

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## DOWN WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY!

# DEFEND THE CITIES!

On January 4th Carter's chief domestic policy advisor, Stuart Eizenstat, declared that "new realities" were forcing the Democratic Party to "reshape" its "historic mission of helping the poor, the unemployed, minority groups and the disinherited."

The truth is that the Democratic Party has taken a new turn in the fulfillment of its REAL "historic mission"--attacking and attempting to crush the working class and the oppressed.

US imperialism is in crisis. Here and around the world. To survive it must attack all the gains of the working class.

The Democratic Party has the job of shoving this "reality" down the throats of the working class--making them accept unemployment, inflation and social decay as the new "American way of life."

Nowhere is this attack more evident than in the major cities, the home of the industrial proletariat. It is here that the government plans to put through its \$20 billion cut in social services.

Cuts to be administered by the Democratic Party governments in control of the cities--New York, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, etc.

It is the Democratic Party mayor of Cleveland who declared bankruptcy and turned the city over to the banks. It is a black Democratic Party mayor of Newark who has told workers to "bite the bullet."

The most immediate enemy of every worker in Newark, in Cleveland, in New York, in Detroit is this Democratic Party and ALL their lackeys. The enemy of every black worker is especially these black mayors who, behind all their rhetoric, are simply loyal servants of this racist state.

The enemy is also all those who try to prevent the workers from drawing these conclusions, who come to the aid of the Democratic

Party and these mayors who are more and more hated by every worker and youth.

Like the labor bureaucrats. Who first responded to the outrage of workers against the layoffs in Newark by calling for a "general work stoppage" to the cheers of thousands of workers. But who never had any intention of carrying out this general strike.

Instead the bureaucrats in Newark are organizing a petition drive to recall the mayor. To get ANOTHER Democrat elected. But above all to prevent any workers movement towards a real general strike that would throw the Democratic Party machine out of office.

Even more dangerous enemies are the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who responded to the recall campaign by DEFENDING Mayor Gibson, labelling the recall movement "divisive" (DAILY WORLD, January 6, 1979).

Why? Because this mayor is "black." And because of the color of his skin, which has meant NOTHING for any black worker in Newark, "individuals should respond to the call of Mayor Gibson (to 'work together'--TRUTH) and offer him assistance in the convening of a public hearing or peoples' conference."

They call any attempt to throw out "Black elected and appointed officials" (Democrats) "racist."

But real racism is keeping the Democratic Party and its government alive.

And the CP's defense of the Democratic Party is treachery, pure and simple. Above all a betrayal of the black masses.

Workers--your enemies are also those who tell you that the problem is just mistaken

"priorities." That this misery and decay of your cities is all just a bad "mistake." If only the government could be convinced to spend your money on "butter"

instead of "guns" all your problems would be solved!

The champions of this lie are the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP who declared in their paper on December 6th: "There is plenty of wealth in this country to provide higher wages, jobs for all, free medical care... IF this fantastic squandering of society's resources (military spending) is ended."

As if the problem with capitalism is simply shifting its "priorities." Just another way of saying what the CP says--elect Democrats who understand the right "priorities," then all will be OK.

But the problem is this system which cannot be reformed. Anything else is a lie.

The fight to defend the black working class has nothing to do with the defense of the black lackeys of capitalism. Nor is it to spread the lie that the

"priorities" of imperialism can be changed.

It is a fight to take control of this society in the interests of the workers and oppressed. It is a fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT.

How can workers in the cities fight for this government today?

By driving all the trade union bureaucrats who support the Democratic Party out of the unions. By breaking the unions from any support to this capitalist state and the Democratic Party.

In this fight to transform the unions into weapons of the working class workers must elect city-wide committees of delegates from the factories, schools, unions and unemployed which will meet and prepare a real GENERAL STRIKE to drive the Democratic Party and its lackeys out of the government and to save the cities by taking power in the name of the working class.

By building your own party of class independence, a WORKERS PARTY, which can only be the US Section of the Fourth International.

This is the way forward for workers and youth in New York, in Cleveland, Newark, Detroit and elsewhere who want to stop this attack and take their future into their own hands.

Which is first of all a fight against the Democratic Party and all those who support it.

January 11, 1979 **TRUTH**

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# International Day of Action-- January 26th For Unions of Class Independence in the USSR and Eastern Europe

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The movement for unions independent of the Kremlin state and its bureaucratic apparatus is the most important opposition to develop in the Soviet Union since the end of WWII. The Revolutionary Young Workers USA will hold a teach-in at Wayne State University (see ad on this page) to organize students and workers in the United States in the fight for unions of class independence in the Soviet Union.

Already, the three attempts at the formation of workers unions independent of the Stalinist state-controlled "unions" have met with fierce repression from the KGB (Stalinist secret police). Vladimir Klebanov, one of the first leaders of the independent union movement in the USSR has not been heard of since his arrest and seizure by the KGB on February 7, 1978. Following Klebanov, Yuli Grimm and Vladimir Borisov have led two further attempts to form unions of class independence.

The movement for independent unions signals a new direction for the "dissident" movement in the Soviet Union. In an interview early after the arrest of Klebanov last year, one of the members of the new union, Varvara I. Kucherenko, labeled the dissidents who rely on help from Carter and his phony human rights campaign, such as Andrei Sakharov, as "swindlers."

This new movement of Soviet workers, by the very fact that it has counterposed itself to the "dissidents," already represents an attempted break with both American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR. A break which can only develop as a revolutionary confrontation with the terrorist state of not only the Kremlin bureaucracy but of Jimmy Carter and the Democratic party as well.

In breaking with the "dissidents" who rely on the liberal bourgeoisie for support, the movement for independent unions also renews links with the workers in the United States. American youth, in particular, have rightfully come to hate the official union apparatus so much that masses of them reject the unions entirely. And certainly Jimmy Carter has proved to be a devout enemy of the working class, so that his appeals for "human rights," which form the basis of the "dissident"

movement in the Soviet Union, fall on deaf ears in the American working class.

The fact that the official union movement in the United States has taken its distance from the new Soviet workers struggle should expose well enough the lying hypocrisy of George Meany and Doug Fraser who always point to the horrors of the USSR as an excuse for crushing the struggle of American workers for unions independent of the imperialist state. The truth is that Fraser and Meany are as much up to their necks in collaborating with imperialism against the working class as the Stalinist gangsters are.

The fear of the official union apparatus in the United States of the movement for unions of class independence in the Soviet Union flows from the fact that the Soviet and American workers are allies in the fight to defeat the bureaucratic gangsters in the workers movement and the lying Democratic Party that the Frasers, Meanys and Brezhnevs support.

For American youth, the struggle for unions of class independence in the USSR goes far beyond merely a "trade union" question. Rather it poses the unity of the struggle against imperialism and Stalinism. In this way it also poses the fundamental question of the Socialist Revolution -- that of CLASS INDEPENDENCE. Thus the fight to defend Klebanov and his comrades in the Soviet Union is a weapon as well against the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party in the United States.

We call on all workers, youth, students, to join us in an INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION called by the Revolutionary Youth International for January 26th (the anniversary of the foundation of Klebanov's union). Use this day to centralize all of our initiatives in this fight -- resolutions of support from trade unions, individual workers, support from other working class organizations and youth organizations. Come to the teach-in organized by the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA in Detroit. FREE KLEBANOV AND HIS COMRADES!

FOR UNIONS OF CLASS INDEPENDENCE IN THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES!  
January 9, 1979

# TRUTH

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PITTSBURGH.....	94
TOTAL .....	177

## January 26, 1979 —

### FREE KLEBANOV!

### Independent Trade Unions in the USSR!

# TEACH-IN

Sponsored by the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA

DETROIT: Wayne State U. Student Center 8:00 PM. \$1 donation

# ORGANIZE THE BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY!

By JON COHEN

What is the political perspective in front of the American working class today?

Any worker who looks around at the situation in the world today and tries to draw conclusions for the struggle in the United States must be asking this question.

But there is a problem. The problem is that today in the United States there is an unholy alliance of EVERYONE who in one way or another represents the old order; from the capitalists to their government, to the Democratic Party and its agents in the workers movement, to those who call themselves "communists" or "socialists" and even "Trotskyists": trying to prevent the American working class from drawing these conclusions, from developing its political perspective.

Everyone talks about the events taking place in the rest of the world as if they were totally disconnected from the class struggle in the United States and the concerns of the American working class. You can spend days reading articles in the bourgeois press and the newspapers of so-called "communists" and "Trotskyists" about the situation in Iran, in Cambodia, China, Latin America, etc. without finding ONE WORD about the meaning of all these events for the American working class, much less about how the American workers can link up their struggles with those around the world.

Because this political perspective can only be a REVOLUTIONARY one. And it is only the Fourth International and its party in the US, the Trotskyist/Organization/USA, which is telling this truth to the American working class.

Everyone who represents this old order of capitalism and Stalinism wants to hide from the American working class the fact that the crisis of US imperialism throughout the world, its evident inability to contain the mobilizations of the workers and oppressed, is a crisis of its rule AT HOME as well and that the political perspective for the American working class is the same as that of the workers and oppressed throughout the world -- the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism.

Thus, not only do they try to hide from the American workers the link between their struggles and those of the workers and youth throughout the world, but they above all try to hide the real nature of the crisis of US imperialism at home.

IT IS A CRISIS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. The crisis of US imperialism is not just a crisis in general, but above all a crisis of its apparatuses inside the workers movement and the inability of these apparatuses to contain the workers movement in the service of imperialism.

Throughout the world this is expressed in the crisis of the Stalinist apparatus. The "turn" of the Chinese bureaucracy towards open collaboration with imperialism. The "Euro-Communist" faction which openly defends capitalism. And the latest war between Vietnam and Cambodia which is nothing more than a more brutal expression of this crisis.

