

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
Guyana, San Francisco...

# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S REAL FACE

Over 900 dead in Guyana. On November 27th San Francisco Mayor Moscone and Board of Supervisors member Harvey Milk were killed by a fellow Democratic Party politician.

Is America "going crazy?" Do we all share some kind of "collective guilt" for the decay of this system? Is it necessary for ALL OF US to close ranks against "violence" in the US?

This is the message churned out daily in the bourgeois press, TV, and radio.

Our answer is NO. The working class, the youth, the millions of poor and oppressed in this country bear NO RESPONSIBILITY for Guyana, San Francisco, for the crisis of this capitalist society.

NO. Especially because through the events in Guyana and San Francisco the bourgeoisie has unleashed a massive propaganda campaign to DEMORALIZE the working class.

To link the working class to this corrupt state: "We are all crazy." To say: "This is what you get for following 'leaders' -- above all those who call themselves 'Leninists.'"

Or simply that it is the "system" which is at fault, that the events are "products of a social order that breeds violence"--a generality so banal that it only further demoralizes any concerned worker.

Workers-- They are trying to demoralize you in order to hide from you who is really guilty. Not just this "system" in general, but THIS DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Guyana, San Francisco are the REAL FACE of this Democratic Party and this capitalist state which it controls. The real face of its crisis which it can't hide from the working class.

Jim Jones was no "agent of the Devil" (as Billy Graham claims) but a LACKEY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Appointed Chairman of the Indianapolis Civil Rights Commission, appointed Chairman of the San Francisco Housing Authority. Set up in Guyana with the help of Vice President Mondale and Rosalyn Carter.

His talk about "socialism," about Lenin? Workers-- there are THOUSANDS in the Democratic Party who will talk to you about "socialism" or link Lenin with religion if you listen to them.

Dan White, the man who killed Moscone and Milk, was no "madman" but an OFFICIAL of the Democratic Party, a "comrade" of Moscone and Milk. As "mad" as any former cop.

The Democratic Party is the GUILTY ONE! This is ITS crisis, not ours.

Everyone is trying to get you to close ranks around this party which is the "democratic" means for the US bourgeoisie to control the working class. Not so "democratic" these days.

Workers-- It is time for a NEW LEADERSHIP for the working class against all the old leaders who are UP TO THEIR NECKS in this guilty Democratic Party.

You know who they are. The trade union bureaucrats who year after year tell you to vote for Democrats as they sell out your strikes. The Stalinists, like Fidel Castro, who tell you that Jimmy Carter "has ethics." The religious leaders, who talk to you about God in order to keep this unholy Democratic Party in power.

The Fourth International was founded to build this new leadership. To DESTROY this Democratic Party.

Don't let anyone tell you different! Workers-- we warn you against the FRAUD of an organization called the Socialist Workers Party, an organization which is up to its neck in the Democratic Party and this system, which is trying to drag the name of the Fourth International down into the mud with it.

The December 8th issue of their paper ran the headline, "Thousands protest S.F. murders." If that wasn't clear enough, the lead editorial declared in a special box that: "A candlelight vigil to protest the murder of Harvey Milk will be held in New York City... Participants will then march to a memorial meeting for the murdered gay rights activist."

Close ranks. Collective guilt. What in the world is there for ANY worker, ANY youth, much less ANY revolutionary to "protest" in the murder of one bourgeois politician by another?

Does the fact that he was "gay" make him any less of a bourgeois politician, any less of a hangman of the working class? In FACT, Milk was the BACKBONE of the Democratic Party machine in San Francisco.

Workers-- we declare that an organization which mourns dead bourgeois politicians has NOTHING TO DO with the Fourth International.

THEY ARE FRAUDS. Because the Fourth International, and its party in the United States, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, is fighting to organize the break of the working class with this system and all its manifestations. Concentrated in the fight to break with the Democratic Party and its entire apparatus for controlling the working class--

its trade union bureaucrats, its "black" leaders, its religious leaders, its drugs and its "socialist" and "Trotskyist" hangers-on.

There is nothing to be guilty about. Nothing to mourn.

Workers-- what is needed is an OFFENSIVE to renew the leadership of the working class.

Against all the professional demoralizers around you we see something positive. The working class is on the offensive--from Iran to Nicaragua to Detroit. It is the hour of the proletarian revolution, not the hour of the Jones, Moscones, Milks.

Against all their propaganda we say that INDEED it IS the time to RETURN TO LENIN. To finish what he began in 1917--to build a new world and society.

It is indeed time to say-- Not the Democratic Party of the Jones, Whites and Carters, but the party of Lenin.

The Fourth International.  
December 7, 1978 TRUTH

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# International Executive Committee meets

## IT IS THE HOUR OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

The Fourth International's International Executive Committee, its elected leadership, met recently to draw a balance sheet of the activity of the Fourth International since its 6th Congress and to develop its orientation in the coming months. The IEC also held special discussions on the preparation of the Conference Rebuilding the Fourth International in the Two Americas and the construction of the Fourth International in France.

The IEC affirmed that the international working class continues to be on the offensive, that the political conditions remain favorable for the proletariat. That the tremendous treachery of the Stalinist apparatus in Western Europe, organized through its Sacred Union with the bourgeoisie has been unable to break the offensive of the proletariat.

On the contrary, a new workers upsurge appears to be developing throughout Europe. In England, the Ford workers organized a strike which broke the government's wage freeze. West German steelworkers are presently on strike, the first major steelworkers strike in 50 years, for a shorter work week, against unemployment. A strike wave has begun again in Italy. 250,000 workers demonstrated in Lisbon on November 12th against the government's policies.

In France new strikes and factory occupations are taking place daily, along with recent massive student demonstrations in Paris. And in Spain the recent "anti-terrorist" demonstrations organized by the Spanish CP were a total failure. The CP admitted its failure, declaring "We couldn't find enough people who would put up posters advertising these demonstrations."

This offensive is a defeat of the attempts of the Communist Parties and its "Euro-Communist" wing to contain the workers mobilization. It is also a defeat for the pseudo-Trotskyists who falsely claim our banner. As usual, identifying the movement of the working class with the crisis of the Stalinist apparatus, these pseudo-revolutionaries have said for months that the European working class was "in retreat." That the working class had "no political perspective."

It is in this framework that the IEC discussed the importance of the "reunification" now underway between the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Pabloite United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee of the French OCI (to be discussed in more detail elsewhere in this issue). The IEC affirmed that this "reunification" was a final, desperate attempt of the centrists to come to the aid of Stalinism in crisis. That it represented a fundamental attack on the consciousness of the working class and ABOVE ALL an attack against us, the Fourth International.

The IEC affirmed, against this "reunification" that it was the HOUR OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. That today in Europe, in Latin

America and in the United States the conditions were especially ripe for the rapid and massive construction of the Fourth International as the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat against Stalinism.

Wherever the Fourth International has been able to intervene clearly and forcefully in a combat for leadership of the working class against Stalinism and centrism, we have been able to regroup significant sections of the working class vanguard. This has been the lesson of the fight of the PORE in Spain for the BOYCOTT of the Constitution. It has been the lesson in Eastern Europe, France and the US as well.

In this framework, the IEC re-affirmed and clarified the crucial role of the Revolutionary Youth International for the success or failure of our offensive. The IEC affirmed that the RYI was nothing more nor less than a MOVEMENT FOR THE POLITICAL RENEWAL OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS, against Stalinism and its centrist helpers.

But that the RYI has to organize this struggle in an INDEPENDENT fashion. The IEC clarified the fact that the YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST THE TERRORIST STATE proposed by the 6th Congress should not be understood in a mechanical fashion, as something that would necessarily lead to a reinforcement of the RYI as an independent, revolutionary organization. That the ALLIANCE was simply a tactic, a circumstantial and limited stage in the fight of the RYI to renew the leadership of the workers movement.

The IEC thus proposed to the RYI that it make the campaign for the freedom of Klebanov and the other fighters for the independence of the trade unions in the USSR the SPEARHEAD of its fight as an independent organization for the renewal of the workers movement against Stalinism and centrism. That the Klebanov campaign could pose all the fundamental questions of this fight for a new leadership in an independent mobilization of the RYI.

The discussions on the Two Americas and the fight to found the Parti Ouvriere Revolutionnaire in France this Spring also continued the fundamental importance of our fight to expose the pseudo-Trotskyist fraud of the centrists and their "reunification" against the Fourth International. That this is a decisive moment for the construction of both our French and American sections.

Against the unprincipled swamp which goes by the name of the "United Secretariat" whose purpose is to silence the revolutionary youth into submission to Stalinism, the International Executive Committee calls on all workers and youth throughout the world to join its struggle.

J.C.  
December 8, 1978

# TRUTH

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US Steel Southworks.....	6
CHICAGO (total).....	29
CLEVELAND .....	4
TOTAL .....	131

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Because of the holidays, the next issue of TRUTH will come out on January 12, 1979.

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**FOURTH  
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With the CALL TO THE CONFERENCE  
FOR THE REBUILDING OF THE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO  
AMERICAS--  
(also available in Spanish)

# TRUTH

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# Madrid, April 7-8, 1979: A Conference for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International in the Two Americas

## A COMBAT AGAINST CENTRISM

By JON COHEN

One of the decisions taken by the Sixth World Congress of the Fourth International was the decision to prepare a Conference of the Two Americas for this coming Spring.

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International recently met to discuss and elaborate the preparation of this Conference, a Conference which it defined as a CONFERENCE FOR THE REBUILDING OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS. It adopted a CALL to this Conference and set a precise date and location--Madrid, Spain on April 7-8, 1979.

Madrid was chosen because of the political repression of Carter's "human rights" government which continually denies Latin American political exiles and militants of the Fourth International permission to enter this country, making it impossible to hold such a Conference in the US. Secondly, Spain, and in particular the city of Madrid, is today the center of the vast Latin American political emigration, enabling the Fourth International to reach thousands of militants through this Conference, especially militants from Chile, Bolivia and Argentina.

But the fact that this Conference is being held in Europe in no way diminishes its importance for American workers and for the construction of the party of the American revolution.

On the contrary the struggle of the Fourth International in the US and its party, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, to prepare this Conference is not just one element among others.

Our struggle will DETERMINE the success of this Conference.

This statement is not just a general affirmation. For many years the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International has fought against all the Stalinist and centrist theories of the "backwardness" of the American working class. "Theories" which said that the American working class was not revolutionary, that it was "bought off" or "too weak" to fight imperialism.

The very holding of a Conference of the TWO Americas is a slap in the face of all these theories of the "backwardness" of the American working class and its corollary vis-a-vis Latin America: that the revolutionary mobilizations of the workers and oppressed throughout Latin America had nothing to do with the US working class, that the unity

of the workers and oppressed of the Two Americas-- North and South was impossible.

The NATIONAL ISOLATION of the American working class from its brothers and sisters in Latin America is the CENTERPIECE of the imperialist order in the Americas. And it is the central thread which ties together the policies of Stalinism and centrism in both the United States and Latin America.

It is above all a task of the American proletariat and its party to break this national isolation, to understand that the struggle of the US working class against imperialism in its heartland holds the key to the victorious mobilization of the workers and oppressed in Latin America. This is why, for the Fourth International and for the Fourth International alone, the struggle of the American proletariat is decisive for the outcome of the revolution throughout the Americas.

But we have to go even further and be more precise about the nature of this combat. Left on this level many workers and militants could perhaps get the idea that the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization/USA was just fighting for some kind of "solidarity" or "more unity" with the workers and oppressed in Latin America.

And after all, how would this be very much different from the policies of the Stalinists and centrists? They talk about "internationalism," they organize campaigns to free political prisoners in Latin America, etc.

Let's therefore be precise. Our combat today to unite the workers of North and South America passes today through a struggle to REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS. Against Stalinism, And against the centrist frauds who masquerade as "Trotskyists" in the Two Americas.

Let's be even more precise. Against the American Socialist Workers Party. Against the Organizing Committee led by the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). Both organizations which once represented the continuity of the Fourth International in the Americas. Organizations which today must be isolated and unmasked in front of the workers and youth of the Two Americas as pseudo-Trotskyists, as obstacles to the construction of a revolutionary party.

Our fight for unity with the workers and oppressed in Latin America boils down to one

struggle-- a struggle to preserve, defend and REBUILD the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International in the United States and Latin America. A fight for the most precious acquisition of the working class throughout the Americas-- the experience of its Bolshevik, revolutionary party forged in a revolutionary combat against imperialism and Stalinism.

It is the hour of the Fourth International! This is what the unity of the North and South American means today. This is what the preparation of the revolution throughout the Americas passes through today. This is the lesson of every workers mobilization--North and South.

And this is why the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP and the OCI must be isolated and unmasked.

Not simply because of their "bad positions." One could write volumes about all the bad "positions" the leadership of the SWP has taken since 1963. Or the bad "positions" that the OCI and its now-shattered Organizing Committee has taken since 1972.

This is not where the essence of their capitulation lies. Their capitulation lies in the fact that they attack and confuse the consciousness of the vanguard of the proletariat on the level of its most precious acquisition-- the world party and the nature of this world party as an international center against Stalinism.

