

TRUTH



WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!

No. 77, July 21, 1978. 25¢

TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA

SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Black Self-defense, the Right to Strike... The issue is -- **WORKERS DEMOCRACY!**

A strike wave by public workers has broken out in this country. 600,000 postal workers are prepared to strike when their contract expires on July 20th.

City workers in Louisville, Cleveland, Memphis and New Orleans have gone on strike. In Philadelphia, 20,000 city workers are on strike in face of a court order and the threat of Mayor Frank Rizzo to fire 2,000 strikers.

In Detroit 1,800 hospital workers are on strike and sanitation workers have threatened to strike.

The government has responded with massive repression. Postal workers have been threatened with felony arrests. The courts have been working overtime issuing injunctions. The National Guard has been called out. In the large cities the police are acting with the arrogance of an occupying army.

Why are they striking? **BECAUSE THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE!** Because the capitalist state is **LEADING** the attack on the American working class today.

Trying to blame inflation on the workers, first of all public workers. Trying to blame them for the cutbacks in social services. Trying to make the workers pay with forced overtime, speed-up, rotten working conditions.

So that instead they can spend **OUR** money turning the cities into occupied territories. To hire more police. To attack any youth who dares to speak up for his rights.

Because public workers, like many other American workers have realized that any fight to defend their rights means a confrontation with this capitalist and anti-democratic state.

As overwhelmingly black, these workers are doubly oppressed. Oppressed because they are workers and oppressed because of the color of their skin. Facing a government

that is anti-black and **RACIST** to the core.

A government which gives "free speech" to the Nazi scum in Chicago who nearly beat a black man to death last week in the presence of 1500 police. Whose police beat to death a leader of the black community in Brooklyn, New York several weeks ago.

These struggles must be defended! The **RIGHT TO STRIKE** must be defended with workers defense guards, mass picketing organized by the unions.

With **MASS BLACK SELF-DEFENSE--** to protect blacks from the attacks of the racists, to drive the **OCCUPYING ARMY**, the police, out of the cities.

These are struggles of the entire American working class. In which the fundamental question at stake is **WORKERS RIGHTS** or **CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION**.

Struggles in which a new leadership for the working class has to be built. Against the old and treacherous leaders of the Democratic Party. Against the trade union bureaucracy which time and time again has put forward the lie that this system can be reformed.

Who wants to reform a system that can offer us **NOTHING?**

That is why these struggles must be centralized in the fight for **WORKERS DEMOCRACY** and for its leadership-- the party of the working and oppressed masses-- the Fourth International.

It is why we and the Revolutionary Youth International in the US are building a **YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION** to mobilize the young fighters of the working class in this struggle.

An **ALLIANCE** which must intervene in these strikes, in the struggles of the black masses in order to organize practical support for these struggles, in order to impel them. In order to build the combativity of the entire working class.

In order to win **WORKERS DEMOCRACY**.
July 20, 1978



Defend the postal workers!

As we go to press, the contract between the US Postal Service and 600,000 postal workers is about to expire. Postal workers are planning to strike or engage in other job actions if their demands are not met.

They must be defended! Their fight is a test of strength for the entire working class.

Not only has the Carter administration made the postal workers the center of their "anti-inflation" campaign. Trying to hold the postal workers to a 5.5% wage increase as an example for crushing all government employees whose productivity is already the **HIGHEST** in the world.

But through an attack on the Postal Service want to attack and destroy **THE RIGHT TO STRIKE** of the American working class.

Postmaster General William F. Bolger sent a letter to all postal workers this week threatening them with prosecution and loss of jobs if they strike. "All postal employees should know just how seriously they may hurt their future if they would commit a crime--

a felony under the criminal code."

If convicted of striking "they would forfeit the right to hold their postal jobs.... They would not only lose their pay but their paid health, life insurance coverage and other fringe benefits."

A felony! No job! For exercising the right to strike in this "free" country!

In 1970 the wildcat strike of postal workers was the spark that ignited an offensive of the entire American working class against the Nixon government. Their conditions, the conditions of the entire working class are even **WORSE** than they were in 1970.

Nixon lost his test of strength. So will Carter.

Not only must the entire working class defend the right of the postal workers to strike, but workers must build a mobilization in their factories and unions to support the strike, prevent strike-breaking and insure that the postal workers win their demands.

**DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!
VICTORY TO THE POSTAL WORKERS!**
July 20, 1978

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR HANGMEN

By JON COHEN

The "cold war" has begun again. The last weeks have seen a rapid escalation of tension between US imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy in the USSR. Reminiscent of the 50's.

Carter's threats against the USSR and Cuba over their intervention in Africa. His speech at the US Naval Academy demanding that the Soviet Union "choose between cooperation and confrontation" and saying: "We are prepared for both." The massive buildup of NATO forces in Europe.

And the small scale "guerilla warfare" which is begun between the two countries. Mutual arrest of "spies." Harassment of journalists. The cancellation of scientific and technical conferences. Carter's latest decision to refuse to sell the USSR sophisticated computer.

All of this reached a new level last week with the furor created around the Shcharansky trial in the Soviet Union.

US Secretary of State Vance released a statement declaring that: "These trials, with the their lack of due process, violate fundamental principles of justice." He went on to say that: "They inevitably affect the climate of our relations and impose obstacles to the building of confidence and cooperation between our countries."

This man who was one of the architects of the Vietnam War went on to say: "Let me say finally that the struggle for basic human freedom is not a short-term effort. We will persevere because of our enduring belief in the dignity of the individual."

Not to be outdone in hypocrisy and cynicism, Jimmy Carter, who is today threatening US postal workers with jail under FELONY charges for striking, stated that the Shcharansky trial was "an attack on every human being who lives in the world who believes in basic human freedom and is willing to speak for these freedoms or fight for them."

The US Senate and House of Representatives passed resolutions against the trials. Following the tide, UAW President Doug Fraser, who strangely silent about the trial this year of 7 Chrysler workers from Trenton who were sent to jail for striking, issued a statement also "deploring" the trials and cancelled a delegation of UAW officials who were scheduled to visit the Soviet Union.

What does all of this mean for American workers? Is the foreign policy which is being

developed by the Carter administration really a conflict between the forces of "freedom" and "totalitarianism?" Between "democracy" and "communism"?

Of course not. The very incompetence and disorganization of the Carter administration let the cat out of the bag last week.

Andrew Young, the Carter regime's token black, their "left cover" for foreign policy, picked the wrong time to try to "explain" US foreign policy to blacks in the US.

Having spent some time in prison himself for fighting for civil rights, Young stated in response to the Shcharansky trial that there were political prisoners in the United States, also, "hundreds, perhaps thousands."

Young didn't get the message. He's still trying to explain how Carter is really "sincere" about "human rights."

Senators and Congressmen called for his impeachment. Newspapers throughout the country called for his resignation. He was accused of "slander" (the same charge against Shcharansky). Both Carter and Vance called him on the carpet and made him apologize.

Apologize for saying that the emperor has no clothes. For saying what is on the mind of every worker and youth in the US-- that of course there are political prisoners in the US. That of course this outrage over Shcharansky has nothing to do with "human rights" or the "dignity of the individual."

That if it did there would be some "human rights" and "individual dignity" for the working class and youth in the United States.

That the foreign policy of the Carter administration is a foreign policy for HANGMEN, Hangmen of the American working class. Hangmen of the workers and oppressed throughout the world. Hangmen who

want to destroy the socialist conquests of the working class in the USSR and Eastern Europe and restore the enslavement of capitalism there.

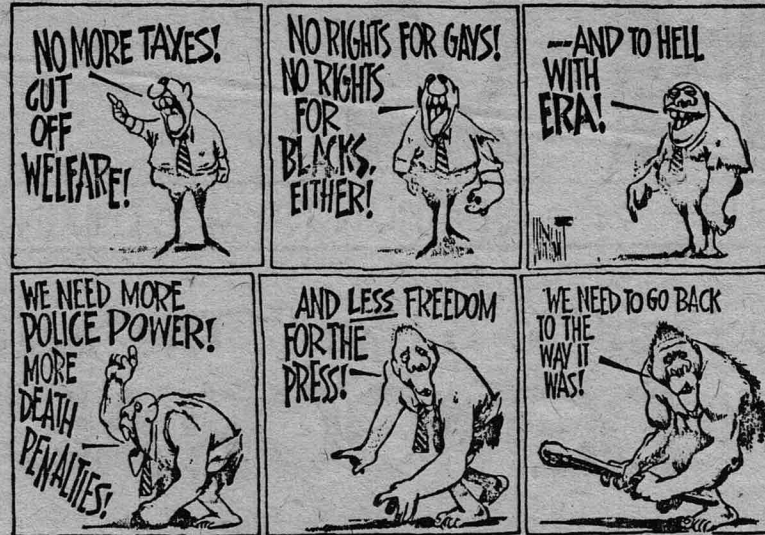
And the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin aids and serves these imperialist hangmen. The new turn of US imperialism towards preparations for war, towards relaunching the "cold war" against the conquests of the working class in the USSR and Eastern Europe has nothing to do with any new discovery of "freedom" by these butchers. Nor does it have anything to do with the discovery that the Stalinist bureaucracy is totalitarian and can only rule through police state methods.

The Stalinist bureaucracy was just as repressive, just as totalitarian throughout the period of "detente" and "peaceful coexistence".

No, this new turn of imperialism comes out of DESPERATION. Desperation in the face of the mobilization of the working class and its youth throughout the world which BOTH imperialism and Stalinism have been unable to stop.

Desperation in the face of the UNPRECEDENTED crisis of the international Stalinist apparatus. All of its efforts to control the mobilization of the working class in the service of imperialism have failed. Failed in Eastern Europe. Failed with the "historic compromise" and "Sacred Union" in Europe. Failed with its support to the military dictatorships in Latin America. Failed to hold back the crisis of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy in the US.

The Stalinist apparatus can no longer guarantee anything to its imperialist masters. That is why "peaceful coexistence" and "detente" is falling apart. Falling apart because now US imperialism must insure the total capitula-



tion of the Kremlin, even going as far as to prepare for the destruction of the Stalinist bureaucracy itself.

And the Stalinist bureaucracy is of course, totally unable and unwilling to arm the working class against this offensive. With its disgraceful betrayals of the working class throughout the world, with its shameful repression in the name of "communism" it only gives imperialism more weapons to crush the workers revolution.

An example. How do their agents in the US--the American Communist Party respond to this new offensive? By pretending that there is a conflict between Brzezinski, Carter's national security advisor and Vance, the Secretary of State.

If we can only throw out the "reactionary" Brzezinski and support the "progressive" Vance everything will be better and we can return to "peaceful coexistence," says the American CP. Seconded by Fidel Castro who recently declared that he would vote for Jimmy Carter in 1980 over any "reactionary."

Such a policy only blocks the American working class from seeing the truth about Carter's foreign policy-- that is is a policy of hangmen-- "progressive" and "reactionary"-- designed to crush the working class throughout the world.

A policy that requires the vicious repression against the working class and youth in the US which is now being developed by the Carter regime. The encouragement of fascists. The repression of strikes. The denial of rights to blacks.

But as we said before it is a foreign policy of DESPERATION. There is nothing inevitable about a new "cold war," nothing inevitable about another world war. Imperialism's offensive can be stopped.

It depends on us. On the American working class and its revolutionary unity with the workers and youth throughout the world. Out fight to unmask and stop imperialism's preparations for war. Our fight to defend the socialist conquests of the working class in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Cuba.

The hangmen can be stopped. By joining and building the ONLY anti-war and anti-imperialist party in the world today-- the Fourth International.

July 18, 1978

TOWARD THE CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS! DETROIT! SEPTEMBER 3! AGAINST WAR & REPRESSION!

Call of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to the radical youth--

It is ten years since youth in the Chicago streets battled police to make a shambles of the Democratic Party Convention. Ten years since Czechoslovakian youth fought Russian tanks in the "Prague Spring." It is ten years since the General Strike of June '68 in France toppled the regime of General Charles DeGaulle.

Ten years later and a new generation of the youth is in full rebellion against this system of war and repression. Because ten full years after 1968 nothing for the youth has improved. Once again the imperialist masters are calling the youth to spill their blood for them, this time in Africa, or Europe. The racist system is shoving black youth back into slave status to pay for the capitalist crisis. Every strike is pounced on by the government and the police, and in every union there is mounting anger and hatred for the bureaucratic officials who stifle every independent initiative, every militant action.

Ten years and NOTHING has changed! No wonder that the youth are once again taking to the streets to resolve their score with this system. They are the young miners who defied Carter's Taft-Hartley act, and who would have won a clear victory for every American worker were it not for the begging allegiance of BUSINESS UNIONISM to the preservation of capitalism. They are the unemployed who lined up by the thousands in front of the Cadillac assembly plant in 1977 for less than a hundred jobs. They are the black and white youth who threw bricks and bottles at the Nazi racists in Chicago and Detroit. And among them all there is leadership growing. A vanguard of all the youth who are learning the lessons of every struggle they engage in.

And they are saying: WE DEMAND A FUTURE! A future free of imperialist war. A future free of mass unemployment and the decay of culture. A future free of repressor and police state attacks.

They are saying: WE ARE AGAINST WAR BUT WE ARE NOT PACIFISTS! No more of the youth's blood spilled for imperialist profits. The combat for the youth is war against the government that polices the world, Carter's government. War against the

racist government that imprisons Gary Tyler and the Wilmington Ten, that is responsible for the assault on the rights of the black working class. War "by any means necessary" said Malcolm X, in order to liberate the black masses.

The youth are for war against the state which terrorizes them with its police, and locks them up in its prisons. War against the racist Nazis, the "illegal" arm of the government who protect and defend them with their police. CLASS war of the white and black working class youth: this is our answer to imperialism!

The youth are saying: WE ARE AGAINST REPRESSION BUT WE ARE NOT REFORMISTS! "There is crime in the streets," scream the gentlemen of wealth, and the police forces of every major city have been reinforced. As if mass unemployment and social decay has nothing to do with crime. "No," they scream, "it's the youth, the lawless youth."

