

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Real "act of aggression":
Corporate Profits up 26.4%, Real Wages Down 1.5% --

TEAMSTERS MUST WIN!

On March 31 the contract for 300,000 drivers and dockworkers in the Teamsters Union expires. Local unions have already taken votes authorizing a strike.

The Teamsters must win! They represent the first major possibility of confronting and burying Jimmy Carter's "voluntary anti-inflation plan" that is already in a shambles.

Crumbling with Carter's "New Foundation" because the government can no longer hide the fact that this "plan" is nothing but WAR on the workers and youth. A war in which the American working class needs a victory.

This week they announced that last year saw the biggest rise in corporate profits in 30 years -- 26.4%. Bank profits have risen by 115%. While real wages are down by 1.5% since October.

Inflation is running rampant -- certain to rise with the lifting of price controls on oil and gas. Unemployment has not fundamentally changed in the last five years -- with a permanent youth unemployment rate of 40% in the inner cities.

This Carter government is perhaps the most stupidly arrogant government in American history. Because it reality it is scared to death, knows that it has NO SUPPORT in the American working class or youth.

Thus, Alfred E. Kahn, Carter's "anti-inflation Czar," in reality, a two-bit bureaucrat, declared this week that the Teamsters' contract demands were "an act of aggression against the American people."

75 cents an hour for the first year, 50 cents for the next two years are now called an "act of aggression." Now, to ask for 75 cents is like bombing Pearl Harbor!

For workers who move every-

thing that has to be moved in this country, who are the heart of industry. Who even bring Alfred E. Kahn his pencils and paper to push around every day!

The real "aggressor" is this government and its stupid arrogance. Designed to puff up the chests of a shaky regime and give the business community "confidence."

But ALSO designed to make the trade union bureaucrats LOOK GOOD. If Frank Fitzsimmons, the head of the IBT and perhaps the most rotten, corrupt and RICH bureaucrat in this country now wins a pitiful increase, goes a bit beyond the 7% of the government, he will look "tough" too.

Designed also to prepare the way for the other "wish" of the trade union bureaucrats-- MANDATORY WAGE CONTROLS-- which will then let them off the hook and give the government the total responsibility for controlling the workers. This is George Meany's hope.

The Teamsters, not their bureaucrats, can shatter all of this arrogance, tough talk and anti-working class maneuvering by BURYING this austerity program once and for all. By defeating all those who think that they can make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism.

To enter into battle, the Teamsters and ALL workers must realize that--

THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE! This is where the anti-working class attack is being led and organized. The trucking bosses cannot be fought without taking on this government as well.

It is not a question of just waiting to fight against a Taft-Hartley injunction if there is a strike. Because the government is already "interfering." And the struggle of the Teamsters

from the very beginning must be part of a POLITICAL STRUGGLE in every contract fight this year to say: NO COOPERATION WITH CARTER'S 7%! An open declaration in every strike that no worker in this country has ANY INTENTION of abiding by this "plan" or even DISCUSSING within its framework.

This struggle cannot be led with the trade union bureaucrats in power. Like the miners last year, the only way that the Teamsters can wage a political struggle for NO COOPERATION against the Carter government is to throw out the bureaucrats, led by Fitzsimmons, who are nothing but enforcers for this same government.

NO COOPERATION means to STRIKE on March 31 and to refuse any "extension" designed to head-off this confrontation. It means to strike INDEPENDENTLY-- by building democratically elected strike committees to shut down trucking and to win support from other workers. It means organizing the strike committees to take the negotiations out of the hands of the bureaucrats.

The Teamsters can win by making their fight for NO COOPERATION a MOVEMENT for no

cooperation with Carter's "plan." A movement of all workers, organized and unorganized, to break the 7% guidelines. A movement to organize other workers to go on strike with the Teamsters in order to win what the Teamsters are trying to win.

In order for the Teamsters to win their political confrontation with the Carter government this movement for NO COOPERATION must be organized throughout the working class. Strikes aren't enough-- a political movement needs a political weapons.

This weapon has to be a WORKERS PARTY-- the workers own political party of class independence. This party will not fall out of the sky, nor will it ever be organized by the bureaucrats.

It must be part of the fight for the Teamsters to win. Part of the fight for NO COOPERATION in the working class as a whole.

Right now--the TEAMSTERS MUST WIN! And right now this means a fight of the entire working class class and youth to join the Workers Party movement.

To end the arrogance of this government and its war on the American workers and youth.
March 22, 1979

TRUTH

INSIDE 

CALL TO THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'S
CONFERENCE OF
THE TWO AMERICAS

RESOLUTION OF MARCH 18 MEETING

Weeks before the UAW's Production Workers Conference, President Doug Fraser had already announced that there were "no issues" before the Conference. And why should Fraser, who organized the goon squad against Mack Ave. strikers in 1973, who sat as Detroit Police Commissioner, admit the issues facing autoworkers today?

It was in the face of this statement that the Trotskyist Organization/USA, with the Revolutionary Young Workers, prepared its meeting on March 18. A meeting attended by young autoworkers as well. Though a small beginning, the meeting reached important conclusions as to the "issues" Doug Fraser doesn't see.

Far more importantly, the meeting recognized and discussed how to change the "dangerous illusion" that without preparing now, the autoworkers can win victory in 1979. That only by combat can autoworkers defeat Carter and the Big Three, not by waiting, as Doug Fraser wants, until it is too late.

The following resolution is the product of this discussion.

March 22, 1979
TRUTH

To win in 1979 prepare the strike NOW!

1. Comrades and fellow workers --

The auto companies, with support of Jimmy Carter's austerity program, have launched an attack of brutal speedup and layoffs against the auto workers. Speedup at General Motors, at Ford and Chrysler, speedup combined with layoffs and plant closings.

Alongside intensification of exploitation comes the harrassment of individual workers, especially of the young workers and militants. But this campaign of the Big Three has more in mind than the unlimited greed for profits of the capitalist class. This campaign is directly related to the preparation of a DEFEAT for auto workers in 1979 -- to regiment the revolt in the plants, to isolate the young workers, the black and immigrant workers from whites, to force the autoworkers to fight divided, plant by plant, rather than united as one fist against the auto barons' and Carter's austerity program.

2. Already opening battles have begun among auto workers against the speedup, and the threat of more layoffs to come. Walkouts at Chevy Gear & Axle and Chevy Warren Truck plant, the strike at Flint against the secret "speed-up button." The strike of Chrysler drivers and mechanics in Hamtramck. In fact, since the 1979 contract the fight of the auto workers has never ceased with continued strikes and walkouts. The Trotskyist Organization/USA states that the first response of the auto workers has been a correct one --

NO to the speedup and layoffs!

NO COOPERATION with Carter's austerity programs!

We stand with you in this fight.

But there is a danger still present in the actions and struggles of auto workers. The danger of not seeing WHO are your enemies and HOW to fight them. And the dangerous illusion that, simply by resisting, without uniting and organizing OUR fight our enemies will be defeated.

No! To win victory in 1979 we must prepare the fight NOW.

3. The lesson of every strike has been the same -- the bureaucratic leadership of the UAW cannot be trusted. They are with Carter in organizing a DEFEAT for American workers and autoworkers in 1979. The miners strike showed that only the workers, organized independently, will and can confront the capitalists and their government.

But the unions cannot be left to the bureaucrats. It is necessary to win back your unions, to wage a fight in the UAW to throw the bureaucrats out, to break with support to Carter and the Democratic Party and build a movement for a Workers Party. A party to unite and organize auto workers and all American workers against AUSTERITY and REPRESSION.

4. Comrades and fellow workers, the Trotskyist Organization proposes the preparation of a Detroit GM Workers Conference to prepare the strike in 1979, to be held in mid-May. This meeting today represents the beginning, particularly at Flint, in organizing the movement of the autoworkers. But it is necessary to go much further.

TO LAUNCH AN IMMEDIATE FIGHT AGAINST SPEEDUP
TO PREPARE FOR THE WALKOUTS THIS SUMMER
TO LEAD THE STRIKE IN 1979

The conference we propose is open to all autoworkers, but is concentrated among GM workers in the knowledge that in order to achieve any real breakthrough, it is the world's largest corporation that must be taken on, uniting all autoworkers against its campaign of brutal speedup and profits drive. The UAW was built at GM, let it be taken back by a struggle of autoworkers against GM and the government and system it personifies.

We call on workers and militants of all plants in and around Detroit, to see that representatives are sent to this meeting.

PREPARE THE COMBAT NOW!
MOBILIZE AT THE PRODUCTION WORKERS CONFERENCE
TO DEMAND A COMBAT AGAINST SPEEDUP!

