



In the last issues of TRUTH we began a fight against the reactionary, anti-working class law that just passed the US Senate S. 1437. We have also begun a fight to defend the Fourth International in Spain -- in particular, soldier Santiago Alegria, now in prison for "illegal association."

The struggles are the same. They are part of a world struggle to defend the best fighters of the working class and its organizations from a new wave of repression.

A new wave of repression which has taken the form of trying to label fighting workers as "criminals," and trying to call revolutionaries "terrorists." Trying to wipe out the best fighters of the working class.

We thought that maybe it would be difficult to explain to workers in the US how these struggles were the same. After all, isn't Santiago Alegria in Spain? Aren't things "different" over there?

But our doubts were quickly dispelled in a conversation we had with a young miner from Kentucky last weekend. After discussing the struggle of the miners and his own experiences we asked him if he would like to send greetings and support the fight to free Santiago Alegria.

He immediately replied, of course, that he would defend: "Everyone who has felt a cop's billy club up against their throat."

Very simple and very clear. The fight we are waging in the US and in Spain is a fight that belongs to every working class fighter, to everyone who faces repression.

The link between the struggle of the working class and S. 1437 is becoming clearer every day.

S. 1437 passed the Senate last week by a vote of 72-15. It was rushed through. All the bourgeois papers praised it as a "delicate compromise" and hoped that the House of Representatives (which must pass it before it becomes law) would not disturb its "delicate" character.

"Delicacy" for the bourgeoisie means that they hope that the sneaky, lying and cynical nature of S. 1437 won't be exposed. Because they are in a panic to pass this law.

The hysteria that they are now talking about the miners' strike shows this panic. Trying to blame the miners for energy shortages and layoffs. Or the gun battle in Alabama last week between 200 armed state troopers and 200 armed miners in which the miners were accused of "kidnapping" seven scabs.

Another sign of this panic is that Jimmy Carter dictated the latest UMW contract for Arnold Miller to sign. A contract which ARNOLD MILLER HIMSELF knows will not be ratified.

## TO "EVERYONE WHO'S FELT A COP'S BILLY CLUB UP AGAINST HIS THROAT"!

This is why the bourgeoisie needs S. 1437. To take the job of controlling the workers from the bureaucrats like Miller who can no longer control them when it really counts.

If the bureaucrats cannot do it then the federal government will. Arrest strikers and demonstrators. Smash wildcat strikes. By labeling workers as "blackmailers," "extortionists," and "saboteurs." By accusing the Fourth International of "espionage."

The bourgeoisie rushed S. 1437 through because they don't want to just hold it in reserve. They want to be able to use it now, TOMORROW against the working class and its vanguard.

This is why a unitary mobilization of all working class organizations is needed to stop this law. ACTION COMMITTEES TO SMASH S. 1437 must be formed in every union to build a powerful mobilization of all working class fighters.

Without freedom for the working class and its organizations there is no freedom in this country. Without this fight the bourgeoisie will be allowed to legalize its terror against us.

No class conscious worker will accept the excuses of those who refuse to take up this fight.

As long as the police, the courts, the bosses and the bureaucrats have their billy clubs up



against the throats of workers in this country and around the world, no worker is free.

The fight to smash S. 1437 and to free Santiago Alegria is open to everyone who understands this. February 9, 1978

### STATEMENT OF TWO STRIKING STEARNS MINERS TO THE FOUNDING MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE TO FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA

The coal companies and the government are trying to put the blame on us for the layoffs. They're saying they may have to shut the lights off in the cities because of our strike. But we can't feel sorry for auto workers, steel workers or any other workers, because we'll never win that way.

We need ONE MASS UNION that covers every industry with committees in steel, auto and the mines; everywhere, to pull out all the workers and really cripple the economy! Carter wants to enact the Taft-Hartley Law against our strike, but you can't shoot down coal with a piece of paper!

We organized mass caravans and roving pickets to shut down the mines. The International didn't organize them, it was done in the locals. Some of the local officials are with the men.

We defend your comrade because we defend the right of anybody fighting for what's right. We think everybody should have the right to speak if they are for the working class. We don't think the Nazis should be allowed to because they are against the workers. If they show up in Stearns we'll teach them a lesson!

We want to see this soldier in Spain, Santiago Alegria Sanchez freed. We support your committee. We know what it's like having the cops' billy clubs jerked up against your throat. The working class has to stick together. The fight against repression is a world fight.

FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA!

L. G. and W. K. UMW, Stearns, Kentucky

February 5, 1978

## JOIN THE COMMITTEE TO FREE SANTIAGO ALEGRIA!

By JON COHEN

On Sunday, February 5th, the US Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria was formed. This Committee was organized at the initiative of the Revolutionary Youth International as part of a broad, international campaign to defend the vanguard of the working class against the repression of the bourgeoisie and Stalinist bureaucrats.

The meeting, held in Detroit and attended by representatives of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth, a young worker from Ford River Rouge, a member of Local #79 of the SEIU, and which received

greetings of support from two young miners from Stearns, Kentucky adopted the demands: FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA! STOP ALL JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS! STOP THE PROVOCATION AGAINST THE PORE! FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF THE PORE AND ALL ANTI-FRANCOIST ORGANIZATIONS! as the basis for the Committee and resolved to win support for this fight in the unions, working class organizations, among sincere democrats and to prepare mass demonstrations in Chicago and New York on the day that Santiago Alegria goes to trial.

It should be noted that all major working class organizations were contacted about this meeting

especially those who claim to represent the Fourth International. None of them chose to send representatives, even though, for example, the entire Detroit membership of the SWP was meeting just a few rooms away from our meeting.

Two representatives of the Spartacist League did attend in order to state their refusal to participate in the Committee because of its supposed "lack of credibility" and because they did not want their "good name in the area of defense work" spoiled by association with the Fourth International.

It is necessary to say that the silence of these pseudo-revolutionaries is shameful, just as

shameful as the refusal of the Spartacist League to engage in common action under the cover of slanders.

A young autoworker at the meeting correctly responded to the lying slanders of the Spartacist League about "lack of credibility," and "fingering our military all tell it like it is?" Why don't these pseudo-revolutionary centrists tell the truth to the US working class and its youth about their policy?

Because the truth hurts, Jimmy Carter, in the name of his lying "human rights" recently proclaimed that Spain "has now integrated

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# LESSONS OF THE MINERS STRIKE AND THE ROAD FORWARD

By Jon Cohen

The strike of 180,000 miners which began on December 6th has now become the longest strike in UMW history. After brazenly predicting the "doom" of the UMW, after "advising" the miners that their strike would be defeated, the capitalists are now in a panic.

Coal stockpiles are dangerously low for them. The miners have won the sympathy of the entire working class. They are in a position to win.

But they cannot win with the present leadership of their union. At this very moment, the UMW bureaucracy, led by Arnold Miller, has called the Bargaining Council to Washington, D. C. to discuss a "settlement" dictated by Jimmy Carter.

A "settlement" that will try to destroy the right to strike in the UMW and penalize miners who engage in wildcat strikes. A "settlement" that must be rejected by all miners!

The struggle will continue. But in order to do so the miners and the entire working class must be armed. Not just physically, with guns and clubs, but politically armed as well.

The way to do this is to evaluate the lessons of the miners strike, not just for the miners, but for the entire vanguard of the working class and to begin a real discussion in the workers movement about the road forward.

We want to begin this discussion here, but we want it to continue and to be enriched by the discussions of young workers in the mines, the auto plants, the steel mills.

What, then, have been some of the most important lessons of this strike?

**--A NEW STAGE IN THE OFFENSIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS**

The miners strike is only the tip of the iceberg. It is not something unique or exotic as some people try to pretend. The miners strike is just an expression, although a very important one, of a deep and powerful mobilization of the American working class as a whole.

A new stage in this offensive began with the election of Carter and the Democrats in November 1976. Not only did the election of the Democratic Party "friends of labor" fail to stop the unrest of the working class, but workers saw in Carter's election a way to get what they deserve, and if Carter wasn't going to give it to them, as it became clear, then the working class was determined to fight for it.

Just days after the election UAW Chrysler workers wildcatted in Detroit and Windsor, carrying signs saying "Carter Won, Why Can't We?" In the last year and a half, ALMOST EVERY SINGLE UAW LOCAL struck, either officially or "unofficially" against its local contract.

In the steelworkers union, despite the ENA, the iron workers defied the no-strike pledge and fought a bitter and militant strike for many months. Hundreds of examples of this new militancy can be given, down to the smallest strike; like the Essex workers in Indiana.

**--THIS NEW OFFENSIVE IS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL**

Gone are the days when people



could pretend that US workers were just interested in "trade union" questions. The struggle of the miners definitively proves that the struggle of the entire working class is a political and social struggle-- for the rights of the working class.

The bourgeoisie did not send Carter into the White House to blubber about "human rights" by accident. It was a conscious maneuver of imperialism to try to prove that IT is defending democracy in this country, not the working class, which they now call "un-democratic."

