

TRUTH



**WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!**

NO.78 August 12, 1978 35¢

TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA

SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

June 29-August 2

The 6th Congress of the 4th International:

RETURN TO LENIN!

American workers, youth:

The Fourth International has just held its Sixth World Congress. It is the highest decision-making body of our party.

The decisions taken by this Congress have an importance for all American workers.

Why?

Because the struggle of the working class and youth is international and because American workers are a part of it. Because the American working class shares the same experiences and same enemies with the workers and oppressed throughout the world.

Because only a world party can centralize these struggles. Our enemies--imperialism and Stalinism-- are international. Only an INTERNATIONAL combat party of the workers can meet our enemies face to face.

Finally -- because the 6th Congress of the Fourth International discussed your problems. Young workers -- Our concerns are your concerns because our fate is tied to you, to the young generation of the working class.

The 6th Congress decided to continue the offensive of the Fourth International, of all its sections, its militants, and of the Revolutionary Youth International expressed in the slogan: RETURN TO LENIN!

We call you to this fight.

What does RETURN TO LENIN mean?

It means a fight to win the revolutionary youth. It means that every revolutionary period of working class struggle has seen the fusion of the young generation of the working class with the historical experiences of the workers movement and its struggles, with those who have continued the revolutionary combat of the working class, begun by Marx and Engels, con-



tinued by Lenin and Trotsky.

It means a road forward for today's youth. You-- who are in rebellion against this system. You-- who hate and despise everything represented by this old order.

But who can't find a solution, a way out of this mess. Because of the absence of a revolutionary leadership.

Young workers--RETURN TO LENIN means that for you to go forward you must remove the obstacles which prevent you from building this revolutionary leadership.

You must isolate the Stalinists who are destroying everything the working class has ever stood and fought for.

You must turn against the centrists, who by stealing the name of our party, disgust and corrupt the youth who have finished with Stalinism and who are seeking the Fourth

International.

Young workers --RETURN TO LENIN means the Fourth International. Our party.

Our party represents this link for the young generation. The chance for a renewal of the workers movement by linking the rebellion of the youth with those who have continued the historical experiences of the workers movement and its struggles.

RETURN TO LENIN is this chance. The chance for the young workers in the factories, in the streets. For the black youth who want to end this racist system.

The chance to build a future, to finish with this old order and and build a new society.

RETURN TO LENIN is the Fourth International. The party of your coming victory.

Join us!

August 10, 1978

The youth need
a world party!

REPORT ON 6th
CONGRESS of the
4th INTERNATIONAL

SUNDAY, AUG 13, 8PM.

4417 SECOND.
DETROIT.

INSIDE:
FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE
EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE of the
4th INTERNATIONAL

The 6th Congress of the 4th International

"THE OBSTACLES ARE IN THE WORKERS MOVEMENT. FOR THE OLD WORLD TO CHANGE-- ELIMINATE THE OBSTACLES IN OUR RANKS."

By JON COHEN

Thus concluded the Report of the out-going International Executive Committee of the Fourth International which opened the first session of our 6th Congress which was held in Paris, France on July 29 - August 2nd.

The entire work of the Congress, which adopted a Central Resolution as well as Resolutions on the construction of the Fourth International in France and Eastern Europe (to be published in the next issue of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL) centered on this question -- How can this old world be changed and what stands in the way of the masses of rebel youth throughout the world accomplishing this task at the side of the Fourth International?

On the eve of its 40th anniversary, the Fourth International affirmed that what was true in 1938 remains true today: the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of its revolutionary leadership, the Fourth International. That EVERYTHING in the class struggle today depends on our leadership.

The situation of the world class struggle continues to be favorable to the proletariat. The offensive unleashed by the working class and its youth begun in 1968 has not been broken. Stalinism, the policeman for imperialism in the workers' ranks, is going through an unprecedented crisis.

The rebel youth, who are in the forefront of the struggles everywhere, are breaking from the grip of the Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats.

Although this is most obvious in Europe, it is a worldwide phenomenon. It is evident in the United States where in every working class struggle we can see the revolt of the young workers against the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists and centrists who support them.

It is evident in Latin America--most recently in Peru, where the working class organized its own general strike against the military dictatorship, a dictatorship kept alive by the Stalinists.

But its not been enough. The

old order hasn't been changed. And this revolt of the youth and their break from Stalinism is taking place in a very confused and uneven fashion.

Many youth, in rejecting the trade union bureaucracy, reject the idea of unions altogether and any struggle to win the unions for the revolution. In rejecting Stalinism they reject the idea of any kind of revolutionary party, reject Leninism altogether and turn to individual, isolated actions or reject any kind of "politics."

This fundamental problem dominated the work of the 6th Congress. How to win this young generation of the proletariat-- UPON WHICH THE FATE OF HUMANITY RESTS-- to the traditions of revolutionary Marxism, to Bolshevism, to the Fourth International?

Because, and this also was confirmed by our Congress, the rebel youth are not spontaneously coming to our party. The 6th Congress had to state that in the two years since the rebuilding of the Fourth International our advance has been too limited in the face of this rebellion of the youth. That we have not yet decisively won this young generation of the proletariat to Leninism and to the construction of its party.

In fact, a change has taken place in the workers movement since we rebuilt the Fourth International two years ago. Stalinism is in crisis but it has also launched a COUNTER-ATTACK, an attack above all directed against the Fourth International in order to prevent the young generation from finding our party.

This is the meaning of "Euro-Communism" and the offensive of the Stalinist apparatus to place into question the ENTIRE HISTORY of the workers movement. In the last two years the Stalinists have deepened their attack on the entire continuity of Bolshevism-- its methods of struggle, its policies, its aims. All with the purpose of driving the youth from the rest of the working class, linking Bolshevism to Stalinism in the eyes of the youth.

And in the last two years the CENTRISTS-- those pseudo-revolutionaries who falsely claim the banner of the Fourth International (above all the Pabloite United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee led by the French OCI) have found

their place with the Stalinists in this attack.

