

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THE WORLD SITUATION & AMERICAN WORKERS

You can't pick up a newspaper or turn on the TV these days without hearing a discussion of the "world situation." It dominates all the news.

The Chinese invasion of Vietnam. The revolutionary upsurge in Iran. The assassination of the U.S. Ambassador in Afghanistan.

The right-wing Republicans are taking advantage of the situation to criticize Carter's "vacillations."

The "liberal" bourgeoisie is using the China-Vietnam war to continue its anti-communist crusade, never missing an opportunity to identify Stalinism with Leninism.

Thus, the NEW YORK TIMES wrote an editorial on Feb. 19 entitled "The Red Brotherhood at War" which started off: "They are singing 'The Internationale' on all sides of the Asian battles this week as they bury the hopes of the Communist fathers with the bodies of their sons."

This from the same people who in November wrote: "The Shah is our man."

But perhaps the best liberal remark came from the "hero" of the anti-war movement, Eugene McCarthy who declared: "I'd rather see the Chinese fighting the Vietnamese than us fighting the Vietnamese." Which expresses in a nutshell the entire liberal point of view on the Vietnam War.

Everyone has something to say about China or Iran. But NOBODY has anything to say about WHAT THIS MEANS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS.

This includes the pseudo-Trotskyists of the American SWP who sent a "reporter" to Iran and have filled pages of their paper with reportage on Iran, saying nothing about what this means here. Except that U.S. imperialism is "weak."

Everyone, from the bourgeoisie to the pseudo-Trotskyists, agree that the American workers and youth are just PASSIVE SPECTATORS in face of the events around the world today. The

Trotskyist Organization/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International says that this is a LIE.

The truth is that the American working class is a crucial and determining part of the world class struggle today. The workers mobilization in the U.S. -- the strikes, the hatred for this government and its Democratic Party -- is not only part of the world class struggle, it is decisive in restricting the ability of U.S. imperialism to hold back the world revolution.

This is the lesson of Iran. The American working class has restricted the ability of U.S. imperialism to play policeman of the world.

Gone are the days when U.S. imperialism could simply "send in the Marines." The unrest at home and the smoldering social explosion prohibit this.

It began ten years ago when the first black soldier in Vietnam refused to fire his gun "because no Viet Cong ever called me 'nigger.'" It has continued ever since and is even stronger today when in strike after strike the workers show their open defiance of this government.

There is another way in which the American working class is a direct factor in the world situation. The mobilization of the U.S. working class is forcing a greater and greater submission of the international Stalinist apparatus to U.S. imperialism.

The China-Vietnam war is not the "red brotherhood" in action. It is STALINISM. THIS is the "socialism in one country" of the Stalinist bureaucrats, each bureaucracy capitulating more and more to U.S. imperialism, even if it means going to war against each other.

The American working class isn't a passive spectator in face of this crisis of Stalinism, this disgrace to the name of communism and Leninism. It is also the Stalinist apparatus and

its agents in the Two Americas -- the American CP and Fidel Castro -- which helps to keep the working class under the grip of the Democratic Party.

The break of the American workers with the Democratic Party places into question not just Jimmy Carter and Co., but the entire international framework in which the Kremlin serves its imperialist masters.

All of this has important conclusions for the movement we have launched in the U.S. to build a WORKERS PARTY, a party of class independence.

It goes beyond just breaking with the Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats. It is not just a way to settle scores in the U.S.

But the fight for a WORKERS PARTY is also an international

task. A means for the American workers to settle ITS score with this Stalinist cancer that is betraying the world revolution. It is a means to aid the revolutionary mobilization of workers and youth throughout the world.

Such a party of class independence will change the situation not only here but around the world.

This is the "foreign policy" of the American working class -- the construction of a movement for its own party -- a WORKERS PARTY.

A Workers Party whose "foreign policy" will stand for one thing and one thing only -- the international socialist revolution.

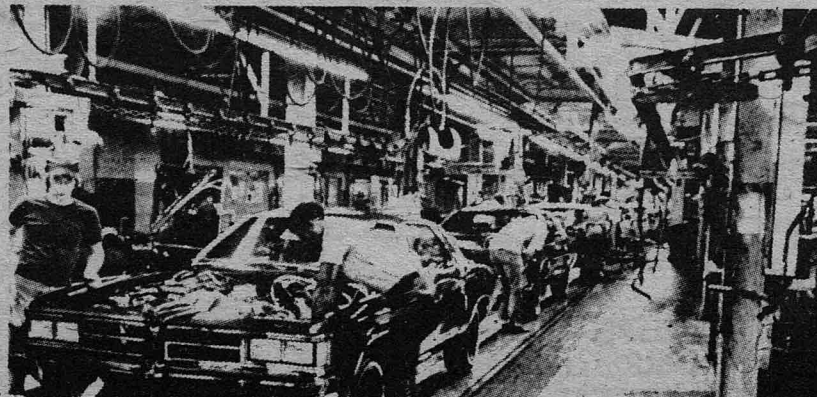
February 22, 1979

TRUTH

INSIDE 

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

PLATFORM OF COMBAT FOR AUTO



TRUTH is your weapon!

This issue of TRUTH is especially important for autoworkers. It contains a four-page special supplement entitled "Join the Movement in the UAW for a Workers Party" and contains the Trotskyist Organization/USA's PLATFORM OF COMBAT for a revolutionary fight in the UAW.

It calls on all autoworkers to join us in the preparation of a central meeting in Detroit on March 18 which will discuss the attitude and tasks of autoworkers in face of the bureaucracy's National Production Workers Conference to be also held in Detroit at the end of March.

Of course, this supplement is not just of interest to autoworkers. Readers of TRUTH in the high schools, colleges, in other unions or industries aren't just spectators in face of the struggle in auto. There is too much at stake.

Every worker and youth in Detroit knows that as auto goes, so goes Detroit. The recession of 1974-75, which saw layoffs of 200,000 autoworkers had repercussions throughout Detroit. Unemployment, crime and drug addiction went up. This was true throughout the country.

On simply this level, the fight in auto involves all workers and youth. But unlike all the other organizations in the workers movement, the Trotskyist Organization/USA is taking up its struggle in auto not as an affair restricted to autoworkers or simply as a "trade union" struggle, but as a political struggle to launch an offensive of the entire working class and oppressed, in which autoworkers must play a leading role.

It is necessary to pay attention to this. Because in the coming months all sorts of organizations, even some who masquerade as "Trotskyists" will appear on the scene in auto. It is their 3-year ritual.

After having done nothing since their appearance when the LAST contract came up, these pseudo-revolutionaries will appear on the scene with their "caucuses" or "demands" which all add up to a few "left" suggestions to the Fraser bureaucracy on how to derail the strike movement.

Mealy-mouthed suggestions which are designed to confuse autoworkers, restrict their struggle

and above all block the road to a POLITICAL solution for autoworkers as part of a solution for the entire working class.

Beware of these pseudo-revolutionaries who will discover autoworkers around September, sound very "militant," and then disappear for another three years when Fraser says "Boo!"

How do you know that we aren't like all the rest? Because we say NOW, in February, as we have been saying for the last three years, that the issue in front of autoworkers is not just a strike or a few more or less "militant" demands, but a political struggle of the entire working class to RENEW ITS LEADERSHIP, to throw out the bureaucrats, to dump the Democratic Party and take the offensive of the entire workers movement by launching a movement to build a party of class independence, a WORKERS PARTY.

Because we intend to take up this discussion with autoworkers and build this movement NOW so that autoworkers will KNOW WHO TO TRUST in September.

And because we aren't offering you a nicely-colored handout which probably won't make it past the factory gate and at best will wind up in the nearest trash can. We promise that this special supplement won't end our fight in auto. From now until September TRUTH will continue the fight to politically arm autoworkers. By making our entire paper a political weapon and a means to organize the movement and clarify the issues in front of the entire working class.

A weapon which must more and more become the voice of autoworkers. For this reason, the Editorial Board of TRUTH opens up the pages of TRUTH to ANY contribution from an autoworker in response to our PLATFORM OF COMBAT or with suggestions and comments on how to take the struggle forward.

TRUTH is not only your weapon, it is ready to be your FORUM. We are waiting to hear from you.

February 22, 1979
TRUTH

TRUTH

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OTHER	15
TOTAL	73

1976 - 1979: THREE YEARS OF DECEPTION

By JON COHEN

In his "State of the Union" message on Jan. 23 Jimmy Carter announced his "New Foundation." We said at the time that it was a crumbling foundation. Even this description was too generous.

The "New Foundation" did not even last a month. "Our friend, the Shah" is gone from Iran forever as the Iranian Armed Forces, built with billions of U.S. dollars, is in shambles. And last weekend we saw exactly what kind of "peace and stability" Carter arranged in Asia during his meetings with Teng of China.

A "new and firmer foundation for the future"? Not for U.S. imperialism around the world and not for U.S. imperialism at home.

Since Carter's "State of the Union" message his popularity has sunk to a new low. In public opinion polls 63% of the population now disapprove of Carter. In the last four months his popularity among "non-whites" has dropped from 62% to 48%. His popularity among "working poor" (workers earning from \$5-10,000) has dropped 18%.

These polls are only the tip of the iceberg. There is no support in the working class for Carter's "New Foundation" of austerity and budget cuts. There is no support in the working class for any notion of "sending in the Marines" into Iran, Afghanistan, or anywhere else.