But the miners struggle has proven that any struggle of the working class for its basic rights-- the right to strike, to control working conditions, to a decent living, confronts the capitalist government and its police.

The miners have the support of the working class because this political and social struggle has been made clear. In opposition to their fight for basic rights the Carter government has responded, not with "human rights," but with mass arrests and a vast propaganda campaign designed to brand workers as criminals and to blame them for the "energy crisis" and layoffs.

"Cheap coal," i.e. SCAB coal is at the center of Carter's "energy policy." To implement this policy he must try to smash the UMW.

But the situation of the miners vis-a-vis Carter is only an extension of the situation of the entire working class.

For capitalism to survive, the working class must be smashed. This applies to every worker. The miners have proven that only a political struggle against this government can bring victory.

**--A NEW LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED**

This strike represent the end of the road for Arnold Miller. Whether or not he continues in office he has proven to be totally unable to control the mobilization of the miners. This revolt against

Miller signals a new stage in the rebellion of the working class against its present trade union leadership, agents of the Democratic Party inside the working class.

Miller came into office in 1973 on the basis of an upsurge of a new generation of young miners who were determined to throw out the corrupt, murdering Boyle regime. Miller, with the aid of the liberal wing of the bourgeois-

sie, was elected as a "reform" candidate to stop this mobilization. Many young workers had illusions in him.

But these illusions are finished today. The Miller regime proceeded to break strikes for the next four years and was totally unable to satisfy the demands of the miners. The reformist, "liberal" solution has exposed itself to an important section of the working class.

This was proven with the Sadlowski fiasco last year. In hopes of finding another Miller, the Stalinists, centrists and liberals supported Sadlowski, who lost the election because he failed to win the support of the most militant young workers in steel.

A search for a new leadership is underway. A search that is not just a "trade union" question either. It is part of the political break of the working class from the Democratic Party and its search for a new party and leadership for its struggles.

**--THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION EXPRESSES THIS**

The rapid development in the miners strike of independent organizations of the workers expresses this attempt to break from the bureaucracy. The development of mass pickets, roving caravans, workers defense guards and strike committees are the concrete manifestations of this new stage in the offensive of the working class.

These mass organizations are the road forward. They represent the fact that an important section of the working class has realized that NOTHING will come out of this bureaucracy, Democratic Party or capitalist government and if the workers are to succeed they must build their own organizations, independent from the bureaucrats and the state.

The young miner from Stearns who told us: "We need ONE MASS UNION that covers every industry with committees in steel, auto and the mines; everywhere, to pull out all the workers and really cripple the economy." wasn't talking about a union led by Arnold Miller, Doug Fraser, or McBride.

**--THE STALINIST AND CENTRISTS ARE AFRAID OF THIS MOBILIZATION**

The miners strike has also proven that NOTHING will come from the Stalinists of the American Communist Party or the pseudo-revolutionary centrists led by the Socialist Workers Party.

THEY supported Arnold Miller in 1973. THEY called striking miners who burned their contract in 1974 "un-democratic" and "ultra-left." THEY were the backbone of Ed Sadlowski, who has now disappeared.

They have been constantly an OBSTACLE to every mobilization of the miners, offering nothing but abstract pleas for "solidarity" or "resolutions of support."

None of this is accidental because, verbiage aside, they both play a fundamental role in keeping the Democratic Party intact, in keeping the trade union bureaucracy alive through their refusal to mobilize the working class independently.

Or through their false solutions, traps for the working class, such as the "anti-monopoly people's party" of the CP or a "labor party" led by Harry Patrick, as the SWP proposes.

**--A SOLUTION WILL NOT COME SPONTANEOUSLY**

Because of the treachery of these leaders many workers have drawn the conclusion that their struggles can win without any organized leadership. That militancy is enough.

This is a key question for the American revolution and for the future of the miners struggle. The revolution will not be made spontaneously. A decisive victory will not occur spontaneously.

A leadership is needed. A combat party of the American working class like the party which led the Russian working class to victory in 1917 is needed. The miners and the vanguard of the working class must join the fight to build their party of class independence, the WORKERS PARTY, US Section of the Fourth International.

**--THIS PARTY WON'T BE BUILT SPONTANEOUSLY EITHER**

We cannot just "call" for this party and hope that it will be built. It must be built in the mobilization of the workers. It must respond to their best hopes and be able to lead.

We think that first of all this means a struggle to strengthen and develop the mass organizations of the miners and other workers. This means the construction of independent strike committees in the mines, democratically elected by the miners on the basis of a program of independence from the bureaucracy, the state and the Democratic Party. These strike committees must be centralized on a national level and take the strike

out of the hands of Miller.

This Central Strike Committee must coordinate the work in defense of the strike and the formation of armed picket squads to protect strikers. These squads must coordinate the shutting down of scab coal and delegations to engage the practical support of other unions.

In the UAW, workers must fight for a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of the UAW to discuss how to aid miners strike, how to defend the miners.

In this struggle the revolutionaries must be regrouped to win LEADERSHIP of the unions, to throw out the bureaucrats and turn the unions into weapons of all workers and oppressed.

**--THIS PARTY IS THE PARTY OF WORKERS DEMOCRACY**

But the fight to build our party goes beyond this. It is centralized in an orientation which expresses the most fundamental aspirations of the entire working class and oppressed. This orientation is the fight for Workers Democracy.

On every level of the class struggle, in every action, every strike, in every discussion of "What to do next?" revolutionaries must take the leadership in fighting for the DEMOCRACY OF THE WORKING CLASS-- as a political struggle to show that it is the working class and its party that is the only defender of democracy in this country and that it is only a WORKERS GOVERNMENT that can make this democracy succeed.

**--THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION LEADS THIS FIGHT**

The buck stops here. Out job is not to give good advice, "better" than others. Our task is to construct this party-- politically and organizationally in this offensive and to forge a leadership for this offensive.

In the last months this fight has reached a new level in the development of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, our weapon in the construction of the party in the US. This growth has taken place on the basis of this fight for Workers Democracy in the unions, above all in the UAW.

In fact, the real stake of the miners struggle is linked to this fight we have begun. How to develop a mass mobilization of the working class for its own democracy and how to build the leadership of this democracy, the party, in this mobilization?

By centralizing the entire combat of the American working class into a mobilization for its own DEMOCRACY against the rotten "human rights" of Carter. To develop a mobilization for the Workers Government in the US.

This is why we have proposed to the young workers in the RW and to the working class as a whole to undertake a mass mobilization against the reactionary, anti-working class S. 1437 Bill.

We think that young miners and autoworkers will understand this fight against S. 1437 as a way to bring victory to their struggles. As a way to unite and undertake the single most important task in front of us-- the construction of the party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, in the US. February 8, 1978

# An open letter to Hector Marroquin

Dear Comrade:

A Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria Sanchez was formed on February 5, 1978 at the initiative of the Revolutionary Worker Youth. We are writing this letter to ask you to join this committee and help us build a campaign to free our comrade, Santiago Alegria.

Santiago Alegria, a soldier who in civilian life was a member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Espana (Section of the Fourth International), was at first accused of "robbery of arms" and "terrorism" and is now accused of belonging to an "illegal organization which has the goal of creating a planned socialist economy".

The Francoist government of Spain was forced by the mobilization of the workers against this attack to drop the charge of robbery and to release other comrades of the PORE who were arrested. This is a victory for us and the Spanish working class.

But, Santiago, who is twenty-one years old, has been tortured and remains in military prison. All of the soldiers have been cleared out of his base and the head officer resigned in protest of the treatment Alegria received!

The Committee has planned demonstrations for the day (not yet announced) Alegria goes to trial. The Committee demanded along with his freedom that all judicial proceedings be stopped to stop the provocation against the PORE and to legalize the PORE and all anti-Francoist parties.

We have asked the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to join the Committee and participate in this international campaign. So far, we haven't heard anything but are pursuing the request.

We are asking you in particular to join the Committee because of your own case, which includes the same false accusations of "terrorism" and "conspiracy". At the request of the Committee that is defending you, we sent a letter to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and a copy to you demanding that you be given asylum and that all charges against you in Mexico be dropped.

The United States government is conspiring with the Mexican bourgeoisie against you. An example of this is that your bail is set at ten times the normal amount for those accused of "illegal entry."

This collaboration between the Mexican and Carter governments is but one instance in a growing and organized campaign of the capitalists against "terrorism."

Did you know that recently in Europe, the bourgeois governments created a "European Convention for the Repression of Terrorism?" This Convention agreed to deny anybody accused of "terrorism" the right to political asylum in their countries. This new tactic of the capitalists is designed to excuse the most brutal repression of the working class and its vanguard.

In line with this provocation against the workers and their vanguard, the United States government has its own campaign. It takes the form of Carter's assertion that the largest imperialist power in the world is in reality a defender of "human

rights."

Carter's "human rights" government is now pushing through Congress the revision of the Federal Criminal Code, Senate Bill 1437. These new laws would make a striking worker a COMMON CRIMINAL.

