

TRUTH



WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!

No. 79 August 25, 1978 25¢

ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA - SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

ON ITS 40TH ANNIVERSARY...
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SAYS

GIVE THE YOUTH A FUTURE, GIVE THE WORLD A FUTURE!

On September 3rd, the Fourth International is celebrating the 40th anniversary of its foundation. An international rally is being held on this date in Barcelona, Spain and in the US the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, who are fighting with the Trotskyist Organization to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, will hold a public meeting in Detroit to honor this occasion.

What kind of party is the Fourth International?

Our founder, Leon Trotsky, said it simply in the message he sent to a meeting of our party in New York 40 years ago:

"Dear friends, we are not a party like other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old Internationals... are rotten through and through."

And: "Only the Fourth International looks with confidence towards the future. It is the World Party of the Socialist Revolution!"

Young workers-- this is why we call you to celebrate this anniversary with us and to participate in our struggle.

Not because we expect you to know the entire history of the struggle of the Fourth International. Even though this is a proud history, which represents not just the last 40 years, but the force of the entire struggle of the working class for its freedom.

Not because we expect you to be already convinced about the correctness of everything we stand for against all the other parties and organizations which exist in the working class today.

But because--young workers-- only the Fourth International looks with confidence and represents the FUTURE.

And the future belongs to you--the young generation of the working class. Only you can save humanity from the destruction caused by capitalist greed.

Only you can build a better world.

Because it is the only party in the world today fighting for the world socialist revolution the Fourth International is the only party of your future.

That is why we don't want to celebrate our anniversary by making long speeches about our "traditions" and "history."

Leave this to the pseudo-revolutionaries who only then turn around and spit on this history and tradition today.

We want to celebrate our anniversary with YOU and place no conditions on your joining this celebration with us.

Only ONE condition-- join us in building a future by launching a fight against this terrorist, imperialist and racist state through a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION.

Against this IMPERIALIST state which is trying to crush the revolution throughout the world.

Against this RACIST state which makes the oppression of blacks the condition for its exploitation of the entire working class. In Baltimore, Maryland the police have just been discovered passing out green CARDS to black youth which ALLOWED them to walk the streets of a white neighborhood!

This is the future THEY are preparing!

And against this ANTI-WORKING CLASS state. Which ordered the Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners. And now has ordered a federal injunction against the

postal workers-- preparing for federal troops to deliver the mail in case of a strike.

Rotten wage and slave working conditions--by court injunction! This is THEIR future unless we organize to defend the postal workers.

Uniting the fighting youth against this state. This is how we want to celebrate our 40th anniversary and why we want you to join this fight with us.

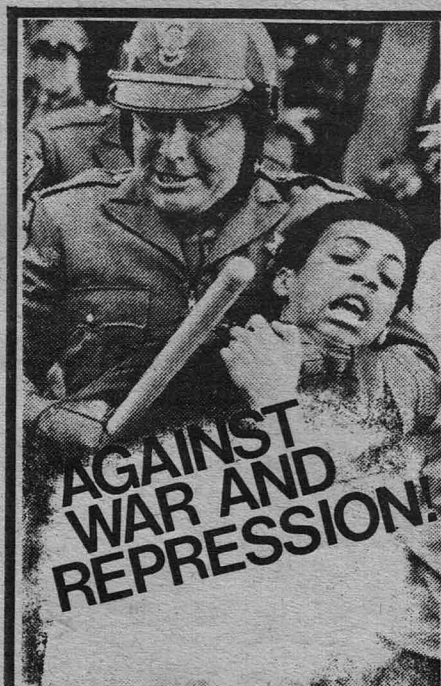
To give the youth a future, to give the world a future.
August 25, 1978

INSIDE:

ISOLATE CENTRISM IN THE AMERICAS

NORTH & SOUTH

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Revolutionary Young
Workers -- MEETING:
40th ANNIVERSARY
of the
FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

8pm - Sunday - Sept. 3
4417 2nd, Detroit

STOP THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL AGAINST

MIGUEL SALAS!

PROLETARIOS DE TODOS LOS PAISES UNIDOS
LA MIRORA
PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE ESPAÑA

¡ABAJOS LOS
¡FORMAS!
¡ONCLOS!
¡BRERAS!

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ISOLATE CENTRISM IN THE AMERICAS

~ NORTH & SOUTH

By JON COHEN

The Sixth World Congress of the Fourth International, which met in Paris on July 29 - August 2nd, placed at the center of its work the fight of the Fourth International to win the young generation of the working class to Bolshevism in the face of the betrayals of all the old leaderships of the working class.

Our Congress stated that the most distinguishing feature of the present situation was the continued offensive of the working class and the massive break of the young generation of the working class with the old leaderships, above all the Stalinist apparatus.

Throughout the world the fighting youth are leaving the traditional parties -- the Communist and Socialist parties, the Democratic Party in the US -- which they see as obstacles to their fight for a better world.

But they are not coming spontaneously to the Fourth International. The Stalinists have launched a counter-attack against the youth to prevent them from finding a true revolutionary party, the Fourth International, by attacking all the political and historical gains of the working class in its years of struggles.

In this counter-attack they are using to the fullest extent possible the assistance of the CENTRISTS, pseudo-revolutionary organizations who speak in the name of the Fourth International but in practice cover for the crimes of Stalinism and confuse the youth who are seeking an alternative to Stalinism.

