WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# STRIKEAL

Today the UAW Executive Board announced that General Motors is its choice as a strike "target" for the UAW contract that expires on Sept.14. They went on to add that there would be no strike in Canada, nor would there be a national strike in the U.S.-- only X-body GM plants would be struck.

Autoworkers didn't need the bureaucrats to tell them about GM's record profits, nor the fact that the X-body cars are the major thing going for GM these days. So much for the supposed "suspense" or
"strategy" of the bureaucrats.
The "suspense" is over but

none of the real problems or questions of autoworkers are. The real question for auto-workers is not "who is the target?"

But -- WHAT IS OUR FUTURE? And any strike that doesn't answer this question is not only worthless, it is treachery.

Everyone but those who want to hide the truth can see the reality of the situation in auto and the future that the auto bosses hold in store for autoworkers throughout the world - over 75,000 U.S. autoworkers are already laid off, many permanently.

- Chrysler has been allowed to close down Detroit's Dodge Main and eliminate an entire shift at Lynch Road.

-- Chrysler's SUB fund has run out for anyone with less than 10 years seniority.

- throughout the world massive layoffs and plant closures are taking place in auto.

This crisis is taking place in face of an unprecedented political crisis of U.S. imperialism, symbolized in the nearcollapse of the Carter government. And in face of a brutal attack, called an "economic



recession" that the imperialists are organizing.

The situation looks glum, but there are no grounds for pessimism. Because everything is still possible and autoworkers HOLD THE FUTURE IN THEIR HANDS.

They are the most powerful and organized section of the working class. With the most militant traditions of combat. The entire working class looks to them.

The UAW can turn the situation around in this country. And this is why the TREACHERY

of the UAW bureaucracy is

BOUNDLESS.

This is why they are refusing to even talk about the demands for the strike, have said nothing about the layoffs, nothing about the SUB fund. Why they have already promised not to strike Chrysler. Why the only strike they will conduct will be one to LOSE.

They are doing this because their job is not only to defend GM's interests inside the UAW. They are also the defenders of this imperialist, racist state as part of the "NATIONAL UNITY" of traitors that is keeping

CARTER ALIVE while the ruling class is organizing its attack.

Are revolutionaries for a strike on Sept.14? But- TO WIN or LOSE? This is the question. Because a strike by itself is not positive unless a section of autoworkers is organized to wage a fight to WIN. And to win means organizing a fight in this strike to PREPARE THE REVOLUTION by drawing the revolutionary lessons of the combat and using this strike as part of the construction of a new, revolutionary leadership for the UAW and the working class as a whole. - Down with Fraser's SCAB "strategy" of only striking GM! STRIKE ALL 3!

But in order to do this the conditions for the autoworkers to take control of their future must be created. That is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls you to a fight for an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW.

An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVEN-TION in order to discuss the situation and the FUTURE for autoworkers. To arm the UAW with a program of CLASS INDEPENDENCE.

This is the only way to organize a winning strike, to confront the Big 3 and to CONFRONT THE TRAITORS IN THE UAW-- the Fraser bureaucracy and his Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist supporters.

We must wage this fight BEFORE Sept.14. Don't trust Fraser & Co. for a moment! Don't let them call us out disarmed. unorganized and isolated. PREPARE this strike as part of the preparation of your future. This is the task in front of all autoworkers and no one can do it for you.

It is up to you. And our place is at your side in this fight. TRUTH August 30,1979

## INSIDE: UAW Platform of Combat

## September 9th - September 15th

## International Week of **Action in Auto!**

Across the planet the capitalist and Stalinist governments, along with the auto barons are wailing about the "economic" problems of the auto industry. In order to save their dying system, they have organized a provocation against the autoworkers because they are POLITICALLY the most advanced section of the world working class. The purpose? To liquidate the large militant factories and concentrations of militant workers and break their organization.

The future of all the exploited is at stake. There will be a response; it must be prepared. A new general staff of the workers and youth must be forged. All the trade union "leaders," the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists accept the anti-worker "contract round" and bureaucratically run "strike" as the framework for a solution. The young workers and autoworkers won't. Already in Framingham, Massachusetts, autoworkers walked off the jobs for four hours to lodge a REAL protest over the "energy crisis" and the "auto crisis." The DETROIT FREE PRESS gleefully talks of the autoworkers' "silence" about "contract demands." It is the calm of the hurricane's eye.

To prepare a mass political response, and in this way to begin the selection of a new leadership for the workers and youth, the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all workers and youth to join with us in an

INTERNATIONAL WEEK OF ACTION TWO KEY EVENTS -

FRIDAY - SEPTEMBER 14 - MASS PICKET LINE AT GM WILLOW RUN ASSEMBLY during shift change

SATURDAY - SEPTEMBER 15 - OPEN POLITICAL DEBATE AND DISCUSSION: WORLD WAR IN AUTO -ORGANIZE AN EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

2:00 pm - 8330 Gartner (near Springwells and Vernor) Call 554-2262 for directions or rides.

These two key events will be prepared by mass distribution of TRUTH and the BULLETIN of the Revolutionary Youth International from Monday through Thursday.

To politically arm interested readers of TRUTH and supporters of the RYI, the RYI is holding a meeting 2:00 PM SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 9 at Gartner centering on TRUTH. There will be a debate and discussion to answer the question, "What response should the youth and workers make to this provocation, the world crisis in auto?" This meeting will prepare the BULLETIN of the RYI as a conclusion of the discussion.

August 29, 1979



P.O. Box 07066 Detroit, MI 48207

**Editor: Jon Cohen Editorial Board: Kevin** FitzPatrick, Margaret Guttshall, Ann Nelson, Rich Tetrault

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We Are the Fourth



Issue No. 73-74 June-July 1979

Contents

International! Iran: Immediate Liberation of the Jailed Worker Militants! Page 2

SALT II: "Disarmament" Against the Workers Page 3

July 28-31: Fourth Congress of the RYI "Socialism is Our Minimum Demand" Page 4

For the Conference of the Two Americas! For the Party of Revolutionary Unity!

The Bankruptcy of FOCEP is that of the Organization Committee-What Leadership for the Proletarian Revolution in the Two Americans? Page 6

Europe and the Revolutionary Unification of Germany Page 9

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The results for TRUTH #99 were:

Detroit	
Flint	12
GM Willow Run	16
Other	200
TOTAL	275

"I will not throw the slightest pebble at Jimmy Carter, I'd cover him up at night to keep him from catching cold." (May)

"The political situation has drastically changed in the last 48 hours." (August, after the firing of Andrew Young)

-- Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young

# The Choice for Blacks: The Fox or the Wolf?

### By JON COHEN

The administration of Jimmy "human rights" Carter continues to crumble. Every day brings a new crisis or scandal.

Thus, while Carter was cruising down the Mississippi River, his top Middle East advisors, Robert Strauss and Secretary of State Vance, were calling each other "liars."

His chief of staff, Hamilton Jordan, is being investigated by the FBI for having allegedly sniffed some cocaine during a visit to the Studio 54 disco club in New York.

But the major news in the last few weeks was the firing of Andrew Young, Carter's representative at the United Nations, for having a secret meeting with the PLO. Who is Andrew Young?

Young was the highest-ranking black politician in Carter's government. More than anyone else, Andrew Young was responsible for saving Jimmy Carter's election campaign in 1976 after the "human rights" hypocrite slipped and told the country what he really believed in -- "ethnic purity."

Young got Carter to "apologize" and succeeded in convincing blacks that Carter was a "reformed" racist. It should be remembered that Carter received 90% of the black vote, something that would not have been possible without Andrew Young, identified in people's minds with Martin Luther King, Jr., and another Young, Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit.

He also became the leading symbol of Carter's "human rights." Thus, he called the British "racists," said that there were political prisoners in the U.S., at the same time that he was dealing with the apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Carter did not want to fire Andrew Young. This incident dealt a mortal blow to an administration that has no possibility of surviving another four years. Carter was forced to fire Young by a ruling class that is bitterly divided into factions, factions which can agree on only one thing—the Carter government must be made the scapegoat for a crisis that is a crisis of IMPERIALISM, of this system of capitalist rule.

