

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Carter's "freedom": Prayer, a capitalist recession and the "NATIONAL UNITY" OF TRAITORS

After three years of "human rights" Jimmy Carter has given the country a new prescription for the road to salvation. On June 15 he said:

"We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying."

START sweating? Workers have been sweating ever since this country was founded. Their sweat BUILT this country.

He also gave us a new definition of "freedom." Previously "freedom" in this country meant American youth dying in World Wars I&II, Korea and Vietnam in defense of "democracy."

Now "freedom" is "sacrificing for energy." The latest profits of the oil corporations show this "freedom" very clearly-- GULF OIL: second-quarter profits up 65%, SOHIO: up 70%, EXXON: up 20%.

This is the only "freedom" Carter wants to keep-- the FREEDOM TO SAVE CAPITALISM.

The FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN A CAPITALIST RECESSION.

As for the freedoms that American workers and youth have fought for all their lives? That's "selfishness."

This is Carter's real "energy plan" -- a plan to take away every real right left to workers and youth.

But this "plan," like "human rights," the "wage guidelines," and all the other miserable plans of the Carter regime, will not pass. Because of the massive resistance of U.S. workers and workers throughout the world.

The Carter government is in crisis. A crisis that is even deeper than Nixon's. It is deeper because the world crisis of imperialism and Stalinism is deeper.

And like Nixon, the capital-

ists need to make Carter a scapegoat for the recession that they are organizing.

At the same time it is necessary to disarm the working class and keep it from drawing the necessary REVOLUTIONARY conclusions from today's crisis. From drawing the conclusion that the problem is not Carter or even the oil companies, but the SYSTEM, and that the only solution is the preparation of the revolution.

Carter's rhetoric is part of this disarmament. But the most important element is the "NATIONAL UNITY" OF TRAITORS which has been organized in the last few weeks. The open defense of the Carter government by the trade union bureaucrats and black "leaders."

Prayer is one thing, but what this government is really depending on is the TREACHERY of the so-called workers "leaders" who are trying to rally the working class around this recession.

Like Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young who recently declared that Detroit "can stand a short recession." He wasn't talking about the thousands who will be thrown into the streets.

He was talking about the "Renaissance" apartments and shopping malls for the rich which will still be built.

He can stand it, BUT WE CAN'T. Which proves that the key element missing in the struggles of the workers and youth is a fighting LEADERSHIP, a clear program and policy to lead a fight against these traitors who are preparing the way for defeat.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Many workers and youth agree with what we are saying but hesitate to take up the fight. They hesitate because this combat isn't

just any kind of combat. IT IS A FIGHT TO LEAD.

To lead you have to look reality in the face and confront illusions. Confront illusions that "someone else" will lead a real fight against this government. When all the other "someones" are BETRAYING the struggles.

Confront the illusion that spontaneously the situation may change for the better. When every day THINGS ARE GETTING WORSE.

Youth still hesitate to lead because they are not yet armed to politically confront their enemies and offer a TOTAL SOLUTION to today's crisis. They need a weapon, a weapon tested and proven in years of working class combat.

This weapon is the fight of the Fourth International to

RETURN TO LENIN!, to arm the youth with the weapon of the REVOLUTION in order for them to lead, to confront the hesitations and illusions in the workers' ranks.

A fight today that is an immediate fight in the MASS MOVEMENT to found a WORKERS PARTY-- a weapon of the entire working class and oppressed. This WORKERS PARTY, which the Trotskyist Organization/USA has committed itself to founding, is the only alternative to the "national unity" of the traitors and to the confusion in the workers' ranks.

It is the weapon for LEADING every battle in the working class today.
July 26, 1979

TRUTH

Auto is the key!

Autoworkers - Carter is only in power today because of the traitors in the workers movement. Doug Fraser is traitor No. 1. He stands for Carter's "freedom," GM, Ford and Chrysler's "freedom"; a recession, massive layoffs, closing down Dodge Main; "freedom" to destroy the UAW and organized workers.

The next months are critical. Autoworkers can stop this attack and lead all workers and youth. As they have done in the past.

- STRIKE ALL 3! To smash this "national unity" of traitors, to impose workers control of production, and above all to build a party for the entire working class
- A WORKERS PARTY!

A Fight for All Workers and Youth:

PLACE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON THE BALLOT IN 1980

The maneuvers of the 1980 Presidential elections have already begun. Several Republican candidates, from former CIA chief George Bush, to John Connally and Howard Baker have already announced.

Of course, the biggest maneuvers are taking place in the White House where it took Jimmy Carter two weeks to get up the nerve to tell the American public that he would run again.

A lot of nerve.

All of the maneuvers that will take place in the next year and a half, the millions of dollars spent, the billions of lies, are taking place in a political situation in this country where, as Carter admitted in his speech on June 15, "two-thirds of the population doesn't even bother to vote."

For the U.S. bourgeoisie this hardly matters. For the last few major election campaigns they have hardly bothered with the fact that only a few people vote. Only the trappings of this "democracy" have some meaning for them and this less and less.

The bourgeoisie is really interested in these election campaigns and maneuvers as a kind of obstacle course. To see who can climb his way out of the pack, making the fewest mistakes, owing the most favors and being the most servile to the interests of big capital.

Far from being the best example of the "democratic way of life" in this country, these elections and campaigns will be examples of the ROT and CORRUPTION of this "democracy" and the growing cynicism of the bourgeoisie in this country towards even making a pretense of the rituals of this "democracy."

The Supreme Court, hailed by the Stalinists and centrists for the "justice" it granted in the Weber case, is regularly attacking the freedom of the press in this country. In the Southwest the Immigration Service is engaging in "border patrols" (unlimited search and seizure) in Oklahoma— 700 miles from any border. The Secret Service recently invaded a trade union convention to hold captive a militant who wanted to ask "embarrassing" questions of Carter. And the good old "liberals" in this country have now discovered that the Rosenbergs were indeed "spies" (at least one of them).

Which they believed in 1950 of course. Although

they weren't "liberals" then.

"Isolated examples"? We shall see. And we plan to confront and expose this "democratic" farce of the 1980 elections by fighting for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, for the REVOLUTION in these elections.

Concretely, in a massive fight to place the Fourth International, as the world party of the socialist revolution, on the ballot. To impose the presence of the Fourth International in these elections.

In 1947, Congress adopted the "Voorhis Act" which places severe police restrictions on the right of workers and youth to belong to an "international" organization. Even this reactionary law does not expressly prohibit such an organization.

We declare now— this "Voorhis Act" is UN-CONSTITUTIONAL and ILLEGAL even in the framework of the laws and Constitution of this country. There is no legal basis for declaring the Fourth International illegal in this country and we will not accept any attempt to drive us underground.

Nor will we ask the government to "legalize" us, like the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP recently did. Which implies that this government has the right to declare ANYONE legal or illegal.

But we plan to impose our rights, in a fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY in these elections, by massively winning workers and youth to this struggle, to a struggle for the revolution in these elections.

As part of this fight we call on all workers and youth and organizations to fight for THE UNCONDITIONAL RIGHT OF ALL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS to be on the ballot. Against all the restrictions which attempt to keep these elections a bourgeois anti-democratic farce.

No working class organization or militant can abstain from this fight.

PLACE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON THE BALLOT IN 1980!

FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RIGHT OF ALL WORKING CLASS PARTIES TO BE ON THE BALLOT!

July 26, 1979

TRUTH

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TO OUR READERS: The next issue of TRUTH will be printed on Aug. 17th.

Carter, the bureaucrats, spit on the word "freedom"

BUT FREEDOM IS OUR FIGHT

By JON COHEN

On June 15 Jimmy "human rights" Carter came down from "the mountain." After hiding out for two weeks, with his administration on the verge of collapse, Carter decided to initiate his 1980 Presidential campaign with the same weapons that "worked" for him in 1976 -- lying hypocrisy and cynical morality.

He talked about a "spiritual and moral crisis," a "crisis of confidence in our future, a threat to our political and social system." He complained that there is a "growing disrespect for Government and for churches and for schools, the news media and other institutions."

His solution? "We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying."

But this isn't 1976. People believe Carter today just about as much as they believed Nixon when he said "I am not a crook."

Even the superficial trappings of his new "national unity" began falling apart as soon as they came out of his mouth. His Secret Service had to arrest and threaten a CWA militant while he was answering "questions" at the CWA Convention in Detroit. And the mass resignations and firings of his Cabinet last week made it obvious to everyone that it is not "human rights" but his "media advisor" and pollster who dominate Carter's government.

They fired the Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare because he tried too hard to get people to quit smoking!

This Carter government is an insult to every American worker and youth. From "human rights" in 1976 to "freedom" in 1979-- the "freedom" for Carter and his small clique of capitalists to organize a recession, to gouge out more profits for the oil trusts-- this government has used the words, "democracy," "human rights," and "freedom" to continue Nixon's policies, to continue this system of unemployment, war and repression.

But now even Carter is politically finished. While his speech managed to briefly increase his popularity by about 10% the real "public opinion" as far as Carter is concerned-- the banks, the stock market, the gold speculators around the world and the European bourgeoisies showed their total lack of confidence in Carter's new policy of "prayer and sweat." The reinforcement of the "Georgia Mafia" in the White House (a columnist has called the White

House "six Georgians and a poll taker") only deepened this lack of confidence.

The U.S. ruling class is searching for a new hangman. A new and more vicious anti-working class program.

