

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A Real Confrontation With Carter
and his Democratic Party: A

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT IN AUTO!

Talk is cheap. This is a worn-out phrase, but not as worn-out as the bureaucrats who run the unions in this country.

At the UAW's Special Bargaining Convention in Detroit on April 17-18 Doug Fraser made headlines by telling the U.S. government to "stay the hell away" from the auto negotiations coming up with the Big Three this summer.

When asked what he would do if a federal mediator showed up anyway, Fraser responded: "We'll lock the doors."

Cheap talk. Awfully cheap considering the fact that it was Doug Fraser and his pal, Coleman Young, WHO GOT CARTER ELECTED IN '76. As the first major labor and black leaders to support Carter.

Carter doesn't have to send any mediators. His #1 lieutenant is already there-- in the person of cheap-talking Doug Fraser.

Fraser is forced to talk this way in order to use the overwhelming hatred of autoworkers and all American workers against the Carter government. A hatred which has escalated in the last months. In face of the rapidly rising prices. In face of the defeats for imperialism around the world. In face of Carter's cover-up at Three Mile Island.

Also because workers watched with disgust as the Teamsters bureaucrats, led by Frank Fitzsimmons, allowed the federal government to intervene and determine the terms of the Teamsters contract. No one knows exactly the terms of the agreement (a secret even for IBT members)-- it is somewhere be-

tween an 8% and 10% wage increase-- but obviously no clear-cut victory for either the Teamsters or the working class as a whole.

The Teamsters contract SETTLED NOTHING. Settled nothing above all for the most advanced workers and youth who are seeking a means to organize a political confrontation with the Carter government and his Democratic Party, who are seeking a means to overcome the treachery of the trade union bureaucrats.

They saw a strike of 300,000 Teamsters crippled by the treachery of the bureaucrats. And they saw very clearly that the ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

This is why the pressure is now on Fraser. Because the Teamsters contract only made American workers even MORE eager for a political confrontation with the Carter government. Even more conscious of the treachery of the bureaucrats.

Because now auto is the KEY to the offensive of the entire working class. Carter knows this. Fraser knows this. And autoworkers must know that they have the possibility of not only breaking through Carter's plan of austerity and repression but of organizing a real confrontation with Carter and his Democratic Party.

What is needed is a REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT. Which is the only real possibility of transforming the hatred for this government into an organized political movement for fundamental change.

"Stay the hell away too, Doug"-- is the message of revolutionary autoworkers who recognize that no victory for the

UAW can be won without a fight to throw out these treacherous bureaucrats, these lackeys of the Democratic Party. That to confront Carter and his government a NEW LEADERSHIP is necessary.

There are other people who should "stay the hell away" along with Carter and Fraser. Especially the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who have launched an offensive in auto around the theme, "Unite members and leaders." And the first, terribly "militant" demand in their "Five Point Program for the '79 Negotiations" is: "Put Some Bread on the Table."!

In the USSR those who oppose the trade union bureaucrats are put in "psychiatric hospitals." The American Stalinists would like to do this too, but they don't have the guns or tanks of the Kremlin -- in place of hospitals, they offer the Democratic Party!

The other people who should "stay the hell away" are the pseudo-revolutionaries who are now swarming around the auto factories with their miserable "contract demands." Cheap talk also.

Cheap talk because the key question in front of autoworkers and the entire working class is not "contract demands" but HOW TO RENEW THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT. How to organize a political confrontation with the Carter gov-

ernment, with the Democratic Party and all those in its shadow. Without this leadership, without this political confrontation, all the talk about "contract demands" is only spitting into the wind.

Workers-- a revolutionary fight in auto is needed. And the Trotskyist Organization/USA says that this fight requires a WEAPON. A political weapon which will be more than cheap talk.

A WORKERS PARTY. A political weapon to renew the leadership of the working class. To isolate the agents of the Democratic Party and Stalinism in the UAW. To organize a real confrontation with Carter and his Democratic Party through a revolutionary mobilization.

As a step towards organizing this PARTY as the condition for the victory of autoworkers in '79 and the offensive of the entire working class, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, along with the Revolutionary Young Workers, is organizing a GM WORKERS CONFERENCE in Detroit on May 13.

This meeting is not restricted to GM workers. It is open to all autoworkers, to unemployed workers, to youth-- to everyone who wants to build a revolutionary fight in auto as a fight for all workers and oppressed.

To everyone who wants to pass from cheap talk to POLITICAL ACTION.

April 19, 1979

TRUTH

GM Workers Conference,
Detroit, May 13

Inside

THESES For 5th National
Conference, TO/USA

The Time to Fight is Now

The time for autoworkers to regain the initiative is NOW!

The "hot" summer of speedup and slavery is approaching. The summer which last year saw thousands of autoworkers throw down their tools and stream out of the plants for relief from the barbarism of the PLANT-ation. Another summer of TRENTON SEVEN's framed up by the courts and abandoned by the UAW bureaucracy.

Moreover, it is a time of preparation for the enemies of workers. A time when the auto barons drive the workers to produce enough autos to last out a strike. And when the decrepit UAW officialdom begins its plan of BETRAYAL with last minute "hot" rhetoric, appeals to the ranks for UNITY behind these traitors of disunity, and attacks on the most militant workers and plants -- those who will strike and walkout before the holy contract period is up. A contract which has already been broken and useless from the day it was written by the auto industry and the UAW bureaucracy.

Jimmy Carter and his government of bosses' representatives have already given the signal for a renewed offensive against the workers. A battle plan of inflation, speedup and mass unemployment, in short, a "recession."

Who can believe that Doug Fraser, with his "Progressive Alliance" in the Democratic party, will lead autoworkers against their enemies? The Teamsters strike showed how far removed Fraser is from autoworkers. He called for an end to the Teamsters strike when every autoworker supported the truckers strike. Or the UAW's plan to strike Ford or GM in Canada! How much proof can this traitor give us that he has no intention of stopping Carter and his anti-worker government.

Yes, Fraser and his bureaucratic machine are

with Carter in preparing another BETRAYAL for autoworkers. To win victory it is necessary to strike out on an independent road with a policy of NO COOPERATION! To win we must mobilize the most oppressed who are the target of Carter's "guidelines." Not a contract negotiation but a political combat is necessary. Call a halt to Carter's government, and clean house in the UAW.

To win victory is to fight for a political solution to the struggle of autoworkers and the entire American working class. A WORKERS PARTY to shatter the alliance of the unions with Carter's Democratic party. A WORKERS PARTY to break the isolation of American workers and unite them with the struggles of workers all over the world who are fighting this decrepit and bankrupt system. A WORKERS PARTY to give every worker a voice and a means to organize against Carter, Fraser and their likes.

And this party will be built in COMBAT. The autoworkers, central as they are to the American working class and its mobilization against Carter are in a position to take the lead in this combat. But it is necessary to prepare NOW! Not to wait for the strategy of Fraser to turn the autoworkers fight into another BETRAYAL.

It is to begin to build a movement for a WORKERS PARTY in the UAW alongside a combat against speedup and layoffs, that the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all autoworkers, especially those of General Motors to attend a GM Workers Conference on May 13th in Detroit. At the present stage it is not simply the numbers of autoworkers who will take up this fight that count, but rather that the MOST ADVANCED and class conscious among them be prepared to take the offensive.
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The results for TRUTH #92 were:

Ford River Rouge	8
GM Fleetwood	13
GM Cadillac	8
GM Chevy Gear & Axle.....	9
UPS.....	11
DETROIT (Total).....	107
FLINT (Total).....	37
OTHER	30
TOTAL.....	174

READERS: This issue of TRUTH, containing the THESES for the 5th National Conference of the TO/USA and a special poster, will be distributed for an entire month. TRUTH #94 will be printed on May 18.

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The FI will never "settle" with this imperialist state--

"We are not a Party as Other Parties."

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT, TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA, SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Trotskyist Organization/USA unconditionally defends all working class militants, parties and organizations in face of the attacks of this imperialist state.

In this framework we have always and will continue to defend the American Socialist Workers Party from bourgeois repression. Despite the fact that we consider this organization a centrist organization which falsely claims to have something to do with our party, the Fourth International.

For the last six years the SWP has been engaged in a court suit against the U.S. government seeking damages for 40 years of harassment and persecution. We defend the right of the SWP to undertake such a suit. And we condemn the latest decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals which overruled a contempt of court citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell for refusing to turn over a list of 18 out of 300 FBI spies who have been in the SWP in recent years.

This decision proves that indeed this government is considered "above the law." OUTLAWS to be more precise.

In face of this defeat the SWP has gone running to the government with a proposed "settlement" (see box below).

We even defend their right to "settle." Who are we to stop the pseudo-Trotskyists from doing what comes natural?

But the Trotskyist Organization/USA says to every American worker and youth:

-- This court suit and this party, the SWP, has NOTHING TO DO with the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky as the continuity of Bolshevism. Has nothing to do with those who have fought for this party for the last 40 years and who continue its combat today.

-- This suit has NOTHING TO DO with DEMOCRACY. Bourgeois or otherwise.

-- This suit and its outcome has NOTHING TO DO with the class interests of any worker or youth. It will resolve NOT ONE problem in front of the American working class.

Instead, this suit has been a six-year FARCE, a SLIDING SCALE OF CAPITULATIONS which now won a full and "honored" place in the "human rights" fraud of Jimmy Carter and U.S. imperialism.

federal court for six years and HAS NOT EVEN GONE TO TRIAL--they are still in a pre-trial hearing! The U.S. government has given up NOTHING, not even the EVIDENCE.

In return, the SWP has produced a steady stream of capitulations. They openly renounced having anything to do with the Fourth International. They



denounced THEIR OWN COMRADES in court (members of the "Internationalist Tendency," supporters of Mandel) as "terrorists," proudly told a judge that they had expelled them-- and turned over their Internal Bulletin to prove it!

And now they offer a "settlement" which is even more treacherous.

THE MILITANT of April 6 declared: "The appeals court ruling, by letting the government off the hook... which is a SECONDARY ISSUE (our emphasis) in this case, clears the way for a settlement of the central issues."

"Secondary issue"? Read THE MILITANT of July 21, 1978 when the federal judge made his contempt of court ruling: "Right now a battle is taking place. A battle whose outcome will affect the lives of all Americans and of working people all over the world... The SWP suit has hit the weakest spot in Carter's armor. It is at the center of the fight against Carter's offensive. And if enough pressure is brought to bear, it can force Carter to retreat."

How easy it is to shatter the dreams of pseudo-revolutionaries!

The "settlement" itself is a final capitulation. They ask for "injunctive relief." But the courts have already thrown out an injunction simply asking for some files! Only a "human rights" pseudo-Trotskyist could propose democratic rights through court injunction.

But it is even worse. In

reality, the SWP is proposing a PACT with the government, to recognize the SWP as a "legal party"-- TO THE EXCLUSION OF EVERYONE ELSE! They write: "The SWP is a legal political party ... entitled to equal protection of laws with the Democratic and Republican and other RECOGNIZED (our emphasis) political parties."

It is a proposed pact, an INCORPORATION of the SWP into Carter's "human rights" alliance, which as we have insisted over and over again, HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH DEMOCRACY, not even "bourgeois" democracy.

Why do we draw this conclusion? Because the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution already LEGALIZES every political party. A right that the courts can neither GIVE NOR TAKE AWAY.

And that the only reason that the SWP can be demanding its "legalization" is TO EXCLUDE OTHERS in the workers movement. To exclude those who refuse to go begging to the bourgeois courts. Who above all refuse to be "recognized," "official," part of the "human rights" alliance.

Above all to EXCLUDE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Which is under attack throughout the world for being the only international revolutionary organization. Because today in the U.S. there are ILLEGAL, UN-CONSTITUTIONAL laws which attack the right of American workers to belong to an international organization, above all the Fourth International (Voorhis Act, S.1437).

The "legalization" of the SWP is designed to allow the SWP to exist side by side with the ILLEGAL repression of the Fourth

International in this country. With the illegal repression that goes on every day in the streets and factories against the workers and youth.

A betrayal of every American worker and youth.

Workers and youth-- the Trotskyist Organization/USA declares that the Fourth International will never "settle" with this imperialist state. That no judge will ever grant our ALREADY LEGAL rights. Our "legalization" will never be "settled," but will be IMPOSED.

Imposed as the party of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the party of the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas. As an international party representing the fight of Bolshevism.

Workers-- a party that will sell its own heritage and its own comrades won't think twice about selling you out in order to be a "recognized political party."