The government blames the energy shortage on the miner's strike. It blames striking workers for unemployment and inflation. The courts have given the Nazis the right to carry out their attacks on the working class, but calls workers leaders "criminals."

This is why we think it is necessary to fully expose the lie of Carter's "human rights." The fight for Worker's Democracy is the alternative for the American working class and it can smash the bourgeoisie's attack on the workers, on Santiago Alegria and on you.

In Spain, Alegria is not in prison because he is a "robber" or "terrorist"; he is in prison because of the struggle of the PORE for a Workers Cortes and the Workers Government. He's in prison because the PORE demands legalization based on the Statutes of the Fourth International and based on its present fight to organize the Spanish working class for its own government.

We think that the Program of the Fourth International is the best offensive weapon we have.

You said in your article "My Story" (THE MILITANT, Jan. 27, 1978, page 21): "I know that many people who join the SWP or YSA are first attracted by their position on some issue or their work in some arena of the class struggle. But that wasn't true in my case. What attracted me to the socialist movement was the program of Trotskyism as a whole, because it brought together many positions I already held, although I hadn't fully thought them through."

We are convinced that precisely what caused you to join the SWP -- the Program of the Fourth International, -- is what will convince thousands of youth to reject the capitalist's "human rights" campaign and its attack on the workers.

That is why we think that the fight to defend Santiago Alegria is part of your defense also. This is why the Revolutionary Youth International has made this fight the first step in a broad international campaign of initiatives against the repression of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats, against the Europe of hangmen.

You know as well as we do that there are plenty of hangmen in the Two Americas as well. That your best defense is to unite with the fighting youth around the world to stop this repression of the old order and to win our democracy, Workers Democracy.

Once again, we urge you to join and give your support to this Committee as a way of aiding your own struggle against imperialism.

With Comradely greetings,

Ann Nelson, for the US Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria

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herself into the democratic community." Spain is at the center of the preoccupations of the international bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus who want to prevent the outbreak of the Spanish revolution in the name of a pretended evolution towards "democracy."

The centrists, from the SWP to the Spartacist League, capitulate to Carter's "human rights" campaign. This explains their silence or refusal to defend our party and comrades in Spain. To defend our party, to explain the repression in "democratic" Spain, to explain why our party remains illegal, would demand a confrontation with the myth of Spanish democracy, with the myth of a "peaceful road to socialism."

Everyone of these pseudo-revolutionaries, including the Spartacist League called for participation in the "democratic" farce of the elections to the monarchy's Cortes last summer. So "democratic" and part of the "evolution towards democracy" were these Cortes that the monarchy has already placed it in mothballs, less than four months after its formation!

Not a single major law governing Spanish society has come from these "Cortes"! The country is still ruled by decree, obtained by cooperation outside of the Cortes between the working class parties and the monarchy. The Moncloa Pact, the governing law in Spain today, is precisely a DECREE, having nothing to do with this "democratic" Cortes.

Let these centrists babble all they want about "human rights" and how they oppose Carter. But in practice, in the US, in Spain and throughout the world, THEY SUPPORT EVERY SINGLE MAN-

EUVER OF THIS "HUMAN RIGHTS" CAMPAIGN. Everyone of them passed Carter's test for "legality" in Spain -- participation in this "human rights" Cortes.

This explains their silence. They would all be legal in Spain, while our party is not. They do not want to explain this to the American working class which is already beginning to distrust

their backhanded support to "human rights" in the United States.

From this flows the slanders. This is the Stalinist half of "human rights," centralized today at the Belgrade Conference. For several years now the centrists in the US have given their complicit support to a Stalinist campaign of provocation organized by the French OCI against our party, in particular against our comrade, Michel Varga.

Now that the Spanish bourgeoisie is organizing a provocation against us, accusing us of being "terrorists," now that the Stalinists have begun a campaign in Europe to "drive the terrorists out of the factories," the centrists have taken the baton from them. Slander is the only weapon they have.

Thus, a militant of the SWP in Detroit can say that we are part of "The Vargaite international of spies and lunatics." Thus, the Spartacist League can talk about our "lack of credibility" and insinuate that the arrests of our militants were provoked by us.

But we have not given up on these people. The fight to build this Committee and develop this campaign is still open to all organizations of the working class.

Militants of the SWP/YSA above all must fight inside their organization for an honest response to this campaign. Despite all of our differences there is still no HONEST REASON in the world why our organizations cannot unite in common defense of revolutionaries in Spain, victimized by repression, and for the legalization of our party and all anti-Francoist parties in Spain.

There is no honest reason in the world because this campaign is not just our affair, not just the defense of our party. The young miners who sent greetings to the Committee saw this when they said that they solidarized themselves with "Everyone who has felt the billy club against their throats."

This is the fight unleashed by this Committee -- to centralize the mobilization of the working class youth throughout the world against the policemen of the world -- the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats. A fight which can start with the defense of soldier Santiago Alegria but should not end there.

It is a fight against this entire counterrevolutionary plot of "human rights," the European Convention for the Repression of Terrorism, S.1437, the police

terror in Latin America. A fight that any working class fighter and militant can join.

The Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria has just begun its work in the US. Signatures, endorsements, messages of support and financial support is still needed. We will continue our fight for all working class organizations to support it. If you wish to join the Committee or aid in its work or want further information please contact;

## SANTIAGO ALEGRIA

### Committee to Free Soldier

### Santiago Alegria

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# LCR: A STEP LADDER OF CAPITULATION

We are reprinting an article which originally appeared in LA AURORA, the newspaper of the PORE, Spanish section of the Fourth International. Even though it concerns political questions in Spain and is an attack against the policy of a Spanish organization which falsely claims to represent the Fourth International, the LCR, (the Spanish comrades of the US Socialist Workers Party,) we think it is of interest to American readers.

In the framework of the campaign proposed by the RYI to defend our comrades imprisoned in Spain, many young workers have expressed shock at the fact that to date, none of the organizations in the US which also claim to represent the Fourth International have given their active participation, even though we have repeatedly urged them to do so.

This article should help make clear that this shouldn't be shocking. To defend our comrades in Spain, to fight for the legalization of our party would require some explanation. An explanation that these organizations are not able to give.

To explain why some people who claim to be Trotskyists in Spain are legal, while others are not. To explain why some "Trotskyists" are free, while militants of our party are in prison. To explain why some "Trotskyists" are invited to the cocktail parties and Congresses of the Spanish Communist Party, while others are expelled from CP-controlled unions. To explain why the PORE is revolutionary and why the LCR is not.

A good example of this is the full page in the MILITANT, February 10, entitled "10,000 Trotskyists in Spain." But not a word about the policy of these "Trotskyists." Not a word about how they became "legal." Not a word about how they obtained all those posts in the trade unions that they brag about.

And not a word about the Trotskyists who remain silent about the repression of revolutionaries.

But silence will neither hide the policy of the LCR, nor the real policy of the Fourth International, in Spain, or in the US. It is an illusion to think so.

February 8, 1978

By EMILIO ROCA

In the balance sheet drawn by the PORE of the struggle for the Active Boycott of the elections of June 15th it affirmed, among other things, that the organizations which called for participation in the elections necessarily placed themselves in a dynamic that would lead them to submit to the resulting Cortes. In other words, that this would force them to try to enclose the workers struggles within these Francoist Cortes. Every day this is more and more clearly the case with the LCR. It appears in its positions as well as in its actual practice. The key formula of this "policy" is its petition for a "united workers bloc" to be formed inside the present Cortes.

## THE LCR IN THE JUNE ELECTIONS

For many months the leadership of the LCR had doubts concerning what position to take with respect to the elections convoked by the Monarchy for June 15th, it was not to happen, as with the Referendum, that in the end all the organizations claiming to represent the working class were obliged, by the mobilization of the workers and the continual fight of the PORE, to call for an "abstention."

Finally, the leadership of the LCR, following the apparatuses, decided to participate in the elections. But like the centrist leadership which it is, it took the form where they would be the least compromised: dissolving themselves into an electoral alliance which could be used to justify the fact that "we could not put forward our entire program." It should be recognized that the participation of the POUM in the FUT (the electoral alliance -- TRUTH) was systematically kept silent in IN-PRECOR (the officious organ of the Mandelite tendency) and by

the other organizations of the "United" Secretariat; the Pabloite leaders did not feel very much at ease.

And since the program of the FUT denied the revolutionary response to the elections, namely, denied the struggle for the Active Boycott as part of the fight for the general strike to overthrow the Monarchy and begin the proletarian revolution, there is not a single word about the necessity to finish with the Francoist Monarchy, to organize the general strike (of which the Pabloites still talk about on holidays) beginning with the mobilizations already underway (like in construction or in Euzkadi, or earlier, Roca), to establish a Workers and Peasants Government based on workers councils, nor anything about the fight in defense of the Polish workers and Eastern Europe for the Socialist United States of Europe. Obviously, there was not a single attack against the SCP (Communist Party) or PSOE (Socialist Party) nor concerning the other participants; commonality of interests obliged them.