Jimmy Carter is finished. Since 1960 not a single President of the U.S. has completed two terms of office. There is no reason to believe that Jimmy Carter will be an exception.

But by itself this will solve nothing for the American working class and its youth. It is necessary to understand what has happened since Carter was elected in 1976 and draw precise political conclusions about how to go forward from here. Because there are plenty of snakes ready to take Carter's place.

It has been three years of deception for the American working class and its youth. Without a great deal of confidence a majority of workers voted for Carter and the Democratic Party in 1976 because they believed or hoped that their vote would be a blow against the Nixon era of war, unemployment and repression. Much less than a positive vote for Carter, it was a vote AGAINST the Nixon-Ford regime and the repression it stood for.



Workers still held out the hope that perhaps things would be "a little bit better" and a little more "democratic" with Carter in office. But at the same time that workers held these illusions they refused to abandon their independent mobilization and struggles. Wildcat strikes broke out at Chrysler just days after Carter's election and the mobilization of the working class has been unbroken since then.

It was on the basis of these illusions AND this mobilization that U.S. imperialism launched the deception of its "human rights" policy in 1976. Jimmy Carter became the mouthpiece of this policy which was designed to give U.S. imperialism a "democratic" cover both here and around the world.

After Nixon, after Vietnam and Chile, the U.S. bourgeoisie had to clean up its act in face of the workers mobilization. It tried to give U.S. imperialism a "human" face.

But the "human rights" deception was more than just a bit of hypocrisy. It represented a fundamental attack of U.S. imperialism against the working class around the world designed to derail the workers mobilization and to give imperialism some breathing-room.

It was an open attempt to engage the international Stalinist apparatus in a deeper and deeper collaboration with U.S. imperialism, in direct defense of the bourgeois order. The so-called "Euro-Communist" wing of the Kremlin--the Communist Parties in France, Italy and Spain-- are a direct result of this "human rights" maneuver.

The present alliance of the Spanish CP with the Francoist monarchy and its support to the repression of revolutionaries in the name of "democracy" is this "human rights" maneuver in action.

"Human rights" has been the cover for the deeper and deeper penetration of capitalism into

countries like Poland and China.

"Human rights" has been the attempt to "democratize" the military dictatorships in Latin America with the support of Fidel Castro.

And in the U.S. "human rights" attempted to derail the entire mobilization of the American workers to finish with the abuses of the CIA and FBI by proposing a series of "reforms" which are only covers for greater and greater repression against American workers and youth.

The S.1437 Bill now in the U.S. House of Representatives, which makes wildcat strikes a felony and calls membership in an international organization "treason," is "human rights" in action. So is the repression taking place daily against strikes (Newport News being the latest example) which far surpasses anything Nixon was able to do.

Throughout this entire period the American working class has fought back against this deception that the U.S. bourgeoisie tried to pass off as "human rights." There is probably not a single militant worker or youth in this country who today believes that Jimmy Carter or his government stands for "human rights."

But this does not mean that this deception is finished! Because it never had anything to do with "human rights" in the first place. What it concerned above all was an attempt to insure the deeper and deeper collaboration of the agents of capitalism inside the workers movement who have time and time again betrayed and disorganized the workers mobilization.

The trade union bureaucrats. The American Communist Party and its "radical" lawyer in Cuba, Fidel Castro. And their lackeys who falsely call themselves Trotskyists, like those in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

The deception of "human rights" February 20, 1979

will not be finished until the most militant workers draw the conclusion that it is also the deception of those in the workers movement who claim to speak for the workers but in reality allow this capitalist system to continue to exist. That Carter's bankruptcy is their bankruptcy also.

All of these traitors are now telling you that the problem is "Carter." That if someone "better" replaced him all your problems will be solved. Or that we need to elect someone who is "serious" about "human rights."

Above all they want to prevent the working class from organizing its own political alternative. This is the REAL deception of the last three years. That the working class can challenge the most powerful government in the world without taking up a political struggle, without building its own party against the parties of U.S. imperialism.

This is the REAL deception--that since the black upsurge in the 60's, the mobilization against the Vietnam War, against Nixon, and the continued offensive of the working class-- the U.S. bourgeoisie, with the aid of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists has succeeded in directing the attention and mobilization of the most advanced workers away from the most central and immediate task in front of them--the construction of their own mass, independent party.

In order to organize the break with the Democratic Party into a mass movement. A movement which can shatter the entire international framework of class collaboration and open up a new stage in the class struggle in the U.S. A movement that will expose ALL the deception of the present situation.

It is to combat the deception of these three years and transform the hatred of the workers and youth for this government into an offensive for a political solution for the entire working class that the Trotskyist Organization/USA is launching a movement for a WORKERS PARTY.

A movement to build the party of class independence of the American working class. A movement which can only be built by confronting all those in the workers movement who participated in this deception. A movement which will allow the best fighters in the working class to take the initiative in face of the crumbling of Carter's "New Foundation."

REPRINTED FROM LA AURORA No. 200

Parliamentarism &

By A. S. RIBES

We are reprinting the following article which originally appeared in Issue #200 of LA AURORA, the newspaper of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International-- the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE).

The article deals with the intervention of the PORE in the March 1 national elections and the fight to provide a political alternative to the reactionary Cortes of the Francoists and the Stalinists-- a WORKERS CORTES based on factory delegates and the independent mobilization of the working class. The revolutionary policy of the PORE confronts both the opportunists in the workers movement who say that the only thing the working class can hope for in these elections is a "workers majority" in the reactionary Cortes and the sectarians whose proposal of a "boycott" only reinforces the illusions of workers that they can abstain from a political combat for power.

The fight of the PORE to present a SLATE FOR A WORKERS CORTES has already encountered the repression of the monarchy. Already, in June 1977 the PORE was declared illegal by the monarchy. After the passage of the "democratic" Constitution on December 6 the PORE once again demanded its legalization and presented its Statutes, the Program of the Fourth International, to the government. On January 19 the government informed the PORE that its Statutes were being sent to the Prosecutor's Office "in order to study what criminal proceedings to initiate."

Once again we see the nature of Spanish "democracy." A "democracy" where the cowards and traitors in the workers movement are "legal," while the revolutionaries and youth are subject to a brutal persecution.

American workers can intervene in these elections by demanding the legalization of the PORE and in particular the SLATE FOR A WORKERS CORTES. Send messages of support to: LA AURORA, Apartado Correos 5154, Barcelona, Spain.

February 19, 1979

TRUTH

The government's convocation of both general and municipal elections, prepared with the brutal resurgence of repression, the accelerated conspiracies of the military leaders who are planning a coup and with the escalation of the assassinations by the police and Guardia Civil express the tremendous political convulsions caused by the survival of the Francoist institutions.

The political and social situation is so critical that it is not even possible to assure that these elections will be held. The bourgeoisie, the state institutions where power really resides and its alliance with the "socialist" and "communist" parties have taken the elections as a decisive basis for creating the conditions for crushing of the working masses. This situation demands on the part of the proletariat and its conscious fraction represented by its revolutionary party a development of its tactics and political delimitation.

The decision of the PORE's Central Committee to intervene in these elections with a SLATE FOR A WORKERS CORTES, in coalition with the JRE (Revolutionary Youth of Spain), to organize the struggle to build the independent organs of the workers against the Francoist state and its Monarchist Constitution, forms part of this tactical development and the very consciousness of the tasks and objectives that the Party is pursuing in its struggle to organize the working class for the seizure of power.

THE REVOLUTIONARY UTILIZATION OF ELECTIONS AND PARLIAMENTS OF THE BOURGEOIS STATES

The objective of communists is the destruction of the bourgeois state through the mobilization of the masses, taking political power and forming its own state: that of the armed workers and peasants organized in soviets.

Elections and parliaments, the most democratic as well as the most reactionary, are only institutions, instruments, forms of the bourgeois state apparatus to fool the masses and to continue the exploitation of capital.

The objective of communists and the revolutionary proletariat is the destruction of the bourgeois state, including the destruction of parliaments and parliamentarism.

Parliamentarism, with the division of legislative (Parliament, Congress and executive functions, placing the representatives elected by the population outside of where the real resources of power lie (the Government, the General Staff of the Army, the Church, etc.) is actually a smokescreen which hides the real maneuvers of the dominating class. For this reason, the proletariat, in its mobilization to build its own power, must reject parliamentarism. Its representative institutions (Workers Cortes) must be "a working corporation, legislative and executive at the same time." For this reason communists are against parliamentarism and parliaments -- reactionary instruments in the service of capital.

These principles of revolutionary struggle, which are part of the best traditions of the international proletariat, demand using tactical questions to the utmost in face of every concrete situation and in face of elections or parliaments in particular.

The traditions of the proletariat have also been that, in general, the necessary and correct tactic has been to intervene in the elections and parliaments of the reactionary states. That communists do not abandon a single piece of ground where they are able to fight the enemy and develop the revolutionary mobilization, not even the most reactionary institutions of the state of the exploiters.

