

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY NOW! BUILD A WORKERS PARTY!

The Carter government and the Democratic Party are in a crisis.

A crisis which has been going on for a long time but which now can no longer be hidden from the American workers and youth.

Public opinion polls, which are only a small measure of things, show that 73% of the population gives Carter a negative rating as far as his "handling of the economy", 55% give him a negative rating on "inspiring confidence in the White House."

Only 10% has "high regard" for Congressmen.

More than this, the working

class has taken to the streets to show its opposition to the policies of the Carter government and its Democratic Party, controlled by big business. The miners strike, today's railroad strike and the wave of public employee strikes demonstrate the massive resistance of the working class.

But it goes even deeper. Everywhere-- in the factories, schools and streets-- the disgust of the workers and youth with Carter and his Democratic Party is a sign of the times.

And also a sign of the times is the disgust of workers and

youth with EVERYONE associated with Carter and the Democrats.

Above all the TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS, the so-called "labor leaders" who are the agents of the Democratic Party in the workers movement, who would not be around for one minute without the Democratic Party.

That's why today they are like rats desperately trying to get off a sinking ship, to save their own necks. By proposing all sorts of FALSE solutions to the workers in order to HIDE this crisis and SAVE the Democratic Party.

We warn American workers-- if the Democratic Party is to go, these bureaucrats must go with it. There are no "solutions" which include these traitors.

Look at Doug Fraser, head of the UAW. This strikebreaking scab recently discovered the "class war" in this country and dared to make some criticisms of Carter. Even though it took him 60 years to make this "discovery," the pseudo-revolutionaries plastered this all over their papers, claiming it was "progressive."

Now he's called a Conference (closed to auto workers) for October 17th in Detroit of more than 100 liberal groups and unions to "reaffirm the 1976 Democratic Party Platform" and "restore party discipline" in the Democratic Party.

Who ever heard of "discipline" in the Democratic Party? And as for the 1976 Democratic Party Platform which Carter ran on -- Chrysler workers in Detroit and Windsor said it best when they wildcatted two days after Carter's election with signs reading: CARTER WON, WHY CAN'T WE!

A total fraud. Nothing positive about it.

Look at John Conyers, a liberal and black Congressman from Detroit. A great hero for the Stalinist American Communist Party. On September 26th he made a big show by angrily storming out of a meeting with Carter. On September 27th, he crawled back into the fold, calling the dispute "all in the family" and asking Carter to call a "human needs summit."

"All in the family"--of

traitors. And haven't we seen the slogan, "human needs" all over the pages of THE MILITANT, paper of the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party?

"Human needs" indeed. Just like they've given us "human rights."

There is finally, an even more treacherous maneuver to save the Democratic Party. William Winpisinger, president of the 900,000 member International Association of Machinists announced his "break" with Carter and the Democratic Party, denouncing the "mythology" of the "two-party system" and calling for a "labor party."

Here's the famous "labor party" that the Stalinists and pseudo-revolutionaries have been waiting for so patiently all these years! All these years refusing to wage any kind of fight against these labor bureaucrats in the hope that one day they could be together with them in one big, happy "labor party."

A "labor party" which can ONLY be a left version of the same Democratic Party. A "labor party" which can only be a trap for the American workers and youth.

Because there is only one positive alternative to the Democratic Party for the workers and youth. Only one way to channel their disgust with this system and everyone associated with it.

By organizing a WORKERS PARTY. A party of class independence. A party of revolutionary opposition to capitalism and everyone associated with it. A party without bureaucrats, based instead on the struggles of the workers and youth -- their strike committees, factory committees. A party of unity with workers and youth around the world.

Join us in a struggle to build such a party against the bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries. In this struggle we are confident that you will find that this party can only be built as the US Section of the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution.

A WORKERS party. Not a cheap imitation.

September 28, 1978

JIMMY - YOU'RE OBNOXIOUS YOURSELF

Last week, at one of his "public" meetings in Pennsylvania, someone asked Jimmy Carter why the US government allowed the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) to have an office in Washington, D.C.

With a typical sick smile on his face, Carter responded that the American Constitution "protects the rights even of organizations obnoxious to us."

Furthermore, that "there are many groups like this that cause us concern-- the Ku Klux Klan, the Communist Party, the Nazis," and "It would be nice for us if they would just go away."

Jimmy "human rights" Carter defending the Constitution. Living "democratically" alongside people who are "obnoxious" to him.

Another piece of hypocrisy from the man who is now the least-popular President in recent history.

First of all, we reject any attempt to link organizations that are part of the movement of the workers and oppressed, like the PLO and Communist Party, with groups like the Nazis and KKK which are fascist organizations, but more importantly, organizations of BOURGEOIS REACTION, financed and impelled by this very government.

The government is indeed very tolerant when it comes to the KKK and Nazis. So tolerant that it has now been revealed that an FBI

provocateur, paid with our taxes, "infiltrated" the KKK, assassinated a civil rights worker and organized the Birmingham bombing!

And if the KKK would "just go away" so would about 50% of the police in the South.

But not so respectful of the Constitution when it comes to the rights of workers and oppressed and their organizations.

It's fine for the PLO to have an "office" in Washington-- when in the Middle East, where it counts, the Palestinians are in concentration camps guarded by Israeli police paid by US imperialism.

The entire recent history of this country-- from the Palmer raids to the Smith Act, McCarthyism, the assassinations of the Panthers, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, to the Wilmington 10, prove that the US government has never been content to just hope that workers and revolutionary organizations would "just go away."

It has consciously tried to destroy any revolutionary or working class opposition to its rule. And Jimmy Carter continues this tradition.

We're not going to "just go away," Jimmy.

And now that we think about it, we find some things in this world "obnoxious" as well. Like you and your government.

September 28, 1978

LEGALIZE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE U.S.!

By ANN NELSON

Over 3,000 people have been murdered by the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. Carter recently OK'd \$12 million to this regime which even United Press International says has turned the Central American country into a "cemetery."

The Shah of Iran, another one of Carter's "friends," has murdered over 10,000 of the millions of Iranians who have taken over the streets and are demanding he resign.

And Carter isn't satisfied with turning the money of the U.S. workers over to these murderers, in Connecticut, last week, the government threw 250 teachers in jail for the "crime" of striking.

All the pseudo-revolutionary organizations are calling for "solidarity with the peoples of Iran, Nicaragua..." etc. How can any young worker understand what this abstract "solidarity" means?

Carter, head of the strongest Imperialist country in the world does not practice such an illusive policy. He sends in the C.I.A., he gives \$12 million, or he sends in the military.

Real solidarity for U.S. workers and youth is to organize into a common party with the workers of Nicaragua and elsewhere. This party is the Fourth International, the only party which represents the unity of the workers of the world. The only party which is a weapon against Capitalism and Stalinism.

This common international party of the working class is illegal in the United States.

In 1940, two years after the founding of the Fourth International, the Voorhis Act was passed. This law prohibits membership in an international organization. Today, Senate Bill 1437 (S.1437) is pending in the House. This bill not only attacks all working class rights, it would supercede the Voorhis Act in maintaining the illegality of a U.S. worker belonging to an international organization.

According to the bourgeoisie, which organizations DO have a right to exist? Of course their own Democratic and Republican parties. Its C.I.A. may travel to any country and by any means it wishes overthrow governments, abort revolutions, etc. And even the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party may stay since it has renounced the Fourth International in the bourgeois courts. Even though the S.W.P. likes to call itself the Fourth International, it wages no fight against these laws. And through its refusal to fight these laws, it supports Carter's policy of NATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE US WORKING CLASS.

The legalization of the Fourth International is a political problem of opposing the Imperialist State, its policy of national isolation, and its anti-working class laws.


In order to launch the fight for legalization of the Fourth International in the United States the Trotskyist Organization/USA will hold a public meeting on October 27th, the 50th anniversary of the founding of Trotskyism in the United States.

The campaign to legalize the Fourth International will be made a part of the fight of the Revolutionary Youth International in the US and its YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION. That means that our fight to legalize the Fourth International is a part of our fight against this terrorist state and our fight to unite with the workers throughout Latin America in the same party.

We call on all working class organizations to take up this fight with us.

Solidarity is not a phrase, but is something that must be won against U.S. imperialism.

September 28, 1978



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PUBLIC MEETINGS —

50 YEARS OF TROTSKYISM IN THE US

Detroit: October 27, 1978
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TRUTH MEETINGS-



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October 7th

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10:30 a.m.

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Student Center Building



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CAMP DAVID -- "Framework" for Counter-revolution

By JON COHEN

Amid handshakes, embraces and tears, Carter, Begin and Sadat announced last week that a "framework for peace" had been agreed to at Camp David. Carter's "media experts", who now have the responsibility for saving Carter from his slide into oblivion, immediately went into action to try to pass this fraud off on the American public.

Everyone got into the act. The comedian, Johnny Carson, "seriously" proposed Carter for the Nobel Peace Prize. Carter's mother reported to the press that Carter had called her during Camp David and amid tearful sobs told her: "mama, this is the hardest thing I've ever done."

How touching. All of this managed to get Carter a 13% increase in the popularity polls, which like the fall TV shows, may keep him from being "cancelled" for a few more months.

Even (as usual) the pseudo-revolutionaries were caught in all this bourgeois hoopla. In the September 29th issue of THE MILITANT David Frankel writes: "Carter's claim of success raised hopes of millions all over the world."

Really? Where are these "millions"? And who, especially in the ranks of the fighting workers and youth throughout the world believes that anything good can come from these butchers?

Nobody, that's who. Not the Palestinians who organized a general strike in the Israeli occupied West Bank on September 20th. Not the millions of Arabs workers who have openly denounced Sadat's treachery. Not a growing sector of the Israeli working class which is sick and tired of the concentration camp their Zionist leaders have organized for them.

