

TRUTH



WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!

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ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

GENERAL STRIKE TO DEFEND THE MINERS!

On December 6th over 130,000 miners of the United Mineworkers of America will go on strike. The working class must not allow this strike to be defeated! It must be made into a turning point of the offensive of the entire American working class.

The coal companies have said what is at stake. Their chief negotiator has stated: "The question is, whether or not we will meet in good faith bargaining and together forge a contract that will permit us to grow together, or whether we will fail and therefore see the DECLINE AND POSSIBLE EXTINCTION of the United Mineworkers of America as a force in the national collective bargaining process."

A strike is the only way the miners can win their demands. But because of the cowardly policies of the UMW bureaucrats the miners face a lengthy strike under bad conditions for battle.

Today only 50% of coal is produced by union miners. Five years ago it was 70%. The companies have stockpiles for over four months. In Kentucky, striking miners have already been jailed and shot at by company goons. The bourgeois press has begun a hysterical redbaiting campaign against the militant miners.

The strike and the union is in danger. An offensive of the entire working class must insure victory.

The young miners are not just fighting for their trade union rights. They are fighting for the political rights of the entire working class.

The workers in the mines today are overwhelmingly Vietnam veterans who went into the mines after their experience in Vietnam. There they saw im-

perialist "democracy" in action.

Those who paid for this "democracy" with their lives and blood came home determined never again to let capitalism destroy their lives and their rights. They went into the mines fighting for THEIR DEMOCRACY--they threw out the corrupt, murderous Boyle regime in the UMW and have led hundreds of wildcat strikes in the last years to defend their rights in the coalfields.

This is where the real struggle for democracy is taking place today. Not in the courts, in the Congresses or legislatures. But in the mines, in the factories and the union halls. A political struggle to save this country. Not for capitalism, but for the working class and oppressed.

This struggle needs leadership. A revolutionary leadership.

Time and time again the fight of the young miners has been led to a dead-end or betrayed by their present leadership. The reformist leadership of Arnold Miller and Harry Patrick, supported by the Stalinists and centrists.

To forge this revolutionary leadership and to launch an offensive to win freedom for the entire working class, the Trotskyist Organization of the US, Supporters of the Fourth International calls the American working class to a GENERAL STRIKE TO DEFEND THE MINERS!

The auto workers, steelworkers, teamsters and all workers must insure victory for the miners. Victory that can be won by a GENERAL STRIKE TO LAUNCH A POLITICAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE CARTER REGIME! An offensive against the economic plan of unemployment and "energy crisis" of the Carter government.



An offensive for the government of workers freedom. A WORKERS GOVERNMENT, the product of factory committees and workers councils.

We are not talking about "solidarity" with the miners. Today it is very "chic" in liberal and centrist circles to "sympathize" with the miners and romanticize their fight. The miners don't need canned goods.

They need a revolutionary policy and leadership. This is the fight to build the Fourth International in the US. Join the party of Lenin and Trotsky. Join the fight of the Trotskyist Organization of the US in building the general strike to win victory for the miners.

And victory for the entire working class.
December 1, 1977

TRUTH

Support American delegation to World Conference of auto and steel workers! Paris— December 17!



THANKS FOR SUPPORT

Daily World.

Dear Friends:

I want to thank you for your expression in support of my stand against deregulating the price of natural gas . . .

Hearing from so many people who shared your views convinced me that the fight to protect the public interest will not end, even with the passage of energy legislation by this Congress. Public understanding is extremely important, and public expression of views even more crucial if we are to have an energy policy that really meets the needs of people in this country.

Again, I really appreciate your support.

JAMES ABOUREZK, United States Senator

American workers won't settle for "peanuts" but CP is quite proud of "thanks" from US Senator

ued mobilization to the working class. And when Carter shakes, the CP bows.

Its more and more open appeals to support the Democratic Party, its open appeals to the US Congress and the Congressional Black Caucus, the election of such frauds as Coleman Young and Ken Cockrel thanks to their support in Detroit, their assertions that now even their fake "anti-monopoly people's party" is something for the "distant future" means only one thing.

It means that the revolution is getting closer and closer in the US. Because with the approaching revolution, the forces of the counter-revolution, led by the Stalinists in the workers movement, deepen their treachery. It means indeed, that the workers aren't "pigeons" any more and that a last-ditch effort must be made to save the Democratic Party.

In his "Greetings" Hall writes: "the people must strengthen their struggle for democracy." Yes indeed, But WORKERS DEMOCRACY, not the "democracy" of Carter, not the "democracy" of "left and center unity." When Stalinists and Baptist preachers start talking about democracy at the

PEOPLE AREN'T PIGEONS...

The treachery of the American Communist Party

By JON COHEN

In a recent article in the DAILY WORLD, the newspaper of the Stalinist American Communist Party the essence of the class collaborationist policy of the American CP was explained in an article entitled "People Aren't Pigeons."

It tried to explain how the American working class was no longer simply eating the peanuts thrown to them by the Democratic and Republican Parties. But the article proved, as does the entire history and present policy of the CP, that Jimmy Carter isn't the only one trying to make the working class settle for "peanuts." The American CP has been treating the working class like pigeons for years.