Thus, the 6th Congress defined our tasks in the coming period as a struggle to ISOLATE and TURN THE YOUTH AGAINST these centrists who are an obstacle to the fight of the youth to renew the leadership of the working class.

All of this may seem abstract to workers and youth in the United States. But we are convinced, and we hope to convince you as well, that NONE of the tasks in the preparation of the American revolution or even the solutions to your most immediate problems can be resolved without the fight against centrism, not only in the US, but throughout the Americas.

"IF CARTER CALLED A CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WE WOULD BE THE FIRST ONES THERE" -- Hugo Blanco, October 1977

Why can't we avoid the fight against centrism? Because you cannot be a centrist and be in revolutionary opposition to US imperialism at the same time. Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian leader of the pseudo-revolutionary United Secretariat has proven this not only on the terrain of the class struggle in Peru, but as well as through the policy of his North American comrades, the Socialist Workers Party.

You cannot be a centrist and at the same time understand that the most fundamental fact about the policy of US imperialism towards Latin America today is the attempt of the Carter government, under the guise of "human rights" to legitimize and institutionalize the military dictatorships.

After the failure of the "Alliance For Progress" in the 60's and the Chilean Popular Front of the early 70's to control the revolutionary upsurge in Latin America, US imperialism and the Latin American bourgeoisies had no other solution but the military dictatorships now in power. Today, even these dictatorships are being rocked from top to bottom by the mobilization of the working class. US imperialism has no other choice than to try to keep these dictatorships alive and in order to do this they have tried to give them a "democratic" cover.

Under the DIRECT prodding of the Carter government, all of these dictatorships have organized in the last months various "democratic" schemes designed to institutionalize these dictatorships. Like Pinochet's "referendum" in Chile. Like the recent "elections" in Bolivia and Ecuador. Like the "Constituent Assembly" in Peru. All farces. But worse. All part of US imperialism's attempt to crush the Latin American revolution.

A revolutionary has no place in any of these maneuvers. The sole task of the Fourth International is to explain to the workers of both North and South America the nature of Carter's maneuvers and that there is only one kind of democracy possible in Latin America -- WORKERS DEMOCRACY, and that it can be achieved through only one solution -- A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT, based on the independent organs of the workers and oppressed as a step towards the



UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

In the face of this there is nothing abstract about centrism. The centrists are found swimming up to their necks in the swamp of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" and these anti-working class maneuvers.

You cannot be a revolutionary and say, as Hugo Blanco did, that if Carter called a Conference on "human rights" you would be the first ones there. But you can be a centrist.

This adaptation to imperialism and its maneuvers in Latin America, this acceptance of the bourgeois and Stalinist illusion that there is a "democratic stage" to the revolution in Latin America, determines the pseudo-revolutionary and centrist posture of the United Secretariat in Latin America today.

The adaptation of the FOCEP (Workers, Peasants, Students and Popular Front) in Peru, organized by both the United Secretariat and the Peruvian allies of the French OCI, to the phoney Constituent Assembly organized by the military dictatorship with the guidance of Jimmy Carter, has its roots not in the "specific conditions" of Peru, but in this fundamental participation of these centrists in the man-

euvers of imperialism and Stalinism against the ENTIRE working class of the Americas-- North and South. That is why they must be isolated.

Let us point out that NO ONE was more surprised by the revolutionary upsurge in Peru than Hugo Blanco and his comrades. Just months before the events in Peru which were to give Blanco and his FOCEP slate 12% of the vote in the elections, Blanco was in the United States talking about the "defeats" in Latin America, that the working class was on the "defensive", that the only perspective was to join with the liberal bourgeoisie in fighting for "human rights."

We defy anybody to find ONE SENTENCE in all the articles in THE MILITANT or INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS which in any way predicted, much less gave leadership to, the upsurge now taking place in Latin America, "defeats" and more "defeats" was all one could read.

This prostration continues today in Peru where it becomes clearer and clearer with each new development of the class struggle how far BEHIND Blanco and his comrades are in relation to the

advanced workers and how FOCEP is only a roadblock in front of the youth breaking from Stalinism and seeking to organize the revolution in Peru.

To be a leader of the working class is to forsee. To be a centrist is to constantly tail behind the movement of the workers and youth. The difference between a successful revolution and another bloody defeat for the working class is contained in these two sentences.

One only has to look at Blanco's speech to a rally welcoming him back to Peru reprinted in INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS of August 7, 1978. Many militants of the SWP, trying to defend their policy in Peru which THEY WOULD LIKE to be revolutionary, have tried to liken Blanco's speech with Lenin's speech at the Petrograd railway station in April 1917.

After all, they both called for "socialism." But this comrades, is not the difference between Leninism and centrism.

Lenin had only two fundamental things to say in April 1917. First of all--LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! That the fundamental task on the order of the day in Russia and throughout the world was the preparation for the seizure of power by the working class, that the Russian revolution would be proletarian or not at all.

And second, that there was only one instrument to lead and organize this seizure of power -- the Bolshevik PARTY, that without this party the revolution would be impossible.

Blanco's speech is only a mockery of this. Amid jokes, a denunciation of the Constituent Assembly that is MILES BEHIND what the most revolutionary workers think about it, pitiful calls for "unity" with the very Stalinists and Maoists the most advanced workers have already rejected (Lenin spoke in April AGAINST those comrades in his party that could only speak of "unity" with the Mensheviks) -- NONE of the fundamental questions of the revolution are found ANYWHERE in Blanco's speech.