The mass mobilizations whose development is a political question, leads nowhere by itself. But a condition of this mobilization is that it be directed in a conscious and organized way against the bourgeois state and for the seizure of power. It is for this reason that the party, in order to lead the mobilization of the masses, is built on all terrains and uses the struggle of the proletariat in elections or bourgeois parliaments as a support for the revolutionary struggle and to win the still backward masses of the population

The anarchist ultra-leftist attitude of refusing in principle to intervene in elections and parliaments only leaves the field open to the class enemy and gives up a forum to call into action those sectors who are still not behind them. This attitude, fiercely fought by the Third International, has regained strength because of the electoral participation developed by the reformists and Stalinists which repels the most honest fighters. But in order to unmask these treacherous agreements with the reaction the proletariat must invade every political arena, showing the real revolutionary work inside these bourgeois institutions. It is necessary to send in true revolutionary agents in order to undermine these institutions and aid in shattering

them by the revolutionary activity of the masses. Unless this happens, there will continue to be sections of the population who will wait for something positive to come from the treacherous parties like the Spanish CP and the PSOE (Socialist Party).

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOBILIZATION AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION AND THE MONARCHIST CORTES

The Cortes of the monarchy is not a real parliament in the traditional sense of the term.

Bourgeois parliaments developed as a democratic form of the exploiters' state; a terrain where some gains were won by the masses. They have been converted, in the decay of capitalism, into pure instruments of executive power, chambers of gossip and conciliation in order for the voting public to believe that they still have some power.

The Cortes of the monarchy was not born as a democratic form of the state; but in face of decisive convulsions which would have destroyed the fascist institutions forged by Franco these same institutions made a treasonous pact with the Spanish CP and the PSOE in order to insure its survival. From this counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance of the Francoist apparatus with the parties that claim to represent the workers, the Cortes of the monarchy was born.

This compromise, which they try to pass off as the road to a democratic consolidation, enables them to collaborate in preserving the Francoist essence of the state, keeping the workers disorganized and sabotaging their independent mobilization. It also serves to separate the workers from politics, preparing for their demoralization when workers see that strikes have their precise limits if they do not develop into political-revolutionary activity.

The Cortes and its elections are a trap, an attempt to tie a section of workers to the plans to save the monarchy, attempts which up until now have broken up with a loud crash--the Constitutional Referendum being the most notorious.

Workers must develop a balance sheet and perspectives-- since the death of Franco they have realized many strikes, lived through two referendums, elections to the Cortes, elections to factory committees and now face general and municipal elections.

With their mobilization they have aborted the reactionary attempts to make them submit to the will of the capitalists, but the absence of their own revolutionary perspective has kept them disorganized as a class leading to the position of abstention in face of the political problems of the seizure of power. Creating strong illusions that victory is possible outside of the political struggle and passing alongside the reactionary Cortes and its Constitution.

The independent organization of the proletariat, the coordination of the struggle of all the factories, cannot progress without a political perspective. Without this, workers will be repressed and assassinated as "terrorists," will be thrown out into the streets, will remain defenseless in face of the military conspiracies. That is, they will remain in the hands of reaction through the Spanish CP and PSOE.

The perspective is the mobilization to construct a Workers Cortes which will confront and destroy the Cortes of the monarchy and its Francoist state apparatus.

FROM THE JUNE 15, 1977 ELECTIONS TO THE ELECTIONS ON MARCH 1

Anti-parliamentarism



The June 15 elections were the window-dressing for the survival of the Francoist regime, officially passing over to a crowned-democracy. Its preparation was the forging of the counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance through the compromise represented by the legalization of parties at the same time that the PORE was prohibited along with the radical nationalists.

The elections were able to be held because they tried to silence the workers movement and its revolutionary fraction. The PORE thus called for the organization of the boycott as a means to confront the Francoist state and tried to organize the confrontation through the struggle for the centralization of the Committees.

The elections did not represent any "stabilization" or "advance towards democracy" and the reality was that they did not succeed in winning the trust of the industrial centers or the oppressed nationalities.

In order to assimilate the movement for the election of Factory Committees, the government tried to regulate them through trade union elections. The PORE drew the balance sheet of the necessity to develop a political alternative against the monarchy and called for a struggle to build a Workers Cortes out of factory delegates, fighting in these elections against the government's decree which integrated factory committees into the state. Nor were these elections able to place a brake on the working class as the Francoists and bureaucrats desired; even though they were able to prevail in the trade union framework in the sense that the political alternative of the Workers Cortes did not develop sufficiently.

Since the glaring defeat of the Constitutional Referendum, in which almost a majority of the population abstained, those who took up alongside the Party the activity for the boycott are still a minority. Because there is a tendency among the masses to delay the final confrontation in face of the revolutionary task of organizing a Workers Cortes.

The present elections pose all these problems and pose the necessity for the revolutionary intervention of the masses, offering its political alternative, building its Workers Cortes.

It is necessary to convert the mass mobilization into the principal political factor in the transformation of the country. It is necessary to confront abstentionism, which tries to elude, but cannot prevent, a delay in the struggle for power, so that the entire rejection expressed in the Referendum is converted into conscious activity to destroy the counterrevolutionary Cortes.

The struggle to construct a Workers Cortes also has to be taken up in the elections in order to shatter, in favor of the revolution, the entire masquerade of participation in the monarchy's Cortes in which the Pabloite usurpers of the LCR and others of the "extreme left" are a part of.

"Workers majority in the Cortes" is the cry, or theme of betrayal, of those who try to defend the existence of the Cortes and the monarchy itself with this slogan. They seek elections in which the proletariat will not intervene, be excluded and have no other alternative than apolitical strikes, thus making possible its coexistence with the monarchy-- or advancing a sector of the working class to support the Francoist state. With this proposal they repudiate the historical lessons of the proletariat already sharply affirmed in the Second Congress of the Third International. That it does not concern conquering the bourgeois and reactionary parliaments but intervening in them in order to destroy them, sabotage them and open the eyes of the entire population to the alliances of betrayal that the "workers" leaders perpetuate in their name. To denounce the official gossip and to use all possibilities to develop revolutionary ideas.

The PORE, alongside and in coalition with the JRE (Revolutionary Youth of Spain), is forming a SLATE FOR A WORKERS CORTES in order to destroy these reactionary plans ON THEIR OWN TERRAIN.

Trotskyists don't claim that the proletariat is participating in elections in order to support and defend the state of the exploiters, but instead to open up a political forum for the intervention of the revolutionary struggle in the reactionary covering of these monarchist elections. Thus, the PORE is fighting for the mass mobilization to become the principal political factor against this state, for the

construction of a Workers Cortes to become the element of the destruction of the monarchy, using its own elections to do this. For all organizations to be forced to define themselves and clearly confront the revolutionary policy, in order for the proletariat to clearly designate and discern its friends and enemies.

For the proletariat and the oppressed population to win in the elections is not through the false alternative of a "workers majority in the Cortes" or how many deputies the SLATE FOR A WORKERS CORTES can actually win, but its mobilization and advances in the construction of the WORKERS CORTES.

The SLATE FOR A WORKERS CORTES is an enormous help to this struggle for independent organization and for this reason the campaign to impose it is that of the regroupment of sections of the proletariat, the centralization of the Committees, the strengthening of the Assemblies through a Workers Cortes which is going to hold its Third Session. It means that the proletariat will intervene in the electoral political struggle, transforming its strikes into political mobilizations against the monarchy.

January 12, 1979

WORKERS CORTES SLATE IN BARCELONA

NURIA MARTI SATO--Member of the Central Committee of the PORE, of the Factory Committee of Cedis (Terrassa), of the metal workers secretariat of the CCOO (Workers Commissions), expelled bureaucratically by the Spanish CP of Terrassa.

ALFONSO BECH PEIRO--Member of the Central Committee of the PORE, fired from SEAT after the police occupation in 1971 and still not rehired. Member of the CCOO of SEAT since 1969 and bureaucratically expelled by the SCP.

TERESA MIRABET CUCALA--Leader of the Revolutionary Youth of Spain (JRE), employed, member of the CNT. MIGUEL SALAS YEBRA--Member of the Central Committee of the PORE, persecuted for his role as Editor of LA AURORA by a Military Tribunal against him and LA AURORA, member of the Factory Committee of Banco Atlantico and the CCOO.

ESPERANZA ARDIZ CUTILLAS--Member of the JRE, worker at Hispano Olivetti, member of the CNT. JUAN RAMIREZ CUETO--Member of the Central Committee of the PORE, member of the Factory Committee of Ingemesa, fired from Hispano Olivetti, member of the CCOO.

ROSER PINEDA CASADEMONT--Member of the Central Committee of the PORE, member of the Factory Committee of Laboratorios Almirall of Barcelona, member of the CCOO. ANTONIO ROMERO-BANOLAS--unemployed delegate of the Terrassa Unemployed Assembly, member of the CNT.

ROSA MA FERRANZ BRINQUE--Member of the Factory Committee of Fischer. ALBERTO MARTI SATO--National Teachers of Sabadell, member of the CCOO recently threatened with expulsion.

VIRTUDES LUJA SANCHEZ--worker at Robello de la Madera (Ripollet), member of the CCOO. RAMON CARDONA BEL--Member of the JRE, construction worker in Barcelona, member of the CNT. ANTONIO TEJERO YAMUZA--Construction worker in Barcelona, member of the CCOO.

FEDERICO LAX BORRELL--unemployed, member of the Unemployed Assembly of Terrassa, expelled member of the CCOO. CARLOS GIRBAU COSTA--Leader of the JRE, worker at El Periodico, member of the CNT.