The faction of the LC ready to fuse with the LCR today affirms that the struggle for the Active Boycott was "condemned from the beginning." But this is a necessary falsification to justify its present path. And we can affirm that this is a falsification without waiting for the appearance of a book like, "SEAT: the Model Factory of the Regime" which came out in the last weeks which showed that the struggle waged by the PORE to unleash the General Strike beginning with SEAT at the end of 1974 was a victory, as the history of Spain, Portugal as well as all of Europe since then has confirmed. In fact, the resolute fight of the PORE from the time of the Referendum for the Active Boycott was at the point of forcing everyone to change their

position, especially during the wave after the assassinations of the workers in Euzkadi.

But obviously the Pabloites do not claim to change history but to comment on it and the necessity to find a place for Mandel, next to Carrillo and Co. in the capitalist order.

"And now, what?" a few days after the elections proposed the formation of a "united workers bloc inside the Cortes" as well that "the principal task of all the working class Deputies and Senators and the parties which they belong to is to demand the immediate application of the

revolutionaries, bourgeois Parliament is only the smokescreen through which they hide the preparations for a fascist coup, and the only way to avoid "Pinochets" is to crush them through the means of the armed insurrection and the proletarian revolution.



RECENT DEMONSTRATION OF PORE IN BARCELONA

The important thing to underline is that participation in these elections whose objective was to try to impose the continuity of Francoism by reinforcing the Monarchy and capitalism through the means of the demobilization of the workers demanded:

--THE RENUNCIATION OF ANYTHING WHICH COULD RESEMBLE A WORKING CLASS PROGRAM, since the working class solution was precisely the struggle to prevent the elections through the means of the general mobilization of the proletariat and the masses. Flowing from this, the position of those who, in the LCR, consider that it was "tactically correct" to participate in the elections, but who regret the absence of a workers program, is totally without meaning.

--TO CREATE ILLUSIONS IN THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS, that is, in the Monarchy's Cortes. In fact, the decided fight against the bourgeois Cortes would imply a denunciation of its origin, that is, would imply attacking the participation of the LCR in these very elections. It is not therefore strange that the leadership of the LCR immediately tried to place the working class and the masses in the shadow of the Francoist Cortes.

## THE LCR, INTO THE MONARCHY'S CORTES

A section of the workers voted with illusions that the SCP and the PSOE could solve their problems in the Cortes. The PORE energetically fought these illusions, before, during and since the elections, which in practice no longer exist today.

The leadership of the LCR, on the contrary, immediately tried to reinforce the illusions in the Cortes. Already in its declara-

principles and the most urgent democratic demands posed by those who voted for them" (COMBATE, #77). In other words, that the leadership of the LCR clearly took a position of accepting its maneuvers and institutions, in place of fighting them. THIS IS THE CENTRAL AXIS OF THE POLICY OF GROWING CAPITULATION ADOPTED BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LCR.

## THE LCR, FROM THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO THE REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION BY SOLE TURA

The attitude of the Pabloites to the Constitution is a good example of this. A long time ago the LCR "fought" for a Constituent Cortes that would bury Francoism. With its participation in the elections the Monarchy's Cortes has been converted by the LCR into this so-called "Constituent Cortes," laying aside forever the part about burying Francoism.

Thus, Jaime Pastor in COMBATE #81 affirms that the "battle for the Constitution to reflect all the demands put forward by the population in the last years... is an essential task that must be taken up by the entirety of the workers movement, forcing its representatives in the Cortes to form a common bloc in face of the UCD/bourgeois party -- TRUTH." Just so there wouldn't be any doubt, the Pabloite leader finishes the article saying that "the best way to ward off the Pinochets" is "to base oneself on the united action of the workers and in its 'echo' in the Parliament in order to impose the most democratic possible Constitution." That is, Pastor opens up a second trench... on the bourgeois side. But for re-

With these glorious precedents, it is not strange to discover their attitudes towards the latest revelations concerning the elaboration of the Constitution. The latest COMBATE #88 is dedicated to proposing to Sole Tura and Peces-Barba/leaders of the CP & SP in the Cortes -- TRUTH/ that they elaborate a new draft of the Constitution which, this time, "will serve to deepen democracy and not to restrict it." And for such illustrious "workers representatives," they offer the "Constitutional Basis approved by the Central Committee of the LCR at its September meeting" which until now has been kept secret, probably waiting for an occasion like now. That is, in hope of throwing a coat over the eyes of the workers who see in this anti-working class and anti-democratic Constitution one more reason to break with the Cortes and the Monarchy.

## THE "ALTERNATIVE" TO POWER OF THE LCR

In the early 70's the LCR spoke of a "Government of the Workers" concretized a little later as "formed by organizations which stand for the overthrow of the dictatorship" as the alternative to the power of the Franco dictatorship. In its Third Congress during 1976 and after the death of Franco, the LCR passed to "fighting" for the Republic (bourgeois, we should add, since the Pabloites always forget to) and a few months later they began to speak of a "SCP-PSOE Government."

This evolution, each time more to the right, of formulations against the necessity of creating a Workers and Peasants Government based on the workers councils which the PORE fights for, is interesting because it clearly shows a typical characteristic of centrism: when the revolution is still relatively far they speak with a radical language, when it comes closer and becomes on the order of the day, they turn around and place themselves in the shadow of the apparatuses.

But the participation in the elections and the consequent submission to the Cortes has clarified the capitulation of the LCR on this terrain which every day becomes more and more electoral and criminal. Thus, the already mentioned "And now, what?" says that what is necessary is a "PSOE-PCE-PSP Government because it gained the majority of votes" without saying how this so-called government is going to be imposed, and proposes a "popular plebiscite over the form of the State" in order to win the Republic. In Catalunya things are even clearer, a PSOE-PSC-PSUC Government as the result of the massive vote that "next to the mass mobilization will give all necessary support to build a sovereign Generalitat capable of defending the workers of Catalunya on all terrains." (COMBATE, #77, page 3). And previous COMBATES (#79 and #87 for example) concretize this road to follow in the entire state to win such a marvelous government; the formation and strengthening of "a united workers bloc in the Cortes" and the immediate convocation of municipal elections.

It is clear that for the leadership of the LCR "the defense of the interests of the workers on all terrains" is to be found in the hands of the PCE-PSUC-PSOE-PSC (that is, in Stalinism and Social Democracy, which have many times demonstrated their counterrevolutionary nature) that besides, will be "won" through the means of the utilization and reform of the bourgeois state. It is not therefore strange to see Mandel, the LCR and the entire "United" Secretariat give advice to Carrillo, Gonzalez... and including Brezhnev, to be their guardians. This is one more expression of their centrist character.

## THE PRICE FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF THE LCR

The basis for this stepladder of concessions by the LCR is found in its centrist nature. Many times we have qualified Pabloism as the political agent of Stalinism inside the Fourth International. But it is important to see more concretely how the capitulation of the LCR is accentuated in relation to the problem that was taken up by the elections: that of legalization.

The LCR, like everyone at the beginning, demanded the unconditional legalization of all working class and popular organizations. But the Monarchy, with the complicit support of Social Democracy and Stalinism, began to pose conditions for legalization, at the same time giving a limit to the opportunists in order to allow them to put across their anti-working class policy. The government demanded the respect of the Monarchy, the army, the "unity of the nation," the existing order. The SCP, for example, used this to facilitate their policy of national unity, forcing on its militants the flag of Franco as "a tactical concession in order to come out of the caves."

One after another, the centrist groups acceded to the bourgeois state. The LCR did as well, not only in the documents they presented, eliminating any reference to the Fourth International, to the destruction of the bourgeois state and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, since this is more than an "astute tactic"

(what is the qualitative difference with the "tactical concession" of Carrillo?), as the militants of the LCR say. Above all it was the practice of the LCR in the workers mobilizations, decisively aiding the PCE-PSUC in ending workers struggles, like in Roca or in construction, and the attitude before the Cortes which made Carrillo and Gonzalez sponsors of the LCR in the government. From this began the attendance at the cocktail parties of the CP, greetings to meetings, invitations to Congresses, some places in the middle leadership of the Workers Commissions, on bargaining committees, letters from Mandel to Carrillo, common defense guards, etc., which are all some of the methods of the Stalinist (and Social Democratic) apparatuses to court the Pabloite leaders. After which, they can dispense with them.

The LCR "conquered" its legality not through a revolutionary struggle among the masses but in "meetings among leaders," negotiations in the corridors, including on the ministerial level. That is, more and more submission to the apparatuses, especially the SCP and through this, to the Monarchy and the bourgeois state. This helps one understand the total and complicit silence of the LCR in the face of the prohibition of the PORE, section of the Fourth International.