Because to be a centrist is to be scared to death of the revolution and all it represents, despite the PERSONAL courage Blanco may have. Nothing is foreseen, there is no road forward presented, unless you consider the formulation "a consistent struggle for a workers government and for socialism" such a perspective, which in 1917 and today is a typical MENSHEVIK

conception of the revolution-- "consistent struggle"-- as if the revolution was an endless movie and not the ONLY solution in front of the Peruvian workers for TODAY.

And the PARTY? What party will lead the revolution in Peru? Blanco doesn't even MENTION this question. But we will answer it for him.

It will NOT be the TWO (or perhaps more) sections of the United Secretariat in Peru, or the FOCEP, which is not a party but an amalgam of different groups with different programs or certainly not the "big mass workers party" called for previously by Blanco to include the FOCEP, the UDP (Maoists), the CP and the "ranks" of the PSR, a bourgeois nationalist party on the basis of "intransigent" (??) struggle against capitalism.

To be a centrist is to be a great "expert" on "tactics" but to "forget" the most FUNDAMENTAL lesson of the Russian Revolution and every revolution since then. As Trotsky wrote in LESSONS OF OCTOBER: "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

The Fourth International is such a party, the only party. We represent the heritage of Lenin and the Russian Revolution.

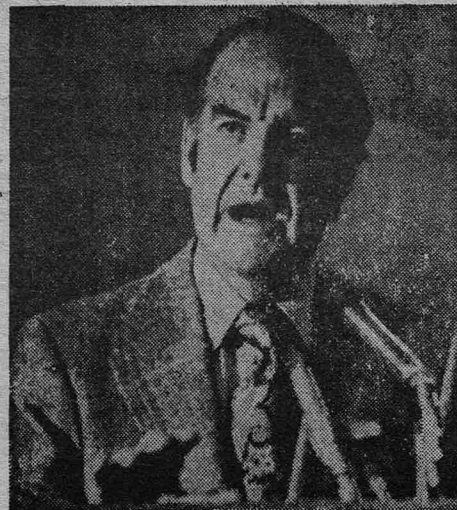
And that is why today's MENSHEVIKS-- the centrists of the United Secretariat and of the Organizing Committee of the French OCI must be isolated from the revolutionary youth in the Two Americas.

Not just because they stand in the shadow of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" and all his maneuvers. But because by stealing our name and banner they are an obstacle in front of the revolutionary youth who are looking for our party.

In our name, they offer the revolutionary youth a miserable dish of opportunism and confusion. And in this way they are an obstacle to the revolution itself.

THE CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS, convoked by the 6th World Congress of the Fourth International for Spring 1979, as a mobilization of the entire Fourth International to rebuild the Fourth International in the Americas will be a means to regroup the revolutionary youth and the militants of these centrist organizations who are looking for a road forward against these pseudo-revolutionaries and in this way will be a step forward in the preparation of the revolution throughout the Americas. And in the preparation of today's October.
August 25, 1978

CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST



GEORGE McGOVERN

Last week Senator George McGovern, in a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, called for international military intervention into Cambodia to overthrow the present government because of what he called the "crime of genocide" being committed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Cambodia.

Of course we condemn this imperialist threat. Can anyone believe that the imperialist butchers of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia are interested in ANYTHING BUT the restoration of capitalism in Vietnam and Cambodia? Can anyone dare talk about "genocide" in this imperialist Senate?

But isn't this George McGovern talking? The "dove." The "peace candidate." Who opposed the Vietnam War. Who is now in favor of opening up relations with Cuba. Who has condemned Carter's "cold war" talk.

Has Dr. Jekyll turned into Mr. Hyde?

No, it is the same George McGovern. The same IMPERIALIST McGovern. Because as the representative of the "progressive," "liberal" wing of the US ruling class McGovern is playing the same role with his threats against Cambodia as he did during the Vietnam War -- to help deepen the collaboration of the international Stalinist apparatus with imperialism.

No one took McGovern's threat of military intervention seriously. Because the immediate plans of US imperialism are not for war, but instead are

for insuring the greater and greater submission of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their collaboration in an offensive against the world working class and youth.

McGovern plays the role of left cover for this policy. It is McGovern, who under the guise of "friendly relations" with Cuba, has deepened the collaboration of Castro with imperialism and is opening the way for the restoration of capitalism. It is McGovern who introduced a resolution into the US Senate proclaiming the return of "democracy" to Spain, thus supporting the collaboration of the Spanish CP with the Juan Carlos monarchy.

And McGovern's threats against Cambodia are in reality warnings to the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin and China that they have to go even further in attempting to crush the workers revolution in Southeast Asia, under the cover of "human rights".

McGovern's threat doesn't represent Dr. Jekyll turning into Mr. Hyde. It only shows the chickens coming home to roost. How both wings of the US ruling class -- "reactionary" and "progressive" are united with the Stalinist apparatus against the working class and youth.

And how our unconditional defense of Cambodia or any other workers state is totally incompatible with any defense of imperialism or its Stalinist and "progressive" allies.
August 24, 1978

THE FIGHT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Free soldier

Ten years ago the French youth's and workers' general strike sent the Stalinist apparatus and Gaullist bourgeois state reeling.

Six years ago the Stalinists decided to try to derail this independent mobilization by falsely promising to take power and meet the workers' demands. With the bourgeoisie's guidance and pseudo-revolutionary centrists' support, it formed the Union of the Left, a coalition to achieve this.