But they need time to prepare. Carter must be kept alive in the meantime and the working class must be politically disarmed.

Behind the pseudo-"energy program," behind all the maneuvers in Washington, behind all the talk about "freedom" and "sacrifice" it is clear that the centerpiece of the political situation, the decisive aid to the ruling class in keeping this Carter government alive and disarming the working class, is the "NATIONAL UNITY" OF TRAITORS with this Carter government.

Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and Doug Fraser of the UAW were among the first to come to Carter's aid at Camp David. So were Jesse Jackson and Vernon Jordan of the Urban League. And they have been the first to support Carter's new "energy program" which is only a charade to cover for the recession being prepared.

The CWA bureaucrats shamefully organized a standing ovation for Carter in Detroit. George Meany responded to Carter's speech by stating: "We can assure the President that American workers will do their part, as they have always done when the nation was in trouble. They will accept their fair share of the sacrifice that must be forthcoming from everyone."

The "nation" is not in trouble. It is Carter and capitalism which is in trouble! And this "national unity" of the trade union bureaucrats and petty bourgeois black "leaders" is an essential part of the effort to see that they don't get into deeper trouble.

This "national unity" of the bureaucrats is above all an effort to politically disorganize the working class and its most advanced sectors. To block the attempt to find a means to politically confront the Carter government. To block the break with the Democratic Party.

To block the fight to organize the class independence of the U.S. proletariat in face of today's situation in the name of "national unity," "democracy" and the "freedom" of capitalist exploitation and profits.

To block the advanced sections of the working class and youth from drawing the POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS concerning what they

already feel -- that the only possible fight for freedom today is the fight for the REVOLUTION. That the only democracy possible today is WORKERS DEMOCRACY, the democracy of the rule of the workers and oppressed.

While Carter and the bureaucrats spit on the word "freedom," the Fourth International affirms that freedom is OUR FIGHT, the fight of the workers and youth throughout the world to overthrow this system of imperialism and Stalinism. Freedom is the fight for the revolution.

Only the Fourth International can claim this fight because the Fourth International is the only political organization in the U.S. that is not compromised with either Carter's "human rights" or his new "national unity" with the traitors.

The Stalinists of the American CP and the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP are totally disoriented in face of today's political situation. This "national unity" of the bureaucrats has hit them the hardest.

Especially during the past year they have tied all of their political fortunes to the trade union bureaucracy and its supposed "opposition" to Carter. They have spent the past year cheering every "left" muttering by a bureaucrat or black "leader," waiting for these "leaders" to organize the opposition to Carter.

When Doug Fraser discovered the "class war" last year they hailed this as "positive." The SWP even printed his entire statement in their paper for "workers to read and study." Everytime that William Winpinger (who is now writing postcards to Congressmen) talked about a "labor party" they cried for joy.

But when these bureaucrats fly to Camp David, organize standing ovations for Carter and pledge to "sacrifice" our blood, these organizations have nothing to say. Undoubtedly, when they do come out of shock and find something to say, it will be to say that American workers are "not ready."

The CP and SWP are totally compromised. Not only in today's situation, but for their role throughout the last 3 years in which they stood in the shadow of Carter's "human rights." American workers seeking to break from "human rights" and the cynical "freedom" of the Carter government and trade union bureaucrats will not find a trace of real freedom, of

workers' freedom, in either of these bankrupt organizations.

But it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that treachery and compromise are the only elements in the situation. The last 3 years have not simply been the balance sheet of treachery and compromise.

They have also been a balance sheet of the repeated struggles of the U.S. workers and workers throughout the Two Americas to open up an independent political road, to open up the road to the revolution. There will be new battles, new explosions and new struggles in the coming months.

And if we talk about the treachery of the bureaucrats and the compromises of the Stalinists and centrists it is to PREPARE for these coming battles, to forge a new leadership for the coming explosions.

A leadership to fight for the revolution against all the false solutions in the framework of this bourgeois "democracy" that is "freedom" for the rich and the rich only. To fight for the only kind of freedom worth fighting for and the only kind of independence worth winning-- CLASS INDEPENDENCE IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

It is a thousand times more important to join this fight today than to wait for "better conditions" which will never arrive. The Trotskyist Organization/USA is small today, but unlike the other "big" "workers" organizations it is not populated with "revolutionaries" who have been waiting all their lives for "better conditions" before they will fight for the revolution. Or who are waiting for Doug Fraser to make the revolution!

A revolutionary fights for the revolution. Today and not tomorrow. This is why our fight to found the WORKERS PARTY in the Spring of 1980 is an immediate task. To put it off is to allow this recession to pass without a fight, to allow this "national unity" of bureaucrats to disarm the workers and youth.

Against all this hypocrisy and cynicism it is the working class which must become the fighter for freedom in this society. And the only program for freedom is the program of the socialist revolution. The program of the WORKERS PARTY whose combat we call on you to join.

July 24, 1979

RYW/USA Educational, July 15th

ARE YOU READY TO THINK?

By ANN NELSON

The Educational Conference of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA (RYW/USA) on July 15th, was not a Conference for youth and workers to learn "facts" or to sit and listen to people who have "read books," but it was the result of a mobilization in the factories and schools to win youth to the world army of the socialist revolution, the Revolutionary Youth International.

The Conference was also a working conference which discussed the resolution which will be the contribution of the RYW/USA to the Congress of the RYI in Paris-- "The Revolution in the Two Americas and the European Revolution."

Excerpts from the presentations given at the Educational Conference are reprinted below and on the next page. The first presentation and discussion was "What is the Revolutionary Youth International?" The presentation, given by Jon Cohen, National Secretary of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, discussed how the youth today have been cut off from the revolutionary traditions of Lenin and Trotsky and need to be re-armed.

There are certain illusions that exist among the youth, sown by the false workers leaders, Stalinists and centrists, which must be destroyed in order to arm the youth. One of them is that "We are too small to make a difference."

Are we too small? No. First we must decide WHAT battle we must fight, and THEN how to fight it and with what forces. Another illusion is that revolution should be left to the "cadre" who have passed through the school of the "unions" or who have worked in factories for years.

The presentation showed clearly why it is the younger generation which is ready to fight and not those in their 30's who have already drawn false conclusions from their struggles, or those in their 50's and 60's who run this country. And the youth need

no "school" but the Revolutionary Youth International, and they need no "experience" but that gained in the fight for the revolution within the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA.

He concluded the presentation by saying, "The question is not whether someone is 'ready to die' for the revolution, or 'ready to fight' or 'ready to confront,' but ARE YOU READY TO THINK? To prepare, to lead others, that is the question."

The second discussion was divided into three parts all centering on the "Revolution in the Two Americas and the European Revolution." The presentations were on "The Youth and the Workers Party," on "Stalinism in the Two Americas" and on "How Can the Unions Aid the Working Class?"

The discussion on the Workers Party centered on the necessity to understand the building of this party in the United States not as a "political arena" to "push the working class to the left," as the centrists put forward their "labor party," but to fight for the construction of the Workers Party as a MEANS TO ADVANCE THE REVOLUTION, to defeat imperialism, not as a half-way house.

The discussion on Stalinism in the Two Americas dealt with combating the illusion that Stalinism is something that exists in the USSR, but does not exist in the United States. Nothing could be further from the truth. If there is any answer to the question-- Why hasn't there been a revolution in the last 50 years?-- the answer is the treachery of Stalinism. The treachery of the Communist Party USA and of the Kremlin apparatus.

The answer to the question "How Can the Unions Aid the Working Class?" was that youth see the unions today as institutions like prisons, but that the fate of the unions is not decided. They are aids to the bosses and government now, but can become

weapons in the hands of the revolutionary working class. There is no "democratic process," as the centrists and Stalinists say, to gradually change the unions. "Either they can remain in the hands of bureaucrats whose allegiance is to preserve capitalism. Or they can become weapons in the service of the Socialist Revolution. Those are the two choices."

During the discussion with a young General Motors worker, after the presentations, a conclusion was reached that all of the problems of the revolution can be concentrated in the auto industry. It is a composite of capitalism and its crisis. Autoworkers internationally were introduced into the factories as a shock. That is, from the quiet of the farms, the South in the United States, workers black and white were thrown onto assembly lines, into the biggest factories in the world. These conditions produced a vanguard which exploded in the U.S. in the 30's and have been in the lead of strikes since. It was autoworkers who precipitated the general strike in France in 1968 and who have been in the leadership of combats around the world. As the presentation on the unions showed, the autoworkers internationally are now under attack by the capitalists who are dismantling factories throughout the world in order to break up the advanced working class sectors. The Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International can discuss international actions which can organize a strike, for instance, of General Motors, in France, the United States and Spain.

The Educational Conference arrived at the conclusion that it is true that the "minimum demand of the youth is socialism," and that the only organization which is building a world army to carry out that demand is the Revolutionary Youth International. July 22, 1979

WHAT IS THE RYI?

The most confused and disoriented sector of society today is the youth. It is necessary to look this reality in the face in order to draw revolutionary conclusions. Because at the same time, today's youth is the only generation of the proletariat which has the possibility of taking the initiative and leading the rest of the working class in the path of revolution.

