

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

FROM INDOCHINA TO THE AMERICAS

STALINISM: LOYAL SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM

The war between China and Vietnam appears to be winding down. Militarily, this is simply a border war, but its significance goes far beyond this. For American workers this war has a special meaning.

It isn't just the fact that Stalinism has given the U.S. bourgeoisie more material for its anti-communist propaganda machine, trying to identify the crimes of Stalinism with real communism, with Leninism.

"Communists at War," "The Red Brotherhood" read the headlines of the bourgeois press while Carter maintains his hypocritical "neutrality," hoping people will forget the fact that he met with Vice-Premier Deng only a week before the invasion began.

For American workers and youth this war has also brought up all the old, unresolved questions of the Vietnam War. On one level workers are asking: Will we be sent over there again? But on a more political level they are asking: Who was right? What did our mobilization against the Vietnam War lead to?

Because then and now the most class conscious workers, the militant youth and soldiers believed that Vietnam was wrong. That it was an imperialist war. That the U.S. had no business being there.

And that once the U.S. Army was out of Southeast Asia everything would be fine; the people there would be able to live in peace.

All this SEEMS to be stripped away by the current events in Vietnam. Now U.S. imperialism is saying: See, the problem was not "imperialism," they hate each

other as much as they hated us. The anti-war movement was an exaggeration, there is no need for any of that today.

All lies. The anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments of American workers and youth have not been stripped away by the propaganda about the China-Vietnam War. On the contrary, they have never been greater.

Among workers and youth there is MORE hatred for this government and its imperialist plots than ten years ago. But there is a certain strata in the working class movement that feels demoralized by the events in Asia. That feels deceived.

Because what HAS been stripped away is the POLITICS of all the PETTY BOURGEOIS politicians in the workers movement who have spent the last ten years APOLOGIZING for Stalinism and CONCILIATING with U.S. imperialism. A strata in the workers movement which is not working class but is PETTY BOURGEOIS and represents not the workers, but imperialism.

They are deceived because they have spent the last ten years; around the question of Vietnam and every other question in front of the American working class, HIDING Stalinism from the workers.

Which can no longer be hidden.

Hiding the presence of the USSR, Chinese and North Vietnamese Stalinist bureaucracies in Vietnam. Claiming that all that American workers should concern themselves with was "Out Now!" which was neither a fight against Stalinism in Vietnam NOR a fight against U.S. imper-

ialism at home.

The same people, above all the petty bourgeois and pseudo-Trotskyists organized in the Socialist Workers Party, not only hide and apologize for Stalinism in Vietnam, but do it throughout the Americas.

Apologize for Fidel Castro, the "revolutionary" who says he would vote for Carter in 1980 while he supports the military dictatorships in Latin America. And in the U.S. hide and apologize for the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party which is the mechanism through which the Kremlin and the American Communist Party exercises its influence in the working class.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA says that the latest events in Southeast Asia prove that the Stalinists are the PETTY BOURGEOIS SERVANTS of U.S. imperialism inside the workers movement.

Nothing more nor less. Not only is there no "contradiction" in a fight against U.S. imperialism and Stalinism at the same time-- IT IS THE SAME FIGHT! You cannot fight U.S. imperialism without fighting its Stalinist agents in the workers movement.

It is not an accident that the SWP, which hides Stalinism in Southeast Asia under the pseudo-revolutionary "imperialism is the main enemy" line, also hid the Democratic Party politicians, the trade union bureaucrats and the AMERICAN Stalinists in the anti-war movement.

It is also not surprising that the same people who today say "imperialism is the main

enemy" also say that "there is no immediate political perspective for the American working class."

Because they said the same thing about the working class in 1968. Because THEY have no political perspective. The pseudo-Trotskyists and the petty bourgeoisie have no political perspective because they are tied to Stalinism-- which is indeed no perspective for American workers and youth.

We say that there IS a political perspective for American workers. A way to finish what the anti-war movement began: a fight against U.S. imperialism by destroying its Stalinist agents--in Asia--in the Americas.

The perspective of a fight to RETURN TO LENIN! by building the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

Which must immediately be concretized in a fight to separate the workers from the petty bourgeoisie in the workers movement, by separating workers politics from petty bourgeois and Stalinist politics. A fight to build a movement for a WORKERS PARTY against not only the Democratic Party but against Stalinism and the pseudo-Trotskyists as well.

This was the task that was unfinished in 1968. The revolutionary lesson of Vietnam for American workers. The fight for a WORKERS PARTY is the task that American workers and youth are more ready than ever for today.

March 8, 1979

TRUTH

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE: **RETURN TO LENIN**

Who Speaks for Autoworkers?

On March 27 the UAW will hold a Production Workers Conference in Detroit. The supposed purpose of this Conference is to discuss the demands that the UAW will fight for in September when the contracts with the Big Three expire.

It sounds "democratic." But this Conference will be a farce. A farce organized by the UAW bureaucrats not to organize the struggle in 1979 but to DISORGANIZE it.

Hasn't Doug Fraser, President of the UAW, already declared that "it is too soon to talk about the issues"? Then-- what IS this Production Workers Conference going to do?

Let out some hot air. But more precisely, to have the upper-level UAW bureaucrats convince the middle-level bureaucrats who will then go out and tell the committeemen in the plants that there are still "no issues" and everybody had better "sit tight" until the International leadership comes up with its "strategy" in September.

Above all, to continue to pass off the illusion that this handful of bureaucrats and lackeys represent the interests of the hundreds of thousands of production workers in auto.

While the layoffs continue at Chrysler. While the speed up and forced overtime continues at Ford. While GM continues its campaign to crush the UAW.

When every autoworker is asking: How can we fight back against the rising inflation? What can we do to end Carter's declared war on the workers and oppressed in this country?

Fraser and his bureaucrats say that there are "no issues" because the #1 issue in front of every UAW worker is: How to get rid of this

bureaucracy which is a noose around the necks of every autoworker?

It is "too soon" to talk about the 1979 contract because the UAW bureaucrats haven't finished making workers accept the 1976 contract!! The hundreds of local strikes, wildcat strikes and the fact that many locals have STILL not signed the 1976 local agreements prove this.

Prove that this UAW bureaucracy is SCARED TO DEATH of the workers and their potential mobilization.

But they still have a stranglehold on the union. They don't speak for the workers-- But who does?

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and its members and supporters in the UAW believe that this question has to be answered. And that the only way to answer it is to CONFRONT these bureaucrats and their Production Workers Conference by organizing autoworkers to fight for their real demands.

Our meeting in Detroit on March 18--"Join the Movement in the UAW for a Workers Party"-- to discuss the situation facing autoworkers, to discuss their demands and organize the political struggle to build a new leadership for the UAW --will do this.

This meeting is open to every autoworker and youth who believe that Fraser and Co. don't speak for them and that the real voice of production workers must be heard in the UAW. It is open to every autoworker who wants to begin now to insure VICTORY IN '79.

March 8, 1979
TRUTH

**Meeting--Sunday--March 18th--
Wayne State University Rm. 277 2:00 pm**

A Platform of Combat for Victory in '79

--NO COOPERATION! With Carter's austerity program. With the high cost of living. With layoffs. Or with speedup.
--WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES! A sliding scale of wages based on a price index determined by Workers Committees.
--RECALL ALL THOSE LAID OFF SINCE 1973! For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. Work to be divided up among all those able to perform it. Union wages for the unemployed and a program of education and public works for

the unemployed youth.
--ELECTION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES AND WORKERS CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION! For control of production standards and workloads by independent committees of workers, elected in the plants. For the right of the union to control production standards.
--A NATIONAL STRIKE OF ALL AUTO! Against the "target company" strategy of Fraser. For national and local general strikes of the Big Three. Led by: FREELY ELECTED STRIKE COMMITTEES!

--FOR FACTORY OCCUPATIONS OF KEY PLANTS! A tactic proven in Flint 1937 in the strike that organized GM. And again in Mack Avenue Stamping plant in 1973.
--NO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS! For the unconditional right of every worker to know what is going on in negotiations with its class enemies. Workers delegates to be elected from the plants to sit in on negotiations.
--OPEN THE BOOKS! No bleeding hearts for capitalist profits. Exact accounting to workers committees of claims made by companies. And if the bosses prove to be unable to continue production:
--NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!
--FOR A SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW TO LAUNCH THE FIGHT FOR A WORKERS PARTY! This convention to be prepared by autoworkers themselves under the control of Workers Inspection Committees. Break with Fraser and the Democratic Party for a WORKERS PARTY and the nomination of a workers candidate in 1980.