40 years ago, on the founding of the Fourth International, Trotsky answered these philistines by saying:

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

Workers and youth-- THIS is your party and the party that the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls you to join in a fight to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International against the "recognized Trotskyists" who will never receive your recognition.

--RETURN TO THE PARTY OF LENIN AND TROTSKY!

-- THE "SETTLEMENT" OF THE SWP SETTLES NOTHING--IMPOSE FULL RIGHTS FOR THE FI IN THE U.S. IN A COMBAT AGAINST "HUMAN RIGHTS" AND ITS SHADOWS!

-- LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

April 18, 1979

Terms of proposed settlement

The following are the terms proposed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for settlement of their suit against government spying, as communicated to the Justice Department March 21 by attorney Leonard Boudin.

A. Injunctive relief from the following government activities against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance:

1. Use of informers to infiltrate, spy upon, harass and disrupt, or engage in any other activity in relation to the SWP or YSA, or of their members' homes and offices;
2. Burglaries or "surreptitious entries" of the SWP or YSA, or their members' homes and offices;
3. Warrantless wiretapping and electronic surveillance;
4. Mail openings and mail-covers;
5. Trash covers;
6. Cooperation with right-wing terrorist organizations to bomb SWP or YSA offices, beat SWP or YSA members, or commit or threaten to

commit other violent acts against them;

7. Maintaining blacklists which single out the SWP and YSA and their members and supporters for discriminatory treatment, selective prosecution, harassment, or any other arbitrary government action;
8. Cooperating with employers and "security" agencies to maintain files on political and union activity of SWP and YSA members, or their supporters;
9. Interference with SWP electoral campaigns;
10. Use of "dirty tricks" to harass, injure, and disrupt the SWP and YSA, and their members and supporters, including, but not limited to such techniques as poison pen letters, disrupting personal lives, using informers in other organizations to create hostility against the SWP and YSA among the members of those organizations and their supporters, and the manipulation of the public media to slander or discredit the SWP or YSA, or any of their members and supporters;

11. The maintenance of any files, dossiers, or records on the SWP or YSA, or the maintenance of any files, dossiers or records on YSA or SWP members and supporters relating to the exercise of First Amendment rights of speech, press and association.

B. Declaratory judgment to the following effect:

1. The Socialist Workers Party is a legal political party, and the Young Socialist Alliance is a legal political youth association, entitled to equal protection of the laws with the Democratic and Republican and other recognized political parties;
2. The government's investigation of the SWP and YSA was not justified at its inception and has been pursued for 40 years without valid law enforcement purpose and without producing evidence of criminal activities by the SWP, the YSA, or their members.

C. Money damages in the amount of \$5,000,000.00, together with the costs and disbursements of this action, including attorneys' fees, as authorized by the Privacy Act of 1974.

The Stalinists & Pseudo-Trotskyists Discover "Black-White Unity" -- OF THE BUREAUCRATS

By JON COHEN

Whenever you hear the Stalinists of the American Communist Party (CP) or the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) talk about "working class unity" there's only one thing to do. Grab hold of your wallet tightly because a bit of thievery is sure to take place.

The American Stalinists are nothing other than the servants of the Kremlin apparatus in the U.S.-- petty bourgeois agents of imperialism who use the name of "communism" to keep American workers and youth tied to the Democratic Party. The pseudo-Trotskyists are petty bourgeois politicians who have no policy independent from Stalinism and who use the name of the Fourth International to try to clean up Stalinism's image in front of the workers and youth around the world who are breaking from its influence.

They are liars when they talk about "working class unity" because they are the CHIEF OBSTACLES to this unity. Because real unity means a break from Stalinism and all the petty bourgeois policies of the past and present. Because real working class unity can only be won by isolating these professional demoralizers in the workers movement.

Therefore consider yourself warned when you hear these petty bourgeois politicians talking about their latest "discovery"-- "black-white unity." Hold on to your wallets because this "black-white unity" has nothing to do with the interests of black or white workers.

It comes as no surprise that both the CP and SWP have discovered this "black-white unity" at the same time. Great minds think alike.

The CP "Draft Resolution on Black Liberation" for its forthcoming national convention places the question of the "new basis" for this "unity" at the center. They also (along with the rest of the petty bourgeoisie in this country) "discover" the working class and the black working class in particular.

Thus, they write: "The dominance of the working class within the social stratification of the Black American people...is the decisive factor in determining the content and form, the goal and objectives, the strategy and tactics of the struggle for equality and freedom for Black people."

From the same people who call for more black cops!

The pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP follow closely with the same "analysis." In a report by their national secretary, Jack Barnes, entitled "The Working Class Moves to Center Stage" (May we be rude enough to ask: If the working class is now at the "center stage, where PRECISELY has it been for all these years, and where PRECISELY has the SWP been?) Barnes declared: "The growing class consciousness of many white workers narrows the gap with their Black co-workers. There's more and more understanding of the need for class solidarity."

His "thesis" is that in the 60's blacks were "way ahead" of white workers. But in the 70's white workers "caught up." Simple reasoning for simple minds-- but above all a way of avoiding a real balance sheet of the struggles of both black and white workers in the last ten years and the place of the SWP.

Which would require a discussion of the mockery of Trotskyism contained in the SWP's proposition for a "black party" which they are now "deemphasizing" after 15 years, with no explanation. A discussion of the "Transitional Program for Black Liberation" which has also disappeared. Along with "black control of the black community" and "federal troops to enforce busing."

Which would reveal to every class conscious black and white worker that this new-found discovery of "black-white unity" on the part of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists is nothing but a new stage in their betrayal of the movement of black workers and youth. Coming at a time when black workers most need a real political perspective for going forward.

Coming at a time when all the most minimal democratic and economic gains made by blacks in the 60's are being systematically stripped away by this racist state. With an unemployment rate of 40% among black youth. With attacks on social and educational programs. With the resurgence of the KKK.

But above all coming at a time when it is more and more clear to many black workers and youth that the petty bourgeois perspectives and leaderships of the 60's are BANKRUPT. The bankruptcy of Martin Luther King's "non-violence." The bankruptcy of all those who said that a "Civil Rights Act" would guarantee equality. The bankruptcy of

all those who said that the Democratic Party could be a vehicle for blacks.

The bankruptcy of BLACK Democrats. Of black nationalism -- of all those who sought to divide white workers from blacks. The bankruptcy of "human rights" and the restriction of black rights to only those rights granted by the racist state (busing, affirmative action, etc.).

The Stalinists and SWP have now discovered "black-white unity" and a "working class perspective" for blacks in order to hide their own role in the last ten years. That they were and are UP TO THEIR NECKS in this bankruptcy. That the betrayals of the Martin Luther Kings, the Jesse Jacksons, the Coleman Youngs and John Conyers is the bankruptcy of Stalinism and the SWP also -- who covered for these false leaders and false solutions in front of the black youth.

That those who are now talking about "black-white unity" have spent the last ten years sowing DISUNITY in the working class. Supporting every fast-talking petty bourgeois nationalist who came on the scene. Supporting every scheme of liberal imperialism to divide white workers from blacks. Maintaining all along that white workers were "backward," non-revolutionary and that blacks could only trust the Coleman Youngs and Jesse Jacksons.

And if today they are forced to swallow their words and schemes of "black parties," swallow their contempt for the working class, it is not because they have suddenly become revolutionary. It is because more and more workers, black and white, have come to see the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois solutions of the last ten years.

But above all because the possibility for a REAL AND REVOLUTIONARY unity of the black and white working class is on the agenda today.

The CP and SWP are "discovering" the working class and "unity" in order to block this revolutionary unity. To give a new cover to the betrayals of the 60's-- to keep the mobilization of black and white workers within the framework of "human rights" and "civil rights"-- of the racist, capitalist state and the trade union bureaucracy.

A few weeks ago all this rhetoric about "black-white unity" revealed its true colors.

No honest worker has to wonder any longer about just what these Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists mean.

It all came together on March 27-29 at a "Civil Rights Conference" called by the bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in Pittsburgh.

"A historic step forward" cried the Stalinists. "Steelworkers conference vows to defend job equality" cheered the SWP as they made sure to list and quote every trade union bureaucrat, lawyer and "civil rights" hack who showed their face.

Workers-- this is their "black-white unity." Of the corrupt trade union bureaucrats who are willing to talk all day about "civil rights" as long as it has nothing to do with the REAL RIGHTS of blacks and whites in their union!

Like the right to strike, denied to steelworkers. Like the right to even vote on a contract. Like the right to GET RID of these bureaucrats who are a noose around the necks of all steelworkers.

To block the real black-white unity of steelworkers, autoworkers, and workers throughout the country, a unity that is developing AGAINST these bureaucrats, AGAINST the lackeys of the Democratic Party. The growing revolutionary unity of the black and white working class.

The unity that has been the 200-year nightmare of the ruling class in this country.

This is the unity that the Trotskyist Organization/USA stands for. Not the "civil rights" conferences of the trade union bureaucrats, not piecemeal reforms granted by the racist state and designed to tie workers to this state. But the revolutionary combat of black and white workers to win rights for blacks in a MOBILIZATION linked to the fight of the working class as a whole for its rights, for Workers Democracy.

A mobilization that requires a fight to renew the leadership of the workers movement and to build the party of this renewal. To draw a balance sheet of the last ten years, the balance sheet of the betrayals of the petty bourgeois leaderships and to forge the revolutionary unity of black and white workers. This is the road forward for the black movement today and the entire American working class. April 18, 1979

THESES FOR THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA

I. REGAIN THE INITIATIVE!

1. The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA is opening up the preparation of the Fifth National Conference in a political situation characterized by an unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism. What everyone, from the bourgeois media to the traitors in the workers movement, tries to mask as a crisis of the "Carter government," is in fact a new stage in the crisis of the imperialist order throughout the world and at home. A crisis that must be masked in order to hide its revolutionary conclusions for the American working class.

Since 1968 the US bourgeoisie and its imperialist state has been on the defensive in relation to the international mobilization of the working class. Internationally this defensive posture was symbolized by its defeat in Southeast Asia, the new stage in the European revolution opened up by the fall of the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal and the mobilization against Franco.

At home this defensiveness has been expressed in the constant personnel changes at the top of the regime (LBJ, Nixon, Ford, Carter), the "Watergate" crisis and the failure to close up the break with the Democratic Party opened up at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Party Convention. A defensiveness which characterizes the relationship between the U.S. bourgeoisie and the American working class at all levels.

But it is also clear that in 1978 and in the beginning of this year we have seen the development of a new stage in the world working class offensive and the crisis of imperialism. A new stage marked by a still-confused and inarticulated balance sheet of the events since 1978-- a balance sheet of the bankruptcy of Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy and their inability to control the mobilization of the working class in the service of imperialism.

This is what is "new" about the defeat for U.S. imperialism in Iran, the revolutionary upsurge in Nicaragua and Peru, what is behind the war in Southeast Asia, the nakedly phony "peace" in the Middle East-- a growing sector of the working class and youth that is out of control of the apparatuses, that is still without a revolutionary leadership, but is willing to throw itself into battle without conditions, without worrying about the setbacks of the last ten years. A new generation of the working class has entered the political scene.

This holds true in the U.S. The unprecedented crisis of the bourgeoisie is not simply due to its inability to make the working class accept its austerity program, its inability to instill any kind of working class confidence in the Carter regime, but above all the increasingly clear character of the workers mobilization as a

search for a POLITICAL CONFRONTATION with the Carter government. This became evident with the miners strike in 1978-- their defiance of Taft-Hartley, their armed confrontations with the police, their rejection of the trade union bureaucracy-- which provided the impetus for the strike wave of public employees that followed and the national railroad wildcat strike. It is a characteristic of the Newport News union recognition strike today, inspired by the miners struggle last year and is much more significant than the narrow legal and trade union framework that everyone else is trying to keep it in. The organization of the South, this being the first mass initiative since World War II, is above all a central challenge to the PACT set up between the AFL-CIO bureaucracy (above all the CIO) and the Democratic Party in the late 30's and 40's called the "New Deal" -- support to the trade union bureaucracy in the North under the promise to leave the South unorganized. To organize the South is to confront a centerpiece of the 30-year framework of class collaboration in the U.S. This search for a political confrontation was also expressed in Chicago in February with the defeat for the Democratic Party machine candidate-- the first time in 48 years. Although the Democratic Party certainly remains alive in Chicago and still rules the city, things will never be the same-- the machine has lost its "invincible" image which has been a weight hanging over every mobilization of the workers and youth in Chicago in the last 15 years.