March 18, 1979

ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

TRUTH

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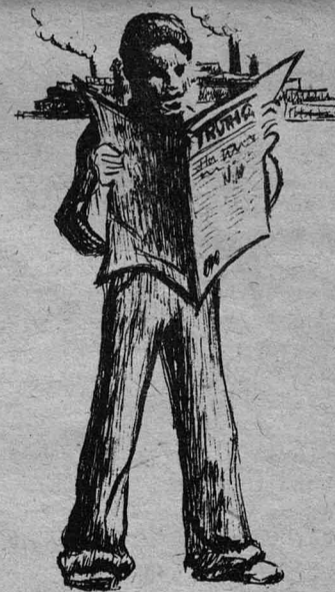
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DETROIT (Total)	46
FLINT	38
CHICAGO	11
OTHER	20
TOTAL	115

Finish With the Fictions of the Past!

By JON COHEN

A new generation of the working class has entered the political scene. This new generation is a decisive factor in every struggle taking place throughout the world today.

In Iran it was the youth -- in the streets of Teheran -- but above all in the oil fields who took the leadership of the struggle to bring down the Shah and continue to resist the efforts of the Khomeini regime to liquidate the revolution. It is the youth who continue to shatter the collaboration between the bourgeoisie and Stalinism in Europe. The youth who remain armed in Nicaragua and who have attempted to set up the Popular Assemblies in Peru.

In the U.S. the youth are also in the forefront of all the struggles and have given a new spirit to the resistance of the working class. It was the young workers who took the initiatives in the miner's strike last year, young workers at Newport News who are attempting a breakthrough in the South.

This movement is above all characterized by the attempt of the working class and in the first place the youth to break with the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats. The young workers today are ready to go into action, despite and AGAINST the trade union bureaucrats.

But this movement is taking place without clear goals or objectives. Not because the workers are on the "defensive" or "passive" as some people say, but because the workers have not yet completely unmasked and exposed the false leaderships inside the workers movement who don't represent the present mobilization but who instead represent PAST DEFEATS.

Every new generation of the working class and every new mobilization is always confronted with movements and politics of the past. Not as "history," but because every new mobilization of the present is often first dominated by the ideas and leaderships of the past.

These leaderships of past politics and past defeats usually don't represent the workers, especially the young workers. They represent PETTY BOURGEOIS POLITICS and the petty bourgeoisie -- a social strata caught between the working class and the capitalists which therefore tries to compromise the workers movement into finding a

"reasonable" solution. A "solution" which will keep both capitalism and the place of the petty bourgeoisie in it alive.

The trade union bureaucracy represents such a social strata. They are part of the workers movement, but with their \$100,00 a year jobs and more importantly their social outlook, they transmit the ideas of imperialism into the workers movement. Based on the petty bourgeois illusions of some workers, expressed in the "American dream" -- "anyone can be President," "equal opportunity."

Dreams not of today's workers, but the past fantasies of the petty bourgeoisie.

The trade union bureaucrats aren't the only ones who bring the politics and fantasies of the past into the workers movement. Around the world and in the U.S. STALINISM also represents such a strata. Originally based on the isolation of the Russian revolution and the reactionary fantasy of "socialism in one country" the Stalinist apparatus and its "Communist Parties" represent a strata in the workers movement which has made its peace with imperialism.

In the U.S. it has always been part of the illusion of the "American dream" also -- expressed in the 1940's slogan of the American CP: "Communism is 100% Americanism."

The American CP has always subordinated itself to the Democratic Party, supporting capitalism in this fashion. With the break from the Democratic Party that began in full force in 1968 there developed a section of the petty bourgeoisie that believed itself to be both "anti-Stalinist" and "anti-Democratic Party" but who still believed in the fantasy of the "American dream."

Expressed by those who believe it possible to win a "Bill of Rights for Working People" -- organized into the ranks of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. In fact, giving the illusions of Stalinism and "Trotskyist" a "revolutionary" cover in the face of an entire section of the working class movement trying to break with both Stalinism and the Democratic Party.

It was these petty bourgeois politicians -- the trade union bureaucrats, the CP and SWP, throwing in a few liberals for good measure -- who dominated

the first upsurge of the workers and youth which began in 1968. The anti-war movement, the black movement, women's movement, the first workers upsurge and all the mobilizations that followed came under the domination of these petty bourgeois leaderships who did not represent the real purpose of these movements or their future.

The "defeats" of the last ten years have been THEIR defeats. Not the defeats of the workers who remain mobilized, or of a new generation which is ready to fight regardless, but the defeat of all the petty bourgeois politicians and their attempts to make "peace" with American imperialism and keep alive the fiction of the "American dream."

Now these petty bourgeois politicians, especially the CP and SWP have announced a "turn toward the working class." Any young worker should rightfully ask these politicians bragging about their "turn" and "sending socialists into industry": Where have you been in the past? What are you "turning" FROM?

Because this "turn" expresses their BANKRUPTCY. The failure of all the petty bourgeois "solutions" of the 60's and 70's which tried to prevent the working class from taking the offensive.

But this "turn" also presents a danger. Because it means that these petty bourgeois leaderships are now trying to confuse and derail another generation of the working class by bringing the SAME petty bourgeois politics INTO the workers mobilization -- directly into the factories and trade unions.

Which directly poses the task in front of today's youth if their mobilization is not to be threatened with defeat -- FINISH WITH THE FICTIONS OF THE PAST!

All of these fictions are being codified under the "offensive" that the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP is now waging for a "labor party." The BIG LIE that the American working class can build its party of class independence through a compromise with the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats.

The BIG LIE that this party must have a reformist program. In the March 23 MILITANT, Frank Lovell, their ancient "labor party expert" writes: "What will be the program of such a party? We believe that

the Transitional Program, properly understood and applied (??), should become the labor party program . . . While it will not start with that program, it will be won to it through experience (??) and the active participation of revolutionary socialists."

But what every young worker wants to know is: What program WILL this party "start" with? And doesn't want to hear the FICTION that a reformist party, which Lovell really proposes, will become revolutionary through "experience." Workers have had enough of this kind of "experience."

The last ten years have proven that all the other programs HAVE FAILED. Why would an organization propose a BANKRUPT program for a workers party of class independence to "start with"?

And why would an organization launch a fight for a "labor party" without launching at the same time a movement in the unions to throw out the labor bureaucrats from the workers movement? Why would an organization pretend that bureaucrats, opportunists and young workers could exist together in the SAME PARTY. Don't the bureaucrats represent capital and not "labor"?

Why? Because this organization, the SWP, is a living corpse. Bankrupt and as petty bourgeois as all the other false leaderships in the workers movement. And because their "labor party" is the biggest fiction of them all. Representing all the illusions and betrayals of the last ten years.

Because the present direction of the workers movement is towards a movement of change, a movement to renew the leadership of the workers movement by separating the workers from the petty bourgeoisie, by clarifying the reasons for the betrayals of the last ten years and isolating the politics of betrayal inside the workers movement.

It is this clarification which is necessary in order to define the goals and objectives for the new workers mobilization.

And because we have nothing to hide it is this clarification which is part of our struggle to build a movement for a real party of class independence, a WORKERS PARTY, which will represent both a conclusion and a promise for the future. March 22, 1979

FRANCE

The JOR at Longwy



We are reprinting this article from the February 22 issue of LA VERITE, the newspaper of the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (LOR), French Section of the Fourth International. This article takes up the intervention of the French Section and the Revolutionary Youth International in the mobilization of French steel workers which has swept the country in the last weeks.

In the face of a governmental plan for massive layoffs -- 21,000 steel workers out of 115,000 are scheduled to lose their jobs within a year -- the French steelworkers have responded with a massive and powerful mobilization. Factories, police stations, TV stations and even the Eiffel Tower have been occupied. Workers have blocked off highways and railroad tracks in the organization of their protests which have seen many violent confrontations with the CRS, the French national "anti-disturbance" police.

The crisis hits above all the youth. For this reason, the French Section of the Revolutionary Youth International -- the JOR (Revolutionary Young Workers) -- sent a delegation to the steel region and the town of Longwy to organize the young workers there around the fight the RYI proposes to youth all around the world.

March 20, 1979
TRUTH

The week before February 16 (the day of the national steelworkers strike called by the unions) a group of four militants of the Revolutionary Young Workers (JOR) went to Longwy.

When we arrived on Sunday the 11th we found the city deserted. We took advantage of the afternoon in order to make ourselves familiar with the Longwy basin and to prepare agitational material. We made posters saying: "Not a single layoff in steel! In the occupied factories-- elect and centralize the strike committees! Open the books! Workers Control of Production! General Strike!"

When night came we postered-- these slogans, the "Platform for a Revolutionary CGT" (French central trade union--trans.), the "Plan of Action Against the Terrorism of the State" and pos-

ters of the RYI were put up on the walls around Usinor, La Chiers, the CET and technical schools as well as in the train station and the center of the city.

On Monday Longwy awoke. We sold our papers at the doors of the CET (vocational schools--trans.). The youth rapidly started reading and talking about the Plan of Action and the newspapers. Between noon and 2:00 discussions broke out. It was enough to be seated in a cafe with INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD on the table with the title "The Terrorists are the State and the Bosses!" for the youth to ask "to see it" and



discuss.

Discussions began-- about violence and the attack on the Longwy police station, how to act on a national level, politics, etc.

