

SOCIALISM!



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Many young people and working people think that the fight for a truly working class, revolutionary and socialist society is unrealistic, utopian. There will never be a society in which working people own and control the most essential resources, work together to produce and distribute the things that people need without interference from rich bosses, where there are no bosses and privileged labor bureaucrats.

The GM workers' strike in Flint, Michigan shows that this is not true. The fight for a working class, revolutionary, socialist society is very realistic.

There are only 9,200 workers at the two GM plants in Flint. One set of workers, at the metal fabricating plant, produces hoods, bumpers and other metal parts for cars. The other set of workers, at the Delphi complex down the road, produces a variety of products for cars, from spark plugs to oil filters.

Yet this small group of workers, who walked out to protest GM's attempt to cut union jobs and other commitments to workers, has forced the rich and powerful owners of GM to stop operations at over 23 plants, idling over 105,000 workers.

The owners of GM need the working class; they can't produce and distribute products without the working class. But the working class doesn't need the owners of GM; the working class is completely and totally capable of producing and distributing what people need without the rich owners and their agents. The owners no longer contribute anything to the process; they have outlived their usefulness.

The only reason that we don't have a working class, revolutionary and socialist society today is that too many workers are too indoctrinated. Working class youth are taught from the time they are very young — by parents, the media, religious figures, teachers, union bureaucrats, politicians — that they are stupid, that they aren't capable of doing anything but working, that there is an upper class composed of people who are more intelligent than they are, and that they need this class to do the thinking and tell them what to do.

But if workers are stupid and lazy, if they need bosses to tell them what to do, then why

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The GM strike and socialism



“The GM workers’ strike ... shows that ... the fight for a working class, revolutionary, socialist society is very realistic ...”

Solidarity against U.S. corporations!



Toward the 1998 Convention

The Labor Party: accomplishments and tasks

As Labor Party members prepare for the convention in 1998, it is important to look back on the two years since our founding. What have we accomplished? What haven't we accomplished? What should we do now?

What have we accomplished?

"The bosses have two parties, now we have one of our own." During these two years, the Labor Party has grown in numbers, more unions affiliated, more workers, students, unemployed, people of color joined. The Labor Party is the biggest political party outside the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

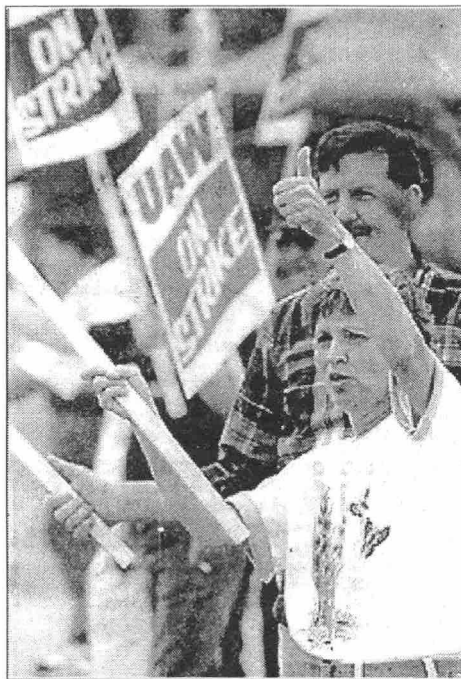
The Labor Party has remained true to its program. It hasn't endorsed any candidates from the bosses' parties. It hasn't taken any positions against its program. It elaborated its program soon after the Convention with its position opposing "welfare reform," which is an attack on the working class backed by both major parties.

The Labor Party has supported important struggles of working people — it took a clear stand in support of the UPS strike, offering free memberships to striking workers. It helped organize the National March in Detroit, June 21, 1997, in support of locked-out newspaper workers. It supports the struggle against NAFTA and the MAI. The unions that back it and the chapters have participated in struggles in defense of affirmative action, bilingual education, and a host of other national and local struggles.

The Labor Party has developed a good reputation among workers that know of it — as a political party really different from the bosses' parties — a real Labor Party.

The Labor Party now has a few full-time organizers; the office staff is professional; membership problems have been greatly reduced; the paper comes out every two months with information on important issues and the activities of the Labor Party. Progress has been made on developing state organizations and on criteria for running candidates in elections.

The Labor Party launched its first national campaign — the 28th Amendment, the right to a job at a living wage. It collected thousands of signatures on petitions. When 80% of those who were asked signed, the Labor Party proved once again how deep and broad the support is for the program of the Labor Party, against the corporate agenda pursued not only by the two parties, but by far too many union leaders.