A search for a political confrontation with imperialism that has made it clear in the last year that the American working class youth who, regardless of its political balance sheet of Vietnam, will not be sent off to another. Although the balance sheet of Vietnam in the working class still remains incomplete, hidden and confused by the events in Southeast Asia today, passed off as an "isolationist mood"-- the STRUGGLE of the American working class and particularly the soldiers in Vietnam remains alive in the consciousness of the working class and represents a positive legacy of the 60's.

And the break with the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy that is underway is not simply a "national affair." It is through the Democratic Party and above all the trade union bureaucracy that the Kremlin intervenes in the American working class and plays its counterrevolutionary role. The policy of the American CP today most clearly demonstrates this-- direct support to the liberal wing of the DP and the bureaucracy. The support to the Democratic Party is thus one of the centerpieces of the entire international framework of "peaceful coexistence" and the break of the working class with this party and bureaucracy is now becoming a factor in the world crisis of Stalinism itself.

The unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism not only foreshadows imminent

revolutionary confrontations on the world scale, but foreshadows them in the U.S. as well. The political and social crisis of the U.S. bourgeoisie is permanent-- the "American Century" which never really began, is finished, and it is more and more difficult to mask this crisis, to pretend that it is a problem of "foreign policy" and isolationist moods" and not this system itself. The preparation of the American revolution, now more than ever inseparably linked to the world revolution, becomes more and more on the order of the day.

2. Our Program says that "the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of its leadership." It is part of our characterization of the situation in front of the American working class. Because despite the crisis of imperialism and its apparatuses in the workers movement, the consciousness of the working class of the stake of its mobilization and the revolutionary tasks in front of it lags far behind the objective situation. The crisis of imperialism and Stalinism may be unprecedented but it is not at all final-- the continued mobilization of the workers and youth is constantly threatened by the absence of a revolutionary leadership, which not only threatens the offensive itself, but gives this mobilization a contradictory and hesitant nature. The statistics released in March--profits up by 26%--the highest in 30 years-- and the now-rising unemployment and inflation rate point this out in black and white.

It is not at all a question of combativity or willingness to fight. But the recognition that on the world scale and in the U.S. the break of the working class with the old order and the apparatuses is taking place under a situation of political disorientation and confusion. In Europe it above all concerns an incomplete balance sheet of Stalinism. In the U.S. it APPEARS as an incomplete balance sheet of the break with the Democratic Party and the union bureaucracy, but in fact it is the same thing-- a balance sheet based on the national isolation of the working class imposed by Stalinism and imperialism, a balance sheet still within the framework imposed by the petty bourgeois traitors in the workers movement. Imposed above all against the youth who now want to know exactly what HAVE these petty bourgeois leaderships been doing for the last ten years and aren't waiting around for answers.

On the one hand a section of the working class remains under the domination of these petty bourgeois leftovers of the first upsurge of the working class in the late 60's. Precisely because of the crisis of the FI internationally and in the U.S. and the lack of political preparation of this upsurge, the black mobilization of the 60's, the anti-war movement and the new step forward in the workers mobilization that began after 1968 (the 1970 postal workers wildcat

and Gm strike, DRUM, Lordstown), fell under the domination of petty bourgeois leaderships, who represented neither the consciousness nor the demands of the 60's and 70's but rather the entire reactionary baggage inherited from the 50's-- "McCarthyism," or rather, those who adapted to it, had not yet been finished with in the workers movement.

These petty bourgeois leaderships were represented by the trade union bureaucrats. But more precisely and importantly, by petty bourgeois "alternatives" to the trade union bureaucracy that were legitimized by the Stalinists and SWP in the eyes of the working class. Castro. The "socialist," Martin Luther King, the "Communist," Coleman Young, the "Marxist," Ken Cockrel. The "anti-war" McCarthys and McGoverns. The "feminist" Bella Abzug and Gloria Steinem. And in the unions-- the "democratic" Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski.

It is this petty bourgeois domination of the workers movement that has caused a section of the working class to draw an incomplete, passive and therefore NEGATIVE balance sheet of its struggle since 1968. To cause a section of the black working class to believe that an independent struggle for black liberation is impossible. To cause a section of the working class to be deceived by the events in Southeast Asia-- to believe that the anti-war movement failed. To abandon any real fight for a new leadership in the unions and to replace it with a simple "militancy." Or to reject "politics" altogether and retreat into apathy, cynicism or "doing your own thing." A balance sheet developed massively in the bourgeois press and media.

What the working class as a whole and more importantly, its most advanced sections, does not clearly understand is that this is NOT a balance sheet of the workers mobilization, but a balance sheet of their bankruptcy. A balance sheet that is in CONTRADICTION with the workers mobilization and the political character to it that we have outlined above. A balance sheet of the constant attempts of these leaderships to hide the stake of the workers mobilization and prevent the movement of break with the Democratic Party from turning into a mobilization for class independence.

Which necessitates a struggle on our part to convince workers that these leaderships supported by the Stalinists and the SWP represent not the results of the struggles of the 60's and 70's but their BETRAYALS and that in order to move forward the workers movement must break with these leaders and their politics. And that today's "turn to the working class" on the part of ALL the petty bourgeois leaderships is a continuation of the same policy of betrayal. Doug Fraser as head of the "Progressive Alliance," a stalking horse to develop Ted Kennedy as a workers candidate, Coleman Young as the "foremost black politician in the country," NOW's "working class orientation," and the CP and SWP's "turn to the working class" represent a continuation of the betrayals of the last ten years but on a different terrain-- a terrain based on the growing contradiction between their bankruptcy and the workers mobilization, but as well on the illusion in the working class that the mobilizations of the 60's failed because they did not have a "working class orientation" and that a "working class orientation" can be carried out within the framework of Carter's "human rights." It is an acceptance of the political character of the workers mobilization, but designed to make workers believe that now workers are a "pressure group" too.

But above all designed to block the working class from drawing a political balance sheet of its mobilization, to keep the workers mobilization in a vicious circle of strikes, political abstention and more strikes-- a vicious circle which can be seen throughout the last ten years but which

has become even clearer after the miners strike last year. While giving the U.S. bourgeoisie time to strengthen its repressive apparatus and prepare for the inevitable confrontation. To keep a section of the working class believing that "the movements of the 60's failed," in this fashion counter-balancing the youth who want to act, REGARDLESS, but who are acting under confusion and impressionism, cut off from the revolutionary lessons of the past.

3. If U.S. imperialism is on the defensive vis-a-vis the mobilization of the workers and youth, the only factor in its favor is the TREASON of the apparatuses. The greater and greater submission of Stalinism to imperialism, necessitating the greater capitulation of the pseudo-Trotskyists as apologists for Stalinism is what characterizes the policies of the petty bourgeoisie in the workers movement today. It is here that U.S. imperialism DOES have the initiative, translated into the illusion in the workers mobilization that their mobilization is "defensive" when what it really concerns is the submission of Stalinism and its allies.

Thus, the SWP line that "US imperialism is the main enemy in Southeast Asia" or their panic over the "war threat in Yemen," now translated in the U.S. into the "imminent destruction of the unions," but by the increased submission of the Kremlin and those who cover for it. That the first and only way to prevent another war is to develop an offensive of the working class against U.S. imperialism which necessitates a confrontation with Stalinism and the bureaucracy.

The greatest threat to the working class today is not "war" but its supposed opposite-- Jimmy Carter's "human rights" policy and those who have attempted in the last three years to draw the working class into its shadow. For if we say that the Carter regime is in crisis, we must say at the same time that the vanguard of the working class has not finished with "human rights."

Appearing with Carter's election in 1976, "human rights" was given the APPEARANCE of a change in U.S. imperialism's policies-- no more Vietnams or Chiles, no more "Watergates." It was the opposite. Designed to give a "democratic" cover, based on the efforts of the bourgeoisie since 1968 to strengthen the state and repressive apparatus. To provide the alternative of bourgeois "democracy" to what is objectively and historically on the agenda-- Workers Democracy-- and to enlist the Stalinist apparatus in open support for the bourgeois state. To reduce the question of rights to all those "rights" which do not permit an active and independent organization of the workers-- thus attacking all the mobilizations developed in the 60's. To subordinate the question of mass freedoms to the strengthening of the state repressive apparatus, presenting the bourgeois state as the guarantee of "human rights" in face of the workers revolution. This is especially true of the black movement which has been derailed by the "human rights" farce of "busing," "affirmative action," etc. At the same time beginning the liquidation, in the "democratic" capitalist countries, of workers and democratic rights in the name of "human rights" (S.1437, "labor reform," the "reform" of the CIA-FBI, the military occupation of the coalfields, "anti-terrorism" in Europe).

In short, the central axis of the bourgeois counterrevolution in the last three years. To understand this is to understand the treachery of all those who have attacked Carter for his "Human rights hypocrisy." There is nothing "hypocritical" about it-- "human rights" and all those who begged for its "real implementation" for the last three years represent the present form of the counterrevolution, designed to conceal the bourgeois state from the working class.

What those, above all the SWP and CP, who complain about Carter's "hypocrisy" conceal is that they stand in the shadow of "human rights." That is, through this pact around "human rights" they support this government in face of the workers mobilization. It is not simply their petty bourgeois politics in the workers movement-- the way they have derailed the workers fight for democracy and democratic rights into "rights" granted by the state (ERA, busing, Weber, Bakke) or the union bureaucracy (the "right to vote on a contract" in steel), at the same time reinforcing the power of the state ("federal troops to Boston," "free speech for Nazis," the SWP's court suit). But the way in which the CP and to a greater and greater extent, the SWP, directly reinforce the Carter regime throughout the Americas under the banner of "human rights."

The American CP held its first public convention since World War II in June 1975 under the "People's Bicentennial" theme and has directly supported the "human rights" wing of the Democratic Party ever since. The SWP soon followed with its "Bill of Rights for Working People," expressing the REAL "turn to the working class it has engaged since 1976"-- participation in the U.S. bourgeoisie's "human rights" maneuver and transmitting it into the working class. The SWP, because of its revolutionary heritage, because Stalinism needs the pseudo-Trotskyist cover of centrism, plays a key role in this "human rights" accord. Many examples can be given to prove that this is recognized by the bourgeoisie itself-- from the support to the court suit (after the SWP hailed the FBI "reform" bill as "a historic step forward for democracy") to the way in which Hector Marroquin has become a "model human rights refugee" (DETROIT FREE PRESS) to the "deal" offered them in Chicago.

It is in this framework that the full stake of the "human rights" maneuver of U.S. imperialism becomes clear-- a world counterrevolutionary axis extending from Carter to Brezhnev to Fidel Castro and given a "Trotskyist" cover by the SWP. This axis includes all those who now say that the working class "has no immediate political perspective" in order to cover for the fact that THEIR perspective is the support of the bourgeois state. An axis of all those in the Two Americas who have never in the last three years placed the Carter regime in question-- presenting Carter as simply the "natural successor" and "moral" (Castro) alternative to the Nixon regime thrown out of office and the un-elected Ford-Rockefeller government.

4. The American working class can regain the political initiative in the class struggle only through a combat to confront and shatter the counterrevolutionary axis around "human rights" in a combat against Stalinism and the SWP for the class independence of the proletariat. What stands between the American proletariat and its long sought-for confrontation with the Carter government is this "human rights" accord organized by the Stalinists and the SWP to block the struggle for political power in the U.S. and throughout the Americas. An accord which is artificial, based not on the mobilizations of the workers, but on the maneuvers of imperialism and a dying social system. Which can be shattered in the first organized, mass and political regroupment of the American working class in the fight for class independence and workers democracy. A fight which is today concentrated and PASSES through a fight to unmask and isolate the pseudo-Trotskyist fraud of the SWP, as a centerpiece of the "human rights" accord in the Americas, as the central obstacle to RETURN TO LENIN! in the U.S.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA states that the fight to break out of the false balance sheet of the last ten years, to arm the young generation and regain the political initiative in face of the crisis of imperialism is a fight against the "human rights" maneuver, concentrated in the fight to isolate and unmask all those who support the bourgeois state in the workers movement. To renew the leadership of the workers mobilization through a mobilization and

a political struggle for class independence on all terrains. A fight that must be based on the preparation of the American working class for the seizure of power, the destruction of the bourgeois state and its repressive apparatus in a struggle for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT as part of the fight for a UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

Against all those who are already talking about "dumping Carter in 1980" in order to find another Democrat, or who are already planning their "socialist" electoral campaigns to insure another "peaceful change" of regimes and hide THEIR support to Carter for the last three years, the Trotskyist Organization/USA says: DOWN WITH CARTER! DOWN WITH THE "HUMAN RIGHTS" ACCORD OF THE STALINISTS AND SWP! WORKERS DEMOCRACY! A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

II. THE FIRST STEP IN CLASS INDEPENDENCE:

BUILD A MOVEMENT FOR A WORKERS PARTY!