In fact, the fight is one and the same. Jimmy Carter and his fraud of "human rights" cannot be exposed by the working class for what it really is, bourgeois democracy will not be replaced with WORKERS DEMOCRACY, without a confrontation with American Stalinism.

It would be an illusion to think that Stalinism has no great significance in the United States. Because the American CP is not very large, especially in comparison to the mass Communist Parties in Western Europe, there are those who think that its role in the class struggle in the US is not very great. "So what--they support the Democratic Party--what difference does this make anyway?"

It makes a big difference. Stalinism is not a national phenomenon. Its role in the workers movement cannot be understood by looking at it merely in a national framework, trying to figure out which Communist Party is more "progressive" or most "distant" from the Kremlin.

AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Stalinism is international, controlled and led by the bureaucracy in the Kremlin, with a common international policy. Their policy is the SAME IN EVERY COUNTRY. A policy of the maintenance of capitalism and the dictatorships of the Kremlin, a policy of loyal service to the imperialist counter-revolution throughout the world.

This gives their support to the Democratic Party real meaning. It is not a national characteristic but is part and parcel of the INTERNATIONAL role of Stalinism which is the same throughout the world-- the chief agent of the counter-revolution inside the workers movement.

It is this which makes the American CP a major obstacle for revolutionary workers leading the fight against the Carter regime. Not because of its relative size, not because of the number of workers it has or doesn't have, the number of unions it is in, or anything like that. But because, as the US representative of INTERNATIONAL STALINISM, the American CP brings the full weight of the imperialist counter-revolution into every workers mobilization they touch.

It is also an illusion to believe that there is any fundamental difference between the policies of the American CP and the so-called "Euro-Communist" Parties in Western Europe-- like the Spanish, French and Italian CPs. Their "differences" are only differences over how to fool their working classes.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

This brings us to the importance of the fight to build the Fourth International in the US. For similar reasons, the importance of our fight has nothing to do with our relative size or number of militants.

There can be and is only ONE international program and party that can fight Stalinism. This is the program of the Fourth International, founded in order to wage a fight to the finish, party against party, with Stalinism for the leadership of the working class.

Our fight in the US represents this fundamental battle-- the policy and program of the world socialist revolution, the program of Workers Democracy vs. the policy of the counter-revolution, the policy of the last-ditch defense of bourgeois democracy.

The Fourth International vs. Stalinism. Everyone in the workers movement eventually falls into one of these two camps. This is the significance of our party.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY-- DOES IT MATTER?

The Democratic Party is the MEANS THROUGH WHICH THE RULING CLASS KEEPS ITS GRIP ON THE WORKERS. The role of Stalinism is not just dangerous because they occasionally support this or that Democratic Party candidate.

That would be bad enough. But the fact is that it is the American CP which is above all responsible, not for just supporting candidates of the DP, but for KEEPING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

ALIVE in the face of the mobilization and hostility of the working class.

It is not an accident. It is not an occasional lapse into opportunism. But support to the Democratic Party by the Stalinists is the STRATEGY for the continued existence of capitalism in the US, for the maintenance of bourgeois democracy against the aspirations of the working class for their real freedom.

How does the CP describe this strategy of keeping capitalism alive? They call it the "left and center unity," or the "liberal-labor-black alliance," the "broad alternative" and once in a while, the "anti-monopoly people's coalition." All code words for betrayal.

In his "New Years Greetings" to subscribers of the DAILY WORLD, Gus Hall, their General Secretary writes: "A framework has begun to reemerge this year, after the absence of a generation... That is the framework of left and center unity... Left and center unity is fundamental to a labor movement reunited on a program of struggle."

We know who the "lefts" are -- the Stalinists. But who is this "center," who represents the mainstream of the movement for the liberation of the working class?

None other than the liberals in the Democratic Party. Who have done NOTHING and will NEVER do anything for the liberation of the working class. This "framework" has begun to "re-emerge" from the slime of Stalinist policy for one reason and one reason alone -- to block the break of the American working class from the Democratic Party and to give Carter more time to prepare repression against the workers.

The CP writes: "It should be remembered that progressive black Congressmen like John Conyers and Ron Dellums, while taking advanced positions and increasingly associating themselves with independent forces, still feel it necessary to use the Democratic Party locally as a political vehicle."

Of course they "still want to use the Democratic Party locally." ! and nationally. Because these Congressmen have no interest at all in the independent fight of the working class. Of what "use" is the Democratic Party? It has only one "use" -- to trap and derail the fight of the working class for its independence.

The Communist Party has deepened its alliance with the Democratic Party in the last months because the Carter regime has been shaken by the contin-

same time, keep your hands on your wallet!

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE CENTRISTS TOO.

We have said many times how the policy of the centrists, above all the SWP, differs in no fundamental way from that of the Stalinists. The only difference is that they use the name of the Fourth International to do it. We plan to take this "human right" away from them-- their theft of the banner of the workers revolution.

Today the SWP and CP act like organizational rivals. Many militants of the SWP are still under the illusion that there is some fundamental difference between them. But take a look at Spain, comrades of the SWP-- this is the handwriting on your wall.

A year ago, in response to "Euro-Communism" the SWP called on the American CP to be "more like its brothers and sisters in Europe." In Spain today the "brothers and sisters" of the SWP, the Spanish LCR, were just invited by the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party to attend its Congresses in Catalonia and Euzkadi-- Congresses where 30% in Catalonia and 13% in Euzkadi either voted against or abstained on the resolutions presented by the leadership! Who is giving who a left cover comrades?