GM workers' picket line in Flint.

The Labor Party chapters, with regular meetings and public forums, have maintained the public presence of the Labor Party and helped in recruiting among active unionists and workers.

What haven't we accomplished?

The Labor Party has not really penetrated into the biggest industrial unions. There are locals of the Steelworkers, Autoworkers, Communication Workers, and Teamsters that support the Labor Party, but regional and national leaderships do not. The national leadership of the AFL-CIO does not support the Labor Party. John Sweeney spoke against the Labor Party.

The Labor Party has not recruited as many people as many of us, including the national leadership, thought that we would. The 28th Amendment campaign, while it has many merits, has not become a recruitment campaign as it was originally envisioned.

The Labor Party has not succeeded in fully mobilizing its own ranks. The members in the unions or in the chapters, by and large, do not regularly participate in Labor Party campaigns. They do not discuss the Labor Party regularly with their fellow workers or distribute the *Labor Party Press* to them. Most chapters have not succeeded in growing qualitatively beyond their levels before the Founding Convention.

The Labor Party recruits mostly activist workers, unionists, and supporters of the leaderships of the endorsing unions. Recruitment among workers not in struggle is low and there may be little that can be done about this right now.

But, at the same time, the Labor Party often has difficulty recruiting among some of the most advanced unionists, workers, young people and people of color, in part because these activists and their organizations engage in public demonstrations, picket lines, ballot initiatives, very large door-to-door campaigns to fight the policies of the rich owners of corporations and their government. They use these actions to recruit more people to their struggles. The Labor Party must find ways to initiate, to participate in and to help gel large, public struggles, so that it can reach and recruit the most active layers of the working class. Without public actions, the Labor Party's recruitment will continue to be slower and concentrated among the better-off workers.

What should we do now?

The Labor Party must fight in a more unified way. The Labor Party needs to be concentrating its forces on one or two campaigns around important problems facing workers. The campaigns must be discussed, debated and adopted by the majority of forces backing the Labor Party. This is the single most important thing that can and should happen.

The latest issue of the *Labor Party Press* talks about some possible campaigns. The lead article, "Let's Be Bold," says that the leadership is working on two new demands: "an overhaul of our nation's healthcare system and passage of a workers' bill of rights to give us back the right to organize and strike." These campaigns could be a positive step forward for the Labor Party.

But, it is critical that these campaigns be discussed at the Convention, not merely adopted. One weakness of the 28th Amendment campaign was the lack of commitment from endorsing unions, a direct result of not discussing it at the Founding Convention.

The commitment from the unions to the Labor Party is not completely clear.

Of course, contributions of money and staff are critical.

But, more important than money or full-time staff, are ordinary workers and unionists fighting for the Labor Party in their workplaces, their neighborhoods, their families. These activists are the only way to

GM strike and socialism ...

Continued from front page

build the Labor Party in other unions, other organizations. These people can recruit the most active layers.

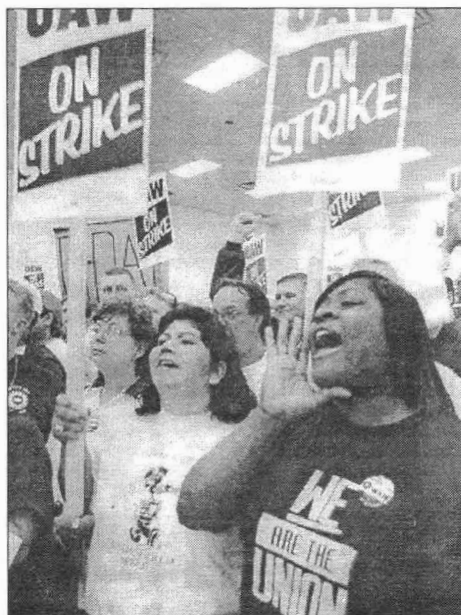
It is not clear how much the members of the unions that back the Labor Party want to do to support the Labor Party. Do they want to make a fight for the Labor Party? If so, how? With what campaigns?

The Labor Party Convention needs to have this discussion so that it is clear to everybody what forces are available. Only with a clear understanding of these forces can the Convention organize successful campaigns.

The future of the Labor Party is a bright one. It has withstood the test of two years and is supported by growing numbers of the most active workers. To grow, the Labor Party needs to listen to the most active workers in its ranks and in the streets. It needs to discuss what it can do to build itself, unite its forces in a more concentrated fight against the bosses and their government.