Crime, yes, we are against the crime of a government that attacks our rights, we are against the crime of a government that cannot even provide a decent education for the youth. Criminal is the only word for the spying and harassment of the FBI and CIA. Criminal is the only word for the murder of Joe Torres in Houston, for the murder of George Jackson in San Quentin, for the countless others who have fallen to the cops' bullets.

This criminal government cannot be reformed, it is a TERRORIST STATE by its very nature as policeman of a small greedy minority of super-rich against the vast majority -- the working class. No illusions in the criminal "justice" of the terrorist state. NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN PARTIES who support this criminal state!

"But this is communism! Communism which is out to destroy our "democratic" state," so says Carter the great "democrat."

And we will answer "LIES"! Democracy for the rich and misery for the rest, this is the face of your "democracy." Stalinism, the gravedigger of the Russian revolution, this is what you call "communism."

RETURN TO LENIN gentlemen! Return to the 1917 revolution which threw the Czar and the imperialists out of Russia. Return to the Paris Commune,

the Workers Councils of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. Return to Lenin and you will find democracy, WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

Fifty years of the rule of the Stalinist "Communist" Party in the Soviet Union has dragged the communist banner through the mud, deprived the Soviet people of their most elementary rights, but you, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie who wish it were YOUR hands on the Russian workers throats, still call this monstrosity "communism?" Call it by its right name, gentlemen, call it STALINISM. Stalin who denounced Lenin as the "Great Russian bully." Stalin who destroyed the Third International of Communist parties, built by Lenin and Trotsky.

RETURN TO LENIN youth! That is the cry that Trotsky took up against the Stalinist betrayal, that led Trotsky and the revolutionary youth to found the Fourth International in 1938. Return to the struggle of the American Trotskyists who organized the class battles of truckers, auto workers, and others in the '30's. Who were the ONLY party whose leadership was jailed in WWII for opposing the imperialist war.

And the Trotskyist Organization today says: WE ARE FOR REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AGAINST THE BUREAUCRATIC APPARATUSES! For these last ten years have been a history of BETRAYAL as well. BETRAYAL by the very parties who call themselves "communist" and "socialist." BETRAYAL by the bureaucratic apparatuses which stifle the combative spirit of the youth. BETRAYAL by the Communist Party USA which is allied with the Democratic party and rooted in the trade union bureaucracy. BETRAYAL by the centrist Socialist Workers Party which abandoned the Fourth International in order to cling to reformism and Stalinism.

For the youth the political parties and the unions are nothing but bureaucratic apparatuses. And they are right to look for a new party. A party which leads the combat against the bureaucracy in the unions. A party that wants to destroy this criminal government. A party which is open to the youth and their ideas. A WORKERS PARTY to lead the battle for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT based on WORKERS DEMOCRACY. WE CALL FOR A YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION!-- A YOUTH ALLIANCE

to organize the defense of strikes and demonstrations. A YOUTH ALLIANCE to smash the Nazis. An ALLIANCE of youth organizations and all the militant youth.

Build the Conference of Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the RYI. This Conference is open to you, to the youth, to forge your struggles to lead your battles. AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION!

WORKING SCORE TO

The American working class and its youth must condemn the recent trial and imprisonment of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky on charges of "high treason in the form of espionage." He was sentenced to 13 years at hard labor.

The charges against Shcharansky are monstrous Stalinist lies and falsifications, the kind used against any kind of opposition in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The kind used against Trotskyism in the past and used today against the Fourth International by the Kremlin and its centrist lackeys.

We defend Shcharansky against these lies and demand his freedom despite our opposition to his political positions. In rejection of Stalinism, Shcharansky, like many other oppositionists in the USSR and Eastern Europe, turned to the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie for aid-- insisting that the USSR "comply" with the 1976 Helsinki agreements, which were a fraud to begin with. He turned to Zionism as well-- another false solution for the Jewish masses.

It was this faith in the "democracy" of the bourgeoisie and in Zionism which has allowed his trial to become the rallying point for the hypocritical tears of the imperialist bourgeoisie who in fact DON'T GIVE A DAMN about Shcharansky!

The tears and cries of outrage of Jimmy Carter and Co. over Shcharansky are just a pretext for US imperialism to deepen its offensive against the working class in the name of "anti-communism," to deepen the capitulation of the Kremlin bureaucracy to imperialism, and to pave the way for the overthrow of the socialist conquests in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

NO MORE MARQUETTE PARKS!

By FRED VITALE

On July 9th the Chicago Nazis held a rally in Marquette Park under the protection of 1500 Chicago police. Although several thousand anti-Nazi demonstrators attempted to march against them, they were stopped by the cops from getting within TWO MILES of Marquette Park.

This police protection of the fascists is an attack on the rights of the working class. Marquette Park is where the Nazis have organized bands of youth to attack blacks and where a young black

was nearly murdered during the demonstration. This is what the police protect.

It exposes all the lies about "democracy" and how the case of the Nazis is one of "freedom of speech." How quick the Supreme Court defended the Nazis' "freedom of speech." But not for the defense of blacks against racism.

But millions of blacks, especially the youth, understand that this government is an oppressor. That the police, the courts, the politicians are not on their side. So how come the Nazis

can openly rally six blocks from the biggest black working class community in the United States? Is it because blacks don't want to fight?

NO. It's a question of leadership. This victory for the Nazis shows what kind of treacherous leadership the black masses and the whole working class have. It is these "leaders" who are responsible for the growth and proliferation of the Nazi scum.

The leadership of the NAACP, the trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinist Communist Party/USA, all DENY that it is the bourgeoisie and its government, the imperialist state, which is the master of all the Nazis. All deny that to finish with the Nazis the youth must be mobilized against the government, to FINISH with it. Instead these leaders want to reform this racist state.

It's Coleman Young's police that protect the Nazis in Detroit and attack the Harper-Grace strikers. It's Carter's Democratic Party police in Chicago which allows the constant attacks on blacks and murders not a few themselves! It is Ed Sadowski and Jim Balanoff as leaders of District 31 of the United Steel Workers Union with tens of thousands of blacks in it, which allows black workers to be assaulted right in front of the factories on their way home. And who, along with the rest of the liberals, couldn't even agree that racism exists in Marquette Park! Let alone that it is at the CORE of this society society, this government.

The workers and youth don't listen to the liberals too often. That's why the Stalinist Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party who falsely speak in the name of communism play such a key role, by supporting these liberals and their policy, with "criticism."

The Communist Party wants to get a law passed against racism. They say: "the USSR and England already have laws against racism." So, in the USSR, a Jewish dissident is persecuted and in England, roving bands of youth, inspired by a fascist party, have attacked hundreds of non-whites, especially Indians and Pakistanis.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wants peaceful demonstrations against the Nazis because any kind of violence is a "provocation" and will only bring the police down on us! But the choice is not between pacifistic demonstrations and ultra-left charges on the police lines. These are only flip sides of the same LACK of a REVOLUTIONARY perspective.

The key question is leadership. The SWP moans how "unfortunate" it was that these liberals could not "project a unified response." But the black masses need a NEW leadership and not the people who have betrayed their struggles for 15 years! A new leadership against the racist government which fights against any idea that it can be reformed or "neutralized."

This is why we propose to all the anti-Nazi youth, to the black youth, an ALLIANCE AGAINST REPRESSION AND WAR. To organize black mass self-defense against the Nazis.

A march of 50,000 blacks into Marquette Park to smash the Nazi headquarters. Organized workers defense guards to patrol the black neighborhoods defending blacks. But NONE of this can come about without a revolutionary perspective, without a political combat against the treacherous leaders.

And none of it can come about without your participation. Join with us in the fight for a Youth Alliance against the Nazis and their imperialist masters. Then we'll be prepared for the next Marquette Park. July 18, 1978.

CLASS HAS ITS OWN SETTLE WITH KREMLIN

Because Stalinist repression doesn't really bother them at all. Does anyone remember any of these "concerned democrats" and "fighters against anti-Semitism" and their forefathers saying A WORD about the massive purges of revolutionaries and Bolsheviks in the 30's? About the assassination of Trotsky? About the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956?

Or more recently, about the massacres and arrests of striking Polish workers in 1976? The repression against the miners in Rumania? The imprisonment of the militants, led by Klebanov in the USSR who are trying to form independent trade unions?

Not a word. Shcharansky is only a pretext for them to deepen their preparations for another "democratic" war. That is why it is only the working class that can truly defend Shcharansky.

Not to ally with imperialism, but as part of the fight to overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy in the USSR, the greatest obstacle in the world to revolution and to real socialism in the USSR.

The pseudo-revolutionaries of the SWP try to say that the case is simply an "anti-Semitic political frame-up." "Like the French Captain Alfred Dreyfus in 1894, and the Americans Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953," the SWP writes.

As if the Shcharansky case was just some kind of "mistake" on the part of the Kremlin, like the "mistakes" made under bourgeois democracy. As if anti-Semitism was just a "problem" the Kremlin bureaucracy has.

The Shcharansky case is a COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY political frame-up! Like all Stalinist frame-ups. Like the COUNTER-

REVOLUTIONARY Stalinist bureaucracy itself.

Shcharansky represents only the tip of the iceberg for the Kremlin. The tip of the deep and UNPRECEDENTED crisis that the Stalinist bureaucracy is undergoing throughout the world. The Kremlin is attacking Shcharansky not out of anti-Semitism, but out of its FEAR of the revolution that is approaching in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

They made a show trial out of Shcharansky because his political support for imperialism and Zionism made it easier to justify the repression. But the Kremlin's real purpose is to increase and justify its growing repression against the working class opposition in the USSR and Eastern Europe, which represents the real threat to the bureaucracy's rule.

Militants like Klebanov and the leaders of the fight for independent trade unions. Which the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International is fighting today to win their liberation.

We demand the freedom of Shcharansky because the fight against Stalinist repression is part and parcel of the fight of the working class and its party, the Fourth International, to organize the political revolution to overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy and regain the socialist conquests for the working class.

It is part of our fight against imperialism because the working class has its own score to settle with the Kremlin-- a score that will be settled when both imperialism and Stalinism are wiped off the face of the earth. A task that requires the rebuilding of the Russian Section of the Fourth International. July 19, 1978

GM Fleetwood	8
Chrysler Dodge Main	13
Harper-Grace hospitals	55
Detroit (other)	109
Chicago	15
TOTAL	206

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The Shcharansky case is a COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY political frame-up! Like all Stalinist frame-ups. Like the COUNTER-

REVOLUTIONARY Stalinist bureaucracy itself.

Shcharansky represents only the tip of the iceberg for the Kremlin. The tip of the deep and UNPRECEDENTED crisis that the Stalinist bureaucracy is undergoing throughout the world. The Kremlin is attacking Shcharansky not out of anti-Semitism, but out of its FEAR of the revolution that is approaching in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

They made a show trial out of Shcharansky because his political support for imperialism and Zionism made it easier to justify the repression. But the Kremlin's real purpose is to increase and justify its growing repression against the working class opposition in the USSR and Eastern Europe, which represents the real threat to the bureaucracy's rule.

Militants like Klebanov and the leaders of the fight for independent trade unions. Which the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International is fighting today to win their liberation.

We demand the freedom of Shcharansky because the fight against Stalinist repression is part and parcel of the fight of the working class and its party, the Fourth International, to organize the political revolution to overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy and regain the socialist conquests for the working class.

It is part of our fight against imperialism because the working class has its own score to settle with the Kremlin-- a score that will be settled when both imperialism and Stalinism are wiped off the face of the earth. A task that requires the rebuilding of the Russian Section of the Fourth International. July 19, 1978

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LATIN AMERICA: "CONSTITUTIONS" OR CLASS INDEPENDENCE?

By ANN NELSON

The mobilization of the workers and peasants of Latin America is developing at a rapid pace. Thousands of workers and youth in Matamoros, Mexico recently stormed city hall, freed prisoners and torched police records in a rebellion touched off by the murder of a fifteen year old youth by police. By the end of the violent protest late last month the masses of this small border town near Texas had forced the police chief and all his top officers to resign and go into hiding.

In spite of the dismal predictions of the bourgeoisie and its apologists after the fascist coup in Chile, hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans in Bolivia, Chile, Argentina and Peru have renewed their struggle against the repressive military dictatorships.

The mass mobilization has forced the military governments to try to stop the strikes, protests and demonstrations with "democratic" measures. In Chile, Pinochet's "referendum" which itself sparked demonstrations was tried. In Bolivia the government called for its first elections in years, and in Peru, the government has forced to let exiled workers leaders return and to hold elections for a Constituent Assembly.

Last year, austerity measures taken by the Peruvian government ignited demonstrations which caused the downfall of the Velasco regime. This year a much deeper mobilization of the workers and peasants of Peru created a General Strike throughout the country which lasted for days and in some cities, weeks. This is the context in which the government's call for an election of a constituent assembly (those elected to write a new constitution) must be seen. This measure is not taken because of the government's desire for "democracy", but because it wants the WORKERS AND PEASANTS of Peru to think that democracy is a possible road for them. The elections are being held ONLY to delay and disengage the current mass protests and strikes against the government. While those elected are working on the constitution, the military will be reinforcing its repressive apparatus against the working class.

It must be recognized that this "constituent assembly" is a farce, from any standpoint. This organism which came out of the elections has NO executive or legislative power and the Constitution that they will elaborate will be "studied" by the military government before they decide what to do about it (around 1980!).

It is in this framework that Hugo Blanco of the PST of Peru (United Secretariat, in the US its supporters are in the Socialist Workers Party), ran for the Constituent Assembly by putting forward this "constitution."

During the elections, Blanco and other candidates of his Workers, Peasants, Students and Poor People's Front (FOCEP) were again exiled by the military. The FOCEP received a large percentage of the vote, which attests to the strength of the mass mobilization and the Peruvian people's desire for an alternative.

But the centrists of the United Secretariat have betrayed the revolutionary mobilization of the masses and their struggle for their own government through supporting the military's farce.

The so-called "socialist" content of the "constitution" proposed by Blanco is only a cover for the fact that these elections were opposed to the workers mobilization and their independent organs. The purpose of his constitution is not to uncover the phony "democracy" of the elections, nor is it to lead and consolidate the General Strike. This "constitution" is being counterposed by the centrists to the independent mobilization of the masses of Peru. The independent organizations of the workers of Latin America have in the past taken their highest expression in the Popular Assembly in Bolivia and the "Cordones Industriales" of Chile.

