break out of the pacifist, legalistic strategy imposed by the Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucrats and the religious leaders-- who cancelled a march of 50,000 people in Skokie, because the Nazis "agreed" to cancel their march!

The youth want to fight the Nazis, but they want to win, they want a fight that will end this system of misery and exploitation which the Nazis symbolize.

To organize this fight the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Young Workers propose an ALLIANCE OF YOUTH AGAINST REPRESSION AND WAR-- against this imperialist state, as a way to organize the fight against the Nazis and their masters-- the government and the police.

Building this alliance is out objective in confronting the Nazis in Marquette Park in Chicago on July 9th. July 3, 1978

## TRUTH IS OUR WEAPON

This week an important advance was made in making TRUTH the weapon for developing a politically conscious leadership among working class youth.

After selling 65 TRUTHs and collecting over 30 signatures in defense of Miguel



Salas (who is a member of the Spanish section of the Fourth International and editor of LA AURORA arrested in Spain) the TO fought in spite of heavy rain to hold a discussion with working class youth on the Southwest side of Detroit.

Several of them had gotten TRUTH the Saturday before and took extra copies to prepare their friends for the discussion of the policy in TRUTH and to further organize its distribution.

After a brief discussion of the main articles in TRUTH, a Latin youth agreed to join the fight of the Revolutionary Young Workers to build a leadership of a vast alliance of youth against the terrorist state.

This issue of TRUTH will be especially important to read and discuss because it will have the Theses preparing the 6th World Congress of the Fourth International.

This issue of TRUTH is especially important to discuss with working class youth to

insure their participation in the 6th World Congress of the Fourth International

The next meeting will be held on July 15 in Clark Park on the Southwest side of Detroit at 6:00 PM.

July 5, 1978

The final results for TRUTH #74 were: 212 copies.

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The distribution for #75 was:

Ford Rouge .....	6
Chrysler Warren Stamping ...	3
Harper-Grace hospitals .....	55
Wayne State University .....	3
Detroit (other) .....	105
TOTAL .....	172

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# THESES FOR THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth International will hold its 6th Congress in Paris from July 29th to August 2nd. This Congress will be OPEN to all young fighters of the proletariat who reject Stalinism, to all revolutionary militants who believe that the central question of today is the construction of the new revolutionary leadership. To all those who wish to clarify the tasks and problems of the construction of the revolutionary International in a common combat with the Fourth International.

We are publishing here the THESES for the preparation of the 6th Congress in order to allow the largest possible discussion in the preparation of our Congress.

The Fourth International opens its Congress to the fighting youth because it is this youth who are the future of the revolution, it is its fight which today shakes imperialism and its Stalinist lackeys. It says to the youth that the banner of the Fourth International is its banner, it is the banner of 40 years of uncompromised struggle against Stalinism. We know that even today the Fourth International still appears for many youth and militants who are seeking to resolve the problem of the revolutionary leadership as a shattered organization or as an organization which they reject by confusing it with the capitulationist policies of the centrists (such as the French and Spanish LCR, the American SWP and French OCI).

In the face of these miserable centrist philistines who wish to be "recognized" by the Stalinists, who organize "discussions" with them, the Fourth International calls the fighting youth to organize themselves under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, to organize the conquest of the leadership of the world proletariat.

## 1. The Break-up of the Union of the Left in France--A Signal for An International Counter-Offensive Against the Youth

Even the most superficial observer must recognize the enormous interest of the results of the legislative elections in France. All the protagonists in the class struggle; US imperialism, the European bourgeoisie, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its apparatus, the centrists, and on the other side--the proletariat of

the entire world, had their eyes fixed on France for months and the defeat of the Union of the Left, the electoral victory of the bourgeoisie, has brought about a series of political reactions which if only at this level (strongly deformed because the workers have not had the chance to express themselves) demonstrate that the stake of these elections was particularly important from the point of view of the class struggle on the international level.

10 years after the General Strike of May 1968, the electoral victory of the bourgeoisie has plunged a part of the proletariat into confusion and deception, while for the youth it is another justification to launch themselves, for lack of a revolutionary perspective, into individual actions, but also a signal for the bourgeoisie and the treacherous apparatuses, the green light, to deepen the offensive already engaged trying to defend and reinforce the State against the rebellious youth.

For the Fourth International the comprehension of the meaning of the defeat and explosion of the Union of the Left is not situated at the level of "educated," but not disinterested analysis of the Stalinists and centrists, nor does it concern a "French" question. It concerns determining beginning with the situation in France the present tasks of the development of the European revolution.