Look at the other generations-- those in their late 20's and early 30's-- the generation of 1968-- the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, the riots in the ghettos, the first struggles in the factories-- a generation which is not confused and disoriented because it has already drawn a balance sheet, a false one, but is convinced that revolution is impossible, weighted down by defeats and treachery of the petty bourgeois leaders. You know them, people making careers out of remnants of struggles, poverty bureaucrats, social workers, making careers out of black nationalism-- people who admit they've sold out-- people burned out and corrupted at 28-- the people in the factories who tell you "I'm for the revolution, but the other guys aren't-- they're stupid." "I'm for the revolution, but it's impossible" and "I'm for saving my skin." A GENERATION THAT IS GOOD FOR NOTHING TODAY. Except for a kick in the teeth by today's youth which will bring some of them back to the road of revolution.

There's the generation in their 40's and

50's, your parents, who grew up in the 50's, a period of reaction. They have no more illusion, but they also have no more hope.

And then there's the generation in their late 50's and 60's which rules this country. They're cynical, but not confused. They rule and know what they want, they want this system. Part of this generation, the bureaucrats and Democratic Party liberals, were trained in the methods of the working class combat in their youth in the 30's. They have turned these methods against the working class and they are the MOST HOSTILE to the youth because they best understand the power of the youth.

The youth are fighting everywhere, but under confusion and disorientation. Unlike the other generations, it is in the lead of all of the struggles around the world, but it is confused and isolated from the working class and turns to terrorism and individual rebellion. The "anti-disco riot" in Chicago is an example of 40,000 youth protesting something which is a result of what is rotten in this society, but their energy was wasted.

There has been no generation in modern history which has been more confused. The revolution is approaching and comes closer and closer every day, but today's youth is the most cut-off from the traditions of revolution and communism. Unlike the youth of previous generations who flocked to the banner of the Russian Revolution and to communism.

We are in a period of UNPRECEDENTED THEORETICAL REACTION. The youth are subjected

to the destruction and militarization of education, to superstition and religion (the Pope's visit to Poland was an attack on the theoretical development of the youth). When the bourgeoisie was a new class it considered the Catholic Church its enemy, but today it needs the Pope. The youth are fed television and radio and even "disco" music. After all, why does a worker have to read if he or she is just going to work in a factory?

BUT THE GREATEST CONFUSION AND DISORIENTATION COMES FROM THE TRAITORS IN THE WORKERS MOVEMENT. They are leading an attack against the idea of class consciousness-- against all methods of class consciousness. These are the "Communist" Parties, the Stalinists who attack the consciousness of the youth by saying they are building "socialism in one country" and who make deals with bloody imperialism and preach "peaceful co-existence." There are also the pseudo-Trotskyists, who put forward the same policies of the Stalinists in the name of our party, the Fourth International. And there are the trade union bureaucrats who maintain unions of class collaboration against them becoming the weapons of the workers.

This is the source of the confusion and disorientation, the youth can't confront and take up the revolution-- the revolution today is a combat against illusions and the youth have to be re-armed. RETURN TO LENIN is this re-armament, it is THE ONLY combat against this confusion.

The Revolutionary Youth International is the weapon of this re-armament. It is the

weapon of communist education. It is building the world army of the socialist revolution. The RYI is a weapon to construct the party, the Fourth International, through the method of communist education, so the youth can break from all of the frameworks of this old order, to re-arm the youth in the methods, education and combat of revolution.

Some will ask, "Aren't we too small?" But this is not the problem. The problem is not to find fighting youth, there are plenty, but to prepare, to be able to confront their enemies, to arm them and to fight against all those who are happy with their ignorance. WHAT BATTLE, this is what we first decide, then we can discuss our size...

It is clear that the revolution can't be made with illusions and without a combat.

What does it take to be a young revolutionary today? It is not being "ready to die" for the revolution, or even "ready to fight," or "ready to confront" for the revolution. Are you ready to THINK, to prepare, and to lead others? This starts now with small numbers, as Trotsky said "our advantages are not in the field of dance. It is in the field of socialist revolution." An army of 3 can become an army of 3,000 if it is an army whose weapon is communist education.

Only the RYI is prepared to build this army, because it is led at the initiative of the Fourth International whose entire history has prepared it for this. This is a combat that can clear away the confusion and disorientation and re-arm the youth and win the older generations. In the face of all those preparing to lose, we are preparing to win, if you want to win, the RYI is your school and combat.

Jon Cohen

WORKERS PARTY

What is different about the struggle of the Revolutionary Youth International for a Workers Party and the "Labor Party" of the centrist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is that we don't consider the Workers Party an "arena." We don't consider the Workers Party as a way to "move workers toward the left" or as something the union bureaucrats are in charge of or will build. We don't fight for the Workers Party as a "half-way house" between capitalism and the revolution. We are fighting for the Workers Party AS A MEANS TO ADVANCE THE WORLD REVOLUTION, and as a means to politically terminate our oppressors and their allies in the workers movement. That is why the fight for the Workers Party is a fight for the youth to take up, it's above all a fight to prepare the revolution...

The question is posed today of "Who will rule?" Who will make the decisions for the youth and working class? The capitalist government is in a deep crisis, but continues to have its grip on the working masses. The working class needs its own political expression, its own means through which to rule, and that is why we pose the immediacy of constructing the Workers Party...

But there are illusions that the youth have which are obstacles to building the Workers Party, and which the fight to construct the Workers Party must deal with. Some youth think this system can be pressured into rehabilitating itself or that the union bureaucrats can be reformed. These things have proven to be dead ends. The youth today are into individualism, or religion, drugs or terrorism, but young workers, these things are not solutions. And it is not enough to reject these things, we must go forward so we propose to you to join our fight to help forge the independence of the working class through building the Workers Party...

The RYW/USA calls on young workers to build with us a vast Youth Alliance for a Workers Party as a way to insure the future.

Rich Tetrault

STALINISM IN THE TWO AMERICAS

The purpose of this section of the educational is to answer an important question, or rather illusion that many youth have and that is that Stalinism is something that does not exist in the United States, but exists in Russia far away. It did originate in the Soviet Union on the basis of certain defeats of the worker's revolution, but it is more. Because if there is any answer to the question "Why hasn't there been a revolution in the last 60 years?" the answer is Stalinism.

Why no revolution since the Russian Revolution? It's not because conditions have not been bad enough. The 30's were certainly bad, today with inflation and unemployment conditions are bad enough, they're "rotten" in fact. It's not because the working class and youth aren't ready for a revolution, again in the 30's there was a revolutionary mobilization in the auto factories, in the 60's throughout the world youth took to the streets and built barricades against capitalism, they were and are ready to fight for the revolution. The problem of why no revolution, hasn't been physical or one of enough forces, it is because there has been a POLITICAL obstacle. This obstacle is inside the workers movement and it's in the United State in the form of the American "Communist" Party and those who agree with it, the centrists. What do they say, how can you recognize Stalinists? They don't get up in union meetings and say "Hi, I'm a Stalinist," or "Hello, I'm a friend of a Stalinist," they put forward political policies always directed at saving the system and steering workers away from drawing revolutionary conclusions. In the 30's in the U.S. they said that the sit-down strikes in the auto factories were for "economic demands" and not for workers' control of the capitalist's property, and they said "support Roosevelt" just as today they say support Carter or Kennedy. In the 60's they said that the civil rights movement was for "reforms" and to pass a law in order to steer the mobilization of the black masses away from the revolutionary road. The collaboration of the Stalinists with imperialism, in order to save it, has become so deep that in Latin America they have told workers to support a section of the military. In the name of communism they use all means to avoid revolution. And it is these false "workers leaders" who are responsible for the fact that a whole generation of youth have been cut off from the true revolutionary traditions of Lenin and Trotsky...

Ann Nelson

CAN THE UNIONS AID THE WORKING CLASS?

Young workers today have a picture of the unions as institutions. Like schools, factories, houses of correction, jails, they exist like blockades to liberation. And they're right.

If you're trying to just fight for your rights, forget it, who's going to grant you your rights? General Motors? Chrysler? And do you think the union cares about granting your rights? Like the right to a job?

The industrial working class in the United States may be about 16 million. And the unions only organize about one quarter of that. But they are workers organizations because the workers fought for them, died for them, and they still attract the support at one time or another of masses of workers who are fighting against capitalism.

It's not a question of fighting for unions, it's a question of fighting for a workers socialist revolution. And the place of the unions in that struggle is not decided. They are bureaucratic apparatuses now, but they can be weapons.

The miners strike is a good example. It signaled a new stage in the class struggle in the United States. For Jimmy Carter it was the beginning of the end. The reason for this was the inability of the UMW bureaucracy to control the strike. The miners took independent avenues of struggle. Though with illusions, the miners fought Carter's government and resisted the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley law. Miller, head of the UMW, was saying on national television and radio that his life was in danger from militant miners.

Many so-called revolutionaries showed their true colors in this strike. Socialist Workers Party. American Communist Party. Maoists. You may not have heard of them but they played an important role in holding the miners back from dealing a death blow to the bureaucracy and Carter's government.

The fact is that the unions have far more importance than just "economic" or local problems. Either they can be props for the present government, by acting as the "official" representatives of the workers. Either they can remain in the hands of bureaucrats whose allegiance is to preserve capitalism. Or they can become organizations of combat against capitalism. They can become weapons in the service of the Socialist Revolution. Those are the two choices.

There is a world crisis in auto. And this crisis is a result of the strength of the workers mobilization. Internationally, the bourgeoisie is trying to "re-structure" the automobile industry. It's very clear in Europe and America. The large industrial factories where workers have a history of militancy are being broken up. There are talks in the industry of "mergers" which mean the further concentration of wealth in the hands of the bourgeoisie. In Detroit, Dodge Main, the Cadillac plant, Fleetwood and Ford River Rouge have been undergoing this re-structurization. And it's not just a question of moving some jobs from one plant to another. This is an all out attack on the most advanced workers. Massive layoffs, economic concessions and the stronger role of the bourgeois government will be the result.