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The results for TRUTH #89 were:

Ford River Rouge	12
GM Chevy Gear & Axle	26
GM Fleetwood	6
GM Chevy Warren	11
GM Cadillac	8
Chrysler Lynch Road	5
Chrysler Warren Stamping	4
DETROIT (Total).....	90
FLINT	57
TOLEDO	8
OTHER	20
TOTAL	175

Dump Carter — But How?

By JON COHEN

The 1980 Presidential elections are more than 20 months away. But the campaigning and maneuvering to decide who will become the next chairman of the board of this imperialist, racist and terrorist state has already begun.

On March 3 Carter announced the formation of a campaign committee. These "campaign committees" have a proud history. Remember, it was Nixon's "Committee for the Re-Election of the President" (CREEP!) that brought us Watergate and other nice things.

But no one in Las Vegas or anywhere else would give you very good odds on Carter's chances for re-election. His popularity is now lower than any other president in modern history. A recent NBC/Associated Press poll found only 28% of the population giving Carter a good or excellent rating for his performance.

To put it bluntly-- Carter is finished. Not especially because of his "performance" or his "indecisive personality" but because he was NEVER accepted by the American working class which from 1976 until now has waged a continual fight against his anti-working class government and has constantly defeated all of his maneuvers, including the "human rights" one. Not a single President since Eisenhower has completed two terms of office, an expression of the continual crisis of the U.S. bourgeoisie and its repeated attempt to provide "new faces" or old ones to hold back the American and international working class.

Rats are the first to jump off a sinking ship. The same thing holds true for bourgeois politics. After having guaranteed his election in 1976, the same Democratic Party politicians are jumping off Carter's sinking ship.

Jerry Brown, the Governor of California, made a national tour last week preparing for the announcement of his candidacy. In New York, Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein announced his support for Ted Kennedy. And in California a group called "Democrats For a Change in 1980" was formed which placed ads in local newspapers declaring that Carter "has neither listened nor led." Another front group for Ted Kennedy to add to UAW President Doug Fraser's "Progressive Alliance," the "SOS" coalition and various other liberal groupings.

To top off the cake, Detroit's Congressman John Conyers, the liberal darling of

the Communist Party, has called Jimmy Carter "a hopeless, demented, honest, well-intentioned nerd who will never get past his first administration."

Conyers has a lot of nerve. Which is precisely the point of this "Dump Carter" movement. To make workers and youth forget the not-so well-intentioned "nerds" who put Carter in office in the first place. Who keep Carter in office. And who only want to "Dump Carter" today in order to save this rotten, discredited Democratic Party from destruction.

THESE "nerds" are the real problem for American workers and youth. The Conyers, Frasers, Coleman Youngs, McCarthys, McGovern and Kennedys who are behind this "Dump Carter" movement. Because there is a reason why they are starting this "movement" over 20 months before the Presidential elections.

It certainly doesn't take 20 months to pick a candidate. They can do this in a back-room in a few hours. Nor is the excuse of the "primaries" a valid one-- they are a colossal bore. In 1976, less than 1/3 of the REGISTERED voters bothered to vote in them.

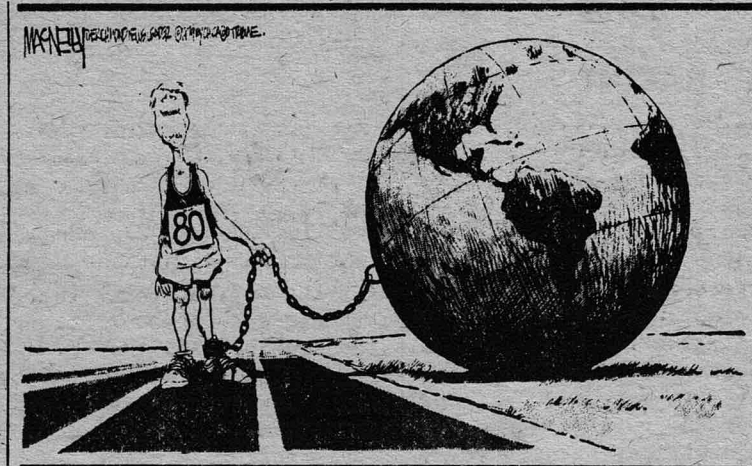
It is the CRISIS of U.S. imperialism, of the Carter regime and the Democratic Party which demands that they start so early. Not to find a real alternative to Carter for the workers and youth. But to spend the next 20 months COVERING for the Carter regime.

To spend the next 20 months trying to make workers and youth believe that the problem is the "nerd" Jimmy Carter and not the imperialist, racist and terrorist state that he manages for the American bourgeoisie. To spend the next 20 months trying to hide and patch up the crisis of the Democratic Party. To make workers believe that the problem with the Democratic Party is its "personalities" and not the fact that it is a CAPITALIST party.

To spend the next 20 months implementing Carter's austerity program and to hold back the mobilization of the workers and youth in the name of "victory in 1980."

20 months of deception and betrayal is what these liberals and trade union bureaucrats have in mind with their "Dump Carter" movement. To make workers and youth so sick of what is passed off as "politics" in this country that another hangman will be able to peacefully walk into the White House in 1980.

Since the renewed offensive



of the international and American working class which began in 1968 this has been the history of Presidential "politics." A "Dump Johnson" movement in 1968 which led to the blood in the streets of Chicago and the election of Nixon. The "Dump Nixon" movement in 1972 which taught the youth "a lesson" by giving Nixon another two years. And the election of Carter in 1976, a supposed "revenge" for Watergate-- which saw Nixon again eating in the White House in January 1979.

All in the face of the uninterrupted mobilization and revolt of the American working class and its youth against this system. The deeper and deeper disgust with capitalism, the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats. But a vicious circle on the political level.

A vicious circle of mobilization, revolt and then betrayal. Betrayal, mobilization and revolt. Organized by the left wing of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats who over and over have blocked the working class from a political solution on the level of their own party and power in this country.

A vicious circle which has made the most militant workers and especially the youth apathetic towards "politics." Who resign themselves to bourgeois politicians and think that they they will only go on more strikes, organize more protests or abandon this system entirely.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA says that it is time to break this vicious circle. To take the "Dump Carter" movement out of the hands of the liberals and bureaucrats. Out of the path of certain defeat by organizing workers and youth to TAKE OVER THE POLITICAL SCENE.

Dump Carter? Yes! But who?

The WORKERS AND YOUTH in this country must Dump Carter-- they are the only group in this

society which has a real score to settle with him. And how?

By organizing the break with the Democratic Party and the break with all those in the workers movement who are trying to stop this break. Not through abstentionism, but through an OFFENSIVE to take "politics" out of the hands of the liberals, the bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the centrists.

Thus, the Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes to American workers and youth that they begin their own "Dump Carter" movement now. Not to spend the next 20 months wheeling and dealing, lying and cheating, disorganizing and demoralizing, as everyone else plans to do.

But to spend the next 20 months in POLITICAL ACTION. To build a movement for a WORKERS PARTY and a WORKERS CANDIDATE in 1980. To spend the next 20 months building this party and forging the program for this candidate in the daily actions of the workers and the youth.

In every strike, in every protest, in every revolt of the youth, in every political or working class meeting to raise this political perspective and to build this party step by step.

A WORKERS PARTY and a WORKERS CANDIDATE! must be the demand of every worker and youth who wants to transform the revolt and hatred for this system into a political solution for the entire working class.

There are only a small minority of people who are actively part of this movement today. Already more people than the handful on Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission which chose Carter in 1976. But we can guarantee that if this movement begins today and continues throughout the next 20 months it will make the "surprise" given to U.S. imperialism recently in Iran seem like a drop in the bucket.

March 6, 1979

GERMANY:**After the Steelworkers Strike:
What Balance Sheet?**

REPRINTED FROM LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE, FEBRUARY 1979

By ANTOINE BALINT

The longest strike in West German history has just ended; the 100,000 steelworkers in the Ruhr have gone back to work after six weeks of struggle. The trade union leadership not only used a "unique" voting system to end the strike (25% of the vote is necessary to end a strike, but it takes 75% to start one!), but they even falsified the voting results. They had reasons for doing this-- none of the demands of the workers were met.

The blast-furnace workers in the Ruhr have gone back to work, but nothing will be the same. This strike, coming after the strikes of the dockworkers and printers, was imposed as a political strike from the beginning-- by its demands and its confrontations with the trade union bureaucracy, by the attempts of the workers to enlarge it, to centralize and defend their strike. The Ruhr steelworkers did not obtain the 35 hours of work a week that they demanded against the brutal speed-up and to provide work for the unemployed (there is more than a million unemployed).

By the thousands, the Ruhr steelworkers confronted the trade union bureaucracy, by the thousands they understood that the present leadership in the unions, of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in power, acts in the interests of the bourgeois state against the legitimate demands of the workers.