Nor the millions of Iranians and Nicaraguans who have tasted the bullets of other imperialist "frameworks for peace."

And finally-- not the American working class either which is becoming more and more aware that all these "international" maneuvers are designed to hide the attempt of the US bourgeoisie to strengthen its military and repressive apparatus which is directed against the American workers as well.

It is necessary to speak plainly, to tell the truth to the working class and youth. It is

necessary to reject the polite criticisms and suggestions of the Stalinists and centrists, who even with their criticisms give legitimacy to this fraud, as if Carter, Begin and Sadat "could" or worse, "should" achieve peace in the Middle East.

There can be no imperialist "framework for peace." No peace can be had in this world under the domination of imperialism and Stalinism. And all these imperialist "frameworks" are frameworks for one thing and one thing alone-- the organization of the COUNTERREVOLUTION against the growing revolt of the workers and youth throughout the world.

Specifically, the Camp David "framework" is a framework for organizing the imperialist counter-revolution in the Middle East. First of all, by increasing the direct role of US imperialism in maintaining the counterrevolutionary order already centered around the colonial Zionist settler state of Israel. The first task of Camp David was to prop up the Zionist regime in crisis in Israel which is the centerpiece of the counterrevolution in the Middle East.

The agreement for the US to build air bases for Israel in the Sinai. The hints dropped by both Carter and Begin about sending US troops to the Middle East. And the Camp David "agreement" itself-- which anyone who can read carefully can see represents nothing but concessions to Israel.

An "agreement" which says nothing about Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, Lebanon, Jerusalem and above all the West Bank. And the few "concessions" to the Sadat regime of Egypt being designed to draw Sadat into deeper and deeper collaboration with imperialism and its Israeli police state.

Camp David demonstrates that the days in which US imperialism had some maneuvering room both internationally and at home or over. Gone are the attempts to draw the PLO and the Stalinists, along with the other Arab countries into some kind of "settlement." Gone are the maneuvers in the UN or the "Geneva accords".

It is not that the PLO or the Stalinists have not been willing to "deal." The PLO and the Stalinists everywhere have always been ready to "deal" away the

rights of the Palestinians and the working class at a cheap price.

But imperialism in crisis today can only afford to offer one kind of "deal"-- direct support to the most reactionary regimes through military and police measures and the direct and TOTAL submission of the Kremlin bureaucracy and its supporters.

The various "intermediary" solutions proposed by the Stalinists and the pseudo-revolutionaries throughout the world-- a "democratic" Palestine on the West Bank, a "Constituent Assembly" in Iran, a "Broad Front" in Nicaragua-- are no longer acceptable to US imperialism which can no longer trust these treacherous leaders to hold back the struggles of the workers and oppressed.

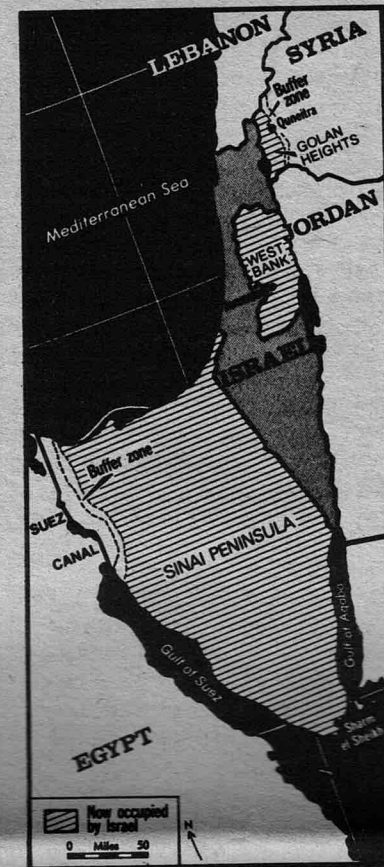
The hangmen of the world-- the Shahs, Begins, and Somozas-- this is the only "framework" for imperialist "peace" today-- the framework for the counterrevolution organized by US imperialism.

And what does this "framework" for imperialist "peace" mean for American workers? It is the framework for the preparation of the counterrevolution in the US as well.

No more concessions to the labor bureaucracy through various Democratic Party "promises" such as the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, the "labor reform act," "national health insurance," etc. Instead, a vicious attack on the rights of public employees, efforts to organize a conscious mobilization of the right-wing, and an increase in police repression.

And like the PLO and the Stalinists, the trade union bureaucrats have no choice but to be dragged; kicking and screaming perhaps, but dragged nonetheless into this attack, or breaking with their reformist policies and joining with the only alternative-- the development of a revolutionary offensive of the working class to overthrow US imperialism.

But as we have said many times before, this attack of US imperialism both at home and abroad is a desperate one. Far from "raising the hopes of millions over the world", millions all over the world are in open revolt against this old order and millions more are thoroughly dis-



gusted with it and are seeking a positive alternative.

The situation can be changed in favor of the American working class and the oppressed all over the world almost overnight. On the condition that a new leadership is built for the workers and youth around the world. A leadership which can tell the workers the truth about the situation. A leadership which rejects any kind of participation, "critical" or otherwise in this attack of US imperialism.

A leadership which can prepare the only answer to the counter-revolution being organized-- the REVOLUTION-- the proletarian revolution led by the organized working class and its vanguard party-- the Fourth International.

The party of the unconditional defense of the Palestinian revolution and unconditional opposition to Zionism. The party whose program puts forward the only "framework for peace" possible for the world today-- the world socialist revolution.

DOWN WITH CAMP DAVID! FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

September 26, 1978

PERU -- "Building the party in the process of the revolution itself"

THE CENTRIST ROAD TO DEFEAT

By JON COHEN

"An acute problem in relation to the construction of revolutionary socialist parties in many countries is lack of time to organize and gain adequate experience before the revolution breaks out. In previous decades this would signify certain defeat for the revolution. Because of a new series of factors, this is no longer NECESSARILY the case. The example of the Soviet Union, the existence of workers states from whom material aid can be obtained and the relative weakening of world capitalism, have made it possible for revolutions in some instances to achieve partial successes, to reach certain plateaus (where they may rest in unstable equilibrium as in the case of Bolivia) and even go as far as the establishment of a workers state. Revolutionary Marxists in such countries face extremely difficult questions, from an inadequate level of socialist consciousness among the masses to a dearth of seasoned or experienced cadres to carry out a myriad of pressing tasks. No choice is open to them in such situations but to participate completely and wholeheartedly in the revolution and TO BUILD THE PARTY IN THE PROCESS OF THE REVOLUTION ITSELF (our emphasis)."

(From DYNAMICS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION TODAY, Thesis Adopted by the "Reunification" Congress of the Pabloite United Secretariat, June 1963)

Does this sound confusing? Seem like double-talk? Seem like someone is trying to slip something past you?

You would be right if you observed this. Because it was on the basis of all this doubletalk about "new series of factors" (?), the "example" !!! of the Soviet Union, "partial successes," "plateaus"????, "difficult questions", "unstable equilibrium", "seasoned" cadres, "pressing tasks" and "building the party in the process of the revolution itself" that the US Socialist Workers Party and the Peruvian members of the International Committee abandoned the Fourth International in 1963 and began their centrist degeneration.

Because if this quote is not clear, their practical and theoretical activity in the last 15 years is now clear and the political basis for this "reunification" is even clearer -- abandonment of everything the Fourth International stands for.

Abandonment above all of the central axis of the Program of the Fourth International: THAT THE CRISIS OF HUMANITY IS A CRISIS OF ITS LEADERSHIP, that everything today depends on the Fourth International. That no successful revolution, no step forward for the working class can occur without its INDISPENSABLE WEAPON, its party. That this party must prepare and organize the coming revolution.

That trusting in the "historical process," that "constructing the party in the process of the revolution itself" and attributing a positive role to the Stalinist apparatus is nothing but a treachery and deception for the working masses.

Why do we bring all of this up? Are we simply "historians?" We bring this up, because as Marx said: "the dead seizes hold of the living" and the present day policies of the "parties" of the

United Secretariat in Peru today are a product of this "reunification" and attack on the Fourth International which took place in 1963.

Many honest militants of the United Secretariat, in both the US and Peru, who sincerely want to make a revolution, look at the "militant" and "revolutionary" speeches that their leader in Peru, Hugo Blanco, is making today and say to us: "Perhaps you are right about all the mistakes we have made in the past in Latin America, perhaps some of your criticisms about today are right as well, but in Peru things are different, in Peru, Hugo Blanco is going to make the revolution."

But unfortunately, Hugo Blanco is not going to make any kind of revolution in Peru. Because the path he has followed for the last 15 years, a path he is continuing today, has demonstrated the total incapacity of the pseudo-revolutionary United Secretariat to provide any revolutionary solution for the workers and peasants in the Americas.

We don't take any pleasure in this situation or intend to sit back and then say: "I told you so." We think that there is not only enough TIME but as well the MEANS to save the revolution in Peru and to re-arm the vanguard of the working class for the revolution.

Revolutionary sounding speeches are not enough. And abstract calls for "workers and peasants governments" when the present situation demands the IMMEDIATE struggle for such a government and the construction of THE Bolshevik Party to lead it are only disarming.

Is the proletariat the leading force for the revolution in Peru? Blanco and his parties have never answered this question -- from supporting guerilla warfare in the 60's, to saying in 1969: "The peasantry in Peru today is



the major revolutionary force" (IP, March 3, 1969), to today calling for the masses in Peru to take power under the leadership of a "Workers, Peasants, Students, and Popular Front."

And what about an organization which refuses to call the Stalinists "traitors" for their role and what about its refusal to criticize Castro and Castroism despite the fact that Castro is one of the CENTRAL SUPPORTERS of the military dictatorship in Peru, labelled "revolutionary" by the Stalinists?