Months ago this same independent mobilization forced the bourgeoisie and Stalinism to abandon this scheme, as one incapable of controlling the youth, and revise their plans. They blocked the election of the coalition's candidates, gave staunch bourgeois government posts, and the Stalinist Party a "special post," outside the government, as its counterrevolutionary gendarme in the workers' movement. The centrists simply begged them to stop.

Today everyone's billing this new treacherous maneuver as the great defeat of the French youth and workers.

But the French youth and workers haven't read the news.

YOUTH OFFENSIVE

French youth are organizing independent groups, building demonstrations, defying Stalinist leaders and paramilitary police who attack them.

Strikes are breaking out, even among workers at factories heavily dominated by the CP, like Renault-Flins.

Militants of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR), one of the oldest and strongest centrist organizations, have joined the youth, denounced the LCR for collaborating with the Stalinists, called it the "policeman of the Left."

Stalinist militants are publicly attacking their party for collaborating with the bourgeois state, calling for a struggle to halt the "Social-Democratization" of the French CP.

BOURGEOISIE, STALINISM, CENTRISM IN CRISIS

How are they responding to this mobilization which is deepening their crisis?

The bourgeois state has launched a full scale political and practical attack on the youth: characterizations of youth as terrorists, massive layoffs, price-hikes, cutbacks,



police repression of strikes and demonstrations, war in Africa. It says the rest of the workers must join in this, pull in their belts for the "Glory of France." It's playing down Stalinist assistance in the attack to make it easier for its partner.

The French Stalinist Party is trying desperately to carry out this dirty work without losing all control over the workers and its own members.

It's divided on how best to do this.

On the right is Ellenstein who wants to take up the attack on the youth in defense of French bourgeois "democracy" without equivocation. He thinks the rest of the CP should renounce ever rebuilding the Union of the Left and any relationship with Lenin and the October Revolution as he has done.

Marchais is actually leading the CP, organizing the attack on the youth, on strikes, on demonstrations, signing contracts with the capitalists. But he understands that a more complicated explanation is necessary. The youth are provocateurs which cause repression. The masses aren't ready for change. For now it is necessary to support the bourgeois state and work within its framework for certain economic and democratic reforms. He continues to attack ex-coalition partners like Robert Fabre who've openly joined the bourgeois government and promises to someday rebuild the Union of the Left.

On the left is Althusser who thinks the job for the bourgeoisie can best be done by immediately trying to reconstitute the Union of the Left by quieting types like Ellenstein. This is a dream designed to trap honest militants. Trying to get the Stalinist party to stop attacking the youth and their party and start attacking the bour-

geoisie is like asking a cop to stop shooting youth and start shooting capitalists.

The centrists -- the LCR and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) -- are even more compromised and prostrate. Their job is to support the counterrevolutionary bourgeois and Stalinist attack while throwing up a smokescreen of revolutionary verbiage to cover themselves and their partners to the right and disorient and demoralize the youth and workers.

As the bourgeoisie and Stalinism have become increasingly OPENLY counterrevolutionary, this job has become increasingly difficult. Understandably.

Thus the centrists just parroted the Stalinist slander of youth who attacked paramilitary police at a May Day demonstration as provocateurs.

Their short-term perspective of convincing the Stalinists not to abandon the Union of the Left failed, so they've concluded there's no short-term political perspective for the workers. The workers must limit themselves to defensive economic and democratic struggles.

The only long-term perspective, says the French LCR in its Central Committee report, is to pressure the Stalinists to rebuild the Union of the Left. The OCI agrees.

Why? Because revolution is excluded.

The formation of a single party OF the working class, the way Lenin and the Bolsheviks made the October Revolution, will only lead to dictatorship OVER the working class, says the LCR.

The formation of the International and the Revolution in 1917 were premature. Lenin had to resort to terror, says the OCI.

If this sounds familiar its

because its an amalgamation and rehash of the Stalinists Ellenstein, Marchais and Althusser, with one critical difference. The LCR and the OCI put Lenin's, Trotsky's, and the Fourth International's name on it to give this counterrevolutionary policy revolutionary prestige, which the Stalinists desperately need.

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The 6th World Congress of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution met to draw the lessons of its struggle and determine its tasks in leading the youth's and workers' offensive to victory and in destroying Stalinism and centrism, especially in France.

The Congress affirmed that the Fourth International through its French Section, the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire, has been the only party to organize the youth's combats against the centrists' and Stalinists' treachery and give them the perspective of the construction of the Revolutionary Workers Party against the Stalinist perspective of union with the bourgeoisie and the centrist perspective of rebuilding the Union of the Left.

But it hasn't gone far enough. In particular in differentiating the revolutionary nature of the struggle for the party against centrism's support to Stalinism; in demonstrating the necessity to continue Leninism and Trotskyism against centrism's attack; in exposing the falseness of their claims to represent Leninism, Trotskyism, and the Fourth International in France.

Thus youth breaking with centrism and Stalinism do not sufficiently see the difference between the International and

N FRANCE

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IS NOT A PARTY LIKE EVERY OTHER PARTY

By BARBARA PUTNAM



ir enemies. They tend to
clude that the construction
any party will end in be-
yal, including a Leninist
ty to continue the October
olition. They think they
destroy the bourgeois state
hout building a party to
troy its agents in the
kers movement and win the
ses.