## WORKERS CORTES AGAINST THE "UNITED WORKERS BLOC IN THE MONARCHY'S CORTES"

The LCR has progressively adapted to the electoral maneuvers and the resulting Cortes of the Monarchy; the PORE, on the contrary, has maintained and developed the struggle for the independent and revolutionary mobilization of the masses. The alternative in the present situation is either to tie the mobilization to the Monarchy's Cortes and seek particular alliances within it as a "solution" (this is the meaning of the "united workers bloc" proposed by the LCR) or to impulse the independent mobilization for overthrowing the Cortes and open the road to the revolution (this is the meaning of the fight for the Workers Cortes that is impelled by the PORE).

The leadership of the LCR once again calls the workers to accept "the workers Deputies and Senators" as their spokesmen and to leave the leadership of the fight in the hands of the trade union leaders. They try to reduce the masses to a pressure group on Carrillo and Gonzales so that they will do the opposite of what they are doing. But in this game it is the Pabloites who are constantly capitulating. The acceptance of the Moncloa Pact as such, saying that it should not be retroactive, is the latest -- for now -- example.

On the contrary, the PORE explains over and over again that it is through the victorious revolution that the treacherous parties and their leaders, whether or not in the Cortes, will be swept away. It insists that only if the workers themselves assume responsibility for the fight, forming committees in every factory, business, community, and centralize them in a Workers Cortes, will the Moncloa Pact be finished with, the Monarchy's Cortes destroyed, and the working class and the masses can finish with exploitation and capitalist chaos. LA AURORA # 149  
December 5, 1977

# On the 40th anniversary of his assassination Leon Sedov belongs to the revolutionary youth

By BARBARA PUTNAM

February 16th marks the 40th anniversary of the death of our comrade, Leon Sedov; Leon Trotsky's son. He was systematically hunted down and murdered by KGB agents under Stalin's command. Stalin, whose jealous rage could not allow the existence of men of superior stature; of revolutionary integrity and honor; men who refused to compromise with the enemies of the working class. If Trotsky was the guiding spirit of the Fourth International, continuator of Bolshevism, then Leon Sedov is surely the guiding spirit of the Revolutionary Youth International.

At age 12, Leon Sedov added a year to his age to be able to join the Komsomol (Communist Youth) of the USSR in the years following the workers revolution and in the transition from Tzarism to a Workers Government. He worked enthusiastically among the young workers, educating them and providing leadership to their struggles. He wanted no part of privilege over any of his working class comrades -- he refused to ride in a car with his parents and preferred instead to walk or use public transportation. He chose to live in a working class youth hostel while a student and loved the "Red Saturdays;" days of "mobilizing labor" to clean snow from the streets or to unload freight cars or days of "liquidating" illiteracy. He did not want to be "different" or isolated from the young workers.

Leon Sedov was poor all his life and had to struggle all his life. He devoted himself entirely to the cause of the working class, studying and practicing the art of making revolution.

Leon Sedov followed Trotsky and his mother into exile. Exile imposed by Stalin, who in his pig's heart desired to stamp out Bolshevism by exile and murder of the revolutionaries who fought to continue the struggle of Lenin. Leon gave himself completely to the struggle to build organizations of the Left Opposition of the Communist International; dedicated to defeating Stalinism and continuing the fight for the worker international revolutionary party, a struggle which reached fruition in 1938 with the founding of the Fourth International. His sharp revolutionary instinct and his formation as a workers leader as a school boy enabled him to become the central representative of the Russian Opposition in the International Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In the years of exile, Leon Sedov was Trotsky's secretary, guard and collaborator. Trotsky wrote, "My son's name should rightfully be placed next to mine on almost all my books since 1928."

He was well versed in methods of secrecy, had great courage and a keen insight into the character of men. He knew by heart the teachings of the great revolutionaries, from Marx to Lenin. He knew well the history of the revolutionary party and the revolution and understood to the core of his



being the Stalinist school of falsification.

In a certain sense, Trotsky's relationship with his son foreshadowed the relationship of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International, not like father to son, but like comrades fighting for the same cause. Trotsky said of his collaborative work with Leon; "Such collaboration was made possible only because our ideological solidarity had penetrated our very flesh and blood..." and that it was "based on something immeasurably greater than the bonds of blood -- a solidarity of views and appraisals, of sympathies and antipathies, of joys and sorrows experienced together, of great hopes we had in common..." Leon Sedov constantly renewed Trotsky's faith in the communist future. And when he died, Trotsky said that all that was young in him died.

Stalin's assassins of the GPU called Leon Sedov "synok" or "Little Son." "The little son does his work cleverly. The old man wouldn't find it so easy without him," they said. That is the reason they stalked and hunted him down like an animal killing him slowly with slander and lies, forcing themselves into the organizations of the Left Opposition to poison the revolutionary youth.

Leon Sedov died at age 32, before he had had a chance to live fully. He represents a generation of young revolutionaries who never had a chance. Their lives were snuffed out by the Stalinists before they could fully absorb the lessons of the revolution and rebuild the international party to lead the international working class to power.

"Goodbye, Leon, goodbye dear and incomparable friend. Your mother and I never thought, never expected that destiny would impose on us the terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in the firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be

the continuer of our common cause. But we were not able to protect you, Goodbye, Leon! We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary Youth of all Countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son -- he is worthy of it -- and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory." (Leon Trotsky, from LEON SEDOV, SON, FRIEND, FIGHTER - 1938)

In the dark hours following the death of his dearly loved son, the future may have seemed dim and murky to Trotsky. Only if you were alive today, Leon and Leon to see the results of your work! What happened to Leon Sedov and his generation will not be repeated!

Today the imperialist governments across the world collaborate to extinguish this generation of revolutionaries, impossible to do without the support from the Stalinists who call us "terrorists." But you have placed a great weapon in our hands, the World Party and the Revolutionary Youth International, working side by side as you did to defeat Stalinism, pillar of the counter-revolution, and lead our class to power!

Our struggle today to free the young vanguard of the proletarian revolution and to avenge the murder of our comrades, killed in the service of the working class, is a fight to the finish with Stalinist poisoners to bring about the Socialist United States of Europe.

Leon Sedov, you did not die in vain. Your spirit lives in the Revolutionary Youth International.  
PLACE TO THE YOUTH!  
LONG LIVE THE RYI!  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

# On the third anniversary of THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Since 1968 millions and millions of young people have rejected this system and sought a way to overthrow it. Yet very few of them, even among the members of the Revolutionary Youth International who work with the Trotskyist Organization, have learned that the Trotskyist Organization is a product of this very struggle, that it was founded in February just three years ago to lead it to victory.

The Trotskyist Organization wants to commemorate this anniversary by changing this situation, by explaining its origins and, in so doing, showing why IT, not any of the other organizations, is THE Trotskyist Organization of the USA.

-- 1968 --

The TO arose out of the combat of young militants, internationally and in the United States, to meet the demands of the revolution, to rise to the task of leading it, to take advantage of the crisis of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism to lead their class to victory.

In 1968, youth across the world rose up, many times in arms, fighting for a future, for socialism, rejecting not just imperialism, but also Stalinism and all the so-called "Communist" Parties associated with it. They were disgusted with the prospect of a future without a job, mediocre and decaying schools, the terrific repression, the bloody war against the Vietnamese -- all supported, openly or tacitly, by the "Socialist" and "Communist" "leaders" of the working class. Youth in France and Czechoslovakia went the farthest in this uprising, took to the streets, built barricades, brought the masses of workers out with them and fought the bourgeois and Stalinist politicians and police.

The International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (1) fought to lead this struggle. It fought to centralize it in a fight for the Socialist United States of Europe, as a first step in the construction of the World Republic of Workers' Councils. It fought for building the World Party of the working class as the only road to victory; for the massive regroupment of all youth who wanted these things in the Revolutionary Youth International. In short, it fought to continue Lenin and Trotsky's fight and win the young masses to this.

In this way it sought to regroup the vanguard under its banner and destroy all the organizations which falsely claimed to represent the Fourth International and, in so doing, disoriented the youth and strengthened Stalinism. These organizations, regrouped largely in and around the United Secretariat led by Ernest Mandel and among which was the Socialist Workers Party, refused to organize young workers in the factories for the Revolution. They made the Fourth International appear before the working class as a very petty-bourgeois, very radical, branch of Stalinism or Maoism. They even spoke of themselves as "l'extreme gauche" or "the ex-

treme left," as if Stalinists and Trotskyist were part of the same family, the latter just to the "left."

The International Committee went far in this struggle. It brought together youth from across West and East Europe, from fascist Spain to Stalinist dominated Poland. It reached a high point with rallies of 10,000 and 5,000 in Bourget, France and Essen, Germany.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

In 1972 the most class-conscious leaders and militants of the International Committee were forced to begin to regroup themselves within an International Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee. In the face of the rising revolution and counterrevolution, then being openly prepared by Nixon and Brezhnev, the majority of the old leadership, made up mostly of the leaderships of the British Workers Revolutionary Party and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, capitulated. It refused to take forward the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International as a mass independent organization of revolutionary youth and then began to attempt to destroy the International Committee itself.

The International Faction, basing itself not only on the long experience of the International Committee, but especially on its experience since 1968, drew a balance sheet of this struggle.