How can Blanco in his speech at Tacna reprinted in the MILITANT of September 29th, go through a balance sheet of the struggle in Peru for the last ten years without mentioning STALINISM once?

But all of these questions are relatively "minor" ones when we come to the question of the PARTY, the construction of a Bolshevik, Leninist party, the only kind that can lead the revolution in Peru to victory.

Because Blanco refuses and has always refused to construct such a party. That's the meaning of the abandonment of the Fourth International in 1963.

He tells the workers that this FOCEP, this bloc, this "front" of several parties, is the instrument for the revolution in Peru. Of course these parties have "differences," but they are all agreed on "socialism." The "parties" of FOCEP "will never betray you," Blanco says.

How nice if life was that simple! If everyone who was for "socialism" could just get together and make the revolution!

In this way Blanco consciously hides and confuses the central problem of the revolution today,

the crisis of the leadership of the working class in which the central problem is that precisely "in the name of socialism" the treacherous leaderships of the working class, the Stalinists and their centrist supporters, mislead and betray the workers revolution.

And hides the fact that there is only ONE Program and Party that can lead the revolution in Peru and elsewhere -- the Fourth International, which Blanco has abandoned.

All of Blanco's "talk" and it is just that, about revolution, about "workers power" and "socialism" is only a cruel joke in the face of this unprincipled "front" called FOCEP.

And all of his calls for "unity", including the "reunification" of pseudo-Trotskyists which is taking place in Peru, with the support of the French OCI which once waged a fight against the United Secretariat, is also a cruel joke. The "unity" of the centrists is the very opposite of the "unity" fought for by Lenin and Trotsky. Here's what Trotsky had to say about the question in THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN:

"It was not flexibility that served (nor should it serve today) as the basic trait of Bolshevism, but rather GRANITE hardness. It was precisely this quality, for which its enemies and opponents reproached it, that Bolshevism was always justly proud. Not blissful "optimism" but intransience, vigilance, revolutionary distrust and the struggle for every hand's breath of independence -- these are the essential traits of Bolshevism. This is what the communist parties of both the West and the East must begin with. They must first gain the right to carry out great maneuvers by preparing the political and material possibility for realizing them, that is, the strength, the solidity, the firmness of their own organization."

Militants of the SWP, of the PST and POMR in Peru -- is this the basis of the "reunification" in Peru or is it another sad example of unprincipled maneuvers against your struggle for clarity, another case of "building the party in the revolution itself" which is bound to fail?

It's not too late. There is time to oppose the policy of Lenin and Trotsky to these maneuvers and to join with the Fourth International in the preparation of its Conference of the Two Americas in a fight against Stalinism and centrism.

Time to organize and prepare the vanguard for the coming revolution in the Americas, North and South.

September 27, 1978

LESSONS OF CHILE FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAT POPULAR FRONT, ARMY & STATE

By PEDRO RAMIREZ

INTRODUCTION

We are reprinting here a series of articles which appeared in LA AURORA, the paper of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International, on the fifth anniversary of the fascist coup in Chile. We think these articles will be relevant as well to American workers and youth who are today seeking to find the real truth about what happened in Chile.

Truth which they will not find from the cynical, centrist leadership of the Socialist Workers Party which today steals the name of the Fourth International in the US. We cannot introduce the subject of Chile without warning young workers and new militants of the SWP about the shameful piece of falsification which appeared in the September 22nd issue of the MILITANT, under the title: "Cuba and Chile."

The article claimed to attack the Popular Front of Allende in Chile and contrasted to it, the Cuban "revolution" of Castro.

Shamelessly hiding the well-known support of Castro for the Allende regime and the well-known visit of Castro to Chile in the last days before the coup in which Castro called on the workers to GIVE UP THEIR WEAPONS, dissolve their independent organs, and to TRUST the military.

And shamelessly hiding the role of the Chilean "Trotskyists" of the SWP's "United Secretariat." Who dissolved their party in Chile into the Castroist MIR -- which gave "critical support" to the Allende government.

So much for the claims of these liars that they can give a revolutionary explanation of the events in Chile.

TRUTH

Five years have passed since September 11, 1973 when the Chilean army placed its military boot over the country and smashed all the organizations and conquests of the workers' movement. What was until then the example and model for today's "Euro-Communists" like Carrillo (head of the Spanish CP -- trans.) to fool the workers about the supposed "peaceful road to socialism" gave way to the cruel reality of the consequences of this treacherous and anti-working class policy of the Stalinists. It was not a new experience. The Popular Front in Spain had the same fate and for this reason it is necessary to draw the fundamental lessons for the world proletariat in order to go forward on the road of the proletarian revolution.

FOR THE POPULAR FRONT,
UNTIL DEFEAT

The Stalinists and reformists have always tried to present the Popular Front as a first stage in consolidating bourgeois democracy and the peaceful transition to socialism, when in reality it has always been raised in order to stop and disarm the revolutionary spirit of the masses and to turn them over to their hangmen. For this reason the treacherous leaders of the workers movement always present a new Popular Front as being different from the previous ones which ended up in the slaughterhouse and the Chilean Popular Unity is no exception. Thus, Allende referred to the differences between the Popular Unity (UP) and previous Popular Fronts: "... if of course today the same parties are involved, in the past the Radical Party, a bourgeois party, had hegemony and this is the difference today between the Popular Unity and the Popular Front ... in the Popular Unity there is a hegemonic class, the working class and there is a Socialist Marxist President." (R. Debray, "Conversations with Allende.")

But it is precisely the weakness of the bourgeois parties that Allende mentions and which has been taken up as arguments also by the LCR and other centrists to support the Union of the Left in France, which does not change the character of the Popular Front but instead demonstrates with better clarity the treachery of these parties who have to govern the bourgeois state in the face of the inability of the bourgeoisie to confront the struggle of the masses. Thus, the Popular Unity governed in the name of the bourgeoisie, promising to respect the bourgeois state. As the same Allende said: "The Program of the Popular Unity implies that all political, social and economic transformations come from the present judicial order and conform to the right of the state." And it was in defending this bourgeois state that the Chilean Popular Front attacked the conquests of the workers and peasants who, with illusions, voted for Allende's promises.

The land that the peasants had seized was taken away from them, the productivity of the workers was increased by super-exploitation, the army confronted the miners of Teniente who demanded better working conditions and were called "counter-revolutionary agents" by the UP, and confronted and disarmed the attempts to form workers militias.

It was against this state of things that the workers began to build their own independent organizations to defend their conquests -- the CORLONES INDUSTRI-



Castro and Pinochet--a picture tells a thousand stories

ALLES -- which were committees that linked up the factory strike committees, later distrusted the Popular Unity and warned of the fascist uprising. But the danger of the revolution was too great and the Popular Unity having fulfilled its role, the situation was ripe for the intervention of the army under the command of Pinochet.

DEMOCRATIC ARMY OR ARMED BANDS OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE

Again and again the Popular Unity, through Allende "recalled" the democratic traditions of the Chilean army, which would guarantee its non-intervention in the political affairs of the country and which made the formation of workers militias unnecessary. It was the same Allende who asked for the entry of the military into the government as Minister of Interior in order to confront the revolutionary actions of the masses and the very same who gave Pinochet the command of the Army. The Chilean Popular Front opened the door to fascism the same way it did in Spain.

The Army, as Engels said, are the armed bands of the bourgeois state, and collaborated with the Popular Front while it was necessary, in order to later organize the counter-revolutionary coup, not against the UP but against the workers movement which had begun to organize and which the Popular Unity was unable to stop. There are no democratic armies, as Allende claimed, and as today Carrillo says to the Spanish workers. And one of the most important lessons of the Chilean experience is that the army of Gutierrez Mellado (Spain) will tolerate Carrillo as long as he can control the workers movement, but will not hesitate in organizing a new coup, as in 1936, when the Spanish Communist Party is overwhelmed by the struggle of the oppressed.

Thus it was not the "democratic officers" as Corvalan (head of Chilean CP--trans.) predicted who confronted the fascist coup, but the partial resistance of the cordones industriales and the community commandos who demanded arms until the last moment in front of the Moneda Palace, seat of the Popular Unity government, where Allende had called them to trust the army. The hours of the democratic farce were numbered.

REFORM OR DESTRUCTION OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE

All of these experiences are condensed in the fact that there is no revolutionary step, no step forward for the workers, without being directed towards the destruction of the bourgeois state. The "Eurocommunists" and in general the Communist Parties throughout the world continue to propagate the illusions that the struggle of the masses can advance through reforms, and continue to put forward the same policy which led to bankruptcy in Chile and which can lead nowhere else, since the defense of the bourgeois state with its institutions and in particular the army is a rope around the neck of the masses which at the right moment, will strangle them.

In Spain Carrillo is weaving this rope, like Corvalan, presenting the Army as the defender of the "democratic process," including asking for a soldier as Minister of the Interior as Allende did. It is the same policy and the same consequences are derived from them. If the Spanish and international proletariat does not set up its own organizations, unmasking the traitors inside the workers movement, and prepare for the destruction of the bourgeois state and all its institutions, forming workers militias for the final assault. September 4, 1978

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WILL BE BUILT IN THE TWO AMERICAS AGAINST CASTROISM & ITS CENTRIST SUPPORTERS

By JON COHEN

PART II. "The emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers themselves"

Is there a working class in Cuba? Has it ever or will it ever do anything revolutionary?

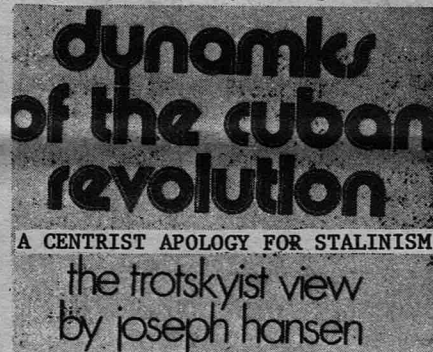
Stupid questions, you may say. But not stupid enough for anyone who has had the patience to read **THE DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION** by Joseph Hansen to ask.