By the thousands, the workers asked: why didn't we win, although we have the strength, why has the enormous strength which we have built ourselves-- the unions-- been turned against us? The confrontations with the trade union bureaucrats have already begun a movement of rupture with the Social Democratic leadership and delivered a severe blow to the Schmidt government and its policy of "self-management" designed to maintain and defend the bourgeois state. But the fact that the workers are moving away from the opportunist leaders is not enough to win. What the Ruhr steelworkers cruelly lacked was a working class and independent political perspective, this is what has to be clarified.

A trade union delegate from the Mannesmann-Huckligen factory

(interviewed in ROUGE #842), one of those who voted against the betrayal of the strike, posed the question: "How can we get rid of this leadership? All the discussions are about this question. The road will be hard, but they (the workers) are ready." This worker, a member of the SPD, is seeking a political response when he speaks of the bureaucratic leaders. He says: "I think that they understand it (trade unionism) as a factor of integration into this state ... that they act more in function of their party card-- SPD-- than in function of their union card."

This balance sheet of the strike expresses the effort of the workers to act independently from the bourgeois state as well as all the difficulties that they are finding in seeing class independence as a struggle for the political rupture with the opportunist leaderships. The Ruhr workers find themselves confronted with the same political problems that their comrades in Spain, East Germany, as well as in France and the USA confront-- to overcome hesitation in order to pass to the political offensive. In fact, you cannot get rid of this leadership that this worker talks about in a combat that is limited to strictly a trade union terrain. The problem is not that the leaders are not loyal to "their union cards." The West German workers find themselves confronted with the Social Democracy which is at the head of the bourgeois state and which defends this state THROUGH the unions. The struggle for class independence, including the renewal of the leadership of the unions is a necessity felt by the workers due to their balance sheet of the strike of thousands of workers, but it can only succeed if the workers politically break with the agent of the bourgeoisie-- the Social Democracy.

Is the struggle for class independence against the Social Democracy separate from the struggle against Stalinism? All the experiences of the German working class prove that this is impossible. The Social Democracy at the head of the West German bourgeois state, like the East German Stalinist

bureaucracy, are both functionally opposed to the reunification of Germany. The division of the proletariat into two parts is the centerpiece of the bourgeois order in Europe. The Berlin Wall which separates the German workers does not prevent the bourgeois and Stalinist governments from collaborating. During the steelworkers strike it was the East German bureaucracy who supplied the West German steel mills, playing the role of strikebreakers, hand in hand with the Schmidt government. Like in 1953, when it was the West German government which closed the borders in face of the revolt of the East Berlin workers who were seeking the support of their brothers on the other side of the frontier.

Yes, the obstacle found by workers on both sides of the Wall is the coalition of their enemies who fraudulently call themselves "workers leaders." It is the perspective of the revolutionary reunification of Germany, against this Sacred Union of Stalinists and reformists which must serve as the basis for the clarification of the balance sheet of the strikes from Jena in the East to the Ruhr in the West.

On the road of political clarification the German workers will find some people who in appearance support their struggle, who seem to be on their side. These are the organizations who pretend to speak in the name of the Fourth International. What is the balance sheet that the French LCR, pillar of the "United Secretariat" has drawn of the Ruhr strike? That of "anti-bureaucratic defiance." The LCR thus blocks the movement and political reflection of the most radicalized workers, who precisely are trying to pass from defiance to the offensive. As for the OCRFI led by Lambert-Just, it also tries to draw this movement backwards. The OCRFI, which is present in Germany through the IAK, does not stop at observing the "defiance" like the LCR, it advances a political perspective: "Like all German workers, the steelworkers are rejecting the policy of collaboration of the party which they stand for (!) the SPD, with the bourgeois FDP." As if it was the electoral alliance of the SPD with the tiny



bourgeois group, the FDP, that determines the bourgeois and anti-working class nature of the Schmidt government. And as a solution the OCRFI proposes that the SPD (that is, Schmidt) "call in common with IG-Metal, a united demonstration for 35 hours of work, to hire the unemployed." (INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES #883). To ask the strikebreakers to defend the strike-- this is the corner that the centrists want to shut the workers into. We say to the workers, to those who want to "get rid of this leadership," that they are right to be seeking the road to their independence. We say that this road passes through the combat to renew with the Leninist policy through a conscious struggle to break the workers from the influence of the bankrupt leaderships.

Germany will be united, the Berlin Wall will be brought down by the proletariat on both sides of the wall of shame, under the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe, over the ruins of the Stalinist and reformist leaderships. January 27, 1979

SPAIN: Slanderers out of SEAT!

REPRINTED FROM LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE, FEBRUARY 1979

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain (Section of the Fourth International) protests against the campaign of slanders against our party, launched at the SEAT factories by the PSUC and OCI (1). This campaign culminated in an assembly in the sports stadium where they prevented Alfonso Bech, a SEAT worker and a member of the Central Committee of the PORE from speaking.

We call on your class consciousness against the cries and threats launched by the leaders of the PSUC of which certain leaders even abandoned the podium to lead a provocation against our comrade. It is not enough that they have let the heads of the factories REFUSE THE REHIRING of Alfonso Bech-- they also wish to prevent him from speaking to you.

Fascists? Provocateurs? Since when do workers fear the WORDS of provocateurs? Why doesn't the PSUC want you to hear the propositions of the militants of the PORE? What are they afraid of?

Comrades, they are afraid of you, they fear that you will listen, that you will decide. Because if this shameful slander campaign of the PSUC and OCI would disappear, THEIR ONLY "ARGUMENT" AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY POLICY OF THE PORE AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL would disappear in a minute.

Fascists? Comrades -- have you heard this refrain before?

To the cry of "fascist dogs" Stalin judged and shot, in the 30's, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and ALL of Lenin's comrades.

Fascists? With this cry, Ramon Mercader, militant of the PSUC, was sent to Mexico to assassinate Leon Trotsky, Lenin's companion, founder of the Fourth International.

Fascists? To the cry of "Trotskyite-fascists" the leaders of the PSUC permitted, organized and covered for the kidnapping and assassination in 1937 of Andres Nin, founder of the POUM and many other anti-Stalinists.

Comrades-- how can you tolerate these SAME METHODS-- those of Stalin-- to reappear at SEAT and be employed again by THE SAME LEADERS of the PSUC? Wasn't 1939 (2) enough? Stop

these methods which only benefit the counterrevolution. Workers have no fear of the WORDS of fascists. Let the workers decide who are collaborating with the fascists!

We, who are STILL PERSECUTED because we raise high the banner of the class independence of the proletariat? Or those who defend Franco's police, who sign pacts with Suarez?

Workers at SEAT! Tell the leaders of the PSUC and the militants of the OCI: YOU ARE NOT IN PRAGUE! YOU ARE NOT IN HUNGARY! TO "NORMALIZE" BARCELONA YOU LACK THE KREMLIN'S TANKS! DOWN WITH SLANDER AND PROVOCATION!

Our comrade Alfonso Bech is a worker and a revolutionary. Who among you can reproach him for this? He wants to be REHIRED WITHOUT CONDITIONS because he wishes to be in the factory at your side. But the leadership of the factory, with the complicity of the factory committee has refused his rehiring. He is not only a worker, he is also a revolutionary. How can you reproach him for this, even if you do not believe in the revolution? He doesn't receive the wages of a bureaucrat or politician, to lead this struggle requires sacrifices known by everyone, like the sacrifices you make. Who, except a bureaucrat, can reproach the sacrifices of a revolutionary worker?

Our party is prohibited by the monarchy, but we have nothing to hide from the workers! And we have a lot to say:

The most important thing is that this campaign is A MANEUVER AGAINST THE STRIKE, organized by the leaders who have no hope of controlling it, stopping and deviating the struggle at SEAT. They are afraid of you listening to us, that you take up our proposals.

The PORE proposes to form a Workers Cortes of representatives of factory committees and it has formed a slate of candidates in the elections. A candidacy that they wish to prevent. Because our candidacy doesn't claim to attach the workers to the regime but TO ORGANIZE THE GENERAL STRIKE against the monarchy and its patrons.

It is thus that our candidates including Alfonso Bech,



propose a clear platform to unite all the strikes underway, strikes that the Spanish CP and PSOE are dividing and separating. The platform is simple and can win if the workers unite around:

- Workers control of production; while the capitalists try to keep their property in this open crisis, we want to impose the control of the committees over the conditions of work and employment. The first step:
- immediate 16% wage increase, with a MONTHLY revision of wages in function of the cost-of-living.
- a guaranteed 40 hour week and the opening of the books to increase employment and production.
- Not a single layoff, not a single factory closing, rehire all those laid off.