It's a PROVOCATION against American workers. It's a PROVOCATION against the most oppressed...

What's developing here is a counter-revolution. The bourgeoisie is preparing a showdown, a confrontation with the workers. To do this they must have the help of the bureaucrats, and can already count on the prostration of the pseudo-revolutionary leaderships.

The task is the formation of a vanguard among the most advanced workers and the youth in auto and the unions. A task of political clarification to build the Workers Party. Not a labor party. The program for the unions is a program of CLASS INDEPENDENCE, strike committees, a new leadership in the unions and workers self-defense.

We must fight for a party forged in combat in the unions for the independence of the unions from the bourgeoisie, its state and bureaucratic apparatus. David Heffelfinger

The upcoming conventions of the Communist Party/USA and the Socialist Workers Party - Meetings of the

LOYAL OP

By JON COHEN

Next month the national conventions of the Communist Party/USA and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party will take place. The convention of the American CP has been publicly announced. It will take place in Detroit, at Cobo Hall (where the Republicans will hold their convention in 1980) from Aug. 23-26.

This convention is its first convention since 1975 and is being well-publicized. The CP has also published the central resolutions for its convention, a "Draft Main Political Resolution" and a resolution on black liberation.

Unlike the CP, the SWP has not yet announced the date for its convention which will take place at their traditional campus retreat in Oberlin, Ohio from August 4-11. Nor have they announced what will be discussed. Rare honesty on their part; to admit even beforehand that there is nothing about this convention that could possibly interest American workers or youth.

Neither of these conventions are seen by American workers and youth as major political events in their lives. Certainly they won't attract as much attention, even in the working class, as the Democratic and Republican party conventions which will take place next year.

But nevertheless they are important political events for the working class and youth. Especially important for advanced workers and revolutionary youth who are seeking the road to the revolution, are seeking political clarification. They are important political events for the section of the American working class that is trying to draw a positive balance sheet of the struggles of the last ten years and trying to re-arm themselves to confront the political crisis of this society.

These two organizations are not very large in size, they are old and decrepit, composed of two-bit bureaucrats and senile youth. The honest workers and youth that find their way to these organizations for the most part pass through them like revolving doors, stifled by the atmosphere of decay they find. Despite the relatively large size of their apparatus -- their press, offices, paid functionaries -- these organizations have grown very little in the past years.

But they are still important for workers and youth. Because they still speak in the name of the revolution (occasionally) and call themselves "Communists" and "Trotskyists." Because although they speak in the name of the working class they represent the PETTY BOURGEOISIE in the workers movement, the social strata that stands between the ruling class and the working class. They represent CONSTANT COMPROMISE because they represent a class alien to the interests of the proletariat.

The American CP and the SWP stand between the advanced workers and the trade union bureaucracy. They stand between the revolutionary youth and the Carter government. Because of this they have to be UNDERSTOOD AND FOUGHT.

The fight of the Fourth International to renew the leadership of the working class in a fight to RETURN TO LENIN! passes through a combat against these organizations. A combat to politically destroy them and isolate them from the workers and youth as representatives of an

alien class.

These two organizations are not identical. They even claim to fight each other. But this is a well worked-out relationship and a precise DIVISION OF LABOR which has become more and more refined in recent years.

It is first of all an international question. Both of these organizations make an effort to present themselves as national organizations in order to block this political perspective for American workers. The American CP has always presented this in the crudest fashion. In the 40's they declared that "Communism is 100% Americanism."

Today, in the DETROIT FREE PRESS, Gus Hall declares that the CP/USA was a "product of our American . . . system (like) mass production, town hall, the Bill of Rights, jazz . . . blues and baseball."

This is a cynical lie, designed to reinforce the most backward sentiments among American workers that revolution is something "foreign," that the American revolution will be something "special."

The August convention of the American CP will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the American CP. They speak of their "heroic 60 years" without ever telling anyone just WHAT kind of history it is. We will help them.

The American Communist Party was founded in 1919 as a DIRECT RESULT of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the fight of the Third International. It was not "baseball" that founded the American CP, organized the split of the left wing of the Socialist Party and the best elements of the IWW, but the struggle for the international revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, taken up in the United States. For the first ten years of its existence the American CP was a revolutionary party, a party that fought for the INTERNATIONAL revolution in the U.S.

And the next 50 years of the American CP have been a history of 50 YEARS OF STALINISM, 50 years of combat AGAINST the international revolution, in defense of the Stalinist apparatus responsible for the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the betrayals of the world revolution.

We are proud to be part of an International and therefore have nothing in common with those who attack the American CP by calling it "under foreign influence." "Foreign influence" is fine with us, but WHAT "foreign influence"?

The American CP, in the last 50 years, has not been under the "foreign influence" of the revolution, but the influence of the STALINIST APPARATUS OF THE KREMLIN, the gravediggers of the world revolution. Far from being an "American" organization, the leadership of the American CP is a leadership HAND-PICKED and DIRECTLY controlled by Moscow. They are nothing but mouthpieces for the counterrevolutionary policies of the Kremlin.

This is especially true of the present leadership of the American CP. In 1956 the American CP lost over 3/4 of its membership after the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Thousands of militants, who remained in the CP through the darkest periods of the 50's, left in opposition to Stalinism.

The Hall leadership are those who remained and gained the leadership through their UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE of Stalinism, which they continue today.

It is this which has made the American CP a discredited sect in the American working class. Not because American workers are hostile to "communism," but because the Kremlin, through its policy of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, WANTS a discredited, senile sect for its "party" in the U.S. In order to better directly support the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy.

This is where the U.S. Socialist Workers Party comes in. A role determined not by "baseball, jazz or the blues" but by the INTERNATIONAL crisis of the Stalinist apparatus.

The American CP is not the only discredited Stalinist party in the world. In fact, beginning in the early 50's a deep crisis was opened up in the international Stalinist apparatus as a result of the more and more massive rejection of Stalinism by the workers and youth throughout the world.

This crisis was deepened by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and was opened up throughout the world by the period beginning in 1968 with the French May-June general strike and the movement for the political revolution in Czechoslovakia. It is a crisis which dominates the world political scene today.

The so-called "Euro-Communist" parties (French, Italian, Spanish CPs) were an attempt to resolve this crisis -- to present themselves as "reformed" Stalinists and "democratic" Stalinists. An attempt, which recent events in Europe prove, has failed miserably.

This defines the place of the SWP. Because in the face of this crisis of Stalinism, under the pressure of Stalinism, a PRO-STALINIST FACTION developed inside the ranks of the Fourth International. A faction which proposed the liquidation of the Fourth International in the name of the possibility of a "self-reform" of Stalinism.

This faction was led by a man called Pablo, hence we call them "Pabloites." They formed an international center today called the "United Secretariat" which uses the name of the Fourth International to hide the crisis of Stalinism, to block the workers and youth from going all the way in the destruction of Stalinism.

They use the name of the Fourth International because the crisis of Stalinism DEMANDS THIS. No longer able to control the youth in their own name, the Stalinists need the unstained and uncompromised banner of the Fourth International to defend its policies, to pretend that Stalinism can be reformed and made "democratic."

The pseudo-Trotskyists are the right arm of Stalinism in today's crisis, the "fresh face" presented to workers and youth looking for an alternative to Stalinism's betrayals. The SWP is part of this "United Secretariat."

The SWP once represented the Fourth International in the U.S. Its founding members led a bitter struggle against Stalinism and broke with the American CP. Today, the SWP is the KREMLIN'S PRIZE POSSESSION in the U.S. Because

OPPOSITION

They can give a "left" and "Trotskyist" cover to the same old decrepit, discredited policies that the Kremlin has been pushing for the last 50 years.

Not by chance, the SWP broke with the Fourth International in 1963 in order to directly support Stalinism in the Two Americas in the form of the Castro Stalinist bureaucracy in Cuba. They have surpassed the American CP in becoming Castro's cheerleaders in the U.S. They have become the most fervent champions of Castro's anti-American working class prejudices in the U.S. (American workers are backward, "Yankees," etc.).

They may hate each other on paper. They may even sincerely hate each other. But it is all an act. What it really concerns is a precise division of labor that is the U.S. expression of the international division of labor worked out between the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin and the pseudo-Trotskyists of the United Secretariat and the OCRFI of Lambert-Just.

You know the routine of the "hard" and "soft" cops. They work in a team -- the "hard" cop gives you the third degree while the "soft" cop passes out cigarettes and coffee -- both serve the interests of "justice."

The same routine has been well worked-out between the CP and the SWP in the last ten years. The American CP, at the command of the Kremlin, directly supports the bourgeois government in power (Democrat or Republican), the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy. A million examples can be given. It is enough to give today's examples of the CP's support for the SALT II treaty and their "new politics of political independence" which includes the Congressional Black Caucus, black mayors and the Democratic Party Memphis mini-convention!

The SWP confronts those workers and youth who can see through this open treachery and who are disgusted with Stalinism. But instead of providing a revolutionary solution the SWP is even more useful than the American CP itself, because it is able to give a "Trotskyist" and "revolutionary" disguise to the SAME Stalinist policies. The same Stalinist policies which have been used and discredited for the last 50 years.