Talking to the PLO was only an excuse. The U.S. government has been talking to the PLO for months! An ambassador in the PLO over four times. Young's problem was getting caught and giving the U.S. bourgeoisie an opportunity to mask ITS crisis and disorganization by pinning everything on the Carter administration.

Stration.

Young's firing has also made something obvious— the crumbling of the "black-liberal-labor" alliance that has kept the Democratic Party alive for the last 40 years. But the government, the bourgeois press and the traitors inside the workers movement are using the incident of Andrew Young's firing to HIDE the real reason for the crumbling of this alliance and the real nature of this crisis.

They have tried to paint this incident as an "insult" to blacks. But the real insult is to try to identify Andrew Young with the interests of the masses of black workers and youth. This is the real insult— to try to rally blacks to the defense of a man who has spent a LIFETIME making deals with the racists and imperialists.

They have tried to invent
a "black-Jewish" dispute. But
this "black-Jewish" dispute HAS
NOTHING TO DO with the interests
of the masses of workers and
youth whose enemies are not
"blacks" or "Jews" but this imperialist, racist state and the
capitalist class which stands
behind it.

What this "black-Jewish" dispute really concerns is a FALLING OUT OF TRAITORS, black and Jewish, who are totally identified with a Carter government and a Democratic Party that is crumbling in front of them. It is a crisis above all of the Coleman Youngs, the Jesse Jacksons and other black "leaders" who are UP TO THEIR NECKS in supporting this government which is crumbling under them in face of the world crisis of U.S. imperialism.

And in face of the REJECTION of their policies and treachery by the masses of black workers and youth. This is the real reason why the "black-liberal-labor" alliance is crumbling.

The real reason is that more and more blacks are SICK AND TIRED of these traitors and will no longer stand for their double-talk.

For the last ten years the petty bourgeois leaders of the black movement have based their policies on the "lesser evil"

blacks only have two choices—"the fox or the wolf" (the Democrats and Republicans)—and that the only way for blacks to survive in this country was to "deal with the man" and "get a piece of the action."

Coleman Young called it "bringing home the bacon." And this kind of "strategy" supposedly justifies all kinds of double-talk and hypocrisy.

double-talk and hypocrisy.

But there is no more "bacon" to bring home. And the only "bacon" Coleman Young ever did bring to Detroit was money for more police and a "Renaissance Center" for the rich. And instead of being pleased with how "smart" he is, more and more black workers and youth laugh when they hear Coleman Young "telling" Carter that he will have to "deal" if he wants the support of the black traitors next year.

There are no more "deals" to be made. While the Coleman Youngs are "dealing," the government and bourgeoisie is preparing for WAR against the workers and youth, especially the black workers and youth who are the most oppressed sector of the working class. The auto crisis is just one sign that the bourgeoisie doesn't want "deals" from the traitors in the workers movement— it wants TOTAL CAPITULATION.

CAPITULATION.

The "lesser evil," the "fox or the wolf" strategies of the black petty bourgeois leaders are crumbling in face of the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the workers mobilization. The blacks who bought the Democratic Party in 1976 will no longer buy it today and this threatens the entire alliance through which which the bourgeoisie dominates the working class in this country.

But do blacks really have a choice between the "fox and the wolf"? Is there an independent road in this situation? Because by itself the crisis of the Democratic Party and the black traitors is not positive.

A real clarification must be reached. The conclusions about the bankruptcy of the "lesser evil" and "fox or wolf" strategies must be drawn all the way. The enemies of black workers and youth are not just Jimmy Carter and his Democratic Party, not just the Andrew and Coleman Youngs, the Jesse Jacksons, who have made little

They are ANYONE who says that freedom and dignity for blacks can be won within the framework of this capitalist state or that petty reforms are possible. Who say that the task of black workers and youth is something other than the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION and the construction of a leadership for this task.

The only independent road in today's situation is the road of the revolution and its preparation. This is no dream—the crisis of this society proves daily that this is the only possibility. And the opportunities for organizing this independent road are greater than ever before.

A new generation of working class youth, black and white, is on the political scene, a generation untainted by the treachery of the last ten years. The possibilities for unity between black and white workers is greater than ever before.

On the condition that this is a REVOLUTIONARY UNITY, the only kind of unity in face of a ruling class that is consciously trying to divide the ranks of the workers and youth.

This unity, this revolutionary alternative to the "fox or the wolf," is found in the fight to found the WORKERS PARTY, the party of class independence, the party of the world socialist revolution in the U.S. There must be a positive, revolutionary response to the crisis of the Carter government and the Democratic Party. There must be a positive response to the double-talk of the Coleman Youngs.

The fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to found the WORKERS PARTY in 1980 is a fight to organize this positive response into a powerful, revolutionary weapon of the U.S. working class, both black and white. Part of this fight will be the struggle for a REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections.

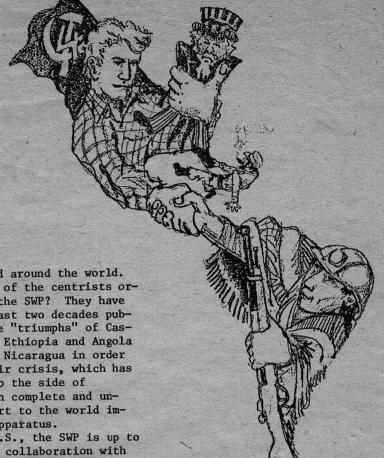
And the most important task in this struggle today is the fight to draw the revolutionary lessons of the struggles of blacks in the last ten years and to convince the most advanced workers and youth that there is a choice between the "fox and the wolf."

This choice is the revolution and the combat of the Fourth International.

August 20 1070

## The RYI Calls All Youth

## Prepare the **American Revolution**



By RICH TETRAULT

The Carter government is crumb-ling around the world. This world imperialist apparatus has been chased out of Iran, is under constant attack by workers and youth throughout Europe and most recently had its lackey ousted from Nicaragua. There is a world revolutionary mobilization taking place.

All youth, from the USA to the USSR, must engage in this struggle to clarify what the world crisis of the Stalinist and imperialist apparatuses means to our future. A future which is becoming increasingly dismal if left in the hands of these hangmen. A future which can only be guaranteed in a fight to prepare the world revolution.

The Revolutionary Youth International calls all youth TO THE ATTACK, to prepare the revolution throughout the Americas as a means to insure our independence from the terrorist states of bourgeois and bureaucrats. It has not been the senile and decrepit "Communist" Parties under the dictate of the Kremlin that have led the mobilizations of the proletariat around the world. Nor has it been the centrists (LCR, OCI, SWP). But it is precisely the role of the Stalinists and centrists to block the road of independence for the youth-- a role which marks deepening submission to imperialism in the preparation of the counterrevolution.

It is the betrayal and treachery of these organizations, concentrated in an anti-Leninist campaign, a campaign to stifle revolutionary consciousness, that has lead to the deformation and derailing of every proletarian revolution and mobilization beginning with the Russian Revolution. In order to cover for their betrayal, these traitors to the working class insist that it is the strength of imperialism that impedes the advances of the world proletariat, or that it is the "backwardness" of the workers. The RYI reaffirms that it is the world revolution that is being prepared in a fight to construct an international leadership, to renew and educate the youth in a combat to RETURN TO LENIN.

It is only the Fourth Inter-national and its World Army being

against the terrorist state of bourgeois and bureaucrats, to draw a balance sheet of the failure of Stalinism and centrism throughout the Americas as a means to construct the International throughout the Americas. The revolutionary unity of the youth in the USA and Latin America provides the only framework to confront and destroy imperialism in this hemisphere, in its homeland, in a combat to prepare the world revolution.

With these objectives the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International took place at the end of July in Paris. The Fourth International is preparing a Conference of the Two Americas and invites all youth and militants to join the struggle to construct the International in North and South America. This fight for freedom and the right to organize independently of the state and its agents in the workers movement passes through the struggle to confront the international apparatus of the Kremlin and Castro in the Americas.

It is Castro, who the Socialist Workers Party refers to as an "unconscious Marxist" and a "revolutionary" who is responsible for the betrayal of the workers and youth throughout Latin America by subordinating their struggle for independence to the framework of national bourgeois "revolution" and democratic reform of the bureaucrats. This is the same Castro who supports the continued exploitation of Mexican workers by the repressive Lopez Portillo dictatorship. Who has hailed the "Islamic Revolution" as a great step forward for the Iranian proletariat while Khomeini is assassinating revolutionaries.