The sabotage of the electoral success of the Popular Front by the French CP (FCP) is the confession of the failure of the Stalinist apparatus to make the working class accept the solution: the government of the Popular Front which it elaborated in face of the fundamental break which was made between it and the working class in May '68. Marchais says in his report to the Central Committee of the FCP after the elections: "In 1968 we estimated that one of the reasons why the movement of May-June was not able to lead to substantial results was the absence of a political solution."

In fact, the strategy of the preparation of the Union of the Left, in view of a government of the Popular Front was advanced by the Stalinists and supported by an important section of the bourgeoisie as a response, a solution-- the last-- in face

of the General Strike of May-June '68, which profoundly shook the Bonapartist regime of DeGaulle. The Popular Front, we repeat, is the LAST resort of the bourgeoisie before fascism in order to maintain the bourgeois state. Neither the bourgeoisie, nor Stalinism really have their hearts in it. The bourgeoisie infinitely prefers to lead its affairs directly, Stalinism prefers not to confront the masses while in power. The setting up of the Popular Front since '68 was of course inscribed in the "natural" counter-revolutionary function of Stalinism for the maintenance of the bourgeois order. But it always concerns a reaction in face of the revolutionary mobilization of such a depth that it shakes up the "normal" political conditions of the domination of the bourgeoisie.

It is therefore beginning with '68, which opened up with the beginning of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia and the General Strike in France-- a change of relationship between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers movement that one can understand why ONLY in France Stalinism took this road. And consequently the repercussion and international importance of its defeat, its unprecedented crisis which has opened up beginning with France.

It is with the view of a "political solution": the government of the Popular Front, that the FCP tried to rebuild around the bourgeois politician: Mitterand, the SP, in view of enlarging towards the right the political scope of the Union of the Left, offering better guarantees to the bourgeoisie. The conscious establishment by the FCP of a tiny group in disrepute and hated by the workers, which was the old SFIO into a large socialist party was the essential element of the preparation of the Popular Front. This is what today, after the defeat, that the leadership of the FCP tries to hide from its own militants by the fierce campaign against the so-called "Social-democratization" and "turn to the right" by the SP.

There remains-- and this everyone tries to hide-- that the offensive unleashed in '68 was not able to be broken by the promise of the government by the Union of the Left (ifs advanced democracy, etc., etc.). Not



only was it not broken, but it continued, led by the new generation of the proletariat. And this offensive of the youth which led the Stalinist apparatus, which has its fingers on the pulse of the class struggle, to sabotage the electoral victory of the Union of the Left. For it could offer no guarantees, neither to the Kremlin nor to imperialism to be able to realize in power what it was unable to realize in 10 years of opposition to regiment the working class, to control its movement around the defense of the bourgeois state.

Marchais writes in his report that the FCP had underestimated "the resistance to change" in the working class and that the international nature of the "crisis" attacking the capitalist countries and the "socialist" countries attacked "on the plane of simple good sense the very credibility of a policy which proposed to take the country out of the crisis, while no country would be able to. It thus made it more difficult for those to understand"

They therefore admit that the credibility of the Common Program was attacked in face of the class struggle leading towards its unification from the East to the West and that these political conditions are the cause of the defeat of the FCP. They admit this... in order to propose that the solution is the Union of the French People, to build "the conditions for democratic change, piece by piece, step by step, etc."

The defeat of the Union of the Left did not take place only on the terrain of election results, it took place well before: in the fact that Stalinism was not able to modify the change of relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which was established in '68. The sabotage of the electoral victory of the proletariat by the FCP is due to the realization by Stalinism of this fundamental fact. It was therefore not the proletariat that was defeated in the election of March '78. Stalinism was forced to let the bourgeoisie win the election in order to be able to REORIENT its policy towards the Sacred Union.

The entire crisis which has shaken the FCP since the elections is explained in relation to this turn towards the Sacred Union. How to make the workers accept the attacks against the standard of living, of international gendarme of imperialism that the French bourgeoisie, strengthened by its electoral success, is playing in Africa, the Middle East. In this turn towards the Sacred Union the FCP is encountering a resistance from the masses of workers and an open hostility by a more and more important fraction of the youth. And this is being felt in its ranks. The mass of militants of the FCP that are the closest to the workers are not satisfied with the self-satisfaction of the leadership after the elections that comes under the guise of perspectives. The young militants, the JC, demand a perspective of a large mobilization of the working class.