Fifteen youth agreed to return the next day for a discussion around INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD. Six of them did return-- three high school students and three vocational students. The latter were from Villerupt where in 1973 there were many layoffs, they know that when they get out of school they will have to leave their region in order to find work, but they added: "Everywhere in France there is unemployment!" A high school student (Marie) told how her laid-off father has to work in Fos-sur-Mer and only sees his family on the weekends.

There is rage against the government. Marie told about the attack on the police station. After a demonstration a group of high school students had tried to take the demonstration to the police station. Without success, the students then left. Only to later find out that the workers who had just left the union meeting went to attack the police station. A vocational student who is a member of the Communist Youth (youth of the French CP) said: "They told us that the attack on the police station was the work of paid agents, of provocateurs."

The other youth responded right away: "It was the workers! In any case, violence is necessary!" "But not just any kind!"

And politics? A vocational

student told us that they weren't very well informed. He agreed with the Alliance of the Youth Against the Terrorism of the State, to form Youth Assemblies to discuss political problems in common action. He was a militant of the Communist Youth and he agreed that nothing had been changed by the elections. He posed some questions-- "The CP and SP well understood this and right before the elections they broke their alliance, in my opinion, all this was tied to the state!" We discussed the revolutionary policy to destroy the bourgeois state. We spoke about the balance sheet of 1968 and the

March '78 elections and the necessity for a revolutionary party. How to arrive at all this?

The struggle in Lorraine must develop nationally, they said. We proposed how to organize the general strike, the occupation of factories and the election of strike committees, their centralization. It is necessary to organize workers control of production. They posed the problem: "At LIP what is going on?" (a French factory occupied and since then run by the workers for several years-- trans.). We discussed the fact that the problem is not resolved at LIP because it is in the framework of the capitalist market. Workers control has to develop on a national level.

The meeting concluded with an agreement on their part to distribute the Plan of Action, to try to form a Youth Assembly at Longwy and to be correspondents for INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD. A high school student, Catherine, took the Plans of Action and the press, saying: "I'm going to distribute them in the cafe owned by my father, there are many young workers from Usinor there."

The next day we distributed at the gates of Usinor (major steel mill--trans.). On the walls we wrote: "Beginning with the 16th, General Strike of Steel! Workers Control of Production!" signed: LOR, JOR.

The trade union federations (CGT-FO-FEN-CGC-CFDT) distributed a leaflet for the 16th calling for isolated actions at the frontier posts. The workers crumpled and threw it away.

They want actions and to act with determination. But all were waiting for the "march on Paris." "It is necessary to generalize and march on Paris." We learned that the young workers from La Chiers and Usinor, going over the heads of the union bureaucrats, had created a permanent link with the workers from Denain and Nord.

For the last 15 days all the centrist formations have been here (the LCR, the OCI, OCT, etc.). They were "camping out" at the CFDT hall in order to get news and the article in ROUGE (paper of the LCR--trans.) testified to this. For them, it is the trade union leaders who are going to organize the occupation of the factories and their generalization. Why would they go elsewhere?

The OCI distributed a leaflet of a "Democratic Assembly of steelworkers" for the unions to organize a central demonstration in Paris against the National Assembly (French Congress--trans.). They are proposing a "Democratic Assembly," new version of the "United Rank and File Committees," pawns of the OCI precisely against the occupation of factories, assemblies of workers to elect their strike committees and centralize them against the bourgeois state. The occupation of factories, workers control of production, is not a question for them-- it is with the trade union leaders that they want to go demonstrate against the National Assembly for a CP-SP government. We discussed this and the slander of the OCI against the Fourth International. These militants did not believe in the slanders and said that the attacks were rumors... They were for democratic discussion. They bought LA VERITE and left.

The other centrists were at the CFDT hall, convinced that it was from here that something would happen. The young workers had already been there-- trying to link up the workers and engage an offensive.

The balance sheet of the centrists-- an article in ROUGE accounting the actions of the CFDT and CGT and saluting the "united" spirit of the local bureaucrats.

The balance sheet of the four militants of the JOR-- some political links with youth who will be correspondents with INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD and with which we are going to fight for a total strike with the occupation of all of steel, the election of strike committees and their coordination through a national central strike committee which will take charge of the confrontation with the government by organizing workers control of production. We posed the clarification about the obstacles represented by the present political leaderships (CP and SP) and their centrist supporters in order to win them and their comrades to the struggle for the foundation of the Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire against Stalinism, for the RETURN TO LENIN! February 19, 1979

Alain Cavalier

Resolution Adopted by the March Meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

The development of the world situation demands that the Fourth International take a leap forward. In face of the workers struggle the old forms of the maintenance of the world imperialist order are entering into an unprecedented crisis. After the departure of US imperialism from Indochina the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracies (of Peking and the Kremlin) have only deepened in face of the development of the revolutionary process on the international scale.

For its part, US imperialism is using all the contradictions of their crisis in order to strengthen its position in Asia with the aid of the Stalinist police. In Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East and the Two Americas there is a precipitation of the revolutionary crisis which announces confrontations of unprecedented proportions which will sweep across countries and continents. It is in the face of this that Stalinism is trying to reinforce the bourgeois order at any price, in the first place in Europe where the testing of the forces of the revolution continues to be concentrated.

It is against this revolutionary upsurge that the bourgeoisie and Stalinism are preparing their counter-attack (the terrorism of the state, slanders and attacks against Leninism) in which the pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" and the OCI of Lambert-Just play a decisive role. The maturation of the revolutionary crisis places new tasks in front of the Fourth International.

It must respond to this maturation which is developing more rapidly than the Fourth International has been able to assume and develop its role as an international center. The key to the present situation is the independence of the workers in face of the "solutions" which are offered to them by different elements and wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its international apparatus. It is more necessary than ever that the Fourth International advance in the affirmation of its nature as an international center: the organized expression of the class independence of the proletariat in the face of Stalinism.

It is the delimitation to the finish in the party on the nature of the Fourth International as an international center that can assure the leap forward of the Fourth International, consisting in the destruction of the liquidationist centers integrated into the Sacred Union against the proletariat and the preparation, and the massive selection in this combat of the working class cadres who will orient and lead the approaching confrontation.

The condition for organizing the break of the youth with Stalinism and centrism is the independence of the Fourth International in the struggles of the masses. The Fourth International is an essential part of the daily combats of the workers, not by ADAPTING to the objectives and methods of these struggles which are influenced by the

opportunist leaderships, but by expressing class independence, by constantly placing

forward the overall interests of the struggle-- the abolition of the imperialist order and the dictatorships of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their replacement with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

RETURN TO LENIN! therefore signifies that the delimitation in struggles, strikes, in trade union combats, in assemblies, in elections, etc. must not be done (as is often the case today) by opposing more radical actions to the other leaderships, but by opening up at every instant in the struggle the revolutionary perspective, by unmasking the bourgeois agents in the workers movement (including their betrayals in the struggles) through their capitulation to the bourgeois order and their states.

The goal of the Fourth International is to transform the revolutionary spirit which the youth are constantly proving in Europe, in America, in Asia and are crumbling the old frameworks of "peaceful coexistence" and the "Sacred Union," into a large movement for class independence, into an organization for the Leninist International. This is the method of the construction of the Fourth International by the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI), it is the only place that the Fourth International can occupy on the political chessboard. It can only exist as the organizer of class independence.

What differentiates the Fourth International from all other parties is that it expresses the general interests of the world proletariat, the only revolutionary class whose interests extend beyond frontiers. The Fourth International can only be built on this basis, as an INTERNATIONAL CENTER. While all the other parties are built by adapting to the illusions of the proletariat and developing them (illusions which are determined by the division of the proletariat in nation states dominated by the bourgeoisie and Stalinist bureaucracies).

The entire balance sheet of our struggle since the 6th Congress proves that the organization of the break of the youth with Stalinism and its mobilization for a new leadership is conditioned by a constant DEFENSE, AFFIRMATION AND OFFENSIVE DEVELOPMENT of the continuity of Bolshevism in the center of these struggles, as the future of all the mass movements of the working masses. The most precious acquisition of the continuity of the Fourth International and of its rebuilding (as the central element of delimitation against centrism) is its rebuilding as an international center, on the political and organizational terrain. The maintenance of class independence in face of the counter-attack of Stalinism demands mobilizing the youth for the world party of the social and political revolution. RETURN TO LENIN! is not simply the return to revolutionary slogans (which is an aspect

but the RETURN OF THE YOUTH TO THE PARTY OF LENIN!

The enlarged IEC considers the advance in the construction of the party in Eastern Europe as crucial for the Fourth International. This advance can only take the form of a first regroupment of militants for the return to Lenin as the global political response to the problems posed by the youth seeking the road and means to conquer the bureaucracy. The regroupment of the revolutionary fraction inside the working class, based on the young generation and its desire to renew the leadership of the workers movement around the objective of regaining and developing the entire heritage of Lenin is the solution to the present combats in the preparation of the revolution. It is to prevent this that the bureaucracy is attempting a counter-attack which is concentrated through the pseudo-Trotskyists in order to denounce the Fourth International as provocateurs" and above all denounce its struggle to lead the political revolution.