(14 other names are on this slate which are left out for lack of space--TRUTH).

THE 2 Americas of U.S. Imperialism: A RA

By JON COHEN

During his visit to Mexico last week Jimmy Carter made an insulting remark about a case of "Montezuma's revenge" which he contracted the last time he was in Mexico.

Supposedly, this remark was made in order to "get even" for being "lectured" by Mexican President Lopez Portillo during his visit. But the truth of the matter is something quite different.

The truth is that the relationship of U.S. imperialism to its Latin American "neighbors" is as insulting and chauvinist as Carter's remark. And all the "lecturing" by servants of U.S. imperialism like Lopez Portillo can't hide the fact that Latin America today is one vast prison of imperialist exploitation and oppression.

Lenin called Czarist Russia a "prison-house of nations." But Czarist Russia was nothing compared to the way in which the U.S. bourgeoisie has turned both Americas-- North and South-- into a prison of national exploitation and oppression.

Since the 1820's the U.S. bourgeoisie has treated Latin America as its private backyard. The stories of "gunboat diplomacy," of "banana republics" are too numerous to mention here, except to say that they describe a history of imperialist rape and plunder unequalled anywhere else in the world.

The important thing to understand is that this rape and plunder is continuing today. For sure, the act has been cleaned up a little. There has been the "Good Neighbor Policy," the "Alliance for Progress," the Panama Canal Treaty and now "human rights."

But the Two Americas remain a prison ruled by U.S. imperialism and the task of national liberation from the yoke of this oppression remains the central, immediate task in front of every worker and youth in every country in these Two Americas. The struggle against national oppression is inseparable from the fight for the proletarian revolution and for the revolutionary unification of the proletariats of the North and South in a UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

This is why the Fourth International and its party in the United States, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, unconditionally support and defend the struggle for national liberation against U.S. imperialism in every country in Latin America. Marx said a long time ago that no proletariat could be free as long as it allowed its bourgeoisie to enslave another people, either outside or within its borders.

This is especially true for the U.S. proletariat. The preparation of the American revolution, in the heartland of U.S. imperialism, can only be taken up as a struggle against the national oppression and exploitation throughout the Americas.

Against the racism and chauvinism of its ruling class, the U.S. working class and its youth must fight to unconditionally defend the national liberation struggle throughout the Americas as a struggle for its own revolution. The entry of the U.S. working class into this struggle is decisive.

Because in the end result it is only the organized power of the U.S. proletariat, aggressively defending the struggles of its brothers and sisters throughout the Americas, that can break the grip of the petty bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist leaders over the Latin American working class.

All of them-- from Lopez Portillo and his "Revolutionary" Party in Mexico, to the "Apristas" in Peru, to Fidel Castro-- base their "anti-Yankee" rhetoric, rhetoric which only covers for

their total submission to capitalism and U.S. imperialism, on the accusation that the U.S. working class is "backward" and that Latin American workers cannot rely on them for support. Instead, they must turn to the "liberal" bourgeoisie and, in the end result, to U.S. imperialism itself.

The struggle of U.S. workers is thus decisive in aiding revolutionaries in Latin America in their struggle to forge a new leadership for the working class against these petty bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist leaders. A new leadership which can only be forged by uniting the struggles of the workers in the Two Americas.

But there is even more to this question. The "prison-house of nations" which describes the domination of Latin America by U.S. imperialism describes the situation WITHIN the borders of the United States as well.

The struggle against national oppression is not simply a question of "unity" or "solidarity" with struggles outside the borders of the U.S. It is a crucial question for the class struggle inside the U.S. also, a question for the American working class and American revolution itself.

The practical situation of Latins living in the United States is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the political question of U.S. imperialism's domination of Latin America is not something "over there" but is a question that exists right inside the American working class. This prison exists at home.

There are now over 20 million people of Latin origin living in the United States. The United States now has the fourth-largest Spanish-speaking population in the Americas and this is the fastest-growing section of the population. There are predictions that in ten years the Spanish-speaking population will outnumber blacks.

In several major cities Latins make up a significant section of the population. In Los Angeles, 27% of the population is Latin. In Chicago, 20%. In New York City there are over one million Puerto Ricans.

These Latins are overwhelmingly poor and working class. Statistics show that 21% of Latins are below the poverty level, when the figure is only 9% for the population as a whole. They are subject to the most brutal repression in this country.

Driven from their own countries (mostly Puerto Rico and Mexico) by the brutal impoverishment created by U.S. imperialism, they are forced to seek the poorest-paying and most miserable jobs in the U.S., where they are persecuted as "illegals."

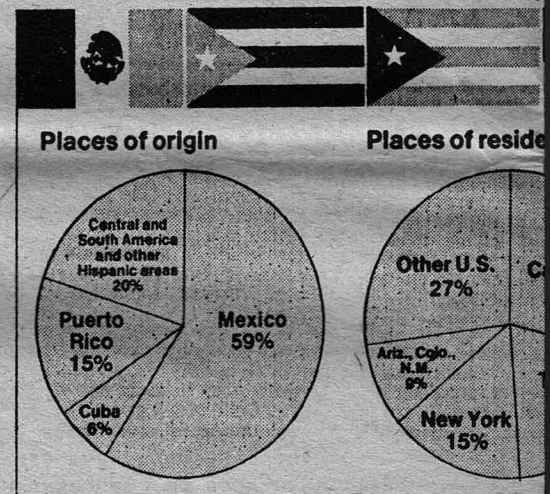
"Illegal" for anyone but a few lackeys to make a decent living in their own countries under the domination of U.S. imperialism, and "illegal" to make a living in the U.S. itself. A perfect description of the prison that U.S. imperialism has made of the Two Americas.

But not illegal for GM and Chrysler to move parts assembly operations just across the border into Juarez, where workers are paid \$6 a day!

The rape and plunder of Latin America is right here in the situation faced by Latin workers who are part of the U.S. proletariat and whose combat must be taken up unconditionally by the working class as a whole.

A combat against the repression of Latin workers. Full legal rights for all workers living and working in the U.S. Down with "La Migra"! The only "illegals" are those who run this terrorist racist state! Full rights for Spanish-speaking youth in the schools, including instruction in Spanish!

This struggle is part of the struggle for the



American revolution, especially since Latin workers make up a significant proportion of the industrial proletariat. But it is as well a demonstration that the struggle for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS is not something abstract. It is a question of the unity of the American working class itself, a unity that must be forged if the U.S. bourgeoisie is to be overthrown.

Because the U.S. bourgeoisie rules in Latin America, but above all in the U.S., through a "divide and conquer" strategy, isolating sections of the American working class from each other. It uses the racial and national differences in the working class as a barrier to the unification of the workers in a common struggle against their oppressor.

The black question in the U.S. is totally related to this problem. Not only is the Two Americas under U.S. imperialism a chauvinist prison of national oppression, but it is also a RACIST prison.

Once slaves in the period of capitalist development in the U.S., now "liberated" into the heart of the industrial proletariat, the exploitation and oppression of blacks is at the center of U.S. imperialism's continued existence. When black workers refer to the auto plants in

RACIST AND CHAUVINIST PRISON

the U.S. as the "PLANT-ation system," they are not far from the truth.

Because under capitalism today both aspects are combined-- the brutality of the "plantation system" along with the "freedom" of capitalism-- the freedom to exploit blacks and the freedom to throw them into the ranks of the unemployed. Blacks are not a nation in the true sense of the word; they speak no different language, they do not live in one area of the country. They are above all victims of racist oppression.

But under the present-day conditions of capitalism's decay and in face of the prison for oppressed peoples that U.S. imperialism has created throughout the Two Americas there is no guarantee that the problem of the racist oppression of blacks may not also turn into a struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

For the Fourth International what is important is that along with the struggle against the national oppression of U.S. imperialism, the struggle for black liberation is central to not only the American revolution, but the revolution throughout the Americas. That is why the struggle for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC is also a struggle for black liberation and an unconditional defense of blacks against racist oppression.

group" who should pressure the Democrats into also serving their "special" needs. The whole idea of the revolutionary unification of the American working class in a combat against national and racial oppression is totally foreign to even the conception of this "labor party" of the trade union bureaucrats.

This reformist, nationalist conception of the labor bureaucrats is transformed into "theory" by the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP. Not only do they call for a "labor party," but they call for a "black party" and a "Chicano party" also.

Which gives you a rough idea of what the "programs" for these parties would be-- "programs" within the framework of the national and racist divisions created by U.S. imperialism-- "programs" that accept the entire framework of this racist and chauvinist prison of U.S. imperialism.

With "criticisms," of course. The same kind of "criticisms" as those of Lopez Portillo.

Workers can only break out of this prison by building a party AGAINST this national and

racist oppression. A party that doesn't accept the racial and national divisions imposed by imperialism. A party that doesn't accept national boundaries. That links the struggle for national liberation to the struggles of the ENTIRE working class. That refuses to accept U.S. imperialism's "divide and conquer" strategy.

This is why the movement for a WORKERS PARTY that the Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes for the American working class is at the same time a movement against this racist and chauvinist prison ruled by U.S. imperialism. A movement for national liberation and for black liberation. A movement which is at the same time the struggle to unite the workers of the Two Americas in a common struggle for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

Because in the Two Americas class independence is above all independence from U.S. imperialism's racist and chauvinist prison.