1. Having stated that the axis of our fight against "human rights" and its shadows is the fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT based on factory councils, we affirm that this is insufficient by itself and as such is not a struggle for the class independence of the proletariat. That today our tasks are concentrated in the preparation of the working class for power by winning them to transitional demands leading to the seizure of power and the first objectives of the working class in front of every struggle.

We reject any "solutions" or "perspectives" for the American working class outside of this framework. Outside of answering the question: how to prepare the working class for the seizure of power? What does class independence signify in the U.S.? How can the proletariat open up an independent road in this crisis of imperialism? We affirm that the problem of the leadership of the working class is not dependent on the evolution of the crisis of the bourgeoisie and even less on the Democratic Party liberals and trade union bureaucrats, it will not be resolved spontaneously, but is dependent on us, on the vanguard, to develop, lead and organize this working class leadership in a fight for class independence against the false leaderships. And that even if we are small in numbers today there is no other means to regroup the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, break out of the shadow of "human rights," other than through a large battle in front of the entire working class. It cannot be done on the basis of propaganda, or on the basis of "immediate issues" without posing in front of every worker and youth an open large battle for class independence as the first step towards the preparation of the revolution. Which cannot proceed without a fight to politically destroy and isolate the pseudo-Trotskyist fraud of the SWP in this large battle.

The fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to build a movement to found the Workers Party, the part of class independence of the U.S. proletariat, is such a large battle on the road to the revolution and the seizure of power, a battle that can only be won as the FIRST STEP of the American working class towards the revolution. We propose the perspective of the Workers Party to the American working class and its youth as a solution, but not a solution by itself. The construction of a movement to found the Workers Party is a means to lead every struggle of the working class to a revolutionary battle for class independence, corresponding to the new political stage in the workers mobilization. To present the struggle for class independence as something not fixed or given in advance, but as a constant struggle to confront the obstacles placed by the Stalinists and CP in front of the workers and as a conscious

balance sheet of bankrupt programs and leaderships. As a WEAPON for the renovation of the workers movement, a weapon to RETURN TO LENIN.

This nature of the Workers Party must be clarified because there is NO ONE in the workers movement today that is listened to by any militant worker who will deny the need of the working class for its own party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans. Since the 1920's every Stalinist, centrist and petty bourgeois bureaucrat has talked about an "independent" party. And yet NO ONE, above all the Stalinists and SWP, who have an "anti-monopoly people's party" and a "labor party" as central parts of their programs, have ever built such a party of class independence or even taken the smallest step in this direction. On the contrary, at every crucial stage of the mobilization of the working class they have prevented the development of such a party, have blocked the break with the Democratic Party in crisis and have been the chief obstacles to the construction of such a party.

This is the most important lesson of the workers mobilization since 1968. Because since 1968 and the Chicago Democratic Party Convention the break with the Democratic Party and the construction of a party of class independence, independent from the bourgeois parties and the imperialist state, and opposed to petty bourgeois politics, has been on the agenda, constantly, in every struggle of the working class and is above all on the agenda today. The absence of such a party is both the result and the reason for the hesitations in the working class today.

Which proves that the problem of the class independence of the U.S. proletariat is not a slogan or an abstraction determined in advance, but is totally linked to a mobilization, to a constant affirmation of this independence in a daily struggle against the bourgeois state and the petty bourgeois leaderships, to a positive and revolutionary balance sheet of past struggle, to the international struggle of the working class and its party, the Fourth International. Because the fight for the Workers Party is more than simply a "break with the Democratic Party." Because a "break" with the Democratic Party, in a mobilization, around a program of class independence, to offer a positive political perspective to the entire working class against Stalinism and the SWP is a break with the entire international framework of class collaboration, the "human rights" accord that holds this system together. It is the first step in the preparation of the American revolution as a conscious step in the preparation of the world revolution. The Stalinists, the SWP and bureaucrats like Mike Rinaldi and Frank Runnels and Ed Sadlowski understand this in their own fashion which is why they will NEVER organize such a party and why they are the CHIEF OBSTACLES to it. And why it is a task which the advanced workers have been and will be unable to accomplish themselves without the conscious intervention of the Fourth International.

2. Our fight to build a movement for a Workers Party around the struggle for transitional demands leading to power is based on our characterization of the workers mobilization. That workers are seeking a political solution, that the chief hesitation and obstacles are political as well. A characterization opposed to conceptions that restrict the movement of the working class to a trade union framework-- that strikes are enough, that the task is to "deepen the strike movement," that the task in the unions is to "fight the company, not the union" or that American workers are not interested in "politics."

It is in this framework that we propose that the Fifth National Conference develop the struggle for the Workers Party, not simply as a "principle" in our Program, but as the AXIS of our intervention in the present mobilization of the working class, as a means to lead this mobilization towards the conclusions that the advanced workers and youth are seeking, in a confrontation with their enemies. It is in this sense that we propose to develop the Workers Party mobilization in its tactical aspects as well, similar to that proposed by Trotsky in

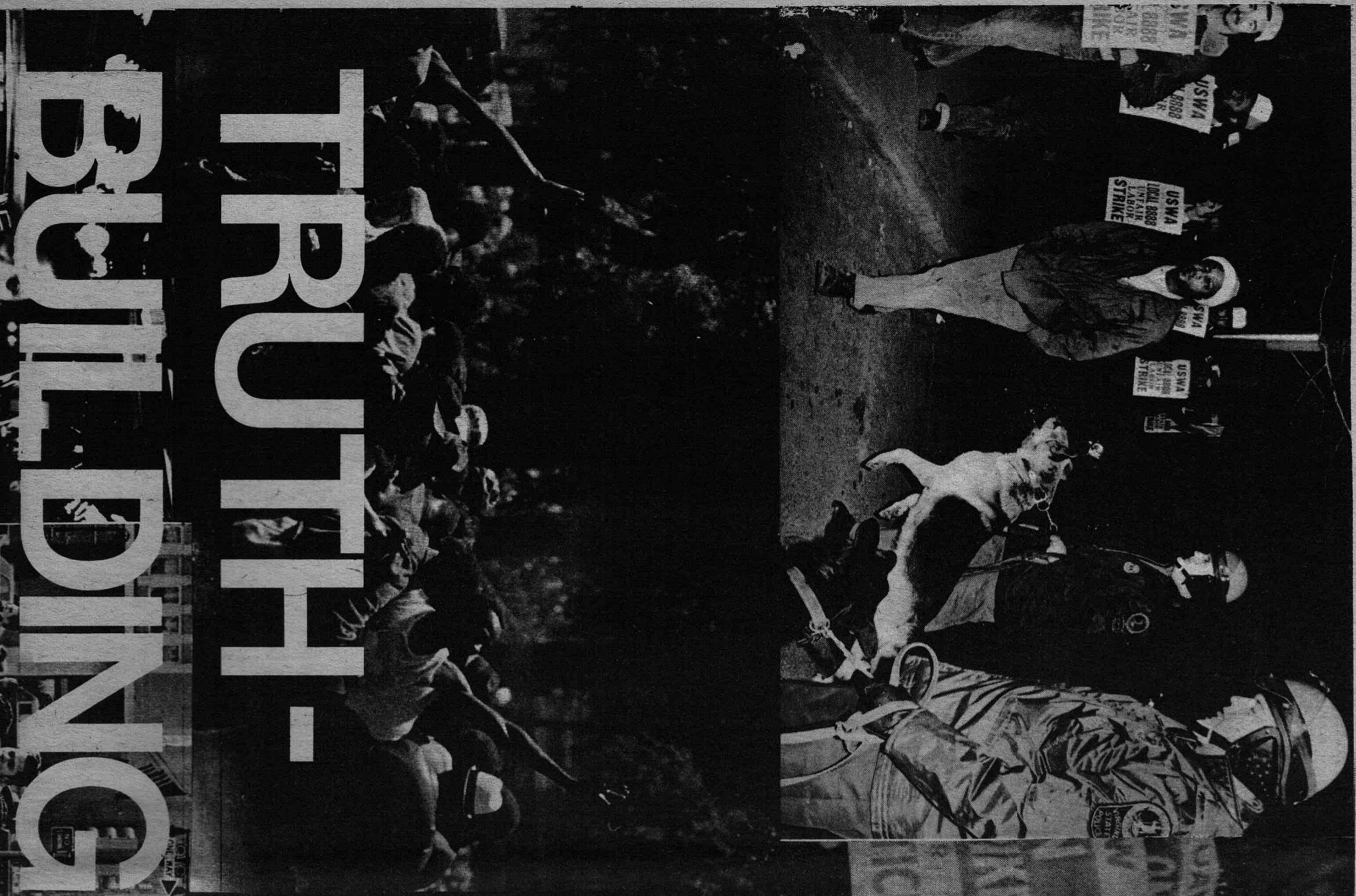
the late 1930's. As Trotsky insisted in the 30's, it is not a change of orientation, but a CONCRETIZATION of it, a means to insert ourselves in the present mobilization.

Of course it is not the "labor party" of the SWP--it is necessary to even reject this name and its negative connotation in the workers movement today. But as Trotsky insisted in the 30's, what distinguishes our fight from all others is not the "name" we give to class independence, but the actual fight for class independence as a daily affirmation of the proletariat vis-a-vis the bourgeois state and in a fight against ALL OTHER leaderships. What is central to the fight for the Workers Party is: (1) the PROGRAM of this party-- a program of demands leading and preparing the seizure of power and (2) it is based on a MOBILIZATION, not dependent on the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats, least of all on their initiation of such a party, but as the extension, development and political consciousness by the workers of THEIR movement.

3. Finally, we insist that this mobilization depends on us. That the only CONDITION to this battle is that the Trotskyist Organization/USA sufficiently arm itself and prepare to lead it. There are those who say that we are "too small" to lead such a fight. But let THEM answer the question-- How can the proletariat open up an independent road in this crisis? And workers will soon see that much smaller than our numbers are the POLICIES behind the other "alternatives" -- the "labor party of the SWP" based on "How to Do it Better Democratically", the "anti-monopoly people's party" of the CP based on the "liberal-labor-black" alliance, the "Progressive Alliance" of Doug Fraser-- which represent FICTIONS, represent past betrayals and not the present mobilization. We are convinced that the first serious step forward of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in this fight, the first mass mobilization and regroupment of workers and youth for a Workers Party, will unmask the fiction of these "big" organizations and show the ground crumbling under their feet. Show that they are living corpses, based on the decay of imperialism and not the workers mobilization.

A struggle that is dependent on us. Not one "against the stream" as so many people who also represent past defeats would like to view the Fourth International, but as the conclusion and affirmation of the present mobilization of the American working class. WE propose that in the preparation of the Fifth National Conference and as part of the elaboration of the Conference itself, we place the fight to build a movement for a Workers Party at the center of our fight in the working class, as our central proposition, with organizational conclusions for every struggle-- in every union, among the youth, blacks and the oppressed. Not to "wait" for the foundation of this party, but to immediately lead every struggle to a higher, more political conclusion and combat. That the "nature" of this party is to be determined now in the daily combat of our party, for the program and the leadership of this class independence against pseudo-Trotskyism. That this fight concentrates the political situation in front of the American working class and the Trotskyist Organization/USA.

III. REBUILD THE U.S. SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!



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BUILD THE MOVEMENT FOR A WORKERS PARTY AS A MOVEMENT TO RETURN TO LENIN!

1. The Congress of the Trotskyist Organization/USA-- the rebuilding of the Fourth International in the U.S.-- must be prepared as a stage in the movement of the American working class for the Workers Party. In a fight to regroup, organize and select a vanguard of the working class in a combat against the obstacles in the workers movement, above all against the SWP which usurps our banner and is a pillar of the "human rights" accord throughout the Americas. Not in a formal sense, i.e., that the Congress of the TO/USA = the Workers Party, or that the rebuilding of the FI in the U.S. = the renewal of the leadership. But in the sense that our political combat to build a movement for this party concentrates all the decisive questions of the renewal of the leadership of the working class, which the rebuilding of the U.S. Section of the FI must be a response to and an expression of.

The fight to make this the axis of the rebuilding of the U.S. Section must begin now in the working class as a means to deepen our offensive that we have already engaged. The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA is convoking the Fifth National Conference as a CONDITION for taking this offensive to a qualitatively higher level. A condition because the ONLY condition to this fight for a Workers Party is clarification, a clarification that must be led in the ranks of the vanguard, in the TO/USA itself. Because the key task in front of the vanguard and its party is one of preparation for the tasks ahead.