There is certainly nothing new or "Trotskyist" in the present-day policies of the SWP leadership. They all come from the textbook of Stalinism, but with a new cover.

The "labor party" of the SWP is nothing more than the old Stalinist "labor party" with the trade union bureaucrats and Democratic Party liberals of the early 30's. In fact, the SWP's major reproach against the American CP is that they never built this "labor party." Earl Browder ("Communism is 100% Americanism") thought of the idea of a "Bill of Rights for Working People" -- revolution through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution -- more than 40 years ago.

On and on. The balance sheet of the last 10 years -- the betrayals of the anti-war movement, the black movement, the frustrations of the workers in the repeated efforts to throw out the trade union bureaucrats and get the

Democratic Party off their backs -- has been blocked by these two organizations which represent nothing more than the division of labor of Stalinism in the U.S. and have become the HOUSE OPPOSITION of U.S. imperialism.

A loyal, tolerated opposition, needed by every regime in the world, from the most fascist to the most "democratic," to block a REVOLUTIONARY opposition from being formed and organized.

The SWP has become such a loyal opposition that it has demanded that U.S. imperialism make it "official." They have asked the government for their "legalization" (when no one has declared them illegal) "like the Democrats and Republicans and other recognized political parties." For the SWP, being a house opposition needs a stamp of approval, while presumably, others will be ILLEGAL. Like the real Fourth International.



CP banner in recent "Save Dodge Main" demo -- "Keep Chrysler Alive" -- How loyal can you get?

But what makes all this interesting and worth understanding today is the fact that both the CP and SWP, precisely because of their role as house oppositions, are entering a period of CRISIS.

The crisis of the Carter government and the Democratic Party, the new-found and short-lived "national unity" with the trade union bureaucrats has not and will not leave these organizations untouched.

In the last year both the CP and SWP have announced a "turn towards the working class" and various plans for "industrialization" of its cadre. It means an effort by them to pull their organizations out of the mire of the petty bourgeois "radical" milieus in which they have been stuck for the last 20 years.

But they haven't shed their petty bourgeois PROGRAMS. This "turn towards the working class" has been in reality a TURN TOWARDS THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS. In the past year, both the CP and SWP have based their policies on the belief that the bureaucrats WOULD DO SOMETHING. That they could be pressured "to the left."

They thought Arnold Miller would lead a militant miners strike. They have been waiting all year for Doug Fraser or William Winpisinger to lead the "break" with the Democratic Party. They have been waiting for the trade union

bureaucrats to "organize the South" and bring victory at Newport News. They have been hoping that the bureaucrats would take up the fight for "civil rights."

NONE of this has happened. Their bureaucrats, who suddenly discovered "class war," "civil rights" and "the South," are now sipping drinks with Carter at Camp David, pledging support for his "energy plan," saying it is "premature" to decide on a candidate for 1980, etc., etc.

None of this should be surprising. But for this house opposition it is profoundly disorienting. It is why both the CP and SWP have had virtually nothing to say in the last few weeks, why the SWP has virtually admitted that its convention will have nothing to say.

What to say about "industrialization" when a militant in the SWP, who was "industrialized" for OVER 30 YEARS was forced to resign from the SWP in order to run and win the presidency of U.S. Steel South Works AGAINST Sadlowski's candidate supported by the SWP?

Better to talk about "organizing the South," the "class nature of Cambodia" and what percentage of the National Committee should be women.

Better to organize another pep rally for a Presidential candidate, who, as usual, WILL HAVE NOTHING TO SAY to the revolutionary workers in this country.

What is certain is that both conventions will be conventions of NORMALIZATION. A normalization to suppress any opposition or questions in face of the impotence and disorientation of their leaderships. To suppress anyone who can see that "the Emperor has no clothes" -- that these house oppositions have nothing to say.

Every revolutionary movement, past and present, has been built in a fight for principles, in a break with the house oppositions in the workers movement. In a fight for a WORKERS program and policy against petty bourgeois leaderships.

A fight which above all falls on today's youth. Not only will these bankrupt and senile organizations never lead a revolution in this country, they are CONSTANT OBSTACLES to preparing this revolution, to organizing a vanguard of the working class in the revolutionary fight against imperialism and Stalinism.

Which also falls on today's party, the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization/USA. An organization which ALREADY had its convention. A convention which declared that it is the REVOLUTION which is on the agenda throughout the Americas and which vowed to organize this revolution by immediately fighting to found the WORKERS PARTY in 1980. Which is planning to organize not a "loyal opposition" in the 1980 Presidential elections, but the fight for the revolution.

These loyal oppositions are the reason why a powerful revolutionary party has not yet been built in this country. The fight to arm the youth against them, to regain the continuity of the American workers movement in a fight to RETURN TO LENIN, to reconstruct Bolshevism on American soil, is the road to the construction of such a party.

A road which we call on all workers and youth to join.
July 25, 1979

Revolution in Nicaragua: A Spark Can Ignite the Continent

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Somoza has finally left Nicaragua. Young revolutionaries are riding through the streets, arms in hand, celebrating their victory over this murderous dictator, hated throughout the hemisphere.

The downfall of Somoza, months after the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and in the midst of the unprecedented crisis of the Carter government, is tremendously important. It's a manifestation of the depth of the revolution germinating in the Two Americas, of the bankruptcy of imperialism and Stalinism. Carter's attempt to reinforce the dictatorships in Latin America in the name of "human rights" has failed and their crisis is ballooning on this basis.

Youth and workers have been fighting with arms for months to free themselves of Somoza. Nearly 30,000 people in a country of 2,500,000 have died.

Somoza, like the Shah of Iran, has been the spokesman and the gendarme for U.S. imperialism in Central America for over 30 years. Supporting the U.S. inspired coup in Guatemala, the attempted invasion of Cuba (Bay of Pigs), and the actual invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. Utilizing the resources supplied to him by the U.S. to support reactionary dictatorships in Guatemala and El Salvador. Bleeding the workers and oppressed peoples of Nicaragua dry. He has owned, controlled and run Nicaragua with his own private police force like guards run a prison. And the Kremlin, along with its principal agent on this continent, Fidel Castro, has managed to "peacefully coexist" with this brutality for years.

The uprising in Nicaragua and the fall of Somoza, like the confrontation in Iran before it, is one more proof, not only that U.S. imperialism and its agents are not invincible, but also that they are in unprecedented trouble.

The revolution in Nicaragua can be developed into a spark which ignites the hemisphere, which brings down imperialism and Stalinism once and for all. But this outcome depends entirely on the revolutionary political struggle to clarify the balance sheet and tasks of the revolution, to select and form the leadership in the mobilization, to RETURN TO LENIN. It will never take place spontaneously. The "revolutionary process," the "stages," the struggle in itself, will lead only to bitter defeat.

STALINISM

Workers and youth are fighting because they want freedom, control of industry, land; they want the dissolution and destruction of the apparatus suppressing

them, an end to imperialist exploitation and oppression. These things were claimed by the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN), toward which the majority of oppressed Nicaraguans look, and up until recently it refused to have anything to do with any of the capitalist parties. Negotiations with the likes of Somoza and the U.S. were out of the question, as these were considered incompatible with what the masses want.

Yet none of these things are happening. Somoza has been permitted to escape to Miami where he continues to live a life of luxury. The National Guard officers are escaping. A government of "national reconstruction" is being formed which has promised the U.S. imperialists to protect private ownership of industry and land in Nicaragua. It plans to include former members of the National Guard in a new standing army and has determined "disarming the irregulars" (i.e., the people who actually fought the Guard), to be its first task.

This government includes people openly friendly to U.S. imperialism like the capitalist Alfonso Robelo Callejas and is in the process of making a deal with the U.S. whereby the U.S. returns a pittance of what it's stolen from Latin America in exchange for the right to continue to steal without restriction. This isn't a government of the working class, of solidarity with the workers and oppressed around the world. And the FSLN is supporting all this. It even has a representative in the government.

Why isn't the revolution being carried to its conclusion? What's standing in the way?

Thousands haven't given their lives for a revised version of the same product! A large number of the people in the FSLN are absolutely sincere. Workers all over the hemisphere, indeed the world, support the uprising in Nicaragua. There is less possibility of U.S. troops than ever before. The U.S. working class is completely against it and the Carter government is in a crisis.

The fact is that the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Kremlin, through its spokesman Fidel Castro, has intervened ... against the revolution ... to save imperialism.

Precisely at the moment when the American bourgeoisie is abandoning all pretense of advocating even "human rights" on an international scale, in favor of "national unity," i.e., "America first," Castro is telling the Nicaraguan masses and the FSLN to limit their struggle to one for "human rights," to support the government of "national reconstruction." HE has raised the spectre of U.S. interven-

tion, blowing Secretary of State Vance's threats way out of proportion, trying to give the workers and oppressed masses of Latin America the impression they can count on nothing from the North American working class.

A statement issued by Castro June 19 purports to be one in "solidarity with Nicaragua, against intervention." In fact, its sole purpose is to scare the masses, warn the U.S. against the ill wisdom of intervention, and reassure them that Castro and the Latin American bourgeoisies can control the situation.

He urged the Sandinistas to move cautiously and do the "utmost" to maintain friendly ties with Washington. He even said the best thing he can do for Nicaragua is "nothing." He followed Carter to Mexico in the midst of the fighting to visit the dictator Lopez Portillo just to let everybody know where he stands in the counterrevolutionary status quo in this hemisphere.