The 6th Congress concluded from this that we have not yet won the rebel youth because we have not yet defeated these centrists who are a central obstacle to the ability of the youth to draw a real balance sheet of Stalinism, who help make the youth identify Leninism with Stalinism.

Everywhere these centrists are found at the side of the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists, using the name of the Fourth International to prevent the youth from finding their way to Leninism, to the real continuity of the workers struggle-- our party, the Fourth International of Trotsky.

Thus, the 6th Congress declared that to win the youth to RETURN TO LENIN! to OUR party, it is necessary to organize the youth against centrism. And to fight centrism the Fourth International needs to provide the widest, open alliance of all young fighters-- a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST THE TERRORIST STATE-- launched and organized by the Revolutionary Youth International.

"For the old world to change--the obstacles in the workers ranks must be eliminated." And the first of these obstacles in front of us in constructing the Fourth International are these centrists who use our name to aid Stalinism in blocking the youth from the road to revolution.

What does this mean for American workers and youth? It means that the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International can't take place without confronting the US Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which falsely claims to represent the Fourth International and today stands as the principle OBSTACLE to the youth in the US finding their way to Bolshevism, to the Fourth International.

How are they an obstacle? By standing at the side of the Arnold Miller bureaucracy in the UMW against the 20,000 miners who wanted to throw him out during the strike. By cheering the call of the strikebreaking cop, Doug Fraser, for a "labor party." By reprinting the opinion of a federal judge in their press, passing in silence over his terrorist attack against the Fourth International.

By spitting on and attempting to bury all the fundamental

theoretical and political acquisitions of Trotskyism in the US.

By organizing, along with Hugo Blanco in Peru and with the French OCI, the participation of the centrists in the farce of a Constituent Assembly organized by Jimmy Carter and the dictatorship to head off the Peruvian revolution-- when it is not this farce, but WORKERS COUNCILS and the preparation for the seizure of power by the Peruvian workers and peasants which is on the order of the day. By supporting Castro-- the enemy of the US and Latin American working class.

The last examples are very important. Because the 6th Congress, in discussing the construction of the Fourth International in the US, determined that the fight to ISOLATE these centrists, to turn the American youth AGAINST THE SWP in a fight for Leninism must be waged as a fight in the TWO AMERICAS-- North and South -- to forge the revolutionary unity of the US proletariat with the workers and youth of Latin America in a fight to rebuild the Fourth International against these centrists.

The Fourth International decided to convoke and prepare a CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS in Spring of 1979, preceding the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization, which will represent the mobilization of the entire Fourth International for the rebuilding of the US Section of the FI as a fight against centrism in the Two Americas.

This article is only a short summary of the rich lessons and discussion that took place at our Congress. A discussion which confirmed the fact that only by starting from the point of view of an INTERNATIONAL center and perspective can the basic questions of the revolution be discussed and resolved.

The discussion and lessons must be enriched in the coming months, not only in the pages of TRUTH and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, but in the daily offensive of our party to construct the party of the American revolution.

Lessons of the 6th World Congress of the Fourth International which declares to all the fighting and rebel youth in the United States -- Our doors are open to you-- The party of Lenin is your party!

HARPER-GRACE STRIKE - What did we win?

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

At first sight the gains of our strike would seem to be very slim. After one month on strike we won only 10 cents/hour more than what the Hospital had offered us before the strike began. The final settlement of \$1.05 an hour over three years did not include cost-of-living and already puts us behind the government's own prediction of 10% inflation. Add to this the fact that we lost more money by being out on strike than we gained over the hospital's original 77% proposal and there's not much to rejoice over.

But the ratification meeting where the bureaucrats who run Local 79 were shouted down (in fact they were lucky to get out with their skins) showed that the strike was not ended because of lack of militancy but because the masses of workers at Harper-Grace saw no alternative to the treachery of the Local 79 officials. It was only after Tom Turner, President of Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO, begged us to show "respect" for the Local 79 representatives that the bureaucrats succeeded in controlling the meeting.

Watching Tom Turner put on his preacher's routine reminded me of our Vice President, Eddie Dexter, begging the strikers at Grace Northwest Hospital to respect the police while the police were busy arresting workers.

Yes, we gained SOMETHING out of this strike if we learned that a union is a powerful weapon to defend our rights, ONLY if the bureaucratic misleaders are KICKED OUT!

Beyond this lesson, which was learned by MASSES of the younger and more militant workers, more important political experiences were gained by those of us who formed the Harper-Grace Defense Committee and fought to give a leadership to this strike.

We encountered the argument of those who tried to equate opposition to the union bureaucracy with opposition to the strike. But those who defend the bureaucracy are of little importance. The simple fact, which can be seen in broad daylight by most of us is that it is the very leadership that runs our union and which is destroying it -- Cortz, Vorkapich, and Dexter -- who sold out our strike from the very beginning.

These gangsters, who stifle any independent action that

would upset their undying devotion to the Democratic Party, City Hall, and "law and order," only arouse HATRED for our union from younger workers, and unorganized workers. Ask any Ward Clerk at Grace why they voted down Local 79 and they'll give you the same answer.

Oh, yes, then there is the last argument of the Local 79 officials that we lost the strike because no one showed up to picket. As everyone knows, the first week of the strike we had almost 100% participation on the picket lines. What happened?

A few examples should explain the answer. Several Grace workers who came down to picket at Harper were not WELCOMED but told they would be fined and disciplined for such activity by union officials. Ever try to stop a scab or argue with the police? Then you know whose side the union officials took. Or try collecting your picket check, it was like trying to rob Fort Knox for some of us. Isn't it fun to walk around in circles all day long while you watch scabs take your jobs?

The fact is that since the union bureaucracy in this country associates with and defends the same political forces who were against our strike, how could we look to THEM to organize a victorious strike?

When Coleman Young threatens to fire city strikers, he's acting against the interests of labor, but when he runs for reelection he's a "Democrat" and you can bet our union will support him. Who could expect such loyal supporters of the Democratic Party to go against the Carter administration wage guidelines? These are the political REALITIES of our strike.