If the working class as a whole has an incomplete balance sheet of the last ten years based on the betrayals of the Stalinists and SWP in the workers movement, if the struggle for a Workers Party is a struggle for the clarification of this balance sheet, it falls upon the vanguard, the Fourth International, to be prepared and armed for this struggle. The Fifth National Conference must deepen the preparation in our ranks because it is necessary to state today: the TO/USA as a whole is not sufficiently prepared.

We must be prepared because the practical experience of Bolshevism is that the Bolsheviks were better prepared than anyone else through a combat in their own ranks around all the questions that came up in 1917. When the question was asked in the Soviets in April 1917: Who is prepared to take power?, Lenin answered: "We are." Everyone laughed, but history proved who had the last laugh. This is the key problem of the party -- that the preparation of the revolution and the possibility of the revolution itself depend on the formation of the wing of the working class which represents class independence IN ADVANCE. That it is impossible to "build the party in the process of the revolution itself" as proposed by the pseudo-Trotskyists and which is at the heart of their liquidationism. This preparation can only take place through an intense ideological and factional struggle which at first SEEMS to be a reduction of the forces of the revolution, seems to be "disunity," but is in fact the only way in which the working class can build real unity, a unity not representing the periods of reaction and stagnation, but a revolutionary period. To avoid this struggle, in the name of the artificial "unity" of the Stalinists and centrists is to cheat the working class, which constantly finds itself disarmed in trying to answer the REAL questions of the revolution.

The Fifth National Conference must represent a stage in this clarification. Because there is a revolutionary continuity to the struggle of the TO/USA which is the basis for our advances

today. Advances which are expressed in the immediate and positive response of certain young workers to TRUTH, the growth and initiative of the RYW, the echo which our policy has received inside the SWP/YSA, but above all expressed in the way in which the TO/USA has fought for the continuity of the INTERNATIONAL party of the working class. Our history is also the history of the combat of the Fourth International in the last years and cannot be separated from it; as a combat to construct an international center of the revolution, without which the revolutionary continuity in ANY country cannot be maintained.

But it is not yet sufficient preparation because our positive history also exists side by side with incomplete and unresolved battles, abandoned combats and unconscious balance sheets that today -- in front of the tasks of the party and the working class -- represent obstacles to our advance in face of the possibilities and give a fragile character to our gains. Trotsky wrote that the cohesion of the party consists of a "common understanding of events, of tasks." It is to deepen this cohesion that we insist on the fight to re-arm and renew the party in the preparation of the Fifth National Conference in order to develop the political basis for moving forward and opening our doors to the youth.

2. The struggle of the Trotskyist Organization/USA has been both a reflection of the mobilization of the international and American working class and a conscious combat to overcome the political problems of this mobilization. The founding of the TO/USA in January 1975 as part of the international fight of the International League -- Rebuilder of the FI to rebuild the FI in a delimitation against Stalinism and centrism and the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International, was a historic step forward for the American working class. A step forward which represented the possibility, still not completed, of resolving the crisis of leadership of the American proletariat. It was a decisive break from the national framework imposed for over 20 years through the crisis of the FI and the capitulation of the SWP.

It was a struggle that did not take place without difficulty in the TO/USA. A part of the leadership passively opposed this break with national isolation by maintaining a national framework and a national balance sheet for the struggle of the TO/USA. A national balance sheet which continues to be expressed through all the ideas that the place of the TO/USA in the class struggle consists of vis-a-vis the "SWP, SL, RSL," etc., that we are "better than" but still part of this "movement" as opposed to an organized and conscious BREAK with this national "movement" and all it represents. Which conceives of the fight against the SWP as solely on the terrain of the U.S. and not a combat against the SWP as pillar of the USec. It is this tendency which conceives of the Workers Party therefore as a national task and a national party, not understanding what our foundation represented in the class struggle and what the continuity of the FI means today -- that it cannot be maintained in a national framework. It is the source of all the defensiveness and attempts to avoid the confrontation with the SWP and Stalinism in the working class.

At the same time, the foundation of the TO/USA wasn't seen as a balance sheet of the struggle of the working class for its own party against Stalinism and centrism, a struggle for clarification and preparation, but as an answer in and of itself: that with the existence of the TO/USA the working class had its conscious element, the spontaneous mobilization of the workers would simply allow us to grow. This spontaneist illusion -- in the period internationally of the events in Portugal and Spain after the fall of Franco, of the post-Watergate strike wave in the U.S. -- disarmed the party in the face of the maneuvers of Stalinism and centrism (above all "human rights") based precisely on this spontaneous mobilization and the constant efforts of imperialism and Stalinism to keep it such, to prevent its junction with Bolshevism, with the FI. It was these theories of spontaneism, all based on a misunderstanding or disagreement with

the character of the mobilization of the U.S. working class (the difficulties and the task of finding a POLITICAL solution to the post-Watergate reaction of the working class) which allowed for organizational and political instability. A national response as well, with its opportunist and sectarian variations, to the spontaneous mobilizations of the workers.

This was the roots of the crisis in the Spring of 1976 which resulted in a change of leadership in the TO/USA as a means to resolve this crisis. A crisis which was also a reaction to the rebuilding of the FI in the Winter of 1976 -- comrades who believed that by itself this resolved or eliminated any of the tasks of the preparation of the revolution -- as well as a passive reflection of the vicious-circle in the American working class -- strikes, political passivity, strikes. This occurring in a very important period in which the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists and the SWP were developing their "human rights" maneuver with the election of Carter in November 1976 which has been the central counterrevolutionary maneuver in the last three years.

3. A decisive step forward was made in the resolution of this crisis at the Second National Conference in July 1976. Which was not simply an organizational solution to the crisis, but represented a decisive political step forward, of a character never fully comprehended by the organization as a whole. The Resolution adopted by the Second National Conference declared for the first time that the fight for the Workers Party had no meaning outside of the struggle for power and the presentation to the American working class of its decisive tasks in the construction of this party, in a mobilization under our banner. At this Conference the TO/USA confronted the living struggle of the working class against the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie, Stalinists and above all the SWP by launching a fight in the 1976 elections for our own candidates and our own PLATFORM OF COMBAT.

In retrospect, it was one of the most important steps forward taken by the TO/USA. Because in 1976, as in 1979, the American working class was just as ready for a movement for a Workers Party as it is today. But as it was, this election campaign and its intervention in the 1976 Ford auto strike represented a real political advance for the TO/USA.

That this wasn't completely understood became obvious soon afterwards. In the Ford strike itself, where a comrade remarked: "it was confusing to talk about a strike and the elections at the same time," where we underestimated the political character of the workers mobilization. It also became clear soon after Carter's election when we largely missed and failed to intervene in the Sadlowski campaign in steel, which for the working class represented the first mobilization after the election to settle accounts with the Democratic Party traitors in the unions and which represented for the CP and SWP their first post-election incorporation into Carter's "human rights" in order to derail this mobilization. The Sadlowski campaign was a defeat for all concerned, especially for the SWP -- but not positive for the workers, precisely because we were unable to clearly explain its political meaning to the workers and present a positive alternative to both Sadlowski and McBride. Thus, neither we nor the working class were sufficiently prepared for the first strike wave that broke out in auto after the contract in late '76 and the spring of '77 (Fremont, Indianapolis, Sterling Heights, etc.) and once again the vicious circle -- strikes, political passivity, strikes.

The leadership of the TO/USA has attempted to confront these tendencies, to homogenize the ranks of the party around TRUTH, to centralize our intervention in the class struggle around our journal and a political perspective for the working class as a whole. Which was developed in our orientation for WORKERS DEMOCRACY against "human rights," for a Youth Alliance against War and Repression as a combat against the terrorist state and the development of our tactic for a Workers Party. But above all in the clarification that the rebuilding of the U.S.

Section of the FI can only take place in a combat to organize the youth to isolate the SWP as the central obstacle today to the preparation of the revolution not just in the U.S. but throughout the Americas. A combat that is still insufficient, not simply because it must be constantly elaborated, but because the entire party is not yet convinced that this and no other perspective is our balance sheet and road forward for the workers and youth.

It is in this framework that the 5th National Conference can be a conference of renewal and homogenization, an end to reconciliation and passivity, a means to allow the TO/USA to GIVE ROOM to the youth and workers in and around the TO/USA. To give room to the builders of the Revolutionary Youth International, to the auto-workers who say: "TRUTH shows how the American working class has a power it is not using," to the young generation of the proletariat -- the black and women workers -- who represent not the past, but the future.

This is why the Secretariat insists that this clarification and preparation must proceed along with an aggressive campaign of recruitment to the TO/USA, for the construction of the RYW -- that clarification is above all a struggle in the working class to win young workers to our orientation. To make the 5th Conference a preparation of the Congress of the TO/USA by RETURNING TO LENIN! in our own ranks, not as a "settling of accounts" but as a fight for renewal, around the fight to arm the working class in the construction of its world party, the Fourth International.

IV. BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY IN THE MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED!

1. We have affirmed the task of the TO/USA as that of inserting itself in the working class political movement of rupture with the Democratic Party in a combat against Stalinism and the SWP in order to organize this break in a positive direction -- the construction of a party of class independence in an offensive against all those who are obstacles to this break. A policy which can only come alive in the actual mobilization of the workers and youth. The entire activity of the party must be centered on building this fight in auto. Because it is the bastion of the proletariat where all the problems of this break are concentrated and where all the efforts of the Stalinists and centrists are concentrated.

The axis of this fight is a fight to "Build the Workers Party Movement in the UAW" centralized around the fight for a Special Convention of the UAW, to take up this fight outlined in the "Platform of Combat." But several precisions are necessary. First, that this fight cannot take place without a struggle to organize the workers around their daily problems -- to draw the conclusion -- GM is not waiting until September to wage a fight, the inflation rate is not waiting, why are the UAW workers? In this framework the fiction of a "contract fight" is NOT the experience of the autoworkers and is in fact something imposed by the bureaucrats, the Stalinists and centrists who are all coming out with their "contract fights."

We must point out that although a contract gives an opportunity to intervene in September, in reality it is a noose around the necks of the workers, never obeyed by the companies, constantly threatened by inflation and unemployment. The experience since 1976 proves it. The UAW contract can pose before the large masses of workers the different alternatives and can be a way for us to propose a series of demands which undermine the contract and present our

Platform as a means to break the contract. It is only in this framework that we can fight the maneuvers of the Stalinists and centrists as well as Fraser's answer to inflation -- the maneuver of a "one-year contract" -- by insisting that class independence begins NOW and not in September.

It is also a fight to break with illusions that this fight is simply a "trade union" struggle and not part and parcel of the struggle for a political solution to the problem of class independence in a combat against Stalinism and the SWP. Illusions that the fight to "Build the Workers Party Movement in the UAW" is something other than a combat against centrism. Illusions which restrict our ability to intervene tactically on a day-to-day level in the UAW and also restrict our fight in the UAW to a national framework. It must be constantly pointed out that this "movement" we are launching in the UAW is part of the INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT of the workers -- the renewal of the leadership through the destruction of Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy supported by it. Thus, it is as much a combat to RETURN to LENIN as any of our struggles, which is an international combat. And the international situation today, as well as the combat of the Fourth International, provides us with a specific axis for presenting the international struggle of UAW workers -- the fight to defend Klebanov and for free trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe as a fight for the unity of the US and USSR workers in a common struggle against imperialism and its agent, Stalinism. It is a fight to develop a concrete mobilization in the UAW around the question of Klebanov, which implies a political fight, which can prove to auto workers that our fight against Fraser and Co. is not a "national" fight, but part of the world preparation of the revolution. It is not an "aspect," but a condition for giving this fight in the UAW a revolutionary character -- a revolutionary character which is not obtained simply by our "demands," but through the NATURE of the combat we propose for the unions.

2. The Fifth National Conference must also prepare the intervention of our fight for the Workers Party on the electoral terrain. The example of Chicago shows the contradictory nature of the break with the DP, but it also shows the way in which the SWP is at the center of the efforts to confuse and derail this break, around their election campaigns and their "labor party." It is necessary for us to intervene positively on this terrain. Already the political scene has begun to be dominated by the 1980 Presidential elections. It is already a factor in every significant working class struggle, beginning in auto. It will concentrate, as in 1976, all the maneuvers of the Stalinists and centrists. Already the CP has announced that its Convention in August (the first in four years) in Detroit (the many conventions -- Republican, probably the DP and now the CP in Detroit being no small accident) will decide its electoral policy in 1980. The SWP will surely follow this summer if not sooner. We must intervene to unmask these maneuvers and provide workers with an alternative, to break the circle of strikes and political passivity and abstentionism. Thus, we are immediately launching the perspective of a WORKERS CANDIDATE on a WORKERS PLATFORM for 1980 -- as a united front proposal to other organizations, in particular the SWP, but above all as a means to regroup workers under our struggle for a Workers Party and confront these anti-working class maneuvers. The Fifth National Conference must concretize this proposal which must be a means of centralizing our struggle for the Workers Party.