The Conference that the Fourth International is organizing in Eastern Europe in view of our implantation there is a Conference for the return to Lenin destined to arm the youth and militants ready to break with the policy of capitulation to the bureaucracy led in the name of the "restricted room" for liberty.

It is the clarification that it is the party of Lenin that is necessary to be built, necessary for all workers. That is, the appearance of the Fourth International as the international center of the revolution through the construction of the RYI. The Fourth International fights to resolve all the problems of the political revolution and the mobilization of the youth (the freedom of peoples from the grip of the Stalinist bureaucracy, struggle for trade unions independent from the state) as aspects of the preparation of the power of councils, through the construction of the international party of Lenin.

The campaign for the liberation of the Soviet miner, Klebanov, imprisoned for having founded an independent union, must regain its central place for the construction of the RYI as a practical affirmation of the nature of the RYI-- revolutionary mobilization of the young workers in the capitalist countries and Eastern Europe to bring down Stalinism and its principal aid, centrism. On the terrain of this campaign this means that it must be led as something that unites all the efforts in the struggle against Stalinism and its repression, by presenting the balance sheet of the bankruptcy of the centrists. The Klebanov campaign must be led with this comprehension by the entire party and all its militants and not just the RYI, as a real campaign. It is necessary to use all the new facts (execution of Armenian militants, Djemilov) to break the silence that the op-

(Continued to Page 8)

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Workers, youth and militants of the Two Americas--

The Fourth International calls on you to actively prepare the CONFERENCE FOR THE RE-BUILDING OF THE SECTIONS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS.

The old forms of the Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism are crumbling, the result of the offensive of the world proletariat. The revolutionary process in Iran, the repercussions of the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam, are placing in question the world equilibrium of forces. The bourgeoisie and the Stalinists are reinforcing their status quo of collaboration against the masses by developing a campaign of propaganda and repression against Leninism, against the proletarian revolution.

In this situation the construction of the world party of the revolution is the immediate stake of every combat because it is the only guarantee of the class independence of the proletariat for the revolution. This party is the Fourth International because it fights for the unification of the social and political revolutions against imperialism and Stalinism. Thus, it struggles without concession against Stalinism, the bourgeois agent in the workers movement, and against all the petty bourgeois leaderships that depend on it.

On this basis it is convoking the Conference of the Two Americas because the unity of the proletariat and exploited masses of the entire continent will provide the revolutionary force of their independence vis-a-vis imperialism, the national bourgeoisies and Stalinism.

It is open to all workers, youth, militant groups and organizations determined to draw the balance sheet of the bankruptcy of all the attempts to side with Stalinism and thus submit the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat to the petty bourgeois leaderships, the national bourgeoisies and imperialism. Fundamentally, it means breaking with the centrist policy of the organizations who fraudulently claim the banner of the Fourth International-- the Organizing Committee of Lambert (OCRFI) and the United Secretariat of Mandel (USec.). The latter have begun reunification maneuvers in order to tie the name of the Fourth International to the reinforcement of the world status quo of imperialism and Stalinism. It is to rebuild the sections of the world party in the Two Americas through a struggle of delimitation against centrism, in order to mobilize the youth FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN that this Conference is being convoked.

FOR CLASS INDEPENDENCE,
AGAINST IMPERIALISM,
AGAINST STALINISM!

Militants, workers and youth--

The revolutionary upsurge of the workers in the world and the American continent is marked by the partial attempts to break with the bourgeoisie and Stalinism.

The resistance of the oil workers in Iran to submitting to the commands of Khomeini and the bourgeoisie, the attempts of the workers in the USSR to organize independently from the bureaucracy, the resistance to the Sacred Union in

Europe, are the expressions of this profound movement of the proletariat.

In the USA, the public opinion polls show only 17% supporting Carter. The successive mobilizations of the proletariat, of the miners in particular, constantly place in question the trade union bureaucracy tied to the Democratic Party.

In Latin America the revolutionary upsurge of the masses finds its advance post in Peru where the workers and poor peasants have set up their Popular Assemblies, organs of class independence.

The continental character of this process underway is centrally produced by the crisis of the domination of the Democratic Party over the workers in the USA. It opens up a gap in the anti-working class offensive of Carter led in the name of "human rights" and directly supported by Stalinism through Castro.

The common attempts of imperialism and the CPs to keep the dictatorships standing by "institutionalizing" them have been partially defeated in Bolivia and Peru through the mass mobilizations.

In this situation, where it is through the Sacred Union that imperialism and Stalinism want to assure the power of Carter and the dictatorships, the centrists are in the front ranks in order to channel the independent movement of the proletariat behind the CPs and national bourgeoisies in the name of mirages of Popular Fronts, of "bourgeois democratic revolutions," of a "labor party" led by the trade union bureaucracy which has proven its bankruptcy as much in Chile, in Argentina (Peron) as in the USA during the mobilizations of the miners.

The deepening of the working class offensive necessitates breaking the isolation of the national framework-- THE ONLY ALLY OF THE PROLETARIAT AND OPPRESSED MASSES IS THE WORLD PROLETARIAT.

This demands a combat against Stalinism.

You who broke away from it in the 1940's when in the name of peaceful coexistence (the Yalta and Potsdam agreements), it directly participated in the military dictatorship governments. Just the examples of the massacres in Bolivia (Potosi and "White" Catavi) where it was the Stalinist ministers who ordered the execution of hundreds of workers and poor peasants, are sad enough memories.

Many of you thus thought you would find another path in the Cuban revolution and the Tri-Continental.

In its struggle against the centrists who tried to liquidate the Fourth International, the Fourth International has always affirmed that such a path was no solution because it claimed to get around Stalinism in the name of a possible revolution in the national framework and under a petty bourgeois leadership.

Very quickly, the CPs used the Castroist and guerillaist movements to waste the energy of the fighting youth. The international apparatus of the Kremlin, in order to use the prestige of the revolution of the Cuban workers and poor peasants, integrated its petty bourgeois Castroist leadership into its international policy of collaboration with imperialism. The crisis of Stalinism forces it to be used in Africa also, but above all in the Two Americas.



Detroit autoworkers

Today it is through Castro, who speaks of an "opening of American imperialism," that Stalinism aids the campaign of Carter for "human rights," that is, the institutionalization of the bloody dictatorships in Latin America and the submission to the Democratic Party in the USA.

The illusions about Castroism, supported and developed by centrism, were the basis for the unification of the SWP with Pabloism in 1963. Which the SWP thus developed on the terrain of its own country in the form of the worst illusions towards the petty bourgeois radical leaderships (black movement, etc.).

The support to national isolation, orchestrated by Stalinism, Castroism and centrism, which has always taken the form of a split between the proletariats of North and South America, is today trying to be perpetuated through an alliance between Carter-Castro, submitting the workers to imperialism.

Your revolutionary unity, linking the power of the US proletariat to the combativity of the proletariat in Latin America, is an invincible force if it is realized against the concerted policy of imperialism and Stalinism.

For this reason, we call you to join the Fourth International -- which fuses the political program of the destruction of imperialism with that of the destruction of Stalinism-- as the leadership of the workers movement and as the bureaucratic power in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

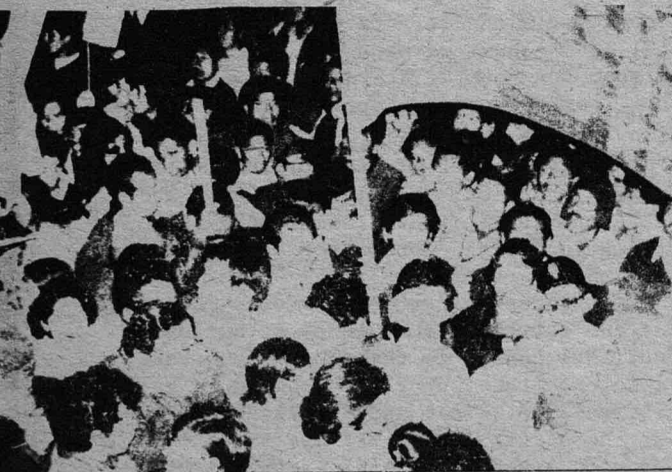
FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF THE REVOLUTION,
AGAINST STALINISM, AGAINST CENTRISM!

Workers, militants and youth--

By supporting Castro, the centrists wish to prevent you from arriving at this conclusion.

Thus, while Castro participates in Carter's campaign for "human rights" in order to tell you that the lesson of the past struggles is that in order to win freedom and democracy in the USSR and the Two Americas it is necessary to submit to imperialism. He has declared that he "would vote for Carter in the coming elections" in order to support the policy of the American CP in channeling the youth behind the Democratic Party. Castro represents, by claiming the Cuban revolution, the centerpiece of the Sacred Union set up in the Two Americas by imperialism and Stalinism.