This is the Spanish CP led by Carrillo who just scabbed on the Yale workers. This is the CP whose member, Ramon Mercader, murdered Leon Trotsky. The CP which drowned the Spanish revolution in blood and signed the Moncloa Pact with the fascists. What kind of "Trotskyist" would belong at its Congress?

Read the handwriting on the wall, comrades of the SWP. Your leadership will move closer and closer to the CP. Not because they like each other. But because they have the same enemy -- the Fourth International and the vanguard of the American working class.

The fight against Stalinism and the fight against centrism is one and the same. The fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International by politically destroying the centrist supporters of Stalinism in the US is a task in the preparation of the American revolution and the regroupment of the vanguard of the working class in the construction of its party, the Fourth International.

December 1, 1977

SUPPORT ENTRY OF WORKERS COMMISSION INTO POLAND!

The new upsurge of the working class and youth in Eastern Europe has deepened in the last weeks. Word has just reached the West about a massive strike and insurrection of 30,000 miners in Rumania. In East Germany, a national holiday was transformed into a riot by youth who ran through the streets crying: "Down with the political police! Bring Back Biermann!" (Biermann is a singer opposed to the Stalinist bureaucracy forced into exile in West Germany.)

In Lithuania a soccer game was transformed into a massive demonstration for the right of self-determination of the nations under Russian domination.

And in Poland the miners in Silesia just finished a massive strike against the Gierek government.

All of this makes it even more urgent to deepen our fight against Stalinist repression, in particular through our campaign for an International Commission of Inquiry of the Workers Movement to go into Poland and demand the punishment of those responsible for the repression of the General Strike of June 1976.

Here we are printing portions of the CALL TO SUPPORT THE ENTRY OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO POLAND made by the International Bureau of the Revolutionary Youth International and supported by trade unionists in France and Spain.

The CGT is the trade union in France controlled by the French Communist Party, the CFDT, the Social Democrats. FEN is a student union. In Spain, the UGT is a trade union controlled by the Socialist Party, the CCOO stands for the Workers Commissions, controlled by the Spanish Communist Party.

We are certain that American workers will soon add their names to this Call and take up this fight in their unions.

We:
Jean-Luc Lament, militant of the CGT (PTT France); Jose Abderanman, militant of the CFDT (France), Christian Delair, militant of the FEN (SNES France), Angel Cortes, militant of the UGT (Spain), Alfonso Ortiz, militant of the CCOO (construction), Nuria Marti, militant of the CCOO (metal) and Jesus M^a Rodriguez Mesa, militant of the CCOO (Iberia)

Call our trade unions, all of its sections all workers and youth to demand the entry of the International Commission of Inquiry of the Workers Movement against Repression in Poland....

This Commission of Inquiry was founded in June 1977 as the result of a meeting in Paris convoked by the International Workers Committee Against Repression in the USSR and Eastern Europe, by the Revolutionary Youth International and the Fourth International.

Since the General Strike of June 1976 in Poland against the rise in prices, repression has been the only response of the Gierek government.

In effect, since 1976, unjust firings, arrests, including assassinations presented as suicides (as that of the student, Stanislas Pyjas) have continued to fall on the workers.

The repression has also accelerated in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the USSR itself.

It is necessary to demand the entry of the International Commission of Inquiry of the Workers Movement into Poland!

-- To Explain the Truth About the Phony Trials and Unjust Firings!
-- To Unmask Those Responsible for the Anti-Working Class Repression!
-- Stop the Repression!
-- Support the Struggle of the Polish Workers!
-- PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE!

It concerns us, workers in the capitalist countries, that it is in the name of socialism, in the name of the working class, that this government carries out its repression and it claims the right to "give amnesty" to our class brothers, "guilty of striking"!

In concerns us who are fighting for the emancipation of the workers that in the name of this struggle Gierek keeps the Polish workers in chains!

In concerns us because in Poland the struggle continues. The miners have gone on strike and THEIR STRUGGLE IS OUR STRUGGLE. It is the struggle for a society where the democracy will be that of the workers.

Look how the liberals and bourgeois democrats shed their crocodile tears over the repression in Eastern Europe. They use this repression to suppress and hide our struggle.

Only the mobilization of the working class can stop this repression. Those who have looked to the Belgrade Conference can now see that it is where the repression is organized.

The unions, the arm of the workers for their freedom, must clear up the image of socialism.

The Commission of Inquiry must represent the broadest possible sectors of the international workers movement.

All unions must take part in it! All working class parties and organizations must do so as well!

We call on all workers in every local, federation, etc. to elect their representatives.

Trade unionists, workers and youth: support this Call, sign it, take up its fight!

FOR THE ENTRY INTO POLAND OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AGAINST REPRESSION.
December 1, 1977



Russian women march in Petrograd, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party

SWP for women's equality -- Jimmy Carter style

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The "raging controversy" over the Equal Rights Amendment which has been going on for years got a new lease on life after the National Women's Conference which met in Houston recently to vote on a "National Plan of Action" to insure passage of the ERA.