These organizations of the workers which have also developed in Peru can become the organs for the workers power and government only with the leadership of a revolutionary party which will fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat which is opposed to the bourgeois military regimes and their false promises of "democracy." This party is the Fourth International which must be rebuilt in Latin

America.

The calls of the centrists for "democracy" and "constitutions" in Latin America is no mistake, nor is it some kind of "original idea" of the centrists. This is the policy Stalinism in Latin America led by the Castro bureaucracy. The prestige of the Cuban Revolution among militants in Latin America is used against the workers revolutionary mobilizations and their attempts to continue the revolution throughout the Americas.

Castro recently called Peru the "second free territory in America." Peru is headed by a bourgeois military regime, but Castro calls it "free." The centrists of the United Secretariat have said the same thing politically through their proposal for a new constitution. A leader of the United Secretariat, Joseph Hansen, recently wrote an article in INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS which applauds Castro's "spreading of the Cuban revolution in Africa." The SWP has also called Castro an "unconscious Trotskyist."

This support to Castroism takes on its significance because the militants in Latin America have turned away from

the class collaborationist policies of the Latin American Communist Parties of the Kremlin. The Peruvian CP directly supports a wing of the military government.

Recently in an interview in DAILY WORLD, the newspaper of the Communist Party - USA, two members of the Central Committee of the Argentine CP "explained" their reasons for giving support to a wing of the fascist regime of Videla. They say that it would be a "grave error" to call the government fascist, they say that the regime is "heterogeneous, not homogeneous." The Communist Parties of the Kremlin in Latin America are doing everything they can to avoid the renewal of the "cordones Industriales".

The centrists of the United Secretariat are supporting this policy of Stalinism: the necessity to insure the rule of the bourgeoisie in Latin America. This is the purpose of the call for a new constitution, not because this is what the masses want, but to give the illusion that there is some other alternative to the dictatorship of the proletariat, some other alternative to the independent organization of the masses, but the only other alternative, is continued fascism.

July 18, 1978

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

million in compensation.

For us, this suit has made crystal clear the concern the US ruling class attaches to the FI and its attempts to destroy it. That is why we urge the SWP to join with us in winning full rights for the FI in the US.

Unfortunately, this suit by the SWP is not a fight for full rights for the FI. In fact, the policy behind it is an OBSTACLE to this fight.

We are not against the tactic of suing the government. But this suit has gone far beyond "tactics" for the SWP. They are consciously fostering the illusion that JUSTICE can be won through the bourgeois courts, an arm of this imperialist state.

In July 21, 1978 issue of THE MILITANT they write: "Right now a battle is taking place. A battle whose outcome will affect the lives of all Americans and of working people all over the world."

Where is this decisive "battle" taking place? IN THE BOURGEOIS COURTS. Where NOTHING fundamental for the working class can be won. Where NOTHING for the working class will be decided.

They go on to say: "The SWP suit has hit the weakest

spot in Carter's armor. It is at the center of the fight against Carter's offensive. And if enough pressure is brought to bear, it can force Carter to retreat."

Does any unemployed youth believe this? Do any of the thousands of poor people rotting in prison believe this? Do the jailed miners, auto workers, other workers believe this?

Believe that this suit, which has taken FIVE YEARS and has not even gotten to trial, IS AT THE CENTER OF THE FIGHT AGAINST CARTER?

The only ones who believe this nonsense are the bourgeois liberals and reformists in the Democratic Party which the SWP is trying to "mobilize" with this suit.

That this suit has not made the bourgeoisie retreat can be seen by anyone who can read English. (Forget for a moment, that another "judge" overturned the contempt of court ruling against Attorney General Bell the day after its was made.)

Read the ruling of Federal Judge Griesa which the SWP proudly published in its paper (when before has a work-

(CONTINUED TO NEXT COLUMN)

THE FRANCOIST "BAND OF ASSASSINS" MURDERS AGAIN-- Stop the Military Tribunal Against LA AURORA & Miguel Salas!

Virtual civil war broke out last week in the Basque region of Spain as Francoist police went on a murderous rampage against the workers and youth who are fighting for their national independence.

The police charged a demonstration of workers and youth in Pamplona and murdered a young worker, German Rodriguez, a member of the Spanish LCR. Hundreds of people were injured by the police rampage as the entire Basque region mobilized against this attack.

Barricades were set up in Pamplona and the fighting spread to San Sebastian where another young worker was murdered by the police. Barricades and street fighting began there as well where workers were able to block all rail and truck transportation leading into the Basque region. A general strike broke out with 500,000 workers

ing class paper ever given an open forum to a HANGMAN of the working class which is this judge and ANY bourgeois judge?)

This is what this hangman REALLY has in mind:

"In this regard, it is important to note that the Government has consistently urged, as justification for some or all of the FBI activities, that the SWP and YSA are affiliated with a worldwide federation known as the Fourth International; and that there is in the Fourth International a strong faction, called the International Tendency which espouses violence...."

Aside from the factual errors, the POLITICAL advice is clear-- forget the SWP-- go after the real danger--the Fourth International.

That the SWP hails this decision at the same time remaining silent about this attack on the Fourth International says more than a thousand words about the nature of this suit and how it is politically an obstacle to winning full rights for the FI.

The fight for full rights for the FI will not be settled in bourgeois courts, by the hangmen of the working class and youth. It will be decided in a mobilization of the working class against this imperialist state, against this system of war and repression.

It will be won in a fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY against this rotting corpse of bourgeois democracy and their hangmen. It will be a fight to defend the world revolution and its party.
July 18, 1978

taking to the streets in Bilbao.

Although there is very little information about the situation in the official press, it is clear that civil war conditions exist. In Renteria, the Francoist Guardia Civil simply went on a rampage against the entire population of the city, smashing and looting stores and shops.

All of this has taken place in the face of a new "anti-terrorist" law adopted by the Francoist regime which places the entire country in a permanent "state of emergency" giving the police unlimited powers to detain, arrest and harass working class "suspects."

And our comrade, MIGUEL SALAS, the editor of LA AURORA, the newspaper of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International is facing a Military Tribunal for "insulting the military."

The insult? Calling the Francoist military "a band of assassins."

Can anyone doubt that this statement is not an "insult" but the TRUTH in the face of the latest atrocities of this army and police? Can anyone doubt that this is why our party is being attacked in Spain-- for TELLING THE TRUTH to the Spanish working class and for organizing a revolutionary struggle to destroy this army and police?

As a young worker in Detroit who signed a petition in support of Miguel Salas said: "They should give him a reward instead of trying to put him in jail."

And can anyone doubt the reasons for the TOTAL SILENCE in the United States in the bourgeois press, among bourgeois politicians, among the so-called "leaders" of the working class, among the "human rights" hypocrites about the repression taking place in Spain, much less about the repression against the Fourth International?

Why are all those now shedding crocodile tears over Shcharansky silent about Spain and the repression taking place?

Because US imperialism needs and supports the Francoist dictatorship in Spain for its counter-revolutionary alliance against the working class and the TRUTH would shatter its myth of the "democratization" taking place in Spain.

The United States Senate, in Bill S-3076, Section 409 of the "Foreign Relations

Authorization Act for fiscal year 1979" recently declared: "political developments in Spain during the past two years constituted a remarkable



JIM BALANOFF, PRESIDENT DISTRICT 31, USW SUPPORTS MIGUEL SALAS

Jim Balanoff, the President of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America has publically endorsed the campaign in the United States to stop the Military Tribunal against Miguel Salas and LA AURORA and for the legalization of the PORE and all anti-Francoist organizations in Spain.

District 31 represents over 140,000 steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary region, the center of steel production in the United States.

AVENGE MURDER OF RODRIGUEZ!

To the Socialist Workers Party--

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International offers our condolences on the murder of your comrade in Spain, German Rodriguez, a member of the Spanish LCR, by the Francoist police on July 9th.

We condemn this assassination along with all the other atrocities committed by the bloody Francoist Guardia Civil last week in Pamplona and throughout the Basque provinces against the workers and youth in the Basque region who are fighting to rid themselves of Francoist repression.

This murder must be avenged. Not only in Spain, but in the US as well where the Carter regime is making a major effort to pretend that Spain has been "democratized" in order to support the Juan Carlos monarchy and strengthen the NATO alliance.

It must be avenged by fighting together to make the American working class and its youth aware of this "democra-

achievement by the people and leaders of Spain and a major step toward the construction of a stable and lasting Spanish democracy."

Like the "remarkable achievement" taking place in the Basque region today! With Military Tribunals against political prisoners!

This is why Doug Fraser, President of the UAW, when contacted by us concerning Miguel Salas said he "was too busy" and referred us to his "community relations expert" who equally has been "too busy."

Too busy covering up for Carter's "human rights" fraud that is. Too busy supporting imperialism's preparations for war and the crushing of the European revolution.

This silence must be broken. The fight to defend Miguel Salas must be a fight to break this silence over the repression in Spain. To break the myth of "democracy" in Spain.

And to unite the working class youth in the US with the working class youth in Spain to bring justice to the "bands of assassins" everywhere in the world.

STOP THE TRIAL AGAINST MIGUEL SALAS!

FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF ALL ANTI-FRANCOIST ORGANIZATIONS!
BRING THE ASSASSINS TO JUSTICE!
July 19, 1978
J.C.

tic" lie in Spain and the real intentions of US imperialism vis-a-vis Spain and Europe.

Your comrade must be avenged by fighting to defend the Spanish revolution and fighting to DEFEND every worker, every youth who is a victim of Francoist repression-- WHETHER OR NOT you agree with their politics.

We are willing to join you in any practical effort to avenge the murder of your comrade and in this sense are willing to link our fight to defend our comrade, Miguel Salas, and the paper of our party in Spain (the PORE) who is facing a Military Tribunal for "insulting" this same band of assassins to your struggle.

So far you have failed to respond to our requests that you join with us in the defense of Spanish revolutionaries against Francoist repression. Perhaps now this brutal assassination will convince you that it is now an urgent necessity.

THE SECRETARIAT, TO/USA
July 19, 1978

OUR FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

On the weekend of July 15-16 the Trotskyist Organization/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, held its Fourth National Conference in Detroit, Michigan. Present were the delegates of the Trotskyist Organization/USA along with invited guests and members of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA.

The central task of the Conference was the discussion and adoption of the THESES on the Rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International which is being reprinted in a special eight-page supplement to this issue of TRUTH. The discussion and adoption of these THESES made the Fourth National Conference an important advance for the Fourth International in the US and our struggle to construct the Workers Party.

Our Fourth National Conference took place also in the framework of the preparation of the 6th World Congress of the Fourth Inter-

in Paris at the end of July. The 6th World Congress is being held at a decisive moment in the world class struggle.

In Spain, a virtual state of civil war exists in the Basque provinces as barricades were set up and a general strike broke out last week in response to the latest police assassinations. While the Francoist monarchy, with the full support of the European bourgeoisie and Jimmy Carter is trying to deceive the working class with its farce of a "democratic" Constitution, it is feverishly trying to crush the vanguard of the working class, and in the first place the Fourth International, with its Military Tribunal being organized against Miguel Salas and LA AURORA.

In France, the first wave of strikes has broken out after the defeat of the Union of the Left in March, led by the auto workers who

occupied Renault-Flins, and organized workers defense guards to fight the hated CRS.

In Latin America, in Africa, in the Middle East, and in the United States the story is the same. Throughout the world the working class is engaged in a powerful mobilization to end this system of unemployment, repression and war, to finish with the old order of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism.

And there is a new element to the scene. Throughout the world we are seeing the decisive appearance and combat of a new generation of the proletariat, a new generation of fighting working class youth who throughout the world are in the forefront of the struggles. It is the new generation which the bourgeoisie and Stalinism is turning against with its international campaign of "terrorism."

And it is this new generation which is causing an unprecedented crisis for the traditional apparatuses of the working class -- the trade union bureaucrats, the reformists, the Stalinists and their pseudo-revolutionary allies. Massively, and in a revolutionary fight, these youth are breaking out of the control of Stalinism and reformism and seeking a new leadership.

Not only are the youth causing a deep crisis in the Stalinist apparatus but they are as well shaking to the core the centrist pseudo-revolutionary allies of Stalinism who speak in the name of the Fourth International. Many youth now see these pseudo-revolutionaries as defenders of the bourgeois order against their struggle.

Like the militant in France whose letter was published in ROUGE, the organ of the LCR (the French allies of the US SWP) who wrote: "Today, you have become the policemen of the extreme left. . ." And he signed his letter: "An ex-militant of the LCR, A future 'autonome'?"

What else but disgust could any revolutionary youth have for these pseudo-revolutionaries who replied to a group of Polish youth who wrote ROUGE saying the task in Poland was to construct the Polish section of the FI by calling this: "magical incantations."?

What else but disgust could any revolutionary youth have for their followers in the US (the SWP) who call their LAW-SUIT in bourgeois courts "the center of the fight against Carter's offensive"? Or who propose a "bill" for Congress to end unemployment? Or who called youth who tried to break through police lines in

Chicago to fight the Nazis "a provocation"?

It is this JUNCTION with this new generation, these rebellious youth that expresses the task and axis of the preparation for the 6th World Congress of the FI. It is urgent. Because there is a danger that in breaking with Stalinism and centrism, these youth will also break with Bolshevism, with Leninist methods of struggle and its party and that their mobilization will be dispersed and led into dead-ends.

This discussion was at the center of the work of our Fourth National Conference as well. Through the discussion of the THESES, the TO/USA resolved that the only way to prepare the Congress of the TO/USA in October which will rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International was to WIN and LEAD the struggles of these youth. Win and lead them in a political and practical struggle against Stalinism, and against those who falsely speak in the name of the Fourth International in a fight to build the party of class independence, the Workers Party, US Section of the Fourth International.

The Fourth Conference resolved to make every possible effort in the coming months to make it clear to the fighting youth in this country that our party is their party, that the doors of the TO/USA are open to all youth who wish to fight against this system of unemployment, repression and war. That the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is their place to fight alongside the Fourth International in the US.