This tendency is being rein-
ced by the centrist campaign
inst the single Leninist
ty which the youth don't see
treachery but as an admis-
n by the enemy of its own
ruptness; by the centrist
paign to pressure Stalin-
until it reforms itself
spontaneously decomposes.
And it is being reinforced
lesser petty-bourgeois
rchist leaders -- in the
dition of Daniel Cohn-Bendit,
anarchist leader in '68 who
become a bourgeois demo-
t as all anarchist leaders
ntually do -- who see in the
th's break with centrism
Stalinism a change to ad-
ce their own careers.

The Sixth World Congress
nched an offensive to win
s radical youth to the
ernational, the preparation
the Trotskyist Congress, and
foundation of the Revolu-
ary Workers Party in France.
ffensive for Leninism, for
continuation of the great
sian Revolution to isolate
destroy centrism.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and
VERITE will be the weapons
lead the struggle. The
ld Congress of the Revolu-
ary Youth International
be held in France next
ing under the banner --
LD THE WORLD PARTY! UNITE
YOUTH AGAINST STALINISM
IMPERIALISM! -- will be
decisive test of its
cess.

Because the forces of both
Fourth International and
trism are in France, victory
the International will mean
for youth and workers
a crushing blow for centrism
oss the world.

Every American youth can join
s struggle by fighting to
mulate the lessons of the
World Congress whose reso-
ons will be published in
next issue of FOURTH
ERNATIONAL, by fighting for
policy in America, by
lding the Revolutionary
h International.

September 3rd is the 40th anni-
versary of the founding of the
Fourth International, world
party of socialist revolution.
This party has never been like
every other party. This party
was built to DESTROY STALINISM
and reclaim the revolutionary
struggle of the October Revolu-
tion. Built to reclaim Lenin
and the entire heritage of re-
volutionary struggle which re-
sulted in the first victorious
workers state. Built to organ-
ize the working class independ-
ently to take power and trans-
form all of society under its
leadership.

Our party represents in con-
centrated form the last 40 years
of the experience of the working
class in the class struggle and
represents the final aim of the
proletariat -- to defeat its
class enemies and raise humanity
up out of barbarism by conquer-
ing the bourgeoisie and finish-
ing with Stalinism.

But this is not generally
known and generally recognized
by the young generation of the
working class. If they confuse
the Fourth International with
every other party, with the cen-
trists who falsely claim our
banner (such as the American
Socialist Workers Party, the
French and Spanish LCR, frater-
nal organizations of the "United"
Secretariat, and the French OCI)
who have compromised the strug-
gle against Stalinism, it is be-
cause these organizations' rea-
son for being is to present the
Fourth International as a party
LIKE every other party, a party
that plays to lose, that does
not aim for power, that only
wants to do "good deeds" but
leave imperialism intact.

These false "Trotskyists"
want to be "recognized" not by
the working class, but by the
Stalinists who they see as the
REAL leadership of the working
class. The Spanish LCR asked
the Spanish Stalinist leader

Carillo that he "recognize"
Trotsky. They want the
Stalinists to "rehabilitate"
Trotsky and make him a harmless
icon -- then everything will be
fine. In this treachery the
false Trotskyists hide from the
youth how the worst enemies of
the Fourth International hunted
and stalked Trotsky and murder-
ed him to silence the voice of
revolutionary Marxism and break
the chain of revolutionary con-
tinuity.

August 20th was the 38th
anniversary of Trotsky's
assassination by the Stalinist
murder machine. Just two years
before, Trotsky had said:
"They can kill individual mem-
bers of our army, but IT IS
NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US."
They killed Trotsky, the
principal leader of the revolu-
tionary movement -- but they
did not frighten us -- they
did not stop the Fourth Inter-
national. Our party has only
grown stronger under these
blows, more determined to DES-
TROY STALINISM.

The tasks of the Fourth In-
ternational have not changed
in forty years. It is still
before us to decisively defeat
Stalinism by reclaiming the
banner of the Fourth Inter-
national from the centrists --
to stop the confusion in the
working class that Fourth In-
ternational means class colla-
boration -- peaceful reform --
peaceful coexistence with
Stalinism -- half-hearted re-
volutionism with no clear ob-
jective. With so many
"Trotskyists" around, it is hard,
difficult, but never more ne-
cessary to TURN THE YOUTH
AGAINST CENTRISM which uses our
banner to hide the criminal
nature of Stalinism, chief
pillar of world reaction.

History is on the side of
the working class. The rebuilt
Fourth International with the
force of its ideas, its pro-

gram and its RIGHT, gained in
40 years of struggle, to re-
present the entire working
class struggle has never been
in a better position, thanks to
the revolutionaries who went
before us, to attack and finish
with Stalinism.

But will the youth come to
the Fourth International? It
depends on us. It depends on
how clear the Fourth Inter-
national can define the tasks
of the working class, the place
of the youth in the construc-
tion of the world party. PROVE
that there is a way the youth
can learn the real lessons of
October and all that has passed
since in its own way -- in its
own organization, the Revolu-
tionary Youth International,
which fights to build the
Fourth International in its own
way.

The Fourth International,
the only party in the world
worthy of the respect of the
young generation of the working
class must be defended.
AGAINST EVERY FORM OF ATTACK,
whether it is the lies and
assassinations of the
Stalinists or the slanders and
deception of the centrists, or
if it is the bourgeoisie itself
which more than ever sets its
political police to the task
of destroying the Fourth In-
ternational.