We called this book a centrist apology for Stalinism. Here's why.

In the 400 some pages of this book it will be impossible for you to find one serious reference to the existence of the Cuban working class, much less to its activity or revolutionary potential. For the centrists the Cuban working class doesn't have much to do with the "Cuban question."

This is not just a slight "omission." The central tenet of Marxism and of all those who have continued the Marxist tradition is that **THE WORKING CLASS IS THE MOTOR FORCE OF HISTORY**, the only progressive force in society and that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the workers themselves.

This may be boring to "theoreticians" like Hansen who claims that the Cuban revolution was made by a group of petty bourgeois radicals



without the working class and that the fact that the workers do not rule in Cuba is only a small problem-- as Hansen delicately puts it: "the initiation of workers councils would add fresh power to the Cuban revolution." But they are central questions for workers in Cuba and throughout the world who want to understand the Cuban revolution and how to continue it today.

To continue it today means to regain the traditions of Marxism CONFIRMED in our time by the Russian Revolution of 1917 which was precisely a fight against all tendencies in the workers movement who denied the revolutionary role of the working class, sought to find petty bourgeois substitutes for the tasks the workers alone could accomplish and denied the fact that only the working class could rule in its name and through its Bolshevik party.

And for all those "theoreticians" who have found all sorts of "special conditions" for Latin America which deny the revolutionary role of the working class-- the world's first proletarian revolution in Russia was made in the most BACKWARD country in Europe in which the proletariat was only a tiny MINORITY of the population.

To understand the anti-Marxist heritage of Hansen is also to understand what distinguishes Stalinism from Bolshevism in the working class today. Stalinism grew up in Russia and around the world against Marxism and Bolshevism. Against the leading and revolutionary role of the proletariat. Against workers democracy. On the basis of not victories, but defeats for the working class. In the service of world imperialist reaction. As a PETTY BOURGEOIS theory and tendency in the workers movement.

What defines Stalinists of all stripes is



"this discredited thing, this anti-historical thing, this fraudulent thing which emanates from elements so clearly at the service of Yankee imperialism, which is the Program of the Fourth International... If Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialist reaction."

FIDEL CASTRO, Tricontinental Congress, January 15, 1966.



"This is the source of Castro's consistency -- he subordinates all other interests to the interests of the world revolution." JOSEPH HANSEN, "Fidel Castro and the Events in Czechoslovakia" 1968.

They deserve each other

their contempt for the working class, the contempt of bureaucrats and the petty bourgeoisie. And you don't have to be a card-carrying member of the Communist Party to share in this bureaucratic, petty bourgeois contempt for the working class which defines Stalinism.

As Fidel Castro was to demonstrate. As the centrists who steal the name of the Fourth International demonstrate every day. Hansen's "Cuban position" which has as its heart the denial of the revolutionary role of the Cuban working class and the belief that the working class can rule without its Bolshevik party and workers councils places Hansen and Co. in the framework and world view of Stalinism as an ILLEGITIMATE anti-Marxist tendency.

There is therefore nothing "new" to be found in **DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION**. All of Hansen's arguments and the response to them can be found in the fight of Lenin against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, in the fight of Trotsky against the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International.

The only "new" thing is that by 1960 when Hansen started writing on Cuba a whole generation of the working class had been cut off from this vital and rich experience of Lenin and Trotsky by the betrayal of Stalinism and by a crisis inside the Fourth International itself. Hansen based himself on this confusion and the fight to clear it up is a fight to return to this revolutionary tradition.

What did happen in Cuba? The July 26th Movement, led by Fidel Castro, came to power in Cuba on the basis of a purely bourgeois democratic program of agrarian reform. And for those who today like to glorify this July 26th Movement, we should point out that it was not a "party" of any kind-- it never held a

national conference, never elected any kind of deliberative body, was just a grouping around one individual.

But it was able to come to power in Cuba with the support of the workers and peasants because of the absence of a revolutionary leadership and party. Castro especially was able to use the revolutionary hatred of the Cuban masses for the Cuban CP which was totally identified with the Batista regime.

This doesn't mean that the workers were passive or blindly followed Castro as Hansen claims. In fact, the workers refused to follow Castro's "call" to a general strike in April, 1958 in which Castro wanted the working class to be passively spectators to a purely guerilla action.

Instead, it was the general strike in Havana on January 2-5th, ORGANIZED BY THE WORKERS THEMSELVES, in which they seized the major factories and industries (sugar and tobacco) which finally brought down the dictatorship and allowed Castro to take power, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership.

The Cuban revolution-- what we defend today-- the expropriation of imperialism and the Cuban bourgeoisie, the seizure of the land and industry-- were the work of the Cuban workers and peasants-- all of which went against Castro's original objectives. It was Castro, the Cuban CP and the Kremlin which responded to these revolutionary actions by DEFORMING this revolution, installing the rule of a Stalinist bureaucracy over a workers state. It requires a POLITICAL REVOLUTION to remove them today.

Look at the "facts." On April 3, 1961 the US State Department published a paper, "Castroism Without Castro" clearly spelling out its

threat of invasion. On April 17, US imperialism, with the CIA and Cuban counter-revolutionaries invaded Cuba at Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs.)

It was thus on April 16, 1961, ON THE EVE OF THE IMPERIALIST INVASION that Castro for the FIRST TIME proclaimed the socialist character of the Cuban revolution, suddenly "discovered" the Cuban working class and made it the hero of the revolution and called the workers to arms to defeat US imperialism.

An "unconscious Marxist"? Following the "logic of the permanent revolution"? A "non-Stalinist leadership"?

Sounds more like saving one's neck. A very common, normal trait of bureaucrats throughout the world. Certainly not requiring 400 pages of double-talk to try to explain.

After the defeat of US imperialism at Playa Giron, Castro and the Kremlin rapidly moved to deform the revolution and disarm the Cuban working class who were POLITICALLY DISARMED, with no revolutionary leadership, in the face of this counter-revolutionary offensive.

The July 26th Movement was fused with the Cuban CP. All organs of a Soviet character were liquidated or turned into caricatures. The armed militias were transformed into a powerful secret police. Independent trade unions were abolished, along with the right to strike. The state apparatus was staffed with Stalinists.

Here is necessary to stop for a moment at another example of Hansen's treachery. In May 1961 he wrote: "Had THE MILITANT opened a 'campaign' for proletarian democracy at that precise time (Playa Giron), it would not only have made it difficult to differentiate our position from that of the counter-revolution."

But it was at precisely that moment that Castro waged HIS counter-revolution. It was precisely at that moment, when the workers were armed, confident by their victory against imperialism, that it was not only possible BUT NECESSARY to carry through the revolution all the way, to set up workers councils, democratic organs of power and throw out Castro and the Cuban CP.

Anyone who understands Stalinism as AN IMPERIALIST TENDENCY inside the workers ranks can see that there is no contradiction in fighting Stalinism and imperialism at the same time, they are BOTH the counter-revolution. But Hansen is not a Marxist and fundamentally understands NOTHING.

In 1903 Lenin described the Hansens of the world, when he wrote this against the Mensheviks:

"Instead of indicating precisely how the proletariat at the given moment should push revolutionary developments forward...instead of all this we are offered a general description of the process, which does not say a word about the concrete tasks of our activity... Marx said that the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, our task is to change it. The new-Iskraists also can describe and explain the process of struggle which is taking place before their eyes tolerably well, but they are altogether incapable of giving a correct slogan for the struggle. They march well but lead badly and they degrade the materialist conception of history by ignoring the active, leading and guiding part in history which can and must be played by parties which understand the material prerequisites of a revolution and which have placed themselves at the head of the advanced classes."

If the moment of the Stalinist COUNTER-REVOLUTION was not the "right moment" for fighting for proletarian democracy in Cuba, one can hardly imagine when Hansen would ever fight for it. And he never has.

Among the pages and pages of description of the "process" in Cuba and the "problems" of the Cuban revolution-- there is not ONE BIT of propositions for the Cuban working class to go

forward, to achieve proletarian democracy in Cuba, which even Hansen admits is a "problem."

In fact, these "problems" are just window dressing for Hansen to cover up for his real policy, that of fundamental support to Castroism and Stalinism in Cuba and throughout Latin America.

And by calling Cuba a "workers state" and denying the need for a political revolution to overthrow the Castro bureaucracy and a Leninist party to accomplish this task, Hansen plays a fundamental role in identifying Leninism with Stalinism in the eyes of the working class youth. And in DISARMING the Cuban working class because the Castro bureaucracy is a DAILY MENACE to the Cuban revolution.

And the crime of it is that Hansen apologizes for the brutal, anti-working class repression in Cuba in the name of the Fourth International. Remains virtually silent about the fact that as early as May 1961 Castro suppressed a group in Cuba that called themselves Trotskyists, suppressed their paper, VOZ PROLETARIA and physically destroyed all the plates for Trotsky's book, THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION.

So much for Hansen's claim that Castro "unconsciously" followed the theory of the permanent revolution. "Unconscious" indeed.

And why was this Trotskyist group in Cuba, which followed a man named Posadas suppressed by Castro? Hansen takes great care in his book to tell Castro that he is not a "Trotskyist" like the Posadistas. That the Posadistas were "crazy."

We disagree with the Posadistas in Cuba also. But they weren't suppressed by Castro for any "craziness." Craziness for Hansen perhaps, but not for us. And why we UNCONDITIONALLY DEFEND them against Castro.

They were suppressed in 1961 for calling for DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN THE TRADE UNIONS, for calling for a SOVIET CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. And were given three to nine years in jail in 1963 for "being critical of Fidel Castro."