This "controversy" which at times dips to the level of whether or not men and women will still have separate toilets if it is passed should really be called a "raging confusion." That is the intention; to disorganize and confuse the working class struggles for equality taking place in the coalfields, unions, factories and offices to canalize this struggle into hopeless reform movements and support for the Democratic Party.

This Conference was funded and sponsored by the US government, the chief perpetrator of the oppression of women, not to mention the entire working class. It was run by well-known henchpersons like Ms. Bella Abzug who wants to be Mayor of New York. When she ran for Mayor she didn't talk about how to liberate women but how to find better ways of using the National Guard against "violence." Abzug has gotten a lot of coverage and "criticism" from right-wing elements in government to represent her as a leftist.

The same ruling class party that has traditionally posed as the "friend of labor," Martin Luther King's party for "civil rights" which presented Carter and his "human rights" now presents Ms. Abzug as a flaming feminist out to change all that is bad about the Democratic Party as though the simple fact of being a woman can make this so.

The scheme of the bourgeoisie to maintain control over the working class by passing itself off as the great defender of mankind via Carter's "human rights" campaign against "totalitarianism" and for the American way needs its Bella Abzug and its Commission on women to keep the working class movement divided and confused.

We can expect this kind of activity from the bourgeoisie but what is not nearly so apparent to the working class

is the participation of the Socialist Workers Party in the affair in Houston. After all, what is a "socialist" organization doing with Bella Abzug? For the purpose of reinforcing the National Conference of Women from the left, the Socialist Workers Party portrays it as an "historic" event for women in their paper the MILITANT (Dec. 2, 1977). "For the first time" gushes the MILITANT, "millions heard and saw on television women's issues, women's history and the women's movement."

As though the struggle of the working class must be organized by sex, sexual preference and race, each of these movements independent of the others in order to achieve Equal Rights, all the while not touching the basis of the exploitative social order which thrives on the divisions, indeed creates these divisions in the working class. See how the MILITANT praises the Conference as an advance towards socialism? "A nation-wide audience witnessed the Conference go on record against the anti-woman policies of the very government sponsoring the event."

In the Third International, Lenin made it very clear that in the first place working class women could not be organized around the bourgeois feminists, and that women can not simply be organized as women to arrive at strong democratic workers organizations capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. There are no separate "women's issues", the "issues" before working class women are the issues to be taken up by the whole working class.

But what is this to the leadership of the SWP who are plunging ever deeper into class collaboration and attempting to disorganize the working class on the way by confusing the whole content of the struggle for equality on the part of women, who make up over half of the working class, transforming it into a struggle for an amendment to the bourgeois Constitution, for "better" bourgeois Congresswomen, Mayors, etc. and ultimately for a "better" Democratic Party.

But the government rapidly reaches

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4



SWP

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an impasse. The US government and the Democratic Party is in crisis and the SWP, the Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy they uphold are in crisis. They are losing their grip on the workers and youth.

To young worker militants today, the charades in Houston, the so-called "Abzugate" has no real meaning. This Conference was not a "historic" event to them. It is a bad replay of the "women's movement" of the 60's, or rather of its fatal outcome-- open siding with the bourgeoisie on the part of an organization which claims to be revolutionary, the SWP.

If such Conferences have anything to do with the revolution, then the youth of today who want to fight and know the struggle must involve more than playing games with Bella Abzug or discussing toilets, want no part of it. This is the "service" the SWP does for the workers and youth. It attempts to show them the futility of struggling as part of their class to overthrow the bourgeoisie and turns them away in disgust from "revolutionary politics" as presented by the SWP.

Rather than being the "high point" of the last years of "struggle" on the part of the so-called "women's movement," the Houston Conference was a LOW POINT of open, undiluted class collaboration which undermines the organization of the most oppressed sectors of the working class into the preparations for revolution.

If the SWP has succeeded in convincing a single militant that the Houston Conference is a step towards socialism, they have undermined the fight of the working class for its own government. Rather than being a question of for or against the ERA, it's a question of being for or against the coming workers revolution.

The whole point of the SWP's participation in the Conference is to placate a nervous bourgeoisie and make them see they have nothing to fear from a workers organization which claims to be "Trotskyist." But young women militants will never be satisfied with Conferences on Women run by the DP.

They need to build their own REVOLUTIONARY organization as part of the whole working class rather than witness the betrayal of the working class on TV for millions to see. Young women will increasingly come forward as the overall offensive of the working class deepens in the preparation of the revolution and the destruction of the parties of its class enemy.

YOUNG WOMEN, YOUR PLACE IS IN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! DOWN WITH THE SWP'S "HUMAN RIGHTS"!

December 1, 1977

CALL OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH TO YOUNG AUTO & STEEL WORKERS

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND AGAINST STALINISM, FOR A SOCIALIST EUROPE OF WORKERS COUNCILS, TO BUILD THE WORLD PARTY OF THE WORKERS

DECEMBER 17-18, in Paris, France:

ALL OUT TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF YOUNG METALWORKERS FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Comrades,

The Revolutionary Youth International addresses you, young workers at SEAT in Barcelona, Renault and Usinor in France, the Ford factories in the USA, Ursus and Radom in Poland, young workers from East and West Europe and the entire world.

It calls you to rally your forces beyond the borders of your exploiters and oppressors in order to finish with their order through the International Socialist Revolution.