In the US we must lay to
rest the law that says we can
not officially be a section of
the Fourth International -- the
Voorhis Act. Every young mili-
tant must learn how the bour-
geoisie persecutes our party
with reactionary legislation
trying to reduce it to every
other party. Every young mili-
tant must join in the fight for
full rights for the Fourth In-
ternational in the US. A party
that is not like any other
party.

August 23, 1978

STOP THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL AGAINST MIGUEL SALAS!

STOP THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL AGAINST MIGUEL SALAS!



Send Messages to:

Exc. Senior Capitan General, 4th Region Militarico, Paseo Colon, Barcelona, Spain.

POSITIONS TAKEN FOR:

Ken Cockrel, Detroit City Council

The following telegram was sent on August 9, 1978 by Ken Cockrel, a Detroit City Councilman:

"The proceedings against MIGUEL SALAS and the newspaper LA AURORA should be halted, the right to freedom of press and freedom of speech cannot be denied to anyone, Democracy is at stake."

signed, KENNETH V. COCKREL, Detroit City Councilman

Militants of United Secretariat & Other Organizations

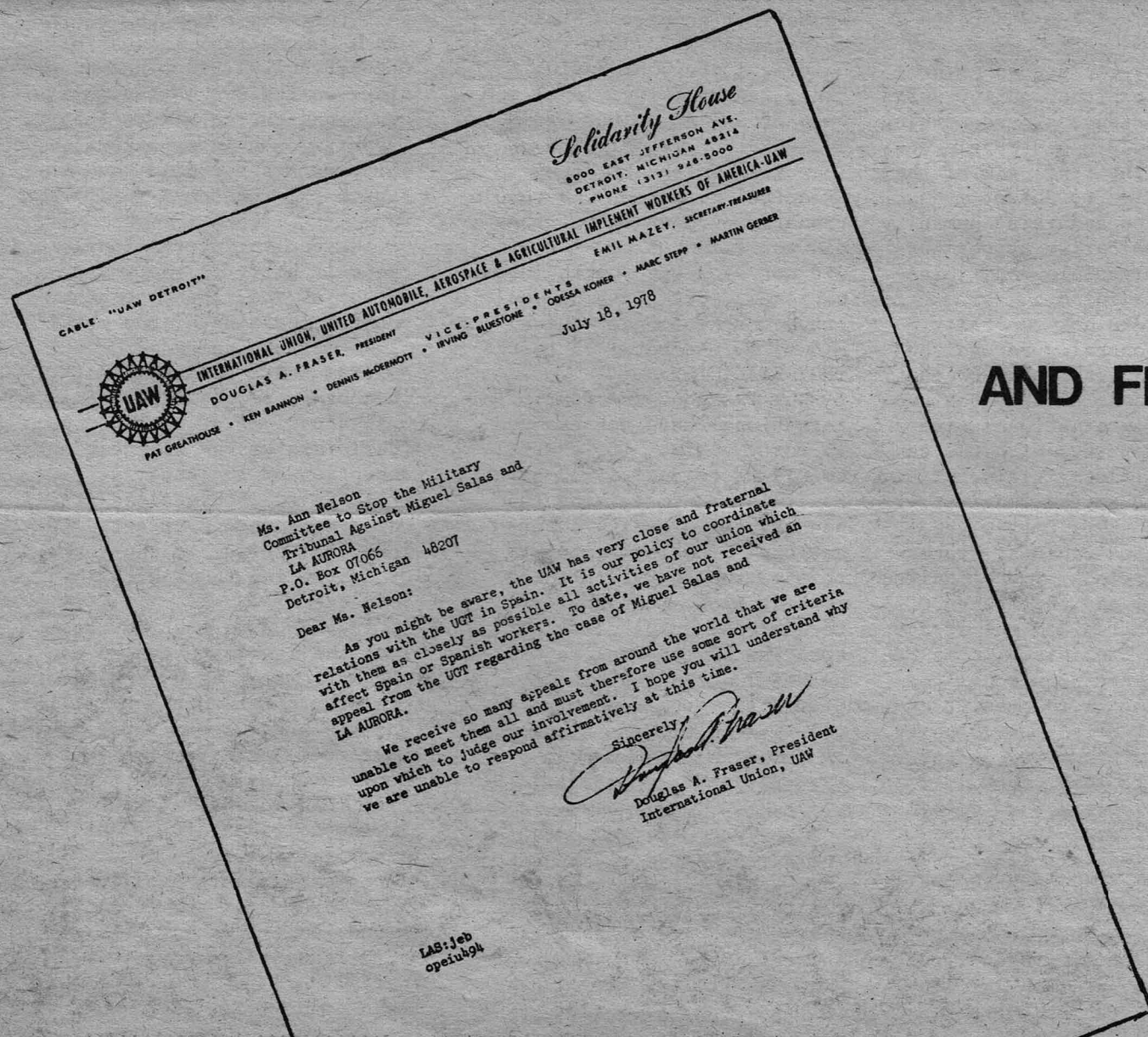
At the SWP Education Conference in Oberlin, Ohio the following militants took a position in favor of our campaign to stop the Military Tribunal against Miguel Salas: Germain Claris of the Communist Workers League of Sweden, Duane Filler of the Revolutionary Workers League/LOR of Canada, and militants of the Seattle and New Jersey branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Other organizations which endorsed the campaign were Jim Hays of the Socialist League-Democratic/Centralist, and the Partisan Defense Committee.