This same Castro who defended the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, who pledged support to the "revolutionary" military dictatorship in Peru, told workers in Chile to put down their guns, and who today supports the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction in Nicaragua. These are not the actions of a revolutionary or of an "unconscious Marxist" but are those of a betrayer, of a

Americas and around the world.

Secretaria de la companie de la comp

And what of the centrists organized in the SWP? They have spent the last two decades publicizing the "triumphs" of Castroism from Ethiopia and Angola to Peru and Nicaragua in order to hide their crisis, which has lead them to the side of Stalinism in complete and undying support to the world imperialist apparatus.

In the U.S., the SWP is up to its ears in collaboration with the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy. After all, Castro has given them the green light by saying Carter has ethics, ethics based essentially upon his religious beliefs" and that he is a "sin-cere man."

To further cement the class collaboration of bourgeois and bureaucrats, Castro has recently openly accused Cuban workers of "slovenliness, cronyism and lack of worker discipline." He suggested that "lackluster worker performance" may be undermining the country's economic growth. He went even further by saying that unsatisfactory performance was only a sympton of a broader problem, "the shortcomings of our system, of our socialism." More precisely, these are the shortcomings of Castro's system, of STALINISM. The Cuban workers are betrayed by a bureaucracy which cuts short their revolutionary mobilization, blocks the revolutionary unity of workers in the U.S. and Latin America and offers Cuban workers "foreign assignments" to satisfy their desire to prepare the world socialist revolution. This is how Castro apologizes for his betrayal, for Stalinism.

Young workers, students and unemployed in the U.S. and Latin America, the Fourth International insists that it is the task of the youth to draw a balance sheet of Stalinism, of its betrayal, which is at the same time a balance sheet of the failures of the centrists. Join us in preparing the Conference of the Two Americas to be held in Madrid in December.

FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST REPUB-LIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS!

RETURN TO LENIN!

## TO THE ATTACK

To the attack! Prepare the boycott of the Security Conference of the bourgeoisie which is being held in Madrid in November 1980. In the mold of previous conferences held in Belgrade and Helsinki, this security" Conference-- a conference of bourgeois, bureaucrats Kings and dictators, is a conference of THEIR security AGAINST OURS. These "leaders" will discuss how they can maintain their attacks on the few rights we still maintain. Massive layoffs, unemployment, restructuring of major industries, austerity, energy crisis and deepening collaboration of imperialism and Stalinism are the results of the last "Security Conference."

Youth! The RYI is preparing this boycott as a preparation of the world revolution in a fight to RETURN TO LENIN. Our future can only be guaranteed by drawing a revolutionary conclusion to the world crisis of the imperialists and Stalinists. Enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution as a combat to insure our independence!

We have no patience with this terrorist state. Join the RYI in a combat to organize and prepare our boycott and counterconference today. FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF WORKERS AND YOUTH FROM THE USA TO THE USSR!

# UAW PLATFORM OF COMBAT

# THE FUTURE ! SAT STAKE!

The recession, mass layoffs in auto, the energy crisis ---

Workers, youth!
THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE!

How many contracts and strikes, how many demonstrations and riots have gone by? And still the working class, and even more the youth, face an unprecedented attack. Isn't it clear? To limit our demands to a "better contract," traditional trade unionism, is like asking for better slavery! The bureaucrats, the "official" workers movement — haven't they betrayed us enough? It is not an "economic" agreement they try to force on us — no, it's a social contract of recession and decay. First, the miners strike, where Carter used Taft-Hartley and the state militia, where Arnold Miller, President of the United Mine Workers cried that the miners wanted to kill him! Then the Teamsters strike and the rubberworkers, betrayed into another sellout contract. A "contract" which doesn't even begin to touch the fundamental problems workers and youth face.

And now comes the turn of the autoworkers in the face of mass layoffs and plant liquidations of Chrysler, a PROVOCATION to usher in a period of AUSTERITY and RECESSION.

- -- REJECT THE CONTRACT OF BETRAYAL!
- -- FOR AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!
- -- TOWARD A CONGRESS OF WORKERS AND UNEMPLOYED! A WORKERS GOVERN-MENT!
- 1. IT'S TIME TO CALL A HALT!

Already 70,000 workers have been laid off in auto, the Dodge Main plant and other Chrysler factories are in danger of total liquidation. And what is the response of the "official" workers leaders? The UAW Bargaining Council agrees to "concessions." Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW, promises there will be "no strike" to defend Chrysler workers. And this is only the beginning of the attack!

And hear this autoworkers! If the present plan of mass layoffs is applied in auto, it will be the beginning of a new and far deeper downturn. Resulting in mass unemployment, the further decay of the cities, more repression against the youth. Yes, this is the plan!

This time the auto bosses haven't waited, as they did in 1973, for the contract to be forced on us before they empty the plants. Sensing the cowardice of the bureaucrats and the opportunist workers leaders, they have instituted mass layoffs before the contract in order to demoralize and isolate us. And they admit this is just the beginning. The Joint Economic Committee of Congress openly predicted deeper unemployment, rising prices, workers living standards slashed, further cuts in education and social services, mass unemployment for youth in the 1980's.

And yet nine-tenths of the workers movement has already given in. Because the "official" movement of bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries are 100% agreed that the corpse of "democracy," already dead and buried for 60 years, must be saved. The UAW leaders are silent in response to 70,000 layoffs. The Communist Party/USA begs the government with Doug Fraser to "save Chrysler." Their strategy for the strike: "unite members and leaders of the UAW" is an open betrayal.

A betrayal of the Trenton Chrysler workers, whose leaders, leaders of a wildcat strike when the heat soared to 130°, were abandoned by their local bureaucrats and the International as well.

Who will go to jail, a year after their walkout, without ever even having had a jury trial. A betrayal of the Indianapolis strikers whose strike was sabotaged by Fraser in '76. BETRAYAL! By the Stalinists and psuedo-revolutionaries who march behind Doug Fraser and the bureaucrats

But attention! Do not think for a moment that there will be no response to this PROVOCATION and BETRAYAL. Lordstown 1970. Mack Ave. 1973. The miners strike. There will be more struggles. The workers of Ford River Rouge, or Fleetwood, of Dodge Main, or Ford Torrence, may be politically confused, may hesitate to go into battle under the same old cowardly leaders, but they are not defeated. The Trotskyist Organization/USA knows them. The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA played key roles in their struggles.

We must prepare the response! No trust in the bankrupt "official" workers movement to lead the combat. It must be PREPARED!

No one else can resolve the crisis, other than the workers and youth, independently. The bureaucrats and opportunists cannot be PRESSURED. The Democratic Party of union bureaucrats and political hangmen cannot be REFORMED. A new candidate of "human rights" or "national unity," an Edward Kennedy, will CHANGE NOTHING.

To prepare means to CONSCIOUSLY lead and organize the struggle. It means to regroup a VANGUARD of the most determined fighters. A WORKERS PROGRAM to resolve the crisis and end imperialism. A revolutionary program plus the vanguard of the working class, the youth. These are the ingredients of the WORKERS PARTY. A fight which the Trotskyist Organization/USA, undertakes today in order to prepare the response of the American working class to this provocation.

- -- JOIN THE MOVEMENT FOR A WORKERS PARTY!
- -- PREPARE THE RESPONSE TO THIS CRISIS!
- 2. A WORLD CRISIS IN AUTO!

This crisis is not confined to one country. It is a crisis which stalks the entire planet. It is breaking out in auto first because of the centrality of autoworkers and the auto industry to capitalist "stability." In every country, auto is the strongest, most crucial, sector of production. It symbolizes capitalist "prosperity," then digs its own grave of "recession."

The autoworkers have played the most important role of all sectors of the world proletariat. Don't forget! Renault unleashed the general strike in France, 1968. The Ford workers of Argentina led the insurrectionary strikes in Cordoba. The Chrysler workers in 1973 made the sitdown strikes in Detroit. In Czechoslavakia, 1968, the autoworkers of CSK were central in the resistance to Russian tanks. And the imperialist auto bosses are breaking up the largest strongholds of the workers in order to break their unity and power. Renault, SEAT of Spain, Ford River Rouge, they are all being broken up.