The Revolutionary Youth International addresses itself to you, young auto and steel workers, because it is the determination and clarity with which the workers of your factories take up this road, that of the emancipation of the working class, and the only road which can answer your aspirations, that will decide the fate of the struggle that millions of workers and yourselves have led from one corner of Europe to another and throughout the world.

Comrades,

More than ever the regimes hated by the working class are threatened by this struggle.

In Spain as in Portugal, in Italy as in France, the crisis of capitalism and its resulting unemployment and layoffs, super-exploitation and misery, show each day that its survival is incompatible with that of the working class and the youth.

In Poland as in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary and Rumania as in East Germany and the USSR itself, the repression which attacks the struggle of the workers, youth and intellectuals shows that the police regime of the inheritors of Stalin, the usurpers of workers power, is incompatible with the freedom of the working class and with the maintenance of its conquests.

For this repression, comrades, is only the reverse side of the begging of Brezhnev, Gierek and Kadar in front of Carter and the international bourgeoisie, of their "peaceful coexistence" worked out in Helsinki and now at Belgrade against the threat of the workers revolution, imminent in Europe.

In Barcelona, Madrid, Lisbon, the workers have gone into the streets a thousand times, by the hundreds of thousands. They have swept out of the factories and demonstrated.

The governments of Barre and Andreotti are mortal enemies to every worker and youth.

A year after the workers of Ursus and Radom; the miners of Silesia and Rumania have gone on strike, the revolt of the youth has gone into the streets of East Berlin.

You know this comrades, because it is in your factories that the majority of these struggles have begun, that the roughest fights have taken place.



But, these struggles still lack a perspective capable of uniting them and orienting them clearly on the road of the revolution, to lead them to victory: that of the destruction of the capitalist states and the regimes of terror of the Stalinist bureaucracy, that of the conquest of power by the working class organized in its Councils, like those who were organized, 60 years ago, in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, who led the victory in Russia: the perspective of the fraternal union of the workers of the East and the West, that of the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, begun by the Red October of the Soviets, and more than ever a burning necessity.

Young workers!

Nothing is more urgent and necessary than rallying and organizing around this revolutionary objective.

Because, comrades, if the successive revolts of the Spanish workers have not been able to overthrow the Francoist monarchy of Juan Carlos, if the working class anger has not yet swept away the Gaullist 5th Republic and the shaking Christian-Democratic regime in Italy; if Brezhnev still reigns in the Kremlin; if it is because each offensive of the working class has been divided, isolated and betrayed by the chiefs of the parties that are called "communist" and "socialist" and which in reality merit no other name than that of Stalinist and reformist.

The Suarez government in Spain is so weak in face of you that it needs a shameful pact with Carrillo and Gonzalez in order to layoff, and imprison workers and youth and save the police and army of Franco!

Berlinguer gives you the benefits of unemployment and growing up in misery!

Look at Marchais and Mitterand in France! They are divided, not over the

best way to defend you, but over the best way to save the hated power of Capital over you: to go into the government in order to block the road of the workers to the Revolution, or to allow the bourgeoisie to govern for fear of being overwhelmed by the mobilization of the workers.

Comrades,

You should know that they are all lying to you when they say that these "leaders" have changed, that they have become "Euro-Communists" or "democrats."

When they "protest" against the repression in Eastern Europe, it is because they feel your just indignation. But it is above all to tell you: "Here is the dictatorship of the proletariat! Never again a revolution like that of October! Lie down in front of your exploiters!"

It is in order to say to you, Polish, Hungarian or Russian comrades: "Keep your chains on for now! Tomorrow, your hangmen will offer you freedom!"

The Revolutionary Youth International addresses you, young militants of the Workers Commission of Spain who have cried out, full of rage "Down with Moncloa Pact!", to you, young workers, like those of IG-Metal in Germany or in the English trade unions, each day more numerous and more determined in all countries, you refuse to be the victims of the crisis of capitalism, and you are going against the corrupt leaders of the workers movement. The RYI addresses you, young communists and socialists -- your leaders can only offer you submission and servitude.

For this revolt and rage that you feel; dispersed and without a perspective, in no way is it enough for the advance and victory of the working class which is today at stake. From the "Popular Fronts" to Chile, the history of Stalinism and Social Democracy is paved with

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL WORKERS



Factory Councils in the "Workers Cortes," in order to organize the revolutionary uprising of the workers to bring down the Francoist monarchy and install a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT.

For it is only through this mobilization that your desire to finish with Francoism and win your freedom, that your just rage against the treason of the opportunist leaders can find a revolutionary solution. It is only in this mobilization for the power of the Workers Councils -- young militants of the CNT, that your union can become a real arm of the working class revolution; and this against the cowardice of the anarchist leaders whose "abstention" in front of all the problems of the workers participates in the counter-revolutionary pact of Carrillo and Gonzalez with the monarchy.

In France, where the Revolutionary Young Workers calls you to engage the struggle for the Workers Government, fighting to impose working class solutions to the crisis: workers control of production through the formation of Factory Committees and their centralization in the face of the capitalist state in order to take power into their hands. It is this perspective, the only one which can forge the unity of the working class, that the JOR calls you to develop in your factories and unions, supporting with the RYI the candidates of the Fourth International in the next legislative elections, in the face of the division organized by the leaders of the French CP and SP and in the face of the "Common Program" of maintenance of the Gaullist Republic.