"When you go out on strike you haven't got any rights!" That's what many strikers were saying during the strike. The "legalistic" approach of the bureaucracy is completely false for the simple reason that once you decide to fight the system as organized workers you can't expect the courts, the police, or the law to defend you.

The idea that politics don't belong in a strike is just as ridiculous. This argument advanced by the leaders of the unions today is just an excuse for them to support the politics of the Democratic Party and the politics which

are responsible for the attack on working people today.

A strike is class warfare. It's the war of the vast majority under capitalism who are exploited and oppressed against the small minority of super-rich who run this country. It's a war of the black inner-city masses against this RACIST system which keeps them in the lowest paying jobs on the social scale, such as hospitals for example.

What we really faced in our strike was a GOVERNMENT and a SYSTEM that is growing more and more repressive every day. A government whose only solution to mass unemployment and inflation is to hire more police. A system whose only solution is to attack the rights and living standards of the entire work-

The 'tougher' Fraser talks, the worse the slavery gets

By FRED VITALE

On July 19th, Doug Fraser, head of the UAW, resigned from the Labor-Management Group. This is a committee of eight big capitalists and eight top trade union bureaucrats organized for the purpose of selling out the rights of workers, blacks and youth under the guise of "cooperation."

In this statement Fraser said that "there's no point in PRETENDING ANY LONGER that we (labor and business) have anything in common on the issues of the day." (our emphasis). He went on to talk about "one-sided class war being waged in the US" and how the "Democrats and Republican parties are dominated by big business interests."

The fact that Fraser now declares what millions of workers already know is not what's significant. Nor does it signal any change in Fraser's policy of being the agent for "big business" and their "Democratic Party" government. Its significance is that it reveals the depth of the crisis of the bureaucracy and the crisis of the Carter government. A crisis caused by the mobilization of the working class and its youth to break with the Democratic Party, to defend their rights against this decaying system, its ruling class and its government.

It's a crisis so deep that Fraser is increasingly unable to contain the mobilization of the autoworkers just by breaking strikes. His rule of the UAW has been maintained through repression. Now more and more he needs the back-handed support of the Stalinists and

ing class, beginning with the most oppressed.

What we faced is the fact that we have NO RIGHTS in our own union. No right to ELECT our own strike committee, or picket captains, or even to recall elected officials if we see fit.

Yes, we gained in this strike if we learned that we must fight for our rights in the unions if we are ever going to be able to WIN. We gained if we understand that a NEW LEADERSHIP is necessary in the trade unions today, a leadership which bases itself on the struggle for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, a leadership which organizes struggles INDEPENDENT of the racist, anti-worker government that sent the police against our strike. FIGHT FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL 79! FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY! August 8, 1978

the centrists, the Communist Party/USA and the Socialist Workers Party. He needs to politically disarm the workers.

They play a key role in maintaining Fraser's rule precisely because in the name of "communism" and "revolution" they sell his legitimacy to the workers.

The oppression of the youth in the factories and in the streets especially the young black workers, is the heart of this decaying society. This oppression is what makes this system run -- what pays for its profits, its war machine its police. This oppression that Fraser supports.

There have been a number of heat walkouts already this summer -- Volkswagen in West Virginia, Dodge Truck in Detroit and in a related fight, Ford Torrence in Chicago. These are only the most recent of an unending series of wildcats and walkouts begun by autoworkers in 1973. In the factories today, the young workers defend themselves and no longer ask for the steward or committeemen because they always aid the bosses.

Of course, Fraser's statement makes no mention of the oppression he helps maintain. In order that the capitalists can INCREASE this slavery, especially to make it all "legal" through the 1979 auto contract, the workers must be disarmed politically by Fraser.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party/USA say, "this is the kind of leadership labor leaders ought to give." They make no mention of the oppression in the factories. Or the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

CHICAGO: 1968

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

"..That's why most people think this is a free country, because they never try to change the country. If they try to change it they see how free it is..." (from speech by Jerry Rubin during convention week)

Ten years ago in 1968 American youth had their day of reckoning with the leading party of US imperialism -- the "Democratic" party. The Chicago police riots, August of 1968, on the occasion of the national convention of the Democratic party, took place against a backdrop of world turmoil and the revolt of the youth against imperialism and Stalinism.

In Europe a whole revolutionary period was opened up by the General strike in France of 1968, and the "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia of the same year. And the mass murder of the Vietnamese people by American "Democracy" had given the latter a sickening taste to the youth of the entire world.

In the United States, the assassination of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, which were a source of great confusion for the liberals, only served to confirm to the radical youth that real social change could only be achieved with the destruction of American capitalism. With the Chicago police riot of 1968, the Democratic Party, which had loyally served for decades to channel the movements of the youth and the working class into dead ends, had pronounced itself (in the minds of the youth at least) dead.

Politically, the demonstrations in Chicago were not organized on the basis of clear cut opposition to the Democratic Party. The political forces responsible for the call to youth to come to Chicago in the summer of 1968 included the National Mobilization Committee, a coalition of radical-pacifists, SDS'ers (Students for a Democratic Society), and Stalinists, the Yippies or Youth International Party of Abbie Hoffman who were counter-culturalists, and the supporters of Eugene McCarthy for the Democratic presidential nomination. The Socialist Workers Party in the US played practically no role at all in the events in Chicago, except in leafletting McCarthyite youth. Through their influence in the National Mobilization Committee the American Communist Party (Stalinist) played a hidden role of trying to influence the Chicago demonstration toward pressuring the Democratic

party into electing a "peace" candidate -- Eugene McCarthy.

But the masses of youth who showed up in Chicago seemed to have had more than that in mind. Leading up to Chicago they had already succeeded in forcing the Democratic President to give up another term with their chants, "LBJ, LBJ, how many kinds have you killed today?" "Chicago's finest" charged the demonstrators lines, the youth screamed "the whole world is watching" and they were, too.

In order to smash the youth, Chicago's Mayor Daley working closely with Democratic Party machine and the Federal government amassed an impressive array of repressive armies, including the Chicago police, the US Army, and the National Guard. If the radical-pacifists led by David Dellinger had come for a "Non-violent demonstration" the police were not impressed, they came for blood. And all in all it was a very bloody affair with police charging the lines of demonstrators yelling "Kill, Kill, Kill."