Brothers and sisters. This is a system which deserves to die! One which created mass production, the concentration of wealth, large \PLANTATIONS, in order today to break them up, destroy them according to the logic of CAPITALISM, which dictates: "the workers must be driven from the wealth they have produced."

It is a worldwide struggle of the largest auto bosses for world markets. For the concentration of the largest imperialist bosses and the liquidation of the weak. It is the plan of "re-structurization" in Spain, a plan for the liquidation of SEAT at the hands of FIAT, CITROEN, FORD, GENERAL MOTORS. It is responsible for layoffs in Spain, in Sweden, in the United States.

CONTINUED INSIDE

It is the American PLANTATION bosses developing a COLONIAL policy of auto production in Latin America. The production for the SUPER-PROFITS reaped on the low pay of Argentinian and Mexican labor. Bringing with it the support, militarily and politically under cover of "human rights" for the military regimes.

And for those who are left with jobs, it brings productivity drives, speedup, worsening working conditions, regimentation of factory life. Yet they ask us to "save" these PLANTATIONS with sacrifices and austerity measures. What is there worth saving about this system?

And worse! The PLANTATION bosses ask us to save them in the name of NATIONALISM! "Buy America!" This is also the slogan of the UAW. A cynical attempt to divide autoworkers by nationalism, to blame the crisis on the national divisions that capitalism creates. While Ford, GM, Chrysler and the rest reap their greatest profits off their world production, their colonial exploitation. This is the way of imperialism.

Hundreds of different nationalities have been brought into automobile production. Blacks, Latinos, Eastern European and Palestinian immigrants. Southern whites. Automobile workers have as strong ties to the most oppressed sectors of the working class as any other sector of the proletariat. Yet they try to oppose us to the lower paid sectors by calling us "privileged!" And never mind what would have happened to the unorganized sectors of the proletariat if it weren't for the most conscious and organized workers of auto and large industry. And now, the privileged few, who were able to get jobs at decent wages after the '74 - '75 recession, have the equal "privilege" of exiting back into the streets! These "privileges" we can do without!

If anything, the gains of autoworkers should be extended to the entire world working class. Yes, this is our demand. AND PROFITS BE DAMNED! SOCIAL PRODUCTION for the needs of society, that is the objective of every worker. PROFITS are for the decadent bourgeoisie, for the subordination of men to machines, for CLASS exploitation.

- -- NATIONALIZE AUTO UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!
- -- MODERNIZATION OF THE OLDER PLANTS!

This crisis in auto, this world crisis, is the FUTURE that imperialism has to offer the youth of today. An insane future that leads to barbarism and social decay. In Detroit, in the large strongholds of auto throughout the country, in Barcelona, in Argentina, there you will see the present of the PLANTATIONS rotting into the future of MASS UNEMPLOYMENT, Poverty, and GHETTOES.

Not only the trade union bureaucrats, but trade unionism itself has betrayed you. Not that the Trotskyists do not defend unions. To the contrary. We defend them by fighting to rid them of the petty bureaucrats. It is they who have brought the unions to their lowest point in history, with less than 20% of the American working class now organized.

Because trade unionism, even the most "militant" variety, has become a NATIONAL PRISON for the struggles of the youth, and the workers. Strikes, Contracts. Recessions. A VICIOUS CIRCLE which resolves nothing. Because the unions are in the hands of a "little" bourgeoisie, a bureaucratic layer that defends capitalism and imperialism in order to defend itself. For crumbs from the table of the bosses, they betray our struggles.

You know them. Doug Fraser. George Meany. Fitzsimmons. "We are broke!" holler the PLANTATION bosses. "Save them!" cry the bureaucrats.

Yes, a petty bourgeois layer, which is viciously anti-communist. But which defends the Kremlin, the Stalinist gangsters. When the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA went to demand the support of the UAW International for the independent unions of Polish, Rumanian, and Russian workers their answer was, "We are busy with negotiations"!

Like their imperialist bosses, they defend Stalinism in order to attack the socialist conquests. This is a part of the crisis in auto! The Stalinist bureaucrats who invite the PLANTATION bosses to import capitalism, submitting the Soviet worker to the crisis of the imperialist market. Demanding "profitable" production in the name of "socialism!" It is an attack on every worker which cannot be ignored. Because it proceeds with the attack on every conquest of the international workers movement.

- -- FOR UNIONS OF CLASS INDEPENDENCE! EAST AND WEST!
- -- FOR UNIONS INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE!

### 3. A CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM!

Above all, the crisis of this system is political. The bourgeois experts can only announce the "economic" crisis as it occurs. Unemployment, inflation, government cutbacks in education. But this crisis is not merely "economic," a notion which hides WHO is responsible.

The experts, they are no better than witchdoctors! For 60 years capitalism has been unable to advance any further than barbarism and war. The economy has been unable to advance beyond the next downturn, leading to the war for markets, leading to world war. The life of the working class and the majority of the world's population is reduced to a GHETTO existence. A decadent system, no longer able to advance. Imperialism.

Led by a ruling class, the bourgeoisie, as decadent as any class in

# A PLATFORM OF COMBAT!

# EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

- don't wait for the bureaucrats to call it, it mus be built now
- -- to develop the working class program and solution to the crisis
- based on workers delegates elected in the factories
- -- delegates of unemployed workers

## STRIKE ALL THREE! TOWARD THE GENERAL STRIKE!

- -- the "official" workers leaders won't organize i
- -- the workers must lead the way with mass picketing and roving caravans
- -- led by independent committees of the workers
- -- a spark to the general strike and the participation of the youth and the entire workers movement

history. The class that brought you Nixon in recent times. That no brings you Carter. A class whose major preoccupation since 1968 has been how to turn back the mobilization of the proletariat and the youth on a world scale.

youth on a world scale.

"Democracy" is dead. Long dead. It exists only alongside such phrases like "human rights" as maneuvers to mask the preparation of the counterrevolution. And the American working class knows it. On one institution is rated lower than the presidency in public opinion polls, and that is Congress. And with each new and deeper mobilization of American workers and youth, the Democratic Party, the ruling party of American imperialism, is thrown into deeper crisis.

And what was it that all Carter's advisors "on the mountaintop" we critical of? The fact that his administration appears in the eyes of workers as an anti-worker regime? No. His weakness, the inability of Carter to deal with the crisis. All the liberals and "democrats" are calling for a "strong government." These are there solutions, more repressive laws, stronger intervention of the government to break strikes, more police in the central cities, higher prices, mas unemployment.

Yes, bourgeois democracy is dead. And the bourgeoisie is in a fublown political crisis over how to deal a definitive blow to the workers. But the bourgeoisie still survives, and imperialism still survives because the workers movement itself is in crisis.

A crisis that is product of the betrayal by Stalinism of the first breech opened up in the walls of imperialsim in 1917 with the Russian Revolution. A revolution since betrayed a thousand times by the Stalinists in the struggles of the world proletariat. And betrayed today in the face of a new "recession," a new attack on the working class and its youth.

## NATIONALIZE AUTO AND ENERGY INDUSTRIES UNDER **WORKERS CONTROL!**

- -- No! to the bureaucrats schemes to "save Chrysler"
- -- renovation of Chrysler's plants under workers ownership
- -- controlled by democratically elected factory committees
- -- reorganization of the economy to provide for better cars, mass transportation, safe and efficient energy

### SLIDING SCALE OF **WORKING HOURS AND WAGES!**

- -- no cooperation with Carter's guidelines
- -- wages to rise with prices
- -- divide up the work among those available to perform it
- -- public works and skilled training for the youth

## A CONSCIOUS STRUGGLE FOR CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

Attention comrades! A "Holy Alliance" of Stalinism and the opportunist leaderships of the workers movement exists to "save" democracy. An alliance which says to the working class that it can achieve its demands and resolve the crisis of imperialism without touching the bourgeois state, its army and political parties.

And worse! In face of the failure of Carter's "human rights" to project a respectable image to imperialism, now the Stalinists and the bureaucrats in the unions participate in an "anti-terrorist" campaign against the youth and revolutionaries. Hiding the fact that it is the bourgeois state which is the arm of terror in society.