In the United States this crisis is expressed by the crisis of the Democratic Party; the party of the American bourgeoisie specifically charged with controlling the mobilization of the American working class. It is the party supported by the trade union bureaucrats who are the agents of the American bourgeoisie inside the workers movement. It is the party supported by the international Stalinist apparatus.

This crisis is caused by the mobilization and revolt of the American working class. In all the struggles of the working class in the United States this rebellion against the Democratic Party and its lackeys in the workers movement is evident. It was evident in the miners strike last year when 160,000 miners defied Carter's back-to-work order. It was evident in the 1978 Congressional elections when 65% of the population refused to participate in the electoral farce.

It is evident in the lack of confidence and distrust on the part of especially the most militant sections of the working class and the youth for all the traditional leaders of the working class -- the Democratic Party politicians, including their "black" variant, the so-called liberals, and the trade union bureaucrats.

Given the political situation in the world today this process of rupture with the Democratic Party by the American working class can become explosive, can fundamentally transform the political situation in the US and throughout the world. For us, the organization of this break with the Democratic Party is the condition for the preparation of American revolution.

But this break with the Democratic Party on the part of the working class and especially the youth is not yet positive. No

one should be under the illusion that the US bourgeoisie is sitting back and watching the Democratic Party fall apart in front of its eyes without doing anything about it.

On all levels the bourgeoisie is engaged in an attempt to prevent the independent organization of the working class and to attack all of its gains. Above all the bourgeoisie is trying to demoralize the working class, to try to prevent it from becoming conscious of the situation in front of it and conscious of its ability to transform the situation in a revolutionary direction.

Thus, the threat of a recession which the bourgeoisie is organizing and hanging over the heads of workers in an attempt to control the strike wave taking place. The decay and threats of barbarism in the cities designed above all to demoralize the black working class and keep it tied to the Democratic Party.

The break with the Democratic Party on the part of the working class and youth is not yet positive because in the face of this attack the workers and youth do not necessarily draw positive conclusions for how to go forward. Many youth see the crisis of the Democratic Party and reject politics altogether. Many workers see the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy and reject any struggle at all in the unions, give up the unions as worthless. Or see their struggles against the Democratic Party and the bureaucrats as a series of small skirmishes, with no hope for a total victory.

Or turn to the drugs, religion and individual escapism peddled every day by the bourgeoisie and its agents.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA says that this break with the Democratic Party can only be positive if it is ORGANIZED, if it has a LEADERSHIP. A leadership that must be organized against all those who are coming to the aid of the Democratic Party or who are trying to hide its crisis. A leadership that must be organized against all the attempts to develop this campaign of demoralization of the working class, this campaign of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to attack the consciousness of the working class.

A leadership that must be organized against all those, like the Doug Frasers or Coleman Youngs who openly say that the only alternative is the reform of this rotten, imperialist Democratic Party of unemployment, repression

and war. Against all those, like the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, or Fidel Castro, who propose that American workers should support the totally bankrupt and impotent "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party.

And finally, against all those who call themselves "Trotskyists", who say that they are "independent" from the Democratic Party, like the US Socialist Workers Party, but who offer the American working class no alternative. NOTHING.

They claim to be for a "labor party" but when Doug Fraser (head of the UAW) discovers the "class war" they reprint his call for a meeting to reform the Democratic Party in their paper. They claim to be for "class independence" but when a bourgeois politician is assassinated in San Francisco they join in the mourning of his death. And they claim to be "Marxists" yet join in the "Christian-Marxist" dialogue in this country.

They are frauds. Because above all they have no perspective, nothing to offer the American working class that is in any way independent from the various maneuvers of the left wing of the Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is organizing a combat against this unholy alliance of Democrats, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists who are trying to hide the immediate political perspective that is in front of the American working class. Who are trying to hide the fact that the struggle of the American working class is part and parcel of the immediate perspective of the world revolution, a perspective based on the necessity for the American working class to organize the break with the Democratic Party and renew the leadership of the workers movement in a combat against Stalinism and the fraud of the pseudo-Trotskyists.

A combat in the factories to build the WORKERS PARTY USA, the party of class independence in the US, as the American Section of the Fourth International.

This is the political perspective for American workers in their fight to break the national isolation imposed by imperialism and join the struggles of the workers and oppressed throughout the world. A perspective that requires the construction of its leadership, that requires the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International.

January 9, 1979

# YSA CONVENTION IN PITTSBURGH: A CONSCIOUS DISASTER

"The movement is revitalized by the youth who are free of responsibility for the past. The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future."

(THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

"We are concerned about the youth... from your ranks will come leaders who will shape the future... We feel confident that the YSA will help us in our problems."

(Excerpts from greetings read to YSA Convention from Benjamin Hooks, National Executive Director of the NAACP).

Can this be true? Is the phrase, "the future belongs to the youth" such an abstraction that this crucial passage from the Program of the Fourth International can co-exist side by side with a quotation from a petty bourgeois betrayer of the black masses like Benjamin Hooks? Do Trotsky and Benjamin Hooks have anything in common, even regarding the importance of the youth?

No. The only thing they have in common is that these greetings were read during a convention of youth who claim they have something to do with the Fourth International.

A convention in which you would have been hard-pressed to have ever heard "the Fourth International" mentioned, much less its revolutionary program. But a convention which gave the "greetings" of this petty bourgeois a prolonged and loud applause.

We're not just trying to score some debating points. The fact is that the belief that "the youth represent the future" is not a banality. The truth is that the Fourth International gives the youth a central place in its program because ONLY the Fourth International fights for the future of the youth, ONLY the Fourth International can guarantee a future and ONLY the Fourth International is constructed through the youth.

Not only is Benjamin Hooks lying, he is fundamentally opposed to this struggle. And the appearance of his "greetings" at the YSA convention is just a small expression of the fact that this organization not only has nothing to do with the Fourth International but, like Benjamin Hooks, has nothing to do with the future of the youth.

The YSA itself has no future. In the last several years the leadership of the SWP, which dominates it organizationally and politically, has organized its

progressive liquidation. For an organization which once numbered over a thousand militants, the SWP leadership was barely able to unite some 300 militants for this YSA convention in Pittsburgh -- of which BARELY 25% of the participants were members of the YSA alone.

And "unite" is too strong a word to describe the assemblage gathered together by the SWP to preserve the facade of the YSA. Throughout the convention the meeting-room was rarely more than half-full, militants of the SWP and YSA could be found throughout the sessions wandering around in various states of disarray in the hotel where they were staying.

It was evident that even the most "dedicated" could barely swallow the charade of a "discussion" going on inside. Knowing full well that the policy of the YSA was determined somewhere else and that the policy given to the YSA by the SWP leadership, "anti-apartheid," "nuclear power," and "women's liberation", was too dull to even discuss.

One hour was allotted for discussion on the Political Report which reviewed the year's activities!

And while there was no real opposition at the convention itself, an "opposition" expressed itself on the walls of the hotel elevators: "Anarchy!" and "LSD not YSA", read their slogans.

This disarray is not due to the incompetence of the SWP leadership. Nor do we think that there is something positive, in and of itself, about this obvious crisis.

This disarray is organized and conscious. Because to a certain extent the SWP understands the Program of the Fourth International as well as we do-- and understands the total contradiction between its policy and the combat of the youth.

ANY kind of independent youth organization is in contradiction to their "turn" towards the trade union bureaucracy. ANY kind of youth organization that is more than a facade is in contradiction to their alliance with Castro, with the "anti-terrorist" campaign of the "Euro-Communists." In contradiction with the NAACP, NOW, the Christian-Marxist "dialogue."

Several years ago the SWP began isolating the YSA from any contact with working class youth in the factories, turning it into a purely student organization. But even that was not enough. Because EVEN the most petty bourgeois students, organized on the basis of the most minimal "single" issue campaigns, can begin to think, to believe that they are revolutionaries and that the SWP and YSA are not.

And not just the YSA. At ALL COSTS, in order for the SWP leadership to carry out its alliance with Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy, it must DE-POLITICIZE

THE YOUTH.

Attack the youth. Turn them away from revolutionary politics.

Militants of the YSA -- this is the content of the SWP's "reunification" with the slanderer Lambert of the French OCI, which many of you told us you knew nothing about, which is already a policy.

Several times during your convention the phrase, Revolutionary Youth International, was spouted off. We're sure you weren't referring to us. But in any case -- ask Lambert about the Revolutionary Youth International -- about the 5,000 youth gathered together in Essen, Germany in 1971 for the RYI. Where are they now? Where is the AJS, which largely built this rally, now in France? Ask Lambert where the Revolutionary Youth in Bolivia are.

And then tell us with a straight face that by "reunifying" with Lambert you are going to build a "Revolutionary Youth International".

When the truth is that Lambert is an "expert" in the liquidation of the Revolutionary Youth International. It is precisely this "expertise" which makes Lambert so respected in the eyes of the SWP leadership.

The YSA has nothing to do with this "reunification" because for the SWP, this is an "affair of the party."

But the Program of the FI says the contrary. That the construction of the Fourth International

is not only the business of the youth, but is the TASK of the youth. That the leadership of the working class must be renewed by the youth in a political combat against Stalinism and centrism. Which is precisely our fight to found the Revolutionary Youth International in Berlin, Germany, in 1975.

The YSA's crisis comes from the fact that its very existence is in contradiction to this fight. But the YSA will not die on its own; the SWP leadership will continue to use it as a facade, as its own private joke, in order to repulse youth seriously looking for Trotskyism in the US.

Many militants of the YSA spoke to us at this convention. Among other things, 94 copies of TRUTH were sold. But even this is not positive. The youth must wage a combat. A combat against all the attempts to de-politicize and demoralize the youth. A combat against the centrist policy of the SWP leadership. Which BEGINS by a combat against the proposed "reunification" with the liquidator of the RYI, Lambert, for the very nature of the Fourth International as a world center against Stalinism. A center based and built through the revolutionary combat of the working class youth throughout the world.