The two wings of the apparatus are confronting each other: the most decided "Euro-Communists" (Ellenstein) and the "pro-Kremlin" faction (Althusser). Fundamentally both are in agreement among themselves and with Marchais that it is necessary to go further with the "Union of the French People" towards the right. The differences are situated over the manner to arrive at this. The two factions demand more freedom of discussion, thus responding to the discontent of militants who find themselves disarmed in front of the workers, who are upset about the almost general decline of influence of the CGT, including in its bastions, and the alienation of the youth. The "oppositionists" of the apparatus demand more discussion in order to be able to disarm the discontent in the FCP by debates over a "left" or "right" approach to the application of the Sacred Union.

As for the majority of the leadership, it does not want to discuss, it wishes to close ranks, it sees the gulf which has begun to be created between the FCP and the youth and it sees only one solution: to launch, as in Italy and Spain, a frenetic campaign against the youth in the name of "democracy"!

The centrists react in apparently different ways to the crisis of the FCP. The French OCI denies the existence of the crisis, for them it only concerns maneuvers impulsed by the leadership, the French LCR regards the crisis with passivity and complaisance, by saying that it supports all initiatives and struggle that goes towards the "democratization" of the FCP. In both cases, as on the international level, on the level of the crisis of the entire bureaucracy, which the crisis of the FCP concentrates all of its problems-- they are shaken by the break of the rebellious youth, they do not look beyond agitation from the top of the apparatuses and that of the "cadres organisateurs."

On the contrary, the Fourth International must unmask the real nature of the crisis of the Stalinist party. It does not identify young militants in confusion who think they can destroy the State with the Union of the Left and who today are looking for a solution, with the apparatus. In the preparation of the Congress of the French Section we will try to win a faction of young militant workers from the FCP, the JC, by inviting them to struggle in the vast alliance that the RYI will propose in order to oppose a revolutionary perspective in face of the terrorist State.

If the French workers and those of the entire world are disappointed by the results of the elections, it is not because they placed a total confidence in the Union of the Left, but because they saw in it an occasion to inflict a defeat on the bourgeoisie, to chase out the bourgeois government. It is a balance sheet that the working class is trying to draw of the period which has passed since '68. And this balance sheet, because of the crisis of revolutionary leadership, can only be confused, partial and contradictory. The majority of the French working class, those who lived during and made the general strike of '68 know by experience that a general strike which will lead to a new Grenelle will serve nothing. This part of the working class, without seeing a political solution resists, but does not attack. While the youth which did not know '68, which has been at the head of all the mobilizations in the street and in the factories since '68, rejects the FCP and with it the centrists in a more and more massive fashion and seeks the confrontation with the state outside of the "official" workers movement.

The defeat of the Union of the Left without a decisive advance of the Fourth International risks to reinforce this contradictory situation in the working class: the gap between the majority of the working class over which all the past experiences weigh, which is not ready to engage itself without having experience with the new revolutionary leadership: the Fourth International, of which its numerical and organizational weakness and its weak implantation invalidates in their eyes the correctness of its orientation which they can at the same time be sympathetic with. A gap therefore between these workers and the youth which because of the delay of the Fourth International in organizing them has thrown them into all types of "autonomous" movements and confronts the state and the apparatuses in confusion and outside the working class.

It is this gap that the Fourth International can and must overcome. This gap, which is not a French phenomenon, but world-wide, that Stalinism wishes to deepen by trying to turn the working class against the fighting youth. By making it

believe that the offensive of the bourgeoisie (unleashed by the campaign of Carter for "human rights") to reinforce the "democratic" state is oriented against "terrorism" and not against the entire working class, its conquests. A contradictory situation because these offensives of the apparatuses to make the unions into pillars of the State is made difficult because of the passive resistance of the workers in the face of the Sacred Union, but this passive resistance is perceived by the youth who wish to fight as the proof that they are right to flee the asphyxiating atmosphere of the unions and to join the movements (autonomes, councils, individual actions, terrorism, etc.) which in their eyes appear to be radically opposed to the State and the treacherous apparatuses.

It is the qualitative change between the Fourth International and the rebellious youth in France which constitutes on the international level the central lever to defeat the international counter-offensive against the youth. It is by basing itself on the offensive of the Fourth International in France that we can prevent the working class on the international level from seeing in the results of the elections in France only the closing of the "peaceful road" to inflict a defeat on the bourgeoisie and that the Stalinists can draw from this the argument to justify the Sacred Union, believing that this is the only road to socialism.

The foundation of the POR of France in this international context takes on the place of a central task for the Fourth International. By drawing with the most combative section of the working class: the youth, the only positive balance sheet of the defeat of the Union of the Left, of the crisis of Stalinism and centrism: the necessity to return to Lenin, to organize into the RYI to defeat the Sacred Union in France we will give a decisive political impulsion to the construction of the International in general and to the development of the European revolution in particular.