In the next three months TRUTH will be holding a series of public meetings to develop and explain the vital questions of the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International as part of our fight to GIVE THE YOUTH A FUTURE in this world. Contact your TRUTH distributor for further information.

To launch this fight, to make TRUTH the weapon of this fight, we have set the goal of distributing 500 COPIES of each issue of TRUTH from now until the Congress of the TO/USA in October.

Young workers -- the THESES that our Fourth National Conference adopted is your weapon in building the party in the United States. Beginning now, the pages of TRUTH are open to your contributions, your questions and comments on the THESES. Our pages are open as well to militants of other organizations who are seeking a way out of the impasse their leaders have set for them.

600 workers say : DROP CHARGES AGAINST HARPER-GRACE STRIKERS!

500 WORKERS SAY: "Drop the Charges Against the Harper-Grace Strikers": On Friday, July 14th, the Harper-Grace Defense Committee and the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA held a demonstration in front of the Detroit City-County Building to win support for the Harper-Grace strike and the five workers who have been arrested by Mayor Coleman Young's police.

The demonstration demanded: **DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST THE HARPER-GRACE STRIKE and POLICE OUT OF OUR STRIKE!**

In a short period of time over 150 signatures on a petition to Mayor Young supporting these demands were obtained from city-county workers and people coming out of the building.

More than just signatures, the strikers from Harper-Grace found a large amount of support and interest in their strike on the part of other workers and youth in Detroit. EVERYONE in Detroit wants the police harassment of workers and youth to stop.

Although the demonstration was small in size, it represented the support of over 350 Harper-Grace workers who have also signed the petitions supporting the arrested workers.

And furthermore, this has been the ONLY militant action against police harassment taken since the strike began



to win support for the strike among other workers in the city and to defend the arrested workers.

The "leaders" of SEIU Local #79 have kept the Harper-Grace strike isolated by relying on the "mass media" to inform the rest of the city about the strike. The "mass media"-- like the DETROIT FREE PRESS which hasn't printed a word since the strike began! Or the 15-second "human interest" spots on local TV which say nothing about the issues of the strike and hide the police harassment.

But the young workers at the City-County Building on July 14th showed the rest of Detroit the true fighting spirit of the Harper-Grace workers.

The fight must continue. **DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST-- James Hatchet, Ruby Gartner, David Heffelfinger, Victor Jacobs and Ida Jefferson! POLICE OUT OF THE STRIKE! Support the Harper-Grace Defense Committee. July 19, 1978**



proven by the negative experience of the working class. The list of defeated and betrayed revolutions is too long. But it demonstrates the striking characteristic of the times we have been living in since 1917. It has not been the revolutionary opportunities which have been lacking for the working class, but a leadership--a revolutionary leadership that can lead the working class to victory and defeat the treacherous misleaders of the working class--the Stalinists and reformists--who have only led the working class to defeat and betrayal.

The American working class has had the same experiences. Directly under the boot heel of the imperialist master of the world, the US bourgeoisie, it has been dominated by an imperialist party--the Democratic Party and its agents in the workers movement, the trade union bureaucracy. Every rebellion of the US working class against its bourgeoisie, every explosion and step forward--from the

in the late 60's along with the development of revolutionary organizations of black workers in basic industry. The massive rebellion of the American youth against the Vietnam War and the Democratic Party responsible for it, expressed in the massive demonstrations in Chicago in 1968, the national student strike after the invasion of Cambodia and Kent State, and the massive internal opposition inside the imperialist army of both black and white working class youth -- expressed by the 250,000 "less than honorable discharges" from the Army during the Vietnam War, the mutinies and assassinations of Army officers. Finally, this mobilization has been characterized by an offensive of the industrial proletariat, as well as the unorganized and most oppressed workers. The 1970 Postal workers wildcat, the 1970 GM and Teamsters strike, Lordstown in 1972, the wave of wildcats and sit-downs in Detroit, the largest strike wave in history which began in 1974, concluding with the open defiance of Taft-Hartley by 180,000 striking miners this year. These have just been some of the expressions of this upsurge, which has touched every aspect of American society.

Not one President since 1960 has completed more than one term of office. Kennedy was assassinated. Johnson was driven out of office, a recluse in the White House, unable to venture outside without hearing: "LBJ -- How many kids did you kill today?" Nixon resigned in scandal, in face of his inability to control the mobilization of the working class and designed in part to restore the credibility of "democracy" in front of the working class. Ford, never elected to national office, was defeated by Carter. And now, everyone is spending their time picking Carter's replacement for 1980, if he lasts that long. The Democratic Party is in disrepute -- less than 50% of the population bothers to vote and 50% is a high

figure. The American trade union bureaucracy, discredited as well, is forced to admit, as in the recent case of the "progressive" UAW that they cannot find "youth" to take the place of the old bureaucrats who are dying off.

But attention! These last ten years have also been a history of BETRAYAL. Betrayal which unfortunately weighs heavy on the minds of the generation of the proletariat since 1968 and the new generation which is taking its place today.

The aspirations of the tens of thousands of blacks who took to the streets and even to armed confrontation with the bourgeois state in the 60's for their most fundamental rights which remain denied to them under capitalism have been betrayed. The situation of blacks is worse than ever before -- with a permanent unemployment rate of 70-80% among black youth in the cities, destruction of the cities, public education, service, brutal police repression. And also slave conditions in the factories where blacks bear the brunt of capitalist exploitation.

The aspirations of the thousands of youth who took to the streets against imperialist war seeking to end this system of war have also been betrayed. Instead, Vietnam, North and South was reduced to rubble by US planes, 35,000 American youth lost their lives with tens of thousands wounded, with returning veterans sent out into the streets -- "unemployable" for their capitalists because they were "too violent." And today US imperialism prepares for new wars and a new draft of youth.

Nor finally, have the aspirations of millions of workers who have fought in their factories and unions for the last ten years, conscious in all their struggles that they were not simply fighting for more "money" but for something far more fundamental; a change, an end to inflation, low wages, intolerable working conditions, for workers

Build the Party of the American Revolution!

THESES ON THE REBUILDING OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

1. The American working class needs its own party - a party of the revolution.

"The decisive instrument of the proletarian revolution is the party of the class conscious vanguard. Failing the leadership of such a party, the most favorable revolutionary situations, which arise from the objective circumstances, cannot be carried through to the final victory of the proletariat and the beginnings of a planned reorganization of society on socialist foundations. This was demonstrated most conclusively--and positively--in the 1917 Russian revolution." (THESES ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, adopted by the 12th National Convention of the SWP November 1946)

The question of the party is the central question of the American revolution. As the Program of the Fourth International states: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership." This understanding, and the fight to make it a living reality in the American working class is the highest contribution of Trotskyism in the United States. It is to resolve this crisis of leadership in order to insure the final victory of the American proletariat that the Trotskyist Organization USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, addresses this document to the entire working class and its youth, above all to its vanguard. To take up with us the decisive questions of the American revolution and its preparator, to arm ourselves in the construction of our instrument for victory -- the revolutionary party in order to fully assume the continuity of the Fourth International in the United States.

Aside from the Russian Revolution of 1917 in which the working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, made the first successful workers revolution in history, the decisive importance of the party has almost always been

formation of the CIO and the sit-down strikes of the 30's, the post World War II strike wave, the ghetto rebellions and anti-war revolts of the 60's, to the miners strike which was just concluded today -- has seen the struggle of the working class to break out of the grip of the Democratic Party in order to find a new leadership and party to lead its struggles to victory.

This party, the Workers Party, the US Section of the Fourth International, must still be built. But the entire recent experience of the working class and its youth, above all since 1968, prove not only the need for a revolutionary party of class independence, but proves as well the struggle for the working class and its youth to find and build such a party.

The new upsurge of the international working class, led by its youth, which began in 1968 decisively changed the relationship between the world proletariat and the bourgeoisie in favor of the proletariat. It is this mobilization which began with the May-June French general strike and the fight for the political revolution in Czechoslovakia and which has continued to every corner of the globe that is the present source of the deep crisis of the world bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin which supports it. Imperialism and the Stalinist apparatus have been unable to decisively defeat or control this mobilization. Today they are preparing the "final solution" -- fascism and war in order to destroy this revolutionary mobilization of the international working class.

The American proletariat has taken its place in this upsurge. The revolt of the black masses, led by the black proletariat, which took the form of the struggle for rights in the South in the early 60's and which spread to the violent ghetto rebellions in the Northern industrial cities

July, 1978
Supplement to TRUTH,
organ of the Trotskyist Organization USA

democracy against the lie of bourgeois democracy, been answered. Instead, they have seen the "democratic" and proudly "anti-communist" leadership of their trade unions turn into open strikebreakers of the caliber of Doug Fraser, McBride, Fitzsimmons, Arnold Miller.

Why have these aspirations been betrayed? Because of lack of combativity? NO. For one reason and one reason only -- lack of a revolutionary leadership. Precisely, the absence of a party of the American working class for the American revolution which alone can resolve the aspirations of the working class and its youth.

The lack of such a party is the reason why the Democratic Party, the party of imperialism, continues to hold its pernicious grip on the working class and its struggles. Not because of any great faith or trust in the Democrats, but because of the lack of a REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE. And because of the agents of the Democratic Party inside the workers movement who don't always go by the name of "Democrat" but are all opposed to the working class breaking the grip of imperialism with its own weapon, a revolutionary party.

Like the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who don't have to use the name "Euro-Communists" to prove the fact that for well over 25 years they have been the loyal followers of the Kremlin's "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, they have renounced all pretension to the American revolution or to a break with the Democratic Party and who today are the chief support for the left wing of the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy inside the workers movement.

Like the pseudo-revolutionary centrists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who as agents of Stalinism falsely speaking in the name of the Fourth International, played an important role in leading the movements of the 60's and 70's to defeat. Why weren't the real anti-war aspirations of the working class youth met? Read OUT NOW! by SWP leader Fred Halstead which provides a very accurate picture of how the SWP made the anti-war movement into a front for the left-wing of the Democratic Party, how they kept the Democrats alive in the dark days of the 60's by allowing them to take leadership of the anti-war movement and drove out the "ultra-lefts" in favor of a "non-exclusionist policy" -- for the Democrats.

But these organizations are facing a crisis also. A new situation is developing inside the working class. A situation determined not only by the continued mobilization of the working class but above all by a profound search of the working class for political solutions -- for a political and revolutionary response to the situation it is facing, including a certain balance sheet of the last ten years of struggle. This search is being led by a new generation of the working class, a generation which did not directly experience '68 or the early 70's. While the generation of '68 continues to resist the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party, in a certain sense it is waiting, waiting for this new generation of youth to take up and lead their combat. This is a process that is taking place throughout the world.

A generation which is partly defined by who the capitalists have singled out for their attack. The 70-80% black youth in the cities. The young workers in the auto factories totally abandoned by the union bureaucracy, made to work under slave conditions, because, not directly experiencing the massive unemployment in auto in 1974, they do not "respect" the "honor" of working for Ford, GM or Chrysler, or, knowing nothing about the UAW do not "respect" the power of the trade union bureaucracy. The S.1437 and the "Labor Reform Act" against the young miners and auto workers who do not "respect" labor contracts or bourgeois "laws." The Chicano youth in Houston and the victims of "La Migra" everywhere. The Iranian students in Chicago who do not "respect" Carter's "human rights."

The Gary Tylers, Sami Esmails.

It is the new young generation of the working class which has been singled out for attack. In order to terrorize the youth into submission, but also designed to create a gap between these youth and the workers who have been formed in the previous decade of struggle, who are hesitant to engage in new action. Creating this gap by making the youth disgusted with any kind of fight in the unions. By making them distrustful of all "politics." By turning them to despair, to drugs, religion or other apolitical solutions. And above all, by trying to prevent the junction of this generation with the Fourth International in the US, which represents the continuity of the struggle of the working class and the means to continue it.

By drawing a balance sheet of these experiences with this young generation in order to build the party that offers them a future. The party that these youth are seeking today exists in the American working class. It exists through the fight of the Trotskyist Organization USA Section (Sympathizing -- because of reactionary US law) of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. The Trotskyist Organization USA was founded in 1975 to resolve the historical crisis of leadership of the American working class through the construction of the Workers Party to lead the working class to power. Our fight has been part of the world fight of the Fourth International to prepare the international working class for the seizure of power and to lead this struggle for power against imperialism and Stalinism.

This party exists and fights in the US today but it has to be rebuilt. In the face of the massive attack of the bourgeoisie against the young generation of the proletariat, in the face of the massive treachery of the trade union bureaucracy, Stalinism and its centrist agents and the burning necessity for a revolutionary party, we have to make crystal-clear what the "rebuilding" of the US Section of the Fourth International means.

It is not a question of getting "a little bit bigger" than we are now. Becoming a "respectable" size before we can claim to be the rebuilt US Section of the Fourth International. Nor is it a question of becoming "respectable" in the eyes of the "official" workers movement -- the bureaucrats, the Stalinists or centrists, or in the eyes of petty bourgeois public opinion. It is not a question of developing a "good program" on paper. Proving through our "good ideas" and "positions" that we are "better" than other groups. And finally, it is not a question of waiting for the "historical process" to come to us -- relying on the spontaneous movement of the working class, or perhaps even a revolution in other countries to "push" the workers towards us.

No. We can no longer afford to maintain the illusion in either our own ranks or in the working class that the question of the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International is something "historical" or a question of discussion with "opponent" tendencies. A family affair within the "official" workers movement. A peaceful settling of accounts.

Instead, it is the ONLY solution for the American working class today. An open fight to the finish against Stalinism and its centrist agent, the SWP in front of the entire working class in order to win and regroup the vanguard of the working class in the preparation of the American revolution as part of the world revolution. A fight to SAVE THE YOUTH from betrayal and despair which is ALL these other leaderships can offer them. A bold fight to find the road to the young generation of the proletariat in order to make the Program of the FI their living program. Rebuilding the US Section of the FI is to respond to what is on the mind of this new generation of the working

class. The masses of black youth, employed and unemployed, who are seeking to end racism and capitalist oppression. The young miners, auto workers, steelworkers, hospital workers. The youth who are anti-war, anti-repression. The young militants in Stalinist and centrist organizations who are seeking an organization of COMBAT.