It's not just the fact that the leadership of the SWP discovered in 1963 that Cuba was a "workers state" and that the Stalinist, Fidel Castro, was an "unconscious Marxist." This isn't much of an obstacle-- not many young workers believe this today, even a sizable number of militants of the SWP and the United Secretariat no longer swallow this.

The obstacle is that the leadership of the SWP passes all of this off in the name of the Fourth International. That because of this militants of the SWP and American workers see a hideous version of the Fourth International-- a swamp, a party of unprincipled factions and maneuvering, a party where everyone does "his own thing", and above all, a party which sees its sole purpose as that of pressuring the Stalinist apparatus.

And the same thing is true for the OCI. Its capitulation does not lie in all of its "positions," however bad they may be,

but in the fact that in 1972 it attempted to liquidate the Fourth International and its continuity, the International Committee in favor of an Organizing Committee "where everyone will apply his own policies."

A hideous and disastrous conception of the Fourth International which above all had its consequences for the Two Americas. Reflected today in the fact that this Organizing Committee is in total shambles in Latin America.

It is the hour of the Fourth International! The preparation of this Conference to REBUILD the Fourth International in the Two Americas is a struggle to re-arm the vanguard of the working class, North and South with its weapon of victory, its Bolshevik Party. By renewing the leadership of the workers movement in face of Stalinism and its pseudo-Trotskyist allies.

What is the Fourth International? What is the nature of its struggle, why was it founded and who continues its fight? We are convinced that the answers to these questions represent answers to the problems of the American revolution. That a revolutionary party in the United States can only be constructed in a combat around these questions and against those who are obstacles to this combat.

We are convinced that by preparing the CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION--REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL as a combat against centrism on a continental scale, the American Section of the Fourth International will regain its leading role not only in the class struggle in the US but throughout the Americas. And the American working class will take its decisive place in the maturation of the world revolution.

And we are convinced that it is precisely this type of combat that can regroup the best young workers of the American working class and militants of the SWP once again around the banner of the Fourth International in the US.

FORWARD TO MADRID, April 7-8th!

FORWARD TO REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

December 4, 1978

# Amid crisis and slanders the pseudo-Trotskyists "reunify":

# AGAINST THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AGAINST

By JON COHEN

An international "reunification" of pseudo-Trotskyists is now underway. Unlike most reunions this one is neither happy nor positive.

But at the same time it has a tremendous importance for the vanguard of the American working class. Not because it is some kind of internal affair among "Trotskyists." But because this "reunification" represents an obstacle to the most central and immediate task in front of the American working class today--the construction of its party of class independence, its party to lead and organize the American revolution.

Since 1972 the pseudo-Trotskyists around the world have been basically organized around two international centers: the Pabloite United Secretariat, in which the American Socialist Workers Party plays a central role; and the Organizing Committee inspired and led by the French OCI.

A "reunification" of these two centers, centers which are sworn enemies of the Fourth International is being rapidly organized. Stephan Just of the OCI recently declared that: "Trotskyism is alive in the United Secretariat and its sections" and the OCI has agreed to participate in the forthcoming 11th Congress of the Pabloite United Secretariat. In France, joint meetings and "debates" have been organized between the OCI and the French Section of the United Secretariat, the LCR.

In December and January the national congresses of the French LCR and OCI will take place. Congresses which have as their central objective the "fusion" of these two organizations.

But this reunion is not at all a "happy" one. The proposed liquidation of the OCI by the Lambert-Just leadership is not passing easily. Jean-Jacques Marie, a longtime leader of the OCI, has resigned from its Political Bureau in opposition to this "fusion." Expulsions of Central Committee members have already begun. It is evident that the OCI will lose thousands of militants with this move.

On an international level this crisis is even deeper. The OCI's Organizing Committee has shattered. All of its Latin American organizations, with the exception of the POMR of Peru, have broken with Lambert in opposition to this "reunification."

This includes the Bolivian POR of Guillermo Lora and Politica Obrera of Argentina. And the filthy slanderer, Lambert, who founded the Organizing Committee PRECISELY in a campaign of Stalinist slanders and provocations against Michel Varga and the present Fourth International, has now ENDED the Organizing Committee with another round of vile slanders. This time against Politica Obrera of Argentina, calling them "agents of Videla."

Irony? No-- logical and predictable.

The United Secretariat will as well lose thousands of militants with this move. One only has to read the "Letters" pages of ROUGE, the paper of the French LCR, to see militants and ex-militants of the LCR denounce their leadership for being "policeman of the left." And ROUGE itself will now be a weekly, not a daily paper. A sign of the



Slanderer, Pierre Lambert (top)  
Ernest Mandel (bottom)

LCR leadership's confidence in this "fusion."

Did the slanderer, Lambert, simply wake up one morning and discover a new-found love for Pabloism and the United Secretariat which he had opposed for twenty years? How did Krivine of the LCR discover that now was the time to fuse with an organization whose goon squad has hospitalized more than one militant of the LCR?

There is nothing spontaneous or accidental about it. This "reunification" of the pseudo-Trotskyists is taking place at a precise historical moment. A moment which clearly reveals the nature of this "reunification."

This moment is the international crisis of the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin. In Eastern Europe. In Western Europe. Around the world. A crisis marked by the increasing and obvious inability of the Stalinist apparatus to control the workers mobilization and the more and more massive break of the working class youth with this apparatus.

The pseudo-Trotskyists have always come to the aid of Stalinism in crisis, have always distinguished their policy from the Fourth International's by basing their entire strategy and tactics on pressuring the Stalinists to reform, thus holding back the workers mobilization.

But now the situation is even more difficult and the Stalinists need the aid of the pseudo-Trotskyists more than ever. Which requires a giant step RIGHTWARD on the part of the centrists.

It is one thing to support the French CP while it still mouthed rhetoric about taking power. It is another thing to support a French CP that calls the French Parliament "the legitimate representative of the people."

It is one thing to tail after the Spanish CP in clandestinity under Franco. But it requires a giant step to the right to support the same Spanish CP which applauds the Francoist army, which organized demonstrations with the Francoist police against revolutionary organizations, which declares that "blood must be shed" (of revolutionaries) in order to pass the Francoist Constitution.

Supporting Fidel Castro in his "guerilla" days is one thing, Hailing his "dialogue"

with Cuban counter-revolutionaries and tailing after him after he declares that Jimmy Carter is a "moral man" is something else.

The United Secretariat is of course willing to take this rightward turn along with Stalinism in crisis. It has always been willing. Its shameful campaign today asking for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky by his assassins in the Kremlin, the recent meeting between Krivine of the French LCR and Santiago Carrillo in Spain, demonstrate this willingness.

But it needs the OCI to give legitimacy to this turn, to try to deliver a death blow to the Fourth International and all memory of it. It is the French OCI which by far plays the most sinister role in this "reunification."

The French OCI gives this right-wing turn an "orthodox" veneer. From 1953 to 1972 the OCI maintained the continuity of the Fourth International in France and played a leading role, if not THE leading role in the International Committee which fought Pabloism and its United Secretariat.

The leadership of the OCI helped construct the first sections of the Fourth International in Eastern Europe since World War II. In Latin America it won the Bolivian POR to the International Committee, a party which led and organized the Bolivian Popular Assembly in 1970. It was the OCI which brought 5,000 youth to Essen, Germany in 1970 for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the Fourth International, for the construction of a Revolutionary Youth International.

And in France in 1968 it was militants of the OCI who were the first on the barricades and it was the working-class cadre of the OCI present at the Nantes Sud-Aviation factory who unleashed the French General Strike.

This "reunification" is the final step towards eliminating all of this in the French working class. To wipe out any memory of opposition to Pabloism in France, to wipe out any possibility of opposing Pabloism in France, to wipe out any possibility of constructing a party of the Fourth International in France against Pabloism and Stalinism.

And to thus give an "orthodox" veneer to Pabloism in France since the OCI is above all identified in the French working class with "orthodox" Trotskyism and the present criticisms the OCI has towards the United Secretariat (Euro-communism, the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky) are indeed "orthodox."

But there is something positive to all this. Positive if militants of the OCI, the LCR and workers throughout the world realize the conclusions that must be drawn.

That this is the end of the road for the slanderer, Lambert. What has taken place has confirmed the fundamental correctness of those in the International Committee who opposed its liquidation at Lambert's hands in 1972 in favor of this Organizing Committee, who founded the International League--Rebuilding the Fourth International as a world center against the liquidation of the International Committee and who rebuilt the Fourth International in 1976

against both the United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee.

A long time ago Lambert said: "The OCI will be revolutionary or not at all." Today he has proven to be correct, the OCI is "not at all." That when in 1972 militants of the Fourth International opposed the formation of the Organizing Committee by saying that there can be no middle ground between Pabloism and the Fourth International as a world center they were correct.

what it is presenting here in the United States-- a hideous, "left" caricature of the Democratic Party.

The American working class already has a "big" party to join. A party whose slogan is: "Our party is your party." A party where you can "fight from within for your politics."

It's called the Democratic Party. And American workers have had enough of it.

This "reunification" is a fundamental

ship has begun an internal whispering campaign about the "origins" of the TO/USA. A militant of their faction in the French LCR told us that the TO/USA was a "bizarre organization" and that the SWP was "investigating us."

Militants of the SWP-- Where is this "investigation" that has never seen the light of day? What is there to "investigate"? To accept this "reunification" INEVITABLY will mean an acceptance of Stalinist methods and

# THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

There is no middle ground between Pabloism and the Fourth International. And the political path of Lambert and the OCI since 1972 has proven this with a brutal reality.

So has the shattering of the Organizing Committee. Lambert opposed the preservation of the International Committee in 1972 with the argument that we were "too small," not "realistic." He formed an unprincipled Organizing Committee where "each section will apply its own national policy" and explained this to militants of the OCI as a "maneuver" to keep Lora of Bolivia and "win back the SWP."

Now Lora is gone and it is the SWP which has "won" the OCI. Who was "realistic"?

What does all of this mean for American workers?

It is worth noting that the American SWP has kept a total public silence so far on this "reunification." For the most part, rank and file members of the SWP are unformed as well.

Why hasn't its leadership seen fit to inform the American working class of this "reunification?" The SWP has played a crucial role in all of this, especially on the terrain of Latin America. Why aren't they proud of it?

They can't explain it to the working class and their own militants because it doesn't concern a step forward for the working class but instead one more dirty maneuver against it. And above all it wants no real discussion inside the working class and its organization of the POLITICS behind this "reunification."

They can't confront a discussion because a discussion of the fundamental politics behind this "reunification" will mean a discussion of their policy in the United States. A policy which expresses a more and more right-ward orientation.

A more and more open orientation towards the trade union labor bureaucracy and the left-wing of the Democratic Party. More and more open support to Stalinism throughout the Americas through Fidel Castro. A policy of trying to offer its services to the labor bureaucrats as a "left" alternative to Stalinism, which is passed off inside the SWP as "industrialization" and a "turn towards the working class."

Above all they can't confront a discussion because ANY kind of serious discussion would undercut the fundamental basis for this "reunification" and their fundamental, Menshevik conception of a party.

The BASIS for this "reunification" is: "reunify first, discuss later." Which reveals the greatest danger of this "reunification" for the American working class-- that this "reunification" puts across on an international level the SWP's version of what type of party the American working class needs.

A swamp. An unprincipled coalition of centrists, Stalinists and revolutionary workers. A "big", "all-inclusive party" where inside everyone will "have their own politics."

Through this "reunification" the SWP is telling the American working class that what it needs on an international level is



MICHEL VARGA

attack against the revolutionary party of the American working class. Specifically, against the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization/USA which is fighting to rebuild its American Section.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is small in numbers today. Much smaller than the SWP. But the concern of the SWP leadership with the TO/USA (and it is indeed greatly out of proportion to our size) resides in the fact that we represent the POSSIBILITY in the United States for a revolutionary opposition to their policy, and are today actively organizing this opposition in the American working class.

It is this possibility which the SWP leadership must try to destroy.

This "reunification" represents the acceptance in FACT of the vile, Stalinist slanders of Lambert--Just against the Fourth International and Michel Varga, according to which Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, founder of the Hungarian Section of the Fourth International, leader of the International Committee and member of the Political Bureau of the OCI for over ten years is a "CIA-KGB agent."

Already the SWP has given its acceptance by refusing to condemn these slanders. But their "reunification" today, especially in face of the new slanders of Lambert against Politica Obrera represents an ACCEPTANCE of these Stalinist slanders, not just Stalinist in method but Stalinist in ORIGIN also (organized in the halls of the Kremlin and the Hungarian secret police), inside THEIR organization.

A hypocritical acceptance. Totally cynical. At a meeting with the OCI in Paris Caroline Lund of the SWP declared: "This organization (Politica Obrera) has been denounced from the podium by Stephan Just as supporters of the Videla regime. We do not know the details of the policy of PO but such an accusation should be at least backed up by facts! But one will not receive them! It is even more disturbing to see the audience unanimously applaud this condemnation that has no proof."