This is the only way to strip away the facade that calls itself the YSA.

January 10, 1978

## "Socialist democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

In the central document for the forthcoming 11th World Congress of the Pabloite United Secretariat entitled "Socialist Democracy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" the centrists declare themselves in favor of "pluralistic democracy"-- for the right of all parties to exist in a workers state, in soviets, even bourgeois parties, as long as they "respect" the workers' "Constitution."

Apparently none of this applies to the right of the Fourth International to sell its newspaper in a hotel lobby in front of a room in which the Socialist Workers Party and YSA were meeting. When as registered guests, even according to "bourgeois" democracy we had the right to be there.

No "pluralism" here. What do they have to fear from the Fourth International that they don't fear from the Stalinists or bourgeois parties?

We reprint the following statement which the YSA leadership refused to read at its Convention, not because we consider it a major incident, or because anyone was really hurt, but because it was a conscious and organized provocation de-

signed to prevent militants of the YSA from talking to us. A provocation which, by the way, did not succeed.

The SWP is beginning to learn from their "teacher" in matters of provocation. With one innovation. The SWP sent a "feminist" goon squad after our comrade.

Perhaps Lambert could learn from this. Or hasn't he heard about the ERA and "affirmative action?" Certainly this will be one of the things to be "discussed" with him.

"The Revolutionary Worker Youth/USA, as an observer organization at the YSA Convention wishes to formally protest the goon-style physical attack organized against Margaret Guttschall, a militant of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International that occurred this morning (December 30, 1978) in the William Penn Hotel.

This attack was unprovoked and represents an attack on workers democracy, which the YSA claims to defend.

We call on the leadership of the YSA and all its militants to repudiate this attack and to prevent it from happening again!"

# THE LCR PREPARES ITS 3RD CONGRESS

## An Orientation Determined by the OCI

By DANIEL ASSOULINE

We are reprinting an article which originally appeared in the December 20, 1978 issue of LA VERITE, the newspaper of the French LOR, the French Section of the Fourth International.

The French LCR is the sister organization of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), both of whom fraudulently claim to represent the Fourth International. We think those readers of TRUTH who have followed our account of the YSA Convention and its crisis on the previous page will find this article interesting -- proving that the crisis of the centrists is not a result of "national" problems, "specific conditions," etc., as they claim, but is an international problem, a result of their capitulation to Stalinism THROUGHOUT the world.

And proving that the combat of our party is an international combat against these centrist frauds.

TRUTH  
January 5, 1979

The moment is rich with Congresses. The Congress of the CGT (trade union dominated by the French CP) has just finished and already the Stalinist leaders are getting ready for their 23rd Congress.

The Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) has publicly opened up the preparation of its Third Congress in the pages of its daily, ROUGE. A Congress which will undoubtedly be held a little bit after that of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI).

But what relationship is there between one and the other. Each in their own way, these different meetings are trying to gather together some rocks in order to reinforce the foundations of the decrepit regime of Giscard, Barre and their 5th Republic. Because of this every worker should pay the greatest attention to the political battles which are developing on the occasion of these congresses. And we want workers to take part in this at our sides.

Because the 40th Congress of the CGT only laid the groundwork. Under the cover of a broad discussion of "democratization," strictly controlled by the Stalinist leadership, they tried to pass their contractual policy. In other words, a policy trying to subordinate the trade unions even more to the interests of the bourgeoisie, to notions of productivity and capitalist productivity and capitalist profitability, transforming the the organizations for the struggle and defense of workers into a social partner of government and the bosses. But during the coming Congress of the French CP the leadership is counting on going even further. They want to realize a qualitative step towards the Union

of the French People, which strangely resembles the National Union Giscard has called for, whose content is given in a still conjunctural fashion. This under the pretext of the parliamentary debate over Europe, through the alliance between the French CP and RPR (right-wing Gaullist party, led by the Mayor of Paris, Chirac). After having ditched the Union of the Left, Marchais (head of French CP) and his cohorts are counting on taking a new step in their struggle against the proletarian revolution.

What is the place of the LCR and its Congress in all this? The Stalinist apparatus has a lot of work to do. Its influence and control over the working class is eroding. Workers have kept turning away from them since the general strike in 1968 and throughout the 10 years of betrayal which followed. This process has found an echo, including in the recent Congress of the CGT. Above all, massive sectors of the youth oppose its policy. And the Congress of the LCR continues the Congress of the CGT and prepares the 23rd Stalinist Congress because it constitutes a particular effort to try to reconcile thousands of fighting youth with the policy of Stalinism. That Stalinism needs its perpetual enemy, the Fourth International, to cover-up and give a "democratic" label to its policy, is not the smallest index of its crisis. But it also designates our task: warn the youth against the pseudo-Trotskyists who mix up the name of the Fourth International with this sordid operation.

### THE "DEBATE BETWEEN TENDENCIES"

As usual, the tendencies are flourishing. And the leadership of the LCR is proud of this: isn't this the sign of a democratic debate, isn't this the guarantee against any risk of bureaucratization? But the affair does not hold up to a reading of the tribunes for discussion published by ROUGE. The superficial character of the tendencies is immediately striking. Above all for anyone who has had any kind of idea about what was the life of the Bolshevik Party -- a constant struggle of factions from which the Party drew the deepest unity in action, a unity solidly based on the common understanding of the tasks. But the factional struggles in the Bolshevik Party grew up around the fundamental problems of the revolution, they developed beginning with the vital interests of the working class, thus allowing for the education and political arming of authentic revolutionary militants. Stalinism had to liquidate all this. It had to stifle dispute because it fought the revolution.

Does the "debate between

tendencies" in the LCR have anything to do with the principled struggle which forged the Bolshevik Party in revolutionary combat? Of course not. Five tendencies have been formed in order to take up the different nuances of a policy of conciliation with Stalinism and Social Democracy. Five tendencies led in general by professionals on internal debate who know how to handle words in order to keep their place in the leadership of an organization which they have made into an appendage of the Union of the Left in the last years. Let us give credit where credit is due: they prove that it is not enough to gather together the organizational conditions for a democratic debate in order to avoid the proliferation of two-bit bureaucrats. Still less that such a debate would be concentrated on the fundamental questions of the construction and political arming of a revolutionary party.

This is not the case. The debate between the tendencies of this Third Congress of the LCR is a boxing match whose results are fixed in advance since all the tendencies are in agreement about avoiding any fundamental debate around the key questions in front of the class struggle today: how to confront Stalinism in order to win the leadership of the working class.

This question only appears in the contortions by which the different tendencies avoid drawing a serious balance sheet of the policy of their organization during these last years of the Union of the Left. None of them neither pose nor respond to some very simple questions. What balance sheet does the LCR draw of these last six years of support to the Union of the Left, a support which includes the struggle for a "CP-SP government"? What success have they had, even the slightest, in influencing the counter-revolutionary line of the French CP and SP? Have they thus been able to constitute a pole of regroupment for the militants of the French CP in crisis? And above all, where are the thousands of young fighters whose energy and revolutionary spirit has been wasted in the impasse of an impossible reform of the counter-revolutionary apparatus of the workers movement?

This dead-end is implicitly recognized by all tendencies. Each of them is forced to recognize the defeat of the LCR in its attempt to construct a "mass revolutionary party" and is frightened by the political and organizational crisis which is shaking the organization. It is necessary, however, to clarify all this. That the LCR NEVER tried to construct a revolutionary party, which implies a constant confrontation in the class struggle AGAINST Stalinism.

That the LCR ALWAYS tried to construct its "mass revolutionary party" by being swallowed up in all the forms of conciliation with Stalinism Let's call a cat a cat. The "mass revolutionary party" that they speak about in the LCR is only a pressure force on the Stalinist apparatus, a militant regroupment in order to try to use Stalinism on the road to the revolution. And this orientation has led to total failure, pure and simple.

And this is not one of the least aspects of the lack of seriousness of the debate for this Congress and the tendencies which animate it. A Congress which will meet on the basis of a recognition of a confessed failure and a desire to continue the orientation which produced the failure.

### AN ORIENTATION DETERMINED BY THE OCI

I said earlier that the five tendencies which have been formed each take up a nuance of the same policy of conciliation with the Stalinist apparatus. To be more precise, one can say that four tendencies create a wall in front of the majority tendency and cling to every aspiration and criticism raised by the rank and file in order to prevent these militants from transforming these criticisms into into an open struggle against the leadership.

Tendency #1 develops nothing more nor less than the entire orientation of the OCI, including its tactical expressions. We will return to it.

Tendency #2 affirms right away that it is anti-Trotskyist. All the while criticizing the majority orientation for a "CP-SP government" -- which it condemns as a focus of Trotskyism (sic!) -- they make it clear from what point of view they are criticizing the majority: the problem of the leadership of the working class is not posed, it is not the Stalinist and reformist leaders who are responsible for the many defeats of the proletariat, but instead the weak theoretical level of the latter. Consistent with this, it does not even consider fighting for the leadership of the LCR. "What is at stake," it says, "is the possibility for a revolutionary, Marxist, but not Trotskyist current to have the means to exist and develop inside this organization (the LCR)." Pitiful aspirations; in the image of its opponents.

Tendency #3 presents itself as an appendage of the majority tendency, with the objective of introducing "a series of amendments to the Political Theses of the majority for the Congress." It does not even have the merit of saying clearly what is behind

(Continued to Page 11)

# THE DISSOLUTION OF LAMBERT'S ORGANIZING COMMITTEE NO MIDDLE GROUND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By JON COHEN

"The alternative in front of the working class in Peru is either Cuba or Chile," proclaimed the pseudo-Trotskyist Peter Camejo with customary cynicism to a Peruvian militant at the recent YSA Convention in Pittsburgh. Camejo, the revolutionary tourist, had just returned from an "eyewitness" tour of Peru.