## 2. Rupture of the Youth with Stalinism-- Crisis of the Bureaucracy and its International Apparatus.

The offensive of Stalinism against the youth who have begun to reject it is oriented against the entire proletariat, which it has not succeeded in disarming. Stalinism is obliged to turn on a global level towards the preparation of the civil war at the moment when all the intermediary combinations of support to the bourgeoisie are failing, at the moment when "the stage of Popular Fronts" is closing. The Stalinist bureaucracy is preparing for the crushing of the proletariat under the direction of US imperialism. Between imperialism and the proletariat the bureaucracy chooses-- by its nature as a parasitical caste-- an even more absolute submission to imperialism. It is in the face of the resistance of the proletariat to these preparations for civil war-- attacking in the first place the youth-- that the bureaucracy and its apparatus have entered into an unprecedented crisis, a crisis which in no way can be reduced to a conflict between the "Euro-Communist" parties (ICP, FCP, SCP) and the Kremlin.

It is the offensive from East to West which began in 1968, an offensive that Stalinism has been able to brake, deviate, but not stop which is at the base of its crisis. It has not been able to crush the Czech working class nor the Polish workers, avoid the development of the mobilization in Rumania and in the USSR itself, the methods for the maintenance of the bourgeois order by the means of the Popular Fronts have failed in Spain, Italy, France. It is in the interior itself of the bureaucracy, beginning with the Kremlin, that the crisis grows. It concerns a tactical difference which opposes the

different factions and into the bureaucracy in the demands of imperialism and of detachment from Stalinism. If this crisis is still bar at the height of the Kremlin it is because its room to it is in power. It is not reason that the Fourth International reject the attempts to hide the aspect of the crisis with the entire bureaucracy and to be content with an image of this crisis: the lin on one side and the "Euro-Communists" on the other. Standing of the international Stalinism is not only a necessity, but above all capacity to understand the development of the movement Stalinism which is

The key to the fundamental we do not stand neutral before the rebellious youth which are State and the bureaucrats workers movement is found people only see negative a hatred of the youth for Stalin identification that these between the unions and their leaders. For them these of the same "workers movement their betrayals, while they express their hatred way are identified with the geois leaderships who they influence of for lack of a tive offered by the Fourth

From this comes a "neutral face of the attempts of Stalin the unions into arms of the the youth, from here comes attitude towards the bureaucracy to remain, no matter what unions. It is this attitude to fight because party from winning the youth Leninism, it is the expression of Stalinism under Communist" form on the part sense that they accept (even the idea that these "Euro-Communist" workers to believe: but only exists in Eastern Europe "Euro-Communists" are part the workers movement, a case can be in disagreement with case it is a "legitimate"

It is this legitimization of "Euro-Communism" which the centrist face of the youth. In the living force of the working rebellious youth-- they are reason is their profound in any case the political of the majority of the working class for today. Consequently the destruction of the party NEC period of cohabitation (the peaceful) between Stalinism and them. Which immediately governments in the capitalist (elected CP/SP governments the framework of bourgeois highly significant that they offer the least government to the SWP in the USA while the "Labor Party" will win framework of the imperialist governments with the "left" Eastern Europe.

It is these governments which according to their hopes, the dictatorship of the party government of workers court same cohabitation inside the councils of the treacherous centrists (this will be the and it is only after a thousand several centuries, that they according to the centrists TANEOUSLY get rid of, according to the centrists, the treacherous leadership

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the fundamental question, that of the dic-  
tatorship of the proletariat. The USec,  
in its "Theses" includes the bourgeois  
parties in the soviets "on the condi-  
tion that they respect the Constitution  
of the workers state"!! The French OCI  
writes: "The soviets are proletarian  
parliaments and executives. In this  
sense they NECESSARILY (underlined by us)  
include the traditional organizations of  
the working class, militant workers; the  
organizations which try to lead the class  
struggle of the proletariat to the  
seizure of power ALSO (underlined by us)  
have their place. Consequently (!) their  
existence corresponds to the objective of  
a government of only workers parties,  
without ministers representing bourgeois  
parties, which is today a government of the  
CP and SP." (Berg-Just, POPULAR FRONTS OF  
YESTERDAY AND TODAY, P. 440).