But even MORE disturbing is the fact that the SWP is perfectly willing to be in a common organization with Stalinist slanderers!

American workers-- it is INEVITABLE that the SWP will bring these Stalinist slanders into the US workers movement against us. We say inevitable because it is perfectly logical and because it has already begun.

Already in a totally cowardly and cynical fashion (even more cowardly than Lambert--Just who say things openly) the SWP leader-

provocations in your organization.

This "reunification" with these Stalinist slanderers will not pass easily in the SWP. There exists inside the SWP a proletarian wing of militants. A group of militants that are not organized, are politically confused, but who represent the possibility of a renewal with the Fourth International against their leadership.

Militants who admit that there are plenty of non-revolutionaries inside the SWP. Who consider themselves to be "ultra-leftists". Who are seeking a revolutionary means to fight Stalinism and the labor bureaucrats.

But who haven't yet fundamentally broken with the SWP leadership on the most important question--what kind of party the Fourth International must be. Who still think that it is better to be in a "big party". That revolutionaries, centrists, and open reformists can coexist in the same party. That the SWP leadership can be reformed-- not through a head-to-head combat but "by the course of events."

But comrades-- the entire lesson of this "reunification" proves that the SWP today is a TRAP, an OBSTACLE to any kind of clarification or revolutionary struggle. That the young workers today in the SWP who see themselves as "ultra-lefts" will inevitably become CORRUPTED, sitting day after day allowing the centrist policy of their leadership to pass, listening to the whispers about the TO/USA, WITHOUT A COMBAT.

Wait until we're proven correct? But militants of the SWP-- this is what HUNDREDS of militants of the OCI said to us in France. They told us they would "wait," that our break was "premature." And where are they now? Up to their necks in Stalinist slanders, in support to the French CP and SP and now without ANY organization.

Wait? But the job of a revolutionary is to LEAD. To predict. To see things ahead and call things by their RIGHT NAME.

We're not calling anyone out into the desert. It is the SWP leadership which intends to make a desert out of the SWP and of the Fourth International in the US.

All we're asking for is a struggle INSIDE the SWP and INSIDE the American working class for a proletarian policy and party, for the Fourth International against this "reunification" with Stalinist slanderers, in the service of Stalinism.

A FIGHT FOR PRINCIPLES. Which is what Cannon, Shachtman and Abern began alone in 1928 and which has been the history of the entire 50 years of Trotskyism in the US.

In a conversation with us, a young militant of the SWP in Chicago told us that he was totally opposed to the Stalinist slanders against Michel Varga. That he would "defend to the death Michel Varga against Stalinism."

We're not asking for that much right now. All we're asking for is a combat in the American working class and in the SWP to drive Lambert and all those who support his filthy slanders out of your International and your party. A combat which can only be a combat for the Fourth International. December 5, 1978

# SPAIN:

## DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth International draws the attention of the world proletariat to the importance of the struggle in face of the referendum on the monarcho-Francoist Constitution in Spain.

We have already denounced many times the pseudo-democratization of Spain as a maneuver to integrate the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the Socialist Party (PSOE) into the defense of the un-changed Francoist state apparatus.

It is from within the monarchy's Cortes that the PCE voted for the anti-working class Moncloa Pact, it is here that they elaborated with the representatives of the continuity of Francoism, a Constitution legalizing and institutionalizing Francoist terror.

The bourgeois press, the governments throughout the world, present this terror to you under the name of "democracy," using the participation of the PCE as the reason. Just like today all the European bourgeoisies are engaging in this kind of "democracy" with the support of the various Communist Parties. The Italian CP hunts down "terrorists" in the factories and signs no-strike pledges. The French CP, at the

head of the CGT (trade union federation) supports government intervention in the unions.

Whether or not the working masses should participate in this referendum has an importance throughout Europe. It is the centerpiece of the Stalinist attempt to mobilize the working class organizations and the unions against the most combative sectors of the working class.

The Spanish CP is up to its neck in this orientation, calling for a YES vote for this referendum on the Constitution. Against the present workers mobilization.

The PORE (section of the Fourth International) is fighting, based on this mobilization, to organize a network of committees to BOYCOTT the referendum, to centralize the factory committees throughout the country, centralizing them in view of the confrontation with the state.

To carry out this policy the Fourth International addresses itself in the first place to the youth. It struggles to establish a large alliance of the youth for a WORKERS CORTES so that the youth can take their place against the old leaderships in order to set up and centralize boycott committees in the factor-

ies and neighborhoods. It is against this desire of the youth to confront the state that the anarchist leaders are hiding behind a policy of abstention, wishing to let the constitution pass.

It is against this independent mobilization of the workers that the centrists (LCR,OCI) call for voting NO on the referendum.

This NO has the sense of holding back the workers struggles, their centralization, in the name of a possible "democratization" of Francoism.

For them, the constitution will peacefully pass.

Their NO only concerns certain anti-democratic measures, they are preparing themselves to accept the Constitution and then "struggle to democratize it."

This position has only one meaning: to sow among workers and youth the Stalinist illusion of a possible self-"democratization" of Francoism by peaceful means.

It is on this basis that the pseudo-Trotskyists of the LCR openly participate in the attempt of the CCOO (Stalinist controlled unions) to mobilize the working class against the fighting youth.

At the moment when the PCE at

the head of the CCOO, with the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party) is preparing and realizing a demonstration in defense of the "forces of order" and against the ETA, that is, against the youth seeking the confrontation with the state.

The meeting between Carrillo (head of Spanish CP) and Krivine (leader of the United Secretariat which steals our banner) is a first step towards the generalization of this practice on the European level.

For this reason the international proletariat must draw the lessons of the common activity of the Stalinists and centrists vis-a-vis this referendum.

Young militants of the CNT-- you must prevent this Constitution from passing!

Everywhere, in the factories and neighborhoods, form committees for the BOYCOTT OF THE CONSTITUTION, these committees must be centralized in a WORKERS CORTES to confront the Cortes of the monarchy.

Join the Fourth International and its struggle! This Constitution must not pass-- it is a centerpiece of the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism against you!

November, 1978

### "La Aurora" holds public meeting on Two Americas

On November 21st LA AURORA, the paper of the PORE, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International, held a public forum in Barcelona on "The Struggle for the Conference of the Two Americas."

The more than 50 workers and youth who attended the forum heard presentations by Miguel Salas for the PORE, Marcos Pacheco for the Revolutionary Youth of Spain (JRE) and Jon Cohen for the Trotskyist Organization/USA.

Most significant was the discussion of the struggle of the Fourth International in the United States that took place at the forum.

In his opening presentation, Miguel Salas pointed out that for many Spanish workers and militants of other organizations the class struggle in the US appears very distant. That in particular, a struggle has to be waged against all the Stalinist and centrist theories of the "backwardness" of the American working class.

He pointed out that the facts themselves contradict these theories -- the miners strike last winter -- the support American workers gave to the Third International of Lenin and the fact that the American Section was the pillar of the Fourth International before the capitulation of the SWP.

Jon Cohen continued this theme, telling the workers and youth present that from their own experiences with Stalinism in Spain they should be able to understand the most vital questions of the American revolution and the struggle to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International. That the basic problems and experiences of the American working class were the same as theirs.

"Where do all the ideas that the American revolution is something 'different,' if not impossible, come from?", he asked. "From the same anti-Leninists and anti-Trotskyists who are trying to bury the Spanish revolution."

Marcos Pacheco developed the fight of the JRE to prepare the Conference in Madrid in a fight to organize the Latin American youth in exile in Spain, including in a struggle against the repression recently launched by the Spanish government against these exiles.

After the forum many of those present commented that they were now able to see the fight of the Fourth International in the US as a real, living struggle. And saw that the fight to prepare this Conference could be a means to politically enrich and advance the fight of the entire International and each of its sections. December 6, 1978

**Pagos, contra in de pozos**  
sado la petición

**Pozos que ya funcionan**  
Por otra parte la Unión de Regantes, las Cámaras Agrarias y las cooperativas de regantes afectados, que mientras ellos los trámites de impugnación legal Paulino ya los aproxim. año al- se utilizan.

**Almacelles**  
**La Comisión Municipal a favor de los regantes**

Almacelles (Segria). - Ante la situación creada entre el Sindicato de Regantes y el Ayuntamiento de Almacelles por el suministro del agua, la Comisión de Control Municipal acusa de inoperancia al Ayuntamiento.

**Unión de Regantes apoya**  
Unión de Regantes afirma que el Sindicato de Regantes es una institución competente, responsable y democrática que amparándose en las actuales leyes de aguas cumple y hace cumplir el reglamento, en cuanto a la distribución del agua.

**A MALLO**  
Anteriormente, la situación entre los dos organismos era tensa. El presidente del Sindicato y el alcalde habían tenido un enfrentamiento personal. La inoperancia de nuestro Ayuntamiento, debido

ASSUMPCIO CANTALUZELLA  
Hermanos Maristas de Matarró al Consistorio para edificar en la parte inferior del patio del citado Colegio, se puso de relieve la responsabilidad del Consistorio, es decir, de una decisión política en el transcurso de un debate público organizado por la A.V. de Matarró-centro entor- «altaires» Valldemna. Uno de los asistentes a los mien- tual Consistorio el debate sendo

**LA AURORA**  
fracaso de las manifestaciones del día 10  
**LOS TRABAJADORES NO APOYAN EL ANTITERRORISMO**

**LA LEY DE ORDEN PUBLICO, LA VERDADERA CONSTITUCION**

**Revisión del Comité Central del PORE**  
Trabajadores: Contra la Constitución del terrorismo de Estado  
Contra la Constitución del paro masivo

**CIRCULOS DE DEBATE DE LA AURORA - DEBATE ABIERTO**  
¡Por la unidad revolucionaria de los trabajadores de todo el continente!  
¡POR UNA CONFERENCIA DE LAS DOS AMERICAS!

Hablarán: Jonn Cohen (dirigente de la OI de los USA, sección de la IV Internacional) Miguel Salas (POHE), Marcos Pacheco (JRE)

Ad for public meeting in Catalanian daily, MUNDO DIARIO, 11/21/78

# The New Constitution Paves the Way to Civil War --

## Only the Workers Revolution Can Bury Francoism



Corridor of the PORE in Barcelona during the "anti-terrorist" demonstration on November 10th--"Boycott the Constitution", "For a Workers Cortes"

Today a national referendum is being organized by the Francoist monarchy to vote on a draft of the Constitution which will supposedly bring Spain into the "democratic age."

One of the most striking things an American worker will note if he begins to think about the political situation in Spain is the almost TOTAL censorship being organized by the bourgeois and "left" press about the events in Spain.

On December 5th, the day before the referendum, the NEW YORK TIMES wrote an article of only 9 paragraphs, hidden in the middle of the paper, concerning Spain. And this is the longest article that has appeared in any bourgeois paper in months!

An attempted military coup on the weekend of November 18th received only 3 paragraphs!

The American CP hasn't written an article on Spain in YEARS.

And the pseudo-Trotskyist American SWP, which once bragged that its comrades in Spain represented "the largest Trotskyist party in the world" haven't mentioned Spain or the fight of their section for over six months.

Why the silence, the censorship? Because everyone, from the bourgeoisie to the Stalinists and centrists wants to hide the REALITY of the situation in Spain from the American working class.

They want, by implication, for American workers to think that Spain is undergoing a "peaceful transition to democracy." Above all they want this CONSTITUTION TO

PASS IN PEACE, its reality hidden from the American workers and youth.

Because, American workers -- the REALITY in Spain is something different.

The press talk about the assassinations of police by ETA in the Basque Provinces. But they don't mention that the ENTIRE Basque Province is under PERMANENT MILITARY OCCUPATION. That the Spanish army patrols the streets, has the unlimited right to enter homes, to search and detain people for an unlimited amount of time. That it is the Basque population that is terrorized.

That cities like Madrid and Barcelona are under virtual military occupation. One only has to walk the streets of downtown Barcelona to see the armored trucks, the jeeps, the personnel carriers.

An attempted military coup receives three paragraphs, as if it was a joke. BUT IT IS NO JOKE! It is a fact in Spain that this Constitution is being shoved down the throats of Spanish workers as the only alternative to a military coup. That every day there are new reports and threats of this coup. That this coup is being openly prepared by the Spanish military, that it is inevitable.

And that 250,000 uniformed fascists marched down the streets of Madrid in November.

American workers -- the bourgeoisie is silent about all this because someday they want to

shove this kind of "democracy" down your throats.

The Stalinists are silent because their "comrades" in the Spanish Communist Party are totally tied to this Francoist regime. Calling for a YES vote on this Constitution. Paving the way for a civil war against the working class by openly organizing marches and demonstrations along with the fascist police and bourgeois parties "in defense of the public order," "against terrorism." Demonstrations which were a miserable failure.

The centrists are silent because they are too embarrassed to explain the policy of their comrades in the Spanish LCR who have announced "the end of the Francoist dictatorships," declaring that a "hybrid form of democracy exists in Spain." "Hybrid" indeed. So "hybrid" that ALL the present officials of the Spanish government were officials under Franco.