3. The movement for a Workers Party is not confined to the trade unions. On the contrary, it can only take its true revolutionary content if it is extended to a movement of the entire working class, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed and above all the most oppressed.

We have always correctly opposed the fight for a Workers Party to notions of a "black party," a

"Chicano party," etc. as fostering the national divisions imposed by imperialism and Stalinism, as an adaptation to petty bourgeois nationalism, against the understanding that any party of class independence of the American working class can only be an INTERNATIONAL party. But by itself this is not a delimitation, nor is it a fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed. This has been proven recently by the fact that BOTH the CP and SWP have now come out, at the same time, for "black-white unity." The CP saying that now the demands of blacks are the same as whites, the SWP now dropping the "black party" in favor of the "labor party," "for now," because "the growing class consciousness of many white workers narrows the gap with their Black co-workers" (Jack Barnes, SWP December NC).

We are for "black-white unity." But this is not the point. The point is that the "black-white unity" of the CP and SWP is reactionary. What it means is that their petty bourgeois nationalism is totally bankrupt and today in face of the potential REVOLUTIONARY unity of black and white workers they want to impose the "black-white unity" of the trade union bureaucracy. Nice, safe struggles like the USW bureaucrat's support for the "anti-Weber struggle", the ERA, affirmative action, busing. We are against this "black-white unity" as much as we are against a black party. Because BOTH represent the subordination of the struggles of blacks to the trade union bureaucracy, the DP and the racist state.

The Workers Party must be a fight for a real "black-white unity" -- a struggle to champion the democratic rights of blacks and the oppressed against "human rights," not to "defend" rights but to CONQUER them through a revolutionary mobilization. And it is not that "white workers are catching up" -- they were never "behind" in the meaning of the SWP, but that the treachery of the petty bourgeois leaderships have placed the black working class in a defensive posture and they must now use the fight for a Workers Party to again TAKE THE LEAD of the class struggle and fight for their democratic rights.

V. THE RYI IS THE LEVER OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF OUR PARTY!

1. Since November an important advance has taken place in the construction of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA -- recruitment, the organization around INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the development of a leadership and its political perspectives, but above all the beginning of a mobilization of the RYW to construct the party, as a movement for renewal, to RETURN TO LENIN! As a confirmation of this orientation, this has been the arena of our political activity that has advanced the most in the last year, that most reflects the political orientation of the 6th World Congress developed by the leadership of the TO/USA in TRUTH.

The Fifth National Conference must reaffirm this progress by deepening the political orientation of the RYI in the U.S. as a movement for the construction of the FI in the U.S. against Stalinism and centrism. In fact, the weaknesses of the RYW in the past period have been this -- the insufficient political elaboration and development of the perspectives of the RYW by the entire party -- it is the fault of the TO/USA itself that the RYW hasn't sufficiently become a weapon for our construction, a weapon for renewal against Stalinism and centrism.

The RYW must take its place in the movement for a Workers Party. But in its own fashion and on the basis of its political orientation -- a movement of the youth to RETURN TO LENIN! in the U.S. by joining in

the rebuilding of the U.S. Section of the Fourth International. The RYW itself is a REVOLUTIONARY, INTERNATIONAL organization in agreement with the orientation of the Fourth International, for the construction of the FI. It is this revolutionary and international orientation that the RYW must fight for, alongside the TO/USA in the mobilization for the Workers Party. As part of this struggle the RYW must constantly fight in the Workers Party movement for the Workers Party to affiliate to the Fourth International, to convince workers that this must be an international party based on the mobilizations of the youth.

At the same time it must be a fight on the specific terrain of the youth. That is why we continue to pose the central theme of the RYW to be: JOIN THE RYI! as a way to pose an immediate political struggle to the youth, a political struggle which can only be revolutionary and international. To fight with the youth to break with apathy, cynicism, passivity, etc. by taking up politics, politics which can only be the politics of the RYI. And that the RYW can only be constructed as a mass movement and organization of the youth -- JOIN THE RYI! not being a self-proclamation, but a way of expressing this mass mobilization.

2. We propose that the RYW take its place in a combat against "human rights" and the Stalinists and centrists' support for it by waging a fight on all levels for the RIGHTS OF THE YOUTH -- FOR A YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST THIS RACIST, IMPERIALIST AND TERRORIST STATE! FOR THE UNITY OF THE YOUTH OF THE TWO AMERICAS! That the RYW take this up in the framework of a campaign against the Voorhis Act and S.1437 as a way to concretely fight for this unity against the laws of imperialism -- linking the struggle for student unions to this fight and as a means to enrich and develop our combat in auto by building the links between the youth in the high schools and organized workers.

As the international campaign of the RYI, the RYW in the U.S. is in a particularly good position to develop the Klebanov campaign and enrich it on an international level. It was the U.S. workers that Yuli Grimm addressed in his Appeal. For a reason -- the unity of U.S. and USSR workers poses all the questions of the fight against both Stalinism and imperialism and the way in which centrism blocks this unity. Therefore the RYW must link the fight to free Klebanov to the struggle against S.1437 and the Voorhis Act and to the fight of the TO/USA in auto. The RYW must develop the Klebanov campaign as its particular axis in auto -- as a means to develop the "Platform of Combat" of the TO/USA in auto by drawing the lessons of the combats of the U.S. and USSR workers and their common imperialist and Stalinist enemies.

3. The Fifth National Conference must represent an affirmation, in its preparation and mobilization, that the RYW remains the stake of the rebuilding of the U.S. Section of the FI -- that the mobilization and organization of the working class youth to isolate and politically destroy centrism in a movement for the renewal of the leadership of the workers movement in the ranks of the RYI -- represents the success of the Congress of the TO/USA and the Conference of the Two Americas. This is where the future cadres, the future leaders of the workers movement and the TO/USA will gain their schooling, in the "school of communism" that must be the RYW/USA.

We affirm that the tasks of the construction of the RYW are the tasks of every militant of the TO/USA, that every militant must become familiar with its work and take part in the development of its struggle. That the entire party must fight to insure the widest participation of the RYW/USA delegation in the Fifth National Conference.

VI. FORWARD TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS!

1. At the Sixth World Congress last year the Fourth International launched a mobilization for a Conference of the Two Americas, further defined as a Conference for the Rebuilding of the Sections of the FI in the Two Americas. It was a clarification of the content of the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN! on the terrain of the Two Americas -- that the struggle of the FI passes through and is concentrated in a struggle to isolate and destroy centrism, above all the centers represented by the OCRFI of Lambert-Just and the USec of Mandel and the SWP. At the same time it was a clarification of the tasks of the rebuilding of the U.S. Section of the FI -- that it had to be extended to a combat against the SWP, not only on U.S. soil, but the SWP as the pillar of the USec in the Americas, as the central support to Castro and "human rights", as the pivot of the "reunification" with Lambert, directed precisely against US.

The correctness of this orientation has been confirmed by the events since then: the fundamental role played by Hugo Blanco and the POMR in betraying the Peruvian revolution, the increase of the SWP's support for Castro, the crisis of the OCRFI, the approaching "reunification" and on the positive side -- the echo in the ranks of the SWP when we have gone the furthest in our delimitation against centrism as a delimitation of an international center against their betrayal -- has proven the correctness of this orientation. That only in the fight against centrism, as an international center against the pseudo-Trotskyist centers, can our fight be made clear to the working class youth and militants of the SWP.

There have been difficulties in developing this orientation. The postponement of the Conference to the end of October, the delay in the Call, express this delay, which is a difficulty of the International as a whole. But these difficulties are not an excuse, nor a denial of the fact that the decisions of the 6th Congress vis-a-vis the 2 Americas and the U.S. represented a MAJOR ADVANCE in the clarification of our tasks and it has been on the basis of the fight to elaborate and develop these decisions that the TO/USA has advanced in the last year.

2. This advance in the fight to rebuild the U.S. Section of the FI as a fight against centrism in the Two Americas, which can be nothing other than an affirmation of the nature of the FI as an international center, has allowed us to concentrate our tasks and further define our struggle in the U.S. Which has forced a struggle inside the TO/USA against the ideas, existing for many years but never openly fought, that Stalinism and centrism don't exist in the American working class, that it is "confusing" to talk about Stalinism and centrism to American workers. Which are nothing other than nationalist tendencies. Time and time again this year it has been proven that the difficulties in our advances have been due precisely to an insufficient delimitation against Stalinism and centrism.

We have also clarified the fact that the delimitation against centrism is not a question of propaganda but has to be done in a mobilization, that the delimitation against centrism is not a passive criticism, but a fight to lead the offensive of the working class and thus answer all the problems in building this offensive. It has been on the basis of this advance, this fight to develop

the decisions of the 6th Congress, that we have been able to develop the fight for a Workers Party as a tactic. A fight which does not diminish any of the political tasks of rebuilding the FI in the U.S., which is not a retreat from the combat against centrism, but is the opposite -- the tactic of the Workers Party is a means to develop an offensive of the working class, but as an offensive against Stalinism and the SWP.

3. Again it must be affirmed that the central political acquisition and expression of this fight since the 4th National Conference and the 6th World Congress has been TRUTH -- its political content as the voice of the FI in the U.S. and the first steps towards its mass distribution. It is TRUTH that has found an echo and serious attention in the SWP and among young workers. And again we affirm, as we did in the Political Report of December 1978 that if there have been problems in its political content, as indeed there have, it has been in an INSUFFICIENT delimitation against centrism, not "too much."

It is therefore no accident that the militants of the TO/USA in and around the work of the RYW are the best constructors and fighters for our journal. It is this which has to be re-affirmed in the preparation of the 5th National Conference -- that the working class youth are EAGER for a revolutionary journal, our journal, a journal that unmasks all others and offers a perspective. No one ever said it was an EASY task, no one ever said membership in a Bolshevik organization was the easiest way of leading a political activity. It requires a combat and it is such a combat and THE SPIRIT for this combat that must be constantly reinforced in our ranks. It is those who have the spirit for this combat who will be the leaders of our party and the working class as a whole.

4. We close these THESES by offering the clarification developed in the Resolution of the enlarged IEC in March (in TRUTH #91). A clarification expressed in the resolution of a factional struggle in the PORE, in the tasks of the foundation of the POR in France, in the content of our fight in Eastern Europe -- that our fight in the U.S. can only proceed as a fight to construct the Fourth International as an international center against all national "solutions" and all attempts to avoid a confrontation in the working class with Stalinism and centrism. This is the only fight that can truly reinforce our work in the U.S., a fight that is the obligation of every militant of the TO/USA. Which demands that every militant take up the problems of the construction of an international center, the problems of the world revolution, as OUR problems, as the problems of the American working class.

This is the discussion we open up with these THESES -- a discussion to reinforce the work of the TO/USA and the RYW, to develop its orientation as the living section of the FI in the U.S., in the framework of the orientation of the entire International. This is the only discussion worth having. The only discussion of interest to the American working class and its youth.

Thus, we open up the pages of TRUTH to contributions to these THESES going in the direction of the advancement of the FI in the U.S. For the preparation of the 5th National Conference now scheduled for the end of May, a Conference which will be centralized by a Political Resolution presented by the outgoing leadership to this Conference which will define our tasks further in the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas and the Congress of the TO/USA and elect a leadership to carry out these tasks.

The SECRETARIAT, Trotskyist Organization/USA, Section (Sympathizing) Fourth International March 25, 1979

The Policeman, Deng, Wants to Punish the Indochinese Revolution: A Counterrevolutionary War to Prepare a Counterrevolutionary Accord

By C.MARTIN

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The policeman, having supposedly "punished" Vietnam, withdraws his club. A war which cost the lives of thousands of workers and peasants in two weeks must conclude, according to the plans of Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), Brezhnev and Carter (the real boss) in a "peace" consecrating a new line of defense for "order" in Southeast Asia. The Chinese bureaucracy is destined to be its chief prop, with the agreement of the Kremlin.

We return to the significance of this war in order to clarify the tasks of revolutionaries regarding this agreement.