Comrades-- Around this platform you can centralize all the committees and assemblies and prepare the general strike. On the 23rd autoworkers in Barcelona will again go on strike. SEAT

workers; STRIKE ALSO! and call on all the factories to unite in a general strike, to coordinate the delegates, to impose WORKERS CONTROL and the WORKERS CORTES...

Comrades-- if someone tells you that these are the propositions of "fascists" they are the ones who are betraying you. Never lose sight of this, above all during a strike.

SLANDERERS OUT OF SEAT! READMISSION OF ALFONSO BECH INTO THE ZONA FRANCA!

Barcelona Committee of the PORE

Notes

1. PSUC: Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluna, Stalinist party, branch of the Spanish CP in Catalonia. OCI: Organizacion Cuarta Internacional, group of the Organizing Committee of Lambert-Just in Spain.
2. 1939-- end of the Spanish Civil War which marked the defeat of the revolution.

"the spartacists" 5th Column of the Sacred Union

We are reprinting the following article which appeared in the February 16 issue of LA AURORA, the newspaper of our Spanish Section. It concerns the latest police slanders of the American Spartacist League. We have attacked the police machinations of this "Spartacist League" many times in TRUTH-- American workers and youth will now be heartened to see the anti-working class nature of this group exposed in front of workers and youth throughout the world. An exposure which can only help

American workers and youth in their struggle to place these slanderers outside of the workers movement.
March 5, 1979
TRUTH

We are talking about the organizations and militants in various countries who circulate around Robertson's North American "Spartacist League". Spanish workers will soon see why we are talking about a group so far re-

(Continued to PAGE 9)

RETURN 1

By JON COHEN

On March 2-6, 1919 the Founding Congress of the Third International met in Moscow. Delegates representing over 33 countries overcame the difficulties of the blockade of Soviet Russia in order to reach Moscow and take part in this historic advance for the international working class.

The Third International held four congresses until it fell victim to Stalinist degeneration and betrayal in the late 1920's. But the lessons and acquisitions of these four congresses remain historic capital for the workers movement, capital which is part of the Program and struggle of the Fourth International today.

Yet today the significance of the Founding Congress of the Third International goes far beyond the question of history or "commemoration." The decisions taken by the Founding Congress and the Congress itself are living questions for today's working class and youth. Questions which concentrate the preparation of the world revolution today.

This is proven by the fact that today, as perhaps never before since 1919 itself, has there been a greater all-out theoretical, political and PHYSICAL attack on what the Founding of the Third International represented. Under the heading of a campaign against Leninism.

"Communists at War" says the front page of TIME magazine. "The Red Brotherhood at War" editorializes the NEW YORK TIMES as they say: "They are singing 'The Internationale' on all sides of the Asian battles this week as they bury the hopes of the Communist fathers with the bodies of their sons." Everywhere the bourgeoisie is using the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to try to bury Leninism in the minds of the workers and youth, to bury any hope of the only road out of this system of capitalism-- the road of the international proletarian revolution opened up by the Founding Congress of the Third International 60 years ago.

To try to make workers and youth believe that "The Internationale," is as much a piece of hypocrisy as the "Star-Spangled Banner," to erase U.S. imperialism's crimes in Vietnam by now saying "See, Communists do it too." To offer the rotten stinking corpse of bourgeois democracy as the only "reasonable" alternative for the workers and youth.

In short, to attack everything that the Third International stood for in 1919 and that the Fourth International stands for today. In order to bury not only Leninism but anyone who stands for the same things now.

In this attack the bourgeoisie has the aid of the traitors of the working class inside the workers movement. The Stalinists-- who buried the Third International a long time ago and today act to disgrace the name of communism and Leninism in the eyes of the working class and to serve the bourgeoisie in betraying the revolution throughout the world.

The way they did it in Spain in 1936. In France in 1968. In Chile in 1973. And in Indochina today.

But today there is a new stage in this Stalinist betrayal. Previously, the Stalinists had always used the prestige of Lenin, of the Third International, of the October Revolution in order to practice their policy of betrayal. But this no longer works.

It no longer works because the lessons of Lenin, the Third International and the October Revolution are closer today to reality than they have ever been before and because the

Stalinists can NO LONGER CONTROL the workers and the youth with their "prestige."

The bourgeoisie demands even more from its Stalinist servants. It demands that they directly ATTACK and try to BURY Leninism in the working class. That the Stalinists become OPEN SUPPORTERS OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY. To prevent the workers and youth from seeing that Leninism is the only revolutionary alternative to bourgeois democracy.

Thus, a wing of the international Stalinist apparatus called "Euro-Communism," represented especially by the Communist Parties of France, Spain, Italy and their allies in Eastern Europe has come out into the open in the last few years. It is an openly pro-capitalist, restorationist wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a wing which openly collaborates in the maintenance of the bourgeois governments in power in Europe and the domination of U.S. imperialism around the world. All of these parties have openly renounced the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as their goal, all of them have renounced Leninism and the idea of proletarian internationalism.

You would be very wrong if you thought that this was simply a political or theoretical attack on Leninism, a "discussion" as the pseudo-Trotskyists call it.

This "discussion," this joint campaign against Leninism on the part of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism is only one part of this attack. The other part is the physical campaign to exterminate and isolate the revolutionary wing of the working class and the youth under the supposed campaign against "terrorism." To attack all those who refuse to submit to bourgeois "democracy" and its capitalist states as "terrorists" and "provocateurs."

Why does all of this necessitate an attack on Leninism. What does it have to do with the Founding Congress of the Third International?

Because for workers today the Founding Congress of the Third International is a response to this anti-Leninist, anti-terrorist campaign carried out in the name of bourgeois "democracy." The central Theses adopted by this Founding Congress was Lenin's "Theses on bourgeois democracy and the proletarian dictatorship."

For youth of today who really want to know what the "International" is all about or why the "Red Brotherhood" was really founded, and why there is such hatred for Leninism today, this is what Lenin's "Theses on bourgeois democracy and the proletarian dictatorship" had to say:

"In the present state of things, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only absolutely legitimate as an instrument for the overthrow of the exploiters and to crush their resistance, but even more, is absolutely indispensable to the entire working population, as the only means of defense against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which caused the war and which prepares new ones."

And for today's proponents of "human rights," for the "Euro-Communists" and their pseudo-Trotskyist followers:

"The most important point, which the socialists do not understand and which constitutes their theoretical myopia, their imprisonment in bourgeois prejudices and their political treason towards the proletariat, is that in capitalist society, while the class struggle is developing, there is no place in between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and

the dictatorship of the proletariat. All dreams of an intermediary solution are only reactionary lamentations of the petty bourgeoisie."

And for those still sitting in a military dictatorship's "Constituent Assembly" in Peru and dreaming of one in Iran: "This ridiculous attempt to combine the system of Soviets, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the Constituent Assembly, that is, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, at once reveals the poverty of thought of the scab socialists and Social Democrats, their-reactionary and petty bourgeois character and their cowardly concessions in face of the growing irresistible force of the new proletarian democracy."

The Founding Congress of the Third International is especially important for workers and youth today because it represented the delimitation of the class independence of the proletariat against all the attempts of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers movement to tie the workers movement to the dying corpse of bourgeois "democracy." The opposition of WORKERS DEMOCRACY to "human rights" represented the axis of class independence in 1919 and represents its axis today.

Only a party standing on the basis of this opposition of workers democracy against bourgeois democracy in all of its manifestations can claim to represent the interests of the world proletariat and can claim to continue the struggle of the Third International.

The MANIFESTO adopted by the Founding Congress declared: "To demand of the proletariat that like meek lambs they comply with the requirements of bourgeois democracy in the final life-and-death struggle with capitalism is like asking a man fighting for life against cutthroats to observe the artificial and restrictive rules of French wrestling, drawn up but not observed by his enemy."

In other words, capitalism plays dirty. And anyone who tells workers to play by its rules is either a fool or a conscious traitor.

But this is precisely the fight of the working class today-- against all those in the workers movement who today tell workers to fight "by the rules"-- which means a submission of the interests and the independence of the working class to the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

For this reason the fight of the Fourth International to win today's youth to a fight to RETURN TO LENIN! by constructing the world party of the socialist revolution is not a historical question but a question of the most important, living questions in front of the proletariat today.

Workers Democracy against bourgeois democracy and its "human rights." The class independence of the proletariat against all the attempts to tie the workers, their unions and organizations to the bourgeois state. The defense of the revolutionary young fighters of the working class against the attempt to hunt them down under the guise of a campaign against "terrorism."

RETURN TO LENIN! by waging a combat in the workers movement to politically defeat those who stand in the way of class independence, who represent not the workers, but the BOURGEOISIE and its terrorist state inside the workers movement-- the Stalinists and their pseudo-Trotskyist allies. Just like in 1919 the fight of revolutionaries today is first of all a fight against the obstacles inside the workers movement who represent the old order.