These theoretical hypotheses of the cen-  
trists join together on the strategic  
plane: the dictatorship of the proletariat  
is build WITH the apparatuses, with the  
"official" workers movement and not  
AGAINST. From this point of view the  
break of the youth with Stalinism is obli-  
gatorily seen by them as going against the  
realization of these hypotheses, as  
messing up this "harmonious" development of  
the class struggle. It is for this reason  
that for the pseudo-revolutionaries the  
revolt of the youth is a justification to  
even more support the elements of "order"  
which are the apparatuses.

Confronted by the crisis of Stalinism and  
its counter-offensive against the youth,  
the reaction of the two most important  
centrist currents differ only in ap-  
pearance. The OCI keeps some positions  
that appear "orthodox." (It is by this or-  
thodoxy that it justifies its existence in  
face of the USec.) Stalinism is and re-  
mains counter-revolutionary, says the OCI,  
there is no crisis, there is a continuity  
of Popular Fronts, the end of the Popular  
Fronts and the turn towards the Sacred  
Union has no meaning, it is still Stalin-  
ism, etc., etc.

While for the USec the apparatus of the  
Kremlin has decomposed, there is the Krem-  
lin and the "Euro-Communists" (FCP, ICP,  
SCP) who by their "contradictory"  
nature (remain Stalinists but at the same  
time are "forced to be democrats in order  
to be "credible"-- the Spanish LCR  
demanded the "rehabilitation of Trotsky"  
at the Congress of the SCP, but accepted  
without a word the denial of Leninism!)  
already signifies an evolution towards a  
"de-Stalinization", towards their "Social-  
democratization" and will give birth at  
the end of this road to a so-called "re-  
volutionary" wing of Stalinism which will  
join up with the centrists, giving the re-  
volutionary party.

Behind the orthodoxy (seeming) of the OCI  
and the dancing of the USec in front of  
"Euro-Communism" there is the same basis:  
both of them choose the apparatuses  
against the youth. The OCI is at the head  
of a campaign to support the Stalinists  
against "terrorism," for the OCI the Red  
Brigades equal the CIA, thus this explains  
that the "workers movement" must "defend  
itself." The LCR organized the goon squad  
with the CGT to defend the demonstra-  
tions against the autonomes, the American  
SWP organizes the defense squads for the  
trade union bureaucracy against the  
striking miners!

Thus this rapid rightward evolution of the  
centrists is not taking place without  
crisis. It is also determined by the re-  
jection and rupture with the centrists by  
the fighting youth which is becoming more  
and more flagrant. The youth have begun  
to regard the centrists in the factories  
with the same distrust, sometimes with the  
same hatred as with the Stalinists. It is  
the mistrust of the youth which ferments  
the questions of the working class mili-  
tants in the centrist organizations.

But the youth who are rejecting the cen-

trists will not understand their liquida-  
tionist character spontaneously and will  
not recognize the Fourth International.  
Nor will the centrist militants searching  
for the revolution evolve spontaneously  
towards the Fourth International. To  
shatter the crisis of centrism, a crisis  
which is taking on the aspect of a slow  
decay, can only be done by regrouping the  
youth against the alliance of the  
Stalinists and centrists. It is the only  
road to win the confidence of their honest  
militants. They will follow the Fourth  
International if it proves itself capable  
of winning the confidence of the most com-  
batative youth. It is thus that it is ne-  
cessary to pose the creation of factions  
in the centrist organizations, their poli-  
tical destruction. Whether it be in the  
US in the preparation of the Congress re-  
building the US Section or in France for  
the foundation of the PCR of France!

In face of the crisis of Stalinism and  
centrism (which is its consequence) for the  
Fourth International the task is posed of  
defeating the counter-offensive launched  
against the youth who do not accept the  
framework of class collaboration. Youth  
which at the same time with Stalinism,  
without the deployment of the RYI, risk  
rejecting ALSO, and this is the goal of  
Stalinism, the proletarian policy, Bolshe-  
vism.

The crisis of Stalinism does not take  
chemically pure forms, it does not proceed  
to a spontaneous decomposition such as vul-  
gar spontaneists, in the first place, the  
centrists, would like to imagine. This is  
because Stalinism will not spontaneously  
disappear. All the while being an acci-  
dent of history, a parasitical body, a  
tumor over the socialist conquests, it is  
either the proletariat under the leader-  
ship of the Fourth International which  
will destroy it or it will be destroyed in  
the reconquest of the degenerated or de-  
formed workers states by imperialism.  
Which signifies the victory of imperialist  
civil war, of barbarism on the world level.