And they, along with the fascists are voting NO in this referendum. Accepting this entire farce, this Constitution which is preparing for civil war, but with "criticisms."

We are NOT silent about what is going on in Spain. Because the fight of the Fourth International in Spain corresponds to the REALITY of the situation.

Thus, on November 10th, the day of the "anti-terrorist" demonstrations of the Spanish CP and SP were organized, it was only the PORE which organized against them, which fought to separate

the workers from the Francoist police, the anti-Francoist fighters from the bourgeoisie.

In Barcelona, the PORE regrouped over 600 workers and youth in a corridor which chanted slogans like "Boycott the Constitution," "Return to Lenin" which were taken up by THOUSANDS of workers organized in the CP and SP demonstrations. The PORE was the only revolutionary opposition on November 10th in Spain. Even the bourgeois press in Spain was forced to tell this truth.

The REALITY in Spain is that in the face of this Constitution, THOUSANDS of workers and youth throughout Spain will ABSTAIN from voting. That is, neither the YES of the Stalinists, nor the NO of the centrists represents the aspirations of the most militant workers.

The government is above all attacking those who plan to abstain. The US bourgeois press has said that the government has declared a "holiday" the day of the referendum. A lie. It is a "holiday" only for those who plan to vote. If you don't vote you must stay in the factories and work.

The PORE is above all addressing these most militant workers. Saying that no one should just abstain. That on December 6th the workers should STAY IN THE FACTORIES, organize MASS ASSEMBLIES for an ACTIVE BOYCOTT of the Constitution. That these assemblies should discuss the central questions in front of the Spanish working class and elect delegates to form a WORKERS CORTES (Congress) against the Cortes of the monarchy.

Along with this fight in the factories, on December 6th the PORE is also organizing the unemployed workers and youth in a MASS SIT-DOWN in front of the factories against unemployment. To unite the struggles of the workers inside with the youth outside and to centralize this all in the first steps towards a WORKERS CORTES.

In the next issue of TRUTH we will report on the concrete outcome of the fight of the PORE on December 6th.

But it is certain that this perspective of a WORKERS CORTES, of organizing an open resistance to this Constitution of civil war, of the workers revolution to bury Francoism is the only perspective that corresponds to the reality of the situation in Spain today, a reality which everyone is trying to hide.

And it is certain that December 6th will represent a decisive advance for the PORE in this perspective.

J.C.

December 6, 1978

# PERU: Hugo Blanco and R. Napuri Support Against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

## THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY: CENTERPIECE OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP

The farce of the elections to the Constituent Assembly which were recently realized were the result of the accord between the military dictatorship, Carter, APRA (Revolutionary American Popular Alliance) and the Peruvian CP to make this Assembly a first stage towards the institutionalization of the dictatorship. The task assigned to it by the Morales Bermudez government is that of elaborating a reactionary Constitution in order to "legalize" the dictatorship, or almost the same thing, a civilian government, heir to the military. But in order to be able to realize this objective it is necessary to demobilize the working class and peasants. This is the task that APRA and the Peruvian CP are trying to realize through the Constituent Assembly, in the service of American imperialism.

The powerful struggles of the Peruvian masses which culminated before the elections in the general strike against the dictatorship which is the continuation of the Velasco Alvarado government, demonstrated the failure of the Stalinist attempt to regroup the workers behind the "anti-imperialist" Peruvian government which will "open up the road to the national anti-imperialist revolution." The general strike demonstrated the depth of the crisis of the Peruvian CP which, unable to oppose the general strike, was forced to get on the train while it was moving in order to avoid an open confrontation with its militants and the militants of the CGTP (the main trade union, controlled by the CP) and to end the strike in favor of the "peaceful elections." But at the same time this demonstrates the depth of the crisis of Castroism. It was thanks to the support that Castro gave to the military dictatorship and the Peruvian CP that they were able, at the price of a deep crisis, to control the working class.

Between the Velasco Alvarado government which for the first years of its existence had the support of an important sector of the masses, and the present government against which the workers are massively standing up against, the fundamental difference is in the process of the maturation of the working class and the youth who, after waiting for the promises of the Peruvian CP about the "anti-imperialist will" of the present government to become reality, have taken into their own hands the struggle for their demands and for the end to the dictatorship. The difficulties of American imperialism in Peru are the result of the break or the distrust of the most advanced sectors of the working class towards the Peruvian CP and the CP of Castro.

But the working class has not yet won. Because of the lack of the revolutionary party, this process of rupture with Stalinism can only succeed through an organized fight against all the illusions in a national and democratic solution with the sectors of the bourgeoisie who call themselves "anti-imperialists," like APRA, and the independent organization of the working class for the dictatorship of the proletariat. More than this, enormous illusions are being developed about the possibility for a "national anti-imperialist" revolution led by APRA and the PCP under "the pressure of the masses." Illusions nourished by the participants in the Constituent Assembly with the goal of making it a barrier to the proletarian revolution.

The Fourth International calls for a resolute combat against the Constituent Assembly and against all those who support it. It is through this that the entire struggle against the plans for the institutionalization of the dictatorship passes, whether they be those of the CP, APRA or Carter. FOCEP (1) wants to convince the workers that thanks to the pre-

sence of its deputies the Constituent Assembly has become an obstacle to the dictatorship. But why does APRA, with the consent of the dictatorship, want to give the Constituent Assembly the image of a defender of the working class? In order to tell the workers that its entire mobilization must be developed in order to support the Constituent Assembly and its APRA leadership, that no solution exists outside of the negotiations between this Assembly and the government. It concerns giving the possibility for APRA to make this Constituent Assembly a weapon against the organizations that the working class has begun to set up, in order to prevent the proletariat, in alliance with the poor peasants, from taking up the final battle to finish with the government, its state and its army in order to open up the road to the proletarian revolution and the workers-peasants government.

Against this fight, which is the fight of the Fourth International, the promoters of the Constituent Assembly wish to impose respect for the military dictatorship and a future Constitution, trying to prevent, in the name of "democracy", the working class from setting up its own methods of organization and struggle against imperialism, the dictatorship and APRA. This is the significance of the support given to the Constituent Assembly by the components of this organism. For the military dictatorship (which bases itself on this work of disorienting the working class) this is the condition for developing unemployment and rising prices without risking a general mobilization that will finish with it.

## THE INTERNATIONAL STAKE OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Haya de la Torre, leader of APRA and the President of the Constituent Assembly has recently stated that the work of this Assembly can be reduced to one year instead of the two years provided. This means that the elaboration of the Constitution, its acceptance or not by the dictatorship and the general elections could be realized in 1979. The leaders of the United Secretariat (2) have profitted from these declarations in order to again insist that the military dictatorship wants to liquidate the Assembly which supposedly is in contradiction with the dictatorship (INPRECOR #34). In fact, Haya de la Torre is expressing his desire, and that of imperialism, to accelerate the elaboration of this Constitution in order to give a "legal" face to the dictatorship. This haste comes from the partial defeat of the first attempt to stop the mobilization of the working class by setting up the Constituent Assembly. Even before it held its first session, the teachers went on strike, followed by hospital workers. On August 4th the miners began their general strike. To the attempt of APRA and the Peruvian CP to present the Constituent Assembly as the "leadership of struggles" the most advanced sectors of the working class responded by setting up their own organs of struggle, like the Popular Assemblies of Chimbote and Moquegua and the Fronts for the Defense of the Interests of the People set up in Cuzco and Arequipa. If we say that this first attempt was partially defeated, it is because of the activity of the organizations who usurp the banner of the Fourth International (the Socialist Workers Party--PST and the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party--POMR) which prevented the independent organisms of the working class from being consolidated, extended to the industrial centers and centralized. The PST of Hugo Blanco and the POMR of Ricardo Napuri, regrouped in the FOCEP, succeeded in imposing their policy of support to the Constituent Assembly. Such is the role of these organizations, who in the name of the party of Lenin and Trotsky hold the working class be-

hind APRA and the PCP, thus playing the game of US imperialism. For this reason the construction of the revolutionary party in Peru passes through a combat to unmask these organizations in front of the working class and to prevent them from identifying the policy of the Fourth International with Stalinism.

To guarantee the success of the Conference of the Two Americas the Fourth International is organizing and proposes to all militants and youth the struggle against the maneuvers of the United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee. Each passing day makes this Assembly the spearhead of the maneuvers of the Carter government and the Kremlin bureaucracy to institutionalize the dictatorship throughout Latin America. It has thus also become the instrument of the American SWP (3) as well as its "sister" organizations in Latin America and those of the Organizing Committee to make the experience of the Peruvian proletariat a barrier to the construction of the Fourth International in the Two Americas.

For the Carter government and the Stalinist parties the success of their plans around the Constituent Assembly is fundamental, not only to cut off the road to the proletarian revolution in Latin America, but also to re-animate the confidence of the American working class in the imperialist Democratic Party. Because their maneuvers, which are developed under the cover of the campaign for "human rights" have begun to fail everywhere; in Bolivia the farce of the Presidential elections was not swallowed by the working class and it is for this reason that the "process of democratization" concluded with a military coup which annulled the election results.

In Nicaragua, Carter has burned his fingers. The proletariat of the Two Americas has been able to see the defender of "human rights" give all of his support to Somoza in order to crush the insurrection so that the latter can calmly proceed in negotiations with the Broad Opposition Front; difficult negotiations because the dictatorship has not been able to defeat the mobilization of the workers and peasants. In Argentina, the CP has plunged into a grave crisis because the working class does not accept its direct support to Videla. In Chile, the tendencies and factions inside the Communist and Socialist parties are multiplying in the face of the attempts of their leaderships to realize a compromise with the Christian Democracy. The success of the possibility of the Carter government and the international apparatus of the Kremlin to give a practical proof of the process of "democratization through the Constituent Assembly" depends on Peru. That in face of the proletariat of all Latin America the only road is that of an agreement with the parties of the comprador bourgeoisie (like the Bolivian MNR, the Argentine Peronists, etc.) in order to "reform" the dictatorships.

It is in relation to the difficulties of the Carter government and the crisis of the Stalinist and Castroite parties that it is necessary to understand the new steps towards the right realized by the organizations which usurp the banner of the Fourth International in Peru. The significance of their slogan, "All power to the Constituent Assembly" is that of facilitating the work of the Peruvian CP. The support that the SWP and the organizations of the Organizing Committee, in the first place the French OCI, give to the Peruvian PST and POMR, prove that they wish to make this new step towards the right in Peru the advance point of their own pact with Stalinism in their own countries with the goal of turning the working class away from the Fourth International by identifying the Fourth International with this policy. It is for this reason that the Fourth International, by preparing the Conference of the Two Americas, proposes to organize a fight against the Peruvian Constituent Assembly and against the



# Support a Constituent Assembly

By ITXIAR ARNAIZ

support given to it by the pseudo-Trotskyists, as a means of clarification and mobilization in all countries in the Latin American continent for the rebuilding of the section of the Fourth International in the US as well as those in Latin America.

**THE SLOGAN: "ALL POWER TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY"—A NOOSE AROUND THE NECK OF THE PROLETARIAT**

In Europe and in the Two Americas a campaign to defend the policy of the PST and POMR has been taken up under the leadership of the American SWP and the French OCI. They say that the presence of these organizations in the Constituent Assembly has the goal of making it into "a tribune for revolutionaries." But a tribune in order to say what?

In the first session of this Assembly the members of the FOCEP, with the UDP (4) and the PSR of Aragon (5) presented a motion demanding that the Constituent Assembly: "assume all the legislative and executive powers of the nation." From this tribune, Ricardo Napuri, leader of the POMR called on the formation of a provisional government representing this Assembly, that is, a government of APRA, the Christian Popular Party and the "forces of the left" (FOCEP, CP, etc.) This has a name: the Popular Front, even more right-wing than the one in Chile.

The Fourth International was correct, at the moment of the elections, to call the program of the FOCEP the program for the Popular Front. Since then a new evolution has taken place. In the program which the PST and POMR have given the FOCEP, APRA was not yet included in the "anti-imperialist government," or if it is included it is under the general category of "anti-imperialist parties or forces." The change has only come from the fact that the problem of power is posed even more openly in Peru and forces everyone to choose his side and call things by their name. There is a link throughout the policy of these organizations: in the elections they actively participated in the maneuvers of Stalinism, opposing to the centralization of the general strike the electoral victory of FOCEP. Today, they oppose to the desire of the working class to set up its independent organs (like the Popular Assemblies) ... the Popular Front. In the face of the opposition of militants of these organizations to this policy, the American SWP, the French LCR and Hugo Blanco himself are trying to cut off the storm by justifying this slogan as a "tactic to unmask APRA" (see INPRECOR #34 and ROUGE, #738).