This is the significance of the party of the American revolution today and this is the fight and discussion we are undertaking in the preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization -- Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International. A response to the young generation of the proletariat by moving forward in the construction of its revolutionary party. This is the basis for the discussion and mobilization in the working class in the preparation of this Congress.

2. The party of Lenin is our party.

The attack on our party, the party of Lenin, in underway throughout the world, led by the imperialist bourgeoisie and supported by all the traitors in the working class movement. The attack against Leninism is not "historical" at all. Its purpose is to isolate the revolutionary wing of the working class, those who maintain the tradition and revolutionary combat of the working class. Our party is first of all a Leninist, a communist, a Bolshevik party. We are proud of all these names and nothing in the last 100 years has discredited them. It was Lenin, the founder and organizer of the Russian Bolshevik Party who defined the Marxism of our time. The construction of a revolutionary, disciplined combat party of the working class with one purpose and one purpose only: to organize the vanguard of the working class for the seizure of power. Lenin, who defined the only revolutionary democracy of our time -- workers democracy and its organized expression -- the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin, who organized this first dictatorship of the proletariat and who led the way in the foundation of the Third International to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world.

The fight of Lenin and the Third International is also the revolutionary tradition of the American working class. The early American Communist Party, before its Stalinist degeneration, organized the revolutionary response of the American working class to the Russian revolution. The fight of Lenin and the Third International enabled the American revolutionaries to break with Social Democracy and to organize the first VANGUARD PARTY on American soil. We stand on this tradition today. It is the tradition of tens of thousands of the best fighters of the working class.

But our defense of Lenin is not just a question of history. It is the question of the revolution TODAY. That is why we see nothing "comradely" or "progressive" about the "discussion" with today's "Euro-Communists" (The Stalinist parties in France, Italy, Spain) who today renounce Lenin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, not to "debate" as the centrists claim, but to CRUSH the revolutionaries of today in direct support of imperialism and its "democracy."

We should have no illusions in the anti-communism of the "Euro-Communists" because we get anti-communism from its direct source -- the US bourgeoisie. It is in the name of anti-communism that the US bourgeoisie is preparing for a new war. It is in the name of anti-communism that the US bourgeoisie justifies its racist, imperialist policies in Africa. And it is in the name of anti-communism that the trade union bureaucracy, the lackeys of imperialism, attack any militant worker who dares to stand up and challenge their treacherous leadership.

This is why we are proud to be Leninists today. Because all the enemies of Lenin are the enemies of the working class and its youth, are the enemies of the fight for the world revolution and the party to build this

revolution. And because the policy of Lenin represents the only outcome for the working class today -- the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Bolshevik party to lead this fight.

3. The party of Trotsky is our party.

The fight against anti-Leninism and anti-communism today has a direct link to our fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, to fully assume the continuity of the Fourth International in the United States. Trotskyism was founded in the US and around the world in order to save the party of Lenin.

In the words of James P. Cannon who led the split of the first American Trotskyists from the Stalinist American Communist Party: "We began in 1928 with a struggle for internationalism against the dogma of 'socialism in one country' which had been imposed on the Comintern and all of its sections by the Stalinist revisionists. That was the most fundamental of all principled questions which have shaped and guided the development of our movement in America for the past 18 years." (November 1946)

The Fourth International was founded in the US in order to FIGHT STALINISM, to return to the party of Lenin against Stalinist betrayal and degeneration. It remains the axis of Trotskyism today. In 1928 and today it was a fight for the program of the world revolution against "socialism in one country" and against the subordination of the world revolution to the reactionary Kremlin bureaucracy, agents of imperialism. In 1928 and today it was a fight against the Stalinist and petty bourgeois theories of "American exceptionalism" which say that the American working class is "too backward" imperialism is too "powerful" to make a revolution and that therefore the only alternative is to pressure the US bourgeoisie into reform, into "consistently" applying bourgeois democracy. And today, as in 1928, the fight against Stalinism, for the world revolution, is the only perspective for the American revolution, the only way to define a policy of class independence against the American bourgeoisie and its agents.

Along with the fight to forge a revolutionary party in the US in a combat on all fronts against Stalinism, the history and combat of American Trotskyism is a fight to defend the proletarian character of the coming American revolution and the proletarian character of the party to lead this revolution. That the revolution in the US will be proletarian or not a revolution, that it is the working class which must lead this revolution and that it is the only progressive force in this society was a decisive acquisition of Trotskyism in the US.

Although this question has significance throughout the world, it is of special importance in the United States. As the wealthiest and most powerful capitalist nation, the US bourgeoisie has created not only the potentially most powerful proletariat, but also a middle class and petty bourgeoisie with tremendous social weight and influence. It has been this middle class which has chiefly been responsible for transmitting the pressures of imperialism into the workers movement. It has been the middle class "intellectuals" and "theoreticians" of the American workers movement who have above all developed the myriad forms of adaptation to imperialist "democracy," philosophical and intellectual "anti-communism" the theories of the "backwardness" of the working class, how the middle class will make the revolution in the US. It

has been and remains a plague in our movement, where even today any middle class radical "democrat" can claim to be a "socialist" or "workers leader."

The fight of Trotskyism in the United States was forged in a combat for the proletarian character of the coming American revolution and for a PROLETARIAN PARTY to lead this revolution. It is a central axis of the continuity of Trotskyism in our country, why our party is the party of Trotsky today. The fight of Cannon and Trotsky in 1940 against the petty bourgeois opposition of Shachtman and Burnham inside the SWP is a fight we stand on today. A fight which insured the existence of the FI in the US today. It wasn't just a fight to defend the gains of the Russian revolution against imperialism. It was a fight against the war hysteria of the middle class, who are very "revolutionary" during peacetime. But who automatically find themselves in the camp of imperialism during a war -- in the name of "democracy." It was also a fight to defend the method of Marxism-- dialectical materialism-- against the crude pragmatism of the American middle class-- "if it works, it's good" which has had such a disastrous influence in the working class. And finally it was a fight to defend the proletarian character of the method of organization of the party-- a defense of Leninism against the attempts to turn our party into a discussion club for middle class intellectuals and careerists-- and not a combat party, based on the industrial proletariat, led by working class cadre.

To arm all those who only know about the unprincipled "regroupment" taking place throughout the world in the name of "Trotskyism" it should be understood that in 1940 the American Trotskyists split with 50% of their party in order to maintain its proletarian character against the middle class and petty bourgeois influence of American imperialism. It should also be understood that our party in the US was forged in a resolute struggle against CENTRISM-- those who take a middle position between the fight of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, who speak in the name of revolution, but in practice submit to the pressures of imperialism and Stalinism.

The fight against Shachtman-Burnham. Also the fight against the Goldman-Morrow faction in the SWP in the late 40's who wanted to reduce the fight of the Fourth International to a struggle for "democratic demands", rejecting the possibility or perspective of working class revolution for the near future.

The party of Trotsky in the US, represented by the SWP, forged this political delimitation against Stalinism and imperialism not in the abstract, but in the living struggles of the working class. Which placed it in the leadership of the Minneapolis Teamster general strike in 1934, which allowed for their fusion with the working class cadre who led the Toledo Auto-Lite strike in 1934, which allowed it to play a role in the defense of the Flint sit-down strikes in 1936, in the UAW, in the maritime and longshore unions and which was the reason why the SWP WAS THE ONLY working class organization who had its leadership jailed for its revolutionary opposition to World War II. And it was its revolutionary and practical opposition to World War II that enabled the SWP to double

its size immediately after the war and to take advantage of the crisis of Stalinism.

It was this political delimitation in the struggles of the working class that made American Trotskyism a far greater factor in the working class than its size alone. It indeed represented a vanguard party for the American working class, a party of Lenin in the US. And as such the SWP was the pillar of the Fourth International of Trotsky. Along with the Russian section, the SWP was the oldest section of the FI, it played a decisive role in the International, it was the SWP, at Trotsky's request, which presented the Transitional Program to the Founding Conference of the FI, the most important battles of the FI were fought inside the SWP-- against Shachtman, Morrow, Cochran-Clarke, but also the SWP was the most PROLETARIAN party of the FI, the party with the deepest roots in the working class, with a proletarian leadership. And all of this was accomplished in the bastion of world imperialism. To rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International is to reclaim this heritage for the new generation of the American working class and for the Fourth International as a whole.

As the continuators of this fight today we stand on the acquisitions of the most important summary of the perspectives of American Trotskyism found in the "Theses on the American Revolution" adopted by the 12th National Convention of the SWP in November 1946. The "Theses" affirmed the perspective of the Fourth International in the US following World War II against centrism in order to orient the party in the coming period. At the same time they represented a summation of 18 years of combat for Trotskyism in the US.

The "Theses" affirmed that US capitalism and the US proletariat were part of the world crisis of capitalism that "US capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary consequences of capitalist decay than the older European powers." It affirmed that "the economic prerequisites for the socialist revolution are fully matured in the US. The political premises are likewise far more advanced than might appear on the surface." It argued against the theoreticians of the "post-war boom." It argued that the movement of the American working class "is an organic part of the world revolutionary process," that "the fight for workers power is the program of today." It developed the question of the explosive dynamic of the American working class against the theories of its backwardness, stating "Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities, the American workers will advance beyond the limits of trade unionism and acquire political class consciousness and organization in a similar sweeping movement. The American workers will learn politics as they learned trade unionism -- from an abridged dictionary. They will take the road of independent political action with hurricane speed and power. The American workers will not stop at reformism, except perhaps to tip their hats to it. Once fully started, they will go the whole way."

Anybody who says that the SWP of today represents the party of these "Theses" is greatly mistaken. Also mistaken are those who try to find the roots of the capitulation of the later SWP in these "Theses". They represent a combat of the leadership of the SWP to arm the FI in the US and around the world in the preparation of the world revolution after World War II, a confirmation of its orientation since 1928. Nor were they written simply under the impressions of the events of the times. As Cannon wrote in 1953: "The idea that the 1946 'Theses' were suddenly proposed under the influence of the strike movement of the post-war period is at best a comical misunderstanding. My motive is presenting the 'Theses' AT THAT TIME was directly the opposite...The basic line, the basic perspective, was the same line and perspective we began with 25 years ago."

4. The crisis of the Fourth International - The fight against Pabloism

In the face of the pressure of imperialism and the tremendous betrayals of Stalinism after World War II a STALINIST tendency developed inside the Fourth International itself. A tendency which saw in the "victories" of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and China a "progressive" nature to the Kremlin bureaucracy and which saw the deformed and degenerated workers states as the inevitable and lasting outcome of the struggle of the working class and which saw an imminent World War III in which Stalinism would be the victor. And their conclusions? The independent fight of the Fourth International was no longer necessary-- the FI could simply "pressure Stalinism from the left" and they proposed the dissolution of sections of the FI into the "mass" Stalinist and Social Democratic parties.

This STALINIST and LIQUIDATIONIST tendency inside the FI was led by Michel Pablo, supported (after a cowardly capitulation) by Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank in Europe and by the Cochran-Clarke faction in the SWP. This was not just a question of "differences" within the FI. This Stalinist tendency proceeded to support the Kremlin's suppression of the East German workers uprising in 1953, the Stalinist betrayal of the French general strike and to PHYSICALLY LIQUIDATE sections of the Fourth International wherever they could.

This faction was represented inside the SWP by Cochran-Clarke. It was composed of the Cochran tendency of mainly trade unionists in the Midwest who had developed a conservative adaptation to the trade union bureaucracy in the face of the defeats of the 50's and McCarthyism and the Clarke faction in New York which wanted to find a place in the "larger" Stalinist milieu. Having very little in common, both tendencies saw in Pabloism a means to abandon the revolutionary perspective and party of American Trotskyism.

After much delay, and after trying to ignore the problem on the international level, Cannon finally launched a fight against this tendency in the US and around the world in 1952. Initially Cannon was in a minority in the SWP leadership and first of all had to fight a tendency of "conciliators" (Hansen, Novack, Breitman) who were opposed to a struggle against Pabloism. But the struggle began and was concluded with the expulsion of the Cochran-Clarke tendency and the publication on November 16, 1953 of the "Open Letter of the Socialist Workers Party" which called for an open split on the International level with Pabloism. The formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International by the SWP and what is today the British WRP and French OCI in 1953 preserved the existence of the Fourth International in the face of Pabloism. And as with every decisive fight on the international level in defense of the world party and its program, it was a fight to defend the American revolution as well. Cannon understood this essential nature of Pabloism when he wrote in 1953:

"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 the 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."

Seven years later the SWP was to declare Fidel Castro a "natural Marxist," an "unconscious Trotskyist" and would re-unite with these Pabloite traitors against the International Committee. The entire history of the FI in the US tells us why this happened. The resistance to Pabloism, the defense of the FI against Stalinism was not something magical. It was not enough to declare war on Pabloism, wave a magic wand, a piece of paper and hope that it would go away. It required a struggle, above all a political struggle -- the entire history of American Trotskyism proves this.

Above all that an international center, an international party is needed to wage the fight against imperialism and Stalinism. This is the only basis for maintaining a revolutionary orientation in the US as well. This was proven in 1928 and 1946. But in the face of the real difficulties in building the FI, its real weaknesses and the pressures of imperialism and Stalinism, the SWP gradually abandoned the FI, an abandonment which would lead to open betrayal in 1963 with its unprincipled reunification with the Pabloite United Secretariat where it remains today.

By 1960 a totally different conception of the International had developed in the SWP, totally foreign to what they began with in 1928. And unfortunately, Cannon was the spokesman. In May 1961 he wrote: "Trotsky never envisaged the FI as a monolithic, purely Trotskyist organization, but as a broad, revolutionary movement in which we, orthodox Trotskyists, might possibly, under certain conditions and for certain periods, be a minority." The same words to be used in 1972 by Lambert of the French OCI when he tried to liquidate the FI in favor of an "Organizing Committee" in which "each group applies its own politics."