This counterrevolutionary activity is nothing new for Castro and the rest of the Stalinist apparatus. Last September the FSLN launched an offensive that wasn't very well prepared or armed and was crushed. Nevertheless it became clear that the masses would no longer accept Somoza, that the FSLN had increasing support, that Somoza would fall. The Broad Opposition Front (FAO) representing the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie was completely discredited for negotiating with Somoza and the U.S. in the midst of the conflict.

So the Stalinists began to build a bridge from the masses hostile to the FAO back to the bourgeoisie! First to the Movimiento Popular Unidad (MPU), then to the National Patriotic Front. They put pressure on the FSLN to endorse this union with the bourgeoisie. It wasn't until after the FSLN finally went along with this and the "Proletarian Faction" and the "Prolonged People's War" factions were united with the "Tercero Tendency," an openly collaborationist tendency, that the recent offensive was announced and initiated with the preparation AND THE ARMS that the earlier one lacked. Unity with the hangmen of the bourgeoisie was the price the FSLN had to pay to Castro for their guns!

It would be impossible for Castro to have this effect on the revolution if it weren't for the pseudo-Trotskyists of the United Secretariat (Usec). In the decisive moments of this conflict, the SWP (Usec) has been nothing but a press agent for Castro, publishing his statements, praising him, mimicking him, labelling the

workers and the bourgeois in Nicaragua "freedom fighters," proposing that the American working class confine itself to demanding "Hands off Nicaragua and Cuba" and "aid with no strings attached." As if the American working class is incapable of revolutionary struggle, as if this murderous government can be transformed into one that "helps people."

We cannot accept this situation. There is no possibility for democracy in this hemisphere, no possibility for a peaceful transformation of the present governments, least of all in Nicaragua.

The present government is being formed and the U.S. is sending some of the funds it has stolen from the working masses to it, in order to disarm the masses, in order to give SOMOZA TIME TO PREPARE A COUNTERREVOLUTION to crush the working class, the only way to insure the profits of the imperialists.

Only the revolutionary victory of the U.S. working class over imperialism in its heartland can assure the victories of workers in Central and South America. The pseudo-Trotskyists have no confidence in the working class so they invent theories according to which the current situation is the first step in the inevitable process of revolution, "like Cuba," to drug and stupefy the working class. But the present state of the revolution in Cuba and Nicaragua proves that the revolution never goes forward, only backward, without the revolutionary leadership.

These theories and the organizations that perpetuate them are far more dangerous than Somoza and all his guns. Thus, the combat to take advantage of the revolution in Nicaragua, to transform it and every subsequent uprising into sparks igniting the continent, is above all a combat to develop the conscious element in the revolution, the leadership. It's a combat to build the Fourth International because it is the only party fighting for the revolutionary unity of the workers of North and South America with those of the USSR to destroy imperialism and Stalinism. The destruction of these forces and their governments begins with their agents masquerading as Trotskyists. This is our objective in the preparation and holding of the Conference of the Two Americas. Join us.

Victory to revolution in Nicaragua!
A United Socialist Republic of North and South America!
July 24, 1979

Berg Expelled from the OCI CRISIS AROUND A "REUNIFICATION"

We are reprinting an article from LA VERITE, organ of the French Section of the Fourth International, concerning the crisis of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) before the revolutionary proletarian struggle of the FI and the demands of the Stalinist apparatus.

The OCI was once a leading force in the struggle of the FI, then split, throwing up a cloud of slanders to cover itself and block others from opposing it, and now is in the process of completely liquidating itself as an independent organization, joining the openly pro-Stalinist United Secretariat.

The article shows how Lambert and Just, OCI leaders, use Berg's nominal opposition to liquidation as a pretext to terrorize their members; how the U.Sec. tries to cover up the political questions involved because it agrees with the OCI.

This is very important to American youth and workers. The split of the FI with the OCI leadership brought forward the fundamental question before youth and workers-- the construction of the international to lead the revolution in our time-- or retreat and defeat.

No one can avoid taking a stand on this.

It's not a French question as the SWP says; because it like its counterpart the LCR, wants to bury the political issues because it agrees with the OCI.

There is no more middle ground between the true balance sheet of this split and the Stalinist slanders of the OCI here than there is in France. July 24, 1979
TRUTH

What the centrists of the OCI present as the "Berg affair" is a new proof of the political decomposition of this organization. It concerns a "settling of accounts," not very different in content, methods and in the personalities of its protagonists from those which unfold in other milieus. But the fact that it has broken out in the leadership of an organization which claims to stand for the Fourth International is revealing, not only of a particular "ambiance," but also of the depth of the crisis which is developing in the framework of the "reunification" of the OCI and the Pabloite United Secretariat, represented in France by the LCR.

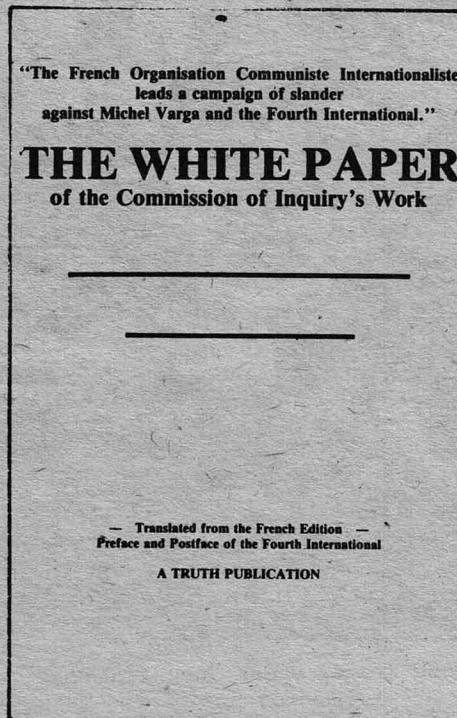
The nauseating details of Berg's expulsion, the bureau-

cratic and Stalinist methods employed on all sides, reveal the desire to suppress any discussion of real political problems in this organization.

Berg, by defending a position against the "reunification," gave the pretext for the Lambert-Just leadership to engage a "normalization" offensive in the OCI, designed to destroy anything left of the combat that this organization, before its capitulation in 1972, led against the Pabloite liquidators of the Fourth International. By abandoning the battle for an international leading center, by trying to destroy the political battle led by the Fourth International for this center, the OCI erased this combat. It has arrived, as LA VERITE has previously written, at the end of its capitulation, at its ultimate conclusion. What remains to be done is the suppression of the OCI as an organization itself, its integration into the Pabloite United Secretariat.

It is certain that such an evolution has its own logic and that the methods used correspond to it. The slander campaign engaged by the OCI in 1973 against the Fourth International is inscribed in this logic, as a means to break the necessity for the workers and youth, through the battle for a centralized vanguard on the international level, to struggle for their class independence against the bourgeoisie and Stalinism. The present paranoia, expressed in Just's report on the expulsion of Berg, which was proposed as "cutting out a tumor," can only be explained in this framework, and this is the only way that one can really engage the combat against the Stalinist methods which in this "affair" are used by Lambert-Just against someone in the OCI who was one of the most servile applicators of their policy. Lambert-Just think that this expulsion is a means to solve the unresolved contradictions which have existed in the OCI since its capitulation in 1972.

This is why outrage against such methods in an organization which claims the Fourth International is understandable and necessary, but by itself will not allow one to struggle against them and against the policy which these methods serve. The Pabloites of the LCR are very conscious of this and this is why they base themselves on this legitimate outrage over "methods contrary to workers democracy" in order to try to prevent workers and youth from drawing



a political balance sheet of this expression of the decomposition of centrism.

The (anonymous) author of an article in ROUGE #858 (journal of the French LCR--TRUTH) makes himself the spokesman for "many working class militants...correctly scandalized by the practices of the OCI" and develops at great length a criticism of the "functioning" and "methods" of the OCI. This diplomatic indignation poorly hides their satisfaction in face of the fact that the OCI is taking "the initiative in readjusting the latter" (its methods) by expelling Berg, who was, as the article describes, a creation, a perfect prototype of the politics of the OCI and its methods of bureaucratic leadership. But the LCR, behind this weak indignation, has the same attitude that it took in face of the slanders of the OCI against the Fourth International, when it covered for this Stalinist campaign in the name of a "democracy" which consisted in placing the slanderers and the slandered on the same plane.

In this article, by placing themselves again on the terrain of "democracy" and "methods," and by complaining about the expulsion of Berg and "that of Michel Varga," the LCR pretends to be unaware of what is at stake and what the "reunification" means for the OCI. The leadership of the OCI cannot tolerate any discussion over the "reunification" because it concentrates the problem of the total capitulation of this organization. It was necessary to set an example by getting rid of Berg. Berg, just like Lambert-Just who created him, did

not fight against the "reunification" on the basis of a fight for the continuity of the Fourth International as leading international center and this is why he could only use maneuvers and gimmicks in order to try to reinforce his position.

Although perfectly well informed of all this our journalist exclaims: "Why didn't Berg defend his positions in front of all the militants"? The author of this article, by giving good "democratic" advice to Lambert-Just brings out the now-ritual affirmation of the LCR: "In our discussions with the OCI we will judge the progress in this domain," and here finds a good occasion to affirm that in the LCR "the proper use of the tradition of democratic centralism" is totally respected.