American "democracy" revealed to the youth in the summer of 1968 the same military-police state that was responsible for the carnage of Vietnam. It was the clearest proof, in real life, of the bankruptcy of the single-issue strategy of the American Communist Party and the centrist Socialist Workers Party who denounced the youth who tried to show that Vietnam was not a foreign war, but a war at home against capitalism and its repressive government. It was the SWP who would play the role of policeman of the left, enforcing an alliance with Democratic Party demagogues even at the price of demoralizing the masses of youth who wanted a REVOLUTION!

The conspiracy trials held after the Chicago police-riot confirmed the famous Lenny Bruce quote, "in the halls of justice the only justice is in the halls." Eight leaders of the Chicago demonstrations were charged under a law passed by Congress after the assassination of Martin Luther King, which made it a Federal felony to cross a state line with the "intent" to riot or cause a riot. The National Guard, the federal troops from Fort Hood, Texas, needless to say were not prosecuted under the same law. The trial was a complete kangaroo court with Black Panther leaders Bobby Seale being bound and gagged and denied counsel.

The police riots of 1968 confirmed that the reformist road only led to a police barricade at the end. The fact

that it was the "Democratic Party", the party of liberals and reformism, that was responsible for engineering Vietnam, for opening up the assault on the youth in Chicago of 1968, dealt a deadly blow to the theory of the "lesser of two evils" put forward by liberals as an argument for electing Democrats over Republicans. Nevertheless, ten years later, some liberals still "blame" the election of Nixon on the events in Chicago of 1968, pointing to Humphrey as the "lesser of evils." Humphrey who engineered with LBJ and Daley the massacre of the youth in the streets of Chicago.

A LESSON FOR THE YOUTH

The lesson of 1968 was shared by the youth of the entire world. In Chicago, in France, in Czechoslovakia, 1968 was both a year which showed the failure of the traditional organizations of the working class and the youth, and as well, a year in which the perspective of the construction of a revolutionary party appeared to many youth as an answer.

Without exception, the leaders of Chicago 1968 -- Dellinger, Hoffman, Rubin, Seale, Rennie Davis-- have become complacent defenders of American "Democracy." Bobby Seale even ran on the Democratic Party ticket in California. If it was not completely obvious in '68 it is certainly obvious now that these leaders did not hold the perspective of the destruction of the repressive state through the construction of a mass revolutionary party, basing itself on the working class youth. Instead they all had some idea of non-violent or cultural change in a system which has provided some cruel lessons for pacifists and flower children, lessons like 1968.

In a year in which internationally the youth were breaking definitively with Stalinism and reformism, 1968 SHOULD have been a time of rapid growth among the working class youth for the Fourth International, representing as it does the continued struggle for the revolutionary party on a world scale.

But there is a lesson here as well. That of the betrayal of the aspirations of millions of youth in the United States by the centrist Socialist Workers Party which split from the Fourth International in 1963. A betrayal which was mirrored in its continuing



support for the Democratic Party apologists of today -- the trade union bureaucracy, reformists like the NAACP, and the Stalinist theory of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and "progressive" Democrats.

Today, when the Democratic government of Jimmy Carter is in complete crisis, the lessons of 1968 are more real than ever. Yet the SWP opens up the pages of its newspaper not to the youth who despise the Democratic Party, but to Federal judges and trade union bureaucrats like Doug Fraser who have done everything in their power to preserve the Democratic Party as a party of WAR AND REPRESSION.

What is the central lesson of 1968? It is the lesson of the total bankruptcy of those who continue to support the illusion of American "Democracy," of the betrayal of the youth by pseudo-revolutionary leaders, and the necessity of the construction of the revolutionary party to lead the youth to destroy the government and the system they justly hate.

The Fourth International is leading this fight in the United States ten years after 1968 by fighting for a WORKERS PARTY. We are leading this fight through the Revolutionary Youth International which calls to you to build with us without conditions a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION.

May the next ten years see what Chicago, 1968 announced-- the destruction of the repressive state of American "Democracy" and the leading party of American imperialism, the Democratic Party!

- CORRECTION -

In the last issue of TRUTH (#77) a typographical error appeared in the article on Page 4: "Against War and Repression!" In the first full paragraph in the third column, the sentence reading: "Stalin, who denounced Lenin as the 'Great Russian bully.'" should of course have been typed as the REVERSE-- "Lenin, who denounced Stalin....."

SPAIN: IN SPITE OF THE BLOOD OF GERMÁN THE LCR RESPECTS THE MONARCHY

By PEDRO RAMIREZ

The following article is reprinted from LA AURORA #179, the paper of the PORE, Spanish Section of the Fourth International. It deals with the attitude of the centrist Spanish LCR, a sister organization of the US SWP, in face of the assassination of one of its own militants in Pamplona. It will help make clear why the SWP has been so strangely silent about the situation in Spain in the last weeks.

By PEDRO RAMIREZ

A crisis has broken out in the LCR-LKI. The followers of the United Secretariat in Spain have not been able to keep order in their ranks any longer and an accumulation of tendencies and positions express the reigning confusion which has led to the postponement of their 5th Congress which was supposed to have been held at the end of July and now is proposed for October 12-15. In a highly confused situation, the events of the last weeks and above all the attitude that the leadership of the LCR-LKI took in the face of the assassination of its militant, Germán Rodríguez in Pamplona at the hands of the monarchy's police, has placed out on the table the central problems of the crisis, clearly showing the political place that the leadership wishes to occupy and has upset a good part of its militants.

RESPONSIBILITY IN FACE OF THE ASSASSINATION

In fact, immediately after learning the news of the assassination of Germán in Pamplona, a mobilization throughout the State and in particular in Euzkadi (Basque provinces - Basques.) began. In Rekaldeberri (Bilbao) the militants of the LCR, along with those of the PORE and other workers organizations called for an assembly to organize the struggle against the bloody Monarchy, for the dissolution of the repressive apparatuses and you can imagine the indignation of these militants when the following day the leadership of the LKI cancelled these actions through leaflets demanding (of who?): "Designation of the anti-riot brigades." Striking were the opposite roads that the leadership and the militants were following, but this is not all.