Trotskyists were rotting in jail in Cuba, while Ernest Mandel, another centrist "theoretician" was giving "economic" advice

to Castro. They were rotting in jail while Hansen was at the OLAS Conference in 1967 praising "the Cuban Model for the Revolution in Latin America." Just like he passes in silence about the repression against the Fourth International in Spain today while his party is legal.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS IS THE TASK OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES. A small difference with Joseph Hansen and the centrists who believe that the working class can rule without democracy and through the Stalinist apparatus. A small difference which places Joseph Hansen in the ranks of the treacherous apparatus of the working class against the independent mobilization of the working class and the fight to construct its party.

Contempt not only for the CUBAN WORKING CLASS, but for the American workers as well. It is no accident that the revisionism of the SWP on the "Cuban question" went side by side with its denial, beginning with the late 1950's and early 60's of the revolutionary role of the AMERICAN working class.

Why the same petty bourgeois radicals, like C. Wright Mills and Paul Sweezy, who along with Hansen jumped to the glorification of Castro, were also the "theoreticians" of the "backwardness" of the American working class. Why they found a petty bourgeois perspective on a revolution which happened 90 miles away, while having no perspective for the American revolution.

But this is the subject for another story. Now that we have understood that the Cuban revolution was made by the Cuban workers AGAINST Castro, that Stalinist counter-revolution DEFORMED this revolution, that the working class can rule DEMOCRATICALLY or not at all and therefore the political revolution is on the agenda in Cuba, in the next article we will take up the question of the treachery of Castroism throughout Latin America, against the US working class and the Fourth International, in which Joseph Hansen and the SWP rendered Castro vital services in the name of Trotskyism.

September 27, 1978

DEFEND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION!

The revolution of the workers and peasants in Nicaragua is in danger. The bloody Somoza regime, armed to the teeth with the weapons supplied by US imperialism, seems to have temporarily "stabilized" the situation-- by turning the country into a "cemetery" as a UPI correspondent reported.

But this "stabilization" is only temporary. The deep crisis of the Somoza regime remains, a regime hated by every worker, peasant and youth.

The main danger to the revolution does not lie in the guns of the Somoza regime, however powerful they may be. The initiative of the workers and youth in the last weeks has shown that it is possible to win battles against the National Guard and organize a final assault on the regime.

The main danger is political. The workers in Nicaragua do not yet have a political leadership capable of leading their struggle to a victorious conclusion.

On September 26th, US ambassador to Nicaragua, William Jordan, announced that he was in touch with both the "opposition" and with Somoza and was in the process of negotiating a "settlement."

No "negotiations" with US imperialism! Nothing to "settle" with Somoza!

The "opposition" in Nicaragua, called the "Broad Opposition Front" (FAO) is a trap for the Nicaraguan workers and youth. This "front" includes organizations running the gamut from the bourgeois Conservative Party to the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The program of the FAO is simply a "peaceful

change" and to "take over the government to achieve a policy of social, political and economic reform." Another bourgeois government, perhaps without Somoza, but leaving capitalism and US imperialism intact in Nicaragua.

No wonder the US government is ready to "negotiate" with such as "opposition!"

The Latin American proletariat has suffered too much at the hands of these "fronts", this alliance between the workers and a supposedly "progressive" bourgeoisie to let it happen again. And in spite of our UNCONDITIONAL defense of the Sandinistas in the face of Somoza and US imperialism we must say that their participation in this "front" is treachery and that they therefore cannot lead the Nicaraguan revolution.

As Trotsky wrote many years ago and proved true in Russia in 1917, the democratic revolution in colonial countries can only be carried out BY the proletariat, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of the proletariat and its party, and through the socialist revolution.

This is the perspective of the Fourth International for Nicaragua today. To break with US imperialism and the FAO, to arm the workers, establish their own organs of power and control by seizing the factories and land, to establish a Workers and Peasants Government in a common struggle with the US working class and the workers and oppressed throughout the Americas.

This is how the revolution in Nicaragua must be defended.

September 27, 1978

CZECHOSLOVAKIA SHOWS IT: THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY "UNITED" SECRETARIAT

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL



The Fourth International's Sixth World Congress launched an international offensive to clarify the tasks in the preparation of the European Revolution not only in France, as a recent issue of TRUTH outlined but also in Eastern Europe. It is an offensive to win the youth to the construction of the Leninist party and to isolate the pseudo-revolutionaries.

This is important to all youth and workers because the Revolution led by Lenin's party in Russia, permitted the working class to go much further in Eastern Europe than elsewhere in doing away with imperialism. It's taken away the imperialists' property and begun to plan production.

For precisely this reason, they are deprived of all political rights by the Stalinist bureaucracy which dominates Eastern Europe and the USSR in the interests of imperialism and undermines all the workers' gains-- both the material gains and the gains in thinking. To allow the youth, workers, and intellectuals of Eastern Europe and the USSR to think, meet, discuss, and act freely would be to unleash a tremendous revolutionary force which would change the thinking of the masses across Europe and the world and continue the October Revolution.

Only the Fourth International can lead the workers to full power in these countries and destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy. The pseudo-revolutionary tendencies which refuse to organize the youth and workers independently, which line them up alongside the Stalinists, will only lead to defeat.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN YOUTH

The struggle in Czechoslovakia shows this.

There is the youth, especially young workers, seeking political rights, under the most difficult conditions. They want to think, discuss, meet, write, act, do art and music. They want to link up with the rest of their generation in other Eastern European countries and in the West. They feel suffocated by the Husak regime, disgusted with its corruption.

While many of them have latched onto Charter 77-- a document and a movement which calls for "human rights", the implementation of an agreement between the US and Soviet governments allegedly along these lines, and renounces the struggle for power-- they are increasingly critical of it and are forcing many of those who claim to defend their rights with Charter 77 to define themselves more clearly.

And there are the masses of workers who resist the Stalinist plan-- the increase in production quotas, stratification of the workers, and competition among the workers-- all aimed at taking what they need out of the hides of the workers instead of through a struggle against the capitalists. Most workers defend Charter 77 militants against the Husak regime, but don't support it themselves because they've seen that only mass uprising have any impact on how much freedom they have. They don't expect this from Charter 77.

There are also honest militants who falsely think that Charter 77 can be a launching

point for a revolutionary movement.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN EURO-STALINISTS

And then there is the leadership of Charter 77 which wants to direct youth and workers toward pressuring the Stalinist bureaucracy into changing itself, block unity with the WORKERS of West Europe and America, foster illusions in bourgeois democracy and organize the youth behind the imperialist/Stalinist phoney human rights pact.

They try to turn the youth against the October Revolution and Lenin; claim it is responsible for the lack of rights in their countries.

This group includes former leaders of the Stalinist party and regime around Dubcek who proved incapable of controlling the workers, were ousted by the Kremlin, and put up no resistance in 1968 and 1969, less openly compromised reformers of the Stalinist party like Kriegal and Sabata, and centrists who continue with it, like Jiri Pelikan, editor of LISTY.

The nature of the leadership of Charter 77, which falsely claims to have no political program, is clearly expressed in some of the more recent documents they've issued. "Ten Years Since Prague Spring," issued by several Dubcekists, says things are getting as hot in Czechoslovakia as they were ten years ago and more or less offers the ruling Stalinists the signers' services in cooling them down. Another, titled "100 Years of Czech Socialism" isn't openly treacherous, but simply criticizes the Husak bureaucracy and offers no way out. The document implies that the Czechoslovakian youth and workers should take the same road as their predecessors did a hundred years ago: organize an electoral party and mass trade unions to reform the state, as if the workers had learned nothing in a hundred years.

As for Pelikan, he considers any workers movement which doesn't get some influence in "THE PARTY" a "flash-in-the-pan."

The leadership of Charter 77 (the Dubcekists, Kriegal/Sabata, Pelikan) is an expression of "Eurocommunism," that tendency within and around the Stalinist apparatus which, in response to the mobilization of the proletariat and the demands of imperialism, seeks even closer cooperation with imperialism; the reform of Stalinism in power, and attacks Lenin and the October Revolution.

The Czechoslovak Euro-Stalinists all meet with their

counterparts in Western Europe-- Carillo of Spain, Marchais of France, Berlinguer of Italy. They all refer to each other in glowing terms.

While these leaders claim they will change the Stalinist apparatus and win freedom by building a movement with Charter 77, this same apparatus is harrassing and interrogating Charter 77 signers. Husak's gang has already led one young worker, Joseph Kazik, to commit suicide. It murdered a professor, Jan Potocka, through interrogation. Countless others have been arrested and trials are being planned. As if this isn't enough, Kremlin tanks are all over Eastern Europe and are maneuvering outside Prague.

Their program is a fraud and a trap.

The Fourth International is fighting everywhere to clarify this basic question. Reform or revolution? Unity with the youth and workers or the imperialist bourgeois democrats of Western Europe and America? A Leninist party or an all-inclusive swamp?

It's fighting to break youth, workers and militants from Charter 77, lead them in drawing the lessons of the struggle in Czechoslovakia and in joining the fight to build the party.

Cyril Martin, a leader of the Fourth International's Czech section discussed these questions in a recent interview and emphasized that it is a struggle to break the agreement between the "executioners of the Czechoslovakian revolution and the imperialists."

The pseudo-revolutionaries in and around the United Secretariat are trying to block this struggle.

They basically advance the conception that Charter 77 is providing and "opening" for the workers, that this reformist movement can be more or less spontaneously transformed into a revolutionary movement to bring down Stalinism and that the construction of the Fourth International and its party isn't necessary.

While it may sound like a smart "tactic"-- to support a legal movement which seemingly everyone can agree on, make it big, and then when there's enough commotion and room to move around in, come out with your "own" program-- this "tactic" has a name-- opportunism.