The maneuvering room of the Stalinist bur-  
eaucracy and its apparatus is infinitely  
weaker in face of the proletariat than  
that of imperialism. As a caste the  
bureaucracy does not have the basis for the  
maneuvers of imperialism: the possession  
of the means of production, the direction  
of the world market. That which makes the  
bureaucracy and its apparatuses, all fac-  
tions, have any "justification" if it can  
be called that, for its existence, other  
than its privileges as political leader-  
ship flowing from the October Revolution,  
of the management of the conquests re-  
sulting from the expropriation of the  
bourgeoisie. This parasitical character  
of the bureaucracy is becoming more and  
more flagrant by the revolt of the prole-  
tariat of Eastern Europe. In the face  
of the blows of the proletariat and be-  
fore the demands of imperialism on the  
political and economic terrain the bureau-  
cracy and its apparatus has entered into  
a crisis. The contradictions are growing  
between the Kremlin and the satellite bur-  
eaucrats, which each on their own behalf  
(and within these bureaucracies as well)  
are seeking the best paths to collabora-  
tions with imperialism and a greater de-  
gree of independence in face of the Krem-  
lin. The growth of the "Euro-Communist"  
fraction of the bureaucracy is the pro-  
duct of this crisis of adaptation to im-  
perialism and to the national bourgeoisies  
by Stalinism, but it is not a positive  
product. Nor of a contradictory nature as  
the centrists claim by basing themselves  
on the criticisms of the Kremlin, de-  
ducing from this that the "Euro-Communists"  
and their correspondents in Eastern  
Europe are forced to be "democratic" to be  
credible." It is completely the opposite.  
The "Euro-Communist" faction tries to  
channel the rejection of Stalinism by the  
proletariat towards the acceptance of a  
"new image" of Stalinism: the pillar  
element of the bourgeois order in the name  
of the necessity of defending bourgeois  
"democracy."

"Euro-Communism" is an offensive of the  
most decided part of the bureaucracy which  
accepts putting further and further away  
the limits to class collaboration, an of-  
fensive which tries to utilize the politi-  
cal hold that Stalinism has over the most  
disillusioned and disoriented sections of  
the proletariat so that they will accept--  
at least passively-- the crushing of the  
most combatative part of the working clas--  
the youth.

It is an offensive against Lenin and  
Leninism as "theoretical" justification for  
the support of the terrorist states against  
the rebellious youth. "Euro-Communism" is  
an offensive against the socialist con-  
quests flowing from the October Revo-  
lution. The "Euro-Communist" CPs support  
and base themselves on the factions that  
have decided to attack the socialist con-  
quests within the bureaucracy itself.  
Such as Ceucescu, Kadar, Pelikan, Sak-  
harov.

In face of the October of Lenin, in the  
face of the revolutionary preparation of  
the Socialist United States of Europe--  
the "Euro-Communists" try to legitimize the  
Sacred Union by basing themselves on the  
support of this wing of the bureaucracy and  
on the support given by the different cen-  
trist groups in Eastern Europe which sup-  
port the Helsinki Agreement.

It does not concern a "social-democra-  
tization" of the "Euro-Communist" CPs.  
The Stalinist parties can only exist as an  
appendage of the bureaucracy. With "Euro-  
Communism" the bureaucracy and its appa-  
ratus are launched in a FINAL turn to prepare  
the civil war for imperialism. The  
"freedom" that the "Euro-Communists" gargle  
about from the East to the West is the  
freedom for the oppressors it is the free-  
dom for the bourgeoisie.

The problems of the construction of the  
Eastern European sections of the Fourth In-  
ternational must be at the center of the  
preparation of the 6th Congress in all  
countries. It does not just concern the  
continuity of the Fourth International.  
It concerns the political condition in all  
countries for being able to give a posi-  
tive solution to the rupture of the youth  
with Stalinism, to make them understand  
why it is necessary to return to Lenin.  
It is impossible to confront the "Euro-  
Communists" in the capitalist countries and  
the centrists to show the youth that there  
is another road between the opportunist  
leaderships and the false roads that many  
youth, the most combatative, are engaged  
in, if the Fourth International does not  
engage itself in regrouping the youth in  
Eastern Europe against the different fac-  
tions of the bureaucracy and against the  
centrist groups which stand for Helsinki,  
for "human rights."

### 3. Return to Lenin: Prepare with the Fighting Youth the Victorious Revolution- ary Confrontation

Today the preparation of the revolution  
concretely means to defeat the attempts  
of Stalinism trying to turn the workers  
movement against the youth, to pre-  
pare for its destruction by trying to iso-  
late the youth.