February 21, 1979

JIMMY CARTER AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

Mexico seems to be "in" this "season." First, the pope dropped in and discovered the "simple joys of the poor." Now, Carter has paid a visit to see that things stay that way.

Mexico is a key country in Latin America. Not merely because of its large population, or relatively high economic level, but because of something more important. The workers and peasants of Mexico have a long tradition of heroic struggles which together are known as the Mexican Revolution.

The problem is that all these struggles against poverty and oppression have fallen short of their goals. The Mexican Revolution will not be finished until the misery of the Mexican people is finally wiped out.

In all these struggles, the achievement of the real independence of Mexico has been central. Not merely a formal national independence, but the freeing of all the energies of the nation. The struggle for democratic rights, for land reform, for the control of the nation's wealth, has been the form of the drive for freedom.

But from the very beginning, this drive has been opposed by the capitalist class of the United States, which wanted to subordinate Mexico and all of Latin America to itself.

The "Monroe Doctrine," following the 1821 revolution against Spain, substituted U.S. domination for Spanish, in collaboration with the British Empire. The "Mexican War" of 1846-48 seized a huge portion of territory from Mexico, where slavery had been abolished, in order to expand the slave system in the U.S.

At the end of the nineteenth century, U.S. capitalism grew into U.S. imperialism. What had been bad before became the worst. And this was true in regard to Mexico as well.

Imperialist investment in Mexico meant the deepening of the impoverishment of the Mexican masses. It meant the complete domination of the Mexican government by U.S. imperialism. And this, in turn, meant brutal dictatorship over the Mexican workers and peasants.

In opposition to this there arose the great peasant revolts of Zapata and Villa and the beginning of the mobilization of the working

class. Great battles had to be fought against U.S. imperialism, which even invaded the country in 1916. The culmination of these struggles was Mexico's nationalization of its oil in 1938.

Beyond this, the struggles failed. It was impossible to defeat U.S. imperialism without the class struggle of the workers, leading the peasants. But this class struggle threatened the Mexican capitalists and landholders, who were themselves tied to U.S. imperialist corporations and banks. And these capitalists and "hacendados" remained in control of the revolution, which meant that the revolution could not be completed.

The continued domination of Mexico by U.S. imperialism through the party of this capitalist class, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), is the reason why Mexico remains today a backward, poverty-stricken country.

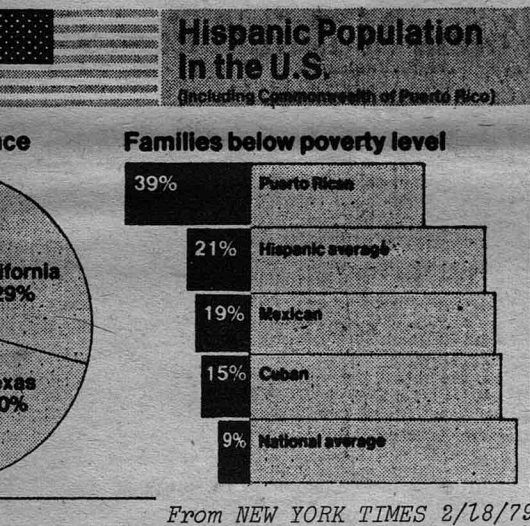
Carter's journey to Mexico expresses this clearly.

The oil wealth (particularly the natural gas) that the workers and peasants fought to keep for the development of their nation, will instead be bargained away solely for the benefit of the rich and their PRI. All the poor will get is the increased "development" of poverty and repression.

Carter also wants (Mexican President -- PRI) Lopez Portillo to control the so-called "illegal aliens." It is the continued imperialist domination of Mexico and the misery it creates that has driven these workers to the U.S. And this misery, together with their "illegal" status, makes these workers cheap labor for imperialism inside the U.S. itself.

The Mexican Revolution must be fought out to the finish. This can be done only by finally crushing U.S. imperialism with the aid of all the oppressed of the Americas, particularly of the U.S. working class that lives "in the belly of the monster." The United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas represents the fulfillment of all the hopes and struggles that make up the Mexican Revolution.

February 15, 1979
K.F.



Again, not as something abstract, but because the prison of the Two Americas is a prison for the American working class also. And because the struggle for the unity of the American working class against the racial and national division imposed by the bourgeoisie can only be an international struggle. The tasks of the preparation of the revolution throughout the continent are the same.

All of this has immediate, practical conclusions for the kind of party we must build in the United States. Elsewhere in this paper you have heard us talking about the need to build a movement for a WORKERS PARTY in the U.S. A party of class independence.

What kind of party is this? Especially in relationship to this problem of national and racial oppression?

To even pose the question in this way immediately provides some answers. It becomes immediately obvious that when the labor bureaucrats talk about a "labor party" they are talking about a party confined to the "unions", that will serve as some kind of pressure group on the Democrats to defend the "unions" as a "special interest group."

And it becomes obvious that flowing from this, blacks and Latins are another "special interest

Chinese Workers Fight for Power

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

At this writing, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam has stopped in its tracks. The outcome is not yet decided.

The article below makes the point that the crisis of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, produced by the mobilization of the masses for power, finds its expression in an ever more slavish subordination to imperialism, in an ever deepening counter-revolutionary role. The invasion of Vietnam is the latest and the most glaring example of this.

This invasion is an attack on the conquests of the Vietnamese AND Chinese Revolutions, to the profit of world (and especially, U.S.) imperialism. It is a conscious attempt to disgrace the very idea of revolution, of communism. In addition, especially in China, it is an attempt to stifle internal opposition through aggression abroad, a standard feature of reactionary regimes.

This is the latest demonstration of the absolute necessity of overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracy.

DOWN WITH STALINISM!

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF CHINESE TROOPS!

FOR THE UNITY OF THE VIETNAMESE AND CHINESE MASSES!

February 19, 1979

TRUTH

What is going on in China? Beneath all the lies and confusions, it is the struggle of the Chinese working class to seize political power from the Stalinist bureaucracy that is the cause of the events occurring today.

The Chinese working class has a long and bitter experience of Stalinism. The first great upsurge of the Chinese Revolution in 1925-27 was betrayed by Stalinism, which handed over the workers to Chiang Kai-Shek. Stalinism abandoned these workers for the peasant revolt and reappeared in the cities only in 1949, as the leadership of an alien class in command of and counterposed to the proletariat.

Every step forward in winning the socialist conquests of the revolution was accompanied by new attacks on the class independence of the workers, such as the executions and jailings of the Chinese Trotskyists (whose fate remains unknown) in 1952-53.

In 1957, terrified by the Hungarian Revolution and the anti-Stalinist upsurge, Mao Tse-tung deliberately brought all the hatred of Stalinism in China out into the open — under the cynical slogan: "Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" — in order to crush



Chinese youth in Peking

all opposition and to disorient the Chinese masses. When the "hundred flowers" began to bloom, the bureaucracy (led by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, then the CP general secretary, now a "democratizer") lopped off their heads, slandering this movement as "rightist."

What Mao and Teng feared can be seen from the case of Lin Hsi-ling, labeled an "extreme rightist." This young woman communist was convinced that "the present upper stratum of China does not correspond with the property system of common ownership" as shown by the fact that the "party and state apparatus has become a set of bureaucratic organs ruling people without democracy." This required, in her view, "not reform, but a thoroughgoing change." And she made her perspective clear: "Let us get united! The Hungarian people's blood has not been shed in vain." It was this call for overthrowing the bureaucracy that the Stalinists tried to bury. Today this call arises stronger than ever.

The growing hatred of the Chinese workers and youth for the bureaucracy, particularly because of the famine and depression produced by the "Great Leap Forward," were reaching a boiling point by the mid-1960's. Mao, in starting the so-called "Cultural Revolution," was trying to divert this hatred away from the bureaucratic regime as a whole by sacrificing to it his opponents within the regime.

But once in motion, the working class, together with

the most advanced of the Red Guard youth, began to press forward toward its own rule. This found its expression in the great strikes of 1966-67, particularly the general strike in Shanghai in January 1967. This mobilization was suppressed, with great difficulty, by the army under Lin Piao. Wang Hung-wen, the youngest of the so-called "gang of four," began his rise to power precisely because of his role in suppressing the Shanghai general strike. This tells us as much about his "leftism" as Teng's crushing of the "hundred flowers" tells us about his "democratism."

In the next period, while the bureaucracy pasted together a difficult and fragile "unity," the workers and youth began to draw a balance sheet of their struggles, to come to a clearer understanding of the tasks that lay before them. This was especially true of the suppressed Red Guards, millions of whom were exiled to the countryside by the regime.

In this situation, the bureaucracy launched an attack on the workers and the youth, in the form of the "movement to criticize Lin Piao, criticize Confucius." This period, essentially 1974-75, marks a real turning point. For, in this campaign, the working class essentially defeated the schemes of the bureaucracy and went over to the offensive that continues today.

The nature of the bureaucracy's attack was made plain by the new Constitution adopted in January 1975. This Constitution represented a legitimization of totalitarian police terror. This is no exaggeration. The Public Security (secret police) openly posted death sentences in Canton in late 1974, the list being headed by three young students whose crime was having organized "a study group of Marxist thought."