FOUNDATION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

TO LENIN!



Lenin, at the Founding Congress

First of all a fight to draw a clear line between those who are fighting for a new society, a new democracy and those who conciliate with the old order and play by the rules" -- set up by cutthroats.

All of this would remain abstract and sterile without the instrument to lead this combat. All of Lenin's writings would have been hollow, the resolutions of the Third International would have been just talk without the one essential ingredient that brings them to life-- THE PARTY-- the organized expression and instrument of Marxism.

This is the acquisition of the founding of the Third International that surpasses all the resolutions it ever adopted. That Lenin, the Bolshevik Party and a handful of revolutionaries throughout the world decided in March 1919 that the fight of Marxism, the defense and extension of the October Revolution, could only be achieved through the foundation of a new, INTERNATIONAL PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. That this party had to draw a line of demarcation between the revolutionary forces in the working class and those representing the interests of the bourgeoisie AS A CONDITION for the preparation of the world revolution.

That the decision and action to found the Third International was the highest expression of the class independence of the proletariat and that Lenin's International today, the Fourth International continues to be the highest expression of class independence.

On the most concrete level the fight to RETURN TO LENIN! today is a fight to defend and develop the Fourth International as the instrument of the class independence of the proletariat, as an international center of the socialist revolution and its preparation. Against its mortal enemy-- Stalinism-- and against the pseudo-Trotskyists who use the name of the Fourth International in order to block the break of the youth with Stalinism.

In this framework there is a very specific aspect of the anti-Leninist and anti-terrorist campaign of the bourgeoisie and Stalinists directed against the revolutionary wing of the working class. A very specific aspect of this campaign directed precisely at the organized continuity of Leninism today-- the Fourth International.

The bourgeoisie needs more than headlines reading "Communists at War" or "Red Brotherhood." This propaganda is not enough to demoralize the most conscious and militant workers or prevent them from finding their way



to the Fourth International.

The same is true for the Stalinists. The most militant youth don't believe Carrillo when he calls ETA militants "fascists." The most conscious workers don't believe the Kremlin when it says that all those in Eastern Europe fighting for independent trade unions are "lunatics." They are no longer able to organize "Moscow Trials" against the Fourth International.

The "experts" in attacking Leninism and its Trotskyist continuity in Washington and in Moscow have concluded-- the police machinations against the Fourth International must be given a "Trotskyist" cover as the only condition for any hope of confusing or demoralizing the most militant workers and youth and blocking them from finding their way to the Fourth International.

From Moscow to Budapest to Warsaw to Paris to Barcelona to New York to Detroit there is a common agreement. A common agreement held by the same people who think that Leninism is dead, who think that bourgeois democracy should be "respected" and think that anyone who disagrees is a "provocateur."

This common agreement is that the Fourth International is "dubious," "crazy," "provocateurs," or, in polite circles, "sectarian." And that Michel Varga, a leader of the Fourth International and one of the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is a "CIA-KGB" agent.

This slander campaign is led by Lambert-Just of the French OCI with the complicit silence or active support (Spartacist League) of all the pseudo-Trotskyists around the world and the SWP in the United States. But this slander campaign is much more than an affair of the pseudo-Trotskyists. Not just a case of "organizational rivalry" or "name-calling" as some workers view disputes "on the left."

The slander campaign of the pseudo-Trotskyists and all those who keep silent in the face of it is the last link in a CHAIN OF DEMORALIZATION that extends from the bourgeoisie and its "Red Brotherhood at War" to the "Euro-Communists" in which the pseudo-Trotskyists play their role by attacking the Leninists of today

as "provocateurs," "crazy" and "highly dubious."

Sounds far-fetched to you? Perhaps we have a case of paranoia? But what do you think is the response of those in charge of such matters in the Kremlin and Washington, D.C. when they read the American Spartacist League linking Michel Varga to Jim Jones? Or their response when they hear Jack Barnes, the leader of the SWP, call the fight of the International Committee which maintained the continuity of Trotskyism in 1953 a CIA-FBI provocation?

And WHEN have you EVER heard one of these pseudo-Trotskyists say ONE POLITICAL WORD about the fight of the Fourth International throughout the world, either in their press or in public? Why have they no other response but slander?

Because these pseudo-Trotskyists exist not for their politics, which are nothing but warmed-over versions of the Stalinist politics of the Kremlin, but for one reason and one reason alone-- to demoralize the working class and its youth, to be the last link in the anti-Leninist campaign of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism through their attacks on the Fourth International. From the combat for Workers Democracy against the bourgeois democracy of the terrorist state, the fight for the class independence of the proletariat against all attempts to subordinate the interests of the working class and oppressed to "the rules" of the bourgeoisie, to the question of the international party which is the instrument of the class independence and the current slander campaign against the Fourth International.

But it only proves that the fight to RETURN TO LENIN!, to finish what the Third International set out to do, is a struggle on all levels to organize and define a vanguard of the workers movement. A struggle to build and defend the continuity of the Third International and Leninism today-- the Fourth International.

There is only one way to answer the lying hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists and their frantic efforts to erase the idea of revolution from the minds of the workers and youth. A combat to RETURN TO LENIN! A combat for the Fourth International. March 7, 1979

WOMENS LIBERATION

A New Clarification is Necessary

By ANN NELSON

What happened to the women's movement? Today it is associated with either the 60's or with women politicians in the Democratic Party. The conditions for women in the United States have not only not improved, they have worsened. Carter's austerity and wage freeze are hitting women workers the hardest. Women are also most ruined by the cutbacks in social services-- Medicaid, welfare and the new attack specifically against women through abortion funding denials.

This is not to say that women have stopped fighting. They haven't. Working women are striking in increasing numbers along with men. In no way have American working women submitted to the attacks of the government, but their plight today has reached a certain impasse.

The reasons for this impasse, or inertia, are political. What happened to the women's movement? It was betrayed. This betrayal took the form of channeling young militant women into the Democratic Party and into accepting reformist solutions to the oppression of women.

Those who are responsible for creating this reformist "alternative" are those who today cry the loudest about the "women's movement" -- the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, and the Stalinists of the American Communist Party.

Against this betrayal A NEW CLARIFICATION IS NECESSARY. To achieve this clarification, two things are necessary: 1) to determine of what this betrayal consists and who is responsible, and 2) to develop a new alternative for women of the working class who want to fight their oppressors.

The betrayal consists of channeling militant women into the Democratic Party. Today massive numbers of working class women reject the Democratic Party of Carter. They reject its wars, its inflation and its politicians. But some of the "left" talking spokesmen and projects of the Democratic Party have not been fully rejected by working women.

The Equal Rights Amendment is an example. Many working women feel lukewarm about the ERA, realizing it will make very little difference in the condition of their lives. Indeed, the champions of the ERA are petty bourgeois professional women and politicians, and the SWP. Although women should support a law which calls for women's equality, they must reject the METHOD OF FIGHTING FOR THEIR EQUALITY THROUGH THE PASSAGE OF

LAWS.

Working women must REJECT the methods of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, in a CONSCIOUS way. Women must reject the defensive way in which petty bourgeois women "fight" rape and wife-beating. Their purpose is to place blame on men and hide the true source of the brutality against women: the Democratic Party which represents this repressive system.

The Democratic Party and its capitalist government is fully responsible for the conditions which exist in the working class, -- unemployment, inflation, in-

adequate health care, etc. These conditions are directly responsible for the brutality and desperate violence which exists in the working class today. For the Socialist Workers Party, which speaks in the name of the Fourth International, and petty bourgeois women to promote only fear in reaction to rape, to isolate it as a "senseless act," who are willing to propose anything in order to avoid implicating the Democratic Party or capitalism, to blame men instead, this for them constitutes a conscious betrayal.

The Socialist Workers Party

has spent the last ten years trying to figure out how to best isolate "issues" in the women's movement, figuring out how to best restrict demands, how to turn revolutionary demands into reformist demands. In this way the SWP makes the smallest demands of women unachievable. An example is abortion.

The SWP has championed its abortion campaign as a single issue campaign in order to attract the maximum number of women to their "mass movement." This restricting of the demand, and placing it in the context of a reform, lets the real culprit



International Working Women's Day

In September 1909, young women workers struck the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York. This began the first general strike in the garment industry and was the inspiration for International Working Women's Day.

In 1910 Clara Zetkin proposed to the Second International Conference of Women Socialists in Copenhagen, to institute March 8th as International Working Women's Day. The day was first observed in Germany, Austria, Denmark and Switzerland in 1911.