In the USA, where the final fate of the revolution which is knocking at the door in Europe will be played. Because the conquest of your dignity and equality, trampled by the imperialist bourgeoisie,

can only be conquered, young American workers, in the struggle to impose the Government of the Workers alongside your brothers in Europe, Latin America and the entire world.

Young Russian workers and workers in Eastern Europe!

The fate of the struggle which is shaking your oppressors, the fate of your combat for a worthy life and for your freedoms, is nothing other than the political revolution, the reconquest of power by the Councils of the working class. The alliance that gets closer and closer each day between the Stalinist bureaucracy and its capitalist masters, unequivocally shows you that this combat can only be victorious if it is led consciously and together with the workers and youth of Western Europe around the sole objective that can forge your revolutionary unity: the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

Young workers of the entire world!

It is in order to forge this unity that the Revolutionary Youth International has engaged a campaign for the formation of a COMMISSION OF INQUIRY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT AGAINST THE REPRESSION IN POLAND where the struggle of the working class in Eastern Europe has gone the furthest. This Commission was constituted, a year after the General Strike of June 1976, last June 24th in Paris. Today, the Revolutionary Youth International calls you to mobilize in your workplaces and first of all in your trade union organizations in order to enlarge this Commission with your representatives and to obtain its FREE ENTRY INTO POLAND in order to place ALL THE LIGHT ON THE RE-

PRESSION and to demand the PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE which the lying amnesty of Gierek wishes to protest from the rage of the workers.

For you also, comrades, the struggle to bring down the Stalinist bureaucracy is totally linked to your fight for Socialism, for it is its treason and that of its parties which is set up in front of Socialism as its principal obstacle.

Young auto and steel workers from East and West!

It is to rally the revolutionary forces, who, in your factories must be at the head of the revolution which is growing throughout Europe and the whole world, to unify them in this struggle to build the World Party of the workers, the Fourth International, that the Revolutionary Youth International calls you to massively participate in the WORLD CONFERENCE OF YOUNG METAL WORKERS FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, to take up this Call in your assemblies and trade unions to elect your delegates to the conference and to join our fight.

COMRADES!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

DECEMBER 17 - 18!

ALL OUT TO PARIS!

JOIN OUR RANKS
FOR THE REVOLUTION!

FORWARD!

The Young Metalworkers Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe — AN OBJECTIVE FOR THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

workers defeats. They are not preparing anything else but this today.

It is necessary to sweep away this gangrene forever from the workers movement!

The Revolutionary Youth International which fights under the banner of the Fourth International of Trotsky, says to you, young workers and revolutionary militants, that more than ever the task of the proletarian youth is that of mobilizing and organizing independently in the face of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism to build the new World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

RETURN TO LENIN!

Distrust all those who, even in the name of the Fourth International, like the Lamberts, Krivines, the Hansens and cohorts, call you to expect from the Stalinists and reformists something besides new betrayals!

Distrust all those who tell you that the working class is asleep and that it is necessary to wake it up through individual terrorism or a thousand other forms of revolt outside of the struggle in your factories and unions!

Turning their back on the proletariat or attaching to its treacherous leaders: all these types of people in the end say that it is not for you to take your future in your own hands!

Young auto and steel workers!

The Revolutionary Youth International calls you to prepare the revolution in your country with us, under the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe and the World Republic of Workers Councils.

In Spain, where the Revolutionary Youth are fighting for the election and centralization of the Committees and

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The mobilization in the United States for the World Conference of Metal Workers of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) has reached an important point. Many workers at the Ford Torrence plant in Chicago, and the Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit, have joined in the struggle for WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS, to win the UNIONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS, REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER, the newspaper of the US (supporting) section of the RYI, has again appeared at the factory gates, produced by young workers with answers to their specific problems and preoccupations.

These gains are important steps in building the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States among young auto and steel workers. In order to go forward we address this article to make clear the political lessons we and the young workers have learned in this mobilization, and to go forward with the preparation of the World Conference of Metal Workers for the Socialist United States of Europe.

TURN THE UNIONS INTO WEAPONS
OF THE WORKERS

Among the working class youth in the factories, the union is often seen as merely one more burden on their backs, to be ranked along with schools, church, cops, and work itself. From the assembly lines and shop floors, its hard to tell the difference between the union representatives and the labor relations people. But looking at the unions from the angle of the class struggle its a different matter.

All over the world, the workers began with their unions. In Europe, they went even further and built mass political parties of the working class to fight for a socialist revolution. In Russia they established their own government. True, this government today is anything but a WORKERS GOVERNMENT, but like the unions, they still stand as conquests of the workers themselves.

But in the United States, the only mass organizations of the working class are the unions. With all their faults, the unions were paid for with the blood of the working class and the fight to

reclaim them from the stranglehold of the opportunist trade union bureaucracy is an integral part of the preparation of the revolution in the US.

The UAW is a perfect example of the both the potential POWER that the unions hold for the working class, and on the other hand, the powerlessness of the trade unions in the grip of the OPPORTUNIST trade union bureaucracy. OPPORTUNISM is Leonard Woodcock

using the opportunity of the presidential elections of 1976 to confuse the workers and hold back their powerful series of wildcats and strikes. Woodcock got out the vote for Jimmy Carter, and Carter promised to make capitalism look more respectable. Yet even in the face of the horrible lies and maneuvers that the UAW bureaucracy has pulled on the auto workers the workers have fought on.