Let's have a good convention focused on building the Labor Party, implanting it deeper into the working class and helping prepare the working class for the big struggles and victories that lie ahead. — Fred Russo □

are managers introducing the "team concept"? Why are they asking workers to make suggestions about how to improve production and distribution? Why are they asking workers to assume responsibility for organizing production and distribution in some enterprises? The truth is, workers know a



tremendous amount about production and distribution that the owners and managers don't know. Anything they don't know they can learn. Or they can call on consultants, just as owners and managers do.

What can youth and workers do to advance the fight for socialism today?

● **Support the GM workers' strike** and all working class and popular struggles, including struggles against the privileged bureaucracy in the unions. Other workers are passing by the GM workers' picketlines, waving and honking to show support. They are stopping and joining the picketlines, bringing messages of support, money, other contributions. Workers from as far away as Indiana are sending delegations to the picketlines. GM workers in Canada and Ohio are rejecting GM owners' appeals to do the work Flint workers have been doing. Workers throughout the world are following the GM workers' strike, hoping for a victory. The more workers and their unions organize successful struggles against the owners, the more they gain confidence in themselves and their own future. It is precisely this kind of mass working class struggle that is necessary to overcome the influence of the capitalists over the workers, which is transmitted not just through foremen, but also through

conservative union officials and their machines. Mass working class struggles are needed to undermine and break-up these conservative labor bureaucracies.

● **Build the Labor Party.** The Labor Party is fighting for a positive alternative to the corporate agenda, for the right to a job at a living wage by law, for decent health insurance for all by law, for workers' right to organize, picket, strike by law. The more the Labor Party grows, the more different kinds of workers will come together — workers from different unions, union and non-union, employed and unemployed, men and women, different colors, different ethnic groups. The more different kinds of workers come together, the more clearly they will see their different strengths and abilities, how to combine them, how to develop their power.

● **Encourage socialists and communists to work together** to build support for socialism and communism in the working class. There are socialists and communists who claim to be against capitalism but who support the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracies in the U.S., Europe, the old USSR and China. It can be extremely difficult to work with these "socialists" or "communists." But there are hundreds, indeed thousands, of socialists and communist throughout the world, especially Trotskyists and Fourth Internationalists, who oppose both the capitalists and the privileged labor bureaucracies. These socialists and communists should work together to build support for socialism in the working class.

The development of these three trends — working class and popular struggles, the Labor Party, cooperation between working class, revolutionary socialist tendencies — will create the conditions in which it will be possible to build the kind of party and the kind of International necessary to lead the workers to power!

If this is what you want, join us! □

Resolution for the Labor Party

Whereas:

It is necessary to come out of the Labor Party Convention with a central campaign or campaigns aimed at building the Labor Party that the *majority of forces* involved in the Labor Party *are agreed upon and committed to build*;

The last Labor Party Convention adopted a program and a constitution but did not thoroughly discuss or vote on what needs to be done to build the Labor Party;

Be it resolved:

That the coming convention will spend more time on what needs to be done to build the Labor Party;

It will have a full discussion of various proposals for Labor Party campaigns and vote on what the Labor Party's central campaign or campaigns will be and on the most important aspects of how they are going to be carried out.

Adopted unanimously by the Detroit Metro Chapter of the Labor Party, June 2, 1998

**The Detroit
newspaper
workers'
strike and
socialism**

A socialist pamphlet 50¢

Socialists work together in Detroit

On Saturday, June 6, socialist groups in Detroit held a common forum commemorating the 150th anniversary of the **Communist Manifesto**. The topic of the forum was: *Is a truly socialist society possible?* Carol O'Neal, a locked-out newspaper worker interested in socialism, chaired the forum. Representatives of *News and Letters*, *Socialism!*, *Trotskyist League*, and *Workers World Party* spoke. Each said a truly socialist society is very possible. About 25 people attended; there was a lively discussion. At the end, everyone joined in singing the *Internationale*. This forum was a first effort on the part of socialist groups in the Detroit area to work together to build support for socialism. It shows the way forward. In this issue, we are printing the speech given by the representative of *Socialism!*, Margaret Guttschall, as well as greetings from *International Workers Unity (Fourth International)* and some of its sections. We hope to print speeches from other groups in the future.

As a revolutionary Marxist, I am convinced that a truly socialist society is not only possible, it's inevitable.