DOWN WITH THE SLANDERS AGAINST MICHEL VARGA AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS



Peruvian miners

It is this Sacred Union that the centrists hide by speaking of "Popular Fronts" in order to justify their constant capitulations to the Stalinist parties, without which, they say, no mobilization can find a political solution. This has even led Hugo Blanco to declare his willingness to discuss "human rights" with Carter. This is where the Pabloite policy of support to Stalinism leads. Against it the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International was constituted, which we are the continuation.

Militants of the SWP, of the POR of Bolivia and the OCRFI-- at the moment when the United Secretariat is directly integrating itself into the Sacred Union, Lambert is beginning the process of reunification with it. If you are opposed to this it is necessary to draw all the conclusions. The International Committee correctly fought the national withdrawal of the Bolivian POR which would lead it to unprincipled agreements with the Stalinist party and to the refusal to clearly lead a campaign against the normalization of Czechoslovakia. Such a withdrawal led it to join petty bourgeois and bourgeois parties inside the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front.

Lambert liquidated the International Committee in the name of a discussion without a leading center with the Bolivian POR in order to "convince it" and with the SWP in order to "win it." The result is this: the OCRFI has shattered under the double pressure of the policy of Lambert, who has been won by the SWP, and the deepening national withdrawal of the affiliates of the OCRFI.

The maintenance and development of the independence of the struggle against Stalinism and its Pabloite supporters can only be guaranteed by a democratic centralism permitting discussion in struggle under the discipline of an international center, fusing by its program and its organization the combat for the political and social revolution.

In this sense, in order to destroy the International Committee which devoted all of its strength to the unity between the revolution in Eastern and Western Europe which was constituted within its ranks, Lambert developed a destructive attack against the Eastern European sections, against the most precious acquisition for destroying Stalinism in its center.

Militants! The balance sheet of the OCRFI

and the SWP has to be drawn!

The OCRFI was constituted against the international center, against the rebuilding of the Fourth International. Thus, Lambert and Co. developed a slanderous attack along with physical attacks, becoming the arm of Stalinism in order to destroy the Fourth International. This led them to try to destroy the East European sections, to support Stalinism in France and everywhere else under the form of calls for CP-SP governments at the moment when these parties were being engaged in the Sacred Union.

The liquidation of the International Committee in favor of the OCRFI signified joining the Pabloite liquidator on all fronts. The reunification is only the recognition of a fact.

Thus, the POMR has joined Hugo Blanco in the FOCEP in order to ally with fractions of the national bourgeoisie and to make the Popular Assemblies vote for motions recognizing the Constituent Assembly, the instrument of the institutionalization of the dictatorship in Peru.

The OCI supports the policy of the SWP on all points as "Trotskyists" while the latter is trying to build a "labor party" submitted to the trade union bureaucracy, to the "left" wing of the bourgeois Democratic Party in full crisis, unable to control the masses in the USA.

The conclusion to draw is the following-- without an international center the adaptation to Stalinism is inevitable, it leads to the position of Pabloite liquidationism.

Today, those who have left the OCRFI cannot avoid making such a balance sheet. To continue a "Bolivian," "Latin American" or "North American" policy can only lead to making peace with Stalinism and fractions of the bourgeoisie.

We call you to join the struggle to rebuild the sections of the Fourth International in the Two Americas.

FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT! FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN!

Workers, youth and militants--

The Fourth International calls you to join its offensive to RETURN TO LENIN!

That is, to draw the balance sheet of all the attempts to struggle for the objectives of the proletariat (which the democratic tasks, national independence and agrarian reform are an integral part of) by alienating its class independence, by denying its hegemony in the class struggle through the submission to the national bourgeoisies and to imperialism, by rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat. All of these attempts have been failures. Such a balance sheet demands returning to the lessons of the October revolution, to Lenin and to the living Leninism of the Fourth International.

With this international policy of struggle against Stalinism and centrism the sections of the Fourth International can assure the class independence of the proletariat in its struggle for power in the revolutionary perspective of the Socialist United Republic of the Two Americas. To break all the fronts of alliance with the national bourgeoisies and Stalinism in Latin America in order to build, organize and centralize the organs that the workers them-

selves have provided in order to lead them towards the seizure of power, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This must be the attitude inside the Popular Assemblies in Peru where everything depends on the struggle of the party to separate the revolutionary workers from the centrists who wish to make them coexist with the Constituent Assembly of the dictatorship.

This international policy is developed in the USA by our section (sympathizing), the Trotskyist Organization, which is launching a large movement against the trade union bureaucrats tied to Carter in order to build the Workers Party, instrument of the independence of the combat of the North American workers. The meaning of this combat is to give the program of RETURN TO LENIN to the workers and youth in the USA, through a delimitation vis-a-vis Stalinism and centrism, as a struggle for the selection of the vanguard to rebuild the section of the Fourth International in the United States. This is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA is leading a campaign for the abrogation of the reactionary law preventing an American from belonging to an international organization.

Such an offensive for the RETURN TO LENIN must take up the battle to throw out of the workers movement those who want to destroy its international center in the service of and with the methods of Stalinism. Because these slanders are a part of the anti-Leninist attack developed along with Stalinism and imperialism. SLANDERERS-- OUT! THROW LAMBERT AND CO. OUT OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT!

DOWN WITH THE SLANDERS AGAINST MICHEL VARGA AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

The silence of the Latin American organizations of the OCRFI on this question has been turned against them. At the moment that Politica Obrera opposed the reunification with the United Secretariat, Lambert and Co. did not hesitate to use slander-- "agents of Videla"-- against them.

The Fourth International addresses in the first place the proletarian youth in order to mobilize against the old leaderships of the workers movement, in order to return to Lenin. It calls you to join the Revolutionary Youth International which is fighting for the renovation of the workers movement, of its old cadres linked to the bourgeois order which centrism adapts to.

It opens this Conference to all militants, workers and youth, to all groups and organizations determined to draw the balance sheet of the bankruptcy of Stalinism and centrism.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE LATIN AMERICAN SECTIONS!

JOIN THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA!

Against imperialism, against Stalinism and centrism, FORWARD FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS!

RETURN TO LENIN!
March 1979

RESOLUTION Continued

portunists are placing around Klebanov.

This campaign must be the campaign of the construction of the RYI and cannot be replaced by any other.

The lever for the leap forward of the Fourth International is found here-- to pose the problem of the party in front of the workers IN EVERY STRUGGLE, the necessity of building the new leadership in every struggle!

It is the insufficient advance of the Fourth International as a center in face of the demands of the situation that has allowed for the appearance of tendencies towards national withdrawal. For it is impossible to maintain and develop the class independence of the proletariat in face of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism in national isolation. It is on this terrain that a split-faction could develop inside the Spanish section, a faction which our combat unmasked -- it has joined the defense of the Sacred Union against the Fourth International.

In the same fashion only the orientation of the Fourth International in the Two Americas as an international center can allow for overcoming the delay in the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas and lead militants, workers and youth in the Two Americas to a revolutionary balance sheet of the last years of struggle. This, in a situation where the mobilization of the working masses is leading imperialism and Stalinism through the Castro bureaucracy to reinforce the framework of domination that is in crisis, above all through an integration of the liquidationist centers to their policies.

After a discussion of the tasks in the preparation of the Congress to found the Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire of France, the IEC decided to convoke a new Conference of the section in order to make a turn in the elaboration and intervention towards the preparation of the Trotskyist Congress as a struggle for the political and organizational reinforcement of the Fourth International as the world center of the proletarian revolution. The first condition of this turn is the delimitation in the party of the nature of this combat. It concerns a delimitation among the workers to destroy the centrist pillars of conciliation with Stalinism, in particular the OCI of Lambert-Just whose crisis comes from an aborted attempt to liquidate the rebuilding of the Fourth International in the service of a capitulation to the Union of the Left. It is thus to clarify the trajectory of this capitulation-- Lambert-Just are trying to accelerate the process of the integration of the OCI, via the United Secretariat, to the attack of Stalinism and imperialism against Leninism and class independence.

The struggle for the foundation of the POR in France is in no way the struggle for a "new" party but the continuity of the combat of the Fourth International for the world center of the socialist revolution against its liquidators and the international apparatus of Stalinism in a situation where the dead-end of other so-called "alternative paths" is being revealed to the workers and youth.

This battle for the party can only be firmly anchored in the struggle for class

independence which must be made more precise in the present stage of the class struggle in France not only from the point of view of its methods, but in relation to the principal experiences of the working class since the general strike of 1968. The development of the RYI in this combat, as a large movement of the youth for the return to Lenin, is the motor element of the preparation of the Congress to found the POR of France.

The maintenance and development of the independence of the Fourth International is a constant battle, which can only be assumed by being taken up by the living force of the working class-- the youth. It is only in the youth that the Fourth International will find the forces to counteract the counter-offensive of Stalinism, which under the banner of anti-Leninism is trying to isolate and destroy the Fourth International. In other words, the Fourth International ONLY exists as an international center THROUGH the centralized construction of the RYI.