AND FRASER SAYS "NO"

Doug Fraser, in a letter to us, formally declined to speak out in defense of Miguel Salas on the grounds that the Social Democratic bureaucrats of the UGT have remained silent. Worker Workers in the US should understand this kind of "internationalism" for what it really is--maintaining the official silence of US imperialism concerning the repression in Spain.

Autoworkers in the US should reject this response and make clear that Fraser speaks neither for the US autoworkers nor for the hundreds of UGT members in Spain who HAVE supported our fight.



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Oberlin, Ohio

SWP Educational Conference— Confusion and Crisis

By ANN NELSON

You can't talk about the 'youth' as a group", "The working class in the US today is conservative," and "Stalinism is not a force in the United States," were some of the statements made by members of the Socialist Workers Party at their Educational Conference which began on August 5th, which show the confusion which exists among its members on the nature of the coming American revolution.

The confusion and crisis of the SWP has its roots in the crisis of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus. The leadership of the SWP, (Joseph Hansen and Jack Barnes) is more concerned with its "respectability" in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism than it is in gaining the respectability of the working class and oppressed in the US. This "respectability" is the basis of the present policy of the SWP.

The SWP's search for "respectability" can be seen in their support of Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, and the statement he made breaking with the government labor-management board, which was reprinted in full in the newspaper of the SWP, the MILITANT.

Fraser's statement, in which he says there is a "class war" in this country, was made only to give the workers the illusion that he is on their side of the class war. The SWP is supporting this illusion that the Frasers in the United States are going to do anything positive for the working class.

Members of the SWP at the Educational Conference said that they were supporting Fraser's statement because of its "positive content" and to "expose" the fact that he will not fight for it. But the way Fraser must be exposed is to say that his statement is only a maneuver to give strength to the bourgeoisie's side in the class war. It is not possible for Fraser to contain, isolate and physically attack striking autoworkers and at the same time be on their side. The end result of the SWP's support of Sadlowski in the United

Steel Workers elections and Arnold Miller in the recent miners strike shows that this support of the trade union bureaucracy is just that, support against the working class.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party discussed the questions of supporting Euro-Communism against the Kremlin, the proposal for a Constitution in Peru, a Bill to end unemployment in the Congress of the United States, and their suit against FBI spying as "tactics." But it is not a question of "tactics." It forms a policy which seeks to delay the break of the youth and working class from the trade union bureaucracy, Stalinism and the Democratic Party. The leadership of the SWP defines "non-sectarianism" as not preparing the break of the youth from these misleaders, they define as "non-sectarian" gaining the respect of the Frasers for "socialism".

Some members of the SWP are hoping that their "turn" toward the working class and their industrialization will help set the SWP back on the right course. But in fact this only means that their policy of postponing the break of the youth from the bourgeoisie and its representatives will be carried into the working class. In and of itself, the working class cannot set a party straight.

The crisis of the SWP is also partly expressed in the fact that these so-called "tactics" are not argued for as the best method of leading the working class and the workers revolution, but instead these "tactics" are put forward in a totally defensive manner.

"The SWP is very small." (therefore we have to support the bureaucrats because it's a question of numbers and not what party and policy for the working class). "The working class is conservative" (therefore we cannot change this fact) is not an argument in defense of any policy except that of capitulation.

Not only CAN we talk about the youth as a group, but it is fundamental to revitalizing the revolutionary leadership of the working class to find the road to the youth and win them to the Fourth International.

The present leadership of the working class in the

United States is one hundred times more conservative than the workers.

On some of the key questions regarding the nature of the American revolution and what kind of party to lead it, the leadership of the SWP spreads confusion.

To the members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist Organization/USA openly proposes a fight to deepen the break of the American working class with the agents of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism, to further the independence of the working class by fighting for full rights for the Fourth International.

Miami: Stop the Deportations! Defend Leo Harris!

On August 8th, Leo Harris, a young black militant of the Socialist Workers Party was arrested by Miami police as a result of his participation in a demonstration of 500 Haitian workers against the racist policies of the Winn-Dixie supermarket chain.

He faces charges of "disorderly conduct" and "criminal mischief." These charges are a complete frame-up. We demand that they be dropped at once and support all efforts of the Committee formed in Miami to defend Leo Harris and to expose this frame-up.

This arrest took place within the framework of a full-scale attack being organized by the US government against tens of thousands of Haitian refugees in this country, particularly in Miami. In the face of recent mass expulsions of Haitians from the Bahamas, the US government, through its racist INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) has denied political asylum to these refugees and is organizing mass deportations which mean certain imprisonment and death for most of these refugees.

In order to do this the government has organized a campaign of racist hysteria against these Haitians in Miami.

Against the Voorhis Act which prohibits workers from joining an international organization and against the recent attack on the Fourth International as "terrorist" which is contained in Judge Griesa's statement regarding the SWP's suit.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA was present at the SWP's Educational Conference to show that "respect" for the government and Stalinism has nothing to do with the policy of the Fourth International. Members of the SWP -- support the fight for the independence of the working class and to defend its party against the confusion and crisis of the SWP.
August 23, 1978

A campaign which has one purpose: to hide and cover-up the support of US imperialism for the bloody right-wing dictatorship in Haiti and the butcher of the Haitian workers and peasants -- "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

The Haitian workers in Miami have fought back against this attack and in the face of severe repression have organized a series of militant actions and demonstrations.