The stake of the revolution can thus be  
summed up: either the Fourth Internation-  
al through the RYI gains the rebellious  
youth to the proletarian revolution and  
its methods of preparation and renews the  
leadership of the workers movement with  
it-- or the gulf between the youth and  
the working class will be deepened, the  
youth pushed away from them, and will be  
more and more thrown into desperate com-  
bats against the State, which is being re-  
inforced with the advice of the "official"  
workers movement to crush the youth, which  
will mean the advance of the counter-re-  
volution on the world level.

The problem posed for the vanguard is no  
longer abstract and sterile discussions  
over the methods of the construction of



workers movement. It is necessary to respond to the question, with who are we going to renew the workers movement, with who are we going to construct its revolutionary political leadership? With the "experienced cadre" of the workers movement or with the youth who fight? The centrists choose the workers' aristocracy, the "experienced cadre," for this reason they did not delay their profession of faith in order to condemn the execution of Aldo Moro, they associate the Red Brigades with agents of the CIA, refuse the unconditional defense of terrorists who claim the working class in face of the bourgeois repression. Their indignation of phillistines only reaffirms their unconditional support of the measures for the reinforcement of the bourgeois terrorist state to the bourgeoisie and the apparatuses. For them, the youth are "irresponsible and disrespectful," it is the youth who "destabilize" the state who are responsible.

As the fate of the revolution, the Fourth International is also at a turn in its history. It is not neutral between the youth who confront the state in confusion and the bureaucrats of the "official" workers movement. There is no other choice than to orient towards the fighting youth, towards the future of the revolution, to base ourselves on it by mobilizing with the methods of Bolshevism of which only the Fourth International can bring-- against the terrorist State and its support and agents in the workers movement.

Our orientation of Return to Lenin developed around a large mobilization which the RYI proposes to the fighting youth against the terrorist state, for the revolutionary preparation of the seizure of power by the working class is the only one which responds to the political situation, it is the only one which permits us to distinguish ourselves in the eyes of the youth from all other leaderships in the workers movement. This is the sense of the preparation and holding of the 6th Congress.

The principal instrument through which Stalinism dominates the working class are the unions. It is completely natural that the apparatuses try to use the unions as weapons of their policy of the defense of the State against the youth. The most bothering sign of this gulf which risks to be widened between the majority of the working class and the youth are the first successes, even though very limited, on the part of Stalinism in this path. The position taken by the Workers Commissions in the Basque Provinces (obtained with the complicity of the centrists of the LCR) against the "terrorism of the left and the right," the demonstrations and strikes in Italy against the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, even though very limited-- demonstrate the entire danger of this situation. For the lack of a clear alternative, separated from the youth which are leaving the unions, the organized workers feel confusedly that this offensive against "terrorism" links them to the state and their exploiters, but their resistance is strongly disorganized. As for the youth, they are more and more massively deserting the stifling atmosphere of the unions, seeing no reason to participate in them, nor to struggle to win the leadership. In the eyes of the most combative faction of the youth the unions are definitively compromised with Stalinism, they have become instruments of the latter in the service of the State. They associate with the unions all that they reject; bureaucratic methods and maneuvers, the stifling of all initiative. They only see in the unions an instrument of submission. This sentiment of revolt which the petty bourgeois leaders of the autonomes, terrorists, councilists, etc., try to channel and lead the youth into the rejection of the methods of the working class in order to overthrow the established order: insurrectional general strike basing itself on councils and what is intimately linked to it: the necessity of a political leadership of the working

class.

Our struggle must be intensified by the organization of the youth to prevent the apparatuses from turning the unions against the youth in the name of the defense of the "democratic" state. The first combat to engage is to oppose them in the unions. It is the first combat but it is still insufficient to convince the rebellious youth that the task is to win the leadership of the unions to win the confidence of the majority of the working class. That it is impossible to advance towards the organization of soviets, their preparation by workers control, by the construction of militias, etc., of which many youth who are against the unions are partisans-- without taking up the struggle in the unions.

We must convince the youth that to arrive at these revolutionary aspirations, to concretize their growing hatred of the Stalinists, reformists, centrists, of the anarchist bureaucrats, it is necessary to win the leadership of the entire working class, of its unions, against them. That the working class has need of its mass organizations, but not as they are now: it is necessary to break their bureaucratic rules and their stifling rituals. The unions belong to the working class, it is necessary that they reconquer them. This does not concern a trade union problem, one that can be solved on the narrow terrain of the unions. The youth who reject the unions will only fight for their reconquest flowing from the comprehension that it concerns a fundamental element of the preparation of the revolution. In other words, the condition is that the RYI propose to them in the framework of a vast alliance against the terrorist State perspectives, revolutionary actions which allow them to understand that the battle for the renewal of the leadership of the workers movement is not only necessary but possible if it makes the links with the policy of Lenin, with the FI.