The crisis of Stalinism, due to a massive loss of its influence over the youth, forces it today to lead this attack against the continuity through the organizations of the pseudo-Trotskyists. The police slanders against Michel Varga and the Fourth International constitute the SPEARHEAD of the attack of Stalinism to break the present revolutionary offensive. For they try to wipe out the most precious HERITAGE of the proletariat, its CONTINUITY and its FUTURE-- the Fourth International-- to destroy the only axis around which the proletariat can regroup and install its revolutionary order.

The campaign of slanders is part of the entire counter-attack launched by imperialism under the fraudulent name of "human rights," "anti-terrorism," an attack against the most combative and independent sectors of the proletariat. The offensive that the enlarged IEC decided to launch to unmask and isolate the slanderers is oriented for all revolutionary workers to be able to take their place in this fight. The slander campaign grows daily because the Fourth International exists and fights, because Stalinism and centrism have not succeeded in imposing the straight-jacket of the "Sacred Union" on the youth. It is the enlargement of the slanders against the entire continuity of Bolshevism which is the AXIS, the GOAL and the BASIS of the agreement and attempted "reunification" between the USec and Lambert-Just. The slanders constitute the sole means for the centrists to try to hide their defeat in the construction of an International independence from Stalinism and their integration into the Sacred Union for the defense of the bourgeois state and the dictatorships of the bureaucracy from the youth and their own militants.

Consequently, the offensive against the slanders constitutes the political framework to unmask the integration of the liquidationist centers (the United Secretariat and the OCI of Lambert-Just) in the "Sacred Union" and to destroy these agents created by Stalinism. The dissolution of the PORE (Spanish Section of the Fourth International) by the Francoist monarchy openly enters into this attack, which through different

channels (slanders, state terrorism) attacks all independent workers and in the first place, the Fourth International. It is in the framework of our offensive for Leninism and against the slanders that the IEC therefore decides to launch an international campaign against the dissolution of the PORE and the Fourth International as an application of the Monarcho-Francoist constitution.

The necessity to reaffirm the character of the Fourth International as an international center in the masses must base itself on the youth. ALL the energy, theoretical, political and practical activity of the party and all its militants must be ordered around an untiring struggle to engage the youth to RETURN TO LENIN in the RYI. Only the youth can aid the entire working class in drawing a positive balance sheet of the past period and make the workers pass from the REJECTION of the present order to an ORGANIZED COMBAT for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Because, unlike the working class as a whole, the youth does not carry the entire weight of the past defeats, they go into battle without having drawn the entire balance sheet as a condition. On the contrary, they are the object of an enormous attack on the part of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism (police attack, economic and ideological) whose most decisive factor is the attack against Leninism by the Stalinists and centrists. It is by leading a POLITICAL COMBAT in the ranks of the youth, by confronting our policy of RETURN TO LENIN! to the anti-Leninist attack that we can win the youth (which also includes a battle against the illusions the youth have in so-called "new" paths such as autonomy, spontaneism, apoliticism, etc.) It is this fight against Stalinism and centrism which can allow for the construction of the RYI as a real SCHOOL OF COMMUNISM, to FORM the leading cadres of the revolution.

Our delay in the construction of the RYI is only due to the lack of the comprehension of these tasks of political struggle and the formation of the youth as tasks of the Fourth International. From this point of view, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL must lead this battle. It must be the voice of the Fourth International among the revolutionary youth.

By the Fourth International taking charge of all the problems of the construction of the RYI (as problems of its OWN construction) it is at the same time a struggle for the RYI to assume a REAL ORGANIZATIONAL AUTONOMY. This organizational autonomy will be assured by the depth of the mobilizations that the RYI will organize by forcefully raising the Leninist banner.

The enlarged IEC decides to prepare the coming period on these axes-- it calls all the militants of the Fourth International, of the RYI and all revolutionary workers to prepare the revolutionary confrontation from the East to the West under the banner of RETURN TO LENIN!

FORWARD!
March 1979

Road to Victory for Teamsters

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The National Master Freight Agreement (MFA) covering more than 300,000 Teamsters employed by the major trucking companies, expires March 31.

POLITICS

The issues in a potential national Teamsters (IBT) strike -- the 7% guidelines, deregulation of trucking, changes in work rules -- are not just "economic" or "union" issues. They are really the specific expression of the Carter "austerity" policy of layoffs, speedup and wage cuts -- the recession being organized by the capitalist class and its government.

A victory for the Teamsters thus requires opening a POLITICAL struggle against this policy and the Democratic Party that is enforcing it. But the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy is doing everything it can to hide this real question, to bury it in a meaningless jumble of decimal points and percentages.

One year ago, following the 37% increase (over three years) in wages won by the coal miners, Fitzsimmons felt the heat of the mobilization. "You think I'm going to the table for anything less?" he blurted out, "Somebody's got to be crazy."

But in the year since then there has been a certain loss of initiative, a certain hesitation, before the enormous tasks that confront the American workers. To regain the initiative means taking up the POLITICAL tasks that have not yet been carried out. And the strike by the Teamsters can do just this because, as we have seen, the real issues that the Teamsters face are precisely POLITICAL.

It is because this necessary BREAKTHROUGH has not been made that Carter has been able to advance as far as he has and Fitzsimmons has been able to stall for as long as he has.

SITUATION

For instance, much has been made of the "enormous" increase of 55% "demanded" by the bureaucrats. Of course, this figure is really a fake for public consumption and nowhere near what the bureaucrats really want. Even at face value, this figure shows their prostration to Carter.

This 55% has to be broken down. First, it covers three years. Second, it covers not only wages, but also ALL "fringe benefits" as well as "cost-of-living" protection. This is in face of an inflation rate that, right now, is running at 12% a year and which will certainly not decrease in the

years to come by any significant degree. And this inflation, of course, affects not only wages, but also the "fringes" themselves that are figured into this "enormous increase."

The fact is that even if the Teamsters covered by the MFA (only a fraction of the 2.1 million total membership) got this whole 55%, it would represent at best stagnation. And it is a fore-gone conclusion that the real objective of the bureaucracy is far less. That is, a real wage cut.

And this is not the end of the question. Carter's guidelines provide for "exceptions" to the 7% figure -- on the basis of agreements that provide for increased "productivity." "Productivity" in today's situation means not only NOT cutting back the killing hours and distances endured by drivers, but a capitulation to the companies' attack on the remaining "work rules." That is, speedup and layoffs.

In addition, the wages, benefits and conditions under the MFA are the BEST in the Teamsters union! All the other Teamsters -- from local drivers, steel haulers, etc., all the way down to workers in Teamster-"organized" sweatshops -- get proportionately lower wages, etc. This also concerns the numerous "sweetheart" exceptions ("riders") to the MFA. A betrayal on the MFA means an even greater impact, an even greater assault, on the rest of the workers in the IBT.

And a continued postponement of the BREAKTHROUGH that the American workers need, a postponement until the auto strike, increases the impact on the whole working class of Carter's organization of recession through "austerity."

BUREAUCRACY

The enormous power concentrated in the Teamsters union, the power to literally shut down the country, and the enormous victory that this power could achieve are dissipated and betrayed by the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy.

The IBT began as an AFL craft union, a union of skilled workers hostile to the unskilled industrial workers and led by a reactionary and bigoted bureaucracy.

In the 1930's, thanks to the role played by the Trotskyists, particularly in Minneapolis, the Teamsters union was able to take on certain aspects of an industrial union (that is, organizing all workers engaged in transportation). But because the reactionary craft bureaucracy was never defeated and replaced, the union never fully achieved the gains, internally and externally, that were won by the



Minneapolis Teamsters strike--1934

autoworkers and others in the great wave of industrial unionism that formed the CIO.

On the basis of this uneven development, Dave Beck and, especially, Jimmy Hoffa were able to greatly expand the size and influence of the IBT, while granting sizeable wage gains, etc., to a portion of the overall membership. But even these were paid for by an increased concentration of power in the hands of the central bureaucracy and by the loss of power over working conditions by the membership.

Despite the pro-capitalist nature of the bureaucracy, the capitalist government was concerned over the potential power of the Teamsters. Hoffa needed to rely on the methods and rhetoric, not to mention the real gains, of the upsurge that had made the IBT a mass union. Therefore, he was unreliable. Raising a hue and cry about corruption and undemocratic practices, the government (with a special role played by the "liberal" Kennedy brothers) succeeded in getting the IBT expelled from the AFL-CIO and, eventually, getting Hoffa jailed.

But the removal of Hoffa actually took the lid off the discontent that had been brewing inside the Teamsters, both among those covered by the MFA as well as by lower-paid workers. This was the basis for the rejection of the 1970 contract by the Chicago Teamsters as well as the independent steel-haulers' strikes and the emergence of a whole series of internal oppositions, such as the reformist "Teamsters for a Democratic Union" (TDU).

In this situation, the bureaucracy has no room to maneuver. It must deepen its role of betrayal and come into ever greater opposition to the mobilization of the workers.

The political struggle against Carter's "austerity," the fight to build a movement for a Workers Party, takes shape

right now in the fight to defeat the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy in the Teamsters union. Building a new revolutionary leadership for the IBT means a fight to organize a victorious nationwide Teamsters strike.