International Working Women's Day is above all a PROLETARIAN holiday. It was begun in order to champion the struggles of working women who were fighting a double oppression by capitalism, as women and as workers. It was initiated by Communists, first proposed by Clara Zetkin, and later celebrated by the parties of the Third International, and in speeches by Lenin and Trotsky. The Resolution on Work Among Women for the Third World Congress of the

Third International said "Any adversary of the Third International is an enemy of women's liberation." With this, the Communist Parties showed that not only were they resolute fighters for women's liberation, but that for women to be liberated as women, they had to be liberated from capitalism.

On this holiday, since it is a proletarian holiday, it is necessary to do more than remember. It is necessary to insure that the conditions of women workers are CHANGED. On International Working Women's Day in 1920, Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party said: "Capitalism combines formal equality with economic and social inequality. That is one of the principal features of capitalism, one that is deliberately obscured by the supporters of the bourgeoisie, the liberals, and is not understood by petty-bourgeois democrats." It is this principle which must be understood by American working women if the conditions of

their lives are to change. A conscious rejection of the countless formal statements assuring equality and liberation under capitalism, and the development of a new alternative for working women.

Today, the USSR and other countries of the socialist conquests celebrate International Working Women's Day, but it is only a formality. The decrees of the Bolsheviks giving full equality to women under the law have been revoked and the dictatorship of the proletariat which would have laid the foundation for the REAL liberation of women, has been usurped by a treacherous bureaucracy and servant to capitalism.

International Working Women's Day is a proletarian holiday, and a holiday that can offer hope to working women all over the world, to take their destinies into their own hands against the oppression of capitalism and the betrayals of Stalinism.

A.N.

March 6, 1979

off the hook, which is the Democratic Party. So the Democratic Party decided that women on welfare couldn't get abortions. So much for the SWP's campaign! The SWP leaves the Democratic Party unchallenged except through the mildest propaganda about how wouldn't it be better if society were run for human needs instead of profits. It is not possible to fight for one demand in this way without trying to draw the true conclusions about the oppression of women, why it exists and who it benefits.

AN ALTERNATIVE

The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes, in order to begin to develop the necessary new political clarification, that young and working women join us in our fight to build a WORKERS PARTY.

A Workers Party because the Democratic Party is bankrupt and full of liars. It is necessary for workers to have a PARTY because opposition must be organized. Women should take up this fight for a Workers Party because workers need their own program as opposed to the program of austerity of the Democratic Party. And women need a Workers Party because in this framework the real and necessary demands of women can be fought for:

- Equal rights in unions
- Equal pay for equal work
- Equal access to education and jobs

Free child care, free abortion, adequate medical care and housewives committees to monitor inflation.

As a part of fighting to build a Workers Party, women in particular must fight the SWP's attempts to pass themselves off as leaders of women. Their proposals reflect the yearnings of the petty bourgeoisie and not the real demands of working

women. In their ERA campaign, the SWP has aligned itself with every imaginable liberal bourgeois politician like Gloria Steinem, to the trade union bureaucrats like Olga Madar of the UAW, but never has the SWP been caught associating itself with masses of working class women. And for them to pass off their treacherous policy as the policy of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is an attack on the whole working class and its leadership. It is a fight against this policy of turning the women's movement into reform side by side with bourgeois feminists, in this fight against the SWP that women can give real impetus to the building of a party of the working class which does not accept this method of reforms and associating with the petty bourgeoisie.

The SWP has written a document for the 11th World Congress of the Pabloite United Secretariat called "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation." The document is outstanding for the absence of any analysis of the state of women's struggles today, the consciousness of women and the possibilities for revolution. It seems strange that such important things could be missing from a document, but they are.

The document appears like an education text in which all conclusions are left out. This is above all because the SWP cannot draw the conclusions of the last 10 years of women's struggles because they are responsible for the inertia and failure for women to advance. It is a document which tries very hard to avoid the topic of revolution, making such statements as "all women are oppressed as women" trying to erase the deep division which exists between working class and bourgeois women. Or the document

campaign of the leadership of the OCI and the complicity of organizations like Robertson's is precisely the pressure of Stalinism, or even more exactly, the policy of this strengthened Sacred Union. According to these opportunist leaders, those who do not accept this official framework that they help impose is "crazy" or a "provocateur." These are the conclusions in particular of the anti-Leninist and "anti-terrorist" campaigns of Santiago Carrillo. Occasionally, the centrists like to use more ambiguous terms, like "sectarians." Thus the leaders of the LCR have responded many times to our proposals to this or that Stalinist attack, including the prohibition of the PORE by the monarchy by saying: "All this is fine, but if they prohibit or attack you the responsibility lies in your sectarian politics, which provokes."

The Robertson group acts on this terrain also. In the WORKERS VANGUARD of last January 5, referring to the massive



IRANIAN WOMEN DEMONSTRATE MARCH 8TH

100,000 Iranian women demonstrated on International Working Women's Day and again on March 10, shouting "Down with Khomeini!" and "We don't want another dictatorship"-- A living proof that the struggle for women's equality and the socialist revolution are inseparable.

makes slips, like saying that there are petty bourgeois women in the SWP, with which we would agree, but for them it is an interesting "slip." The document which could have been written in 1968, or 1970, but is a farce to appear today. Today it is clear that in order for women to advance they need an alternative.

To working women, and in particular young women who suffer triple oppression because of their class, sex and youth, the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on you to fight with us to build the Workers Party. The

fight of women must above all be PROLETARIAN and aware of its class interests. The fight of women must be against the Democratic Party of austerity and meaningless formal equality. The fight of women must be a conscious combat to build an alternative which all workers look to for leadership.

This is how the inertia and impasse of the women's movement can be overcome, and the road to women's liberation can be cleared of the obstacles of bourgeois feminism and reformism. March 6, 1979

5th Column

moved from their daily concerns.

In the first place, because their calling-card is their "dossier" on the "Varga case," the name through which the centrists prefer to hide the slanders that the renegades from Trotskyism, Lambert and Just, leaders of the OCI, are taking up against the Fourth International. The "Spartacists," forced by the international campaign taken up against the slanders to recognize that the accusations are in fact slanderous.... only then add that, in any case, Varga is a "highly dubious" figure and that the leadership of the PORE and the Fourth International in Spain is carrying out a "provocative" policy. The "Spartacists" thus take the lead of all those who, without directly launching the slanders of Lambert or qualifying them as slanders, give way to them and do not wish to fight them.

At the basis of this slander

assassinations in Guyana, they violently attack the position of our comrades of the Trotskyist Organization/USA for having called Jim Jones a "lackey of the Democratic Party." In reality he is "crazy," they say; to then add that "the strange response of the Vargaites" (earlier they reaffirm that Varga is "highly dubious") "demonstrates a vision of leadership that links them with all the Gerry Healys, Lyn Marcuses, ... and Jim Jones."

The politics of Robertson is that of spy stories. The repression of the opposition in the USSR, to read WORKERS VANGUARD concerning the trial against Shcharansky, is justified because of the existence of CIA agents in its midst. The economic exploitation of Jim Jones and his treachery towards the youth is justified, we now learn, by his "craziness." Political struggle is not the struggle that counts but instead it is the strength of the "intelligence agencies" and the psychopathological problems of

leaders. In the end, Carrillo says the same thing when he says that here in Spain the CIA is behind ETA and that the youth who defend ETA are "irresponsibles."

But in our case, the case of the "Vargaites"-- it is through this word that they try to hide the rebuilding of the Fourth International-- its "provocative" policy is explained first of all because of "dubious figures" and then, to at least militant youth, for being "crazies" and "sectarians." In any case, all of this talk disarms workers in the face of the "anti-terrorist" campaign of Carrillo which demands, in order to finish with working class independence, presenting every revolutionary as a terrorist and every terrorist as a fascist. The revolutionary workers have to put the "Spartacists" in their right place-- the garbage can of the workers movement.

February 14, 1979
Lluís Escobar

To Chicago workers and youth -- on the defeat for the Democratic Party machine:

FINISH THEM OFF!

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT, TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA

On February 27 Chicago voters inflicted a historic defeat on the Democratic Party machine. After 48 years of unbroken domination of City Hall, Jane Byrne, an "independent" candidate, defeated the machine's candidate, incumbent Mayor Michael A. Bilandic, in the Democratic Party primary for mayor.

The Democratic Party machine in Chicago is infamous, hated not only by workers and youth in Chicago but by the working class throughout the world. It was true that the "whole world was watching" in August 1968 as Mayor Daley's police brutally beat thousands of anti-war youth in front of the Democratic Party convention.

For millions of American youth the Chicago Democratic Party machine became THE symbol of the Democratic Party and nothing in the last ten years has erased the scenes of Michigan Avenue and Grant Park from the consciousness of an entire generation of the working class.

The machine was defeated through a record primary turnout as blacks, women and youth voted against the machine by a 2-1 margin. 67% of blacks, of those between 18-34 and of people earning less than \$10,000 a year voted against the machine.