The workers took up this challenge and, under the cover of "criticizing Lin," etc., began to "criticize" the bureaucracy — not merely in words, but in action.

There was a great strike upsurge throughout China in late 1974 and early 1975 — in the coal mines and on the railways, as well as among the metal workers of Wuhan, Canton, Harbin, Shanghai, Taiyuan, Paotow and Chengtu. The city of Hangchow was the scene of practically uninterrupted mobilizations from 1974 through 1976.

These mobilizations produced an open crisis in the bureaucracy, expressed in its "Document 21" which openly admitted its loss of control over

the situation. One sign of this was that factory managers, unable to handle "criticism," had actually fled their positions and had to be cajoled and threatened to go back to work.

At this time, on November 7, 1974, there appeared in Canton a remarkable wall poster, called "Concerning Socialist Democracy and the Legal System." It became known as the "Li Yi-che poster" from the pseudonym it was signed with, made up from the name of the three young ex-Red Guards who wrote it: Li Cheng-t'ien, its chief author; Chen Yi-yang and Huang Hsi-che.

In the midst of the "criticism" of Lin, this poster said openly that the problem was not Lin Piao, but "the Lin Piao system," the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. Its demands for "socialist democracy" and "legality" were directed against Public Security. It denounced the phony egalitarianism of the Maoists, demanding a higher standard of living for the masses. The poster is far from perfect of course, being still imbued with Maoist ideology and seeing the bureaucracy as a new class. Nonetheless, its revolutionary spirit and its demands reflected the feeling of the masses and earned it great popularity.

The regime responded by labeling it (as with the "hundred flowers") "reactionary through and through, and vicious and malicious in the extreme." In addition, the three authors were imprisoned in a "labor camp," digging coal in a 19th-century mine. In recent demonstrations in Peking the demand for the release of these revolutionaries has been raised.

The breakthrough that occurred in this mobilization is the key to developments since then. The famous demonstration of 100,000 at Tien An Men square in April 1976 was in fact a mobilization against Public Security. The response of the Maoists in naming Hua Kuo-feng (the present Chairman) as Mao's heir was highly significant, for Hua was precisely the chief of Public Security! The fall of the Mao group (the "gang") in October 1976 showed the inability of the bureaucracy to defeat the mass mobilization and the open crisis this produced in the Stalinist apparatus.

This mobilization was likewise responsible for the wage increases (limited though they are) the Chinese workers got in late 1977, the first in TWENTY YEARS. In addition, in March 1978, the bureaucracy had to write a new Constitution,

(Continued to Page 10)

A EUROSTALINIST PRODUCTION

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

One of the first things young students or workers learn is to stick together, subordinate their personal differences to their common good, unite against the school administration or the company.

Now youth and workers must continue this struggle, but on the political plane, build their own party, confront the capitalist class as a whole and the international Stalinist apparatus which supports it.

It's a difficult struggle but not an impossible one. Lenin and Trotsky led the working class in its first monumental victory in this struggle: the construction of the Bolshevik Party, the 3rd Workers International, and the workers government which expropriated the capitalists in Russia.

The Fourth International is fighting to bring all the lessons of this struggle and its own to this young generation of the working class to enable it to accomplish this task. The United Secretariat on the other hand, which falsely claims to represent the Fourth International, is working overtime to confuse and sap the revolutionary energy of the youth.

In the most recent document issued in preparation of its 11th World Congress ("The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," July 1978), the USec comes out in favor of building "class struggle left wings" -- in general, in the unions, and in the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties.

It offers no perspective for the construction of mass parties and the conquest of political power in any country; reduces the construction of the party to individual recruitment and "fusions" with existing "left" organizations; mentions the bourgeois and Stalinist attacks on Leninism and Trotskyism in passing.

The USec hands the political terrain to the bourgeoisie and Stalinism. At the same time in this document, in what seems a contradiction, it denounces the Eurocommunist faction of the Stalinist apparatus in far more militant terms than usual.

Class struggle left wing. Denounce the Eurostalinites. This may sound good on paper. The fact is there already is a "class struggle left wing," if you want to call it that, and it's OUTSIDE the unions and the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. It rejects them. Not only that, there isn't just a left wing, there's a WHOLE class struggle.

The difficulty this "left wing" confronts is passing from simple class struggle to real political class struggle, confronting the reformist and Stalinist apparatuses, providing

a real political alternative to the masses.

Thus in the real class struggle, before this real difficulty, you'll find the members of the United Secretariat, armed with "class struggle left wing" and "fusions" either paralyzed or opposed to the struggle, attack the youth and the Fourth International, trying to drag everyone back under the influence of the treacherous leaderships. They've gone the farthest in Spain. They're trying to pass off getting a parliamentary majority for the CP and SP in the Cortes, still ruled by a King, as a fight for a workers government!

This is not the first resolution for the 11th World Congress and it won't be the last. The course of the preparation of this Congress isn't dictated by the needs of the class struggle and its party. It's dictated by the demands of the Eurostalinites, THEIR need to go farther and farther in attacking the independent political organization of the working class and its fight for power, THEIR need to have more and more of a left cover for this. This is why the United Secretariat's political resolution is closer than ever to the Eurostalinites in content, but farther away in form, denounces them, etc.

The United Secretariat's 11th World Congress is a Eurostalinitist production, from start to finish.

THE ORIGINS OF THE 11th CONGRESS

The preparation of this Congress didn't begin with a balance sheet of the class struggle, a definition of new tasks. It began with the formation of the Eurocommunist faction of the Stalinist apparatus and its attempt to destroy the workers mobilization.

In 1976 workers in Europe, in particular in Spain and Poland, went so far in threatening the respective state apparatuses that a whole faction of the Stalinists concluded that their previous plans to protect these state apparatuses were not enough. They had always found some reason why the construction of a Bolshevik type party and the formation of a real workers government wasn't on the order of the day. In 1976 they came out and declared it would never be. This would only lead to oppression as in the Soviet Union. For the first time they denounced this repression. They offered the workers the perspective of the formation of a loose federation of many parties

which would gradually reform the imperialist states and the Stalinist apparatus. Anyone who did didn't want to accept this reasonable framework was denounced as a Leninist, Stalinist, terrorist. In this way they sought to block the struggle in East and West Europe.

And just as the original Stalinists tried to cover their treachery with the heritage of Lenin, these contemporary Stalinists tried to cover theirs with the heritage of Trotskyism. They called for the rehabilitation of Trotsky. And held out their hands to the pseudo-Trotskyists to join them. (The invitation was published in EUROCOMMUNISM AND THE STATE by Santiago Carrillo in December 1976.

And this is exactly what the pseudo-Trotskyists did. "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," the basis on which they formally opened preparations for their Congress in May 1977, is a first response to the Eurostalinitist request.

This is clear from the beginning. "The current debate in the international labor movement over differing conceptions of socialist democracy is the most deep going since the years following the Russian Revolution ... It is therefore necessary for the Fourth International to state its programmatic positions."

When was the last time you heard anyone in the WORKERS movement debating "conceptions of socialist democracy"? Why should the Fourth International state its positions? They're in its program and they're well known. The USec's talking about the debate in the Stalinist apparatus, adapting its positions to the Stalinists, and calling this the Fourth International!

"Socialist Democracy" serves the theoretical, political and practical needs of the Eurostalinites. It attacks the struggle to build a single party of the working class and leaves the reader with the impression that a coalition of many parties, including the Stalinist ones, will take power and gradually do away with capitalism.

The arguments are cynical. "At most, one could defend the thesis that the revolutionary vanguard party alone programmatically defends the long term historical interest of the proletariat." "There are no infallible parties. There are no infallible party leaderships, party majorities, Leninist central committees." "The interests of all workers are not fundamentally the same, they argue. There is an inevitable tendency for a party in power to degenerate.

The USec says the fight for a single party is Stalinist. They

object to Stalin, not because he took the SINGLE PARTY the working class had and trampled it into the ground, turned it into an instrument of imperialist pressure, but because he didn't grant rights to bourgeois parties! They offer "pluralism" instead, many parties, sort of a modern-day version of "the Founding Fathers/" system of "checks and balances" you learn about in civics.

They even have the gall to suggest that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party may have contributed to the rise of Stalinism!

What's worse, they completely whitewash the Stalinist apparatus. It's not an agent of imperialism, it's "a structured and coherent option on a great number of related questions." Indeed, it's the "only theoretically and politically consistent alternative" to the USec.

"...administrative repression of bourgeois ideology is (not) a necessary condition for the building of socialist society," the USec counsels the Kremlin, as if this what is going on in Russia, as if the Stalinists were suppressing the bourgeoisie and not the working class! Over and over again they repeat this miserable Stalinist lie.

They come right out and justify Stalinist repression: "The present conditions . . . make the problem of upholding proletarian democracy especially difficult." They even have the pompous petty bourgeois chauvinist arrogance to say it's the cultural backwardness of the Russian working class that was responsible for the Stalinists in the first place.

They tell the Eurostalinites exactly what they want to hear, that the pseudo-Trotskyists won't even make a pretense of fighting for the overthrow of Stalinism. They just want a penal code as good as the one in the U.S. worked into the USSR's constitution!

What about the scattered statements in this document in favor of a revolutionary party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of capitalism and Stalinism? Maybe the USec is confused, maybe it's just vacillating?