I agree with Marx and Engels when they say in the *Communist Manifesto*: "What the bourgeoisie ... produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. The fall of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the working class are equally inevitable."

Before I go into why a truly socialist society is inevitable, I want to talk more about what socialism is, I want to draw a sharp distinction between working class, revolutionary socialism, and various forms of bourgeois, bureaucratic, statist socialism.

Workers' revolutionary socialism

For us, workers' revolutionary socialism is, above all, the struggle of the working class for its own emancipation. It is the growth and development of the working class, the formation of unions, the formation of working class political parties, the struggle for laws favorable to the working class, the struggle for political power. It is the moment when workers rise up, organize a massive, armed insurrection, with as much discipline as possible ... take over the banks, basic industry, transportation, large-scale agriculture, the land ... establish their own government, composed of workers' representatives, democratically elected in workplaces. The workers' representatives plan and organize the production and distribution of necessities, so that workers have what is most essential — decent jobs, wages, work-

Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of
the *Communist Manifesto* ...

Is a truly socialist society possible?

With speakers from *Workers World Party*,
News and Letters, the *Trotskyist League*
and *Socialism!*

Saturday, June 6, 7 pm
International Institute
John R and Kirby

ing conditions, healthcare, education, housing, transportation ... Workers have the right to immediately recall any representative who does not do *exactly* what the workers say; workers' representatives make no more money than the average worker.

There will be no privileged state bureaucrats and no privileged labor bureaucrats who think they are better than everyone else and push others around. This workers' revolutionary democracy will be the first stage in the struggle for a classless communist society in which everyone works together to produce what people need, with no rich and no poor, no top and no bottom, just people working together for the common good.

Bourgeois socialism

There are socialists or communists who don't see the struggle in this way. They see socialism as something middle class intellectuals and trade union officials bring to the working class, something that they *do* for the working class. Social Democratic parties in England, Scandinavia, France, Germany see a few reforms, see the growth of a huge state and labor bureaucracy, see themselves and the most comfortable workers living better. They call this socialism, even though the vast majority of workers are still exploited and suffering.

Many of the old Communist Parties that still exist see the society that used to exist in Russia as socialism. In Russia, there was a genuine working class and socialist revolution in 1917. Workers there began to make big progress toward socialism. But their movement was taken over by a privileged labor bureaucracy that began to take all the benefits of the labor movement and the revolution for itself, much like our labor bureaucracy in the United States. Now these same labor bureaucrats are working very closely with Western capitalists to try to destroy all the gains of the workers' revolu-

tion in Russia.

One of the most serious problems that we have had in the socialist and communist movement has been that many honest and sincere socialists and communists have confused workers' revolutionary socialism — the struggle of the working class for its own emancipation — with these bourgeois, bureaucratic, statist forms of socialism. Because of this confusion, many think that all the gains of the workers' revolution in Russia have been completely and totally destroyed and they are very pessimistic about the socialist future.

But all the gains have not been completely destroyed. Workers in important sections of Russia still have much more *de facto*, that is, real ownership and control over their workplaces than they have in capitalist countries, and the consciousness and organization of Russian workers is much different. You can see this when you see thousands of Russian miners striking in unison, occupying railroad tracks, demanding that the government pay them their wages.

What has been most falling apart in Russia has been the privileged labor bureaucracy and its bureaucratic state planning. Of course the capitalists are trying to take advantage of this to try to take over Russia, just as they take advantage of the weakness and corruption of our own labor leaders here in the U.S. to try to take over and/or destroy our unions. But they haven't yet succeeded in Russia or in the U.S. The road forward in both countries lies in sweeping away these bureaucrats and replacing them with working women and working men devoted to the working class.

The inevitability of socialism

Why do we say that a truly working class, revolutionary, socialist society is inevitable?

As Marx said in the *Manifesto*:

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf ... in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight ..."

What is different about capitalist society, from previous class societies, is that it produces the working class. The working class knows how to work together to produce and distribute the things that people need. The working class is the nucleus of socialism, the embryo of socialism, developing within capitalist society.

Greetings on the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*

The working class grows bigger, it starts to form unions, it starts to form political parties, it tries to reform the capitalist system, it finds that it can't successfully reform the system, so more revolutionary workers' movements and parties emerge. Various attempts are made to overthrow the system and build new societies with varying degrees of success. Workers learn from these experiences. Some give up. Others keep trying to do better.