Autoworkers! We warn you, the government which invoked Taft-Hartley and the State Police against the miners, and the government which put the TRENTON SEVEN in jail without a jury trial, has not lost its teeth. Yes, we know the trade union bureaucrats are begging it for "aid" for Chrysler, but tomorrow this state will be breaking your strikes and actions, jailing workers leaders, in order to defend the large PLANTATION bosses.

Look at Dodge Main! One minute the bureaucrats are building a

demonstration, the next minute they are begging "save Chrysler."

"Save Chrysler!" That is exactly what Chrysler is doing with mass

layoffs and plant liquidations!

And not only the "Communist" Party USA is part of this Holy Alliance to save the bourgeois state. So too are nine-tenths of the rest of the misnamed "left." So too is the Socialist Workers Party, pseudo-Trotskyists who see in the layoffs an occassion to get more workers to "union meetings!" In fact, after the UAW officials dis-gusted the Dodge Main workers by making "concessions" to Chrysler, only the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists showed up to demonstrate to "save" Dodge Main.

And this unity is not being made around the independent struggle of workers. No, in the words of the "Auto Workers Action Caucus, the Stalinist faction in the UAW, it is "to unite members and leaders of the UAW." What is going on here, fellow workers, what is going on at Dodge Main, is not any kind of workers UNITY, oh no, this is a COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY unity. To maintain the bureaucratic control of the unions and their servility to capitalism.

4. 1968, 1970, 1973 . . .

France 1968. Led by committees of autoworkers from Renault, students and youth organized the General Strike that put an end to De Gaulle. Autoworkers have always been in the forefront of the struggles of the whole working class. And 1968 was not simply a year for autoworkers, it was a year for the youth of the entire planet, who wanted to finish with imperialism and the Kremlin. A movement against the old order in which the autoworkers played a VANGUARD role.

In Czechoslovakia, the autoworkers played a key role in organizing the opposition to the Russian tanks. In Cordoba, Argentina, insurrectionary strikes led by Ford workers brought down the military dictatorship, and only later was betrayed by Peronism and the Stalinist Allende in Chile. And in the United States the General Motors strike, the Lordstown strike and Norwood strike were instrumental in Nixon's crisis and the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam

But this is a balance which has been largely hidden from American workers by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists. And if it is necessary to speak of two, because both pursue a Stalinist policy, it is only because the pseudo-Trotskyists, best represented in the USA by the Socialist Workers Party, speak in our name, the name of the Fourth Interna-

And our party is a critical part of the struggle of the autoworkers. Where the CP/USA, and the SWP were busy spitting on the U.S. working class in 1970, leading the anti-war movement into the Democratic Party because they had no faith and no desire to see this movement turned into one against imperialism, the workers of Lordstown, young workers, were inflaming the rest of American youth. Those who were looking for a way out of the Democratic Party.

In 1973, the centrists and Stalinists were unprepared for the sitdown strikes and wildcats in Detroit. Worse! They betrayed autoworkers, by giving their support to the UAW bureaucracy. When 1,000 UAW goons, organized by none other than Douglas Fraser, now President of the UAW, marched on the pickets who were supporting the Mack Ave. sitdown strikers, some thought they were coming to aid the strike. This was the policy of Stalinism and centrism, which left the workers that day unprepared for a brutal assault. 1973. That was the contract that ushered in the '74-'75 recession.

How well are the autoworkers prepared today? For the 1979 contract of recession.

Autoworkers! Youth! Your experiences with the opportunist parties cannot be ignored. The Carter government, and with it, all of the American bourgeoisie is in crisis, but the crisis has no benefit for us! Without the active and independent intervention of the youth and workers the situation will only worsen.

The Stalinist CP/USA is strangling your every independent initiative. They support the Democratic Party and look for Ted Kennedy in 1980. They repulse the youth with their rotten "unity" - the unity of the strikebreaker Fraser, the organizer of the Mack Ave. assault. An impossible unity which only delays and confuses the struggle of autoworkers

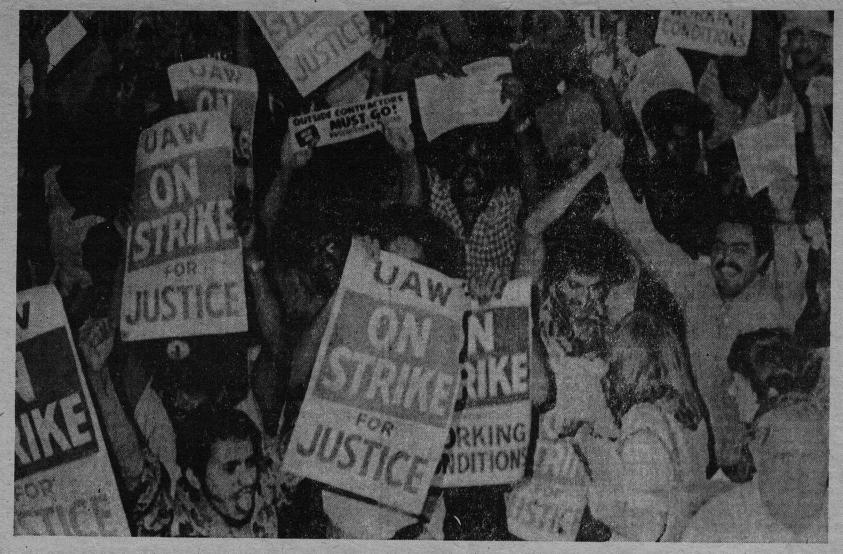
to stop the liquidation of Chrysler, the layoffs and inflation.

Along with the Socialist Workers Party, they have begun a "discussion" in the UAW over "how the bureaucrats can be pressured to act in the workers' interest." A thoroughly repulsive discussion which ignores all the betrayals of the "official" workers movement.

And this is the only "workers movement" that the opportunists recognize! Fraser, Meany, Fitzsimmons. The opportunists would have them all join together to build a "labor party," or an "anti-monopoly peoples party." A party they will never build, though they would gladly channel the opportunists' support into new crutches for the Democratic Party of Carter and Kennedy.

We know these scoundrels. We fought with them in 1976. The workers of Ford River Rouge and Ford Torrence are part of these experiences. How the Maoists sabotaged the attempts of Rouge Stamping workers to elect a strike committee and reject the '76 agreement. Yes, when the Trotskyist Organization/USA was linking the betrayal of the UAW for supporting Carter to the '76 contract which effectively allowed the preparation of this latest attack on autoworkers, the Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyists were already hooked by Carter's "human rights."
"Workers Party!" they cried. "Now is not the time to raise such matters." These same scoundrels, who rally today around Doug Fraser to "Save Chrysler" were the only ones who would march in Carter's "human rights" parade, too!

The miners strike, Iran, Nicaragua, these events have exposed "human rights" to millions of workers and youth as a lie. So much so that now the Carter administration and the liberals speak openly of the need for "more authoritative" "stronger" governments. But not for the opportumists. To them the miners who wanted to get rid of Miller were "ultralefts," the Iranian masses who want to topple Khomeini are "extremists." "There is no independent road for the proletariat," chime the opportunists, "only two choices, bureaucrats or the company, Khomeini or the Shah."



Only the Fourth International has fought for the independent interests of the workers and youth, separate and apart from the betrayals of the "official" workers movement. And only the Fourth International is in a position to lead the struggle in auto today.

### 5. A NEW LEADERSHIP!

Of all the generations, the youth are in the forefront of the struggle for the revolution. For even the generation of 1968 has failed to assimilate, in mass, the experiences of their movement. Because of the retreat of the opportunists into the Democratic Party and "human rights," the generation of 1968 has drawn a false conclusion about the revolution. It is a generation which at best passively resists the crisis of imperialism, at worst it has drawn a cynical balance sheet. The Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist parties are filled with the worst representatives of this generation. It is up to a new generation to renew the leadership!

The combat in auto begins with the struggle for a vanguard to learn and carry with it the lessons and experiences of the international proletariat. These are the lessons of the international party and the revolutionary generations of the world proletariat.

This is the meaning of the Revolutionary Youth International when it calls on the youth to ENLIST IN THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

An army whose generals and heroes are MARX, LENIN, TROTSKY. Leaders who are under assault today by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists who wish to make the revolution more "agreeable" and acceptable to the liberals and union bureaucrats. And more attractive to the older generations! Thus they all join in the denunciation of "terrorists" and "ultra-leftists!" knowing full well they will repell the most combative youth.