The fear of the leadership of the LKI to go too far in the mobilization led it to propose in the meeting of all the workers organizations of Euzkadi (everyone knowing the situation that existed) not the General Strike, but a "day of struggle"!!!! of two hours, assemblies, demonstrations, etc.

It is clear that the militants were not so "responsible" in face of the Monarchy and the following day Euzkadi was paralyzed, but the aims of the leadership were now discovered. It is in this framework that its 5th Congress is going to be celebrated, that of respecting the Monarchy and its institutions, in particular the repressive apparatuses. To such a degree that in Pamplona and in the funeral service of the dead militant, the LKI set up a defense guard in a demonstration of 40,000 people to prevent slogans from being raised which would place them in difficulty with the authorities, forcing 3,000 discontented youth to organize their own demonstration, confronting the police. On this line of demobilization "respecting" the fascist State they called off their demonstration in Barcelona "because it was not legal," -- forcing militants of the LCR who were present to ask the PORE to initiate a demonstration to avoid reprisals from their own leadership.

RESPECT THE BOUGEOIS STATE -- YES OR NO, THIS IS THE QUESTION

This is the question over which the different tendencies in the LCR must define themselves, have defined and will define themselves. They are all agreed with the leadership, although with certain tactical differences over this fundamental aspect -- posing the consolidation of "democracy", before which there can only be "defensive mobilizations" of the working class and give the events of Pamplona as an example of this. The leadership, more subtle, says that a period of political instability is opening up, not in the sense that the workers are advancing in the centralization of their committees and delegates in order to confront the Monarchy, but in the sense that the struggles and strikes will force the Spanish CP and PSOE to form a government in the framework of the Monarchy.

But the facts are directly

opposed to these predictions. The Monarchy only survives thanks to the repressive apparatus and the total support of the CP-SP which is confronting a powerful mobilization which has only begun and which is confronting a powerful mobilization which has only begun and which is taking on a much greater opposition to the Constitution than the Monarchy can allow. Everything depends on which eyes are seeing and all evidence shows that the LCR is looking through the eyes of Spanish CP. Its closer and closer alliance with the Stalinist apparatus proves this. In its intervention in the 9th Congress of the SCP, the representative of the LCR made no mention of the participation of the SCP in the Constitution and much less of their role as "defenders of the Monarchy's order", because as the delegate of the LKI to the conference of the SCP in Bilbao said "we think it very important to establish good relations on all levels between the different currents of the workers movement." Except that, and this is what WE say, you cannot be in good relations with the workers and with its enemies at the same time. And the LCR, the currents at the head of its leadership, have chosen in favor of the anti-working class bureaucrats of the Spanish CP.

WILL THE MILITANTS OF THE LCR LET THE CONSTITUTION PASS?

The good relations with the Spanish CP have a price -- let the Constitution pass. Jaime Pator (a leader of the LCR - trans.), in his remarks in DIARIO 16 said he was for abstaining on the coming Constitutional referendum and the leadership has come out for a NO vote, once their "amendments" presented to the anti-worker Cortes did not succeed. Both positions are in agreement over the fundamentals -- let the Constitution pass by not placing in question its natural parents, the Monarchy's Cortes, in which not a single voice has been raised against the terrorism of the State which is responsible for the assassination of Germán Rodríguez.

Some militants have expressed, with timidity, their opposition to this Constitution and the Cortes, but this is not enough. To oppose this Constitution must be done in the form of an alternative to offer, a proposal for the workers to realize, and it is to these

militants that we propose that they fight with us to actively boycott the Constitution, to set up a Workers Cortes, the only place from which a workers, socialist, federalist and internationalist Constitution can come out, for which the Trotskyists are fighting.

Because, comrades of the LCR, everyone knows that this Constitution will confront the mobilization of the workers and no one can call himself a "revolutionary" without laughing and without shame unless they prepare and fight to organize to overthrow the Monarchy and destroy its Cortes.

And today this fight passes through uniting the delegates and factory committees, by nationalities and regions to form this Workers Cortes which will present the working class in front of all the people as the revolutionary alternative to the bourgeois State.

There are militants who think that the alternative consists in proposing a Constituent Assembly as an intermediate possibility between the Monarchy's Cortes and the Workers Cortes, but the immediate question is -- who will convoke it? Why hasn't the SCP and SP done so? Impossible questions to answer because these parties play and will play their role as defenders of the Monarchy to the very end. Fundamentally this position is not at odds with the leadership and with the treacherous and deceitful CP-SP Government but the leadership is more consciously "establishing good relations" with the future authors of this third path, the Constituent Assembly.

A COMMON COMBAT, WITHOUT CONDITIONS

Despite their differences there is a common combat which defines the different tendencies of the LCR -- the struggle against the Military Tribunals, to prevent the military trial of LA AURORA and Miguel Salas.

This proposal has been made to the leadership of the LCR and has had no response, when it concerns an unconditional struggle that all workers organizations must take up. This question demands that militants initiate this struggle, which is not distinct, but on the contrary concentrates the fight against the Anti-Terrorist Decree and the rising repression of the State which motivated the assassination of German.

July 17, 1978

PERU -- Elections to institutionalize dictatorship

By ITXIAR ARNAIZ

(Translated from LA VERITE #76, journal of the LOR, French Section of the Fourth International)

Through a short note the readers of ROUGE (paper of the French LCR) were informed that several months ago the FOCEP (Workers, Peasants, Students and Popular Front) was formed at the initiative of the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR) linked to the French OCI and which included the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) section of the United Secretariat and that Hugo Blanco and other leaders of the front had been sent to the prisons of Videla in Argentina. If Videla and his henchmen did not succeed in taking the lives of Hugo Blanco, Ricardo Napuri and other exiles it was because they feared unleashing a general mobilization of the workers and not thanks to the LCR. At no time did the LCR call or organize a campaign for their liberation.