It is necessary to destroy APRA, it is necessary that the rupture of the most advanced sectors of the working class (as the votes received by FOCEP and the UDP prove) be extended to the entire working class. But this is not possible by giving the working class illusions in a government led by these bourgeois parties. It is necessary to show the working class that these parties and the Peruvian CP are openly opposed to again taking up the general strike, interrupted by the elections, because this Constituent Assembly cannot resolve a single demand of the working class. It is necessary to demonstrate, by the organization of the struggle, that they are against the extension and centralization of the Popular Assemblies which have been constituted, that is through these Assemblies that the alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasantry is forged on the basis of the revolutionary program, the program of the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the program of the workers-peasants government, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only solution to the present situation. It is this struggle that the Fourth International proposes to all workers, youth and militants of

the United Secretariat and Organizing Committee who wish to fight to construct the Fourth International.

These organizations are constituted against the Fourth International and the real "argument" to justify their support to the Constituent Assembly is given by Napuri when he says: "For us the slogan of a sovereign Constituent Assembly is a slogan that 'points' to the dictatorship of the proletariat..... the deputies of the POMR will pose, flowing from these positions, in the anti-democratic Constituent Assembly the fight for a sovereign Constituent Assembly, they will raise the slogan of a CONCRETE GOVERNMENT (OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION) responsible to the sovereign Constituent Assembly which will raise the REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM. The POMR will say to ALL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH SPEAK IN THE NAME OF THE WORKING PEOPLE and who have the confidence of the masses that it is ready to politically support this government which places itself, in its actions, IN THE ROAD OF RUPTURE WITH IMPERIALISM ..." ) In "Cuarta Internacional", organ of the

Fourth International Organization of Spain, linked to the Organizing Committee, #14, p. 15, underlined by us).

In the name of "concreteness" Napuri develops the policy of "revolution by stages" which is the basis for the propositions of his international regroupment (the Organizing Committee) to construct "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Fronts" throughout Latin America. But these Fronts have already shown what they are capable of. What has become of the Bolivian Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front created at the initiative of the Bolivian POR after Banzer's coup in 1971 which included among others, the Armed Forces of Torres and the Bolivian CP!? After this Front had been able to prevent the working class for a period from realizing the balance sheet of the role of Torres and the Bolivian CP in the fascist coup, these participants dissolved it.

**FOR HUGO BLANCO THE SOVIETS ARE USED TO SUPPORT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**

In the FOCEP a large number of un-declared tendencies have appeared in order to justify, each in his own way, the Popular Front. No revolutionary can find a positive solution in this amalgam of tendencies and opinions. It is necessary to fight all of them and in particular those represented by Hugo Blanco and Ricardo Napuri, both of them wishing, with some nuances, to defend the Constituent Assembly "in the name" of soviets.

In the first session of the Popular Assembly of Moquegua, Napuri and F. Fernandez, representatives respectively of the POMR and PST, demanded that the Assembly approve a motion demanding all power to the Constituent Assembly. Hugo Blanco does not say this. He called for "The Popular Assemblies to function in a permanent fashion and be centralized by a large Popular National Assembly."

The POMR calls for "a national congress of local Popular Assemblies which will take up the will of the majority of the people: end the military government" (INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES, organ of the French OCI, #866, p. 9). Ambiguity is a method special to centrists. What is this majority will of the people? What will replace the military government? The FOCEP Program responds: a government representing the organizations of "the people," and "in the path of rupture with imperialism."

The organisms of a soviet type which are developing in Peru make the construction of the section of the Fourth International in this country urgent. Soviets by themselves cannot guarantee the victory of the proletarian revolution. Everything depends on the combat of

their political leadership, the party which leads them. The party that the Fourth International is constructing is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the fight to win the working class from the influence of the PCP and APRA. The preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas is a struggle to give the working class the weapons which will guarantee the victory of the soviets: the construction of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat of the Two Americas against imperialism and the national bourgeoisies, like those in Peru represented by APRA. To accomplish these tasks the Conference of the Two Americas must organize against the "party" that Napuri and Blanco wish to set up. What is the objective for this "large" organization?

Napuri, to justify his support to the slogan "All power to the Constituent Assembly," says: "Today we have a fraudulent and anti-democratic Constituent Assembly in Peru. It exists. But the people have shown their sovereign will through the vote..." (Interview in ROUGE, #737) ... "The masses want this, so we do what the masses want." It is with this refrain that the OCI justifies its support to a "CP-SP Government" in France. The organization that they wish to construct is that of the total adaptation to the influence of the Peruvian CP and APRA in the masses, in order to resolve their crisis. It is for this reason that Hugo Blanco goes around Peru giving "radical" speeches, like that in Tacna which succeeded (in 11 pages) in not mentioning APRA or the Peruvian CP once (INPRECOR, #35). Who can still believe that the PST of Hugo Blanco is going to lead the working class to power, if they are the ones who prevent the workers from fighting the obstacles to the dictatorship of the proletariat? The party of the pseudo-Trotskyists is that of the adaptation to the "national conditions of the country." It is in this party that all the components of the FOCEP, the UDP and the PSR of Aragon will gather together. But if things are limited to this, these organizations would not be very dangerous for the proletarian revolution.

The danger that must be fought consists in that the preparations for the reunification of the POMR and the PST in the framework of this "large" organization are trying to create a barrier to the construction of the Fourth International and are a weapon in liquidating its entire history and struggle in the Two Americas. October 19, 1978

## NOTES

1. FOCEP: Workers, Peasants, Student and Popular Front. Created at the initiative of the POMR, organization adhering to the Organizing Committee, with the PST led by Hugo Blanco and the Front of the Left-Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party, both sympathizers of the United Secretariat and the Popular Democratic Front and Peasants Confederation.
2. United Secretariat: regroupment including, among others, the American SWP, the French LCR, Peruvian PST. Constituted by the "reunification" between the liquidationist Pabloite current and the SWP of Hansen.
3. Socialist Workers Party; sympathizing American organization of the United Secretariat.
4. Popular Democratic Union; front of different Maoist organizations which three other groups who call themselves representatives of the United Secretariat are a part of.
5. Revolutionary Socialist Party, faction of the PSR, organization representing a sector of the army which supports the former president, Velasco Alvarado.

# FREE KLEBANOV!

By CYRIL MARTIN

News about the fate of Vladimir Klebanov and of two other founders of the independent trade union of Soviet workers has reached the West. Klebanov and his comrades, Gavril Yankov and Evgeny Nikolayev, are all in the "special" psychiatric hospitals, in the hands of the torturers of the KGB (Stalinist secret police). After a farce of a trial of which he was not informed and at which he was not present, Klebanov was committed to the special psychiatric hospital at Dnepropetrovsk, the very one in which the psychiatrist-hangmen tortured the mathematician Leonid Plyusch and hundreds of others whose "mental illness" is called — opposition.

The Revolutionary Youth International has decided to organize a broad campaign among the youth and the whole working class for the liberation of these workers. Their initiative in coming together in a union independent of the bureaucracy, as well as of the different opposition currents which are promoters of the phony "self-reform" of the Stalinist regime under the pressure of imperialism, is a true challenge to this regime. And this regime has understood this well and has shown it by responding to it with a brutal repression. It is also a direct appeal to the international working class, in particular to that of the capitalist countries, that an organization of Soviet workers independent of the bureaucracy and defending the socialist conquests of the October Revolution against Stalinism addresses them for the first time since the crushing of the Trotskyist organization in the USSR by Stalin.

Today, it is certainly necessary to make still better known the reasons for and the forms of the Stalinist repression which falls upon the members of the Free Union of Soviet Workers, like that which has victimized other oppositionists in the Soviet Union and the workers of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. But these facts today are widely known; large trade union organizations have "taken a position" against the political imprisonments and the firing from jobs in Czechoslovakia, etc. In France, let us recall, the "Euro-communist" leadership of the CGT (Stalinist-led trade union federation) even prepares its congress by basing itself mainly on its phony condemnation of the lack of freedom in Eastern Europe, all the better to force the acceptance of the consistent Euro-communist policy, of making the workers accept the attacks of the capitalists in the name of the necessity of respecting the "democracy" of the capitalists and their freedom, chiefly the free-

dom to exploit.

The facts are known. The campaigns for the liberation of Plyusch and Bukovsky in the Soviet Union, for that of the Czechoslovak militants imprisoned for their opposition to the occupation by the Kremlin's troops and to "normalization" have taken place. However, the Kremlin continues and strengthens its repression, and even takes less and less care to wrap it in a cloak of legality; witness the gross frameups of the Moscow trials (Shcharansky, etc.) this summer.

Today, there is not a militant of the youth in France, in Spain, in the USA, just as in Poland, in the USSR, or in Czechoslovakia, who is not conscious of the link between the fight against capitalist exploitation and that which the working class of Eastern Europe wages against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its police regime. There can be none among them, at the same time, who does not ask himself the question why the bureaucracy can continue and strengthen its anti-working class repression, while apparently it is denounced and fought by everyone. Why is it that all the numerous initiatives and campaigns against this repression, as an obstacle to the international struggle for socialism, give no results, despite the energy brought to bear by the thousands of workers devoted to and convinced of the necessity of bringing down Stalinism?

The continuation of the struggle is closely linked to the answer to these questions. The Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International call upon the youth to participate en masse in actions, demonstrations and meetings that they are organizing for the liberation of Vladimir Klebanov and his comrades; actions whose meaning sums up the whole struggle against Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe and against Stalinism in general. This struggle is inseparable from an analysis of these experiences: it is impossible without breaking with the orientation of supporting Carter's "human rights," the orientation of requests or "demands" addressed to the governments of the capitalists and of the Kremlin bureaucracy that they "apply the Helsinki agreements." The corollary of this orientation is the "tactic" of appeals to the trade union leaders and the Stalinist bureaucrats, who are up to their necks in the defense of the international order of the bourgeoisie and the Kremlin bureaucracy and who are obliged verbally to take their distance from the most obvious form of the Stalinist repression in order to better defend this order, of appeals for them to see to

really "drawing the practical conclusions" of their "taking of positions" and to "really" organize a struggle.

The complete bankruptcy of these illusions, of this orientation, is obvious. In France the FEN (teachers union), led by the social democrats, and UNEF (student union), led by their great "Trotskyist" friends of the OCI, have taken the fine initiative of materially supporting the families of the victims of the repression in Czechoslovakia. But the Husak bureaucracy keeps Jirous in prison, "guilty" of having led a rock group whose music expressed the deep revolt of the youth against the occupation regime. Encouraged by the wave of trials in the Soviet Union, Husak's police and "justice" system have even organized a new trial against Pastor Simsa, "guilty" of belonging to Charter 77.

It is becoming clear that there exist some "takings of positions" and even "actions" without any meaning, which are organized with no other intent than to result in a new occasion ... to denounce Stalinism as the "continuation" of the "anti-democrat" Lenin; takings of positions and actions organized to deceive the youth and the militants involved, in order to avoid an independent mobilization of the working class, a mobilization directed against the state terrorism of the bourgeoisie (under the cover of bourgeois "human rights") and against its necessary complement that is Stalinist repression.

While ROUGE, newspaper of the (Pabloite) French LCR, reports news on the fate of Klebanov and of two of his comrades (which is certainly necessary), it forgets to explain that the principal French and Italian trade union organizations have already "taken a position" against the repression to which they have fallen victim (in order to emphasize the virtues of the "democracy" of the exploiters) and that this taking of position remained NECESSARILY, by its very nature, without consequences and without a mobilization — against which is directed — and has in no way changed the fate of Klebanov and his comrades.

The workers gathered in the Association for a Free Union in the Soviet Union were very quickly and openly injured by this policy. The International Labor Organizations, the international body of governments belonging to the United Nations, took only a few weeks to disillusion the Soviet workers who hoped to find a political and material aid from it. The ILO refused to recognize the Free Union, the official union being considered much more "representative."

Yuli Grimm, a Soviet worker who was among those who tried to continue to achieve "the idea of

independent unions escaping from the control of the state and the police," has addressed himself, through an appeal transmitted by telephone and published in "Samizdat Notebooks" in Belgium, to American workers who belong to the AFL-CIO, Grimm draws a succinct but clear conclusion. "The workers had to struggle for the respect of their legitimate rights, and they were not supported by the international trade union organizations. The little group of heroic people who tried to organize independent unions were abandoned by the international trade union organizations and were HANDED OVER to the cops in white coats" (the "psychiatrists" of the KGB). "Abandoned," "handed over" — that is what the Soviet workers who are fighting think. Yuli Grimm says in the address to the American workers: "We ask you to make use of all possible means to defend the right to existence in the Soviet Union of unions independent of state control. DON'T DEAL WITH THE UNION BOSSES. They represent the state. They do not represent the workers."