RETURN TO LENIN! That is our cry. By this we mean that the fight to construct the party is a struggle against the illusions of the youth and workers. The illusions that:

-- there is a "democratic" solution to the crisis by which the

- -- there is a "democratic" solution to the crisis by which the class confrontation between the workers and the bourgeoisie can be avoided, or
- -- a peaceful road of compromise rather than conflict can be found, or
- -- the opportunists and the bureaucrats, as bad as they may stink from past treachery, can still be "pressured," or -- a final violent confrontation will take place in which the masses will be so oppressed that they will rise up and overthrow imperialism, or
- -- that the revolution is only an "objective" process which is not a conscious act of the proletariat.
- All illusions! Which have as their common denominator a SPONTANEIST conception of the revolution. A notion which puts in the background the conscious and essential struggle for the VANGUARD. Reject these illusions, reject the opportunists who maintain them!
- -- YOUTH! JOIN THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY!

### -- BUILD A MOVEMENT IN THE UAW FOR A WORKERS PARTY!

#### 6. A WORLD COMBAT FOR CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

A world crisis is at hand, and the bureaucrats and opportunists redouble their efforts to reinforce the illusions of the youth in the bourgeois state and its apparatus in the unions. They place no faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. The last thing Fraser wants is a strike against Chrysler! The last proposal he would ever make would be for the workers to control Chrysler and auto. NO! Fraser will build illusions in the Democratic Party and the TERRORIST STATE of imperialism until the workers, their organizations and their parties are bound hand and foot.

Workers! This is a serious situation. The UAW is in danger of being destroyed as an effective fighting weapon of the American working class! It is in danger of becoming a tool of the state for breaking the resistance of autoworkers. It is in danger of becoming a mouthpiece for imperialism. It is URGENT to WIN BACK YOUR UNION!

### -- FOR AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

A convention which the bureaucrats will never build. Build it independently! With delegates elected democratically in auto, in industries related to auto production, with representatives of the unemployed. A convention to clean house in the UAW and rally the rest of the American workers and youth against this attack of mass unemployment, inflation and austerity.

Our goal must be to organize the power of the entire working class to turn back this attack and take the offensive. To take the role of leadership for autoworkers the world over, to finish with the PLANTATIONS, to FINISH WITH IMPERIALISM AND ITS CRISIS!

It is a goal which unites us with the SEAT workers of Spain, with those of Renault and FIAT. And a unity of the workers of the capitalist countries with those of the socialist conquests who struggle for unions independent of the Stalinist apparatus.

WORKERS! YOUTH! JOIN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE TO PREPARE THE REVOLUTION!

The only goal worth fighting for!

- -- FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
- -- FOR THE WORKERS GOVERNMENT!
- -- FOR THE WORLD REPUBLIC OF WORKERS COUNCILS!

August 30, 1979
The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA,
Fourth International.

For more information, contact TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

### By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Eleven years ago, the Kremlin's tanks invaded Czechoslovakia with the full support of Fidel Castro, the SWP's favorite "revolutionary" -- in order to crush a developing political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Today, the development of the working class opposition in the USSR is the key to the overthrow of Stalinism in both the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union is the country of the first workers revolution. It is the country in which the struggle over the conquests of this revolution was fought out between Stalin's bureaucracy and Trotsky's Left

The victory of the counterrevolution, the expropriation of the workers from political power, is the reason why the USSR became the Stalinist bureaucracy's seat of operations, the source of repression over the Eastern European workers. At the same time, the Fourth International continues the fight on the world scale of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist agency of imperialism. Thus, the shattering of the Kremlin bureaucracy by the political revolution under the leadership of the Fourth International will spell the doom of Stalinism on

the world scale. This is why the struggle for free trade unions, independent of the control of the bureaucracy, in the USSR has been the model and example for the development of similar unions in Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

"THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS BEING EATEN AWAY BY BUREAUCRATIC ROT." This is how Vladimir Klebanov and his comrades, the founders of the Association of Free Trade Unions, the first free union in the USSR, posed the question of the defense of the socialist conquests from the bureaucracy.

As the TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM of the Fourth International states: "The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of SOVIET DEMOCRACY ... IT IS NECESSARY TO DRIVE THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE NEW ARISTO-CRACY OUT OF THE SOVIETS." The struggle to take back and to revive the soviets, the workers

the bureaucracy; that is, to organize the POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

This is why the movement led by Klebanov already went beyond the limits of "trade unionism."
Far from posing only "economic" demands, it was forced to deal with the chief POLITICAL issue facing Soviet workers -- the existence of the bureaucracy and its attacks on the socialist conquests. Because they were movements for CLASS INDEPENDENCE, the free trade unions have taken steps such as, in the case of Klebanov, instituting democratic centralism.

Despite the most ferocious repression by the Kremlin (Klebanov was committed to a "special" psychiatric hospital), this "historic precedent" could not be wiped out. It has been continued by the movements led by Yuli Grimm (see his letter to American workers in TRUTH #85), by Vladimir Borisov, as well as in the struggle of textile workers reported in the last issue of TRUTH.

Because they are movements for class independence, the free trade union movements have nothing in common with the bureaucratic opposition led by Sakharov with its demands for "pressure" on the Kremlin through imperialist "human rights." this is why the pseudo-Trotskyists and "Euro-Communists" give only lip service to the fight for free trade unions, seeking to confine them to the "human rights" attack on the socialist conquests.

This summer three members of the SMOT (Russian initials of the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers), including its leader Vladimir Borisov, were arrested. The American labor bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO "protested" this -- in a tiny note in their paper -- asking Carter "to seek their release." In the guise of this token protest will Carter whisper it in Brezhnev's ear the next time they hug and kiss? -- the AFL-CIO bureaucrats take part in what SMOT representative Victor Fainberg calls "THE SILENCE, which surrounds SMOT in the West, (and which) can only ENCOURAGE NEW ARRESTS."

They do this because, despite their denunciation of the Stalinist unions as existing only "to control and discipline the workers in the interest on state " they are enga

and "national unity" -- in the same attempt to subordinate the workers to imperialism.

Fainberg points out the reason for this lack of real support in his letter to the July 27 Paris meeting of the Revolutionary Youth International for the liberation of Klebanov: "...a strong influence in the international union movement of elements who are interested in collaboration with the Soviet regime. Understanding that the movement of the working class is incompatible with the existence of this regime, they sabotage in every way any action in support of SMOT.'

This INCOMPATIBILITY WITH THE EXISTENCE OF THE REGIME is the fundamental question posed today by the struggle of the working class opposition. This incompatibility can find its conscious expression only in the program of the Fourth International. And that is why Stalinists, pseudo-Trotskyists and friends of "human rights" carry on the slander campaign against Michel Varga and the Eastern European sections of the Fourth International.

Besides the free trade union movements, the youth have gone into action against the bureaucracy. The movement known as "Left Opposition," headed by the young Leningrad student Aleksandr Skobov, is the foremost example of this youth revolt. It organized leaflet distribution in the subways and struggled to convene an "All-Union Conference of Left Wing Groups"; that is, potentially an organizing center on the level of the whole country against the bureaucracy. That is why the KGB intervened with its arrests of Skobov and others, provoking demonstrations in which as many as 15,000 youth took part and which had to be broken up by special riot police.

The political confusion inside this movement is great, ranging from partisans of the "young Marx" to the anarchist Bakumin to Trotsky, as well as an "orthodox Marxist" current whose intervention in the discussion put it on a whole new footing. Equally diverse opinions on how to get rid of the bureaucracy exist within it. But all this confusion exists in the context of revolutionary opposition to the bureaucracy, of a struggle for class indepenit from Sakharov and his kind. Both the free trade union

movements and the "Left Opposition" have gone as far as it is possible to go under the conditions of isolation and repression existing under the Stalinist police dictatorship. It is impossible for them to spontaneously recreate out of their heads the whole program of Trotskyism, which con-sciously sums up all the lessons of the struggle against imperialism and its Stalinist agency on the world scale over the last half century.