All that the LCR can today present in relation to Latin America is the defense of "democracy" and "rights." But as vulgar opportunists they have not launched this fight because they don't consider the moment to be ripe. What youth would today agree to again take up a campaign for "democracy" when the class confrontations in France, in Spain, in Italy demonstrate that there is no place for the defense of democracy in general and that the problems are posed instead in terms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat?

There is a second reason why the LCR did not launch any campaign for the defense of Hugo Blanco. To organize it they would have to explain what alternative they are proposing to the Peruvian proletariat and this is dangerous to explain because instead they are waiting for the apparatuses, placing pressure on them and not organizing an independent struggle in relation to and against the apparatuses.

This is precisely the role played by the FOCEP during the entire election campaign in Peru.

THE FARCE OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Elections, to the Constituent Assembly, presidential elections, referendums, etc. are taking place or being prepared in different Latin American countries under the vigilance of US imperialism.

The bourgeoisie and the Stalinists are trying to present the situation in Latin America as if a mysterious democratic spirit is coming out of all the military governments, in the first place from Jimmy Carter.

What workers must know is that these elections have as their objective institutionalizing and legalizing the dictatorships in face of the offensive of the workers and peasants.

This legalization is being realized through a "democratic vote" and with the participation of the Cuban CP and the rest of the Latin American CPs. But these elections (which Carter wants to give the label of "democratic" to) are above all a maneuver against all the workers and youth of the United States and Europe. In face of them, American imperialism wishes to kill two birds with one stone: in the first place make believe that imperialism can be democratic and in the second place prevent the proletariat of the United States and Europe from making the struggle of the Latin American masses its own under the pretext that the interests of the proletariat are different from one continent to another, putting forward the idea that in Latin America the central problem is bourgeois "democracy."

In this framework elections have just been held in Peru which had as their objective detouring the offensive of the workers and peasants, whose most advanced point was the latest general strike. The government tried to deviate this offensive through the participation in elections in which even the most elementary democratic rights were not granted and by at the same time opposing the Assembly which came out of these elections to the organs of class independence which the workers have begun to raise, despite the CP, in order to organize and centralize their strikes.

What did the sister organizations of the LCR and OCI (who were in the FOCEP) propose during the general strike and which is being hidden by ROUGE?

These organizations were found against the centralization and strengthening of the general strike through the creation of a central organ of the strike formed by delegates of different committees and bodies formed by the workers and peasants. They were against such an organ being converted into a body that would realize real agrarian re-

form -- that is, the occupation of the land -- that would realize workers control over production to apply the sliding scale of wages in face of the rapid rise in prices (a 50% increase in the price of basic necessities was the cause of the general strike) and the sliding scale of hours of work to resolve the chronic unemployment in Peru. Against this organ organizing workers militias in face of the repression of the dictatorship.

Such an organ is the only alternative to give a solution to the general strike and to prepare the conditions for seizure of power by the proletariat.

The two organizations of the United Secretariat and the POMR of the OCI presented the elections as the only alternative to the general strike, calling for a vote for the candidates of the FOCEP. This policy has a name: electoralism.

The attitude of the revolutionary vanguard towards bourgeois elections (participation or boycott) depends only on what is the best alternative to strengthen the mobilization of the working class.

The PST and POMR openly opposed the organization of a massive boycott of these elections, participated in them, and in this way collaborated with the Stalinists in giving a democratic character to these elections. In reality during the elections hundreds of workers were arrested, the majority of peasants and many workers were denied the right to vote, because they were "illiterate" (official language of the dictatorship for "too combative") etc., etc.

But where the FOCEP fundamentally aided the Peruvian CP in its policy of opposing the elections to the general strike and its objectives is when they tried to make believe that the elections could advance the workers struggle.

What has come out of the elections? An organism which has no executive or legislative power and which must elaborate a Constitution that the military government will calmly study before deciding what to do (sometime around 1980!). All of this has only one name: betrayal of the workers who voted for the FOCEP.

Because it is certain that the front obtained 12% of the votes because it represented a left alternative to the CP which directly supports the dictatorship, but for this reason no one can cry "victory" because what constitutes

a worse betrayal is to not have organized this 12% for the tasks that the general strike demanded.

THE FOCEP: A BLOC OF FOUR CLASSES AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

This betrayal of the general strike in Peru is the logical consequence of the program of the FOCEP. No reader of ROUGE has been able to learn what is this Front and what is its program.

ROUGE only says that they are Trotskyists. The OCI hides such information in order not to disturb the petty-bourgeois politicians who are a part of FOCEP and above all do not want to set up any obstacle to converting this front into the first stage in the organization of a large anti-imperialist front with, for example, the PSR (Partido Socialista Revolucionario) led by General Rodriguez who supports Velasco Alvarado (leader of the military government).

This front FOCEP is the reincarnation in Peru of the "bloc of four classes" theorized by Stalin and against which the Left Opposition fought. Its very name indicates this: Workers, Peasants, Students and Popular Front, a term used by the CP's to describe the bourgeois nationalist parties. This front is formed on the basis of an agreement, among its different components, on the basis of a governmental alternative. The arguments of the leadership of the USec. and the OCI to convince its own militants of the necessity of such a front are that such alliances between classes are possible because they are under the leadership of the proletariat. FOCEP is composed of workers but this does not necessarily mean that its program defends the interests of the proletariat (in any case, the Stalinist parties as well have many workers). Its program defends the creation of a Constituent Assembly which will not be composed of representatives of soviets but of organizations which claim to be of the workers movement such as the CP and other so-called "anti-imperialist" parties. This Assembly is to elect its own government and the result will have no other name than -- the Popular Front.

Recently Livio Maitan (leader of the USec.) re-

sponded to different questions of many Latin American militants in respect to the policy of the leadership by saying: "the alternative -- pro-imperialist military dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat is a simplistic schema."

Guillermo Lora, leader of the Bolivian POR, linked to the OCI follows the same steps by saying: "The revolution in Latin America will not be purely proletarian" (INTERNAL BULLETIN 2: Draft Report on Latin America).