The crisis of the FI in the US was not just a problem of the SWP. It was a problem and a crisis for the entire working class. After the defeated political revolution in Hungary-- what road to resolve the crisis of Stalinism? In the face of the world upsurge against imperialism taking place in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia and the counter-offensive of Kennedy-- how to defeat imperialism? In the face of the revolt of the black masses in the South-- what perspective for blacks and the socialist revolution in the US? In the face of McCarthyism and the "prosperity" of the 50's-- was the American revolution still possible? Was the American working class still revolutionary, or were other "forces" to be found?

By 1963 the SWP could not give a positive response to any of these questions, questions of the American working class and its revolution. It took the easy road-- abandoning the fight for the world party and for revolutionary leadership in order to adapt to the apparatuses, to shape its policy in function of the maneuvers of imperialism and Stalinism, not in function of the American revolution. It became a left appendage of Stalinism, a CENTRIST party and in the process resurrected all the old petty bourgeois theories and illusions to use against the American working class and its revolution, above all by reinforcing its national isolation, the belief in the omnipotence of US imperialism and the belief that someone else, like the petty bourgeois radicals of the Castro type, could overthrow imperialism, but not the American working class.

The Fourth International fought against this capitulation, a fight we are carrying through to conclusion today. The International Committee (IC), led by the British WRP and French OCI fought this capitulation from the start and its International Conferences in 1963 and 1966 affirmed the revolutionary continuity of the Fourth International against Pabloism. A fight which was led on both a theoretical and practical level. The IC even organized this fight in the United States. But while it was able to maintain the continuity of the FI on the international level, its weaknesses, precisely, its federative character, its failure to be an international democratic centralist center, blocked the ability of this fight to be carried through to its conclusion in the US itself against the SWP. The IC never fully regained the continuity of the FI in the US was never able to rebuild the US Section of the FI after the SWP LIQUIDATED its American section.

The fight in the US was almost exclusively the domain of the "English speaking" WRP led by Gerry Healy. Up to the dissolution of the IC in 1972 the French OCI maintained, on the contrary, that the SWP was a "Trotskyist party"-- that it could be reformed, that a new party of the FI in the US was not necessary. Under the leadership of Healy a faction was formed in the SWP in 1962 which defended the policy of the IC. This faction was led by Tim Wohlforth and James Robertson, leaders of the youth, and was called the "Revolutionary Tendency." The faction itself soon split and both Wohlforth and Robertson were eventually expelled from the SWP.

The group led by Robertson formed what is today called the "Spartacist League." It is the easiest to deal with. It was an anti-Trotskyist grouping from the start. While having some common political "positions" with the IC it refused common discipline with the IC in order to organize a unified struggle within the SWP, immediately characterized the SWP as "reformist" to provoke a split in order to apply their bold perspective for the American revolution... a study group! It continued to hang around the IC until it decisively placed itself outside of the FI in 1966 when it declared the Fourth International to be "dead." Having no perspective or policy this group best expresses what our Program calls a "rat group"-- "living off the

crumbs of the Fourth International." Today, its only importance is the role it plays in transmitting the Stalinist slanders against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

The tendency led by Wohlforth became today's "Workers League", it followed the leadership of the International Committee and today follows the centrist, self-proclaimed "International Committee" of Healy. The Workers League was never able to surpass the weaknesses of the International Committee. While it defended the IC against the SWP, the task of a political combat to destroy the influence of the SWP in the eyes of the American working class and to build a NEW section of the Fourth International in the US was never posed by the IC and the Workers League never took up this fight. Without a fight to directly rebuild an American party against the SWP leadership as part of a real perspective for rebuilding the FI as a whole, the Workers League merely existed alongside the SWP and more and more its policy simply became a "left" version of the SWP-- most particularly expressed in their "labor party" policy. In 1971, the Workers League followed Healy into his abandonment of the IC and today follows all the vacillations of Healy, both sectarian and opportunist. The founder of their tendency, Wohlforth, was expelled without a word in 1973 and has since joined (also without an explanation) the SWP. What is left of the Workers League today does little more than pursue a campaign of Stalinist slander against Joseph Hansen of the SWP, a campaign in fact directed against the continuity of the FI and the positive role of the IC.

5. The Trotskyist Organization continues the Fourth International's fight today.

In 1972, the International League-- Rebuilder of the Fourth International was formed to continue the fight of the IC after Lambert of the French OCI abandoned the FI in the name of a "larger regroupment" by forming an unprincipled "Organizing Committee" and unleashing a campaign of Stalinist slander against those militants who wished to continue the fight of the IC. The International League continued the fight of the IC, but on a higher level-- resolving to solve the crisis of the FI by rebuilding it in the face of Pabloism as an international democratic centralist party based on its Founding Program. The International League itself functioned from its foundation as an international democratic centralist center, placing at the forefront the fight to hold the Fourth Open Conference called for by the IC in 1966 to rebuild the FI and to construct the Revolutionary Youth International as a mass independent organization of working class youth fighting to build the world party. It succeeded in founding the RYI in Berlin in December 1975 and in rebuilding the Fourth International and holding the Fourth World Congress of the FI in January 1976.

One of the most important acquisitions of the fight of the International League to rebuild the Fourth International was the foundation, in January 1975, of the Trotskyist Organization/USA as the American Section (Sympathizing) of the IL and then of the rebuilt Fourth International. It was a proof of the continuity of the Fourth International and was a major step forward in the resolution of the crisis of the Fourth International in the US. The founding statement of the TO/USA declared its fight to rebuild the US Section of the FI in the face of the SWP through a mobilization of the US working class in this task.

The militants who founded the TO/USA were in general part of the movement of the working class youth since 1968. Specifically, they reflected the sharpening of the crisis of the FI in the US which took place in the early 70's. There was a profound search for Trotskyism on the part of a section of the vanguard of the working class as the crisis of both the "United Secretariat" of the SWP and the "IC" of the Workers League opened up in the US. The SWP was to experience several splits during this period-- the Communist Tendency (which played a key role in the foundation of the TO/USA), the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and the Internationalist Tendency. Well over 100 militants were expelled from the SWP. Over 100 militants seeking an authentic Trotskyism were also expelled from the Shachtmanite International Socialist League, forming the Revolutionary Socialist League. And a faction inside the ISL opposed its state capitalist position on the Russian Question and in a fight to defend the Program of the FI was expelled-- forming the TRUTH group.

It was the TRUTH group which joined the International League and formed the Trotskyist Organization/USA. But all of this represents more than a series of faction fights and splits among small organizations. Without positive response this is all this "history" would be. But the foundation of the TO/USA represented on the part of the Fourth International and militants in the US the first real fight to resolve the crisis of the FI in the US, to again find the world party or the American working class, to break out of the national isolation of the working class, to draw a real balance sheet of the struggles since 1968 and to find a revolutionary means to continue the fight against imperialism and Stalinism. This fight was seen from the very beginning as not simply a discussion among Trotskyists" but as a fight

in the American working class and above all with its youth. The TO/USA has fought to bring the policy of the FI to the American working class in a living manner, for the first time in over a decade. Expressed by the foundation of the US Section of the Revolutionary Youth International in 1975 by young autoworkers from Ford River Rouge in Detroit and Ford Torrence in Chicago, and the continual fight of the TO/USA to organize the working class youth around its policy in decisive moments of the class struggle-- the 1976 Presidential elections, the Ford strike in 1976, the UAW delegate elections as the only opposition to Fraser, the recent hospital workers strike in Detroit, and our fight to organize the youth against Carter's plans for war and repression today.

What has been essential about this fight is not the numbers of workers involved, although this has not been insignificant. But the POLITICAL character of this fight which has begun a QUALITATIVE change in the relationship between the FI and the US working class, the beginning of the appearance of the TO/USA as the Trotskyist party in the eyes of the vanguard of the working class and in the eyes of proletarian militants of the SWP. And the essential political character of this fight has been the mobilization of the American working class for the revolution and the regroupment of its vanguard and youth in the construction of the WORKERS PARTY, the US Section of the Fourth International.

All of our experiences, above all in the UAW, but as well confirmed recently in the fight we have waged in the Harper-Grace hospital strike in Detroit, has proved that the young workers in the US will follow the Fourth International in struggle if we place ourselves at the head of their fight, if they see in action that the Fourth International represents a new leadership and if we are able to constantly demonstrate the political nature of their mobilization and its meaning for the construction of the revolutionary party in the US.

This fight has taken place with problems and delays. Which are not simply "internal" problems of the TO/USA or the Fourth International but are problems of the American working class which must be answered in front of the working class as today the question of surpassing our present stage of development becomes more and more urgent. Some of the early errors of our party flowed from an ABSTRACT understanding of internationalism and the meaning of a world party. That is, a mechanical application of the policy of the FI in the United States in the form of the abstract use of its slogans and an abstract "solidarity" with workers around the world. Divorced from the daily struggles and preoccupations of the working class. This is part of a conception in the American working class which sees internationalism as "solidarity" but not a concrete fight on American soil against the US bourgeoisie and all of its agents. Flowing from this there developed tendencies towards ACTIVISM-- the reverse of abstract solidarity, but having the same political basis in the working class-- activity for the sake of activity but deprived of a political content or objective.

This tendency reflects a strong tendency in the American working class movement to believe that American workers must be mobilized around "trade union activity first" and "politics" later, thus creating a gap between the policy of the Fourth International and its day-to-day expression in the class struggle. Reflecting an avoidance of the daily fight of the party for the Program of the Fourth International in the mobilization of the working class and an acceptance of the terrain of the class struggle given to the workers by the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party, which above all desires to

keep "politics" out of the class struggle.

But most importantly the problems of the rebuilding of the US Section of the FI have been concentrated in the problems of the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International in the US, Not as an "organizational" problem. But because the question of how to mobilize the working class youth EN MASS for the construction of the Fourth International is the key question of the political and practical preparation of the American revolution. It concentrates the meaning of the rebuilding of the FI in the US and the change in our relationship with the vanguard of the working class. The problem can be summed up by saying that our orientation towards the working class youth has not been BOLD enough, not POLITICAL enough, and not enough in a MASS mobilization. We have underestimated their disgust with this system, their hatred of the traditional leaderships, their search for new and political solutions and ABOVE ALL-- that only the Fourth International can organize these youth and answer what they are searching for.

To organize the working class youth is not a question of "intervening" in the unions, "intervening" in the crisis of the other organizations, but TAKING THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR REVOLT and offering them an organization, a means to express their revolt and a perspective-- the construction of the party of the American revolution. It is only in this way that we can become a determining factor in the crisis of Stalinism and centrism in the US.

To win the youth we must wage a fight against all tendencies to coexist in the "official" workers movement with the Stalinists and the centrists, which drives away the rebelling youth. There is a PROLETARIAN policy--ours--and there are all others which are obstacles for the working class, traps for the youth. It is a question of mobilizing the youth to finish with these organizations which block their mobilization. And this fight depends on us. The fight for leadership of the working class is today not an abstract question, but precisely the fight to win the youth en mass to the revolution and its party.

This fight to organize and win the revolutionary youth to the construction of our party requires a weapon of centralization and political organization of the party, TRUTH, our paper. That in many ways, some of the advances that might have been made in the past were limited because of the absence of TRUTH in a forceful role as the centralizer and organizer of the party's fight in the mass mobilizations of the working class, often leaving advances to individual efforts and experiences, failing to centralize the lessons we have learned in struggle for our party and the American working class as a whole. In order to deepen our turn towards the youth in revolt, TRUTH must become a weapon in the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States by centralizing the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International and by at each moment in the class struggle providing the youth in search of a revolutionary party a revolutionary orientation and perspective.

6. A party to destroy the imperialist state.

Today, US imperialism is openly waging war against the most committed sections of the world proletariat in the name of an international campaign of the bourgeoisie against "terrorism" in defense of bourgeois "democracy." The weakness of the Stalinist apparatus which is undergoing a deep crisis, signalled by the defeat of the Unions of the Left in France was a sign for the US bourgeoisie to openly begin its preparations for war-- to crush the revolution in Europe, East and West-- and to overturn the gains of the

October Revolution, the socialist conquests in the USSR and Eastern Europe-- which is the only hope for the short-term survival of capitalism. The Fourth International has long said that the Popular Front solution, now finished, is the LAST alternative of the bourgeoisie before fascism and imperialist war--another war to "rebuild" capitalism on the basis of mass destruction and terror against the working class and its youth.

Simultaneously with the continuation of its hypocritical rhetoric about "human rights," the US bourgeoisie has begun to renew the "cold war." The intervention in Africa which is a pretext to increase NATO in Europe, to increase the US military budget to its largest in history. The latest "threats" against the USSR and Cuba. The recent "spy trial" and the arrest of Soviet "spies." Carter's "human rights" policy is even clearer now-- to insure the submission of the Kremlin bureaucracy to imperialism's offensive against the working class, especially to insure the submission of the "Euro-Communists" in order to cover and give a pretext for the preparations for imperialist war.

The US working class and its youth has begun a response to these war preparations. In the beginning of June 15-20,000 people demonstrated in front of the UN building in New York for disarmament. Although this movement is dominated by the Communist Party and is being used as a pressure to try to force a return to "peaceful coexistence," it reflects the real anti-war sentiment of the working class. But there can be only ONE KIND of disarmament that means anything-- the disarming of the murderous bourgeoisie and its state apparatus by the ARMED working class, the organization of its councils and militias for the seizure of power and organization of a WORKERS GOVERNMENT, the dictatorship of the proletariat as the first step towards the SOCIALIST UNITED REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS. This is the goal and the summation of our policy in the United States-- nothing more nor less than the DESTRUCTION OF THIS IMPERIALIST STATE and its war machine and the fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

This imperialist state has to be disarmed for another reason. Not just to protect the rest of the world from its bombs. But to save the American working class as well. It is not an accident that all the bourgeois commentators in the press are linking Carter's "war turn" with his sharp decline in popularity. A diversion, anti-communism, the "Soviet threat" must be given to cover for the decaying social situation in the US and the attack on the working class that is now taking place. Imperialist war is also a "final solution" for the US working class-- to impose the discipline of war-- militarization, wage controls, "no strike" pledges, and repression against revolutionaries who oppose the war. This is the significance of the "legal" attack now being organized against the working class--S.1437, etc. Which goes hand in hand with the vicious repression being organized against the youth in the factories and the streets.