The pamphlet, "Free Union in the USSR" a collection compiled by the International Committee Against Repression and with a long-winded preface by Jean-Jacques Marie of the OCI, presents this appeal alongside "takings of position" by French unions "denouncing" the repression directed against Klebanov and his comrades... without taking a position. When one "defends human rights" along with the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucrats, at the side of Carter, one is a little embarrassed by the frankness of a worker... Grimm, who says in the address to the AFL-CIO: "Your union movement may have its weaknesses, but we Soviet workers know little about the AFL-CIO, about its structure, its rights and so on. However, this is not our fault. The Soviet radio and press say only of the AFL-CIO that it is a reactionary organization controlled by the monopolies..." Grimm will never learn, in the case of the AFL-CIO, or in that of the CGT or of the CGT-FO (right-wing union) of France for example, that those with whom he ought to discuss are not the present union leaders who, as in the USSR, as he said about the Soviet trade unions, "represent not the workers but the state." In any event, he won't learn it from the lips of J.J. Marie and his friends, who are themselves tied to Bergeron (FO leader), the French counterpart of the reformist leadership of the AFL-CIO.

The Free Union movement placed in its statutes, as a principle point, a political task: "The education of the members of the Association in the spirit of intolerance for the insufficiencies, the manifestations of bureaucratism and the falsifications, the malfeasance,

( CONTINUED TO PAGE 12 )

# Revolutionary Young Workers Launch Campaign to Defend Klebanov and Independent Trade Unions in the Soviet Union

Dear Yuli Grimm and comrades,

Because of the conditions under which you fight, the conditions of police repression and "psychiatric" torture you speak of, I am doubtful whether this reply may ever reach you. What a defeat it would be for the monstrous Stalinist bureaucracy for your movement to find a response in the heart of imperialism! A response born not of anti-communist lies and slanders, but of a sincere desire of American workers to overthrow imperialism and the Kremlin gangsters who support it. Yuli Grimm, your struggle has found such a response, and though small it may be now, it has great importance for the future of American and Soviet workers.

As you must have known when you wrote your appeal to American workers, the official leadership of the AFL-CIO has nothing to offer you. In fact, the appeal of your comrades to the International Labor Organization, representing most of the "international" trade unions was rejected on the grounds that your movement for independent trade unions in the Soviet Union was not "representative" of the Soviet workers. As if the official unions of either the Kremlin lackeys or bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO were!

Though few American workers many know of your fight now, they nevertheless have been engaged in a combat of their own for some time for the control of their own unions. I have been a member of and fought in many of the unions of the AFL-CIO: Hospital Workers Electrical workers, and Steelworkers unions. And I have been in the two major unions who are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters (truck drivers union) and the United Auto Workers union.

You are right in your assessment of the unions in the United States: they are not "tools of the monopolies" as Brezhnev would have the Soviet workers believe. They are true conquests of the American workers, but conquests which are constantly placed in danger by the treachery of the "officials" who run them in support of the policies of American imperialism and in the interest of the preservation of the monopolies. They were won at a great cost to American workers, much of our blood was sacrificed before the present era of "labor peace" was inaugurated by the bureaucratic leaders of the AFL-CIO and the other unions I have spoken of.

And what has this "detente" of the bureaucracy with the capitalist parties and their government meant for us? Incalculable more blood and sacri-

fices than the struggle it took to win the right to independent unions in the first place.

Not all American workers have this understanding of the

condition of the unions in the United States. A few have been bought off by the bureaucracy itself and support it. A thousand times more are confused

and fight for their rights against the bureaucracy, but in a hesitant manner. And the youth are quite disgusted with the unions themselves, equating them with the "establishment" in general due to the role of the bureaucrats in stifling all free initiative and dissent. A few have drawn the correct balance sheet and see the need for the unions to become transformed into instruments of the abolishment of capitalism for the construction of a Socialist society.

But do not be misled! These differences are not being resolved in passive discussions or anything of the kind. They are being worked out in a strong and powerful mobilization of the American working class for their rights and livelihoods. A mobilization which has touched every sector of the working class -- from public employees to auto workers, from hospital workers to miners.

Yuli Grimm, it is the strength of this mobilization, which has provoked a great crisis in the bureaucracy and the Democratic Party of Carter, that can be won to your battle for independent unions in the Soviet Union.

But I am not a "typical" American worker and do not wish to make any pretense that I am. I am a militant of the Fourth International, a world party which was built against the treachery of Stalinism. A party led by Trotsky (whose name has been sufficiently slandered I am sure in the Soviet Union) in order to continue the fight of Lenin for the world Socialist Revolution.

Neither the treachery of Stalin in the name of "communism" and "socialism", nor the right-wing howlings of American imperialism about the evils of the Soviet Union can hide the fact that the abolition of private property remains a true conquest of the Soviet workers. For our party exists and fights for this idea in the movement of the working class.

And just as true is our struggle against the parties which represent Stalinism around the world. The American Communist Party (Stalinist) in its newspaper DAILY WORLD says your movement is composed of "social misfits who can't hold a job in the Soviet Union." They label the struggle for unions independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a creation of the CIA. A slander which can only be made on the basis of the monstrous repression of the KGB (Soviet secret police) and the "psychiatric" torturers who keep you from speaking out.

It is in the interest of

( CONTINUED TO PAGE 12 )

## AN APPEAL TO AMERICAN WORKERS

(The SAMIZDAT PAPERS, who have published this document indicate that its author, Yuli Grimm transmitted it by telephone to London on April 25, 1978 and that this former political prisoner "is one of those who are presently part of a new attempt to form a free trade union, in order to continue the initiative of the Klebanov group.")

APPEAL TO AMERICAN WORKERS

Dear friends, American workers,

I address myself to you, members of the AFL-CIO because I consider this organization as a force exercising an influence for the defense of the rights of American workers, not only in words, but also in deeds. Your trade union movement can have its faults, but we, Soviet workers, know very little about the AFL-CIO, its structure, its rights, etc. However, this is not our fault. The Soviet radio and press only say that the AFL-CIO is a reactionary organization controlled by the monopolies.

Nevertheless, what seems clear to us regarding the subject of the AFL-CIO is that this organization proves to us the necessity of assuring freedom for the workers. I am certain that the American trade unions played an essential role in the conquest of the high standard of living enjoyed by workers in the United States. This is why I appeal to you, American workers, asking you to support the independent trade union movement which is developing in the USSR.

For more than 50 years our so-called unions have been nothing but a branch of the state organization. They have no ability to defend workers against oppression and exploitation, they are completely devoted to the interests of the state... (unintelligible passage).

Everyday the rights of Soviet workers are violated without the workers finding any kind of help from the so-called "trade union leaders," chosen by the factory administration. Today, several dozen Soviet workers, having lost all hope of seeing their trade union organizations defend their rights and interests, are trying to exercise their right to establish their own independent union. But they are the object of a savage repression. The best the authorities have been able to do is to throw the organizers into insane asylums... in order to deprive workers from exercising their rights... (unintelligible passage).

Nevertheless, I am convinced that the ideas of Klebanov will not perish before the Soviet trade unions are fundamentally reformed and are able to defend the workers... (unintelligible passage).

At this moment the Klebanov group has been decapitated, but others will surely arise to continue what he has begun. In place of obtaining the aid of... (unintelligible passage) workers must struggle for the respect of their legitimate rights and they are not supported by the international trade union organizations. The small group of heroic persons who are trying to organize independent unions have been abandoned by the international trade union organizations and turned over to the police in white shirts (that is, to the doctors in charge of the psychiatric "hospitals" for the imprisonment of political dissidents).

If this small group is not supported by workers in other countries it is possible that the idea of autonomous trade unions, escaping the control of the state and the police in the USSR will be smothered. Here the head of state can, with the stroke of a pen, place a POLICEMAN (Boris Ponomarev) at the head of the "unions."

We ask you to use all possible means to defend the right of the existence of trade unions independent from the state in the USSR. DON'T DEAL WITH THE UNION BOSSES. They represent the state. They do not represent the workers. Don't be fooled by their nice speeches. Don't believe them. They don't represent those in whose name they pretend to speak.

April 18, 1978 - Yuli Grimm - Tatarskaia oulitsa 9a, Kv. 74 Moscow

# YSA CONVENTION CELEBRATES 20 YEARS OF BETRAYAL

This year the Young Socialist Alliance will celebrate twenty years of betrayal of the Cuban revolution by Castro. The theme is no accident. It is a continuation of the Socialist Workers Party's and Joseph Hansen's attempt to bury in the minds of American youth the principled struggle of the Fourth International against Stalinism. Hansen who has called Castro an "unconscious Trotskyist" is once again

reviving his revisionist theories of the Cuban revolution when the entirety of the Latin American continent is in turmoil. A turmoil caused by the renewed offensive of the Latin American proletariat and peasantry against imperialism.

But this capitulation is closely linked to the struggle of American workers as well. At a time when the crisis of the Carter

government and the Democratic party is at its deepest point, a function of the mobilization of Latin and American workers, Hansen's theories neatly shore up the crumbling house of liberalism and Stalinism in the United States. Two currents which have been historically linked in channeling the struggles of the American working class back into the Democratic party.

In a recent interview in PENTHOUSE magazine (just the place for an "unconscious Trotskyist" to make his appearance) Castro offers some interesting theories of his own:

"I think that Nixon was a fraud, an individual without ethics of any kind. And I do not think the same of Carter. I believe he has ethics -- ethics based essentially upon his religious beliefs. He gives me the impression, from his statements, of being a sincere man ..."

All hail Carter's "sincerity" and the contributions of "unconscious Trotskyism!" Yes, indeed, Carter is far more sincere in his beliefs. Far more sincere in his attempts to organize a recession against the American working class. Far more sincere in his attacks on workers rights (even Nixon was unable to pass the notorious S-1 bill, but Carter has gotten it halfway through Congress). We are deeply indebted to Castro for pointing out the "sincerity" of Carter.

Earlier Castro says:

"We believe that the history of the world must be divided into two parts: before the nuclear age and after. It seems to me that whoever does not comprehend the reality

of this world is totally unfit for any political responsibility."

Evidently, Hansen would understand this reality well, since it originated as a Stalinist current within the Fourth International with the theories of Michel Pablo. Let us complete the scenario for the militants of the YSA. (1) That the world is divided up into two great camps, the workers camp represented by the countries ruled by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the capitalist camp represented by the imperialist nations. (2) Stalinism has a dual role ("unconscious Trotskyists") and can be reformed from within. (3) Therefore it is necessary to liquidate the sections of the Fourth International into the Stalinist parties.

In the "Nuclear age," which comes after the epoch of imperialism, it is impossible to defeat imperialism with all its nuclear power, and the only salvation for the world proletariat is "centuries" of Stalinism gradually going over to Socialism. And there you have the newest addition to Marxism, a theoretical scenario which was accepted by Hansen and the SWP when it broke from the Fourth International in 1963 and rejoined the Pabloite renegades it had denounced ten years before.

Militants of the YSA! Do not accept these theories as having anything to do with Trotskyism, unconscious or otherwise. The only cause for celebration is that twenty years after the Cuban revolution, the Fourth International still exists and fights against Stalinism and the centrist apologists for this greatest betrayal of the international proletariat. December 5, 1978 D.H.



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

FIDEL CASTRO,  
Tricontinental Congress,  
January 15, 1966.



"This is the source of Castro's consistency -- he subordinates all other interests to the interests of the world revolution."

JOSEPH HANSEN, "Fidel Castro and the Events in Czechoslovakia", 1968.

## KLEBANOV (Continued)

the fraud and the neglect of the common good." They went out to fight against "the corrosive rot of bureaucratism" in which the "whole country is buried," (address to the ILO); they declare, "preserving socialist property and opposing the crass violations of the rights of man is the sacred duty of every Soviet citizen," (collective statement of November 7, 1977). We do not share their illusions on the possibility of attaining these objectives through a reform of the apparatus of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is incapable of tolerating alongside it any independent organizations whatever of the working class; every experience of these movements shows this. That is why, even if its organizers are not yet conscious of it, the struggle of the Association for a Free Union in the USSR poses the problem of the political revolution and that of the conquest of the political independence of the working class as a means of its preparation. That is why it is absurd to demand that the bureaucracy agree to a "right to an independent union" for the Soviet workers, as absurd as speaking of other freedoms and

democratic rights in the countries dominated by the Kremlin bureaucracy without saying that these rights and freedoms can only be conquered and that their conquest is the same thing as the destruction of the power of the bureaucracy in order to install the power of the workers councils. In the course of the process of the conquest of these liberties and democratic rights, the objective of the working class in the sphere of trade unionism can only be the destruction of every apparatus of domination of the bureaucracy over the working class through the unions, their complete re-forging. The struggle of Klebanov and his comrades, and of those who have taken up their fight after their imprisonment, can succeed only in this framework. As Yuli Grimm said: "I am convinced that the ideas of Klebanov will not perish, that the Soviet unions are not fundamentally reformed and that they are not in a position to defend the workers."

In this struggle, it is indispensable that the Soviet workers find support in the working class and the youth of the capitalist countries. They will not find it among the Stalinist and reformist leaders. The Revolutionary Youth International has

contacted the leaderships of all the organizations (in particular, the Pabloite organizations and the OCI) to participate in the campaign for the liberation of Klebanov and his comrades. It hasn't done this in the hope of convincing their leaders of the necessity of this struggle, but to allow the militants of the different political and union organizations, and the unorganized youth, to undertake with the RYI a struggle for the clarification, in this sphere as in others, of the necessity of renewing the leadership of the workers movement; of building the new revolutionary leadership against the bureaucratic apparatuses tied to the defense of the bourgeois order. October 24, 1978  
Cyril Martin

## REPLY (Cont.)

American workers, and workers of the entire world to take up the defense of your comrades, and to support the struggle for independent unions in the Soviet Union. To transform these organizations of the working class into instruments of the Socialist Revolution is the task at

hand. To strengthen and deepen the independent mobilization of American and Soviet workers is the means to do it.