What are these "intermediate" or "Not purely proletarian" governments? The POMR responds clearly when it says: "The problem of power today is situated on the terrain of the satisfaction of demo-

cratic demands." (IB #1)

The Fourth International fights to build Leninist parties in Latin America, that is, the only alternative in the face of the fascist dictatorships. All the other roads that Maitan and Lora speak about have shown where they lead: to the Popular Front in Chile, to the bourgeois nationalist government of Torres in Bolivia, etc.

How have these governments "advanced the struggle of the proletariat" as the centrists claim in order to defend their policy of a CP-SP government in Latin America? All of these governments have opened the door to reaction.

The role of these fronts (like FOCEP) are nothing more than obstacles to prevent the working class from

definitively breaking with the illusions in the CP and Stalinist parties. What do they say to the Peruvian proletariat? That it is necessary to realize such a front and government so that they will gain "experience."

"Experience" with the Peruvian CP which, with the benediction of Castro, has fought against all the attempts of the masses to organize an open mobilization against the dictatorship which it calls "anti-imperialist" and "progressive." It is this policy which the workers have denounced and fought as the weak number of votes obtained by the CP shows. The only way that the Peruvian working class will finish with all hopes in the CP and the "popular"

organizations is if the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat is clearly raised, daily fighting in the ranks of the workers and peasants to demonstrate that the Workers and Peasants Government is the only solution that can satisfy their demands.

This is the only road to organize the independent mobilization of the working class that, in alliance with the poor peasants, will mobilize for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These experience must be taken up by the militants of the LCR and the OCI who are fighting against the capitulationist orientation of their leaderships as a proof of the meaning of the "CP-SP Government" and the international nature of the policy of submission to the apparatuses.

A NEW ATTACK: STOP THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL AGAINST MIGUEL SALAS

The Francoist monarchy in Spain has deepened its attempt to silence the Fourth International in Spain and its party, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE). The military is now preparing TWO MORE Military Tribunals against Miguel Salas, the editor of LA AURORA, the weekly newspaper of the PORE.

Along with the original charge of "insulting the military" in an article which appeared in LA AURORA, the military again arrested Miguel Salas and ordered another trial against him -- this time for an issue of LA AURORA WHICH NEVER APPEARED, which was seized by the police before publication.

Two weeks later our comrade was again arrested -- this time charged with "illegal propaganda" -- accused of being responsible for the Spanish edition of LA CUARTA

INTERNACIONAL, the journal of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

The Francoist military -- the recent murderers of the youth in Pamplona and San Sebastian -- are determined to send Miguel Salas to jail and to silence our party. Why?

Because our party and above all our press in Spain represent the conscious and organized expression of the revolutionary opposition of the workers and youth in Spain to the centralized, terrorist State of the Francoist monarchy. The only organized opposition to the terrorist Constitution that the monarchy is trying to shove down the throats of the workers and oppressed nationalities of Spain.

The only party to say in face of this Constitution-- NO PASARAN! (it must not pass).

And it is above all our

press that the monarchy has singled out for attack -- LA AURORA and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -- because it is our press which proves that the fight of the PORE is not a clandestine conspiracy as the monarchy claims, but an open, clear fight in front of the entire working class to organize the Spanish revolution.

Every worker, youth and workers organization in the US must mobilize against this attack, which is the beginning of the preparations for another Spanish Civil War!

At a recent educational conference of the Socialist Workers Party, militants asked us -- what "RIGHT" do we have to claim we are the Fourth International?

But it is not a question of "rights" comrades. The facts speak for themselves. Our party is illegal in Spain while yours is not. Our party

presented the Program of the Fourth International as its Statutes while yours did not. Our comrades have all been expelled from the Stalinist-controlled Workers Commissions with the revolutionary youth while yours sit in the leadership with the Stalinist bureaucrats.

And when the Francoist monarchy decides to silence LA CUARTA INTERNACIONAL in Spain it is our comrade, a member of our Central Committee who they find and throw into prison.

The only "right" we demand in Spain and anywhere else is the right to make the revolution. And this is why any honest revolutionary should come to our defense.

STOP THE TRIBUNALS AGAINST MIGUEL SALAS!
LEGALIZE THE PORE AND ALL ANTI-FRANCOIST PARTIES!
August 8, 1978

FRASER, continued

walkouts. These are led by "ultralefts" and "provocateurs." Just like they call the dissidents in the Soviet Union.

That is why they supported Fraser for president of the UAW. Why they said nothing when the imperialist politicians, Kennedy and Carter spoke at the UAW Convention. They support imperialism just like their Kremlin masters.

The Socialist Workers Party has the same policy as the Stalinists although with more "criticisms." They reprinted Fraser's statement in full, as if the bourgeois press didn't give him enough coverage. They say nothing of the slavery in the factories, only to say that "there was a heat walkout and the union officials did nothing. It's that kind of thing that makes autoworkers

cynical about statements by Fraser attacking big business." Indeed.

But not the SWP. They aren't cynical about Fraser's statement. They say, "it provides an insider's view of the blind alley the union officialdom has gotten into." And that the statement can open up a discussion in the UAW over the need for a labor party, to "speak for the workers in Congress."

But Fraser's statement, especially the talk about a "one-sided class war" is an attack on the working class youth. For it is precisely because of the offensive of the workers that the bourgeoisie has been forced into open attack. That has forced Fraser's hand. It is their offensive that has undercut the ability of Fraser to smash every strike and wild-

cat without getting more and more support from the Stalinists and centrists.

Fraser wants to build "new coalitions" of tired old reformists from the NAACP and others "who marched in Selma in the 60's." He wants to lead the workers back into the Democratic Party after going around the mulberry bush a few times.

The SWP has again the same policy. They call for a "labor party to speak for the workers in Congress." To call demonstrations to demand the shorter work week, national health care and tax relief for workers." They claim that the independent party of the workers can have Fraser and the Stalinists in it.