It was a particular revenge for the black population of Chicago which has suffered the worst under the Democratic Party machine. Chicago is the most segregated city in the country, both in terms of education and housing. Blacks have suffered insult after insult at the hands of the machine and its corrupt, racist police.

The final straw came with this year's record snowfall. Only in Chicago could a government dare to plow only the streets of politicians and other big shots. Only in Chicago could a "friend" of the mayor be paid \$90,000 for a "snow removal study" which wasn't completed until the middle of February. And only the arrogance of the machine could force the City Council to pass a resolution praising the Mayor for his "snow removal efforts" as the City cut off public transportation to black neighborhoods.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA says that this defeat is a beginning for the workers and youth in Chicago. A beginning because it expresses their hatred for the Democratic Party, a symbol of everything that is rotten about this old order. A beginning

because it broke through the myth of the invincibility of the machine. The person who said "You can't beat City Hall" probably lived in Chicago.

But it is only a beginning. Because JANE BYRNE IS NO VICTORY -- she is no alternative -- she represents nothing that made thousands of blacks, women and youth turn out to vote.

Although she was "independent" from the machine in this election, Byrne was part of the machine for over 15 years, a protege' of Mayor Daley. She made this crystal clear the day after the election when she stated "I'm a Democrat. I believe in the Democratic Party. And I believe the Democratic Party will come out of this stronger than it ever was."

This isn't why thousands of workers and youth voted for Byrne. Nor did they vote for Byrne in order to keep Chicago under the control of the banks and large corporations.

This was clear as well just days after the election as the NEW YORK TIMES entitled an article on Chicago "Chicago Business men Expecting Usual Alliance With New Mayor." And John H. Perkins of Continental Illinois National Bank, Chicago's largest, declared: "The Chicago business community remains ready as always to carry on its full cooperative involvement with our city's leaders. The partnership will continue to play a significant role in maintaining Chicago's stature as 'the city that works.'"

The "city that works" -- off the backs of the Chicago working class.

Chicago workers and youth -- don't let this defeat for the machine turn into "business as usual!" The Democratic Party hacks are down for the count -- FINISH THEM OFF! And WIN CHICAGO FOR THE WORKERS against the banks and corporations by launching a fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT, controlled by the councils of the workers and oppressed population.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA has confidence in the workers and youth in Chicago. We are confident that you can continue not only your struggle to bury the Democratic Party machine, but to bury all the so-called "reformers" and "independents" who continue to serve the banks and corporations.

Thus we condemn and urge you to reject all those organizations in the workers movement who have responded to the events in Chicago by showing their total

lack of confidence in your power. The American Communist Party which continues to support the so-called "independents," DEMOCRATS who will only try to breathe new life into this machine.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which simply dismissed the events in Chicago as a "family feud." Very revolutionary-sounding, but let's look at what's behind it. They write in the March 9 issue of THE MILITANT: "While this family feud stole the headlines, the real advance for Chicago workers occurred several days earlier when the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld a decision lowering Chicago's signature requirement for putting independent candidates on the ballot."

This is the "real advance for Chicago voters" -- the Supreme Court reduced the number of signatures from 35,000 to 20,000! Thus, these miserable, petty-bourgeois courtroom "revolutionaries" counterpose 15,000 signatures thrown to them by the Supreme Court to the living, real and contradictory struggle of the working class to destroy the Democratic Party.

For the Trotskyist Organization/USA, for revolutionaries, ONE black worker, one youth who voted for Jane Byrne because they wanted to spit in the face of the machine is worth a MILLION signatures thrown out by the pompous asses of the Supreme Court.

And it represents a REAL advance because it is possible to discuss with this worker or youth and possible to propose a better alternative than Jane Byrne for them. While there is NOTHING to discuss with the Supreme Court or with these "lawyers for the revolution" which also goes by the name of the SWP.

Thus, the Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes to the workers and youth in Chicago, to those who voted for Jayne Byrne, to TAKE THE INITIATIVE in face of this defeat for the machine. Don't let the machine get off its feet -- FINISH THEM OFF!

By organizing the break with the Democratic Party into a movement of workers and youth in Chicago to found a WORKERS PARTY. A WORKERS PARTY that will fight on a workers program for the expropriation of the banks, the utilities, the large corporations -- For a WORKERS GOVERNMENT that

will end unemployment, provide decent schooling, public transportation and health care. A PARTY not for the banks, but for the workers and oppressed themselves.

-- Organize resolutions in factories, trade unions, schools, black and Latino organizations supporting this movement -- that the next step in front of Chicago workers and youth is the formation of their own party, a WORKERS PARTY, with a WORKERS PROGRAM.

-- Organize delegations from the factories, etc. of workers and youth who support this struggle to go to the polling places on April 3rd to win other workers to this struggle.

ON APRIL 3RD:

-- DON'T VOTE FOR CAPITALIST CANDIDATES -- neither Jane Byrne nor the Republican represent your interests or combat.

-- VOTE FOR THE SWP CANDIDATE AS A VOTE FOR THE WORKERS PARTY.

As far as we know, the SWP is the only non-capitalist party on the ballot. We urge workers and youth to go to the polls in order to convince others of the need for a Workers Party and to vote for the SWP. Not as a vote for their petty bourgeois "tax the rich" program, not for their abstention from the struggles of the workers and youth and their prostration in front of the bureaucrats and Democratic Party, but to express on paper, in numbers, a vote for a non-capitalist party and your desire for a WORKERS PARTY to be the next step forward for the workers and youth in Chicago.

-- CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE AFTER APRIL 3RD -- by continuing the political initiative of the working class, by continuing a fight in all struggles to build this WORKERS PARTY MOVEMENT.

This struggle has a significance for the entire American working class. If the workers and youth in Chicago can FINISH OFF the Democratic Party machine in Chicago by building their own, independent working class alternative it will be a historic step forward for the workers movement as a whole. The Fourth International in the U.S. will be in the middle of this fight and not in the courtrooms in Washington, D.C.

A fight which "the whole world is watching."
March 7, 1979

Drugs: Who Wins? Who loses?

By RICH TETRAULT



The youth in this country and throughout the world more and more fall under the attack of the bourgeoisie. The decay of the educational system, the rising inflation and unemployment, and the scarcity of real solutions have forced many young people to retreat, to abstain from the critical issues that affect their future and to turn to drugs with the idea that this represents some sort of a solution. The REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL wages an all-out battle against these attacks on the youth, to expose this treachery as an overall plan of the bourgeoisie to demoralize and control the masses. The social function of drugs as one of the major weapons of the bourgeoisie to not only control the youth, but to keep them from discovering a revolutionary solution to exploitation and imperialism.

Many "authorities" have been hard at work trying to understand and explain the "phenomena" of widespread drug usage. All the documents, investigations, and experiments produced over the past twenty years have done little more than inform us of something we were already aware of -- that drugs in general are potentially dangerous. Such "profound" revelations by the same people who in the 50's and 60's were busy developing mind control drugs in the Army and CIA. These same people who managed to put LSD on the market.

It is a fact that drug trade represents one of the most profitable businesses today. From this simple fact one can easily assume who are the vermin behind this insidious attempt to exploit and confuse the youth. High-ranking politicians, drug companies and organized crime form an alliance against the masses.

In an attempt to gain the confidence of the youth, the bourgeoisie enters into discussions about the decriminalization and/or legalization of what they refer to as "lesser drugs." All this talk of making marijuana the "smoke of the modern man" is an attempt to bring the question of

drugs down to a "democratic right." Democracy indeed! These maneuvers of this corrupt and decaying government to open up the drug market, to bring it under federal regulations, and take drugs out of the hands of the underworld and into the hands of the "respectable" tobacco and drug industries!

This treachery must be stopped! The youth must see this attempt to commercialize marijuana and other such drugs as a direct attack against them. We must succeed in exposing the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and their plans to bring about widespread drug use as a veritable opiate of the masses.

To further cloud the real issues at hand, the government would like you to believe that drugs are a new thing, a fad to be enjoyed and then discarded like an out-of-style shirt. The idea that drugs will someday just disappear is totally ridiculous. The bourgeoisie has tried very hard to bring alcohol, cigarettes and now drugs to the people.

Contrary to the idea that drugs are a new discovery, various forms of drugs and intoxicants have existed and been in use for thousands of years. They have been used for everything from religious and cultural rituals to medications. But never throughout the history of mankind has there been a more vicious and unprincipled ruling class.

The symptoms of this decaying capitalist society can be seen in the day to day lives of millions of working class Americans. The main problem is that workers and youth are constantly treating the symptoms of their problems and are failing to deal with the causes.