Stalinism or fascism. That's all the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat which Camejo is affiliated with has to offer the workers and youth in Peru, or anywhere else in Latin America. Total bankruptcy.

A bankruptcy confirmed by the recent events in the class struggle itself. This week the central trade union federations in Peru have launched a general strike to protest the government's austerity program and drastic price increases.

The military government of Morales Bermudez has declared a state of emergency and suspended all constitutional guarantees for a month. Over 100 trade union leaders and militants of workers organizations have been arrested.

What does all this have to do with the total bankruptcy of the Pabloite United Secretariat? While the military government in Peru has declared a state of emergency and suspended all rights, the "leaders" of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat are sitting in a "Constituent Assembly" created by this same military government to head-off the workers revolution in Peru and to give their regime a "democratic" cover.

A "Constituent Assembly" created by the military government with the advice of Jimmy "human rights" Carter to do PRECISELY what it is doing now--NOTHING. Created PRECISELY to give the military regime of Morales Bermudez time to prepare for what IT is doing now--crushing the workers mobilization and attempting to bury the Peruvian revolution.

This "Constituent Assembly" was more than a farce. It is a trap designed to derail the mobilization of the masses; their fight to set up their own independent organs of power. A trap designed to give the government time to prepare its counter-revolution.

A "Constituent Assembly" that is nothing more or less than a NOOSE around the necks of the Peruvian workers. A noose which the pseudo-Trotskyists of the United Secretariat helped APRA and the Peruvian CP tie.

This is why Peter Camejo can cynically say: "Cuba or Chile" and then wash his hands. Because the leadership of the United Secretariat are a group of petty bourgeois politicians who have nothing to do with the revolutionary interests of the workers and oppressed.

This isn't the first time that the United Secretariat, representing a pro-Stalinist faction of the Fourth International which dislocated our party in 1952 under the leadership of a man named Pablo, has proven its total bankruptcy in Latin America.

In the 1960's the United Secretariat liquidated entire sections of its organizations in Latin American into the pro-Castroist guerilla movements. It led thousands of youth into the political and physical defeats of the "policy of armed struggle."

And Camejo today dares mention "Chile." Ask him what his comrades did in Chile--liquidated their party into the Castroite MIR which supported the Allende government down to the bitter end!

On a world scale, and on the terrain of the class struggle in the Americas the Pabloism of the United Secretariat represented a conscious

and organized attempt to liquidate the Program and cadre of the Fourth International in the service of Stalinism, the sworn enemy of the world revolution.

But they did not succeed. The healthy and living forces of world Trotskyism led a resistance to Pabloism-- on the world scale and in the Two Americas. The International Committee of the Fourth International was founded in 1952 to preserve the continuity of the Fourth International in the face of Pabloism and to lead a fight to rebuild the Fourth International in the face of the Pabloite dislocation.

Originally led by the American SWP, the British SLL (today WRP) and the French OCI, it was above all the French OCI which led the fight for the International Committee when the SWP and then the WRP, in 1963 and 1971 respectively, abandoned this fight.

It was the French OCI which was above all responsible for the building of the first sections of the Fourth International in Eastern Europe since their physical extermination by Stalinism and fascism in World War II. It was the French OCI and its youth organization, the AJS which was largely responsible for gathering together 5,000 youth in Essen, Germany in 1971 for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, for the Fourth International, for the construction of a Revolutionary Youth International.

And in Latin America it was the International Committee alone which led a political fight against Pabloism -- its support to the Stalinist regime in Cuba led by Castro, its support to the dead-end of guerillaism. This fight of the International Committee in Latin America was concretized in the winning of the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) led by Guillermo Lora to the International Committee. It was the Bolivian POR which played the central role in the formation of the Bolivian Popular Assembly in 1970, a revolutionary organ of the Bolivian masses.

It was the International Committee which waged an international campaign in defense of the Bolivian revolution after the Banzer coup in 1971.

The Camejos, the Hansens, the Hugo Blancos and all the other petty bourgeois Pabloite politicians of the United Secretariat did not go uncontested in Latin America. The International Committee was present and waged a combat against them -- forming organizations not only in Bolivia, but in Peru, Chile, Argentina and Mexico as well.

But Pabloism could not be fought half-way. The combat against Pabloism as well as the demands of the world revolution and the new period of the class struggle which opened up after 1968 demanded that the International Committee surpass its federative character, its loose, de-centralized structure which was an obstacle to its advance and a reflection itself of the crisis in the Fourth International caused by Pabloism. It demanded that the International Committee confront and resolve as an immediate task the question of REBUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL as a world democratic centralist center of the world revolution. It demanded that the International Committee carry out its promise of the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International as a mass, independent organization of the revolutionary youth.

None of these were simply "organizational" questions. They were above all political questions that demanded a firmer and clearer

definition of the policy of the Fourth International for leading the new upsurge of the working class against Stalinism and its pseudo-Trotskyist supporters.

A clearer definition of the revolutionary policy to rebuild the Fourth International in Latin America was required as well. Despite the winning of the Bolivian POR to the International Committee, the fight remained incomplete. The Bolivian POR had never drawn a complete balance sheet of its national isolation from the Fourth International from 1952 to 1969.

Specifically, it was necessary to develop a fight against the policy developed by Lora and the Bolivian POR after the coup of Banzer in which Lora proposed and initiated the formation of a "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" (FRA) with sections of the "progressive" bourgeoisie, in particular, General Torres.

Those in the leadership of the International Committee were aware of the necessity to take up a fight against the policy of the FRA, which is in clear contradiction with the Program of the Fourth International and the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution which says that the proletariat is the ONLY revolutionary class in the world, including in backward countries.

Thus, in 1970, the French OCI wrote, regarding the "Political Theses of the COB" (trade union) inspired by the Bolivian POR:

"Comrades, we can tell you without any evasion, with deep and even anguished conviction, that if this statement becomes the policy of the Bolivian workers movement, and if the POR adopts it (or even maintained a silence for any length of time on the fact that it is the result of a compromise which only has circumstantial value), then the COB thesis can constitute a noose around the neck of the proletariat."

It was not a question of renouncing the Bolivian POR or giving up the fight of the International Committee in the face of difficulties and problems, but a question of forging and rebuilding the Fourth International in a political combat against all forms of adaptation to Stalinism.

The leadership of the French OCI, led by Pierre Lambert and Stephan Just abandoned precisely this fight. Against our opposition they liquidated the International Committee and formed the "Organizing Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International" (OCRFI) in 1972.

Every organizational policy has its political implications. What was the OCRFI? A loose, de-centralized federation of organizations who "stood for the Program of the Fourth International" and where in each country "each section will apply its own policies" without international "interference."

When precisely the situation in the world and in front of the International Committee demanded the opposite. That there are plenty of people, including the Peter Camejos and Hugo Blancos who "stand for" the Program of the Fourth International. That the task of the International Committee at that time was precisely to UNMASK and defeat in front of the working class these frauds who "stand for" the Fourth International and in practice betray everything that it stands for.

That instead of a loose organization which reinforced the very nationalism that the International Committee was founded to fight it was necessary to fight to rebuild the Fourth International as an international CENTER,

# THEE ON LATIN AMERICA: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL AND PABLOISM



MINERS, PERU

openly fighting tendencies towards nationalism which only reflect the division enforced by imperialism and Stalinism.

As opposed to waging a fight to clarify the questions of the Bolivian revolution with Lora, Lambert dissolved the International Committee to provide a framework to "discuss" with Lora. Instead of waging a fight to eliminate for all time the rotten role of the American SWP, the party of the Camejos and Hansens in Latin America, Lambert dissolved the International Committee to provide a framework for those who "stand on the Program."

In 1972 the Fourth International broke with this OCRFI, with this liquidationist faction that refused to carry through to the end the task of rebuilding the Fourth International. That became a LIQUIDATIONIST faction when it set about trying to destroy the Eastern European sections of the Fourth International and launched a police slander campaign against one of its leading militants, Michel Varga.

We said that there was no middle ground between Pabloism and the Fourth International, that there was no place in the class struggle for the OCRFI, and formed the International League-- Rebuilder of the Fourth International which rebuilt the Fourth International in 1976. That the formation of the OCRFI was not a combat against Lora or the American SWP but a capitulation to it.

We have proven to be correct, above all in Latin America, since aside from the French OCI, the organizations making up the OCRFI (the Bolivian POR, the POMR of Peru, the LOM of Mexico and Politica Obrera of Argentina) were above all Latin American.

Lambert adopted the "Revolutionary Anti-imperialist Front" position of Lora and improved on it -- he made it into their strategy for all of Latin America. And now Lambert is preparing the dissolution of the OCRFI into the Pabloite United Secretariat, along with the POMR of Peru which is sitting in the same farce of a Constituent Assembly in Peru with Hugo Blanco.

Even before its formal dissolution, the OCRFI is dead. Politica Obrera of Argentina has been expelled by Lambert for "giving support to the Videla regime." The Bolivian POR and the LOM of Mexico have been "removed" from the OCRFI.

Much too late and in an incomplete fashion militants of the OCRFI in Argentina, in Bolivia and in the OCI as well have launched a fight against Lambert's "reunification" with the Pabloites. Politica Obrera and militants of the OCI have raised criticisms of the "Menshevik deviation" of the POMR.

As if this happened all of a sudden. As if it simply concerned a "deviation." No com-



CONGRESS OF POMR

rades -- it is necessary to go all the way! To see that the policy of the POMR in Peru today is part and parcel of the "FRA" of Lambert and Lora, that the OCRFI was formed precisely to avoid any kind of fight against this "Menshevik deviation."