The Trotskyist Organization is fighting to build a Workers Party, US Section of the Fourth

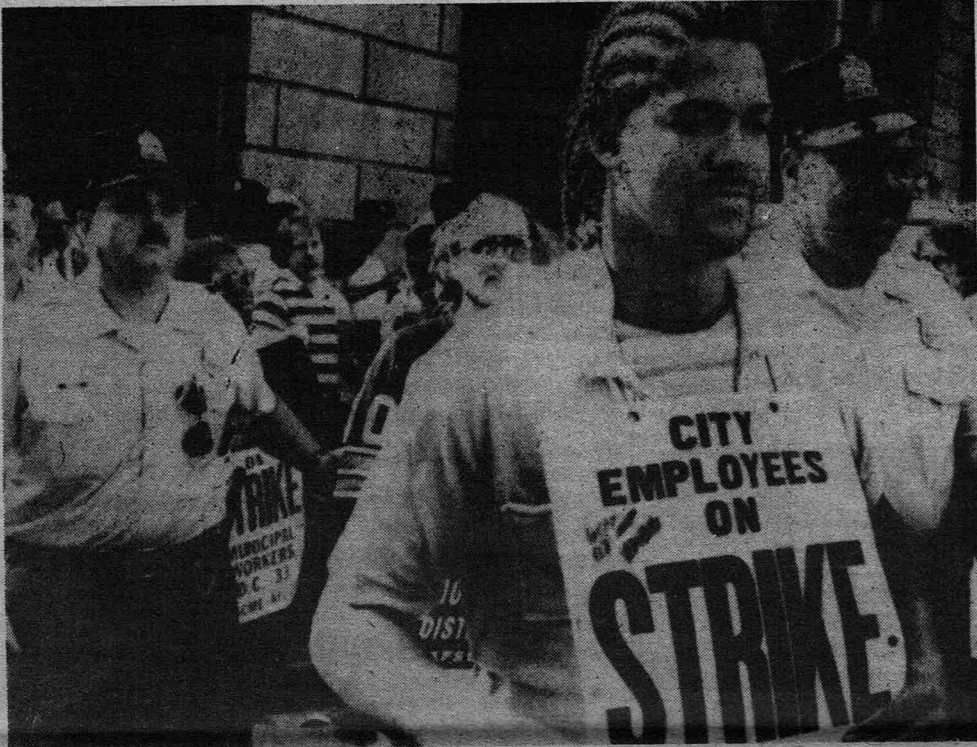
International with the revolutionary youth in the factories, to finish with this racist imperialist society, to build a combat party of the working class to finish with the slavery in the factories which is the foundation of this rotten capitalist system. To build this party to LEAD the rebellion of the youth, to win back the unions for the revolution.

This is the kind of party that the workers need. A party to fight those Stalinist and centrist parties who claim that the unemployment can be ended by the US Congress if it would just pass their bill. A party to fight those who urge workers to "study" Fraser's statement.

A party against the Doug Frasers and the bureaucrats of the world.

POSTAL WORKERS, DETROIT AND SAN ANTONIO SANITATION WORKERS!

"Human rights" shows its real face



the Stalinists and centrists as a "militant," gave in to the judge, issuing the bold statement that he was "disappointed."

The capitalist state must go this far precisely because the Moe Billers can no longer be trusted to control the most militant workers. The state and its powers must be reinforced, the submission of the bureaucrats increased, and the most militant workers crushed and isolated if the bourgeoisie is to keep order.

Off comes the mask of democracy and "human rights." And we see the real face of the state-- a terrorist state, an anti-democratic state-- a state which must be destroyed in order for the workers and the oppressed to be free.

The mobilization of the public workers has proven all of

this. Now the entire working class must engage a mobilization to defend these workers. To turn back this attack of the government.

From the Harper-Grace strike in Detroit where David Heffelfinger, a member of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, was arrested for picketing, to San Antonio, New York and San Francisco, it is a common struggle against a common enemy-- the state.

To unite against this enemy we propose that all young workers join us in building a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION, against this terrorist state, to organize the vanguard of the working class in an offensive for its rights.

To bring down the #1 strike-breaker in this country.
August 9, 1978 **TRUTH**

Who would you pick as the most vicious, anti-union, strike-breaking employer in this country?

General Motors, Ford or Chrysler? US Steel? Consolidated Coal? J.P. Stevens? The list of candidates is long.

But you would be wrong if you picked anyone other than-- THIS CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT-- which in the last few weeks has clearly shown what "government for the people" really means.

In the face of a strike wave of public employees which has hit almost every major city, the state, federal and local governments have responded with a fundamental attack on the rights of the working class.

Trying to destroy the right to strike. Court injunctions have been issued against every one of these strikes. 125 striking postal workers in Jersey City and San Francisco have been fired and are threatened with felony charges.

In San Antonio, 170 striking garbage workers, along with 38 other city employees have been fired as the San Antonio government hired over 100 scabs and had police ride shotgun on the garbage trucks.

In Detroit, as 3,500 garbage

workers and bus drivers walked out last week, Mayor Coleman Young, a "friend of labor", prepared dismissal notices and threatened to fire all 3,500.

This is the real face of "democracy." Strikebreaking and scab-hearding when it comes to the struggle of the working class for its most basic rights.

And RACIST also. Need it be added that these public workers --postal workers, garbage and bus drivers, are overwhelmingly black-- and are expected to do the dirty, backbreaking work for this government in silence, with no rights.

But this isn't all. The state has taken a new step in its attack on our rights. Last week, Judge Frederick B. Lacey of the Federal District Court in Newark issued an injunction PERMANENTLY barring the New York City local of the postal workers, the most militant local and key to any national strike FROM TAKING A STRIKE VOTE!

He did not just prohibit a strike. That's "normal." But he denied the New York postal workers the right to vote INSIDE THEIR OWN UNION on whether or not they even wanted to strike.

And Moe Biller, the head of the New York local, praised by

SATURDAYS!

TRUTH MEETINGS-



11:00 am
Room 536
David Whitney Bldg.
1553
Woodward
Detroit

The sales for TRUTH #77 were:

Ford River Rouge	9
Detroit Post Office ..	12
Detroit (other)	79
SWP Educational Conference	156
TOTAL	256

SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH! ONE YEAR \$5

INCLUDES FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
SEND TO TRUTH: PO BOX 07066
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48207

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____