In 1970 there was the General Motors national strike. In 1972, the wildcats at Lordstown and Norwood over speedup. In 1973, in Detroit, sitdown strikes and factory occupations -- at Mack Ave., Jefferson, and others. And last year,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

A reply to the Workers League --- WHO IS HELPED BY SLANDER?

By JON COHEN

In the November 4th issue of TRUTH we responded to the brutal murder of Tom Henehan, a member of the Political Committee of the Workers League and a leader of the Young Socialists. The Workers League is an organization in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, one of the confusionist centers which falsely claims the banner of the Fourth International.

This murder was an attack on the entire working class movement in the US. In no way can the working class be silent in the face of a murder of a leader of a working class organization or accept the claims of the bourgeois press and the police that "this was just another senseless killing." The working class and in particular, the Fourth International, has known too many "senseless killings."

The working class and its organizations must see that the killers are exposed and punished. It must be part of a campaign to defend the Workers League and all working class organizations from such attacks and expose the counter-revolutionary plots of the US bourgeoisie against the working class and its organizations. We are willing to take part in such a campaign.

We also continue to condemn the now-criminal silence of the Socialist Workers Party and the other pseudo-Trotskyist Organizations in the US. The SWP found time to send a letter of condolence to Kennedy's widow in 1963 and finds time today to fill the pages of its press with all the liberal defense cases, but can find no room or time to explain the murder of a leading member of an organization whose origin is traced to their party, which took place just minutes away from their National Office!

Why this behavior? Because its leadership are cowards, concerned not with the defense of the vanguard of the working class and its organizations, but with proving to the US bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus that they are the "good" Trotskyists.

"Good" Trotskyists who turned over to the US government a list of the expelled members of the Mandel faction to show the bourgeoisie it had eliminated the "terrorists" in their organization. "Good" Trotskyists who stood in silence last year at Ford River Rouge as a gang of Maoists attacked members of our party. "Good" Trotskyists who say nothing about the repression against our party in Spain.

It is not that anyone wants their condolences or defense. But their attitude towards us, the Workers League and other organizations of the workers is a warning to any revolutionary worker-- expect nothing from these "respectable" Trotskyists.

There is no excuse for this. But unfortunately, the Workers League and the International Committee gives the SWP leadership a hole to crawl into, a way to explain their criminal silence to their militants.

In place of waging a political combat against the SWP, the International Committee has substituted a campaign of slander against the leadership of the SWP, namely that Joseph Hansen and George Novack are "accomplices of the

GPU (Soviet secret police)."

The Fourth International has condemned this campaign of unproven, and therefore slanderous accusations against Hansen and Novack. It is not because we have any political interest in defending Hansen, but because we recognize that slander can serve only one purpose in the workers movement --to aid Stalinism, the mortal enemy of the Fourth International.

We defend nothing about Hansen's politics. But he doesn't have to be an agent of the GPU to earn the contempt of every class conscious worker. Nor do we defend Hansen's method of fighting slander-- which is to throw back at the International Committee slander and gossip of his own.

For Hansen is a slanderer as well. He, and the SWP stand in complicit support of the campaign of slander and physical violence of the Lambert leadership of the French OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International. It was Hansen who invited this gangster to the infamous meeting in London to condemn the International Committee, a regroupment of sworn enemies of the Fourth International.

The International Committee gives the Lamberts, Hansens, Mandels, and Wohlforths legitimacy through their campaign of slander. And, since its original statement in defense of Michel Varga in 1974 (See WHITE PAPER, French Edition, pages 21-29) the International Committee and its sections has maintained a total silence on the campaign of Stalinist slanders against our party.

If the International Committee is so concerned with fighting Stalinism and its influence why do they maintain a total silence on the Stalinist provocations against a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956?

It is because this slander of the International Committee represents a POLITICAL position, there is nothing accidental about it, just as there is nothing accidental about Lambert's campaign against us. It is a policy flowing from their abandonment of the fight to rebuild the Fourth International in 1972, their abandonment of the fight to build a mass Revolutionary Youth International begun in Essen in 1970.

They abandoned the political fight against Pabloism, against Hansen and Mandel and thus the political fight against Stalinism.

The campaign against Hansen reflects this political position. The SAME political position that they share with Hansen, Lambert and all centrists. That the founding of the Fourth International was premature, the fight with Pabloism in 1952 was of no great significance, the balance sheet of the International Committee since 1963 was zero-- it is impossible to build a real Fourth International today.

The campaign of slanders seeks to serve the same purpose as Lambert's-- to hide from their militants the positive history of the International Committee as the continuity of the Fourth International until 1972.

By trying to make workers believe that the Fourth International and

L'Organisation Communiste Internationaliste
de France
mène une campagne de calomnies
contre Michel Varga
et la Quatrième Internationale

LIVRE
BLANC

des travaux de la
Commission d'Enquête

The WHITE PAPER cover

Supplément à - La Quatrième Internationale - n°55

Above is a copy of the cover of the French Edition of the WHITE PAPER. The entire WHITE PAPER is over 250 pages, covering some 150 documents. The French Edition can be obtained by sending \$5 or 25 Francs to: La Quatrième Internationale, 6, Impasse Poule, Paris, 75020, France.