The Revolutionary Youth International, which fights at the side of the Fourth International, has already begun a central campaign around the DEFENSE OF KLEBANOV, and FOR UNIONS INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE. With this letter, the supporting section of the RYI in the United States, the Revolutionary Young Workers, launches this campaign in the American working class and the unions.

To your warning: "Don't deal with the union bosses. They represent the state. They do not represent the workers. Don't be fooled by their nice speeches. Don't believe them. They don't represent those in whose name they speak." I would add: "Don't deal with the Stalinist bureaucrats or their parties. They cannot be reformed. Don't believe that their words or their deeds are those of Lenin and his comrades. THEY DON'T REPRESENT THOSE IN WHOSE NAME THEY PRETEND TO SPEAK!"

## DAVID HEFFELFINGER

National Secretary,  
Revolutionary Young Workers/USA  
Member of the UAW, Detroit, USA

# STOP THE SLANDERS

## AGAINST MICHEL VARGA & THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Since all else has failed, the pseudo-Trotskyists, in particular the Socialist Workers Party leadership, have once again begun to call into question the revolutionary integrity of Michel Varga and other members of the Fourth International whom they call "Vargaites." Varga and the "Vargaites" are "dubious" even "provocateurs."

The slanderous gossip, insinuation, and outright lies against the Fourth International is the most extreme expression of the pseudo-Trotskyists' campaign to destroy the vanguard of the working class and its party, to force the masses of workers to submit to the counter-revolutionary attacks of imperialism and Stalinism.

They want to give the youth and workers the impression that the only party, the Fourth International, which appears before them fighting steadfastly in their interests, is rotten to the core! At best "dubious figures." At worst, spies and provocateurs.

Let's examine the evidence they offer, that we, the "Vargaites," are "dubious." The SWP leadership never comes out in the open with this. They push it behind closed doors. We hear it from the members.

We call ourselves the Fourth International. For the centrists, this is our most "suspicious" act. They're incapable of proving politically that we aren't, that their swamp of apologizers for Stalinism is. All they offer as proof is their size. So they insinuate that this is some sort of CIA plot and repeatedly inform us that we have no right to call ourselves the Fourth International, that their "United Secretariat" hasn't "recognized" us.

We orient toward the youth. The youth is itself, according to the pseudo-Trotskyists, irresponsible, prone to "violent" action, provocations.

We openly state and fight for our aim of organizing the violence of the masses to destroy the bourgeois and Stalinist states to build workers governments. Another "dubious," and provocative" aim.

We struggle politically without compromise, denounce policies and the people who carry them out. The pseudo-Trotskyists call THIS slander. They try to confuse our principled political struggle to expose them as political agents of Stalinism with their slanderous campaign against us as "dubious."

In short, what the centrists offer as evidence of our questionable nature are our Bolshevik, Leninist, and Trotskyist principles. This

is what they tell the workers is "dubious."

This slanderous campaign is a continuation of the one launched by the Lambert-Just leadership of the French OCI in June, 1973.

Michel Varga and his comrades from Morocco, Spain, France and Eastern Europe formed first an International Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee, then the International League/ Rebuilding the Fourth International. They refused to follow Lambert-Just in liquidating the International Committee, in forming the "Organizing Committee for Reconstruction of the FI," in supporting the Stalinist Union of the Left in France and the left-wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe.

The Lambert leadership finally responded to this with a lengthy internal bulletin mixing attacks on Varga's political positions with slander and a series of articles in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES titled "A Provocation in the Fourth International" of a similar character.

The Fourth International took the lead in forming a Commission of Inquiry against these slanders which published the results of its work in THE WHITE BOOK, THE WHITE BOOK shows with detailed documentation that for Lambert the so-called "provocation" in the Fourth International was the political struggle of Varga and his comrades for the Fourth International's policy. His slanderous campaign was aimed at destroying this struggle for the benefit of Stalinism. His sudden discovery of "questionable" things in Varga's past was politically motivated. He had collaborated with Varga for 10 years. Had known all about him.

Even the OCI leadership exposed this itself. In each article in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES it said in the next there would be irrefutable proof Varga was a CIA-GPU agent. It never appeared. They finally said the proof was in Varga's archives and offered xerox copies for a price.

On the basis of this slanderous campaign the OCI leadership set about to destroy the International League. They sent emissaries to Hungary to try to demoralize the militants of the section. They began to attack militants of the French Section when they appeared at the factories or in demonstrations with their press.

This murderous campaign, in the true tradition of and fully inspired by Stalinism, reached a high point when Lambert's goons nearly permanently disabled several militants of our French Section at meetings for the East European dissident, Plyusch. They sought at all costs to block contact between the Fourth In-

ternational and East Europeans breaking from Stalinism.

The Commission of Inquiry analyzed and documented all this. And while all the centrists said at the time that this Commission could not be "objective" because it was led by the Fourth International, NO ONE has tried to openly dispute THE WHITE BOOK, its testimony, analysis, or conclusions. We defy them to do it today.

It should now be apparent to the reader why the SWP, unlike any other organization, has NEVER publicly denounced the OCI leadership's slander campaign. It's counterpart in France, the LCR, once did.

The SWP was the first organization to break with the International Committee's struggle. It has sought for years to get the OCI to take the same course. So it welcomed the OCI's capitulation, its attempt to destroy the International League, the sections in France and Eastern Europe. The existence of the East European sections has always been a thorn in the SWP's side, an obstacle to its collaboration with the left wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The SWP stepped in at the

moment of the rebuilding of the Fourth International and they formed a "countercommission" with the Spartacist League, the LCR and Lutte Ouvriere which aimed to refute these conclusions and restrain the OCI whose violent attacks on the militants of the Fourth International had become an obstacle to centrist "reunification."

This countercommission concluded that the charges against Varga had not yet been proven, that the OCI must stop attacking the "Vargaites." Thus the centrists decided to put this garbage in cold-storage for awhile because it stank too much. They're bringing it out again today, a new, deodorized version, because they have no choice.

All workers and honest militants have a responsibility to combat this slanderous campaign, to expose its political character, its origins in the original Stalinist slanders of the Fourth International and in the OCI's campaign.

This is not simply bad methods, or one question among others.

It's a campaign to demobilize the workers and destroy their International. It must be defeated. December 6, 1978

### LOOK WHO'S TALKING

The November 20, 1978 issue of the SWP's INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS has published excerpts from a tape recording of a speech by James Robertson, leader of the American Spartacist League.

The speech reveals Robertson as a true phillistine, making racist and chauvinistic remarks such as calling Albania a "nation of goat-fuckers", accusing Greek workers of "selling their children and expensive wristwatches to each other," and saying that blacks in the US ghettos made the mistake of burning them down and are now "still waiting for some Jews to come back and open their drugstores."

The Spartacist League has confirmed the veracity of the tape recording, recently writing an incredible article trying to justify these remarks, in the process dragging Marx into the slime with them (Marx was a racist and chauvinist too, according to them.)

That none of this was a momentary lapse can be confirmed by reading the lead article in WORKERS VANGUARD #220. It is nothing more nor less than the ravings of a lunatic, a piece of clinical psychopathology which has this to say about the American working class and its soldiers who fought in Vietnam:

"In America it is the psychology of the cop, not the soldier which is pervasive. When the US troops in Vietnam discovered they weren't going to be dishing it out, but might

actually get hurt, they fell apart. This characteristic contemporary American pig mentality..."

No comment, except to say that a straight-jacket would be too good a punishment for this "Spartacist."

It is THESE PEOPLE, these "Spartacists" who have dared sit in judgment of our comrade, Michel Varga, one of the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and call him a "highly dubious figure."

It would be funny if real people and lives weren't at stake.

But there is something even funnier. The SWP, which is so eager to publish the "dirt" on the Spartacist League sat down TOGETHER and worked for over a year and a half in a Commission INITIATED by these racists, chauvinists and lunatics PRECISELY to "investigate" Michel Varga.

Joe Hansen— if you want to publish "dirt" why don't you publish the minutes of the secret, closed-door meetings you held with these lunatics for a year and a half?

Racists and chauvinists are bad. But what do you call those who are willing to work with racists and chauvinists whenever it suits their purposes? And what do you call those who let racists and chauvinists do their dirty work for them?

J.C.  
December 5, 1978

DETROIT:

# STOP POLICE OCCUPATION OF HIGH SCHOOLS!



By BARBARA PUTNAM

Detroit -- Mayor Coleman Young's police in working class high schools and neighborhoods are like occupying troops of a foreign army. In reality, this IS the case. The police are the army of the Democratic Party in power, the party of the wealthy who run this country and fear above all the youth who are not buying their lies, not accepting a life of servitude.

Western High School, on the Southwest Side! Intolerable police harassment grows daily; without organized opposition. Two weeks before Thanksgiving a 14-year-old girl was brutally forced into a police van, much as dog-catchers pick up unwanted animals to take to the pound. The charge? "Truancy." But she had

merely been returning home for her ID badge. The prisoner identification ALL students must wear in the prison high schools. If they forget or lose this ID badge they are issued "tickets" by the teachers and Administration who work hand in hand with police.

These "tickets" are issued by the school for the slightest thing. If a student gets too many tickets, as Glen Davis did, a black student -- you are sentenced to a term in another school, transferred with no right to appeal. In the last couple of weeks, the police attacks have escalated. Now police officers arrest students who are out at lunch time. These kind of tickets are regular police citations and carry a court date.

From the store owner who hangs

a sign on his door: "No more than two students at a time," to the cop who gives the ticket and says, "I'm only doing my job" -- to the teacher who resorts to police methods to keep students in line -- to the Administration who welcome the police occupation -- even parents who punish their sons and daughters GETTING TICKETS -- to the reactionaries who run this country and command the police -- IT'S A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE YOUTH.

There are many students who are WILLING to fight, who are looking for the means to drive the police out of their school and win their rights. They hate the police but have not yet seen the necessity to turn this active hatred into a conscious political struggle against the police occupation. There are students on the other hand who are saying the police are too powerful to fight, that the social system can't be changed, that if we fight it will mean more repression. They have not yet understood a fundamental law of the class struggle. The more conscious and prepared we are the less they are able to repress us -- the more we direct a political campaign against them, the more we call into question their right to force us to accept a decadent social system that has no answers for the youth.

Some students believe that when the working class is driven completely up against the wall, they will come out fighting and win. Some think it is enough to talk to militants of the Trotskyist Organization in front of the school but do nothing further to organize the other students. Some buy TRUTH but are not taking the time to read it thoroughly so it can be discussed in an effective way.

By making a proposal for action, we have begun to make a differentiation among the youth and are beginning to PROVE that only their participation in building a permanent leadership among the youth, only their political comprehension of the tasks of the youth and their place in this struggle can insure victory.

We made a proposal to form a circle of Revolutionary Young Workers and begin a mobilization to bring back Glen Davis and to struggle for a NO ID DAY -- a day organized where nobody would wear the ID badge to school, this badge being the most glaring sign of servitude to the class enemy. This proposal provoked a controversy. One student did not think it was a very good idea because

it would mean everybody would be given "tickets."

But there are 2,000 students. Imagine the difficulty of the Administration in giving "tickets" to all these people! It would be absurd. These "tickets" are given to students individually to keep them individually terrified. If the whole student body resisted -- how could this practice continue?

What if this mobilization spread to other high schools? What if it deepened and began to draw ALL the youth into active combat against the terrorism of the state who commands the police against them? Police repression cannot exist without our submission to it.

In preparing such a struggle we will see who is on our side, who has to be won to our side and who is AGAINST us. This is the way to develop a leadership among the youth. This is the purpose of the Revolutionary Young Workers -- to train and educate the youth as LEADERS OF THEIR CLASS, to rebuild the political combat party of the American working class -- North and South.

This sort of struggle will clear up any confusion about WHY the police occupy the high schools. They are there as the arm of repression of the ruling class; there to turn the youth into passive slaves who will accept the attacks of the Congress and the employers -- to accept the laws being passed by the newly elected Congress which wants to lower the minimum wage for teenagers. These disgusting alcoholics who repealed the drinking age for the youth back to 21, not out of concern for the alarming rise of alcoholism among the youth but out of spite and revenge and a desire to control and frustrate the youth. To drive home the point that youth are nothing but animals who need to be penned up in prison schools, to be prepared for prison jobs or a life of unemployment and then sentenced to living death by a society that has no place for them.

The youth must make their own place. Their place is to lead their class to victory against the rotting social order that terrorizes them, that enslaves their spirit, their minds, and their ability to work.