No. This is deliberate. The Eurostalinites need this. If the USec made no effort to look orthodox and Trotskyist it would not serve as a cover.

The fight to build the workers party against this Congress has to be a real mobilization, not a discussion or debate aimed at changing the USec leadership's positions. And it has to involve the proletarian section of this organization. This is the only way to pull the rug out from under the leadership and its Eurocommunist production. February 20, 1979

Class Struggle Explodes in Britain

The working class of Britain is waging a magnificent struggle for its rights and its standard of living, in the form of huge strikes against the capitalist class and its government. This struggle is not only the latest upsurge in the coming of the European Revolution, but is also a great example and lesson for American workers.

British imperialism, which is rotting on its feet, has consistently tried to make the workers pay for its crisis. One such attempt failed when the Conservative Party government of Prime Minister Heath was brought down in February 1974 by the strike of the coal miners. The British Labour Party, which presents itself as a working class party, and which is politically and financially supported by the trade unions, then came to power.

In July 1975, this government, claiming to be for the workers, imposed wage controls on the British workers. This took the form of a "social contract" between the government and the bureaucratic leadership of the Trades Union Congress (TUC -- the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO).

The workers of the United States now also face such an "anti-inflation policy," also imposed by a government and party that claims to be for the workers, also with the collaboration of the union bureaucracy. What did the British workers get out of the "guidelines," and why are they smashing them now?

Between 1975 and 1978, the rate of inflation in Britain fell from 28% to 8%. That sounds good, doesn't it? Not to mention all the "good news" about North Sea oil, etc. But

when we go beneath these superficial statistics we find the same policy as before -- making the workers pay for the imperialists' crisis.

For instance, in the U.S., the standard of living has stagnated (measured in so-called "real wages") since the mid-1960's. This is bad enough. But in Britain, between 1975 and 1977, real wages FELL by 7% -- an open attack on everything the workers had gained! And this went along with, under the "Labour" Party government, an INCREASE in unemployment from 600,000 to 1.5 million! This shows us the nature of the "recovery" in Britain. This shows us what Carter has in store for the U.S. working class.

Naturally, this attack was resisted. But the "social contract" of the traitors was still in effect. For 1978-79, the government wanted workers to accept 5% pay increases -- in the face of 8% inflation, another fall in real wages.

57,000 British Ford workers struck in November, refusing to accept the limit set by the government. And, through their militancy and aggressiveness, they won a wage increase of 16.58%, over three times the "target!"

This was the beginning of the upsurge which has blown the "social contract" to hell, and which has opened up a new stage in the crisis of British imperialism and its Labour Party-TUC agents.

Oil-tank drivers struck, winning 15%. Truck drivers won over 20%. Locomotive engineers are on strike. 1.5 million local government workers (especially hospital workers and trash collectors) are on strike. Auto workers at nationalized BL, Ltd. (formerly British Leyland) are on strike. And the

It has tried to confuse the struggle of the masses for "socialist democracy" -- the rule of the workers -- with a campaign for bourgeois democracy and the capitalist exploitation that goes with it. And this is not merely in the realm of propaganda, but is directly connected with the drive of the "gang of Teng" to copy the Yugoslavian model for the attack on the socialist conquests -- complete with "democracy" in the form of "workers management," and an increased differentiation among the peasantry.

At the same time, the bureaucracy has tried to bring the mobilization under its control, in order to stop it. This is what it attempted to do in late 1978, culminating with the order on Nov. 30 to stop demonstrations and limit posterings. But it has not been able to do this. Since that date, demonstrations have increased and their demands,



coal miners, who brought down Heath in the first place, are demanding 40% against the government's offer of 3.5%.

Nor are these just ordinary strikes. The workers have been able to win because they have broken loose from the old methods of the bureaucrats and have taken up their own, working class, methods. Factory occupations (sit-down strikes), mass picketing, independent strike committees -- run not by the bureaucrats but by the workers -- have been the way in which the fight has been won. Flying picket squads have spread the strike, shutting down all operations connected with their objectives (this is "illegal" in the U.S.).

And the mobilization has spread. A mass rally in Hyde Park became a demonstration of 80,000 at the House of Commons (Congress). When "Labour" Prime Minister Callaghan denounced the strikes as "free collective vandalism" and announced he would cross picket lines and urged others to do so, striking nurses in Sheffield called him "bosses' man" and "vandal." Workers slogans are: "Low pay, no way!"

as well as those of the posters, have grown more profound. Several groups have organized to carry on this type of work. In addition there have been reports of clashes between striking workers and the police in Shanghai, as well as a strike by youth exiled to the countryside in Yunnan province.

One of the most explosive elements in the present situation is the rage of these SEVENTEEN MILLION exiled youth, no longer restricted to ex-Red Guards but touching the whole population. Besides protests of youth, "illegally" returned to the cities, in Peking, there were major demonstrations and actions in Shanghai in early February.

And, finally, even the peasants of China, on whose political backwardness the bureaucracy has long relied, have begun to move into action. In January, hundreds of peasants demonstrated in Peking, including outside the compound

and "all-out strike!"

This great mobilization shows us in America what can be done and how to do it. It is also a warning not to let four years of attacks go by, not to have to start from a defensive position, but to take the offensive beginning now!

But these are not the only lessons. While the British workers have outflanked the Labour Party-TUC gang, they have not defeated them. They have not taken over the unions with their own new leadership. They have not built their own new party that can lead them to the conquest of power, the only solution to the crisis. This is the step that the workers must take. Hesitation before it has already enabled the government and the bureaucrats to prepare their "concordat" to replace the "social contract."

No! Militancy and heroically determined action are essential, but they are not enough! The political solution, the party and the program of the revolution, the Fourth International, must be grasped in order to guarantee all the gains made so far and to insure victory. K.F.

CHINA Cont.

invalidating the openly totalitarian one of 1975. And, in mid-1978, the bureaucracy was forced to release over 110,000 (!) "rightists" still imprisoned for taking part in the "hundred flowers," as well as others purged at other times.

In the face of this crisis, in the face of this mobilization, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is not making "concessions" or "democratizing" itself. It is deepening its subordination to imperialism more every day, internationally -- in regard to Southeast Asia, especially -- and internally -- where it deepens its attack on the socialist conquests and the consciousness of the working class.

housing the top bureaucrats.

Everything now points to a coming clash between the mobilization of the Chinese masses and the counterrevolutionary drive of the bureaucracy. A decisive confrontation can no longer be stalled or avoided.

The struggle of the masses is to overthrow the bureaucracy and take power into their own hands. This struggle for the political revolution demands the greatest clarity, the greatest consciousness. Despite the merits of the "Li Yi-che poster," Teng has been able to demagogically steal from it, word for word, because of its political limitations. Only the Fourth International, which carries forward all the experiences and gains of the entire history of the international working class, can provide the leadership necessary for the political revolution -- a new party of the Chinese Revolution. February 18, 1979

IRAN: CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION

The revolution in Iran is not finished. Those who today are talking about a "stabilization" of the situation or pretending that the present bourgeois government inspired by Khomeini represents the conclusion of the Iranian revolution are mistaken. As mistaken today as they have been in the past.

Last year, at a New Year's Party thrown in Teheran, Jimmy Carter praised Iran as "an island of stability." Carter told the Shah that this "stability" was "a great tribute to the respect, admiration and love of your people for you."

If the Carter government is not talking about the "new stability" in Iran, praising Khomeini for "rescuing" his Ambassador, it is only to continue the same lie that goes by the name of his "human rights" foreign policy.

The reason why the Carter government has been totally unable to explain the truth about the situation in Iran for the last year has nothing to do with the "bad information" obtained by the CIA, the current

excuse in Washington. It is because in face of the international mobilization of the workers and youth U.S. imperialism is forced to ally itself with WHOEVER can today hold back the revolution and serve the interests of imperialism.

So one day it is the Shah, the next day it is Bakhtiar and now it is Khomeini. This is called "foreign policy" and "diplomacy" in order to avoid explaining the TRUTH to American workers and youth -- that U.S. imperialism's interests in Iran were and will always be COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY.

But Carter isn't the only one lying to American workers about the situation in Iran. There is a "left" version of this "stability" lie that is even more sinister because it is being passed off in the name of the Fourth International.

While Carter was praising the Shah's "stability" last January, at exactly the same moment an interview with an Iranian "Trotskyist" appeared in

the Jan. 13, 1978 issue of THE MILITANT, the paper of the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP.

What did this "revolutionary" have to say while Carter was toasting the Shah? He declared that the slogan raised by Iranian workers and students-- "Down with the Shah!"-- was "ultra-timistic and ultraleft" and "wishful thinking."

Simply a "left" version of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" policy.

Now that even Jimmy Carter has swallowed "Down with the Shah!" so have the pseudo-Trotskyists. But their trajectory remains the same--in the shadow of Carter's "human rights."

In a situation where the Iranian workers and youth are armed, where they have seized control of the oilfields, begun to dismantle the army and police apparatus, where the seizure of power by the workers and oppressed and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, these pseudo-Trotskyists follow in Carter's shadow by calling on the reac-

tionary Khomeini government to convene a "Constituent Assembly" in the framework of a bourgeois regime and a counterrevolutionary government.

As reactionary today as their criticism of "Down with the Shah!" was a year ago. Which all their hype about a supposed "Iranian Section of the Fourth International" formed with some followers of the slanderers Lambert-Just cannot hide from the American workers and youth.