Militants of Politica Obrera have also discovered a "crisis" in the OCRFI. They write, in a document entitled "To organizations of the OCRFI", May 30, 1978: "There exists a crisis in the OC... the objective aspect of this crisis is the total paralysis of the OCRFI. Since 1975, date of the 2nd Latin American Conference, there has been no practical intervention on the international level."

But comrades -- this is PRECISELY what the OCRFI was founded for -- to do NOTHING on the international level, except campaigns of "solidarity" having nothing to do with an international POLITICAL combat of the Fourth International as a world center.

And now even Lora declares: "If Pabloism is Trotskyist this means that the disastrous experiences of guerillaism are worth nothing." (POLITICA OBRERA # 285). But Pabloism is more than guerillaism! Today, because Castro has abandoned guerillaism in favor of open support to Carter's "human rights" campaign, Pabloism is support to the anti-democratic "Constituent Assembly" in Peru. Based on YOUR policy, comrade Lora, of a "revolutionary" alliance with the petty bourgeoisie!

To the militants of the Bolivian POR, Politica Obrera of Argentina, as well as honest and sincere militants of the POMR in Peru who were won to the OCRFI not on the basis of support to a Popular Front and a farce of a "Constituent Assembly," but on the basis of Lambert's promises to rebuild the Fourth International in Latin America, on the basis of Lambert's promises to fight the Hugo Blancos and everything they stand for, on the basis of the fight for the Workers and Peasants Government in Peru, still formally recognized by the POMR -- there is an alternative to the "crisis" of the OCRFI:

Join the fight of those who opposed Lambert's perspective from the beginning. Join the fight of the Fourth International whose fight has guaranteed the fact that Lambert's treachery today does not leave you starting from zero.

You don't have to start from zero -- the Fourth International exists and fights in the Americas! But it has to be rebuilt in the US and in Latin America -- above all by drawing a balance sheet of Lambert's treachery and the treachery of the "reunification" of pseudo-Trotskyists today taking place.

There is an alternative to "Cuba or Chile" in Latin America, which is at the same time an alternative to Pabloism. Not "Cuba or Chile" but a fight to return to the revolutionary traditions of the Fourth International in the Americas, to the fight for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

At the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938 a "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" was adopted which declared:

"Only a union of the Latin American people, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism.

Just as the people of the Old World can successfully resist and shatter the pressure of the American colossus, which keeps them impoverished and drives them to war, only by establishing a United States of Europe -- realizable only in the form of the revolutionary socialist rule of the proletariat -- so the peoples of the Western Hemisphere can assure themselves the fullest national independence, the unrestricted possibilities of cultural development and freedom from exploitation and domestic tyrants, only by joining in the struggle for the United Socialist Republic of the Americas."

This is the perspective of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the entire Fourth International in the preparation of its CONFERENCE FOR THE REBUILDING OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS which will be held in Madrid on April 8-9th, A combat which we call on you to join. January 11, 1979

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# INDEPENDENT UNIONS IN THE USSR -- DECISIVE ADVANCE TOWARDS POLITICAL REVOLUTION

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Forty-five years ago, when the Stalinist bureaucracy let Hitler crush the workers without firing a shot, when no one in the Stalinist International protested Leon Trotsky and his comrades concluded that the defense and extension of the Russian Revolution demanded the destruction of this reactionary apparatus.

They defined this struggle as an international one against Stalinism as the agent of imperialism, as one for political revolution in the USSR.

"...the chief political task in the USSR still remains the OVERTHROW OF THIS SAME THERMIDORIAN bureaucracy," says the Fourth International's Program. "Each day added to its domination helps rot the socialist elements of economy and increases the chances for capitalist restoration."

The Fourth International continued the fight for this program throughout World War II and the years that followed. Its fundamental identity with the interests of the working masses was proven by the repeated uprisings of worker-militants and Trotskyists in the slave labor camps in Vorkuta, Russia, between 1950 and 1956, in East Germany in 1953, and in Hungary and Poland in 1956. Yet they were prevented from realizing this program by a pro-Stalinist faction (today the "United Secretariat") which formed in the International and nearly destroyed it.

When youth across the world, from the US, to France, to Czechoslovakia, to the USSR itself, rose up against imperialism and Stalinism in 1968, they found it very difficult to find the Fourth International.

Today, thanks to the struggle of the International Committee and the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International, this crisis has begun to be resolved. Sections of the International have been rebuilt in Eastern Europe. And a new movement has arisen within the USSR, a movement which once again proves the correctness of the Fourth International's Program and provides it with the opportunity to realize it; to lead the workers to power, to wipe imperialism and Stalinism off the face of the earth.

It's the workers movement to defend the conquests of the revolution by organizing independent trade unions, by uniting the workers across the world. The movement led by Vladimir Klebanov, Yuli Grimm and their comrades.

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION

Social revolution is the expropriation of the capitalist class, the destruction of their

state apparatus, the establishment of workers state power by the working class. While this is still on the order of the day throughout most of the world, the working class has already achieved this in Russia. What is necessary to preserve and extend the conquests of this revolution -- collective ownership of property -- is a political revolution -- the destruction of the Stalinist bureaucracy usurping the power of the workers, utilizing the workers resources to preserve imperialism. A real government of workers councils -- soviets -- in the tradition of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party.

Social and political revolutions are above all radical changes in the consciousness and organization of the working class, a rapid renewal in its self-confidence, in its hatred for the old order.

Speaking of the political revolution in THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED, Trotsky said: "The first victory of the revolution in Europe would pass like an electric shock through the Soviet masses, straighten them up, raise their spirit of independence, awaken the traditions of 1905 and 1917, undermine the position of the Bonapartist bureaucracy..." Even though the European revolution has not yet been victorious, this process is beginning to take place in Russia today.

On the basis of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, the Soviet working class is renewing its confidence in the world proletariat and in itself; it is organizing itself independently.

Klebanov and the hundreds of workers like him began by defending socialist property, by denouncing plant managers for their waste and destruction of this property, for the privileges they seek for themselves at the expense of the masses, for their oppression of the workers.

They appealed to the highest organs of the Stalinist party and were either given the run-around, driven out of Moscow, or imprisoned in "psychiatric hospitals."

On the basis of this experience they concluded that this party and government couldn't be trusted with the defense of the conquests of October and the rights of the workers. They issued a manifesto on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution which reads in part:

"We have lost confidence in the Justice Department of the USSR as an organ guarding the conquests of October, capable of defending the interests of the state and the WORKERS!

"Nor can we any longer have confidence in the administrative organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR which collaborate with this

department..."

"To preserve socialist property and oppose the gross violations of the rights of man is the sacred duty of every Soviet Citizen."

They demanded the formation of a Control Commission and a meeting with the leaders of the CP/USSR and the regime.

When this manifesto was greeted with more tricks and repression, Klebanov and his comrades continued the struggle. They documented dozens more cases of oppression of workers and privileged bureaucracy. They decided to form the "Free Union of Workers in the USSR."

The statutes of the union indicate that it is open to any worker whose rights or interests have been violated by the party or government. Every member has the right, among others, to raise his political consciousness. The structure of the union is democratic centralist, "everyone from bottom to top is elected by the members and responsible to them," everyone must respect the Association's decisions. Its task, among others, is to "educate the membership in the spirit of intolerance for the insufficiencies, the manifestations of bureaucratism and the falsifications, the malfeasance, the fraud and the neglect of the common good."

When Klebanov and his comrades turned to Sakharov, a leader of the "dissident" movement in the USSR, he turned them down ("They think they're above us," said Klebanov). So the workers turned to Amnesty International and the International Labor Organization. And when they turned them down, the workers appealed directly to American workers, an appeal published in the last issue of TRUTH.

The movement for independent unions in the USSR constitutes a fundamental political challenge to the political power of the Stalinist apparatus, to its claim to represent the conquests of October, the workers. It's an independent organization to fight this bureaucracy.

It's a decisive development beyond previous attempts to challenge the bureaucracy because it's permanent and open.

During the East German, Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovakian revolutions the workers formed mass councils and quickly separated themselves from anyone who even hesitated in defending the independence of the workers: "When, for example, an organizer and president of one of the first councils (of the Hungarian Revolution--MG)-- a communist militant since 1929 -- tried to stop the formation of a factory militia demanded by the workers to defend themselves against the Kremlin tanks, he was replaced, and rapidly." (Resolution of the Conference of

East European Militants of the IC of the Fourth International, 1970) But these organization didn't survive the Stalinist counter-revolution.

The unions in the USSR have grown up against Stalinist repression as a permanent and public organization. Over two hundred workers have publicly associated themselves with it.

This union is a fundamental delimitation against all those who have used Stalinist repression to make a case for bourgeois "democracy," like the "Eurocommunists," and against all those who claim to defend the socialist revolution but ignore the fight for WORKERS RIGHTS, try to limit the movement to abstract demands for "Human Rights," try to organize workers alongside the liberal bourgeoisie and allegedly reformed Stalinist Eurocommunists (KOR in Poland, Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, the Helsinki Monitoring Groups.)

The leaders of these movements have done nothing for the workers in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Klebanov and his comrades have shown them as what they are -- cowards, with no confidence in the workers.

The outcome of the struggle depends on the revolutionary political struggle of the world proletariat. Isolated from workers in the West, from the lessons of the world class struggle embodied in the Fourth International and its daily struggle to lead it, the leadership of this movement, now imprisoned, will be crushed.

This is why everyone, from the AFL-CIO leadership to the soon-to-be-defunct "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International," is trying to isolate this movement. First they tried to hide it. When this failed the AFL-CIO leadership began trying to bring it under its wing; the Stalinists and their allies began to slander it as a tool of imperialism; the USec and the OCRFI began to present it as a poor, weak movement to better working conditions and get "human rights," to try to lead it into the arms of the Euro-stalinists (the OCRFI published the movements's documents alongside statements of various "liberal" Stalinist bureaucrats fraudulently claiming to support them; as if the two were compatible).