It concluded that while the International Committee had indeed continued the FI's struggle, it had not itself fully assimilated the necessity of constructing the WORLD PARTY of the socialist revolution, of forging the political and practical unity of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the countries of the socialist conquests in its daily struggles. This was most sharply expressed in its failure to establish a real international center. It functioned largely as a federation.

Only with such a struggle could the masses of youth dispersed by the opportunists be regrouped in the Revolutionary Youth International, the Fourth International be rebuilt, and those who masquerade under its banner be destroyed. The Faction founded the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International to carry this task to completion.

It's not an accident that young leaders of the Spanish, Moroccan and newly-rebuilt East European sections took the lead in this fight. Their revolutionary, Leninist, and Trotskyist convictions were based not simply on what they'd learned from books, but on the bitter experience of the defeat of the Spanish and Hungarian revolutions and years of fascist and Stalinist rule. In this sense they represented the highest consciousness of millions of proletarian youth who, beginning in 1968, began to realize that their own future was UTTERLY incompatible with the continued existence of imperialism and Stalinism. Whatever doubts they may have had about this were quickly dispelled.

Shortly after they took up this struggle one section of the old IC leadership led by Lambert of the French OCI, which had become an agent of Stalinism, opened up a campaign of slander and physical attacks in order to destroy them.

## AMERICA

This international revolutionary uprising and the International League's determined struggle to meet its demands gave the impetus to the foundation of the Trotskyist Organization in the United States, the bastion of world imperialism.

Like their counterparts across the world American youth rose up against the old order. They hated the government which so falsely claimed to represent democracy, opportunity, and wealth for all. They hated the suppression of the workers' strike, the vicious oppression of the masses of blacks, the war in Vietnam, the corruption. They thought Stalinism no alternative.

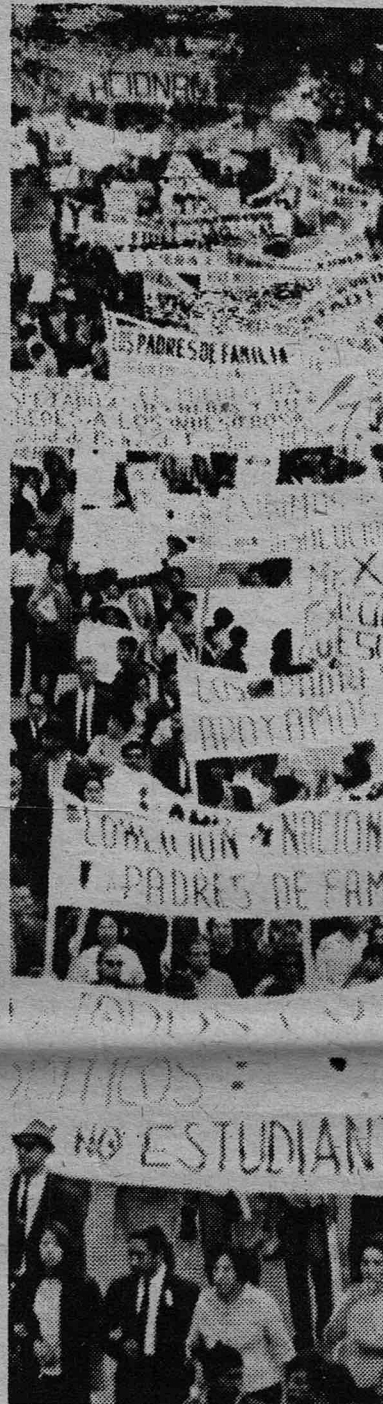
And like their counterparts across the world, thousands drew the conclusion that socialist revolution was the solution, that a revolutionary party was necessary. They had seen their comrades protesting the war at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Party Convention beaten, the liberal Democrats and UAW bureaucrats stand by; the Stalinists denounce them as ultra-lefts. The Black Panther Party was shot down. The National Guard was called out against the Teamsters.

And once again like their counterparts across the world, thousands turned to the only party which claimed to be revolutionary, to carry on the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky -- the Socialist Workers Party. They were stunned to find a party that didn't look, talk, or act anything like what they knew, both from their own experiences and from Marxist books, was necessary.

The SWP, like its counterparts across the world, actively opposed organizing young workers, struggling in the factories and unions, for revolution. To avoid a fundamental confrontation with the Stalinists, bureaucrats, and liberal bourgeois, where it counted, the SWP claimed students were the vanguard. Similarly, it opposed the independent mobilization and organization of the working class against the war. It fought any development of the revolutionary content of this struggle, because it wanted to keep it open to the liberal bourgeois and Stalinists. This opportunist policy allowed the Stalinists to walk off with the movement and leave the SWP at the tailend of the marches chanting, "One point peace plan, out now."

But when young revolutionaries turned away from the SWP, because of the extreme political and organization weakness of the International Committee in the US, they had no obvious place to go.

While the American organization, the Workers League, fought for Trotskyism, it didn't really appear as THE International before the American working class.



tions of the International Committee, to mobilize the masses for the socialist revolution and the construction of a WORLD party, and in this way begin to truly differentiate the vanguard of the working class, rebuild the International and do away with all the organizations which falsely claimed to represent it, answered the problems before the American workers' movement -- the opportunism, all the different organizations, etc. It was like a beacon of light in the dark. With this the IL/RFI won its first recruits from the American workers' movement and founded the Trotskyist Organization of the USA to carry out its fight.

It's not an accident that the first militants to come forward, defend the IL/RFI's fight, and finally join it, had been in the forefront of the struggle in 1968 and the years that followed to find the road to the construction of the party to prepare the revolution. They'd fought for the independent organization of auto-workers, steelworkers, miners, Teamsters, for the construction of the world party, and finally, for the defense of all the conquests of the October Revolution and the struggle of the Fourth International itself. And they fought the leadership of SDS, the SWP, the International Socialists, the Revolutionary Socialist League. They'd formed "TRUTH" aiming to reconstruct the International.

Like their counterparts in Europe, they too represented the hard-learned lessons of the struggles of millions of youth.

## WHY IS IT TROTSKYIST?

The political struggle the IL/RFI waged, the place it took in the class struggle as the continuer of the International Committee, the builder of the world party of socialist revolution, was what made and makes its organization in America the Trotskyist Organization. It continues the revolutionary struggle of the Communist League of America, the Socialist Workers Party, the American Organization of the International Committee.

Trotskyism is a program, the program of the working class -- revolution. And it is the organization which fights for this program. Only those who do so can honestly claim this name as their own.

The Socialist Workers Party claims to be for the Trotskyist program, to be Trotskyist. But for nearly 15 years it has claimed that the socialist revolution is not on the agenda in America. It denies Trotskyism in practice.

In the last weeks it has begun a concerted effort to prove to its ranks that it is indeed Trotskyist. But it hasn't made a political fight to do this. It hasn't spoken of what the essence of Trotskyism is and tried to show why it and no others continued it.

Instead it opened up a sort of public relations campaign, Madison Avenue type thing, using its name, the names of some of its members who were in the SWP when it was Trotskyist, and stories

It addressed itself to the masses of workers, but it was extremely sectarian toward the youth, especially those in other organizations which claimed to be Trotskyist. It achieved the opposite of what it sought to achieve. It looked like one more "left sect."

So revolutionary youth went as often to other organizations which claimed to be to the left of the SWP as they did to the Workers League. These organizations -- like the International Socialists or the Spartacist League -- too proved to have nothing to do with revolution, Lenin, or Trotsky, so the struggle continued. More organizations were founded. Others faded away. It was isolated, trapped in the borders of the United States.

## ONCE AGAIN THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

The IL/RFI opened up a political combat within the American workers movement beginning in 1973. It's clear and unequivocal fight to continue the best tradi-

# Democratic Rights and Facism

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The problem of fascism and its appearance in all the major cities in the United States occupies the attention of the entire workers movement. This fact alone shows that American workers are rapidly being drawn into the political arena -- especially the most oppressed layers of the class. The brutal reality of fascism has given workers everywhere a reason to debate openly all the most important questions of the socialist revolution.

Of particular interest to this debate is an article in the Feb. 10, 1978 issue of the MILITANT, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. Though the SWP once called for "free speech for fascists" supposedly as a tactic to defend democratic rights, the MILITANT article now characterizes this demand as "abstract," a retreat from their previous position.

But we disagree. This debate gets to the heart of the class struggle in the United States. The question constantly asked by workers in one form or another, can capitalist or bourgeois democracy defend workers rights, can be answered very clearly in relation to the fascists.

Here, we must ask a question of the Socialist Workers Party in order to make the stake of the debate clear to all.

Time and time again the SWP has called on the capitalist government to defend the workers from the Nazis or the Klu Klux Klan -- you demanded federal troops to defend blacks in Boston, you have demanded the police to protect your own organization when right-wing groups have broken up your own meetings, you have even taken up Carter's "human rights" campaign in your press. Do YOU really believe that bourgeois democracy will defend the working class? This is the answer the workers want to hear.