Because those who stand in Jimmy Carter's shadow in Iran stand in his shadow at home as well. And only those who can defend the American revolution can defend the revolution in Iran.

The task of American workers and youth is to engage a mobilization in their factories and schools to demand:
THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.S. MILITARY FROM IRAN--ALL U.S. BASES OUT! and to fight for the UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION--FOR A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN IRAN!
February 20, 1979
TRUTH

Newport News Strike: THE SOUTH CAN BE ORGANIZED!

Jan. 30, hundreds of young steelworkers manned the picket lines at Tenneco's Newport News, Virginia, shipyards in a fight for union recognition. The 13,000 members of United Steel Workers Local #8888 shut down the largest shipyard in the U.S. after a full year of delaying tactics by Tenneco through the capitalist court system, after two decisions by the National Labor Relations Board supporting this supposed "unalienable right" of the workers.

Greeting these mass pickets were hundreds of riot-equipped state troopers, local police with hoses and dogs and police helicopters. Over 42 workers have been arrested, including the president of USWA Local #8888, for violating the anti-union "right to work" law. They had tried to stop scabs from entering the yards.

This is the single most important strike going on in the U.S. today and deserves the unconditional support of every militant, worker and youth.

The strike is very militant. The workers broke down the company's gates, over the objections of the union leaders in order to get their last paychecks. They've aroused the support of workers and youth across the country who've sent money and food and picketed along with them.

And this strike must be UNDERSTOOD by every militant and youth. The Democratic Party lackeys in the Steelworkers who are trying to mislead this

strike say that this strike will open up organizing the South. They say it can be won with "more solidarity," money and canned goods. The pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party echo the line of the bureaucrats, saying it's "just like the miners strike." Both HIDE what is happening and therefore what must be done for victory.

This strike is different than the miners strike last year. The Newport News workers are striking from a defensive position. They are demanding union recognition which they

have been consistently denied.

The problem is POLITICAL. The lack of an INDEPENDENT workers leadership to take the struggle onto a new road, into the political arena. A Workers Party.

One striker, writing to the local bourgeois paper, said, "Now, fellow steelworkers, we are fighting a revolutionary war."

A revolutionary war ABOVE ALL requires a general staff of leadership to lead the army into combat and victory. This is what the workers lack and without it the workers CANNOT

organize the South.

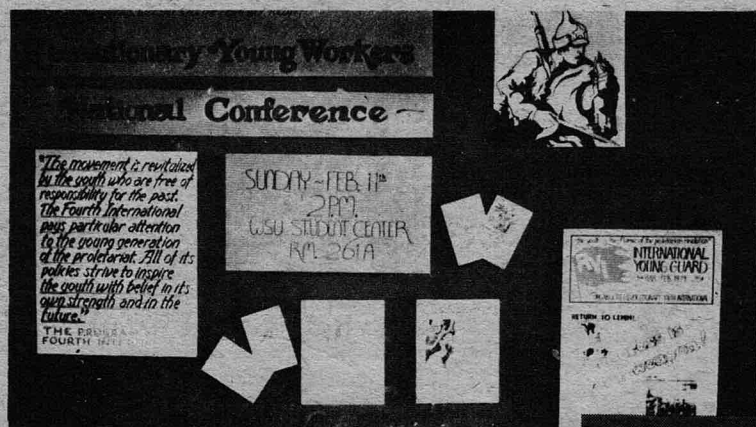
It is the capitalist Democratic Party which controls the South and is completely responsible for the right-to-work laws, for J.P. Stevens which the workers have fought to organize for 15 years!

To really support the Newport News workers is to build a movement for a Workers Party in every struggle in factories, high schools and colleges. To destroy the Democratic Party and build the workers alternative.

F.V.
February 19, 1979

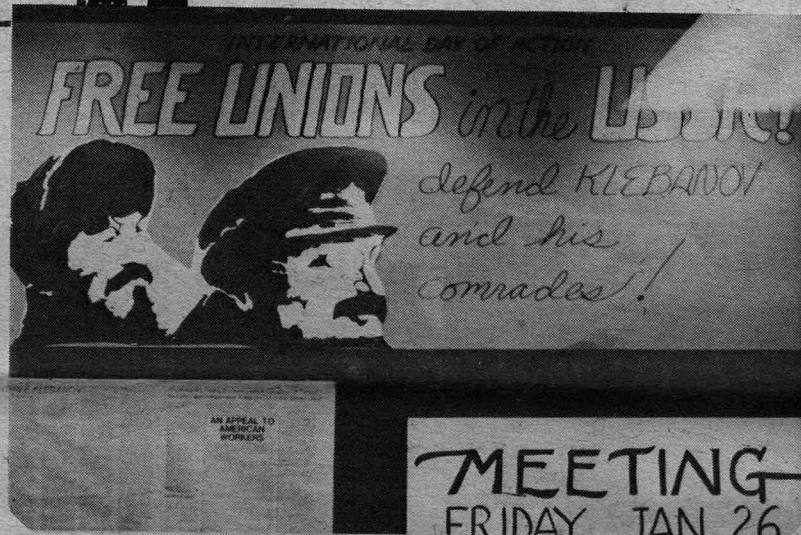


RYI: An Organized Fight for Freedom



RYW display cases at WSU in Detroit

JOIN THE RYI!



By RICH TETRAULT

The workers and youth of this country continue to reaffirm their disgust and hatred of the Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter. Their resistance is felt daily by the Carter administration but it still lacks the necessary dynamic to bring this quivering system of imperialism to its knees. The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, U.S. Supporters of the Revolutionary Youth International, devotes itself to defining and developing this resistance, to turning this militancy of the youth into a political offensive against our oppressors.

The RYW says that the essential struggle in front of the youth today is to build their own organization. It is not enough to simply refuse to support this system and complain from the sidelines or remain totally silent. The objectives of the youth have to be crystallized and have their organizational expression. The energies of the youth have to be focused around a common objective.

On the basis of the fight to provide a political solution and organization for the struggles of today's youth, the RYW has been developing its work in the last few weeks. On January 26 the RYW held a teach-in

around the International Day of Action for the liberation of Klebanov and for independent trade unions in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Based on the discussion at this teach-in and the overall fight of the RYW an unemployed autoworker who came to the teach-in agreed to join the RYW and take up the fight to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International.

Presently the RYW/USA is working closely with students in the high schools of Detroit to organize the students into an independent mobilization. A key part of this mobilization is the construction of circles of the RYW at the high schools. The function of the circles is to build a real combative student opposition that must be centralized and coordinated as a city-wide movement for students rights. The RYI is fighting for students to see their fight for rights as part of the fight for the liberation of the working class internationally.

NO ID BADGES--NO EXCLUSIONS! The attempts by Coleman Young, the Mayor of Detroit, and the Democratic Party to create a prison school system must be met with a sharp counter-attack. These attacks on students are part of the overall attempt of

the bourgeoisie to maintain its stranglehold over the working class.

Young revolutionaries must develop an immediate and total break of the students with the reactionary politics of the School Board. There must be no cooperation with this tyrannical system and its attempts to subordinate the youth to its bidding. The RYW calls for a city-wide day of action to oppose the ID badge system. This demonstration must be well organized and signal the growing mobilization of students against this disgusting plantation system.

COPS OUT OF THE SCHOOLS! As an attempt to "protect the students from outsiders" the School Board and Coleman Young have given the youth "police protection." The RYI says LIES. The cops are in the schools to protect the bourgeoisie by intimidating the youth and trying to terrorize them into silence. The job of the cops is to keep the youth off the streets, under a "controlled atmosphere," gasping and choking. Making the schools not places to learn, but prisons for the youth.

The RYW/USA says that any fight for students rights in the high schools or anywhere else must be a fight to drive

these cops out of the schools.

The National Conference of the RYW originally scheduled for Jan. 11 was postponed in order to give the RYW more time to develop this struggle in the schools and factories. Instead, an organizing meeting was held in Detroit on the same date which produced some important results.

At this meeting two new members joined the RYW. Even more importantly, the meeting took a decision to launch a campaign for a National Conference of the RYW/USA around the theme, "Join the RYI" as a way to express the fact that the central question in front of today's youth is the question of taking up politics, of having their own organization, and that this organization can only be a revolutionary, international organization fighting to build the Fourth International.

This advance was also expressed in the decision to produce a special U.S. supplement of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the international paper of the Revolutionary Youth International. This issue takes up the theme of the campaign to join the RYI under the slogan-- "Give the youth a future-- Give the world a future" which is the slogan of the Fourth International for the youth.

The issue of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD also develops the fight of the RYW in the high schools around an interview with a high school student. There is also a letter from a young autoworker talking about the 90-day probation period in the factories which is used to intimidate the youth into submission to the company and union bureaucrats.

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD is different from other newspapers in that it is completely open to the youth and their struggles. Its pages are open to any young worker or student who wants to express their combat against this system of unemployment, repression, and war, who wants to use IYG as a weapon to organize other youth in their struggles. That is why we urge all students, young workers or unemployed workers to help us write, produce and distribute IYG-- it is your paper.

Join us in helping to build the party of the American and world revolution, the Fourth International. Join us in organizing the fight for freedom today.

JOIN THE RYI!
February 21, 1979