NO COOPERATION! with Carter's austerity is the key to success. First, complete opening of the records and books of all the trucking companies to find out their actual profits and what they can really pay, with no regard for Carter's guidelines. Second, a full cost-of-living provision that will rise regularly and completely compensate for capitalist inflation. Third, for rolling back all the productivity schemes, overtime and speedup introduced by the companies with the bureaucracy's cooperation. Workers control of production in the IBT means work rules set on the spot by the independent committees that must be set up at each terminal, depot and warehouse.

The MFA cannot be seen as the framework for the struggle, but only as its beginning. Nationwide bargaining for all occupation groups in the IBT, with equality established between the various divisions, is the way to turn the Teamsters union from an organization which wheels and deals with the fragmented industry into a real industrial union of transportation and general workers, which could lead a real upsurge among the organized and unorganized workers throughout the country.

The fight for a new leadership is a real way to end the corruption rampant in the IBT, corruption which flourishes due to the very nature of capitalism in this industry and which can be fought only by a revolutionary leadership.

This is the struggle that can open up a new situation in the country, that can regain the initiative towards the break with the Democrats, and that can prepare the field for the auto workers.

March 18, 1979

Building the Workers Party Movement in the UAW

AUTOWORKERS FORUM

As we said before in TRUTH, in the organization of our fight in the UAW to build a movement for a Workers Party, we have decided to open up the pages of our paper to the contributions of autoworkers engaged in this struggle with us. We have begun this AUTOWORKERS FORUM as a page in TRUTH open to any autoworker who wants to reach other workers and open up a political discussion throughout the UAW.

Comments, questions, suggestions and even criticism-- this page is open to YOU. Give your contribution to a TRUTH distributor or write us directly at: PO BOX 07066, Detroit, Mi. 48207. This is your FORUM.

The following is a contribution from a young, unemployed autoworker, formerly of GM Hydra-matic in Ypsilanti, who attended our meeting on March 18.

March 22, 1979
TRUTH

"All the union did was get my firing changed to a voluntary quit."

Dear comrades and fellow workers,

I attended the pre-Production Workers Conference meeting held by the Trotskyist Organization on March 18th. I had previously worked at Hydra-matic, General Motors transmission plant located in Ypsilanti. But unfortunately I was fired and then I had it changed to a quit for the record. But the circumstances around my being fired were this-- I had worked at the plant for eight months-- working six to seven days a week. For some reason I had developed an ulcer. I had two previous ulcers but I hadn't had had one in two years before I applied for the job with GM. Naturally they wouldn't have hired me if they had known about my previous medical history. So I wasn't going to tell them about it. Labor relations were apparently checking me out because through my doctor they found out about my previous hospital record. I was immediately discharged and although I could account for any time I had been off on medical by my doctor, plus offered to waive all liability. There was nothing the union could do but get my firing changed to a voluntary quit. I would have been mad, but I would have been satisfied by their decision if the union would have presented my case.

Instead, I was brushed off by the bargaining chairman and told that there was nothing they could do for me. This is a good indication of how easy it is for them to sell us out. The way the unions are always willing to heartily accept your dues, but do nothing about workers rights.

Since the time of my being fired I have gone into the politics surrounding these union thieves and their cooperation and support of this democratic swindle.

I have been to a few Trotskyist Organization/USA meetings and, as I previously mentioned, attended the meeting on the Production Workers Conference. I was very impressed by the concern and the mobilization proposed by this party. To the point of exposing and casting out these traitors within the workers movement. Many things

were cleared up for me at this meeting. Such as the suppression which occurred during the heat walk-outs which will undoubtedly occur this summer. The workers walk out, one thing leads to another, a few workers are fired, therefore oppressing the workers and at the same time planting an attitude of fear to revolt independently in the minds of the workers. We also discussed SPEEDUP, the means by which the companies prepare for the strike this year. They raise production, therefore increasing inventory so they are not hurt by the strike. The workers are working for a set rate and when production is raised or sped-up the companies are making an unreal profit.

The workers of this country must see their exploitation for just what it is-- thievery. I urge the workers in this country to join in this political fight to overthrow the traitors withing the labor movement. To join the fight to form a Workers Party and put an end to this class rip-off. The Production Workers Conference is just that, a conference for the workers and we should not let the union sell us out at this assembly. We, the workers, should attend and show them we are sick of being stepped on.

Jim
Formerly of GM Hydra-matic
Ypsilanti, Local #735 UAW



A Platform of Combat for Victory in '79

--NO COOPERATION! With Carter's austerity program. With the high cost of living. With layoffs. Or with speedup.

--WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES! A sliding scale of wages based on a price index determined by Workers Committees.

--RECALL ALL THOSE LAID OFF SINCE 1973! For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. Work to be divided up among all those able to perform it. Union wages for the unemployed and a program of education and public works for the unemployed youth.

--ELECTION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES AND WORKERS CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION! For control of production standards and workloads by independent committees of workers, elected in the plants. For the right of the union to control production standards.

--A NATIONAL STRIKE OF ALL AUTO! Against the "target company" strategy of Fraser. For national and local general strikes of the Big Three. Led by: FREELY ELECTED STRIKE COMMITTEES!

--FOR FACTORY OCCUPATIONS OF KEY

PLANTS! A tactic proven in Flint 1937 in the strike that organized GM. And again in Mack Avenue Stamping plant in 1973.

--NO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS! For the unconditional right of every worker to know what is going on in negotiations with its class enemies. Workers delegates to be elected from the plants to sit in on negotiations.

--OPEN THE BOOKS! No bleeding hearts for capitalist profits. Exact accounting to workers committees of claims made by companies. And if the bosses prove to be unable to continue production:

--NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

--FOR A SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW TO LAUNCH THE FIGHT FOR A WORKERS PARTY! This convention to be prepared by autoworkers themselves under the control of Workers Inspection Committees. Break with Fraser and the Democratic Party for a WORKERS PARTY and the nomination of a workers candidate in 1980.

Prepare for Victory in '79!

THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION CALLS
ON AUTO WORKERS TO ATTEND A--

PLANNING MEETING:

March 25 7PM

Wayne State University Rm. 277

TO MOBILIZE WITH OUR DEMANDS AT THE
PRODUCTION WORKERS CONFERENCE

March 27, Noon, at Cobo Hall

Chrysler- "Austerity" in Action

There's a lot of loose talk going around today about a "recession." But a recession isn't going to just HAPPEN; it is being ORGANIZED at this very moment. Not by mysterious figures plotting in a secret room in Zurich, but by the deliberate actions of the capitalist government to make the working class pay for capitalism's crisis.

This organization of the recession has a name -- the "austerity" policy of Carter. "Austerity" means wage cuts in real terms ("guidelines"), increased poverty and social decay ("budget cuts"), greater unemployment ("productivity"). If this isn't recession -- for the workers -- what is?

CHRYSLER

Chrysler is the weakest of the "Big Three," always on the edge of total collapse. What Chrysler autoworkers face today is a specific example of capitalism's trying to "solve" its crisis at the expense of the workers -- "austerity" IN ACTION.

Large-scale layoffs have already begun at Chrysler. At Dodge Main and Lynch Road, its two inner-city auto assembly

plants, the company has instituted a schedule of shutting down for one or two weeks at a time, reopening when and for how long it suits Chrysler. At Dodge Main, in addition, layoffs have struck all workers with seniority later than the end of 1972. Naturally, these layoffs, which are supposed to reflect "too much" production, go hand in hand with outrageous overtime and speedup.

Jefferson Avenue, whose "revival" was supposed to be a "good sign," actually owes its existence to the complete shut-down of one truck plant across the river in Windsor and to intensified speedup at the remaining truck plants.

WORKERS

In 1973, in preparation for the auto strike, Chrysler workers in Detroit embarked on a real mobilization. Jefferson Avenue was shut down, Mack Avenue Stamping was occupied, the Forge Plant wildcatted. But the UAW bureaucrats, in particular Doug Fraser, betrayed this movement for a victorious strike and imposed the 1973 contract. This contract and this betrayal gave the green light to the auto barons for the massive layoffs

of 1974-75.

That was how Fraser and the UAW bureaucracy helped to ORGANIZE the LAST recession. Today, Chrysler and Fraser are again working hand in glove to do the same thing. But it is not just a question of "the company and the union."

Because 1973 was also the year in which Democrat Coleman Young -- with the full support of the UAW bureaucrats and the Stalinists of the Communist Party -- was elected mayor of Detroit. This was the final step in the betrayal begun in the auto strike.

The "recession" turned Detroit into a city of desolation. The capitalist class needed Young, with all his "black" and "labor" demagogy, to make sure that the explosive anger of the workers was contained. Fraser himself became police commissioner; or, rather, he made his status as a cop "official."

NO COOPERATION!