The facts speak for themselves. In Boston, the police savagely attacked black youth to ensure "free speech" for the Nazis and racist organizations, and in Chicago photographs were taken of off duty policemen throwing bricks and carrying "white power" signs while they attacked a demonstration of black youth in Marquette Park.

Recently, in Detroit, where the whole working class is outraged at the newly opened Nazi bookstore, Mayor Young's police (black Democratic-party Mayor of Detroit) have defended the bookstore against several demonstrations. Only last week, the Supreme Court gave its protection to a march of Nazis in Skokie, Illinois, a predominantly Jewish working class community near Chicago. These are not exceptions to bourgeois democracy, they are the rule.

While the liberals are busy defending the Nazis, however, the police and National Guard are busy using their billy clubs on the miners and workers. While the courts defend the Nazis, they have just branded Seven Chrysler workers as "criminals" for walking out of an auto plant when the temperature had reached 130 degrees.

Why should the workers defend "free speech" for the Nazis if all the power of the capitalists stands

ready to ensure their "rights?" And what will the SWP have to say about federal troops defending the workers from the Nazis when the federal troops are protecting the coal operators from the miners?

S-1437

The S-1437 bill, passed last week by the Senate, is another example of how bourgeois democracy defends fascism while it attacks the rights of workers. The provisions of this bill which are an all-out attack on workers independent organization -- mass picketing, defense guards, strike committees -- will never apply to para-military organization on the part of the Nazis. Nor will the foreign powers clause which is aimed at the international organizations of workers, ever be used against the ultra-nationalist fascist organizations.

If workers are confused by the turn of events toward the fascist and right-wing anti-worker movements, it is only because American bourgeois democracy has moved with such speed to attack workers rights. Only yesterday, Carter was talking about "human rights" as if he included workers in the category of "human" but now it is clear that workers are workers, and no one in the ruling class wants to defend "workers rights."

The facts speak for themselves. The repressive powers of the capitalist's government and the fascist movements frow together. Bourgeois "democracy" becomes more and more the excuse for police state laws and the greatest defense of barbarism and fascism. The common denominator to all defenders of bourgeois democracy -- liberals, conservatives, fascists, and racists alike -- is to blame all the ills of capitalism on the working class and especially its most oppressed layers. Under this argument, hallowed "democracy" undertakes to exterminate the resistance of the workers.

The article in the MILITANT says: "The cause of the current increase in fascist and racist activity is not the effectiveness of Nazis and KKK propaganda... but the impact of the capitalist government's offensive against... working people as a whole."

This stands everything upside down. It is the failure of the government's offensive, of Carter's campaign for "human rights," to stop the workers offensive that has led the supposedly "democratic" and "fair" institutions of capitalism to come to the defense of the fascists.

The working class may be amazed at the speed with which Carter's government has changed faces, but they are not defeated, not even one-tenth so. This is what strikes fear in the bourgeoisie -- the tremendous combativity the workers in the United States have shown in the last months, particularly the miners.

Who really feels defeated? The liberals with their empty reforms and inflation-ravaged bank accounts. The black middle class which now finds that no matter how much it tries to please Carter, there still aren't any favors coming back in

return. And the opportunist trade union bureaucracy which can no longer control the ranks of the unions. All the elements that the SWP looks to for support feel the crushing defeat of the decay and rot of bourgeois "democracy."

The fight against fascism is a struggle to defend WORKERS RIGHTS and to win WORKERS DEMOCRACY. It is not the rights of the capitalists which are under attack. It is not the rights of a fascists which are being tromped on, it is the rights of the working class, the rights which capitalism never recognized.

The right to a job. The right to a decent income. The right to organize and control the unions. The right to defend against the Nazis and the KKK. These are rights which only the working class can win.

The liberals who constantly try to prop up the hopes of the most oppressed workers -- blacks, women and immigrants -- only to have those hopes tromped in the mud by capitalism, merely give the fascists something to laugh at. The trade union bureaucracy which uses its power over the unions to suppress the workers, paves the way for State-run unions of the fascist type. And the Stalinists, who give the name of "communism" the same content as the fascist dictatorship, make the fascists look good.

No, it is not these treacherous leaderships which can defend the workers. Real democracy, WORKERS DEMOCRACY, is being fought for today in the coalfields and the factories. It is the independent organizations of the working class, the factory committees and workers councils which will form the basis of the WORKERS GOVERNMENT to defend society against fascist butchers.

The fight for Workers Democracy is revolutionary because there can be no real rights for workers while the capitalists

government and their system of exploitation still stand, and the revolution will surely crush the Nazis. There can be no doubt about this.

## TACTICS

But the workers cannot wait for the revolution to deal with the Nazis. Indeed, the sooner the Nazis are defeated, the more peaceful and less bloody will be the revolution itself. For despite what the bourgeoisie would have popular opinion say, workers are not imately violent -- it is the violence of capitalist society that is responsible for the bloodshed in revolutions.

If anything is abstract it is the proposals in the MILITANT's article for workers, "The Nazis can be set back by showing in action that the streets belong not to them but to the working people of this country." So ends the article. We hope the workers can figure out what this means better than we can!

The program of the Fourth International is clear on this point. The organization of WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS to defend the workers and their strikes from Nazis and company goons. The UNITED FRONT of workers organizations, regardless of their differences on other questions, to strike a single blow against the Nazis, destroy their apparatus, and demoralize their cadre. The investigation of the Nazis as to their sources of income, their political connections, and their names and addresses. These are all concrete tasks which the workers can take to smash the Nazis politically and organizationally.

They are as well the means to defend the whole working class against the repression of the capitalists' government and to organize the socialist revolution. February 9, 1978

about the SWP when it was Trotskyist. But all the Madison Avenue in the world won't change the politics of the SWP and that's what counts.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The founding of the Trotskyist Organization was a great step forward for the international working class. American militants brought the strengths and weaknesses of the class struggle in America to the International and it signified a new unity of the proletariat against imperialism and Stalinism. For the first time in years militants from the bastion of imperialism and the countries of the socialist conquests were truly united in one world party.

Most importantly it brought an end to the period of great isolation of the American working class, a period when each new mobilization brought more new organizations. In fact, not one new organization falsely claiming to be Trotskyist has been formed since the TO was founded. In fact, a number of them have been destroyed.

The founding of the TO opened up the period of the political regroupment of the vanguard of the working class, of the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International. Circles of Revolutionary Young Workers began to be formed in the factories. For the first time in years young workers began to be formed as Marxists to lead their class to power.

## VICTORY

The International League won the first stage of its battle. In late 1975 the Revolutionary Youth International was founded and in January of 1976 the Fourth International was rebuilt. The Trotskyist Organization played an important role in this struggle through the founding of the Revolutionary Young Workers of the USA, the political struggle it opened up against the SWP leadership, and its full participation in the International Conference which decided to proclaim the International rebuilt.

Today the Trotskyist Organization is still fighting to regroup the vanguard of the working class in the US through the construction of the RYI. The outcome of this struggle is decisive. On this will depend whether the current revolutionary struggle of the American working class is victorious or crushed.

Every young worker who wants a revolution should seriously consider this question. His place is in the Trotskyist Organization.

And every young worker or militant who thinks his organization is the Trotskyist Organization should think about this too.

What is its policy? What place has it taken in the class struggle?

Answering these questions can't be taken lightly. Truth makes all the difference for the working class.

## Revolutionary Youth International Manifesto.

\$1.00. Write: RYI/PO BOX 07066/DETROIT, MI 48207

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# Why Revolutionary Workers Faction/UAW

By Fred Vitale

Since the UAW Convention last May and the heat walkouts this summer autoworkers have seen a stepped-up attack on their rights. The Trenton 7 were sentenced to Federal penitentiary for leading a heat-walkout and then another walkout to defend the leaders. John Ellis, a militant of Time-To-Unite at Ford River Rouge, has been fired a second time. The workers from Ford Chicago Assembly report an increase in harassment, disciplinary actions, job break-ups.

Layoffs have begun at AMC and Chrysler as well as minor ones at Ford and GM. The UAW bureaucracy has let the layoffs happen; they've actively participated in beheading the workers leadership in Trenton, in breaking the strikes at Essex Wire last month and at Indianapolis and Fremont last summer.

The masses of autoworkers see a need for far-reaching change in the leadership of the UAW, especially at the top. But they are more cautious than in the past, have learned that the fight to drive out the bureaucrats is a difficult one.

When autoworkers talk and discuss the question of what can they do to stop the attacks, the conversation inevitably gets around to how rotten the leadership is. They all know that SOME kind of organization is necessary to defeat them. But the question they ask us is -- WHY THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS FACTION/UAW? What's so different about you?

Part of answering this question is to show exactly what is going on in terms of the POLITICAL situation of the autoworkers.

The auto workers, along with the whole American working class has been engaged in a strong mobilization against the capitalists, their government and their lackeys. In particular in the unions to defend their rights that they've won. The autoworkers struck all three companies in 1976 and followed that with an unprecedented number of local strikes and wildcats continuing for over a year.