When Marx and Engels said that socialism was inevitable, that didn't mean that socialism was going to come about spontaneously, without the knowledge of or against the will of the working class. What they meant was that capitalist society produces a working class; capitalist society provokes the workers to struggle against the capitalists in order to relieve their suffering; capitalist society provokes workers to form unions and political parties to fight for political power in order to relieve their suffering; sooner or later workers will learn how to do this successfully; sooner or later the working class will become the ruling class, throw off the capitalist shell, grow by leaps and bounds in every way, and the dawn of socialism will be here.

Does this mean that we can all go home, that we don't have to concern ourselves with the fight for socialism? Not at all. It means that we have to *see clearly* where the struggle of the working class is headed, help our fellow workers see this, and organize and educate ourselves so that we are well-prepared to do what needs to be done at each point in the class struggle. Above all, we need to build workers parties and a workers revolutionary socialist International to lead the workers to power in the U.S. and throughout the world. The foundation of the Labor Party in the U.S. is a first step in the direction of building a working class party. There will be many more. If you are not already a member of the Labor Party, I urge you to join. If you aren't already a member of the revolutionary socialist and communist movement, I urge you to join.

As Marx and Engels said 150 years ago: "The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of the world, unite!" □

From International Workers Unity (Fourth International)

Dear friends and comrades:

We've learned that *Socialism!*, the Workers World Party, the Trotskyist League and News and Letters have organized this forum commemorating the anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*. We are pleased to send our most fraternal greetings to all those present, with the conviction that a century and a half later, the central ideas and tasks raised by Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto* remain completely valid.

As they underlined, and surely we all agree, the capitalist system does not offer any solution for the working class, the youth and the other sections of the population. Still less now with globalization and the neoliberal policies that the imperialist powers impose and that only serve to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

That's why we see it as important that in the United States the Marxists and socialists commit all their energies to build the Labor Party as a step toward the North American working class winning its political independence. New struggles are ahead in your country like the one at UPS; a very powerful weapon will be necessary to support and unite these struggles. We hope that the Labor Party becomes this powerful weapon.

The fall of the dictator Suharto in Indonesia, the big strike of the Russian miners, the working class and popular struggles in France, Korea, Mexico, Brazil and so many other countries, show us that capitalism is not all powerful and that the struggle for a truly socialist society is still open. In this sense, we in International Workers Unity, are the most committed partisans of uniting the struggles of workers and of uniting the revolutionaries on an international level. Today more than ever Marx and Engels' passionate appeal is ours: "Workers of the world, unite!"

International Secretariat

From Spain

Comrades:

We send the cordial greetings of the Revolutionary Workers Party to all present at the forum in Detroit, a forum joining all the other events around the world commemorating the document that marks the historical origin of the communist workers' movement.

We are very glad to know that the validity of the *Communist Manifesto* is being defended in the U.S., the country in which the power of capitalism has gone the furthest, and from which capitalism extends its oppression over the majority of the planet. The authors of the *Manifesto* were always convinced that the North American workers' movement would find a way to develop a revolutionary force as great as that of the bourgeoisie. We are sure that they are right about this as well.

With a fraternal communist greeting,

Anibal Ramos

For the Central Committee

of the Revolutionary Workers Party

From Argentina

We want to send to you our internationalist greetings as you commemorate the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*. The validity of the *Manifesto* can be seen in imperialist capitalism itself, which means the domination of the world by a handful of richer and richer multimillionaires, while the population sinks deeper and deeper into misery. Marx denounced this 150 years ago and every day reality confirms that capitalism means growing misery. Its validity is also expressed in the fact that the struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples is shaking up this domination over and over again. Yesterday there were strikes in Russia, today in France, tomorrow in another location. To find a way out for the entirety of humanity, there is no road other than Marx's ideas, no matter how old they may be. The workers must impose their own domination, conquer political power with their party, their democratic organizations and their mobilization, in order to achieve socialism throughout the world.

We wish much success to you.

Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores

From France

We have just learned of your forum commemorating the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*.

It is now very fashionable to salute this work as an historic monument without any practical significance for today.

Since the November-December 1995 strike in France, and now with all the revolts of the laboring classes against the consequences of the globalization of capital, Korea, Indonesia ... the regard for the *Communist Manifesto* has begun to change.

Now, for the third time, a very bourgeois journal, that has nothing to do with Marxism, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, has been citing passages of what for us is the first program of the first workers party.

The period in which the bourgeoisie and Stalinism were the joint gravediggers of the *Manifesto* of Marx and Engels is about to close. And the attempts of bourgeois historians to pinpoint the *Manifesto* as the origin and the cause of the cancer that Stalinism has been are not going to go much further, in spite of the enormous resources that they have at their disposal.