We unconditionally support their fight for political asylum, for full rights, including the right to work in the US. Not simply because it concerns their most elementary democratic rights, but because it is also a concrete expression of the need to unite the US working class with the workers and oppressed of Latin America and the Caribbean against US imperialism and the bloody dictatorships.
STOP THE DEPORTATIONS! POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HAITIANS!
DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST LEO HARRIS!

The Leo Harris Defense Committee can be contacted at:

7623 N.E. Second Ave.
Miami, Florida 33138

August 24, 1978
J.C.

FRASER-MEANY vs. CARTER? ANOTHER WAY TO ATTACK THE YOUTH

By FRED VITALE

Doug Fraser's (head of the UAW) resignation from the Labor-Management Group, a "Group" for "cooperation" between the union bureaucrats and top capitalists was a signal to the rest of the labor bureaucrats to start talking "tough." Thomas Donahue, one of George Meany's (head of the AFL-CIO) top assistants recently said, "it still is, as it always has been, them versus us. Call it class struggle, call it corporate power versus the people, call it the establishment overall. But no one should have any delusions about who we are and who they are. We're the workers who want a bigger share of what they have and they don't want to give it up."

This statement and others are incredible only because of their incredible HYPOCRISY. These bureaucrats have blocked every struggle of the strike wave of government and service workers. They have joined with the capitalists in getting militant workers fired, as the postal workers in California and New Jersey, the young auto-workers who've organized heat walkouts and others.

In fact, it is their policy, as agents for the capitalists in the mass workers organizations, the unions, that is the REASON for the limited success of the capitalists in stopping the workers from winning their demands. It is they who put Carter and the Democratic Party into office in the first place. Now Fraser says, "our biggest mistake was thinking we had won in 1976 (when Carter was elected)." This was no "mistake". Nor does Fraser "admitting it," mean that his fundamental role as traitor against the workers has changed.

The main reason for this pretended "break with Carter" is to try and stop the growing crisis of the Carter regime and the Democratic Party, to prevent the workers and youth from breaking FULLY with the Democratic Party and building their own party to destroy this system of unemployment, repression, racism and war.

The growing crisis of the government is not because of low ratings in the polls or because of Carter's inability to "deal with inflation". The crisis is a real one. It is the inability of the government to stop the mobilization of the working class youth who more and more in their strikes, demonstrations, in everyday

life, confront this government as the anti-democratic, terrorist government that it is.

The union bureaucracy too is in crisis for the same reason. Along with the government, the bureaucracy launched a wave of repression to try and smash the most militant young workers. In the UAW, Trenton 7, Essex Wire, Indianapolis and many others. This hasn't worked. The youth are more and more openly fighting the bureaucracy and its betrayals. The postal workers and service workers strikes are the most recent examples.

This "talking tough," is just another part of their service to the capitalists and their government. It is a COUNTER-ATTACK, aimed at the consciousness of the youth. Today, the rebel youth are more and more forced to grapple with the questions: how to unite all the struggles of the youth, how to win the masses of workers behind them to destroy this system? The counter-attack of Fraser and Meany is their talk about forming a "labor party," to "put pressure on the government and the capitalists to deliver a bigger share of the pie." Fraser has called a Conference in September to try and build such "coalitions" with the reformists of the NAACP and the like.

But the youth could not be confused about this "labor party" if it didn't have better hawkers, like the centrist Socialist Workers Party which falsely claims to be the US Section of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

They say that a "labor party" with Fraser would be "a step in the right direction." That the workers and youth can "force" the bureaucracy to act in their interest. That the workers can build a revolutionary party "out of the labor party."

What underlies this is their belief that the bureaucracy is not really the agents of the capitalists. That they occupy some "middle ground" between the workers and the capitalists. That as heads of the unions they are somehow "part of the workers movement."

This theory flies in the face of all the experiences of the youth today, all the experiences of the past generations of workers. That when the UAW bureaucrats call a strike it is only to prevent the most militant workers from leading it. That when the judge in New York ordered the postal workers not to even vote for a strike, the bureaucrats were simply "disappointed."

the workers struggles.

A labor party with Fraser would be a step backwards for the youth.

So why not just forget Fraser and his labor party? Why not go about our business? What do we have to consciously fight this and the SWP's "left" version of it?

The bureaucrats, with the support of the Stalinists and centrists are trying to mobilize the more conservative workers against the youth with this "labor party."

Just as in the auto wildcats where Fraser labels the most militant workers "provocateurs" who "divide the union" and works with the capitalists to throw them out of the factories and unions, this "labor party" represents that same policy for the whole society. The bureaucrats say it's the militancy of the young workers that makes the capitalists attack the workers. If the workers only get rid of these "hotheads," these "small groups of discontented workers" who "fight the union" then the bureaucrats can win a "bigger share of the pie."

The SWP says exactly the same thing, calling the young workers "provocateurs" and "sectarian towards the masses" when they act independently.

This is the concrete meaning of the "labor party." To try and cut off the vanguard fighters in the factories and streets from the masses of workers and thus isolate the only people who can lead the workers to finish with the treacherous bureaucracy and go all the way

against the capitalist system.

Only a revolutionary party, based on the youth and all the past historical experiences of the workers, can bridge this gap politically. The Trotskyist Organization is fighting today to build this party with the rebel youth.

A "labor party" with Fraser would look exactly like his regime in the UAW. A regime where all the workers can "discuss" their "differences" with the bureaucrats as long as nobody threatens their power. A regime which exists solely for the purpose of smashing the

Only this revolutionary party can end the "class struggle", in favor of the youth.
August 24, 1978

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