All of these attacks are determined by the mobilization of the working class, expressed above all in the attempt to break the grip of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy. The recent miners strike represented a new stage in this mobilization, demonstrating the attempt of the most advanced sections of the working class to seek the means to break massively from the trade union bureaucracy and to seek new forms of organization independent from the bureaucracy (roving pickets, caravans, strike committees, etc.) and to prepare for a confrontation with the capitalist state and its repressive apparatus. The miners lost the battle; they were forced back to work under a rotten contract; but their fight demonstrated all the conditions for winning the war in the coming months-- the immediate possibilities exist for the cons-

truction of a new leadership and a new party for the working class. The miners demonstrated the potential for every mobilization of the working class becoming a political mobilization, the feeling by the miners and all young workers who engage in a strike today that "it's not a strike, it's a cause" as well shows this potential. Signaling as well a new stage in the crisis of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy. The bureaucracy finally got the miners back to work--after three months of violence, after two rejections of the contract, after the use of Taft-Hartley, after literally starving the miners with their phoney "solidarity" money--and now, two months after the signing of the contract, wildcat strikes have again broken out.

But if we say that as a whole the international situation is pre-revolutionary, above all in Europe, we must be careful about this description of the present situation in the class struggle in the United States. Careful, not because we doubt the revolutionary potential of the American working class, or its present offensive, or the explosive character of the situation. But careful because a description of the situation in front of the working class is above all a means to assess and arm the working class as to its SUBJECTIVE situation and above all the situation of its vanguard. And here it is precisely that the American working class and its vanguard lags behind the situation in Europe. The consciousness of the working class in the US lags not only behind the objective situation in front of it, but lags behind the consciousness of the working class in Europe. Even the most advanced and militant workers in the US must still overcome certain illusions instilled in them by imperialism and its lackeys that continually blocks the American working class from decisively and consciously changing the political situation in front of it and PLACING THE QUESTION OF POWER, the QUESTION OF WHICH CLASS IS GOING TO RULE, on the order of the day in its struggles and consciousness.

It is not that these illusions cannot be overcome rapidly. It is precisely necessary to prepare the vanguard of the working class for a rapid and explosive change in the political situation which is coming in the working class and which will place power on the agenda. This preparation summarizes our tasks today. Trotsky had an understanding of this backward and at the same time explosive nature of the American working class as far back as 1929 when he wrote:

"There is much in favor of the idea that from the standpoint of revolutionary succession, Europe and the East stand ahead of the United States. But a course of events is possible which may alter this sequence in favor of the proletariat of the United States. Moreover, even if you assume that America, which now shakes the whole world, will itself be shaken last of all, the danger remains that a revolutionary situation in the United States may catch the vanguard of the American proletariat unprepared...We must not for minute lose sight of the fact that the power of American capitalism rests more and more upon the foundation of the world economy with its contradictions and its crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the US may arrive a good deal sooner than many think and have a feverish development from the start. Hence the conclusion: IT IS NECESSARY TO PREPARE." ("Tasks of the American Opposition", June 1, 1929).

The situation of the American revolution still lags behind that of Europe, But it doesn't diminish our tasks in the slightest. On the contrary, the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism and the international nature of the revolution makes more and more possible the revolutionary explosion that Trotsky and everyone since him has talked about. Hence the necessity to prepare and the decisive and determining role of the fight of our party.

In order to arm the vanguard of the working class a combat must be waged against the

central illusions blocking its development to today. The illusion of NATIONALISM-- the belief that still exists in the working class today that revolution is possible everywhere in the world but in the United States, that somehow things are better under the heel of imperialism than elsewhere in the world. The illusion that its struggles are isolated from the working class throughout the world. That is why the fight against the IMPERIALIST STATE is totally linked to the fight to prepare the American working class with the revolutionary unification with the workers and oppressed in Latin America in the fight for the Socialist United Republic of the Two Americas as a task of the American revolution and the fight for the defense of the European revolution as a concrete application of its fight against the US bourgeoisie. Flowing from this national isolation is the illusion, present among even the most militant workers that capitalism and its bourgeois "democracy" can in some way be REFORMED in the United States.

With the fight against the illusion that capitalism can be reformed goes the fight against any illusion that the present reactionary trade union bureaucracy can be reformed, that any gains for the working class can come about by "pressuring" this bureaucracy. The present trade union bureaucracy, any bureaucrat who supports the capitalist state and its Democratic Party, are ENEMIES, agents of alien class forces inside the workers' organizations, which can only be made into weapons of the working class by throwing out these bureaucrats, EN MASS and replacing them with a new, revolutionary leadership, making the unions into weapons of the revolution, not reaction. The political situation of the American working class cannot advance if there is any illusion among the most advanced workers that they must in any way "respect" the present framework of the trade unions under the present reactionary leadership. YOUNG WORKERS--WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS! No "respect" for the bureaucrats and their rotten contracts, their bureaucratic "rules," "procedures" and maneuvers. All methods that increase the organization of combativity of the working class are methods of struggle inside the unions. Stamp out the idea that you need to know "Robert's Rules of Order" before you can go to a union meeting!

The political situation of the American working class cannot advance decisively without a fundamental understanding of the place of the black working class in the American revolution and the character of the black struggle in this society. "Next to the emancipation of the working class from capitalism, the liberation of the Negro people from their degradation is the paramount problem of American society. These two social problems are integrally united. The only road to freedom for the workers, and to equality for the Negroes, is through their common struggle for the abolition of capitalism." These words are from the Resolution on the Black Struggle adopted by the SWP in 1948. And today the fight for the American revolution and the preparation of its vanguard passes through the fight to return to the revolutionary perspective the FI alone presented to the black masses. The dead-end of "reform" and bourgeois "democracy" is summed up in the betrayal of the black masses by the Democratic Party and its allies in the workers movement. The fight to arm the vanguard of the working class today is a fight to break the white working class from the illusion that its lot can be improved at the expense of blacks and to break the most militant black workers from the cynicism and despair instilled in them by the defeats of the '60's and early 70's and to convince them that their struggle for their most elementary rights is inherently revolutionary and that unity with the white working class is both necessary and possible given the place of blacks in production today and that this is the only hope for the black masses. And finally, it is necessary for the Trotskyist Organization/USA itself to understand in the

preparation of its Congress these words of Trotsky: "If it happens that we in the FI are not able to find a road to this strata, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and the rest would only be a lie."

7. A party must be built to destroy Stalinism in the US.

The fight against all of these illusions in the preparation of the revolution is summed up in the fight to rid the American working class of the influence of Stalinism. The international Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin are the agents of imperialism inside the workers movement and they are an international apparatus. It can be only destroyed by a international party-- party against party-- which is the very purpose for the existence of the Fourth International. We are against all illusions in "national communism". Against any illusion which tries to say that Stalinism isn't an INTERNATIONAL phenomenon controlled by the Kremlin bureaucracy in power in the USSR. That there are differences in tactics, even the most grave ones, within this apparatus is certain, but a common STALINIST agreement remains-- support to imperialism, hostility to the workers revolution. Stalinism will not "wither away." It must be destroyed through an international fight, above all through the unity of the social and political revolutions against capitalism and the bureaucracy in power.

This question was thoroughly understood by the American Trotskyists. But today's SWP cynically puts forward the illusion in the working class that Stalinism is no great problem, at least in the US. This illusion is given some credibility in the working class because it bases itself on the relatively small size of the American Communist Party, its lack of mass base or noticeable public presence, the senile and decrepit nature of its present illusion. This is a dangerous illusion, hiding their adaptation to Stalinism. Not only must the American CP be destroyed as part of the world fight of the working class, but its IMPORTANT influence in the American working class must be destroyed.

The American CP plays a decisive role in reinforcing all the illusions in the working class we spoke of--nationalism, reformism, support to the trade union bureaucracy, isolation of the black struggle. It also plays a decisive role in blocking the working class from identifying its struggle with the Soviet working class. Instead, the American CP tries to insure that the October Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat is identified in the eyes of the working class with the Kremlin bureaucracy. Next to the bourgeoisie itself, the American CP are the #1 "anti-communists" in the workers movement. The American CP plays a decisive role in maintaining the grip of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy over the working class-- and blocking the mobilizations of the working class into dead-end reformist traps. The American CP has decisive links with all sections of the trade union bureaucracy, with the left wing of the Democratic Party, and with the petty bourgeois black leadership.

"We have 1,500 members today and the CP only has as many real cadre," brags the leadership of the SWP, "we are equal in influence, Stalinism is no great problem like it was in the 30's." An illusion. The REVERSE is true today. In the 30's when there were 100,000 members of the CP and 1,000 revolutionary Trotskyists in the SWP the situation of the vanguard of the working class vis-a-vis Stalinism was a thousand times more favorable with the existence of a PARTY of the Fourth International than it is today when the influence of Stalinism is more pernicious than ever.

Our party exists in the US to destroy Stalinism and drive it out of the workers movement; whether we have five or five thousand members this is our task. And today the first stage of this fight passes through the POLITICAL DESTRUCTION of the Socialist Workers Party as the CENTRIST AGENT of Stalinism, speaking in the name of the Fourth International. This is the most fundamental reason for our opposition to the policies of the SWP and why the SWP is an obstacle to the construction of the revolutionary party in the US. Our task, not only in the US, but around the world, is to break the ALLIANCE being formed around the world of the Stalinists and the centrists against the working class youth who are breaking with their treachery. An alliance designed to block the immediate preparation for the revolution, an alliance that legitimizes Stalinism as a "legitimate" current in the workers movement, that tries to claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be built WITH the Stalinist apparatus, not AGAINST it.

8. A workers party against the SWP's "Labor Party".

The center of the political fight against the SWP as the centrist agent of Stalinism is today concentrated in the combat against their "labor party" as a left version of the "anti-monopoly people's party" of the Stalinists, both reformist, national traps to block the junction of the working class vanguard with the Fourth International. It is the most important aspect of their policy to fight because: 1-- it concentrates its fire against the most important question in front of the working class--its party of class independence, and 2-- it uses the name of the Fourth International, particularly, the name of Trotsky, to practice this policy of support from the left to Stalinism and the Democratic Party.

It is necessary to immediately dismiss the idea that this "labor party" has anything to do with the TACTIC proposed first by Lenin and later by Trotsky. But then the SWP of today has absolutely nothing to do with the party of Lenin and Trotsky. Specifically, Trotsky was not for the use of the "labor party" slogan for all times. Until 1938 he was against its use. He proposed it in 1938 as a tactical "concretization" (his words) of the revolutionary party in the face of a MOVEMENT FOR A LABOR PARTY WHICH ALREADY EXISTED and in direct response to the first reaction of the Americans to this movement. In the words of Cannon: "In principle, it appears that we should condemn the whole movement and stand aside, but this is not a very fruitful policy." A sectarian response, in which the proposal for the "labor party" tactic would be an appropriate way to convince the American Trotskyists to intervene in this movement.

Of course, simply because the SWP corrupts this slogan today is not directly a reason for us to dismiss its use. But it does force one to stop and think and in fact it is not a very good tactic today. And it is also clear that the American Trotskyists also did not view this slogan as a useful tactic for all times, not "our fundamental strategy" as the SWP claims today. In 1946, in the discussion around the "Theses on the American Revolution" (which mentions the "labor party" once), Cannon stated: "I personally do not consider this inevitable at all (the formation of a "labor party"). Another course of action is possible...It is only the most probably indicated one at the present time."

But the entire development of the international and American mobilization of the working class, especially since 1968, indicates that such a development is most improbable and such a tactic is no longer use-

ful. No longer useful when the only "movement" for such a "labor party" is the one created by the Stalinists and the centrists. No longer useful in a period, not of the massive rise of the CIO, from 3 million to 15 million organized workers in a decade, which is what Trotsky saw but in a period which has seen the progressive decay of the unions for over 30 years in which each new struggle and offensive of the workers is an attempt to break out of this decay and strangulation imposed by the bureaucrats. A period in which there are not the same illusions in Carter that there were in Roosevelt. When no revolutionary-minded worker looks to the trade union bureaucracy for ANYTHING, except out of despair. It is also a period when the international and American working class is on the OFFENSIVE, with all of the traditional apparatuses in a much deeper crisis than in the 30's. We believe that in such a situation it is a REVOLUTIONARY party-- the WORKERS PARTY, as US Section of the FI that can be constructed in a massive way in the American working class today. We call the party we are fighting for a WORKERS party because we believe that this expresses the need for the American workers to break first with the parties of the bourgeoisie, but we say at the same time that ONLY the Fourth International can lead this break from the bourgeois parties, that the Program for this party can only be that of the Fourth International if it is to be a party of class independence, and that any American party of class independence must be part of a WORLD party.

Thus, our dispute with the "labor party" of the SWP is not a tactical one. It is a dispute over reform or revolution. The "labor party" of the SWP is repeatedly described as a "party to stand up and fight in Congress" It is repeatedly expressed as a demand on the treacherous trade union bureaucrats as if ANYTHING positive can come out of these servants of imperialism. It is repeatedly subscribed to as part of the stage theory of the American revolution held by the Stalinists as well: "a labor party would be an arena for contending forces--union bureaucrats, Stalinists and centrists," writes the SWP, as if any rational worker would want to be in a swamp with these traitors in order to "learn" something.

It is the expression in the US of the Pablove policy of the "CP-SP Government" in Europe--now rudely shattered by the defeat of the Union of the Left in France. The fight to counterpose the Workers Party, party of the Fourth International to this "labor party" is at the axis of the fight to arm the vanguard of the working class against the centrist agents of Stalinism, in order to remove from path of the working class this confusionist obstacle in the way of its preparation of the revolution. It is not just a theoretical fight, but above all a PRACTICAL one to wrest the leadership of the working class from these confusionists by counterposing the fight for the class independence of the proletariat in every mobilization of the working class. On this basis a revolutionary struggle can be undertaken inside the SWP, itself, to wage a fight against this centrist leadership and to hasten the political destruction of the SWP by winning the proletarian wing of this organization to the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International.