Every youth and worker should take up the political defense of this movement, explain its importance, fight for Klebanov's freedom and the construction of the Fourth International as the only party leading this fight.

The Revolutionary Youth International's Day of Action for Klebanov's freedom will be a first test of this struggle. January 8, 1979



# DEFEND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK



To do this it must introduce all the methods of capitalism: bribery and corruption, speed-up, overtime and wage cuts. Already Teng has reintroduced production bonuses, etc., in order to set this process in motion and to create a basis for dividing the working class.

Nor are loans and credits advanced in order to build socialism. To get these loans, the bureaucracy must guarantee profits on them to the bankers. In this way, capitalist profit begins to determine the growth pattern of the Chinese economy -- the "law of value" in action. Foreign trade on capitalist terms expresses the same tendencies. (How will Coca-Cola defend and extend the socialist conquests?) In such circumstances, even tourism presents an opening to the "old China" of lackeyism, prostitution and degradation.

In addition to this attack, another one is underway. After the immense sacrifices and efforts made in the Chinese Revolution, sabotaged and betrayed every step of the way by the bureaucracy, the Chinese workers are being told that it was all futile. Taiwan (!) has a better economy, the United States is more "democratic," China's backwardness can be overcome by imperialist methods. If this is the case, what was the sense in making the Chinese Revolution? This attack is made on the most important of all the socialist conquests, the changed consciousness of the working class.

## "CONCESSIONS"

In this hour of danger for the Chinese Revolution, the pseudo-Trotskyists come to the rescue -- of Stalinism. Leading the pack is INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, the "international" mouthpiece of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

In a review-article ("China Since Mao," 10/9/78), these Pabloites make no bones about hiding what is at stake: "Hua and Teng are not leading a capitalist counterrevolution. They are functionaries (just 'functionaries'?!--KF) on the defensive, seeking to hold onto their power by a series of economic and cultural CONCESSIONS to a disgruntled populace" (emphasis in original).

Haven't we heard this song before?

"His successors, more aware than he was of the extreme tension now prevailing, entered upon the road of reforms and concessions in order to allay the tension and give a firmer foundation to their regime on a more popular basis" (Education for Socialists -- "Towards a History of the Fourth International," part 4, vol. 3, p. 123).

The "normalization of relations" between US imperialism and the Chinese bureaucracy is an attack on the socialist conquests of the Chinese Revolution and on the consciousness of the working class. That is why TIME MAGAZINE made Teng Hsiao-p'ing, China's "vice"-premier, its 1978 "Man of the Year;" why he got his mug added to this rogues' gallery of the counterrevolution which last year featured Anwar Sadat.

Throughout the world, imperialism is in deep crisis. And Stalinism, its chief agency, is wracked by a crisis of its own which both reflects and enters into the crisis of imperialism.

The only "solution" for imperialism is to take back every gain the working class has made. But because the source of this crisis is the fact that the working class is on the offensive, imperialism is in no position to come to a bloody confrontation. This is why, for instance, Carter cannot intervene militarily in Iran or Nicaragua. At this moment, the attack on the conquests of the working class centers on an attack on its consciousness.

And here Stalinism has a leading role to play. In the face of its open crisis, from the collapse of the "Union of the Left" in France to the war in Cambodia, Stalinism is divided on how best to set back the workers mobilization. The "Eurocommunists" of the "Communist" parties of France, Spain and Italy, defend "democracy" against Stalinist "dictatorship." In this way, they seek to identify the dictatorship of the proletariat (WORKERS DEMOCRACY, Leninism) with Stalin's police-state crimes against it, in order to defend BOURGEOIS democracy (the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie).

But the "Eurocommunists" have only IOU's to give imperialism. While they remain at the level of "theory," Teng has raised things to the level of "practice." He really has something to deal.

The Chinese Revolution smashed imperialism in China and eradica-

ted its local hangers-on. The Chinese economy was transformed to one on the road -- transitional -- to socialism. The steps on this road are the SOCIALIST CONQUESTS of the Chinese Revolution. Now the task is the defense -- not one step backward! -- and extension -- especially on the international scale -- of these conquests.

The gravest threat to these socialist conquests is the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. The Maoists (whom Teng now calls the "gang of four") represented one faction in the crisis of Stalinism. Their policies represented an open attack on these socialist conquests and made them the object of deep hatred by the Chinese masses. The faction headed by Teng, now including Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, differs only in method in its attack on the Chinese Revolution.

Thus, in the extracts from the communique published after the meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese CP, we find the key to Teng's policy: "act firmly in line with economic law, attach importance to the law of value" (NY TIMES, 12/26/78). But the "law of value," as an "economic law," is a law of CAPITALISM, of commodity production and exchange, of the exploitation of the working class. The point, in an economy transitional to socialism, is to struggle AGAINST the law of value, to struggle FOR the defense and extension of the socialist conquests.

It is in the light of this struggle that we must examine the trade and tourism, the investment and credit deals, of which so much is being made today.

## ATTACK

For instance, if (as proposed by Teng) imperialism controls up to 49% of a Chinese enterprise, it will do everything in its power to make sure that the production of this enterprise is devoted to PROFITS, not to the necessary development of China.

This quotation is from the statement of Pablo's International Secretariat on the 1953 revolt of the East German workers. The similarity to the SWP's view of China today is no accident.

Yesterday and today, the Pabloites present the gains of the struggle of the workers against the bureaucracy as "concessions" which some mere "functionaries" graciously deign to give. Yesterday and today, the Pabloites announce "de-Stalinization" (INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, 12/4/78, "Mao Cult Begins to Shatter") in order to hide the continuation of Stalinism -- the rule of the bureaucracy over the workers. Yesterday and today, the Pabloites praise "democratization" (IP, 12/11/78, "Teng Invites the Masses to Air Their Grievances"), without a hint of irony, in order to hide the continued existence of the police regime and its terror against the workers and peasants.

## REVOLUTION

Democracy in the countries of the socialist conquests, such as China, means just one thing -- the rule of the workers, the reconquest of political power from the bureaucracy that has usurped it. This is the key to the defense of the socialist conquests from the imperialists and their bureaucratic agents. This is the key to the extension of the socialist conquests. Nationally, it means mass participation in the problems of socialist construction and the mobilization of the working class to advance its own interests, both of which clash directly with the existence of the bureaucracy. Internationally, it means smashing the isolation of the workers in the East from those in the West and defeating imperialism as a world system -- the only guarantee of the socialist conquests and their consolidation.

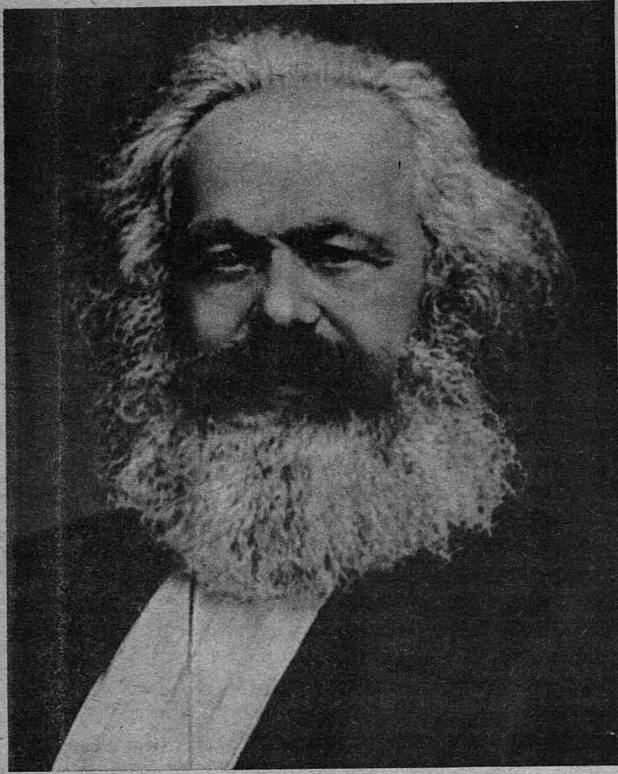
It is no accident that the SWP neglects to mention any POLITICAL "concessions" by Teng. No room exists for "compromise" on the question of who rules. Long ago the Pabloites abandoned the fight for this POLITICAL REVOLUTION. In the face of the tasks of the Chinese Revolution today, they again try to patch up the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism.

The Fourth International was founded against Stalinism and rebuilt against Pabloism, the handmaiden of Stalinism. The fight for the defense and extension of the socialist conquests is not merely a Chinese question, but above all a struggle to defeat these alien leaderships. In fighting for the political destruction of the centrist United Secretariat of which the SWP is a part -- in the preparation of the American Revolution -- the Trotskyist Organization/USA takes its place in the forward march of the Chinese Revolution.

January 6, 1979

# MARXISM AGAINST RELIGION

By ANN NELSON



The pseudo-revolutionaries have found a new way to aid the bourgeoisie in its attack against the consciousness of the American working class. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is now lending the name of the Fourth International, which it fraudulently claims to represent, to one of the most reactionary aspects of capitalist society: RELIGION.

The SWP has recently announced its participation in a "Marxist-Christian dialogue" in this country. Not with steelworkers or autoworkers or unemployed youth who may have illusions in religion or believe in God but with theologians from Princeton University among other places, with the Social Democrats and Stalinists.

Thus, THE MILITANT (December 8, 1978) published a speech by Dick Roberts, one of the central leaders of the SWP, given at a conference entitled: "The US Socio-Economic Order in the Next Decade: Christian and Marxist Perspectives." Roberts ended his speech by saying:

"Finally, can there really be a Christian-Marxist dialogue in this country? The answer will be found in the struggles that lie ahead. A consistent Marxist, as a materialist, rejects belief in God or immortality. But we believe thoroughly that religious belief and worship are an elementary civil right that should not be abrogated or denied."