We, the Marxists, have well understood that it is our task to make the perspectives opened by the *Manifesto* come alive. We will do this essentially through our combat in the class struggle.

With your forum, in the heart of what is the citadel of capitalism and of imperialism, the United States, you are fighting on the same terrain that the workers of France, Korea, and Indonesia are.

La Commune of France wishes you complete success in your work. A success for you is a victory for us.

Michel Guillaume

La Commune

The international labor movement and the rebuilding of the Fourth International

There have been dramatic changes in the international labor movement in the last years.

The most obvious changes have been in the top leadership. Leaders of the Communist Party in Russia have quit *en masse* and become open advocates of capitalism and, in many cases, capitalists. Other leaders of the Communist Party in Russia and in other countries have quit and joined or formed Social Democratic parties. Social Democratic parties are different from Communist Parties in that they don't even call for any kind of working class and socialist *revolution*. They advocate gradual and peaceful reform of the capitalist system. They don't defend the working class and socialist revolution that began in Russia. They think that it was a mistake for the workers' party in Russia — the Bolshevik Party — to seize power and overthrow the capitalists, that the development of the privileged, dictatorial labor bureaucracy, led by Stalin, was inevitable.

In other situations, alliances have been formed that represent positive steps forward for the working class and revolutionary movement, like the formation of the Labor Party in the United States, Communist Re-foundation in Italy, or the United Alternative Left in Catalonia.

Alliances

In some situations, it can be difficult to

“ ... no matter how many working class, revolutionary, national, or international regroupments may take place ... there is ... no substitute for building a workers, revolutionary, socialist International based on the most advanced working class and revolutionary theories and practices....”

“ ... the Fourth International will grow by leaps and bounds. It will be a beacon to workers and militants everywhere....”

tell whether attempting to form a new organization or a new alliance represents a step forward or step back for the workers' revolutionary movement. Sometimes the formation of a new organization or alliance represents an attempt to bring together working class forces and organize a larger, more forceful struggle against the capitalists and the worst privileged labor bureaucrats. In other situations, it represents a step back, an abandonment of the struggle for important working class and revolutionary goals, as is the case with many of the socialist or communist publications and groups that have been changing their names and disassociating themselves from socialism and communism. In other situations, the formation of a new organization or alliance can have a very contradictory character, elements of progress mixed with steps back.

In every situation, partisans of the working class have to look at the exact situation and figure out what they think is best for the working class. There is no question that in the coming years that there are going to be many different working class and revolutionary regroupments, some with a national character, others with an international character. There is also no question that revolutionary Marxists will participate in many of these. In some we will make progress; in others we will find that we have made a mistake.

The International

But no matter how many working class, revolutionary, national, or international regroupments may take place, and no matter how many revolutionaries may participate, there is absolutely no substitute for building a workers, revolutionary, socialist International based on the most advanced working class and revolutionary theories and practices.

A workers revolutionary socialist International, based on the most advanced theories and practices, is necessary to lead the international working class to power. Capitalist corporations, capitalist governments, and privileged labor bureaucracies work together; they pool their knowledge and their resources with the goal of retaining power, keeping the workers down. Revolutionary socialist workers and militants have to do the same thing.

Rebuilding the Fourth International

For us, the best way to build a big, workers revolutionary socialist International is to begin by rebuilding the Fourth International. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 to continue the fight for working class and socialist revolution. There had been a big step forward in the international working class and socialist revolution with the workers' revolution in Russia in 1917. But it began to be held back by the capitalists and the privileged labor bureaucracy led by Stalin and its supporters around the world. Leon Trotsky, a leader of the workers' revolution in Russia alongside Lenin, worked to sum up all the lessons of the fight for power against the Czar, the landlords, and the capitalists, and the lessons of the fight against the rise of the privileged labor bureaucracy in Russia and the degeneration and destruction of the Third International. He worked to bring together all the workers and activists throughout the world who were willing to continue the fight for working class and socialist revolution, not only against the capitalists, but also against the privileged labor bureaucracies. Thus the Fourth International — its documents and its members, educated in its incomparable revolutionary tradition — continues to be a tremendous source of revolutionary knowledge, inspiration, energy and spirit, for revolutionary workers and activists. Almost anywhere in the world, when a working class and popular struggle starts to break out from under the control of the capitalists, out from under the control of the privileged labor bureaucrats — from the miners' strikes in Russia, to the revolution in Indonesia, to the picketlines in Detroit — you will find that Trotskyists, Fourth Internationalists, have been involved and/or backing it in one way or another.