This is necessary because all the forces alien to the international proletariat have lent a hand in covering up the tracks, so as to disorient the workers. The journalists in the hire of the bourgeoisie speak of a new period in which, finally, "ideologies" are swept away, especially, of course, Marxism, to the benefit of "naked nationalisms." The Pabloites, expressing themselves in ROUGE, the weekly ex-daily of the French LCR, insert themselves perfectly into the general concert. Within it they provide the whining note which is customary with them. "Internationalism assassinated," "infernal logic": these exclamations punctuate their speeches. But this is only in order to say, in a regretful tone, the same thing as imperialism and Stalinism: there is an inherent "logic" in the "Sino-Soviet dispute," of which the war against Vietnam is a deplorable result.

THE NATURE OF THE WAR

The Chinese bureaucracy's "punishment," even while trying to slow down the decomposition of the bourgeois order in Southeast Asia, in reality accelerates it. It is the world order of imperialism and its Kremlin and Peking bureaucratic agents which is shaken everywhere, not only in Asia. The position of the international working class starts from the UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION against the attempts to encircle it.

It is necessary to say this clearly: it is imperialism which guides the hand of Deng Xiaoping. The war, and the "peace" it prepares, are intended to save the imperialist order in Asia from the mobilization of the workers and peasants of China and Indochina.

The Pabloites have for many years muddled up support to the Vietnamese Revolution with support to the Vietnamese CP, the offspring of Stalinism, which has usurped the leadership of this revolution while trying to subordinate it at every moment to the requirements for survival of the world imperialist order. That's why they have now been "deceived" by the Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia, a deception which in no way causes them to abandon their position as admirers and counselors of the Hanoi bureaucracy.

They whine: "Bourgeois liberalism was the cradle of imperialism, the bureaucracy of the workers states fuels nationalism; both are completely incapable of removing forever the danger of world wars." (ROUGE, February 23).

These words sum up the centrists' petty bourgeois position. At the very moment when imperialism is orienting, on the world scale and in every country, towards Sacred Union, with Stalinism in the front lines against the masses, the Pabloites plug up the holes by re-asserting an old lie, now more of a lie than ever: Stalinism plays a role independent from imperialism. It is thus a question of "interbureaucratic wars" in the same fashion as imperialist wars. Even if, in passing, they say that it is imperialism which profits from these supposed "interbureaucratic wars," all the positions taken by the phony "United Secretariat" are characterized by this attribution to the bureaucracy of an independent role which is, according to the Pabloites, more positive in the case of the Hanoi bureaucracy, despite its "errors," more negative in the case of Peking (but positive with it too in the past, in the

Mao era.) Through the articles of Pierre Rousset, the Indochina "specialist," in ROUGE, as well as through the declaration of their "United Secretariat," the panic of the centrists before the blows that the bourgeois order is receiving points up the nature of liquidationist Pabloism: to protect the flanks of Stalinism.

Pablo spoke in 1950-53 of "centuries" during which the Kremlin bureaucracy would exist.

The mobilization, especially, of the Chinese working class which is looking for ways to its political independence from the bureaucracy -- from its Maoist wing ("gang of four"), and from Deng's even more openly pro-capitalist wing, currently in power. ROUGE mentions this at the time when the bureaucracy was still only at the beginning of its crisis opened up by the Yugoslav revolution and, especially, by the uprising of the East German workers.

Today, Livio Maitan, worthy heir of Pablo, speaks of an independent "logic" of "societies in construction" with "certain structural elements which render them defective" and which, from this fact, concretely "acquire particular traits." It is these "traits," that is, the nationalism of the bureaucracy, which are responsible for the attack on the revolution in Indochina and not American imperialism through the intermediary of its Chinese agent: Deng Xiaoping and his bureaucracy. These "particular traits" are the pure product of an idea: the "theory" of socialism in one country taken abstractly. Such is the wretched "infernal logic" of Rousset, Maitan and the other supporters of Mandel. It is distinguished from that of the capitalist and Stalinists only by its vocabulary.

The big piece missing from this logic is precisely the principal actor: the proletariat and its mobilization. It is this mobilization which tore to pieces the 1973 Paris treaty that was intended to perpetuate the thoroughly rotten regime of the bourgeoisie in South Vietnam.

It is this mobilization which imposed, in opposition to the Hanoi, Peking and Kremlin bureaucracies, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie in South Vietnam, in Cambodia and in Laos. It is the activity of the masses which gave an impulsion to the struggle of the oppressed of the whole world against the Nixon-Brezhnev (Nixon's visit to Brezhnev at the height of the bombing of Hanoi) and Nixon-Mao (visit by Nixon to Peking in the same circumstances) Holy Alliance.

mobilization in the style of the bourgeois papers: "...China's internal difficulties." For it is precisely to find support against the Chinese working class, against the explosion of the political revolution in China that is being prepared within the working class youth, that Deng Xiaoping openly becomes the agent of imperialism, that he introduces American capital into China at a rate never before seen and that he aspires to become the policeman of the region.

FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS: THE STRUGGLE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

It is the struggle for the independence of the working class, in the first place in China, which will decide the outcome of the revolution in Indochina and, more broadly, in Asia. That means the building of the revolutionary party, the Fourth International, in response to the mobilization of all the toilers, under the following slogans:

HANDS OFF THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION!

SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF INDOCHINA!

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE VIETNAMESE, CAMBODIAN, LAOTIAN AND THAI TOILERS WITH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF CHINA!

DOWN WITH THE CARTER-DENG AND CARTER-BREZHNEV ACCORDS!

"Working Class" TRAITOR

"It's sort of the all-American success story. And Dougie did it."

This statement from the brother of UAW president Douglas Fraser is quoted approvingly at the end of an article, "Doug Fraser: An Intimate Biography of a Working Class King," in MONTHLY DETROIT magazine (April 1979).

MONTHLY DETROIT is just one of hundreds of publications designed for the middle classes of various cities. This article is also just one more example of the "discovery" of the working class by the petty bourgeoisie -- with the aim of hiding and minimizing its mobilization.

Even the article's title gives this away. There are plenty of autoworkers who would like to "crown" Fraser, not because he is a "king," but because he is a TRAITOR

to the working class.

Interviewing Fraser in Solidarity House (if he were an autoworker, he wouldn't have gotten past the front door), our intrepid reporter omits a few things from this "intimate biography."

The article refers to the purge of the UAW's left wing in the late 1940's. But in presenting it as an internal squabble -- "In the broader spectrum of politics outside the union, everyone in the UAW was left of center" -- the article hides its real character.

This purge meant the elimination of all potential resistance to U.S. imperialism. It was part of the whole Cold War drive of imperialism, of its purge of all the unions in order to housebreak them. Those who carried out this purge, under the leadership of Walter Reuther

in the UAW, were direct agents of imperialism. "And Dougie did it."

Nor is the suppression of the upsurge of Chrysler workers in 1973, culminating in the assault by thousands of bureaucrat-goons on the Mack Avenue sitdown, mentioned. Nor is it mentioned that this betrayal prepared the massive layoffs of 1974-75. Also ignored is the election of Coleman Young and his attempts to legitimize police terror through a "liberal" Police Commission, as the final step in these attacks. "And Dougie did it."

The article neglects the betrayal of hundreds of strikes and wildcats, right down to Fleetwood in Detroit. "And Dougie did it."

Likewise, the fact that Jimmy Carter, complete with his austerity plan, is President of the U.S. today isn't brought up in the article. "And Dougie did it."

Fraser says: "More often than not, the system has worked." This is the basis for his "all-American success story." But it would be far more accurate to say that "the system" -- imperialism, to be exact -- has "worked" for the Fords and DuPonts and Kennedys. "The system" has "worked" AGAINST the youth, the working class, the oppressed, because Fraser, and all the other traitors, have "worked" FOR it.

Today, the working class is breaking with this "system" and with its rotten Democratic Party. This great movement for class independence, for a Workers Party, will not be turned back by Fraser's strikebreaking or by his phony "Progressive Alliance." Fraser's "success story" will go down in history next to Benedict Arnold's.

K.F.

April 15, 1979

VIETNAM...

As a struggle for the independence of the working class from imperialism and the bureaucracy, this struggle is a contribution to that of the European and American workers who mobilized against the American intervention in Vietnam.

It is only in the framework of this struggle that the problems of the Indochinese peninsula can be resolved. The occupation of Cambodia by Hanoi's army is the clearest demonstration of the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy in regard to the problem of the unification of the peninsula. It was decided upon by Ho Chi Minh's successors, seized with panic at one and the same time before the pressure of imperialism, chiefly through its deals with Peking, and the growing discontent of the Vietnamese workers. It is a question of a counterrevolutionary measure to prevent the revolutionary explosion in Cambodia as well as in Vietnam, but it cannot be put on the same plane as the Chinese intervention in Vietnam which acts directly on behalf of imperialism against the Indochinese Revolution.

LIQUIDATIONIST PABLOISM AND THE OCI: TREASON

The Pabloites find unrealistic, of course, the immediate struggle for a revolutionary leadership of the working class. In the same way, they find unrealistic the struggle for the political revolution in the USSR and the other countries dominated by the Kremlin bureaucracy, or the denunciation of the "Eurocommunist" allies of the police in Spain, etc. Their "realism" consists in finding positive sides -- to be sure, not directly of the police regimes of the Kremlin bureaucracy -- but

of the "Eurocommunists" who pretend to reform them in the interest of an improved Sacred Union with imperialism.

In regard to Indochina, the "realism" of the "United Secretariat," the usurper of the Fourth International's name, consists of appealing: "In the face of the dangers and imperialist attacks -- establish a united front of workers states. They should provide joint assistance to the anti-imperialist struggle of the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia."

This petition addressed to the bureaucrats of Peking, Moscow and Hanoi is the sole "proposal" that can be found in the mass of regrets and tears which makes up their production on the "Sino-Vietnamese conflicts."

This position taken by Mandel, by Novack of the American SWP and by the other members of the USec is an open support to the "solution" towards which Peking, the Kremlin and Washington are heading.

The attack on Vietnam means a sharpening of the world crisis of Stalinism and its Maoist offspring. The conflict between the two is real, as real as the clash between the "Eurocommunist" wing and the wing in charge in the Kremlin. But as with this latter case, its object is the necessity of enforcing the subordination of the bureaucrats to imperialism and to its plans to try to stop the revolutionary mobilization of the workers.

That is why, if it sharpens the crisis, Peking's intervention against Vietnam is particularly aimed at preparing a new treaty, replacing the Paris treaty which has fallen apart, between Peking and Moscow under the leadership of imperialism -- AGAINST the workers of Indochina, as well as those of

China and the USSR.

The "united front" that the Pabloites desire is being prepared under the aegis of Carter, who did not hide, at the moment of the Chinese troops' intervention, unleashed upon Deng's return from the USA, his satisfaction about the way in which "the machinery of trilateral (Moscow-Washington-Peking) relations is working." The content of this "machinery of relations" consists in, among other things, the new concessions of the Kremlin in the disarmament -- of the USSR -- negotiations (SALT II), concessions obtained precisely at the moment when Deng Xiaoping was "punishing" Vietnam on behalf of his friend Carter. It is true that such a "united front" of "workers" states is not going to embarrass the Pabloites, who have never missed a chance for appreciating the "positive side of Carter" -- his "human rights."

The Pabloites betray directly. The position of "united front of workers states" is word for word that of the liquidator Pablo, whose heirs they are. It was in the name of the "bloc of workers states," supposedly opposed to imperialism, that the Pabloite leadership of the Fourth International, desiring above all else to support Stalinism during the "centuries of transition," betrayed in 1953 the uprising of the workers of East Germany against the bureaucracy, which marked the beginning of the political revolution.

If they revert today to the same open expressions of their treason, it is because Stalinism in crisis desperately needs the pseudo-Trotskyists to try to prevent the growth of the Fourth International as the axis of the international regroupment of the working class youth for the

building of the revolutionary leadership.

After the collapse of its "Organizing Committee" (a hypocritical cover for its renunciation of the rebuilding of the Fourth International), the French OCI of Lambert and Just is trying to reunite with the Pabloites by denying its whole past history of struggle against liquidationism. The fact that today Pabloism resumes its original expressions only makes the meaning of this reunification all the clearer. Concerning Southeast Asia, the OCI will have one more "difference" to discuss with the Pabloites. In fact, the OCI calls for "not choosing between the bureaucracies" and for the political revolution in China and Vietnam.

But under the appearance of a more "revolutionary" position, a fundamental agreement is hidden. Under the pretext of not "choosing between bureaucracies," the OCI also grants to these bureaucracies independence from imperialism. The disarray of the OCI before the advance of the masses and before the sharpening of the crisis of Stalinism provoked by this advance, takes the form of a refusal to take a stand for the defense of the Indochinese Revolution against imperialism which guides the hand of Deng, and against the "peace" that these two are preparing.