These good apostles "forget" their own conception of democracy. We will therefore refresh their memory: during the meeting-debate organized by the LCR with the OCI on November 22, 1978, the Fourth International, which denounced the slanderer Lambert present on the podium, was prevented from speaking. Was this just an accident? But how to explain the fact that the LCR until now has REFUSED to publish the conclusions of the so-called commission of inquiry against the slanders of the OCI, after having tried, by bureaucratic maneuvers, to make it a forum where the slanderers and slandered would be placed on the same plane?

These known facts are not external, or foreign to the present crisis raging in the OCI. If the OCI can deepen a policy which demands a normalization in its own ranks in view of a rapid "reunification" with the LCR, an offensive in which the methods used against its own militants are a concentrated expression, it is because the LCR, in the first place, has given it the means to continue and develop its slander campaign without difficulty. By today affirming that it concerns a problem of "democratic discussion," the LCR once again hides, in view of preserving its own possibilities for "discussion" with the OCI, the fact that it is not possible to discuss "methods" with slanderers, but that it is necessary to designate them as such and to lead the combat against them as a CONDITION for any democratic discussion between different tendencies of the workers movement. Without this battle, not only is no political clarification possible, but one leaves the field open for the development of these Stalinist methods. It is against these unprincipled maneuvers that the Fourth International leads the struggle to rally the youth, to renew with the policy and methods of Bolshevism in a combat to RETURN TO LENIN.
Dominique Navarro
LA VERITE

Fraser promises Carter :

A NEW BEGINNING

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

With his popularity lower than Nixon at his lowest ratings, and with an administration in open crisis, Carter announced his "new beginning" with the blessings of all his former critics.

What is going on here? A soul searching solution to capitalism's crisis? A new recognition of the plight of the American working class? Or a rotten pact to prepare a new offensive against the working class?

Only hours before his visit to Carter "on the mountain" Douglas Fraser had announced that Carter's administration was "at the point of no return." So what was the president of the United Auto Workers union, weeks before the UAW contract is set to expire with the Big Three, doing at Camp David? Denouncing the President? Hardly so.

As in the secret auto negotiations themselves, workers will never know exactly what Fraser said to Carter. But one thing is becoming clear: Carter's "new beginning" is being made possible only by a new and deeper submission of the unions to the crisis being prepared by the American bourgeoisie. The autoworkers' union, the coming contract round and the "save Chrysler" movement figure prominently in Carter's "new beginning."

A clear strategy is emerging. Carter's "new beginning" is to be the beginning of the end for the working class. Fraser had to step in to help Carter, because saving Carter means saving Fraser too, up to his neck in the muck of this rotten system. So Carter cries, "my government is weak;" Chrysler proclaims, "we are broke;" and Fraser and all the liberal critics respond to strengthen Carter's government



Doug Fraser opens "negotiations" with GM—with a smile.

and make Chrysler more profitable.

Already the liberals and trade union bureaucrats are nodding their heads approvingly at Carter's decision to tighten the reins in his administration. Dictatorial "reorganizations" that were decried by liberals when they were undertaken by Nixon, are now proper solutions for Carter.

Fraser, in a response typical of the trade union bureaucrats, has promised not to strike Chrysler and is even asking the government to bail the corporation out. Think of it, the very taxes Chrysler workers pay will be used to support the plan of Chrysler to lay off masses of workers, to break up the most militant strongholds of autoworkers, such as Dodge Main!

And make no mistake about it.

Chrysler and Dodge Main are only a test. There is a world crisis in auto today. The mergers of corporations (Renault and AMC), plant closings, and the strike being prepared in auto are part of an all-out WAR being organized against the autoworkers, as a means of obtaining the submission of the strongest, most organized sectors of the workers first, in order to get at the entire working class.

A few autoworkers are saying that Fraser is correct, that the government must bail out Chrysler, that "special treatment" must be given to the corporation in the strike. But it is a mistake, a deadly mistake, to go along with this plan of restructuring of the auto industry. And the fault for this betrayal must be placed squarely on the doorstep of the

traitors within the workers movement.

Fraser is conscious of the betrayal. He knows the plan is to break up the dozen or less PLANTATIONS which, because of their size and concentration of the most militant sectors of the working class, could shatter the "new beginning" of Carter's regime. Dodge Main is not the only one. The Ford Rouge Complex is down to less than half the size it once was. There are "re-locations" of whole operations at the Cadillac plant and the Fleetwood plant in Detroit, owned by General Motors.

And Fraser and the whole trade union apparatus in the United States are at "the point of no return," too. They have gone too far, engineered too many betrayals, to join the side of the workers and oppressed. To save their necks, to save this rotten system, they must deliver the heads of the workers.

There is only one answer that autoworkers can give to Carter's plea for a new beginning. Complete and total independence of the unions, workers and their struggles from the puppet government of the American bourgeoisie. **AXE THE BUREAUCRATS--FOR UNIONS OF CLASS INDEPENDENCE**

A new leadership to break the stranglehold of the Democratic Party over the American working class. An alternative to the bankrupt liberal and reformist hangmen. There will be strikes. There will be more PROVOCATIONS, layoffs and plant closures. The question is WHO WILL BE PREPARED to win victory? Workers and youth, join us to construct the REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE. **FOR A WORKERS PARTY!**
July 25, 1979

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

It's a fact. That so-called "revolutionary" organizations of every shape and description have concentrated their resources and members in Detroit around the coming auto contract. The Communist Party USA, Communist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party, Spartacist League, the coalition of organizations going under the name of Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC) which includes the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Maoist Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) to name a few of them, have all come to Detroit for the end of the UAW's contract with the Big Three.

What is this? Revolutionary Unity? Mass confusion?

Neither one. Rather it is COUNTERrevolutionary unity and the CONFUSION of the masses.

It is a fact. Stalinists, Maoists, pseudo-revolutionary "Trotskyists" have concentrated their organizations in Detroit as part of a NEW ANTI-WORKER PACT. A key part of Carter's "new beginning." When Douglas Fraser says in a Detroit FREE PRESS article, concerning his proposal for the U.S. government to bail out Chrysler: "I think they could put up with a little Socialism," we can hear the oohs and aahs rising forth from the opportunist parties.

One slogan says it all, the slogan of Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC): "Unite members and LEADERS of the UAW." It might as well be the slogan of every pseudo-revolutionary party that has come to Detroit. Unite the strikebreaking bureaucrats

with the workers: that is a monumental task.

Young workers! This "unity" presents both an OPPORTUNITY and a DANGER for the autoworkers.

The DANGER that these washed-out radicals will confuse and further demoralize workers and youth who are looking for the alternative of the socialist revolution to this dying system. That the name of "communism" and "socialism" will be further confused with these long-standing traitors to the working class struggle.

But an opportunity is at hand. The chance to forge a real REVOLUTIONARY UNITY among auto workers. A difficult but necessary struggle for POLITICAL CLARITY and the solutions of WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE.

For the workers it means that as long as the exploiters have their state of terror, their police and their lackeys in the workers own organizations, there can be no independence. As long as the unions are subordinated to saving capitalism, rather than destroying it, there can be no UNITY in the working class.

NO COOPERATION WITH CARTER'S SACRIFICES!
NO CONCESSIONS TO THE REFORMIST TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY!
DOWN WITH THE ANTI-WORKER PACT OF STALINISTS AND PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARIES!
July 25, 1979
D.H.

Trade Union Resolution of the 5th Congress of the PORE

The Unions for the Workers

We are reprinting the Trade Union Resolution recently adopted by the 5th Congress of the PORE, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International, which was held last month and was reported on in a previous issue of TRUTH.

Although the Resolution concerns the struggle of our party in Spain and only summarizes the rich discussion that was held at the Congress, it can provide the basis for a discussion here in the U.S. among workers and youth concerning the fight of revolutionaries in the unions.

The Resolution poses the questions very clearly-- there is no road between the fight for revolutionary trade unions, for making the unions into weapons for the revolution, and their increasing subordination to the capitalist state. The pseudo-Trotskyists, with their myth of "militant trade unionism," and their line of "fighting the company, not the union (bureaucrats)" hide this truth from the workers and disarm them in the face of the attacks of the Carter government.

The Resolution also very clearly defines the fight of the youth in the unions-- that their school is not running errands for the bureaucrats in the unions, learning "Robert's Rules" and engaging in parliamentary diplomacy-- but is the Revolutionary Youth International, the school of communism. And only such a school can educate and train them for a revolutionary fight in the unions as a fight to win the leadership from the treacherous bureaucrats.

Today, more than ever, the trade unions in the U.S. are at a crossroads. We call on all readers of TRUTH to engage this fight for the clarification of their tasks and combat in the fight for the revolution with us. We invite your comments. July 23, 1979
TRUTH

-- 1. The trade unions historically represent conquests of the working class: they were created by the workers for the defense of their living conditions. But the trade unions in Spain were not created as part of a large mass movement but instead were reorganized on the basis of the Sacred Union. This means that their legalization did not mean the conquest of trade union freedoms but instead was the

fruit of the promise of the Spanish CP and PSOE (Socialist Party) to subordinate them to the Monarchy.

-- 2. The tendency for the unions to be tied closer and closer to the state is international. In the period of capitalist crisis there is no possibility for developing working class trade unionism unless it is revolutionary trade unionism. That is, by remaining neutral with respect to the bourgeois state, every union will be caught up in this process.