The centrist apologists for Stalinism continually hide this inability, either through claiming that the opposition will come to adequate conclusions on its own, or by dismissing its fight on sectarian grounds. In both cases they hide the necessity of bringing the program. of the Fourth International to the opposition, not just in the form of a document but above all in the living policy of the living world party.

This policy finds its expression in the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin, being organized by the Fourth International for December of this year. Concretely and immediately, this perspective is expressed in the struggle of the RYI to build an International Trade Union Commission for the liberation of Klebanov, which can wage the fight on the international scale for the class independence objectives of the Soviet opposition.

Return to Lenin is not a nice slogan. It means taking up the fight for the world revolution that was begun in Russia in 1917. It means building the party of the unity of the social and political revolutions in Eastern Europe, sections of the Fourth International. Above all, it means rebuilding the Soviet section as the leadership of the political revolution -- the defense of the socialist conquests through their extension on the world scale, a result of the critical blow to imperialism that the crushing of Stalinism

This perspective transforms the fight of the opposition, raising it to the level of its historic tasks.

## Build the Fourth International in the 2 Americas!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The political defense of the independence of the working class of Nicaragua and its committees. Delimitation and formation of the leadership for this struggle throughout North and South America. These are the immediate tasks of the U.S. working class and its youth in the defense of the revolution in Nicaragua.

The independent struggle of the working class and its committees is under attack. Not only by U.S. imperialism, which must destroy the independence and armed organization of the working class before it can dream of the return of the Somozas, but also by the alleged "leaders" and "friends" of the revolution!

The Sandinistas, in accordance with Fidel Castro's advice and like their bourgeois counterparts led by Khomeini in Iran, are demanding that all youth, workers and militants give up their arms or place themselves under the discipline of the Sandinista military command; that all factory and neighborhood committees join the "United Federation of Sandinista Workers" or "Defense Committees."

At the same time the Sandinistas refuse to punish the leading members of Somoza's National Guard who remain in Nicaragua and are demanding that the youth, workers and peasants of Nicaragua "moderate" their demands.

They have just expelled from Nicaragua Colombian members of 'United Secretariat," leaders of the Simon Bolivar Brigade who oppose this course and organized a demonstration of 1,000 workers in Managua against it. They promise the death penalty to other armed youth and workers who refuse to subordinate themselves to the Sandinistas!

Worst of all, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, U.S. organization of the "United Secretariat" of back-stabbers, which claims to defend the Nicaraguan revolution and even the independent committees there, has just produced two special issues of its paper, THE MILITANT, giving UNEQUIVOCAL support to this petty bourgeois strangulation of the revolution; denouncing THEIR OWN COMRADES as "splitters" the service of imperialism, and unleashing an unprecedented campaign in favor of Castro who is be-bourgeoisie, deprived them of hind the Sandinistas' treacherous activities, trying to identify him with the Cuban revolution! In a speech on "the 20th anni-

versary of the Cuban revolution," reprinted with praise in THE MILI-TANT, Castro attributes the victory against Somoza to the Sandinistas, the anti-interventionist bourgeois governments in Latin America, and the "intelligence" of U.S. imperialism, comes out against "extremism" in Nicaragua, and advises against disarming

as no longer necessary since U.S. imperialism is more "intelligent" and "cooperative" than it was 20 years ago!

The fate of the revolution depends on the fate of the independent committees now being formed in the factories, neighborhoods and fields. On the formation of a leadership in North and South In 1976, Spain and the Socialist America to lead these committees in assuming responsibility for production and distribution, for defense and extension of the revolution, for the expropriation of the capitalists who are sabotaging the reconstruction of the economy, for the destruction of the National Guard which is waiting in El Salvador and Guatemala for the workers to wear themselves raguan Revolution," they define out.

without the resources of the coun- acy, and, in its most "extreme try in their hands, WITHOUT THEIR phases," the disarmament and OWN LEADERSHIP, the workers and peasants of Nicaragua will not be able to determine their own fate. Whatever material aid comes from other countries will be used against them.

This is the fundamental lesson of the revolution in Iran where the workers have overthrown the Shah and now find themselves confronted with Khomeini's bourgeois leadership which has claimed to represent the revolution for the sole purpose of better destroying it, which is now openly jailing and executing the Kurds and other revolutionary and working class militants.

The outcome of the revolution in Nicaragua depends on the outcome of the struggle of the Fourth International to build the leadership of the revolution of the workers councils in North and South America, on the Conference of the Two Americas to centralize this struggle this November.

The SWP's opposition to this revolutionary PROLETARIAN course is not an error, a false position. The SWP is a petty bourgeois organization that has no more to do with the working class and its revolution than do the Sandinistas (who have no confidence in the working class and think they have a "divine mission" to manage it in place of Somoza) or Castro, the gravedigger of the Cuban revolution who limited the workers to disarming and expropriating the political power, and joined the international Stalinist apparatus led by the Kremlin, the original gravedigger of the Russian Revolution. The SWP uses our name, the Fourth International. to give itself authority.

This is not the only country 'where the SWP is rushing to defend the revolution in order to assist the Stalinists in burying it. Nor is it the first. Everywhere the story is the same. They praise the formation of indepen-

class and advise the workers to subordinate these committees to some counterrevolutionary leadership which the SWP claims represents them.

Twenty years ago it was Cuba and Castro, where they again denounced their own comrades, in jail in Havana because they did not want to participate in the preparation of the funeral, as "lunatics." In 1975, it was Fortugal and the Socialist Party. and Stalinist Parties. Last year it was Peru and the bourgeois Constituent Assembly. A few months ago it was Iran and Khomeini. Now its Nicaragua and the Sandinistas.

Their principal weapon in this dirty work is confusion and slander. In the special issue of THE MILITANT, "defending the Nicathe revolution as a series of Without their own organizations, measures -- land reform, literexpropriation of the bourgeoisie. On this basis they analyze the development of the revolution as a series of military offensives and conclude the Sandinistas represent the leadership of the revolution, with some good and bad points, but the leadership nevertheless, to which everyone must subordinate himself.

> This is a complete falsification of the nature of the proletarian revolution, a thorough

ly petty bourgeois, Stalinist conception, appropriate to petty bourgeois who think that they, not the bourgeoisie, should manage the workers but, above all, that the workers should not manage themselves.

Revolution is above all the radical change in the consciousness and organization of the working class, its elevation to the level of the ruling class and, on this basis, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of its state.

The development of the revolution is above all the development of this revolutionary consciousness and organization. In Nicaragua this means the massive rupture with the bourgeoisie's Provisional Government of National Reconstruction, the consciousness that whatever will be done positive will be done by the workers and oppressed masses, the organization to realize this.

- -- No to the disarmament of the workers of Nicaragua!
- -- No to the integration of their committees into the Sandinista National Liberation Front!
- Drop the charges against the Simon Bolivar Brigade!
- -- For the absolute independence of the working class, workers control of industry, a workers and peasants government, a United Socialist Republic of North and South America!

August 30, 1979

### The FSLN and the FI

Scratch a leader of the petty bourgeois Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and you'll find a Stalinist slanderer. Scratch a leader of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" of back-stabbers and you'll find the same.

On August 14 a demonstration to "support Nicaragua" was organized in Sweden by the FSLN and various pseudo-Trotskyist organizations. The Swedish Section of the Fourth International, the SRAF participated in the demonstration, calling for no confidence in the Government of National Reconstruction and for a fight against the Swedish bourgeoisie as the best way to aid the Nicaraguan masses.

During the demonstration brutal confrontations took place between young workers and the Swedish riot police. Eight demonstrators were arrested, under charges that could give them six years in jail.

The following day, the Swedish bourgeois press wrote: "according to certain sources, the confrontation was caused by the SRAF, a small Trotskyist organization formed by provocateurs."

The investigation of our comrades revealed that the "certain sources" was a leader of the "Nicaraguan Committee" formed by the FSLN.

the FSLN in Sweden was acting in the best Stalinist traditions with this slander against the Fourth International. But it is also clear that the slander campaign against the Fourth International is totally tied to the Stalinist slander campaign today against ANYONE who dares fight openly for the revolution.

And that the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" of back-stabbers plays a key role in this Stalinist slander campaign. Their support to the slander campaign against Michel Varga and the Fourth International was only a prelude.