The problem facing the Fourth Interna-

tional, the reason that it is necessary to rebuild this absolutely indispensable ingredient in workers' revolution is that, under the pressure of the capitalists, the Social Democrats, and the Stalinists, and without a mass, workers' revolutionary movement in many important countries, the Fourth International has broken into pieces. There is a very strong tendency among Trotskyists, Fourth Internationalists, to minimize their differences with other, not so working class and revolutionary currents, and to exaggerate their differences with each other. This process has gone so far, that whole sections of the International have degenerated and begun to revise the International's program. The Socialist Workers Party is one example. It has a very strong tendency to equate the kind of socialism that has existed in Cuba, which has been extremely limited because of the pressures of U.S. imperialism and the international Kremlin bureaucracy when it existed, with the workers' revolutionary democracy and socialism advocated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Sections of the United Secretariat are another example. They equated the Nicaraguan revolution, which never went beyond being a very radical or revolutionary middle-class nationalist revolution, with the kind of working class and socialist revolution advocated by revolutionary Marxists.

To rebuild the Fourth International, it is necessary to bring together all the Trotskyists, all the forces affiliated with the Fourth International, that are still fighting for working class and socialist revolution, and differentiate them clearly from those that are not.

A beacon

Rebuilt, purged of all the elements that have abandoned its struggle, that undermine it from within, the Fourth International will grow by leaps and bounds. It will be a beacon to workers and militants everywhere who hate the capitalists and the privileged labor bureaucrats, who can't rest until the workers take power and get these parasites off their backs.

There are many different things that need to be done to advance the fight for workers' revolutionary democracy and workers' revolutionary socialism. Rebuilding the international organization devoted to this struggle, the Fourth International, is indispensable.—M.G. □

Capitalism

Seventeen miles high and falling splat

Reality slips away to find solitude in a whiskey bottle underneath the grime of the city's deathshroud.

Drunken bums and aristocrats clink their glasses and toast the new millenium of chaos and disorder,

Lit in the pink and purple glow of New York's upper lower east west side.

Today symbolizes the forgotten past of death and hunger that we pretend was swept away with liberal reforms by white knights on their democratic jackasses.

We celebrate the birth of an apocalyptic world with the blood of seven generations of innocent victims of capitalism's rampage of hatred, death and terror.

The four horsemen ride through devastated streets, killing, raping and squeezing every last dime out before running south of this or that border. — Tim James

Solidarity against U.S. corporations! ...

Continued from back page

the Bosnian independence movement. Fighting for independence for Kosovo, means fighting to get all U.S. forces out of Kosovo and the Balkans and to get all Serbian forces out of Kosovo.

Many opponents of the privileged labor bureaucracy in China, led by the Chinese Communist Party, which is working with Western capitalists to bring capitalism back to China, are opposing Clinton's trip to China, particularly his expressed willingness to go to Tianamen Square, where the Chinese Communist Party murdered dozens of youth and militants in favor of democracy. While U.S. corporations and the U.S. government claim to oppose the privileged dictatorial bureaucracies established in the old USSR, Eastern Europe, China and elsewhere, they have always been ready to work with these dictators, whenever it has suited

their business interests.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of all the struggles taking place throughout the world directly or indirectly against U.S. corporations, the U.S. government, and their allies.

Youth and workers in the U.S. who want to overcome the power of U.S. corporations and their government, need to support all working class and popular struggles against these forces. A united struggle its necessary to stop all U.S. sanctions against other countries, especially Cuba and Iraq, and to get all U.S. forces out of all foreign lands and waters, including Cuba, Panama, the Gulf, and the Balkans. Different working class, popular and socialist and communist groups should be working together to build a united fight to stop sanctions against Cuba and Iraq and to get all U.S. forces out of all foreign lands and waters. — F.R. □

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Solidarity against U.S. corporations!

Just as workers and the oppressed population in the United States have been involved in one struggle after another against U.S. corporations and their government, so workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world are fighting U.S. corporations, the U.S. government and their allies.

Cuba

The Cuban people are continuing their fight against the U.S. blockade against Cuba, which makes it very difficult for corporations to sell goods to the Cuban people and to travel to Cuba. U.S. corporations and Cuban capitalists imposed this blockade to retaliate against the Cuban people because they confiscated essential properties that had been owned by U.S. capitalists and Cuban capitalists. While Clinton ended some of the worst aspects of the blockade — it's now easier to send money to people in Cuba and to travel to Cuba under certain conditions —, Clinton is continuing the basic blockade.