The workers in the auto factories are one of the main targets of this oppressive system. Their lives epitomize the treachery that this imperialist government has in store for the entire population. These workers who want nothing but a decent living and a future for their families are given a slap in the face. The plant-ation system is alive! The bosses in

the factories are there to keep you in line and let you know who's in charge.

The conditions in the auto factories and the pressures from the bosses are what lead many workers to drugs and alcohol as an escape. Line workers are constantly pressed to increase production. Often they are given additional jobs to perform. The dizzying pace, the foulness of the air and the daily threat of injury or death from the many potential hazards in the plant are but a few examples of the hell that the workers are forced to submit to. To deal the final blow, a great number of auto-workers find themselves under these conditions six or seven days a week, eight to ten hours a day. A young person becomes old very fast under such conditions.

In some cases, workers in the auto plant may have a job that provides work for only part of the shift. In this case, workers are forced to keep moving, staying out of the sight of the foreman, and getting high or drinking to cloud the boredom and hide the knowledge that their precious time and energy are being wasted by one of the largest capitalist industries in the world.

All these conditions which above all are the result of capitalist exploitation and disregard for humanity are the reasons for the discontent and confusions of the workers. It is this entire rotten situation that leads many young workers to take up drugs and alcohol to deaden the reality of such treachery. The RYW/ is fighting to organize the workers to take up the offensive so that together we may destroy this disgusting system of repression and abuse, to identify the enemies of the working class, to orient the workers to take power and build a new society free of all the ideas and aspects of society that history has taught us lead to the deception and control of the masses by a degenerate leadership.

In order to do this, workers must take up revolutionary politics -- revolutionary because the militancy of the working class calls for radical change -- poli-

tics because it is a tool that the workers must have and utilize to the fullest to unmask the traitors in the workers movement and forge the mechanism to build a socialist society.

Above all, the workers must break with all the delusions that stand in the way of them taking power. Drugs and alcohol are tools of the bourgeoisie. These tools must be destroyed! They operate against the youth, keeping from sight the opportunity for victory and directly impeding the advance of the revolution.

This same treachery that we find in the auto factories, steel mills, coal mines, shipyards, etc., can also be seen in the schools. The same harassments, pressures, and dead-ends can be found here. The same crooks, greedy leaders and drugs can also be found here.

The fight against drugs is not a question of morality, nor is it a goal of building a "happy America" around a "healthy America." It is a fight to expose the enemies of the working class and to understand the realities facing the masses of oppressed people in the factories, schools and on the streets. It is a question of freeing humanity in the whole sense and not merely escaping the here and now by "raising your consciousness" through drugs or religion.

We are revolutionaries fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the building of a socialist society. We are not modern day prophets spelling-out the "evils of the people" like some religious fanatics. We do not attempt to mislead the masses by preaching the marvels of the Bible. Our fight is to convince the people to take up a political struggle, to analyze the history of the workers movement, and to concretize these lessons into a sharp attack with the objective of victory for the international working class.

The battle against drugs, the Democratic Party and the falsehoods of religion is a fight to bring real solutions to the people. A political struggle is a means to bring about these changes.

March 7, 1979

Down With Stalinism's War!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The war between China and Vietnam is the latest development in the international crisis of Stalinism. Faced with a growing revolt against its rule over the countries of the socialist conquests, the Stalinist bureaucracy seeks an ever deeper subordination to imperialism, an ever more bitter attack on the workers, as its only "way out."

Now we can see the real value of the lie that Stalinism has used to try to justify its rule -- the lie of building "socialism in one country."

The Chinese bureaucracy, led by Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), is faced with an open mobilization which it has not been able to set back. In this situation, it is opening up China to imperialist investment and exploitation as an attack on the masses. But this policy only brings the clash closer.

Thus, it again deepens its capitulation to imperialism and its attacks on the workers by invading Vietnam. This war is not only an attempt to disgrace the very idea of socialist revolution, it is also an attack on the mobilization of the masses in China.

The bureaucracy wants to divert the attention of the masses from their own struggles, that raise the question of power, into a purely nationalist mobilization against Vietnam, a circus of patriotic and chauvinist hysteria that would profit only the bureaucrats.

And to try to enforce this diversion it has banned all wall posters, debate or demonstrations about the war. This is also, so the bureaucracy hopes, an opening wedge to isolate those who have been most active and to crush them while the attention of the masses is directed elsewhere.

Chinese workers are now supposed to "maintain production" for the "patriotic" effort. Chinese peasants are supposed to increase the wretched poverty in which they live, for the sake of the war. The youth are supposed to subordinate their interests to the lying propaganda of the bureaucrats. And the soldiers are supposed to die. All for a war which is not only NOT in their interests, but is completely opposed to them.

This drive to silence dissent has, once again, not been successful. Already, on Feb. 23 (two days after the ban on pos-

ters, etc.), a small wall poster (written by a Chinese worker) appeared in Peking. It demanded immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam. In the face of the police terror of the Deng regime, this is symptomatic of profound and undefeated opposition to the bureaucracy's policy.

The Vietnamese bureaucracy has tried to profit from the invasion to stop the mobilization that it fears, and to likewise divert it in an anti-Chinese and chauvinist direction.

When "South Vietnam" fell in the spring of 1975, the Hanoi bureaucracy planned on maintaining capitalism in the South for an indefinite period. But, due to the mobilization of the masses, the country has been unified and capitalism has been expropriated. The bureaucrats are fully aware that this mobilization is inevitably directed against them, particularly in regard to the struggle against the corruption in which the bureaucrats are wallowing.

In this situation, the bureaucracy tried to divert this mobilization into the invasion of Cambodia, hoping (just like the Chinese bureaucracy) to defeat it in this way. The Chinese invasion thus COMES TO THE AID of the Hanoi Stalinists; opening up, as it were, a "second front" for this attack on the masses.

This shows the truth of what the Trotskyist Organization/USA said at the time of the Cambodian war: "This is how the Stalinists WORK TOGETHER around their common cause: the betrayal of the world revolution."

This is particularly important to remember today. For today the pseudo-Trotskyists, like those of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), are trying to hide this collaboration between the various national bureaucracies. They are trying to tell the workers to take sides among the Stalinists, which in reality means being used by Stalinism in its attacks.

The source of this policy, which uses the pseudo-Trotskyists and others as its mouthpieces, is the Kremlin bureaucracy itself.

The Kremlin's line is: "U.S. imperialism is to blame;" "Carter gave Deng the green light;" and so on. This is the seemingly "revolutionary" line that the SWP picks up on. But the Kremlin is out to hide the PRECISE



nature of the imperialist attack right now, the role of STALINISM ITSELF in DIRECTLY attacking the consciousness and conquests of the workers because imperialism is unable to do so itself.

The Kremlin is out to hide this because it is itself directly involved in these attacks. Directly involved through the fraud of the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) II talks. Directly involved through Brezhnev's proposed "non-aggression pact" with U.S. imperialism. Directly involved through the Vietnamese bureaucracy itself which, together with the Castro bureaucracy in Cuba (which does the Kremlin's work in Latin America and Africa), is completely involved in the Kremlin's plots.

This line is like the one that the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists preach in the unions. "The bosses are the enemy," they say, "not the 'union officials.'" This seemingly logical statement hides the fact that it is impossible to defeat the bosses without defeating their agents, the "union officials" -- the bureaucrats. And it is impossible to defeat U.S. imperialism without defeating its agents -- the Stalinist bureaucrats. Not only on the world scale, but by organizing the break in the U.S. with Carter's Democratic Party that Stalinism supports, and building a Workers Party.

Down with these pseudo-Trotskyist assistants of Stalin-

ism who call for the Kremlin to "DEFEND Vietnam"! (THE MILITANT -- organ of the SWP -- March 9, 1979; emphasis in original.) The Kremlin bureaucracy can only attack Vietnam -- in the sense of the conquests of the revolution -- and can "defend" only its fellow Stalinists.

The REAL defense of the Vietnamese and Chinese Revolutions lies in the organization of the political revolution. The key to this is complete independence from the bureaucracy -- something that is critically important in relation to its war.

Against the war between China and Vietnam -- fraternization of the Vietnamese and Chinese masses! Down with the Stalinist bureaucracy -- turn the guns around! Turn the "war of resistance" proclaimed by the Hanoi Stalinists into a REAL "war of resistance" -- a war of resistance to Stalinism -- to its war, its attacks on the socialist conquests! Defend the gains of the mobilization for workers' democracy in China! Defend the struggles of the workers, peasants and youth against the "patriotic" police terror of the bureaucracy! For a free and revolutionary unification of Indochina in the United Indochinese Socialist Republic!

On this basis, around these policies and slogans, the workers and peasants of China and Vietnam can defend their gains and take the offensive against Stalinism and imperialism. March 5, 1979