The wildcats and local strikes were betrayed with great effort by the bureaucracy. The last UAW Convention was by all accounts, one of the "quietest in history." It signalled an almost complete divorce between the bureaucracy and the masses of autoworkers. The masses of autoworkers in the UAW have become more united in their rebellion against the bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy is opportunist, i.e., it betrays the workers INDEPENDENCE, politically and organizationally as a class and ties it in one way or another to the ruling class. It takes many forms but this is at the heart of it. Most importantly, it MUST DENY THE WORKERS THEIR RIGHTS, compromise them at every step, usually under the guise of winning some "reform."

Almost every major local of the UAW has an opportunist group calling itself, "militant," "socialist," "communist," "revolutionary" or something similar. Yet, with all these organizations, the autoworkers have not really delivered a crushing blow to the capitalists. Why? Because they haven't really ADVANCED in the struggle to RE-GAIN their union, to win it to

the workers side. And it's principally because of the opportunism of these groupings, and the workers inability to break through it, that the workers have not advanced. Opportunism is the biggest obstacle to the workers winning their rights.

We saw at Trenton that the bureaucrats betrayed the workers independence. They supported the government jailing the workers leaders as "criminals." The rest of the opportunists aided the bureaucrats insofar as, during the months BEFORE THIS, they openly supported the Trenton Defense Committee set up by the local bureaucrats. When the inevitable abandonment of the Trenton Seven occurred, the workers were left defenseless. This is the result of opportunism.

The bureaucrats have allowed layoffs while GM reports its highest profits ever. The workers say that they have a right to a job. The bureaucrats try to make it seem like the layoffs are a "question of car sales"; that seniority rights prevent an "internal squabble in the workers movement."

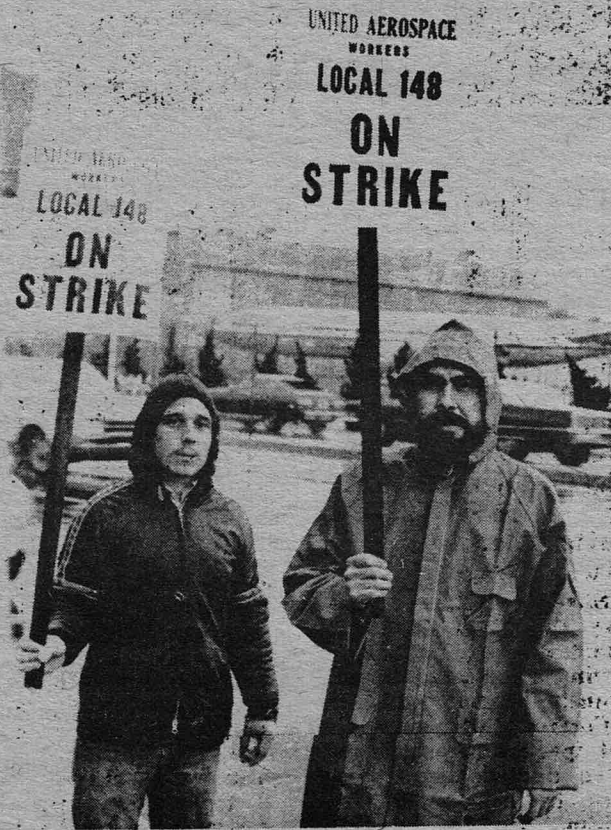
The Socialist Workers Party says "yes, a right to a job, but for now, preferential layoffs." Agreeing with the bureaucrats that the workers must fight among themselves about who gets laid off. The Maoists and Stalinists of the Autoworkers Action Caucus, Time-to-Unite (Autoworkers United to Fight Organization) say "Jobs or Income" which is nothing more than the call for a guaranteed income -- a liberal scheme which calls for complete reliance on the government's part to keep paying benefits.

The autoworkers want to support the miners strike the best way they can. They want to see it victorious and see the struggle of the autoworkers and miners united. The bureaucracy plays on this desire and attempts to corral it with resolutions supporting the miners and pep rallies as if they were the "home town team." The other opportunists have given support to these rallies and approve of them, also talking about "solidarity with the miners."

The miners themselves are showing HOW to "unite" the working class, they are uniting themselves against the capitalists with their own independent organizations, their mass caravans, their armed roving pickets elected from mass meetings. This is the only way to build CLASS unity of the workers -- with their own independent organization. This is hidden, denied, and when necessary broken by the opportunists.

Why build and support the Revolutionary Workers Faction? Because only the RWF battles for the workers political independence, and battles against the opportunists, struggles to develop and expand their independence so they can impose their own democracy. In this way we can build a new, revolutionary leadership for the UAW, to win Workers Democracy in the UAW and make the UAW a weapon for the whole working class.

It is not a question of a list of demands that distinguish us from the opportunists, it's a QUESTION OF POLICY -- who stands completely and uncom-



promisingly for the workers rights their own organization and -- who gives them up?

This May there are elections for many local offices in the UAW. These elections are going to play a crucial place in the class struggle in the US. The rebellion in the UAW as we mentioned before shows the decisive split that occurred in the UAW between the masses of workers and the bureaucracy. Workers across the country will try to use the elections to unseat the bureaucracy.

In order for this split to be to the WORKERS ADVANTAGE, it must be centralized with the workers building a new, revolutionary leadership. The RWF will run in the elections, in order to extend and deepen this split, to advance the struggle of the workers for their own independent policy against the capitalist government, against the opportunists.

This is the road forward for the autoworkers. This is the road that is different from all the ones that autoworkers have already tried. Join us.

February 9, 1978

## Bureaucrats divert fight against nazis

Detroit-- February 6th-- The bureaucrats of UAW Local #600 (Ford River Rouge) organized a meeting tonight in response to the recent opening of a Nazi headquarters just a mile away from the Rouge. Over 300 people attended this meeting called to set up a "Joint Community-Labor Committee" to "close the Nazi headquarters." In reality, it was called to DIVERT the desire of the working class to FINISH with the Nazis into "legalistic," "reformist," "non-violent," channels.

First, the "community" nature of this meeting must be attacked. The bureaucrats held the meeting in a "neutral" restaurant, two blocks away from the union headquarters. No attempt was made to inform autoworkers or to mobilize them for this meeting.

Secondly, who was this "community" that the bureaucrats were so eager to have in attendance? Very few autoworkers or any workers. But full of priests, liberal lawyers and high officials of the Detroit Police Department!

The bureaucrats, led by Paul Boatman of Local #600 told horror stories about the Nazis and even attacked the bourgeois newspapers for defending "free speech" for the Nazis. They had to do this to have any credibility among the workers they are supposed to represent.

But their plan for driving out the Nazis was like giving aspirin to a cancer patient. They proposed a "mass public opposition to the Nazis" to "aid the landlord in winning their eviction," a "picket line" and "for the government to vote in favor of a full mobilization against Nazis."

In order to stop the youth from being attracted to the Nazis they proposed to "work through the parents of these children and to force the media to make photographs of these children (helping the Nazis) accessible to their parents." (!) A proposal certain to win the confidence of those youth misled by the Nazis!



They also called on "the implementation of Mayor Young's program for Southwest Detroit" to make it a "strong community."

Militants of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth WERE THE ONLY ONES IN THE ROOM to vote against this proposal. When the chairman of the meeting asked "Who is Against?" NOT A SINGLE working class organization present, from the SWP, the Spartacist League, the International Socialists, all the Maoist groups, to the Stalinists voted against, except for us.

Militant workers shouldn't be surprised at this since most of them also all stood respectfully for the prayer from the reactionary Catholic priest at the beginning of the meeting. They didn't want to disturb the "community" nature of this meeting either!

Fred Vitale spoke for the TO and the RWY saying that the Nazis are only the most extreme expression of what the Carter government is trying to do-- blame the workers for the capitalist crisis and make them out to be common criminals. He stated that workers cannot rely on this government to defeat the Nazis. Workers will be free of the Nazis and the danger of fascism only when they impose their own democracy, not Car-

ter's phony "human rights."

The TO and RWY proposed: 1) a mass march organized by the UAW with all the unions in Detroit to march on the Nazi office and evict them, and 2) to make this part of an offensive of the trade unions to defeat the reactionary S. 1437 Bill just passed by the Senate.

The bureaucrats refused to allow this to come to a vote. It was tabled to a meeting of the "Steering Committee."

But our proposal won the applause of several of the independent workers at the meeting.

As the meeting broke up it was discovered that two Nazis were in the restaurant spying on the meeting! The UAW bureaucrats knew about this all along and they had done nothing. The police, who were there throughout the meeting moved quickly to protect them and called for more reinforcements.

We will continue our fight for the class independence of the workers, for the election and organization of workers defense guards in every union local, to patrol the streets, to gather information on the Nazis, to demoralize and drive them away by whatever means is necessary. Only such a policy can cleanse our society of this cancer. F. V.