The recession is being ORGANIZED through Carter's "austerity." It is the DEMOCRATIC PARTY of Coleman Young and Jimmy Carter that is carrying it out. It is Fraser who is responsible for the election of

these Democrats. Today, with his "Progressive Alliance," he is working to save the Democratic Party by sacrificing Carter.

The way to victory lies through the fight for NO COOPERATION with Carter's "austerity" and recession. From the beginning it must be a fight to organize the break with the Democratic Party into a movement for a Workers Party.

This movement means defeating the attempts of the UAW bureaucrats to help organize the new recession through a new betrayal. The struggle at Chrysler has continued from 1973, through the "Trenton 7," to the recent actions at Lynch Road and the strike of mechanics and technicians at Chrysler headquarters.

Today, this struggle means an independent mobilization against the speedup and the layoffs. It means building independent committees to recall all those laid off since '73, to organize workers control of production. It means a struggle to link up with GM and Ford workers to lead the strike to victory in 1979!
March 16, 1979
K.F.

KLEBANOV

The following is a Resolution presented by militants of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, American arm of the Revolutionary Youth International, to the autoworkers meeting held on March 18 by the Trotskyist Organization/USA in Detroit. The Revolutionary Young Workers intervened in this meeting around the international campaign the RYI is waging for the liberation of the Soviet miner, Klebanov, and for independent trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The comrades of the RYW pointed out that the fight to build a Workers Party is part and parcel of an international fight of workers to throw out the traitors -- the Stalinists -- is crystallized in the USSR where three attempts to build independent trade unions have met with violent repression from the Stalinist bureaucracy. Vladimir Klebanov, a leader of this movement for class inde-

pendence, has been arrested and imprisoned in a "psychiatric" hospital.

The comrades pointed out that the fight in the UAW to win back our unions from the bureaucrats is directly linked to this struggle in the USSR to build unions independent from the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, the same bureaucracy which keeps the Doug Frasers alive in this country.

Thus, the following resolution was passed, with the support of workers from GM Livonia and GM Hydra-matic, Ypsilanti:

"We call on all those present to join the RYW/USA in its campaign to defend Klebanov and his comrades and continue the struggle to unite the workers of the world around our fight to build a Workers Party as a means to advancing the world proletariat to victory."
March 18, 1979

TELEGRAM

Yuli Grimm
Tatarskaia oulitsa 9a
Kv. 74 Moscow, USSR

V.A. Klebanov
320 006 Dnepropetrovsk
101 Tchitcherine Street
La E-308/RB Building, USSR

We in the United States have heard of your appeal and the movement for unions of class independence in the USSR. We pledge to continue this fight in America; to defend Klebanov and his comrades, to raise your struggle in our unions and workers organizations and to fight the agents of the bosses in American unions as well as the agents of the Kremlin gangsters who terrorize and slander your movement.

Signed, _____

Name _____

Union/Organization _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____

(Send directly, or to RYI, P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207)

TRUTH

CHICAGO: April 3rd --

MAKE YOUR VOTE A WORKERS PARTY VOTE!

On April 3 elections for mayor of Chicago will take place. Candidates representing the Democratic, Republican and Socialist Workers parties are on the ballot.

Yet the real question in front of workers and youth in Chicago is not who to vote for on April 3, but how to continue and organize the break with the Democratic Party that was expressed in the February 27 primary.

For the first time in 48 years the candidate of the Democratic Party machine was defeated and an "independent" Democrat was elected. Voters, particularly blacks, turned out in record numbers to strike a blow against the infamous Democratic Party machine of Chicago, hated by workers and youth throughout the world.

This vote showed the break with the Democratic Party that is taking place throughout the country. We said that workers turned out to vote in record numbers not to vote for Jane Byrne, who is just another Democrat and hardly "independent," but to spit in the face of the machine and let workers throughout the country know that its days are numbered.

But the vote on February 27 also showed how the break with the Democratic Party is taking place with a great deal of confusion. The workers and youth struck a blow against the machine only to wind up with someone who is no alternative at all.

Why does this always happen? Why weren't the REAL aspirations of the blacks and youth expressed in these elections? Why have the workers and youth been so far unable to construct a REAL alternative to the Democratic Party machine?

Where does all the confusion about the way to break from the Democratic Party come from?

It doesn't come from the workers and youth in Chicago who time and time again have shown their desire to finish with the Democratic Party once and for all. Instead it comes from the PETTY BOURGEOIS and BANKRUPT false leaderships in the workers movement who don't represent the workers but instead represent the interests of the

Democratic Party in the workers mobilization to break from it.

Their job is to block and confuse the attempts of workers and youth to finish with the Democratic Party.

Who are they? The AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY for one. They aren't even running their own candidate because they SUPPORT JANE BYRNE. During the primary they openly campaigned for several "independent" aldermen, who were nothing but Democrats.

Now they openly support Byrne, demanding that she keep her "promises." Thus, the Communist Party of Illinois issued a post-election statement declaring: "Trade unionists, women, community organizations of Black, white and Latino working people, should write, call and send delegations to Jane Byrne pledging to support these commitments. (her "promises"--TRUTH) This will let her, and the big business interests, know that we demand that these promises be kept."

How many times have we heard this before? About the "promises" of Democratic Party politicians? THIS IS THE LINE OF JIMMY CARTER. Only pushed in the workers movement by the American CP.

But there are some other people who are just as petty bourgeois and just as dangerous. People who say that the vote on Feb. 27 had no significance, that it was just a "family feud."

They are the same people who say that the American working class has "no immediate political perspective" because their job is to BLOCK THIS POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE.

Who are they? The pseudo-Trotskyist SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Who take on a special significance in this election because: (1) they are the only "socialist" organization on the ballot and (2) they claim to speak in the name of the Fourth International, the only party in the U.S. which IS trying to open up a political perspective for the working class.

They have already shown how far removed they are from the workers and youth in Chicago when they stated that the most important thing about the Feb. 27 primary was the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that

week to grant them 15,000 less signatures to get on the ballot. And how do they now define a "victory" for the working class on April 3?

The SWP getting 5% of the vote so that they can have "permanent ballot status." This is a "victory"!

Lawyers and ballot-box "revolutionaries." Comedians also -- their "Snow Removal Program" -- will certainly go down in working class history as one of the funniest jokes.

But the way in which these pseudo-Trotskyists are allowing themselves to be USED by the bourgeoisie and the Democratic Party is NO JOKE.

On February 29 the SWP got a call from Alderman Pucinski, a former Congressman and leader of the machine, asking them about a "deal" to remove their candidate in favor of a "stronger" one. After talking to him for 25 minutes they apparently refused the "deal."

On March 12 their candidate, Andrew Pulley, attended a "transition meeting" with the Democratic and Republican candidates in Mayor Bilandic's office. Pulley being a blatant pawn in a maneuver to "insult" Jane Byrne.

The SWP calls all this "publicity" and "getting in the media." We call it being used.

Can any black worker imagine Fred Hampton, a revolutionary Black Panther, assassinated by the Democratic Party machine in cold blood, talking "deal" with Pucinski for 25 minutes? Can anyone imagine Fred Hampton in the Mayor's office, talking "transition"?

Have "times changed"? Or isn't it instead true that this SWP is not revolutionary. That they turned down Pucinski's "deal" because the REAL DEAL HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE -- for the SWP to keep the workers passive during these elections; to turn the idea of revolution and Trotskyism into a joke in the eyes of the workers by becoming "media" clowns and pawns. To make the workers and youth believe that Byrne is indeed the only "realistic" alternative.

"Respectable" revolutionaries. Unlike the ones beaten in the streets in the summer of 1968. Or those gunned down by

Hanrahan's cops.

Both the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists want to hide the TRUTH from the workers -- that now is the time for a real break from the Democratic Party -- that now is the time to build a movement for a party of class independence -- a WORKERS PARTY.

We say that the task of Chicago workers, not just on April 3, but after as well, is to FINISH WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY! A fight throughout this country to build a movement for class independence and its party, a Workers Party. A fight which like in 1968 is part of an INTERNATIONAL movement of workers and youth to break with the bourgeoisie and their petty bourgeois agents in the workers movement.

This fight can be expressed on April 3. We say VOTE -- to stay at home would be a victory for all concerned. For the machine who want things to be back to "normal." For the SWP also, which only wants a "respectable" 5% -- anything more would be "dangerous."

As we said in the last issue of TRUTH -- vote for the SWP -- not as a vote for their politics -- but as a vote expressing a break with the Democratic Party and the fight to build a real workers alternative, a Workers Party.

Make it YOUR vote, not theirs, by continuing the struggle AFTER April 3. By fighting along with the Trotskyist Organization/USA in the unions, in the black and Latin communities, among the youth to regroup all those who really want to finish with the Democratic Party machine once and for all by building a permanent movement of opposition to the CP and its agents in the workers movement.

Make your vote a vote for a WORKERS PARTY and join us after April 3 in taking the struggle forward. A party not for TV and the bourgeois papers, but to take power in the name of the workers and oppressed. A party that will take two seconds to tell all the Pucinskis: WRONG NUMBER! March 22, 1979

TRUTH