The Stalinists, reformists, anarchists and in the USA the bureaucrats linked to the Democratic Party-- forbid politics in the unions. Or else their policy, the trade union policy of the Stalinists, bases itself on the counter-offensive of the "Euro-Communists." The trade union leaders in France support the right to strike in Eastern Europe, demand the liberation of Klebanov. The French CGT made the World Trade Union Federation Congress adopt a resolution in support of these rights everywhere, including in Eastern Europe. Precisely after their discussions with Giscard. The Italian CGIL did this as well, all the while supporting a new law limiting the right to strike in Italy, all the while proposing the creation of "workers militias" to hunt the youth in the factories. These initiatives towards Eastern Europe are in no way positive. They do not signify a positive evolution as the USec and OCI maintain. It concerns one of the most vicious maneuvers of the "Euro-Communists" trying on the one hand to make the workers in the West believe that the only alternative in the face of the repression of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its dictatorship called "socialism" is "trade unionism" in the service of the bourgeois state, that only the bourgeoisie can guarantee the existence of "free unions" and "rights." On the other hand they try to deviate the struggles of the workers in Eastern Europe from organizing independently of the bureaucracy by making them believe that only their policy for the introduction of the "bourgeois freedoms" represents a way out and for this reason it is necessary for the workers to submit to the different factions and groups belonging directly to the bureaucracy or linked to it.

In any case, neither for the Stalinists, nor for the centrists does it concern beginning any real mobilization in the working class against the repression in Eastern Europe. The FI and the RYI must struggle for a real campaign for the liberation of Klebanov, for trade union rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe around the im-

mediate objective of demonstrations in front of the USSR embassies with the participation of the unions to unmask in front of the youth of the East and the West the living nature of the words of the "Euro-Communists."

The link between the attack against Leninism and the support to the terrorist state is expressed in the clearest manner as an attack against the unity of the political and social revolution. It is through the unions that the apparatus wishes to pass its policy in order to support the state with the most organized faction of the working class. The renewal of the leadership of the workers movement by the youth is a policy, but also an attitude towards the youth. It is opposed to all trade union fetishism. We are resolutely opposed to any attitude that under the pretext of "being active" in the unions one wishes to remain there AT ANY PRICE and to accept the framework, therefore the policy imposed by the bureaucrats. It is for this reason that we must make our central journal and that of the sections the means to centralize our influence in the working class, whether it be in the unions or among the youth influenced by the petty bourgeois leaderships. A policy and an attitude towards the youth means the comprehension that the youth, organized or unorganized in the different movements are INFINITELY CLOSER to us, more precise to the revolution, because they struggle and confront the state from East to West than the militants who mutter in the unions, who apply the policy of the apparatuses, closer than the pseudo-Trotskyist militants who support the counter-revolution in the name of the Fourth International.

This stake of the revolution is the conquest of this youth. It is ready, it fights, but it loses its energy in false roads. It must join the Bolshevik policy, it needs to see the Fourth International not as an organization among others, but an organization which proposes a banner-- that of the Socialist United States of Europe, to bring down the terrorist states of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, which offers it an autonomous organization to build: the RYI, where it can understand, educate itself and build!

#### 4. The VI Congress of the Fourth International, Open Congress, A Building Congress

The Fifth Congress of our party posed the task of finishing the rebuilding of the Fourth International. The finishing of the rebuilding of the Fourth International means that the FI, through the RYI appears in the ranks of the rebellious youth from East to West as the only party which fights by its POLICY and by the ACTIONS which flow from it, the offensive against the youth, which prepares the youth for the seizure of power by organizing them against the State. Only this policy and revolutionary actions will bring towards us large fractions of young militants of the Stalinist parties and the JC and JS, who are shaken by the more and more hostile attitude of the youth towards their organizations, who have begun to consider with disgust their integration into the defense of the State.

Our goal is to bring above all in the delegation of the RYI to the Congress the best fighters of the rebellious youth in France, Spain, the USA, Eastern Europe, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Latin America.

To finish the rebuilding of the Fourth International therefore means that the VI Congress of the Fourth International demonstrate, in face of the disarray of Stalinism and centrism before the youth, but also before those who reject all Bolshevik policy and organization-- that only with the Fourth International is it possible to break through the bourgeoisie and Stalinism, to unite the world working class around its own objectives.