The anti-Leninist campaign unleashed on the international level is reinforcing the battle of imperialism and the bureaucracy to absorb the unions into the defense of the state. In the name of a so-called "defense of democracy" Carrillo (leader of Spanish CP--TRUTH) is trying to get the workers to renounce their combat.

-- 3. The trade unions are indispensable organs of the working class for the incorporation of large sections of workers into struggle. In the hands of the bureaucrats they are converted into apparatuses of the subordination of the working masses to the state. In the hands of revolutionaries they can be converted into a school of communism for the masses which will transform their economic struggles into a struggle against the state. It is here where leaders of the Party will be selected.

-- 4. The trade unions can only be converted into a revolutionary school through the struggle of the Party for the intransigent defense of its independence with respect to the state and against those who want to subordinate the unions to the state.

The battle to organize the General Strike is the principal task that we propose in the unions and before any other task. Because even from a trade union perspective (crisis, restructuring, layoffs...) it is the only possible class response of the class which will allow it to open up a perspective for the overthrow of the Monarchy and a Workers Cortes. It is beginning with this battle as an axis that the leadership of both the unions and the factory committees can be renewed. It is this battle that can allow for the construction of the unions on the basis of a large mass movement.



-- 5. The battle to organize the strike of auto against the plans for the restructuring of this sector beginning with the centralization of its factory committees is not a battle against the unions. On the contrary, it is a battle that we propose to the unions and on which their own future as working class trade unions depends. The proposal to centralize the auto factories beginning with their factory committees is determined by the necessity to centralize all the workers, not just those in this or that union.

Instead of opposing unions to factory committees we will fight to make the factory committee the organ of trade union unity in the factory, conditioned by its transformation in the development of the struggle for a Workers Cortes.

In this way our battle inside each union will be for the union to bring the greatest amount of its forces to fight for the unity of the sector in the preparation of the strike of auto.

But without the struggle of the Party neither the factory committees nor the unions will be organized around this objective. Only the Fourth International can unite the struggle of the autoworkers from East to West.

-- 6. The process of the integration of the unions to the state is not irreversible. Despite the fact that the unions

have been rebuilt by the Sacred Union around the Monarchy, making the workers of every union unable to react in face of the constant attacks of its leaders against their class independence. But while we still have the possibility of winning the leadership of the CNT (anarchist union--TRUTH) and transforming it into a revolutionary union of the masses, the apparatuses of the Workers Commissions (dominated by the Spanish CP--TRUTH) and the UGT (SP--TRUTH) will destroy their own federations before abandoning their policy of support to the Monarchy.

This is not to say that it is necessary to abandon the Workers Commissions, it means that we will fight to regroup the workers around our battle for the General Strike and orient them towards the construction of One Central Union. At the same time we will build a current in the CNT for the General Strike. We will form this current in order to convert it into a weapon for trade union unification and a pole of reference for workers breaking with the bureaucrats.

-- 7. At the present time we do not prepare this battle by calling for the splitting of the unions. Every worker knows that this would be a weakening of the working class struggle. The slogan is: THE UNIONS FOR THE WORKERS! -- for the workers in the course of their struggle for the General Strike to win back their trade union organizations and renew them.

-- 8. The youth don't need to pass through the unions as a school of the Party. The youth will arrive at the conclusion that a revolution is necessary without having to pass through the unions. Their political school is the Revolutionary Youth International.

We cannot call on the youth to enter the unions without a political program, because under such conditions they will immediately leave the unions because of the treachery of their leaders or they will be converted by the bureaucrats into old people 18 years old.

Only through their apprenticeship in the RYI can the youth find themselves in the best conditions for leading the unions.

June 1979

TRUTH

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN AUTO!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The auto "contract negotiations" are an all-out attack on the autoworkers and youth. The UAW bureaucrats and all their allies are out to DEFEAT the workers, to prepare the counter-revolution, through these "talks," through a "strike" run by them, through a "settlement" arranged by them.

VICTORY means building a new revolutionary leadership against these traitors. That is, preparing the revolution. All other policies, all half-way measures, are nothing but betrayal.

DODGE MAIN

Chrysler's drive to close Dodge Main is central to this battle. This is the sharpest U.S. expression of the international crisis in auto. All around the world, the auto barons are trying to resolve their crisis by shutting plants, smashing the strongholds and gains of the workers, crushing the future of the youth.

And in the U.S., just as around the world, the union bureaucrats are in the spear-point of this attack.

From the very beginning of the struggle to "save Dodge Main," the UAW bureaucrats have sabotaged and undermined the fight. What happened in two days at Chrysler World Headquarters sums this up.

On July 18, UAW President Doug Fraser, Marc Stepp and other "workers leaders" showed up for the opening of negotiations. Behind all the empty talk about making "saving Dodge Main" a "priority," Fraser revealed his real priority -- "saving Chrysler." First, Chrysler will not be the strike "target." Second, the federal government should finance the company through a "people's equity." Third, the UAW bureaucrats should be on the corporations' board of directors.

This is a plan for the implementation of the attack that Chrysler has already begun. Announcing in advance that the bureaucrats have no intention of striking to "save Dodge Main," Fraser is notifying the company that it can do as it wants without any fear of a response from the union.

Once that key question is settled, then financing the company -- with the workers' tax dollars -- is the perfect next step. First, this accepts the lie that the crisis and the attack on Dodge Main are "economic" problems. And it also diverts the struggle into an appeal to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state, laying the basis for a "restructuring" of auto like the one underway in Spain.

The final step, the integration of the bureaucrats into the management of the company, means the direct involvement of these "leaders" in the plans for the exploitation and crushing of the workers -- for the continued health of the company.

On July 19, policy became action. A demonstration organized by UAW Dodge Main Local 3, carefully scheduled NOT to coincide with the opening of negotiations, was held. After Fraser's announcement the day before, the demonstration was deliberately stripped of any purpose. It was a conscious exercise in political impotence.

The demonstration itself carried out this perspective. It was composed almost exclusively of bureaucrats, their supporters in the unions and the pseudo-revolutionary Stalinists and centrists. After going around in a circle for awhile, the bureaucrats staged a "rally" that expressed the same policy announced the day before. At this point, with Fraser and Democratic Congressman John Conyers making clear the real nature of their policy, the few young workers who had not been turned off long ago left in disgust.

Demonstrations, "contract language," even strikes (sitdown strikes, too), will not save Dodge Main, or any other plants, as long as the bureaucrats remain in control of the union, as long as these traitors are in the leadership.

PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARIES

To hide this central fact is the objective of the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and all the various centrists. All their proposals, as "militant" as they might sound,

deliberately conceal the fact that a strike run by the bureaucrats is only another form of the attack.

That's why the American CP openly announces that its goal is "human rights on the job" and proposes achieving this by "backing our leadership 100 percent ... to bring together the membership and leadership of our union." All the rest, all the "demands," is just a cover for this determination to preserve the bureaucracy at all costs. The fight of the youth against the capitalists' agents in the unions will be denounced by the CP as "provocation" and "splitting."

Similarly, a number of centrist groups support the "Auto-workers for a Better Contract" (ABC). But a "better contract" means in practice acting as a pressure group on the bureaucrats; that is, actually supporting them. Because if they can be "pressured" to get a "better contract" -- which is like getting "better slavery" -- then why do they need to be replaced? Here the centrists join up with the Stalinists in defending the traitors from the youth.

In the face of the crisis in auto, these bureaucrats are proposing that the key demands are pensions for retirees and an expansion of the "Paid Personal Holiday" plan (a shuck that supposedly cuts the workweek). The bureaucrats have mobilized the retirees and the "opposition" bureaucrats around these goals. But the fact is that in the actual situation, pensions are a conscious diversion, a conscious means to mobilize the oldest and most backward workers against the youth and their struggle for the future. And with almost 20% layoffs at Chrysler, and Ford and GM not far behind, the PPH plan is a sinister joke -- a day off once in a blue moon in the face of 2500 layoffs at Dodge Main alone in the last week!

The pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, together with the CP, are the most eager supporters of these two lies. The SWP is deliberately engaged in hiding these plots, in covering up for the bureaucrats and in attacking the consciousness of workers with "revolutionary" and "Trotskyist"

phrases that boil down to supporting the bureaucrats.

THE YOUTH

No! The bureaucrats must be driven out of the workers movement. If they maintain their hold over the union and the strike this year, the recession (the capitalist attack) will be even worse than 1974-75. The youth are the key to the situation. The struggle of the Fourth International, of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, is to organize the most advanced and most conscious youth in the plants and in the streets to build a new leadership. That is what preparing the revolution means today.

The foundation of the Workers Party as the new leadership of the American working class is the perspective in which this struggle exists. Selecting and organizing a vanguard in the fight in auto is a major step on this road.

The real needs and goals of the autoworkers, above all, workers control of production, over hours and work, over wages and closings, is the key to this struggle. An independent policy, rejection of the bureaucrats' "contract," rejection of their "target," for a strike of all three companies, is the perspective that we offer to the revolutionary youth.

This struggle and perspective will not take shape in any "caucuses" or pressure groups. The Revolutionary Youth International, the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, is the place where this new leadership among the youth will be formed. There is no other road.

The formation of this leadership is the meaning of education for the youth. On August 12, the educational of the RYW/USA will take up this task by organizing the planning of the campaign for workers control, for the defeat of the bureaucracy.

This meeting is a step toward the Conference of Revolutionary Youth in Auto in late September, a fight to build the revolutionary leadership and prepare the revolution in the struggle against the traitors in the workers movement. July 22, 1979