He continues, by saying:

"Philosophical differences need be no barrier..." to Christians and Marxists working together for the ERA, school desegregation, against political persecution, etc.

The SWP's pretext for this discussion is that it defends the democratic rights of Christians. Although religious persecution does exist in the world, the persecution of Christianity is, to say the least, not a burning

question in the US. Especially compared to the DAILY PERSECUTION of the working class, the youth and unemployed by the bourgeoisie.

Including the persecution by a "perfect" Christian, who has even had the opportunity to talk with God, who today inhabits the White House!

But this supposed defense of religious belief is just an excuse for the SWP to confuse the aims of Marxism and Christianity.

The SWP would probably defend this "dialogue" by saying that they are trying to convince Christians of the "superiority" of Marxist "analysis." (THE MILITANT gave no explanation for their participation in this "dialogue.")

According to Roberts, "a consistent Marxist rejects belief in God or immortality." But this statement is wrong because it is incomplete. A true Marxist, someone who understands Marxism as a REVOLUTIONARY theory and not just "superior analysis, actively seeks to convince the working class that it is necessary to reject religion. By treating Marxism and materialism as personal "beliefs," Roberts links Marxism to religion, which after all, is also a "belief."

Karl Marx wrote: "The criticism of religion is the basis of all other criticism." In order to understand the truth about man's existence and how to change it, it is necessary to know what is false. What is false is anything which requires blind belief, which is not scientific, that is -- religion and God. As well, although Marxism can understand religion through its role in history and its support to certain classes; religion, on the other hand, can only understand Marxism in terms of its own mythology OR in terms of the existing order of things.

It is precisely in order to support the existing order of things that religion flourishes

in this country. IT IS A WEAPON OF THE RULING CLASS, not some innocent "belief," as Roberts pretends.

What could be better than to have the masses accept the misery of this system by offering them riches and comfort with only one catch ... after death? What could be more cynical than those living in comfort and wealth telling the working masses they can have this too, only after they die?

What could be more cynical? Participating in this deception in the name of Marxism, in the name of the Fourth International.

But religion is even more dangerous than this in the US today. Religious cults, like those Jones led to murder-suicide, like the agents of the Korean CIA called the "Moonies," are flourishing as consciously reactionary institutions to trap and destroy the youth. Fundamentalists, like Anita Bryant, are flourishing everywhere, tools of imperialist reaction. Even the President of the US is a Baptist preacher.

Not "dialogue," but EXPOSURE and combat against this reaction is the task of revolutionaries.

This religious revival is a result of the crisis of bourgeois society. In this economic, social and political crisis the petty bourgeoisie becomes frightened, and it is this layer which turns to religion for answers.

Jonestown was the result of the government's open encouragement of religion. The Democratic Party will support ANYBODY, even a lunatic preacher who called himself a Marxist, as long as they get out the vote and don't question their rule. Whether or not Rosalyn Carter or Mondale KNEW Jim Jones was a lunatic doesn't matter. They supported his politics and Jim Jones supported theirs.

Of course, the SWP will say that they are not talking about working with the reactionaries: the Anita Bryants, the Moonies, Jimmy Carter's brand of religion. Of course, they are simply willing to work with anyone who supports "good" "causes" -- like the ERA, integration, anti-apartheid, etc.

Jim Jones supported all these "good causes!" He worked with the SWP in all the various "coalitions" in San Francisco. And when, even once, did the SWP denounce his role, his cult, the fraud of the "liberal" preachers?

Or perhaps the "doctors of theology" (witch-doctors would be more precise) at Princeton University are cleaner, slicker than Jones? And therefore MORE DANGEROUS.

Because of the crisis of capitalism some workers may view religion as an escape from life. An escape from drugs or crime or a feeling of purposelessness. Some workers seek religion for positive reasons in order to deal with the moral decay of cap-

italist society, its debasement of human relations and its attack on culture and education.

And the preachers and "doctors of theology" are very willing to leech off these desires of the working class because by perpetuating the workers belief in religion they insure the continued existence of this system.

Revolutionaries are willing to discuss at all times the question of religion with workers who still have religious illusions, in order to demonstrate to them the counter-revolutionary role of religion, how it is an attack on their consciousness and an obstacle to their struggle for a better world.

In order to tell the TRUTH to the workers -- that this world cannot change without a combat against religion and all its manifestations. Not a "dialogue" with the witch-doctors but a combat in the working class to transform its consciousness.

"Religion is the opiate of the masses." These famous words of Marx are still remembered because they hit home. Because religion is indeed an attack on the consciousness of the working class, it is a drug even more dangerous than heroin.

An important step towards the building of the Revolutionary Youth International in the US will be the fight to organize the youth in a combat against religion, as a combat against their living enemies. That for the youth "freedom of religion," so proudly hailed by Dick Roberts, does not include the freedom of the bourgeoisie to pass a law in the State of Michigan requiring the religious "theory of creation" to be taught alongside the scientific theory of evolution as equal "beliefs."

But logical for Dick Roberts who declares that Marxism and Christianity simply concern "beliefs." A misunderstanding -- for Roberts and the SWP, but not for us and not for the youth who want a real future.

Scratch a petty bourgeois philistine and you'll find that in the end they cherish a secret belief in God and religion, a hope that in the end, God will have mercy on them.

We think that you'll find that behind Robert's and the SWP's "dialogue" with Christianity is such a belief: their pseudo-Marxism evidently failing them, they are hedging their bets a little, if there IS a heaven, maybe they'll get a letter of recommendation from the "doctor of theology" at Princeton.

Trotsky said a long time ago that: "Those who believe in another world are not capable of concentrating all their passion on the transformation of this one."

Those who are not capable of waging a combat to the finish against religion have nothing to offer the American working class and its youth.

January 10, 1979

# "One year contract" for the UAW?

The United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy is opening its campaign of betrayal on the September 14 contract expirations with the "Big Three." It knows it is none too soon to begin to plot against the offensive of the working class, in which the auto workers are critically important.

The opening gun in this campaign takes the form of UAW president Douglas Fraser's making noises about a "one-year contract" coming out of the negotiations. What does this mean?

## MANEUVERS

Now, the "meaning" of much of what the bureaucracy says is that it is MEANINGLESS. It's part of the elaborate charade of "collective bargaining" -- just hot air for the newspapers and the bar in St. Regis Hotel. It resembles the performance of a "fighter" just before a fixed match.

But there is a more dangerous aspect to this talk in particular. It is explicitly put forward in response to Carter's "wage guidelines," supposedly showing the determination of the bureaucrats to "protect" the

living standards of the workers. But, despite his discovery of "class war" last year, Fraser jumped to sign up for this latest attack on the workers -- Carter's guidelines.

In 1973, Leonard Woodcock (Fraser's predecessor as top UAW bureaucrat, now busy helping US imperialism attack the Chinese Revolution), in order to avoid a fight with Nixon and his Cost of Living Council, also spouted off about a "one-year contract." The central fact about the 1973 contracts, negotiated by Woodcock to avoid defeating the capitalist corporations and government, was that they gave the green light to the auto bosses for the massive layoffs of 1974-75.

Today, Fraser is playing the same kind of role. Already layoffs have begun at Chrysler. A contract negotiated by Fraser to avoid confrontation with capitalism means even greater attacks than after 1973. In such circumstances, a one-year contract would mean coming back in the midst of a "recession" to "bargain" with the auto companies. By then, Fraser would be talking about the UAW's "weakness" in

order to justify total capitulation.

## CLASS STRUGGLE

Carter wants to organize this recession through his "anti-inflation program." The political question is to smash these guidelines through an organized offensive of the working class.

1979 is a year in which some of the most powerful unions face battles that center on Carter's guidelines -- Teamsters (both the Master Freight and UPS agreements), Rubber Workers, Electrical Workers. In this situation, the UAW, which contains the most militant and advanced workers, could take the lead in transforming isolated "negotiations" into a class struggle -- of the whole working class with the unions as the battering ram -- against the capitalist recession and the capitalist government.

Fraser's attempt to head off this mobilization is the reason behind his "one-year contract," whether it ever materializes or not. This is also the reason for the "concessions" by Carter

on the guidelines -- on COLA, "annual improvement factor" and most recently, on the cost of "fringe benefits." Besides the direct attack on the UAW, Fraser wants to demoralize and bribe parts of it. "We've got ours" will be his line in order to divide the organized workers from the unorganized, especially the youth; even to divide the more powerful unions from the less. Anything to prevent the organization of a great class struggle offensive.

It is precisely to organize this offensive that the Trotskyist Organization/USA is building its Revolutionary Faction in the UAW. It is not enough to simply distrust the bureaucracy, to have contempt for it. As long as it remains in possession of the unions it has the workers movement in a stranglehold. We have to break that stranglehold by winning back our unions. Our Faction, in the course of the struggle around the contract -- not "for a contract" (one-year or otherwise) -- is out to win back the UAW and lead this mobilization in a revolutionary direction. January 7, 1979

## LCR Continued

the majority orientation: that the defeat of the Union of the Left made the working class lose the political initiative. In fact, isn't this what the French CP says in order to divide up struggles and organize 24-hour strikes?...

As for Tendency #5, they reject any governmental slogan the workers do not pose themselves and wish to make the LCR a party that is the best defender of the workers and the best builder of trade union organizations. But one can ask them how it is possible to defend the workers without confronting Stalinism and Social Democracy which daily betray class independence and the interests of the workers in the service of the bourgeoisie? One can ask them who would join a party which does not even open up a political solution for struggles? One would like to know why, that is, with what objectives and orientation, workers and in particular the youth, would reinforce the trade union organizations which they are presently fleeing because they are disgusted with the Stalinists and Social Democrats? ...