The fundamental problem of the revolution is the lack of understanding of the necessity and possibility of independence from Stalinism and conscious political organization on this basis. With this everything is possible.

Without it nothing is possible. Such tactics do nothing to resolve this problem. They exacerbate it.

This pseudo-revolutionary policy has been outlined in a series of articles recently appearing in THE MILITANT and INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS/INPRECOR by David Frankel, Niklaus Kroeger, Anton Peschke, Peter Uhl, and Ludwig Kavin who appeared at a forum held by the LCR in Paris and Jan Kavan who appeared at one held by the OCI in Paris.

These articles include statements like:

"All the experience of anti-bureaucratic mass mobilizations shows that such semi-legal opposition groupings (Charter 77) can become focuses for politi-

calizing and reactivating the workers."

And-- "One thing is clear. It is a mistake to set up a little group and call it a revolutionary party... The party has to grow naturally out of a broader movement."

Or-- "...the masses seek(ing) a radical change in the conception of socialism and of the 'leading' role of the single party (centrist code word for Leninist party)..."

What is more interesting is that the authors, in particular Kroeger and Peschke, are forced to lie to justify this policy and are evidently aware of it, for no sooner do they put forward a lie than do they add a qualifier to ameliorate it.

First-- "Ten years after 1968, the dominant tone, then, is one of demoralization of the masses." An outright lie designed to portray the working class as something which needs reactivating.

Then-- "...it has still not been possible to achieve 'national reconciliation.'" A qualifier to save the author's skin.

First-- "...the limited sovereignty that Brezhnev (the Kremlin - MC) wanted to impose by force is being challenged by the Eurocommunist CP's." A lie designed to portray the Stalinist reformers as the reactivators.

Then-- "The Czechoslovak CP reformers were induced to bow to Moscow's diktat." Another qualifier.

These lies are justifications for their refusal to take responsibility for the fate of the Czechoslovak workers and their revolution. They charge the Stalinist reformers with this task and blame the workers.

Their representative in Czechoslovakia, Peter Uhl, has signed Charter 77 and renounced the construction of the revolutionary party. He says it's "music for the future."

This has given this policy a legitimacy in the eyes of youth who still look favorably toward Trotskyism and don't realize Uhl's claim to be Trotskyist is false.

September 27, 1978

DECLARATION OF THE PORE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THE MILITARY RETREATS!

(REPRINTED FROM LA AURORA #181, JOURNAL OF THE SPANISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

Workers!

Four months ago the Francoist Army initiated a Military Tribunal against Miguel Salas and the weekly, LA AURORA because of an article that, according to the military Act of Accusation, "insulted the Army" presenting it as a "band of assassins."

Immediately the Fourth International began in Spain and around the world a campaign of mobilization against the new Military Tribunal. But at the same time, throughout the campaign we declared: WHAT WE WANT IS THE TRUTH!

We wanted to struggle against the reinforcement of the Army of "the Crusade" in this Constitution that the Cortes is cooking up, and to warn the workers against this Constitution. We want to boycott it. And for this reason we did not look for excuses in front of this Military Tribunal. We demanded its cancellation and THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ARMY AND OUR AFFIRMATIONS. To make our accusers defend themselves!

Which would be proved by answering how to designate the role of the Army, of this very State in the civil war, how to designate the mass executions after the war, when at the same time the Constitution tries to institutionalize the coup of the King and the military against this very Constitution!

...That would be proven if one had to speak about the Armed Police and the Guardia Civil in Pamplona, San Sebastian, Malaga, Renteria, Victoria....!

In this way we wanted to demonstrate the necessity for the workers to organize against the bourgeois state, to reject the Constitution which is trying to keep the apparatus of the Francoist state and to boycott it. Struggling against this Military Tribunal against LA AURORA by converting the accusers into the accused, and the working class into the accuser and judge of its

hangmen!

Comrades: We also wanted to prove that it concerned a pre-mediated and illegal political attack against the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain. At the beginning of this year the police accused the PORE of having stolen weapons from the Air Base of El Pani. The Army initiated a Military Tribunal, while detaining and torturing our comrades. The provocation shattered when we began to demonstrate that the evidence pointed to the accusers themselves and today the Army DOES NOT DARE to speak any more about the supposed "robbery of El Pani." We proved that the new Military Tribunal was the continuation of this previous frustrated attack of the Military against our party.

Workers!

This week Miguel Salas was informed of the decision of the Capitan General to RENOUNCE THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL and to provisionally suspend the accusations.

A VICTORY!: a victory without concessions, without compromise, and which now shows the road to struggle against the terrorism of the state.

During our mobilization against this Military Tribunal more than twenty others have been launched by the Military against rights. The PORE proposed to all workers organizations and parties a common struggle against the Military Tribunals....

....some thought that it was "more prudent" not to organize and to hope to arrange something with the military, some judicial maneuver.

The retreat of the Military proves that THIS WAS NOT THE METHOD and that nothing can be won being silent like lambs. We mobilized, attacked, accused: here are the results! while militants of the UGT, of the PTE and other groups were condemned thanks to the cowardly silence of their leaders.

...Other groups, like the LCR, told us that without the Spanish Communist and Socialist

Parties our mobilization was "not representative." They wished that we would leave Miguel Salas to the Military Tribunal as they abandoned their assassinated comrade in Pamplona, dissolving demonstrations because they were "not representative." And without a doubt our international struggle represented at least a sufficient threat to stop the Military Tribunal without changing one of our ideas or slogans.

...Not one other organization joined our mobilization against this and all the Military Tribunals. Today we continue to call for a struggle against the other Military trials which are going forward UNDER THE COMPLICIT SILENCE OF THE TREACHEROUS LEADERS. THE PORE WON: EVERYONE CAN WIN BY FIGHTING!

Comrades: Our struggle continues. On one hand, because in any case Miguel Salas and LA AURORA are also the object of a trial against freedom of expression in the "Audiencia Nacional" (new name for the well-known "Tribunal of Public Order" of Franco). WE WARN all workers that the collapse of the legal repression against the PORE will move the political forces of the Francoist state to look for new means of attack and provocation, along the lines of the crimes of Escalas, El Pani, Madrid, supported by this very state. On the other hand, because the Military have not pronounced themselves on the most important questions. We have in front of us the Official document of the Capitan General:

What does it say about the content of the expression that they said was insulting, calling the Army a "band of assassins"? NOTHING.

What does it say about the mass executions, the death penalty, the role of the bourgeois state, and the proof given that these expressions are normally used by the population?

NOTHING. It avoids all fundamental problems.

What does it say about the fact that LA AURORA, to begin

with, still is an illegal paper?

NOTHING. It hides this ridiculous juridical contradiction.

Instead, the Military cites the "weak distribution" of LA AURORA and the fact that "Miguel Salas was on vacation," as arguments to cancel the Military Tribunal, avoiding in a not very elegant manner THE REAL FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL. The real reasons are POLITICAL and cannot be hidden: they cancelled the Military Tribunal because they FEARED the workers DISCUSSING the army and the Constitution.

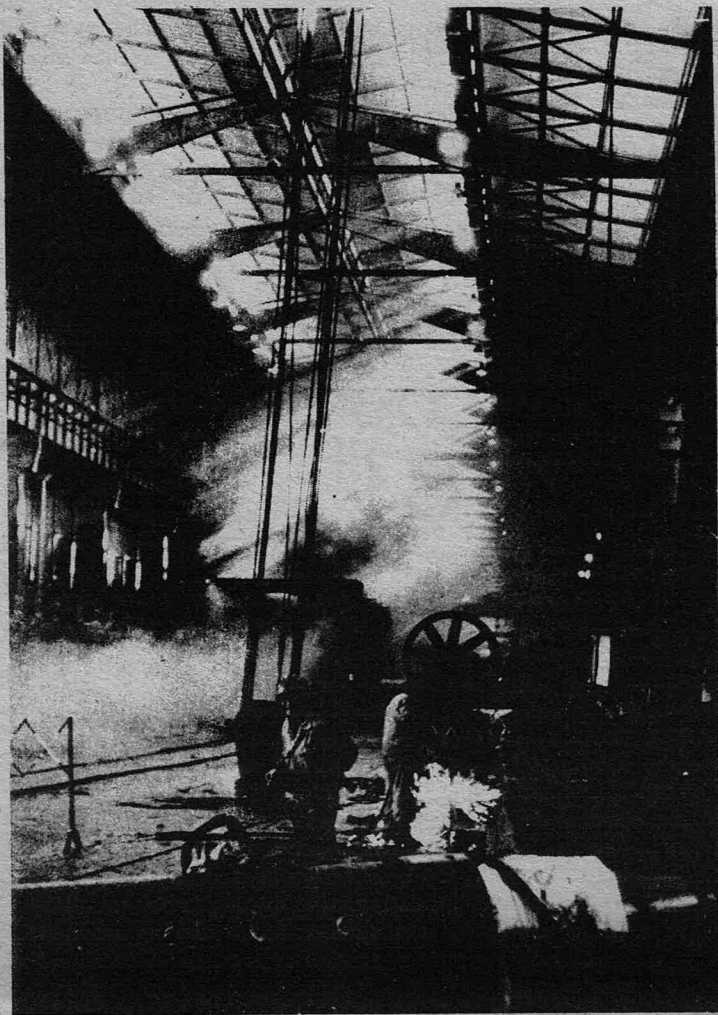
The explanations of the Auditor General about the responsibility of the editor of LA AURORA and its distribution, dealing with a paper that is STILL ILLEGAL, organ of a party EXPRESSLY PROHIBITED until now, not only proves the contradictions of the present legality which carries arbitrariness to the height of ridicule. It also demonstrates that today LEGALIZATION IS A RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES, between the old Francoist apparatus of the state kept alive thanks to the treacherous collaboration of the SCP and PSOE, and the struggle of the working class which the treacherous leaders have not succeeded in submitting to the terrorism of the bourgeois state.