Puerto Rican activists continue to fight for independence for Puerto Rico. The U.S. government aims to break-up the movement by persecuting activists. They have arrested and Jose Solis Jordan, an activist and professor at the University of Puerto Rico. They accuse him of bombing a military recruitment center in Chicago.

Workers in Mexico are fighting the privatization of basic industries and the effects of privatization — massive layoffs, unemployment, poverty, hunger, and illness. The privatization of basic industry in Mexico was dictated by U.S. corporations and other national and international corporations centered in Japan and Europe, which profit from being able to buy off these enterprises at bargain basement prices.

Workers and oppressed throughout the world are fighting the persecution of the people of Chiapas. The people of Chiapas rose up against the U.S. government, its allies in Mexico, and NAFTA, which allowed agribusiness to put Chiapas farmers who sell corn out of business. While the U.S. government claims that it is not involved in persecuting Chiapas, U.S. government officials visit Chiapas on a regular basis and activists see U.S. military equipment in Chiapas. Dozens of indigenous peoples have been killed in the last few weeks.

Panama

Activists in Panama are fighting to get U.S. bases out of Panama. While the U.S.



US delegation challenging sanctions.

government had agreed to get the bases out by the year 2000, it is going back on its promise. It is trying to maintain the bases under the pretext of using the bases as a center for fighting the drug trade. U.S. military bases in Panama have long been used as a jumping off point for U.S. military intervention — on behalf of U.S. corporations — throughout the hemisphere.

In Colombia, a bitter conflict is taking place between workers and the oppressed population and the ruling military dictatorship, linked to foreign corporations and foreign governments. While the U.S. government claims that it is not involved, again, under the pretext of fighting the drug trade, the U.S. government gives all forms of aid to the ruling military dictatorship. There is now talk of using very strong chemicals to kill coca leaves in areas controlled by rebels, which may result in long-term poisoning of the land and prohibit the people in these areas from being able to grow any crops on the land.

A movement continues to develop in Argentina in favor of punishing all the government and military officials responsible for the massive killing of youth and activists under the military dictatorship led by Videla in the 1970s. The U.S. government worked closely with this military dictatorship, and other military dictatorships in Chile, Bolivia and Brazil, again, in the interests of U.S. corporations and maintaining their profits in these areas.

Iraq

The people of Iraq continue to fight for the U.S. and the UN to stop their sanctions against Iraq. The U.S. bombing of Iraq and the U.S. sanctions against Iraq, done in the interests of U.S. and British oil corporations,

have already resulted in the death of thousands of Iraqis. When questioned about U.S. sanctions and the consequent death of at least a half a million Iraqi children, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said: "I think this is a very hard choice, but we think the price is worth it." A delegation of activists from the U.S. recently went to Iraq with medicines for the Iraqis in defiance of the sanctions. Since their return, they have been speaking throughout the U.S. against the sanctions.

On the 50th anniversary of the occupation of Palestine by Zionist forces, there were massive militant demonstrations. While the Israeli government, which receives millions in aid from the U.S. government, promised to withdraw from certain Palestinian lands, they are going back on this promise.

The people of India and Pakistan obviously feel the need to have nuclear weapons for one reason or another. Now that they have been testing them, the U.S. government is retaliating, imposing various kinds of economic sanctions against these countries. Why is it OK for the U.S. government, which is completely owned and controlled by the richest U.S. corporations, to have all kinds of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons at its disposal, but it's not OK for anyone else? All the workers who have been downsized by giant U.S. corporations know how much the owners of these corporations care about the workers and their children. Do we really want U.S. bosses to be the only ones on the planet with powerful weapons in their hands? What U.S. bosses want to do is to take the dictatorship that they have already established in workplaces in the U.S. and extend it throughout the world.

Kosovo

The people of Kosovo are fighting for independence against the Serbian government. They are fighting for this independence because the Serbian government won't even allow them to educate their children in their own language. The U.S. government is taking advantage of this situation; it claims to be for independence for Kosovo; it's sending aid to some organizations in Kosovo. But the U.S. government isn't going to allow Kosovo independence anymore than it allows Cuba or Puerto Rico independence. It's trying to use the independence movement to extend its military presence in the Balkans, just as it tried to use

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