In their incoherence these tendencies are consistent about one point: their common desire to get around the Stalinist apparatus, to speak about the construction of a "revolutionary party" outside of a confrontation with it; that is, outside of the struggle based on the youth for the leadership and

revolutionary renewal of the workers movement.

There remain Tendencies #1 and #4, the principal minority and majority tendencies, respectively. Tendency #1 provides the fundamental orientation; that of the OCI, which the majority embellishes. Everything is here; from the bit of arithmetic which turns, in the head of these gentlemen, the parliamentary majority which resulted from the legislative elections in March into a CP-SP majority; to the central demonstration that the French CP and SP should convoke against the National Assembly (Congress). Since the class struggle did not develop according to their plans, Lambert and Just, leaders of the OCI, and Tendency #1 of the LCR are trying to place it on the right track. There is a CP-SP majority, they say, and since there is another majority which is residing in the National Assembly, it is necessary to remove it! ...

Behind the ridiculous aspect of such a policy there is a desperate desire to erase the defeat of March 19th; that is, not only the defeat of the attempt to set up a Popular Front, but as well the bankruptcy that the results of these elections pronounced for the OCI and LCR in their attempts to use the French CP and SP on the path of revolution.

And one can watch a curious ballet in the preparation of this Third Congress where the OCI is holding up the leadership of the LCR and whispering "Trotskyist" arguments to justify its policy of conciliation with Stalinism. Thus, even before the international

organizations which the OCI and LCR belong to have realized their unification, even before the OCI is formally integrated into the LCR, it is the OCI which pulls the strings and gives a new youth to an organization already corrupted by all forms of capitulation to the Stalinist apparatus since 1953.

Militants who want to understand "the political and organizational crisis of the LCR" as well as the haste of Lambert and Just to reunify with it must link these facts to the class struggle and in particular to the defeat of the attempts to influence the counter-revolutionary policy of the French CP and SP from the left, to the difficulties encountered in reconciling the youth with these

gravediggers of the revolution. They will only find a positive solution in the struggle for the independence of the working class which must be forged step by step against the apparatuses of the French CP and SP.

They must thus renew with the combat, the Program and the organization of the Fourth International.

For them, as for the revolutionary youth, this is the perspective that we are putting forward with the preparation of the Trotskyist Congress for the foundation of the Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire, French Section of the Fourth International.

December 17, 1978

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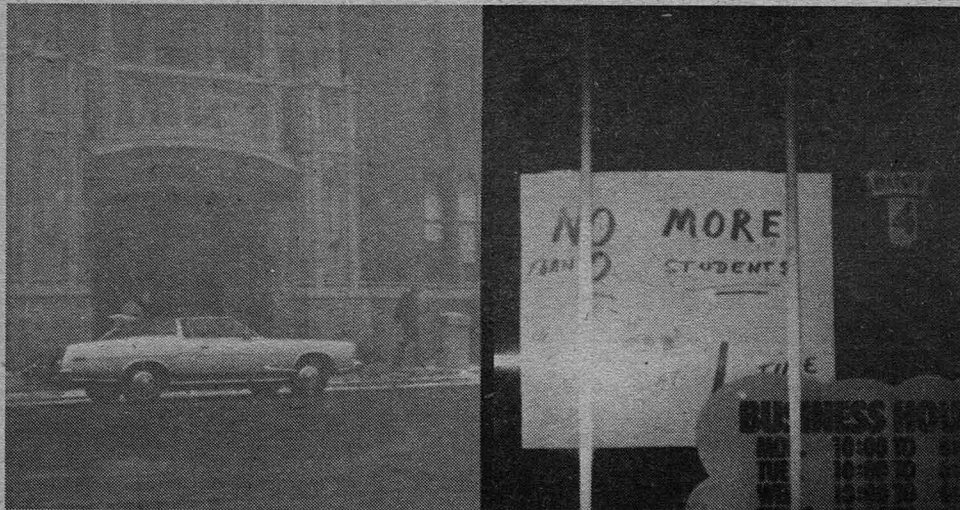
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# TRUTH

## REVOLT IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS-- THE ROAD FOWARD

By BARBARA PUTNAM



Cass Tech

Nearby store

Detroit--2,000 high school students at Detroit's Cass Tech demonstrated on January 5th against the Administration for sending students home for the entire day (called "exclusion") for forgetting ID badges.

This ID badge system amounts to prisoner identification -- used by the school officials to, in the words of the principal, Carmean, "allow for more control". Until now students were sent home to get forgotten ID badges, but the school authorities decided to go beyond these measures.

The significance of this decision was not lost on the students who see it for what it is -- systematic repression. They responded with a demonstration to stop further encroachments on their rights.

A leaflet was issued by a group on campus called the Student Defense League which helped to prepare the demonstration. There is confusion about exactly what the results were -- whether or not the Administration will continue "exclusions".

Students are frustrated. It is not clear what to do next, how to advance the struggle and with what objectives. They are saying the demonstration was "just spontaneous", not "really organized" and that things are up in the air.

The main problem is that no leadership was established and no plans made to continue the struggle. To unify the mobilization which is taking place not only in Cass Tech but in working class high schools like Western on the Southwest side, the Trotskyist

Organization and Revolutionary Young Workers are fighting to build a city-wide struggle to organize STUDENT UNIONS around the most pressing demands: an end to the ID badge system, to police occupation of the schools, for the right to political organizations and mass assemblies to discuss the fundamental problems facing the youth.

Circles of the Revolutionary Young Workers must be formed now to lead the daily struggle and use its own newspaper, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD as the organizer and voice of the fighting youth.

In discussing this with Cass students, one student disagreed with our methods, saying they are "unrealistic". He thinks we should find people who are "already respected and in decision making positions (like a Councilman) to wage the fight. He agrees with our ideas but thinks it would be too hard to organize for them using our methods.

There are political parties around who have elevated this logic to the level of strategy -- the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, USA. They have always said we are "unrealistic," but there realism means accepting the framework established by the Democratic Party for "resolving problems." Their method is one of pressuring bourgeois politicians, Councilmen and liberal organizations like the NAACP. Ours is not.

Our method is to organize the workers and youth independently; fighting for the construction of independent organizations that

fundamentally oppose this racist, imperialist system. The workers and youth must become the decision makers, rely on themselves and their own party, the revolutionary party that organizes their struggle.

The demonstration at Cass Tech represents something. It was more than a "pep rally" as the anti-youth TV and radio stations portrayed it. It represents a response in the form of mass struggle to the attacks of the Carter regime and its lackeys -- to the anti-youth laws, the curfews that were imposed by Mayor Young and his police in the schools, to the passage of the drinking law back to 21 years, to the "controversy" among "respected" bourgeois politicians over whether or not to take away the right to drive until you are 18. It is a res-

ponse to the CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE YOUTH on the part of the government, employers, school authorities, city officials, businessmen, landlords and the parties on the "left" who tell the youth to "pressure" these people to get their rights.

It is a response that must be organized and made conscious of its goal.

The Revolutionary Young Workers and the Trotskyist Organization are not for "pressuring Congress" or, for that matter, Mr. Carmean. No amount of pressuring and pleading will reform a government or a high school that excludes the youth. The youth must take their future into their own hands.

JOIN THE RWY! BUILD THE STRUGGLE FOR STUDENT UNIONS!  
January 10, 1979

## DOWN WITH STALINISM ! FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF INDOCHINA !

In response to the war between Vietnam and Cambodia every class-conscious worker and youth must ask: Is this what thousands of Indochinese workers and peasants sacrificed their lives for? Does this represent thirty years of heroic combat of the Vietnamese and Cambodian masses who first defeated French imperialism and then expelled the most powerful imperialist nation in the world?

Is this what hundreds of thousands of American youth took to the streets for?

No. This isn't what any honest worker or youth has fought for, in Indochina or in the US.

It's a disgrace. And a brutal attack on the revolutionary struggles of the people of Indochina and the working and oppressed masses throughout the world.

Organized by the gravediggers of the world revolution: the INTERNATIONAL STALINIST APPARATUS.

THIS is Stalinism. This is their "theory" of "socialism in one country": two different "socialist models," both thoroughly repugnant, fighting a war against each other.

This is their "anti-imperialist national revolution": thirty years of collaboration by the Chinese and Kremlin bureaucrats to betray the aspirations of the people of Indochina. This is "peaceful coexistence" -- peace for the imperialists, barbarism for the workers and peasants.

Foreign policy "experts" are calling this a "proxy war" between the USSR and China. Wrong! This is how the Stalinists WORK TOGETHER around their common cause: the betrayal of the world revolution. By dividing

frontiers, turning nationalities against each other. Through genocide, war and destruction.

Down with Stalinism! With the corrupt, petty bourgeois leaderships of the Vietnamese CP, the Khmer Rouge. Down with the hangmen in Moscow and Peking who are trying to deliver the socialist conquests of the masses in Asia over to imperialism!

And down with all those who apologize for Stalinism. Who line up behind one faction or another. Pseudo-revolutionaries who try to justify this disgrace. Who think that the revolution can advance ANYWHERE without the destruction of Stalinism.

For the Fourth International, the only party in the world founded to destroy Stalinism in the fight for the world revolution, there is only one way forward for the mobilized masses of Vietnam and Cambodia: to turn their guns around against the Stalinist traitors! To organize independently and protect their conquests by taking power in their own name; for the revolutionary unification of the people of Indochina in a UNITED SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

A revolutionary and free association which will guarantee the rights of self-determination for all oppressed nationalities.

This is the only fight worth fighting for today.

DOWN WITH STALINISM! THE UN-CONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA AGAINST IMPERIALISM! LONG LIVE THE UNITED SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF INDOCHINA!

January 10, 1979

TRUTH