Now these back-stabbers have TURNED AGAINST THEIR OWN COMRADES the "Simon Bolivar Brigade" in Nicaragua which is under attack by the FSLN and the victim of a vicious Stalinist slander campaign. And their "comrades" in the U.S., the SWP, has TAKEN THE LEAD in this campaign.

Not surprising. Those who supported the slander campaign against the FI were bound to reveal themselves to the rest of the world for what they really are -- BACK-STABBERS.

Who deserve the same fate as the petty bourgeois FSLN -- to be driven a thousand miles outside the workers movement. August 30, 1979

# 100 Issues of TRUTH!



These covers of some issues of TRUCH over the past five years reflect the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the American working class. Although the issues of TRUTH may look different and may speak about different things, they all have aimed at the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION.

ISSUE #1 September 15, 1974
The very first issue of TRUTH takes up the fight of the U.S. workers and attacks the government for denying workers even the "right to live."

ISSUE #6 February 15, 1975
"During the Special Conference held in January 1975, the members of TRUTH unanimously adopted the decision to declare themselves an organization supporting the International League - Rebuilder of the Fourth International and to call themselves the Trotskyist Organization of the United States." A fundamental factor in the preparation of the revolution is the existence of the world revolutionary party. With issue number six of TRUTH, the Trotskyist Organization/USA was formed and set forth as its first task the rebuilding of that party, the Fourth International.

ISSUE #19 December 29, 1975
The founding of the Revolutionary Worker Youth/USA on December 21, 1975 was a crucial step toward the building of the revolutionary party which is renewed by the youth of the working class. The founding of the Revolutionary Youth International also took place in December at the Berlin Wall in Germany under the slogans DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL! LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

ISSUE #35 September 15, 1976
"FORD RIVER ROUGE 12:01 AM SEPTEMBER 15th -- THE STRIKE BEGINS.
This picture from that day's DETROIT DAILY NEWS shows Barbara
Putnam, Presidential candidate of the Trotskyist Organization/USA
(lower right), and autoworkers holding copies of the BULLETIN of
the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW (blanked out by the
capitalist press . . .)"

"60 years ago the Russian working class and its party took power
... WORKERS RIGHTS! NOT 'HUMAN RIGHTS'!" Continuing the struggle
begun by the Russian Revolution, TRUTH takes up the fight against
the "human rights" of Carter and the Democratic Party. Meanwhile
the SWP wants Carter to grant "real" human rights and Castro says
he would vote for him.

ISSUE #68 March 10, 1978
"STAND WITH THE MINERS"
TRUTH is the only newspaper that wages a fight against both the government and Arnold Miller of the UMW.

ISSUE #90 March 9, 1979
"STALINISM: LOYAL SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM"
Stalinism deepens tts attack on the revolutionary struggles of the masses of Indochina. TRUTH shows how the fight to bring down Stalinism is the SAME FIGHT as that against imperialism, that Stalinism is nothing but imperialism's loyal aid. The Fourth International was built in the struggle against Stalinism.

ISSUE #99 August 8, 1979
The bureaucrats, the government, the Stalinists and the centrists all want to save Chrysler, TRUTH says no! The workers must expropriate it.

Through all the issues of TRUTH, this has been consistent: the preparation of the revolution, telling the truth to the working class and youth and taking responsibility for leading the struggles of the workers. Other papers have had more "coverage," certainly more money, but none say the revolution is necessary and possible. This is the importance of the last 100 issues of TRUTH.

# **TRUTH Is Your Weapon!** -- An Open Letter to Our Readers

Dear Reader:

to say a few words to you on the occasion of the 100th issue of TRUTH. It is almost five years ago to this date that the first issue of TRUTH was published.

We want to talk to you about the role of a revolutionary newspaper and the role that you, as a reader of TRUTH, can play in the fight for a revolutionary press in this country.

It is generally believed that there is "freedom of the press" in this country. But let's look closer at the reality of the situation.

The media, including the press in this country, is controlled by large monopolies. One percent of all newspaper companies control 36% of all papers sold daily and own 20% of all newspaper companies. 167 chains own 1,082 newspapers, or 61% of all papers.

20 corporations control 52% of all newspaper sales. 20 corporations control 52% of all book sales, 76% of all record and tape sales. Seven corporations control 75% of movie distribution. The RCA conglomerate owns National Broadcasting Company (NBC), a record company and the book publishing houses of Random House, Ballantine Books, Alfred Knopf, Pantheon, Vintage and Modern Library.

There is in fact only one national newspaper in this country, the WALL STREET JOURNAL, which specializes in financial news. 75% of the urban areas in this country do not even have their own daily newspaper.

These figures give you a little better picture of what "freedom of the press" means in this country. "Freedom" for the large monopolies to control the mass media, to make sure

that Americans see, hear and read what THEY want them to. 'Freedom" to sell their advertising to a captive audience.

We have said many times before in TRUTH that this "democracy" of the American ruling class is today nothing but a rotten, stinking corpse. "Freedom" for the rich, misery and exploitation for the poor. The same thing holds true for

access of the masses of workers and youth to the media. We'd like to take this opportunity money, technology and skills to make THEIR voice heard in this country. The right to mass culture, education and political discussion. Freedom from corporate greed and mediocrity. In short, anything that would make "freedom of the press" meaning-

Instead "freedom of the press" in this country is used to sell corporate products, peddle the propaganda and lies of the ruling class and its imperialist state and drug the masses of workers and youth with the destruction of art and culture that daily flows from the newspapers, TV screens and radios.

It is therefore no surprise that among the working class and especially the youth there is a great reaction to this "freedom of the press." This reaction has largely been expressed in negative terms -- hostility to the written word, to anything that smacks of "propaganda." bourgeoisie has even taken advantage of this, waging an offensive to bring back superstition and mysticism. Having tried to destroy the idea that there is any use to being literate, the bourgeoisie now wants to drive the workers and youth back to the

depths of the Middle Ages.\_ But there is a positive side also. There is today a significant section of the working class and especially the youth that is trying to break out of this situation. That is actively seeking a way out of capitalist degradation and searching for a positive solution to this crisis.

Who want to begin forging a new world out of the ruins of this old one.

These are the workers and youth that TRUTH is speaking to. Those who are actively seeking a way out of this crisis. Who are tired of being passive victims of capitalist degradation and who want to wage an ACTIVE COMBAT against every aspect of this old order of Stalinism and imperial-

WHO WANT TO PREPARE THE REVOLUTION. This is the task of TRUTH -- to prepare the revolution by creating a voice, a weapon and a school for or-



a real freedom of the press -the freedom to fight for the world socialist revolution which for the first time in history will enable the masses of workers and oppressed to decide their own

And of course this fight is totally connected to the fight to construct the PARTY of this revolution, the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization in the United States. We don't pretend to be "neutral" in the class struggle, we don't claim to be "objective."

Let the bourgeois press, TV and radio have their "neutrality"

illiteracy rate is rising in this country-- people are tired of reading lies.

Workers and youth are also tired of the other "left" newspapers -- the Stalinists and various pseudo-Trotskyist organizations. These papers claim to be "neutral" and "objective" by hiding their real aim from the workers and youth which is to contribute to the confusion and disorganization in the workers ranks.

We are for the world revolution and the party of this world revolution, the Fourth International. We want you for a reader only if you are READY TO TAKE A SIDEfor the revolution and for the victory of the working class against all of its enemies, including those inside the workers movement.

Because we are convinced that THE TRUTH IS ALWAYS REVOLUTIONARY -- that only by showing the workers and youth the truth of the situation in front of them and by clearly and honestly spelling out the tasks in front of them, with no compromise or modesty, can the working class be armed for the revolutionary tasks in front of it.

Plenty of people in this society tell workers and youth that they have the "truth. But we insist-- the truth is always revolutionary. We stick by this statement and ask every worker and youth to judge us by this and this alone.

But we need your help in this fight. We want our readers to do more than simply read TRUTH. THINK about it. Think about the practical implications of the struggle we are proposingthe struggle to build the world party of the socialist revolu-

And begin to organize this fight by distributing TRUTH at your workplace, neighborhood or among your friends.

Finally-- let us hear from you. Not simply in order to publish some "letters to the editor" which other papers have also. But in order to make TRUTH a real collective training ground for communist education and for the new society in the process of creation. This will be your best contribution to continuing the fight we have carried on for the