Thus: Forward to the legalization of the PORE, Spanish Section of the Fourth International and its paper, LA AURORA! Forward to stopping the other Military Tribunals against workers and anti-Francoists, to prevent the other trials against LA AURORA and to the suspension of all previous trials and the freedom of all anti-Francoist prisoners!

Boycott the Constitution of the Military! Down with the Monarchy of Military Tribunals! Down with the Terrorism of the Bourgeois State!

August 27, 1978

"Industrialization"-SWP's Cure-all



By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

"One thing should be clear. Simply sending the majority of our present cadres into industry and into the industrial unions is not in and of itself the solution to building a mass revolutionary party of workers. The key to doing this is winning thousands and thousands of workers to the party. (Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, September 1978).

The key to building a mass revolutionary workers party is winning masses of workers to the party. Really?

On the surface such a statement would seem to be unnecessary and hardly very enlightening. But there is more to the SWP's new "industrialization" policy than empty theories. Nor is this the first time recently that an organization of the American left has tried to go into industry. The fact of the matter is that even giving the SWP the benefit of the doubt as to the sincerity and intentions of their industrialization program-- they are already seven or more years late.

What was the SWP doing in the late 60's and early 70's when SDS, the International Socialists, the Maoists and the Communist Party were all engaged in pitched battles over this very question? When they were in a position to intervene in the struggle in various organizations and could have

gained members and influence?

While the SWP was building "red universities" militants of other organizations were drawing lessons from these industrialization programs. That without correct strategic aims and a correct program such "industrializations" are not necessarily progressive.

For instance, the wing of the International Socialists that claimed to be the most rabid supporters of industrialization, to the complete exclusion of the importance of Marxism, used this question as a club to eventually maneuver the IS into a cozy alliance with the trade union bureaucracy, expelling a third of its membership in the process. Positions which they now occupy in the leadership of several UAW locals.

As Barnes correctly remarks, Trotsky proposed a "forced march" of the party into industry and now Barnes tells us that the leadership of the SWP is carrying out that proposal. But when Trotsky proposed industrialization it was to carry out a revolutionary policy in the unions. Is this so with the SWP?

Once again, back to the anti-war movement where the SWP first openly developed its "new radicalization" theory, writing off the American working class as the revolutionary vehicle of history. Once more back to the SWP's policy during the anti-war movement as the policeman of the left, defending the refusal to take the anti-war

movement into the unions with the notion that students and the "new working class (professionals, teachers) were the only progressive sectors capable of opposing the war and imperialism.

Now, when the trade union bureaucracy is in full crisis, when the generation of 1968 has been in the factories for 10 years, the SWP has discovered the proletariat. Why the change?

SPONTANEISM is the link between both periods in the policy of the SWP. Jack Barnes writes in the same article: "And the moment that any significant forces move toward an actual break with capitalist politics, we will support and champion them--independent labor candidates, independent Black or Chicano candidates, campaigns that challenge the capitalist parties and set an example for mass independent political action. Such candidates could shift the whole framework of political discussion in the unions with lightning speed."

How wonderful that when the workers spontaneously break from capitalist politics the SWP will be the best cheerleaders for the workers. And until then the SWP will continue to support the "left" wing of the trade union bureaucracy -- Ed Sadlowski, Arnold Miller, Doug Fraser, as the best show in town. With "criticism" of course.

Barnes goes on to try to elaborate a strategy for the unions. Amid glowing references to the importance of "democracy" and independence from the capitalist state, the real policy of the SWP is never mentioned.

In the same issue of ISR Andrew Pulley writes an article on the importance of the right to vote on their contracts for the steelworkers, an example of "democracy," never mentioning that Ed Sadlowski, who the SWP is still trying to resurrect as an example of independent political action, supports and enforces the ENA-- the Experimental Negotiating Agreement which takes away the right to strike for steelworkers. So the workers will be able to vote on a contract that they cannot fight for at all! How "democratic" of the SWP and Ed Sadlowski. And how clever to try to pawn this off as the fight for trade union democracy.

And independence from the capitalist state? Excuse us, Jack, but isn't it the SWP that has come up with the "modernization" of the transitional demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours by calling for the US Congress, the anti-working class Congress, to pass a law guaranteeing full employment and to "write into every contract" the demand, 30 for 40?

Of course, since American workers aren't quite ready to break with capitalist politics, according to Barnes, revolutionary demands wouldn't be of much use in the unions anyway. Better to let

things lie and wait for the great rebellion which will develop with "lightening speed" and which the SWP will "support and champion" just as soon as it happens.

But by far the most significant contribution of Barnes to the revision of Marxism is the new theory of the "three sectors" of the working class:

1. "The working class as a whole"
2. "The labor movement" and
3. "Those who consider themselves socialists or political radicals."

Here Barnes has arrived at a complete vulgarization of historical materialism in favor of a crude sociological analysis of the vanguard of the working class. Not without reason, however. If this "industrialization" is not to destroy the centrist leadership of the SWP it is absolutely essential that it not be oriented towards the most revolutionary section of the working class-- the vanguard that doesn't even exist in Barnes anti-Marxist schema. The spark of the revolution--the working class youth.

The black, Latin and immigrant youth who are driven like slaves in the factories, who are against any kind of "trade union politics" because of the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy and the centrist parties who claim to be revolutionary. The radical youth who WILL respond to a party of uncompromising struggle against the Frasers and Sadlowskis but who will only be demoralized by the centrist policy of the SWP.

In place of the true vanguard of the American and world revolution, Barnes has invented a new vanguard; one that is already "socialist or political radicals." In other words, the Stalinist and other centrist organizations who were smart enough to undertake industrialization a decade before the SWP was forced into it. The SWP wants to pick up the pieces and call this "unity" and party-building. Like their recent unprincipled "fusion" with the RMC.

But it will be the real vanguard of the working class-- the young generation of the proletariat-- that will shatter the SWP's "industrialization." Because before there can be a revolution in this country the youth will have to wage a political fight against this centrist party and its allies in the workers movement and finish with them once and for all.

The "forced march" of the SWP into industry is not the march proposed by Trotsky toward the revolutionary vanguard. It is a march into the grip of the crisis-ridden trade union bureaucracy, hated and despised by the young vanguard of the working class every bit as much as their slave-driving bosses.
September 28, 1978.

Steelworkers Convention -- "Right to vote" -- for what?

The annual convention of the United Steelworkers of America took place last week in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The convention showed the deep crisis of the McBride leadership of the USW and the possibility for forging a revolutionary leadership among the steelworkers to throw out this corrupt, anti-working class bureaucracy.

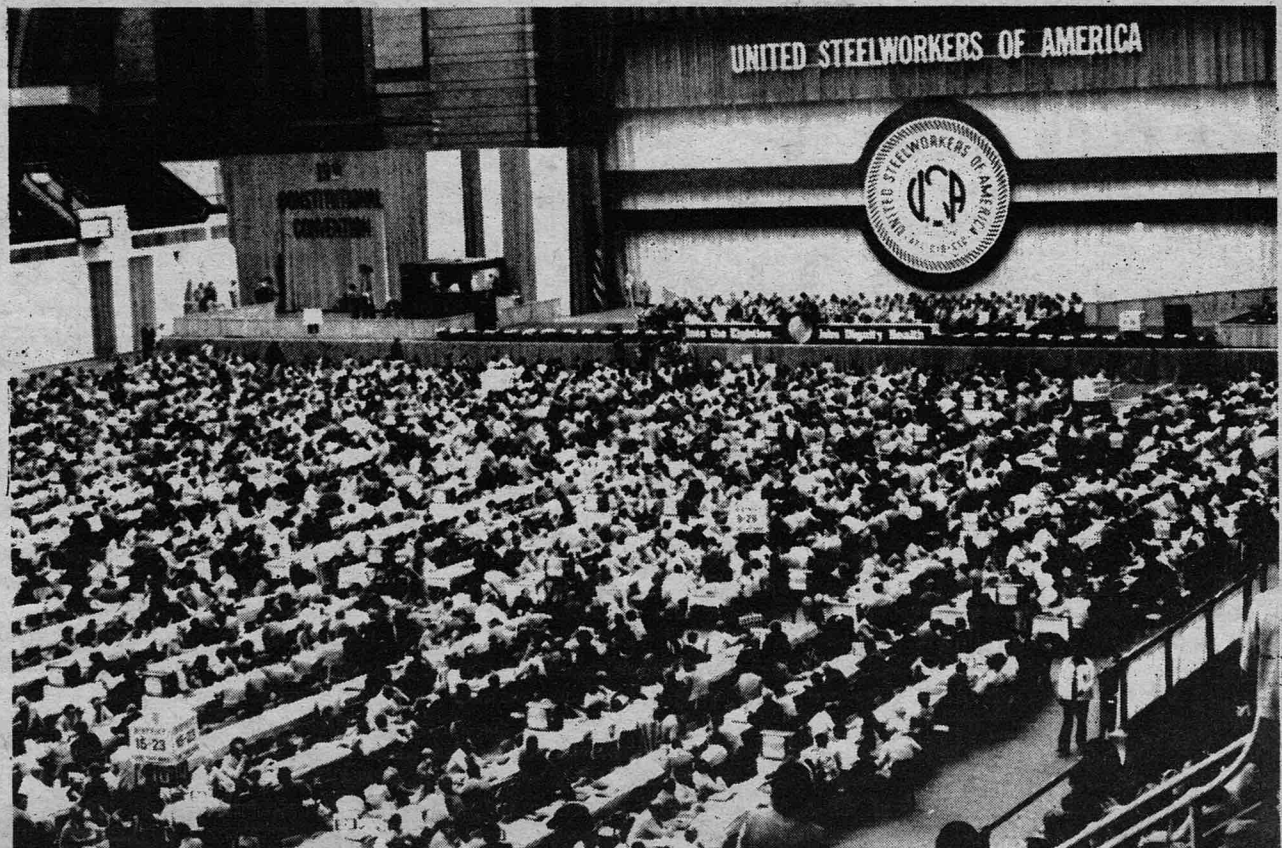
The discontent of the steelworkers with this bureaucracy was revealed not only in the large vote obtained by Ed Sadlowski in his fight for the presidency of the union against McBride, but also in the number of strikes that broke out in steel last year -- above all the iron workers strike in Northern Michigan and Minnesota in defiance of the ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) which forbids the right to strike in the USW.