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The mobilization for the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International - open, revolutionary, based on the revolutionary youth.

The Congress of the Trotskyist Organization/USA--Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International will be held on October 28-29, 1978 in Detroit, Michigan on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Trotskyism in the United States. On October 27, 1928 James P. Cannon and his first followers were expelled from the Stalinist American Communist Party for the crime of "Trotskyism"--for their defense of the program and party of the world revolution against Stalinism. We choose this symbolic date because it symbolizes the purpose of our Congress-- the renewal with Bolshevism and the revolutionary tradition of Trotskyism in the United States. And because it as well symbolizes a new stage in our struggle-- the recognition of the Fourth International in the United States as the sole claimant to this tradition and the sole organization ready and able to construct the independent party of the American working class to lead it to power.

But we can't simply wait until October to open up a new stage in the construction of the party in the United States. In order to successfully reach the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization/USA we have to open up a new stage in its preparation NOW, to surpass our present development and activity. To have its true meaning our Congress must be prepared OPENLY, in the living mobilization of the working class, in front of the working class youth and all of its organizations, our RELATIONSHIP to the working class must be decisively changed in order to force EVERYBODY in the working class movement today, from its vanguard, to the Stalinists and centrists, to take account of this Congress and the mobilization for it, whether they like it or not.

This mobilization can be summarized by saying that we must GIVE A REVOLUTIONARY RESPONSE TO THE REBELLIOUS YOUTH, that our organization must boldly break with the difficulties and hesitations in the organization of the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States, in channeling and organizing the revolt of the young generation of the proletariat against this system of unemployment, repression and war into a revolutionary direction, into the construction of the party of the American revolution. The TO/USA takes a decision here and now that its future, the future of the Fourth International in the US, and the future of the American revolution depends on finding a road to this youth. Without this there can be no rebuilding of the Fourth International in the US, all the "theory" of our party means nothing, "the permanent revolution and all the rest would only be a lie."

And this requires a bold orientation, a break with routinism, in order to find and LEAD the struggles of these youth WHEREVER they are fighting. In the factories, in the bastions of the proletariat, above all in defense of the working class youth, above all in the fight against the repression and slavery in the factories, in the fight for the young workers to win back their unions, with NO concessions to the framework imposed by the trade union bureaucracy and its supporters. A new and decisive turn towards the BLACK PROLETARIAT AND ITS YOUTH-- wherever they are fighting. In the factories. But also in the streets, to win the fight of the unemployed youth to the fight in the factories. In the schools-- among the youth who are fighting against Baake and apartheid but who really want to be fighting against this system of racism. Among the white youth-- who have instinctively responded to the attempts of the Nazis to divide their class, who have responded to Carter's war maneuvers by trying to fight for disarmament and against nuclear power. Latin youth. Among young working class

women, black and white, who in the last years have increasingly placed themselves in the forefront of the mobilization of the working class. And the youth in other organizations, of the Stalinists and centrists, who are trying to find a way to fight but are constantly running up against the treachery of the leaderships.

Not to "intervene" among these youth, not to discuss with them why our policy is "better" but to organize and lead their struggles and to prove that there is only one solution and road forward--the preparation of the American revolution with our party. That the youth have to be mobilized against this rotting corpse of bourgeois "democracy" for their own democracy, that of the working class, and for their own state, the WORKERS state against the imperialist state of war and repression. In order to build the Revolutionary Young Workers, in an open and massive mobilization of the youth we propose a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION, against the imperialist state in order to work with ANY worker, student, or youth organization which wishes to join in this fight against war and repression and the state which organizes this in order to build the RYI as a vast alliance of revolutionary youth in an open mobilization to build the Fourth International. In this fight INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the international paper of the Revolutionary Youth International and its American edition, must become the VOICE of this fight, the voice of the rebelling youth, the voice of all youth fighting against this system and a means for them to express, debate and centralize this ALLIANCE of youth.

In order to centralize this fight, to organizationally and politically centralize it, as well as to give a new impulsion to the militant preparation of our Congress, we propose an open, public CONFERENCE of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA on September 3, 1978 in Detroit, on the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International: THE FUTURE DEPENDS ON THE YOUTH! AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION! AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST STATE! BUILD A PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION!

In the Congress of the TO/USA itself the fight of the Revolutionary Youth International must be expressed in large delegations of the RYW from the various factories, schools, neighborhoods, etc., messages of support and the fight of the RYW to win militants of other young organizations to participate in the Congress. A delegation representing 200 Revolutionary Young Workers for the Congress of the TO!

The mobilization for the Congress of the TO/USA must finish completely with the belief that the construction of the RYI is made at the expense of our party-- the growth of the TO/USA. The fight for the turn we are making must prove the REVERSE. That it is the TO/USA and all of its militants that are the central fighters for the RYI in the US, that it is our party and our party alone that can lead this fight of the youth, which cannot take place without the impulsion, guidance and political leadership of our party, above all through its central weapon, TRUTH. The growth and development and mass readership of TRUTH is not only not counterposed to the growth and development of the RYI and its paper, but is KEY and CENTRAL in insuring this growth and development. Thus TRUTH must openly be turned towards this new turn in the preparation of our Congress, it must be a RESPONSE to our offensive and a response to all the central political problems of the Congress of the TO, and must as well be the ORGANIZER of this Congress. Thus, we propose the goal of 500 copies of each issue of TRUTH for the Congress of the TO/USA, a goal which CANNOT be reached without a mobilization, without the construction of the RYI in the US.

But a goal which will insure that the Congress of the TO/USA represents a historical event in the American working class preparing the way for a new stage in the construction of its party.

200 Revolutionary Young Workers. 500 TRUTH. The fight for these objectives will insure the successful realization of our Congress.

Finally, we propose to hold the Congress of the TO/USA itself on the basis of a mass mobilization. We propose an open, public meeting in Detroit, on Friday night, October 27th around the theme--50 YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE UNITED STATES-- THE PARTY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION-- Full Rights for the Youth! Full Rights for All Working Class Organizations! Full Rights for the Fourth International! in order to mobilize the working class and its organizations in the US against the repressive legislation which prohibits the American working class from belonging to an international organization. This meeting and the support for it is open to ANY working class organization, trade union, or militant of the working class, as well as all those committed to democratic rights, to enlist the support of all those who, on the eve of the rebuilding of the FI in the US and on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, support its right to fight openly in the US, without restrictions, even though they may not agree with the Program or present policy of the Fourth International. This can be an impulsion for the best working class militants and youth, as well as militants of other organizations to join with us and to participate in the Congress of the TO/USA the following day.

Our Congress must also have an INTERNATIONAL significance as well. This entire document should testify to the significance of the rebuilding of the US Section of the FI for our party as a whole and for the international working class. Thus, we must fight to insure the participation of the entire international in our Congress-- the delegation from its International Executive Committee, and from its sections. Not to give "greetings" or to "salute" our Congress but to participate in its preparation, in the discussion before and in the Congress itself in order to make the Congress of the TO a Congress of the Fourth International also. And thus make clear to the entire world what Trotskyism in the United States means.

Comrades--young workers--militants of the SWP/YSA-- With this document we open up the final preparations for the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International. The leadership of the TO/USA has fought for and pledged itself to realize this task ever since our foundation in 1975. We have not always been successful. Our Congress itself has been postponed several times. We can offer no guarantees. But those who want guarantees of victory before starting to fight will never fight in the first place. All we can promise is to engage this battle, openly, honestly, in front of the entire working class and all of its militants and to build our Congress as a response to your revolutionary aspirations. This demands your participation, engagement and struggle as well. We can't promise that this struggle will be easy, "popular" or a road to fame and fortune. But we can promise this-- that it is the only REVOLUTIONARY struggle in front of you today and that it is a struggle which can win a future for this society.

BUILD THE PARTY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION!
FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA--REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL--October 28-29, 1978
Adopted by the Fourth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization USA, Section (Sympathizing) Fourth International
July 16, 1978

HARPER - GRACE: WHAT IS A FEDERAL MEDIATOR DOING IN OUR STRIKE?

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

What is a federal mediator doing in our strike? On Monday, July 17, negotiations began between the Hospital and Local 79 after pressure from a mediator of the federal government. Or so goes the story on the picket lines and in the Detroit press. But the question of what a federal mediator will do for our strike is a very important one, it gets to the heart of the fight that Harper-Grace workers began more than three weeks ago.

As I write this article, it is becoming clear that the Harper-Grace strike is in fact a part of a large strike wave developing among public and service workers. 80,000 city workers have struck in Philadelphia, and the sanitation workers have also threatened strikes. All over the country, city workers have struck in the last weeks-- Louisville, Kentucky, Cleveland, Ohio, and Memphis, Tennessee have all been struck. And the postal workers, who under federal law do not have the right to strike, are threatening to wildcat. These strikes are being led by some of the most oppressed workers in capitalist society, especially involving masses of black inner-city workers, just as our strike has.

To answer the question of what the federal government will be doing in our strike we have only to read the threats made against the Postal workers by Federal authorities. They are threatening the arrest on FELONY

charges of any Postal worker who wildcats! And what will be the voice of a federal mediator in OUR strike? Fortunately, they have no laws as yet to arrest US. But you can be sure that the Fed's will be pushing Carter's attack on wages, especially since this was the major element of his plan to cut health care costs -- cut Hospital workers wages!

ONCE AGAIN OUR DEMANDS

In fact many of the most central demands which we began this strike with have already been given away at the bargaining table. According to the last report of the Negotiating Committee before we went on strike, FULL COST OF LIVING, and the RIGHT TO STRIKE have already been given away. Instead Local 79 is asking for a wage increase over three years, and there is a petty dispute over the LANGUAGE in the NO STRIKE LOCK-OUT CLAUSE, though both sides have agreed to such a clause prohibiting us from striking during our contract EVEN IF THE HOSPITAL ABUSES OUR CONTRACT as they did in the old one-- as lousy as it was.

As time wears on in our strike it becomes more and more difficult to change course and head our strike in the right direction. That is why the TIME TO ACT IS NOW!

STRATEGY FOR VICTORY

Our victory lies in linking up with the struggles of

other public and service workers. Here it is not a matter of simple SOLIDARITY and SUPPORT from other Hospitals, but of uniting all the workers in this city who face the same working conditions and low wages that we do. UNITE in a common CAUSE-- to turn back the attack on our rights and livelihoods being led by the BOSSES and the GOVERNMENT.

A MASS DEMONSTRATION IN KENNEDY SQUARE of all Detroit workers AGAINST INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, -- COURTS AND GOVERNMENT OUT OF OUR STRIKES, remains a powerful weapon to link up with our brothers and sisters in Detroit.

Our strike is isolated not because of any lack of support by other workers in this city, but because our strike is being run BUREAUCRATICALLY. We need a MASS DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP for our strike. We didn't have the right to elect our picket captains. They were CHOSEN by the union APPARATUS. We didn't have the right to vote on our demands, they were decided on in negotiations.

We don't have the right even to strike at all, or extend our strike as long as we feel necessary, because the SEIU Constitution gives the President of the International the exclusive right to VETO any strike by ANY Local. In short, we are at the complete mercy of whatever the union apparatus decides to do.

That is why the election of a MASS STRIKE COMMITTEE representing every department and classification of workers is the key to providing a leadership. All opinions would be represented in such a COMMITTEE, but most impor-

tant of all a STRIKE COMMITTEE would encourage and develop the independent initiative of all workers. It would be a beacon of light for workers throughout this city who are looking for a way to WIN BACK THEIR UNIONS from the trade union bureaucracy, and meet the attack of the government on our rights and living standards.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FORMED

In order to begin to give our strike a VOICE and to oppose the role of the POLICE and the GOVERNMENT in our strike an independent DEFENSE COMMITTEE has been formed open to all Harper-Grace workers and those who wish to aid our strike-- including other unions and workers organizations.

It is extremely significant that young workers in our strike have taken the lead in opposing the POLICE in our strike and in organizing the DEFENSE COMMITTEE. It is because it is the youth above all who are singled out for MASS UNEMPLOYMENT, and POLICE HARASSMENT. The young workers in our strike have taken the lead in actions to STOP SCABS and have been arrested for it.

The 600 signatures we have collected so far against the POLICE and the arrests show that the youth are not alone in their sentiments. We call on all Harper-Grace strikers to support and build the DEFENSE COMMITTEE and fight for its demands:

POLICE OUT OF OUR STRIKE!
STOP THE SCABS!
DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST THE HARPER-GRACE STRIKERS!
July 20, 1978

tutional Smith Act for their revolutionary opposition to the war.

And recently, a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party, which since 1963 has abandoned everything about the Fourth International except its name, has revealed over 30 years of spying, bugging and harassment of the FBI against the SWP. The FBI spent \$1.6 MILLION spying on the SWP. Has sent 1,300 POLICE SPIES into the SWP.

Despite our political differences, despite the fact that they falsely claim our banner, we UNCONDITIONALLY DEFEND the SWP and all of its members in the face of this repression. We demand that the FBI stop all of its activities against them and support their demand for \$30

(CONTINUED TO PAGE 6)

FULL RIGHTS FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE US!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

It is against the law to belong to the Fourth International in the US. It is against the law for any worker to belong to ANY international organization. The Voorhis Act and the S.1437 law recently passed by the US Senate requires those belonging to an international organization to register with the government as "agents of a foreign power" and be subject to charges of "espionage."

This is why, in formal compliance with these laws, we say that we are only a "sym-

pathizing" section of the Fourth International.

But it is not a formal question. The US bourgeoisie wants to do everything in its power to isolate the American working class and to prevent it from joining the struggles of workers and youth around the world, above all from joining its international party-- the Fourth International. It is today leading an international campaign against the vanguard of the working class under the cover of a fight against "terrorism."

The fight for FULL RIGHTS FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

is part of the fight against this attack. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Fourth International and its 50th anniversary in the US we can see no better time, no greater urgency, than to launch a campaign to win full rights for our party, full rights for all working class parties in the United States.

It is not just a legal fight, although it is part of the fight. But the US bourgeoisie has not just used "legality" against the FI in the US. The American Trotskyists were the ONLY working class leaders jailed during World War II under the unconsti-