The political revolution in Vietnam and in China, the only victorious outcome of the mobilization of the peoples of the region cannot be prepared outside the defense of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the Holy Alliance of bureaucrats and imperialists.

C. Martin
March 1979

Workers Control Over "Energy"!

The "incident" at Three Mile Island and its aftermath have aroused the greatest anger and concern among workers. This anger and concern can find a solution only in workers control over the whole "energy" industry, through a fight for a Workers Commission of Inquiry.

Some facts have already surfaced about the immense power of the imperialist "energy" corporations, of the stranglehold they have over all resources and sources of energy. Their clutch isn't restricted just to nuclear power, or even to control of uranium. It extends from oil and gas through coal all the way to solar power, with other tentacles reaching out throughout the capitalist economy.

And their "concern" for the "people" shows its true face in two cases. First, in the announcement that the costs of THEIR reactor "crisis" (as with their crisis, generally) will be paid for by their "customers," in the form of a 20% rate increase. Second, by their docking pregnant women reactor workers for the time they spent away from the "danger" area, fearing for the fate of their children!

Likewise, the real nature of the "Nuclear Regulatory Commission" has been revealed. This "government" agency that is supposed to "protect" the "people," showed that its

actual function is to PROTECT IMPERIALISM -- in the form of the imperialist state and the imperialist corporations. Its "incompetence" is a result of this real function, including Carter's constant pressure for an official coverup.

The "no-nuke movement" that has been built for years by the pseudo-Trotskyist centrists and others now forms the bandwagon for capitalist politicians to jump on, a vehicle to carry the discontented back into the Democratic Party.

The workers can trust no one but themselves. No reliance on the "independent investigations" of imperialism, or the "independent movements" of its centrist helpers! The only really independent movement is the one for CLASS INDEPENDENCE, being organized today as a fight for factory committees and a Workers Party.

This movement, through its fight for factory committees, can build a mass movement for a Workers Commission of Inquiry, for workers control over the entire "energy" industry. This is what the oil workers in Iran did.

Workers in the mines, in the power plants, in the utilities, in the refineries, etc., can expose the real workings of this imperialist cartel, the REAL "cartel." The "business secrets" of the imperialist corporations

would be exposed. A thousand ways would be found to open their books, through "legal" or "illegal" methods. The whole working class would find out the truth behind the "energy crisis," behind the lies about "low profits" that excuse Carter's price "decontrol."

The Commission would investigate the connection between the drive to crush the miners' mobilization and the lack of utilization of coal. Factory committees directly concerned would soon uncover the facts about safety, disease, etc., in all aspects of "energy." The knowledge of scientists and technicians, through the Commission, would become available to the working class -- not be restricted to imperialist circles, to be concealed or distorted as it profited imperialism.

It may be that nuclear power is unsafe under all conditions, not just under imperialist control. But this is a decision to be reached by the working class, through its Commission of Inquiry, on the basis of its needs and goals. In no case can such a fact be used to channel financing and support to other -- imperialist-run -- and "safer" energy sources.

Workers control and the mobilization for it cannot be confined to just establishing facts. Through it the working class must



begin to determine the priorities for the economic development of the whole society. The work of the Commission of Inquiry inevitably poses the need for a PLANNED ECONOMY, prepared and run by the workers organizations. Likewise, as has already been shown, the imperialist "energy" corporations are enemies of the working class. Can they be expected to "cooperate" with such a development? The very nature of the struggle demands their EXPROPRIATION, the dumping of the imperialist owners. And these struggles both pose the question of who will rule, linking up once again with the movement for a Workers Party, and its triumph in a Workers Government.

K.F.
April 15, 1979

Asylum for Hector Marroquin!

On April 11 U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Judge James Smith refused to grant political asylum to Hector Marroquin, a militant of the Socialist Workers Party. He ordered Marroquin to leave the country "voluntarily" or be deported in 30 days. An appeal has been filed.

As readers of TRUTH know, Hector Marroquin is a working class militant who fled Mexico in face of brutal political repression and trumped-up charges of "terrorism." He is "illegally" in this country, like millions of other workers and youth of Latin origin.

From the beginning the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Young Workers have supported Marroquin's fight for political asylum. First of all, because it concerns the repression of a working class

militant claiming to stand for the Fourth International. And above all because Marroquin's situation only mirrors a situation faced by workers and youth throughout the Two Americas--victims of the racist and chauvinist prison created by U.S. imperialism.

The racist and anti-working class decision of Judge Smith proves that there is no way to separate the repression taking place in Mexico from those who INSPIRE and LEAD this repression -- Jimmy Carter and his "human rights" charade.

It is a myth to believe that it is somehow possible to "get on Carter's good side" and get him to grant "human rights" at home while he supports the bloody dictatorships in Latin America and the Bonapartist regime in Mexico.

It is also a myth to believe

that the liberals and trade union bureaucrats who are so willing to talk about "human rights" in Mexico, but so unwilling to do anything about rights in the United States, can really help Hector Marroquin's fight.

We are confident that it is not the hypocritical bureaucrats like Doug Fraser, who beats back striking autoworkers with chains, who will win asylum for Hector Marroquin, but the American WORKERS AND YOUTH. On the condition that the mobilization to defend Marroquin is turned into a mobilization for ALL YOUTH, above all the "illegal" Latin youth in this country.

That all the victories for democratic rights in this country, including in the courts, have been won through a mobilization around objectives for the entire working

class.

To continue the fight for asylum for Hector Marroquin it is necessary to take up a fight for the rights of all youth throughout the Americas in a campaign against "human rights" and the imperialist, racist government that has turned these Two Americas into a prison, not just for Hector Marroquin, but for every worker and youth.

--DOWN WITH "LA MIGRA"--FULL RIGHTS FOR IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND YOUTH!

--FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE YOUTH OF THE TWO AMERICAS AGAINST "HUMAN RIGHTS"!

-- POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN!

TRUTH
April 18, 1979

Klebanov vs. Stalinism -- Break the Wall of Silence!

By RICH TETRAULT

Stalinism in the U.S. and around the world is a treacherous and deceptive machine that has immense counterrevolutionary potential - a machine which detours the revolutionary upsurge of the masses of oppressed workers and youth around the world into endless chaos and demoralization.

The mere mention of the name "Stalin" conjures memories of betrayal, lies, and deformation. The Stalinist parties of China, Europe, the U.S. and Russia and their allies maintain this tradition of treachery against the international working class as a service to imperialism.

In Russia, the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy can no longer be hidden or excused. Its repressive character has nothing in common with communism nor does it represent the objectives of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky -- the struggle to build a workers state, workers control of production and society, the elimination of national boundaries, and the crystallization of the permanent revolution. The Kremlin bureaucracy does have a great deal in common with all those who have attempted to sell out the workers movement. It indeed functions as the LOYAL SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM.

The conditions and the treatment that the workers and youth of Russia are subjected to are of great interest to workers and youth around the world and particularly in the US. We find our Russian comrades in much the same position as ourselves -- struggling to eliminate an oppressive bureaucracy and the exploitation it brings.

Vladimir Klebanov, the Ukrainian coal miner who was one of the leaders of the first attempt to build trade unions independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, represents the rejuvenation of the revolutionary perspective for the Russian workers. Klebanov and his comrades rose up in direct defiance of the treachery of the Kremlin, rallied fellow workers to join in the construction of these independent unions and called on workers elsewhere to do likewise. The advanced workers and youth of Soviet Russia have clearly identified the Stalinist bureaucracy as a blockade to the freedom of the Russian people and have consciously organized a break with that traitorous

bureaucracy.

There have been three attempts to construct independent trade unions in Russia -- all were met with vicious attacks by the Stalinists. Several of the leaders of these movements, including Klebanov, were jailed on various false charges in order to conceal the significance of the arrests. The depth and importance of these actions cannot be over-emphasized. It has been over a year since Klebanov has been institutionalized and still no word of his fate. This is Stalinism and we can now see how it manifests itself in its confrontation with the demands of the working class.

The fight of Klebanov and his comrades is the beginning of the downfall of Stalinism internationally. The workers and youth everywhere must take up the offensive immediately -- to eliminate the Stalinist traitors in the workers movement as a main step to the advance of the working class to building a workers state.

In the U.S. the Stalinist American Communist Party is the main agent of the Kremlin and functions as a major supporter of the Democratic Party. They masquerade as revolutionaries, as part of the working class when in reality they are PETTY BOURGEOIS and represent imperialism and not the workers.

In auto, the Stalinists have pledged their allegiance to the crooked UAW bureaucracy. They have taken their positions as traitors of the autoworkers with the hope that their alliance with the union bureaucracies and the Democratic Party will remain intact in order that the deceit and attacks on the working class may continue.

The workers in the U.S. must take up the offensive to identify Stalinism as a vicious lie. Stalinism around the world has the job of crushing the mobilization of the workers while at the same time offering itself as an example of "communism" -- supplying the bourgeois press with much needed material to stoke its anti-communist machine. This integrated plan of the imperialists and Stalinists is aimed directly at the consciousness of the workers and youth with the intention of demoralizing the working class and keeping from sight the fight of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -- a struggle to continue the October Revolution --

in order to destroy the Stalinist machine as the first step to the elimination of imperialism.

The fight against the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party is a fight against Stalinism. The Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting to construct a Workers Party as a means to concretize this struggle to organize the break of the workers and youth in this country from the treachery of the Democratic Party and above all from the Stalinists.

The construction of this party, an international party of the working class, will be based on a movement in the factories, schools, unions, and streets to confront all other parties in order to pass to the offensive.

A direct confrontation with all the pseudo-Trotskyists, especially those organized in the Socialist Workers Party. These pseudo-revolutionaries, petty bourgeois emissaries of the Democratic Party and the Stalinist American Communist Party, deny that Stalinism is a threat to the workers movement. They are perfectly content to coexist with vermin and have gone as far as apologizing for Stalinism and conciliating with U.S. imperialism. These centrists who falsely claim the banner of the Fourth International quickly and conveniently overlook the fact that the Fourth International was founded to destroy Stalinism and imperialism.

This insidious alliance of centrists (pseudo-Trotskyists), Stalinists and imperialists has evolved as the central obstacle in front of the international working class. The workers of the world must unite, construct the Workers Party under the banner of the Fourth International and confront this unholy alliance.

In the case of Klebanov and the fight for class independence in Russia and Eastern Europe, the SWP in its paper, THE MILITANT, which claims to be "published in the interest of the working people," offers this advice: "Trade unionists and others who support democratic rights should demand Klebanov and his comrades be freed, restored to their jobs, and allowed to speak and organize to protect their rights." This proposal is totally devoid of any plan or perspective to organize these demands. Readers are left on their own to defend Klebanov.

The Revolutionary Youth In-

ternational is actually fighting to organize a defense campaign, to educate the masses to the treachery of Stalinism (something the centrists would very much like to avoid), and bring revolutionary politics to the youth as their main weapon. In the same issue of THE MILITANT (4/23/79) Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA - centrist youth group of the SWP) says that the YSA will participate in a "Jobs for Youth" rally on April 4 organized by the Detroit Youth Jobs Coalition, which is the dressed-up name of the real organizers -- the Stalinist American Communist Party. Once again, perfectly content to coexist and rally with the likes of the Communist Party, John Conyers (bourgeois Democratic Party politician), various organizations of the Democratic Party and many other representatives of the bourgeoisie. Once again we see the pseudo-Trotskyists with their Stalinist allies preparing treachery against the youth under the fraud of "Jobs for Youth."

In Russia, Stalinism represents the direct exploitation of the working class. Opposition leads to arrest, jail, and psychiatric hospitals. In the U.S. Stalinism is represented by the maneuvers of the Communist Party to rally support behind the Democratic Party. This task is achieved through the assistance of the pseudo-Trotskyists and other traitors of the working class.

The slogan - FROM THE USA TO THE USSR - brings to mind the immediate task of uniting workers in both countries to break with the apparatuses. This represents the key to the revolution - the unification of the two greatest proletariats which will result in the immediate and total destruction of imperialism and Stalinism.

The REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS/USA are planning a meeting to deepen and develop the campaign to defend Klebanov. This fight must be taken up in the factories, unions and schools. We call on workers, students, and members of other organizations to attend and join the fight to defend Klebanov and the working class throughout the world. The meeting will be held on Sunday, April 29, at 2:00 at Wayne State University Student Center.
April 17, 1979