In the face of this discontent, the McBride bureaucracy had to resort to the most bureaucratic, goon-style methods to keep the convention from exploding. Not only was the convention packed with hand-picked, paid staff members, but a roving goon squad was formed of over 1,000 bureaucrats to intimidate delegates inside the convention and to physically attack workers and left organizations trying to sell their press outside the convention.

Every honest worker in the USW must protest against these goon squad attacks and the red-baiting of McBride which only serves to hide his own treachery and collaboration with the bosses.

All the potential in the world exists for transforming this deep discontent of the steelworkers throughout the country into a revolutionary fight to throw out the McBride regime and replace it with a leadership committed to fighting for the interests of the steelworkers, a revolutionary leadership.

But there is an obstacle in the way of this. The same reformists who two years ago tried to derail the discontent of the steelworkers behind the reformist campaign of Ed Sadlowski are



at work again. Just as Sadlowski ignored all the fundamental issues in front of the steelworkers in his campaign, above all the fight against the ENA, promising to "study" the question, and against the Democratic Party (now Sadlowski openly campaigns for Democratic Party candidates), so these reformists are today trying to channel the discontent of the steelworkers into a campaign for the "Right to vote on the contract."

Of course revolutionaries are for the right to vote on the contract. But this campaign, which includes everyone from the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, to pure and simple bureaucratic hacks, is designed to "get everyone together" and ignore all the fundamental ques-

tions in the USW.

Like the fight against the no-strike pledge. What's the use of voting on this contract if there's no right to strike? And the fight to replace the McBride leadership. What's the use of voting on a contract written by these traitors?

By hiding these issues from the steelworkers under this "right to vote" campaign, by trying to unite the discontent of revolutionary young workers in steel with bureaucrats and Democratic Party hacks, the Stalinists and SWP are not only blocking any kind of real fight for the right to vote on the contract, but above all are blocking a real fight to throw out the McBride leadership.

Far from the "lowest common

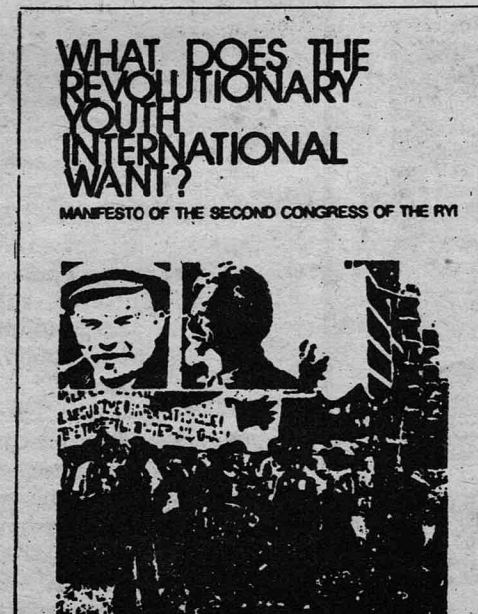
denominator theory" being a good "tactic" in politics, this "right to vote" campaign, by throwing the young workers together with the Balanoffs and Sadlowskis, is an obstacle to the mobilization of the most militant steelworkers.

And hides the central questions and demands for the steelworkers which are:

1. Complete independence of the USW from the state -- No binding arbitration; For the Right to Strike; No support to the Democratic Party.
2. Complete Union Democracy, Which cannot be won without --
3. Throwing out the McBride leadership and replacing it with a revolutionary leadership.

September 27, 1978

RYI Read-Distribute!
INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD



TRUTH

HARPER-GRACE

DROP THE CHARGES!

The trial of Harper-Grace hospital workers, arrested during a month-long strike, is set for October 14th. Charged with disorderly conduct, the workers are really going on trial in order to defend their right to strike. This is the truth that the facts in the case show.

Accused in the case are David Heffelfinger, member of the Trotskyist Organization and striker, Ida Jefferson, nurses aid at Grace Hospital, Victor Jacobs, orderly at Grace, James Hatchet, a Business agent of Local 79, and Ruby Gartner, who picketed with the strikers.

The events center around the police harassment of strikers at Harper-Grace's Northwest facilities, though heavy police surveillance and harassment was present at the new downtown hospital as well. The community around the Northwest branch is a large black suburban area which whites have long since fled for the suburban townships.

Most of the cops involved in the arrests were rookies from Coleman Young's crash recruitment program. If nothing else, the harassment proves that despite

the racial makeup of the Detroit police, they are still on the side of the ruling elite and their racist state. The strike enjoyed great support among people in the community around the Northwest Grace Hospital and undoubtedly this had much to do with the cops decision to "keep the natives down."

For several days preceding the arrests police had been illegally preventing strikers from crossing the driveway to Grace Hospital -- an area of public access protected (supposedly) for picketing by law. This provocation not being sufficient, the police also engaged in verbal abuse of strikers and handed out tickets as often as possible. They also refused to let strikers sit down even for a second to rest, claiming this constituted blocking traffic. Finally, on the night of the first arrests they arrested Ruby Gartner for allegedly parking her bike on the grass! And insisted on taking her down to police headquarters for "booking."

The strikers stood together and protested to officers that the arrests were illegal and plain harassment. Police continued

their abusive activity trying to cause more trouble and provoke an incident. Finally, the three were arrested -- Heffelfinger, Hatchet, and Gartner -- and all taken down to police headquarters where they were held without opportunity to make bond until their arraignment the next afternoon. Witnesses report that although there were only a dozen or so strikers present that night, **NINE SQUAD CARS AND A POLICE HELICOPTER WITH SPOTLIGHT TRAINED ON THE SCENE WERE MOBILIZED TO MAKE THE ARRESTS.**

As anyone can see these arrests were provocative and intended to break the will of the strikers. The Trotskyist Organization calls on all Harper-Grace workers to demand the **CHARGES BE DROPPED!** Show up for the trial and support those arrested.

Telegrams may be sent to:

Mayor Coleman Young
City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Copies of messages should be sent to the Harper-Grace Defense Committee, PO Box 07066, Detroit, Mi. 48207.

DEFEND THE RAIL STRIKE!

As we go to press, we have learned that the Carter government has threatened to intervene in the national strike of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) who have extended their strike against Norfolk and Western Railway throughout the country. The nation's rail system is virtually shut down.

As they did with the miners, the Carter government threatens to declare a "national emergency" to force the rail workers back to work. It didn't work then and it won't work now.

Solidarity with the rail workers! No government intervention!

There may be an "emergency" as far as BRAC workers are concerned who have gone 11 weeks without pay. But no "emergency" for the rail bosses who have gotten together and are paying Norfolk and Western \$800,000 a day to break the strike!

Since the bosses are prolonging the strike--make them pay! Auto workers must refuse to be laid off, refuse to leave the factories unless they are given FULL PAY for this capitalist-caused "emergency."

**SOLIDARITY WITH THE RAIL WORKERS!
DOWN WITH THIS ANTI-WORKER
GOVERNMENT!
September 28, 1978**

Jail Henry Ford for "Pinto" murders!

The wave of deaths caused by defective cars, notably the exploding gas tanks of Ford Motor's Pinto, already responsible for at least 59 deaths, has caused an Elkhart County, Indiana, grand jury to indict Ford Motor Co., for reckless homicide, a felony, in the deaths of 3 teen-age girls.

These deaths are murders. Murders caused by the capitalists who own the corporations in their insatiable greed for profit. At the grand jury hearing, Ford engineers testified that the company knew of the problem but refused to do anything about it. In the past five years Ford has been sued for -- and lost -- millions of dollars in civil suits. all the while claiming "no admission of guilt." These greedy capitalists have allowed these murders in order to save money, to save their reputations. These murders must be avenged!

The revenge will not come from the grand jury. Already the local prosecutor has

assured Henry Ford that the action is "against the corporation" and not against any individuals. Most likely, Henry Ford won't even have to trouble himself with appearing in court!

No. The purpose of the indictment is to take the pressure off the government, which has actually helped Ford cover up these murders. To try and make this bourgeois government appear NEUTRAL -- that it is above the conflicts of the workers and capitalists and can mediate these "special interests" in the interest of the WHOLE society. But it hasn't and it can't because this government belongs to Henry Ford, one of Carter's earliest supporters, and the other capitalists, and exists to serve their interests.

This indictment comes while the same government is engaged in a nationwide campaign of massive jailings, of court orders against striking

teachers and public employees. In Bridgeport, Conn., over 200 teachers have been jailed in military barracks. Their crimes? Refusing to work without contracts, to work for less money than last year. Refusing to "obey" the capitalist judge. Henry Ford MURDERS and won't even stand trial. This is "justice" under the capitalist system, under Carter's "human rights."

We say -- Indict Henry Ford for these murders. Let him sit in jail for a year or two awaiting trial like most young blacks and workers do. Let him go to trial with some public defender attorney who "plea bargains" his life away. And, when he's convicted, give him a proper punishment. This is the only way that true justice can be served.

And it won't happen under this capitalist system.

F.V.
9/24/78



**WANTED
FOR
MURDER**