We propose that the leaders among the youth meet with us and discuss how to go about setting up a circle of Revolutionary Young Workers -- the Trotskyist Organization is here to lead your struggle and to train you how to fight. STOP POLICE OCCUPATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOLS! NO TICKETS! NO TRANSFERS! December 6, 1978

# GM Fleetwood: FRASER SETTLES BUT WORKERS HAVEN'T

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Once again the workers have demonstrated determination to create working conditions with which they can live. And once again the UAW leadership has demonstrated determination to sabotage this struggle.

During the height of auto production, workers voted to strike against GM Fleetwood's production standards. Capitalist GM has made work loads so high it's become nearly impossible for workers to educate and enjoy themselves when they're off, to do anything but sleep.

First Fraser vetoed this strike and sent a team to Fleetwood to "investigate" and "negotiate." Then he threatened to strike the day after the Thanksgiving holiday -- a move which could be at best a bluff or at worst a gift to GM, a strike without pay during a time when workers were to be on a paid holiday.

Now Fraser's announced a "settlement." The terms are secret. We spoke to many workers outside Fleetwood last week. Not one had been able to find out what the settle-

ment was. We called the national and local UAW leaderships. They wouldn't say. Finally a reporter for a local paper told us the terms would be reported to the workers department by department and the workers were to get a chance to vote on them -- department by department.

How to continue this struggle? How to overcome the UAW bureaucracy and its sabotage? How to win?

No. 1 -- Workers must fight for a plant-wide union meeting in which to reject this "settlement," set production standards themselves, and elect a committee of trusted workers to lead a fight against GM, including the organization of strike action and relations with workers in other plants, until GM accepts the workers standards.

Walking out without clear demands, strategy, and trusted leadership would bring momentary satisfaction, but wouldn't bring victory. Fraser and Co. would be able to disorganize the struggle.

Finally, trying to reason with Fraser or other UAW bureau-

crats, sending him back to negotiate with GM, even with the most precise instructions, is, at best, a waste of time. If, after everything he's done, there are some who still think he's working for the workers, not GM and the capitalist politicians, then the more clear-sighted workers must try to convince them otherwise.

Workers are worth reasoning with. Bureaucrats like Fraser are not.

Workers must demand that every union representative take a stand on these questions. If he opposes the workers he must be replaced.

No. 2 -- Workers must fight for the union to take the offensive against the capitalist Carter government's recent attacks on the working class, the recession it is organizing, against all productivity drives, layoffs, for the recall of all laid-off workers, including the workers fired at Fleetwood two years ago, for constant wage increases comparable to price increases, for workers control of industry.

By taking the offensive against this recession, Fleetwood workers can unite all GM

and other auto workers against GM and the rest of the capitalists and their representatives. They can begin to transform the UAW into an instrument of revolutionary workers political struggle against the capitalists' politics, drive the capitalists' political supporters out of the union, beginning with Doug Fraser; transform it into a real workers union.

Fleetwood workers must begin to form a slate of delegates committed to this struggle for the UAW Production Workers' Council coming up in March and encourage workers at other plants to do the same. Isolated and without a union, Fleetwood workers can never win. United with workers throughout GM and in control of their union, they're indestructible.

This is the way to prepare for the battle with the Big Three when the contract runs out next September. While perhaps only the youngest and most militant workers will be for this political struggle in the beginning, their fight will convince the rest.

December 5, 1978

## DOWN WITH CAMP DAVID! LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION!

The Camp David talks and agreements between Israel and Egypt, under the direct supervision of American imperialism, constitute the latest attempt to "regulate" the situation in the Middle East. This means that they were above all destined to organize the practical conditions for the final liquidation of the Palestinian Revolution. Because without this liquidation imperialist peace is impossible in the Middle East. First in Jordan in 1970, then in Lebanon in 1977-- the physical extermination of the Palestinian fighters has each time only been a step towards the "normalization" of the situation in the Middle East. The Camp David "agreements" have no other meaning: unite the efforts of the reactionary regimes of the Arab countries with those of the theocratic-military state of Israel in order to prevent any revolutionary overturn in the region, beginning with Israel and Egypt. For this reason the armed Palestinian fighters represent a real danger for the imperialist status quo, above all because large radical factions of the

Palestinian Resistance are rejecting their capitulationist leaderships and are not very accessible to an "agreement" placed on their backs.

Without directly participating in the negotiations, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and the different states in the Middle East are integral parts of this attack on the working masses. It is weapons from Moscow which are used by Syria to play its role as policeman: if today the entire "Western community" is crying out about genocide when the Syrian army is bombing the "Christian" fascist militias in Lebanon, none of these defenders of "human rights" raised a voice yesterday when the same fascist militias aided the same Syrian army in exterminating the Palestine refugee camps of Tel Zaatar and La Quarantaine. It is the ultra-reactionary regimes of Saudia Arabia, Kuwait and the Arab Emirates who finance the Arab Dissuasion Force whose principle component is, of course, the Syrian Army. Finally, it is the soldiers of French imperialism who are the axis of

the United Nations forces in Lebanon whose principle task seems to be that of protecting the fascist militias controlling Southern Lebanon and living in perfect harmony with the Zionist army.

They are all in agreement about safeguarding their "peaceful coexistence." Imperialism and Stalinism have placed pressure on all the states in the region for a compromise "acceptable" to everyone, but which demands certain reciprocal concessions. The economic and political interests of imperialism and Stalinism in the Middle East are such that they necessitate keeping in line all the working masses who perpetually place into question their domination, whether it be in Egypt, Jordan or in Israel itself. The reactionary and bourgeois regimes of the Arab countries are ready to recognize and cooperate with Israel, a phantom state set up by imperialism and Stalinism. For this to happen two conditions must be fulfilled: the physical extermination of the Palestine

Resistance and keeping the workers and peasants in every country in line. But these two conditions cannot be realized because this would necessitate from imperialism and Stalinism a task beyond their means: a global and decisive confrontation with the international proletariat in a pre-revolutionary mobilization.

This is why workers, youth, it is necessary to give your SUPPORT TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE FOR THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION. It is necessary to demand:

**THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ZIONIST TROOPS FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORY!**

**THE DISARMING OF THE FASCIST MILITIAS IN LEBANON!**

It is necessary to struggle for:

**THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF JEWISH AND ARAB WORKERS AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM!**

**THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST!**

## DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# JONESTOWN

By ANN NELSON

Three weeks ago over 900 people, mostly black Americans, died by murder and suicide in Jonestown, Guyana. The bourgeois newspapers have been "stunned" and "shocked." The centrist and Stalinist newspapers have been defensive. Both of these responses hide who is guilty of this crime and therefore prevent their punishment.

It is too general to say that capitalism is responsible, as some of the "left" newspapers say. It is THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY which is responsible and which must be forced to pay of the crime.

Jim Jones had the Democratic Party's seal of approval. It is this approval which is largely responsible for the fact that anyone would follow him. Jones' group had a large enough following in California to make it worthwhile for the Democratic Party to become involved with him. His following, which was largely black, also added to the prestige of the Democratic Party which likes to masquerade as the party of "labor" and the "oppressed." Jones was therefore made Executive Director of the Human Rights Commission in Indianapolis and was later appointed to the Chairmanship of the San Francisco Housing Authority. More, he was given written references from Vice-President Mondale and Carter's wife.

The victims of Jonestown committed no crimes. They were poor, some were ex-prisoners and drug addicts. These black American workers and unemployed are the prime TARGETS of the Democratic Party. Black workers are by far the most militant opposition to this oppressive system.

The Democratic Party has therefore taken the greatest pains to make sure that the black working class does not get out of hand. The means to do this are above all political and is accomplished by appointing leaders who are close to the working class but are willing to sell their followers down the drain.

Black preachers and ministers play an important role in redirecting the hatred of their congregations for oppression away from the government. In Detroit in the late 60's and early 70's, it was the black churches that were largely responsible for suppressing the revolutionary movement of black auto workers (DRUM, ELRUM etc.) by redirecting it into the "new Detroit" campaign which has meant nothing but prosperity for Ford, GM and

Chrysler.

It is not enough for the Democratic Party that black workers suffer from police repression, unemployment and therefore high prices more than any other sector of the American working class. The government also pumps the black neighborhoods full of drugs and religion.

Many black workers go to church to satisfy their spiritual and intellectual needs. This is necessary because this country has always limited the means for the working class, particularly the black working class, to express itself culturally. This is even more true today when the government in forcing the elimination of sports, art and other extracurricular activities from the schools.

But religion does not represent an uplifting of culture for the preachers and the government. They use religion and the church in order to preach a POLITICAL policy. Non-violence, the necessity of being "good" within the framework of capitalism and pie-in-the-sky-when-you-die is their message. In fact, preachers have a reputation among blacks for being one of the least moral elements of society.

And because of the degeneration of culture in this country, religion as an "opiate of the masses" is playing a more important role. It is not an accident that the President is a Baptist preacher.

The Democratic Party couldn't care less about the strivings of Jones' followers for a better life. What they did care about was the votes Jones was able to deliver, and the numbers who attended Carter's inauguration. One politician in San Francisco said that Jones was able to turn out more numbers for demonstrations and meetings than anyone else.

We accuse the Democratic Party of having full responsibility for the deaths in Guyana, and we refuse participation in its morbid, hypocritical disbelief.

The Democratic Party will punish a few scapegoats for the deaths in Guyana, but Carter and his base of liberal preachers and government bureaucrats are the real murderers.

The newspapers and the government are trying to identify what happened in Guyana with socialism. Even more, they are trying to identify Jones with Lenin. The DETROIT FREE PRESS quotes

Jones saying "I want to die with a bullet in me just like Lenin." A CBS "news" special called Jones a "mixture of Manson and Lenin."

The WALL STREET JOURNAL which represents the "enlightened" bourgeoisie gave their true perspective in an editorial: "We need to keep militarily strong to insure that the new era was not born with Vladimir Lenin." (WSJ, 11/30/78, "Reflections After Jonestown").

The WALL STREET JOURNAL recognizes that capitalism is dying. They recognize that the government's problem is precisely Leninism and those who look to Lenin.

This attack on Leninism is not an American phenomenon. The bourgeoisie has advanced the lie in Europe that any action on the part of the working class in its defense is "terrorism." This attack has been reinforced by the Stalinist "Euro-Communists" and supported by the centrists. They have dropped the name of Lenin in order to justify their attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have in fact taken it upon themselves to denounce militant workers in the factories as "terrorists".

Why this orchestrated attack? Because the solution to the terrorism of the bourgeois state is the dictatorship of the working class as was first carried out by Lenin.

This is what the WALL STREET JOURNAL knows and is afraid of. This is why they preach military strengthening and more government controls.

The bourgeoisie says that Jonestown is "unexplainable" because it wants to hide the class nature of the deaths. They want to hide that the solution to the attack on the working class is above all for it to have its own leadership, a revolutionary leadership which is opposed to the terrorism of the state and which takes no responsibility for its crisis.

The Socialist Workers Party which claims our banner of Trotskyism is supporting this attack on revolutionary leadership. In an article in THE MILITANT (12/8/78, "The Tragedy of Jonestown a Socialist Analysis") the SWP says "...Marxism, which seeks human liberation, not adulation of a leader." and "The program of Marxism is not to 'follow the leader', but to inspire the masses of workers and other exploited people to take their destiny into their own hands."

While it is true that Marxism

does not seek "adulation" of a leader, it does call on workers to become leaders, and more, revolutionary leadership is the key to ending the rule of the Democratic Party. (The SWP not accidentally does not mention Lenin, or Leninism in their article hoping that "Marxism" will be more acceptable).

Jones' problem was not that he was a leader, but that he was simply a more insane variant of a leader of the Democratic Party. The SWP's attack on leadership is consistent with its attack on Leninism in favor of Jimmy Carter's idea of "democracy."

It is not leadership, but in defense of which class that is the question to ask regarding Jonestown. The SWP can't answer this question because it is seeped in the same bourgeois politicians and preachers of the Democratic Party which gave the support to Jones. Therefore the SWP is forced to be very general about responsibility, "It is neither an exaggeration nor an oversimplification to say that capitalism is responsible for what happened in Guyana...").

The program of Leninism and the Fourth International is a program for the seizure of power from a group of capitalists which intends to drag the American and world working class down with it. Our program is one which takes no responsibility for the unemployment and high prices but does take responsibility for leading a fight to end them.

The pseudo-revolutionaries of the Socialist Workers Party would rather revise Lenin and apologize for "Marxism." Jonestown proves that indeed this era did begin with Lenin and the necessity to end the rule of the bourgeoisie. Who does the SWP think this era began with? Lenin or Martin Luther King?

We are ruled by a system today in which we can't even hear an echo of justice. The only solution is capitalist barbarism or socialism. Barbarism will not come all at once, but event by event. The barbarians are the preachers, prophets and liberals of the Democratic Party. The working class and black workers have no responsibility for this system. The bourgeoisie wants to pull down everything healthy and living, which is the working class, with it. The only solution is a conscious political fight against them and to RETURN TO LENIN! Punish those responsible for this crime! December 6, 1978