Trotsky were surrounded by spies and agents, the slanders of the International Committee logically lead one to assume, if they don't openly say it, that the Fourth International was defeated by Stalinism, the GPU and Pabloism and that there is nothing to be done today.

The slanders hide what the IC does not want to say openly-- that they have renounced forever the rebuilding of the Fourth International and its continuity today.

Comrades of the Workers League-- the real "security" of the international working class against Stalinism is the construction of a democratic centralist Fourth International, based on its founding Program to destroy Stalinism and lead the working class to victory. The Fourth International was not destroyed by the GPU or by Hansen and Novack. It exists and fights today.

The Revolutionary Youth International exists and fights today as well-- it rallied 500 working class youth from all over the world in Barcelona last June. They marched to the Modelo Prison to free the political prisoners and boycott the phony Cortes while your comrades were telling the Spanish working class to vote for the political party, the CP,

whose member, Ramon Mercader, murdered Trotsky. Some combat against Stalinism and the GPU.

No, comrades, we will not sit on your international commission of inquiry with Santiago Carrillo who you have called to present his "evidence" concerning Trotsky's assassination! Our banner and policy is foreign to slanders.

Our desire to participate in the fight to avenge the murder of Tom Henehan is sincere-- but neither the Fourth International or the Workers League can be defended through the methods of Stalinism.

We call on sincere militants of the Workers League and Young Socialists to break with this slander and reject the policy behind it-- that Stalinism and Pabloism destroyed the Fourth International and it no longer fights today. You are not hurting Hansen or the SWP through this campaign. They have thought the FI was a pile of dirt since 1963.

You are hurting all since workers and revolutionary militants around the world who see in the banner of the Fourth International their coming victory.

November 30, 1977

The young metalworkers conference

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

the wildcats during the auto contract round, followed by the heat walkouts this summer.

In every case these struggles were betrayed because the so-called "revolutionary" leadership of the workers gave the trade union bureaucracy a false "progressive" role. They substituted pressure tactics, or plain outright capitulation, for a revolutionary struggle for Workers Democracy, for the destruction of the bureaucracy and the return of the unions to the hands of the workers.

The Communist Party USA has great influence in the bureaucracy itself, not to mention members in the leadership of the UAW. Yet, like Woodcock it calls for a "progressive" alliance of Democrats, trade union leaders and the workers. Like their mentors in the Kremlin, their policy is one of "peaceful co-existence" with capitalism, and the misleaders who support it in the unions.

The Socialist Workers Party, a centrist party which claims to be Trotskyist, saw the unions as a sideline to the fight for revolution until very recently. Now, after the autoworkers have proved differently over the last decade, the SWP warms up to the equivalents of Jimmy Carter in the unions -- Harry Patrick of the UAW, and Ed Sadlowski of the USW. In the UAW they look for coalitions of Maoists, Stalinists, and trade union reformists to join.

Thus, the struggle to actually throw out the friends of the capitalists in the unions, whether it be its reformist or conservative wing, is a line of demarcation between those who want to fight for the working class and those who are looking for a home with the opportunists.

And there is another reason why the unions are so important to the revolution. It's because the workers themselves have begun the fight to reclaim them. The RWY and TO has been in the forefront of leading this battle in the UAW with the Revolutionary Workers Faction. More and more we have seen the opportunists of all shades paying lip service to the need to "reform" the unions. Even the ruling class, led by Carter, has taken a stab at appearing more "democratic." How can we define the real working class wing of the unions, how can we judge the various leaderships?

WORKERS STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY can only be won if we undertake it as a struggle AGAINST bourgeois "democracy." Outside of this the fight in the unions or any struggle to defend the conquests and rights of the workers is reduced to asking favors from the same system that thrives on the misery of the working class.

And that is precisely what the opportunist leaders of the workers are doing today. Whether they be in the unions, or in the parties that claim to be "revolutionary," opportunism is clearly characterized by its complete capitulation to the attempts of the ruling class to resurrect the corpse of bourgeois "democracy," the democracy that gives a small minority in society the unquestioned right to exploit and grow rich by the labor of the vast majority-- the working class.

That is why the construction of the Fourth International by mobilizing around it all the young fighters in the Revolutionary Youth International is so important. No one else but the Fourth International and the RYI can bury the corpse that the opportunists are trying to revive.

The working class needs a party to fight for its interests, to destroy the capitalist system and replace it with a

WORKERS GOVERNMENT. In the main, the present leadership of the workers, the parties that claim to be "revolutionary" are completely opportunist and afraid of this struggle.

The Communist Party USA, like its mentors in the Kremlin seek a "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist order. They have gone so far as to make permanent alliances with the Democratic Party and have even called for Congress, the Congress that is responsible for defending the capitalist class, to outlaw racism and unemployment. As if racism, unemployment and slave labor conditions in the factories were just side effects of this system, rather than the truth; capitalism can survive only on the increasing misery of the workers.

The Socialist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist, plays a role of mediator between Stalinism and the workers. Using the banner of Trotskyism, which they have dragged through the mud, they warm up to the liberals and reformists who are trying to save capitalism from the working class' wrath. Though they claim to represent the continuity of the struggle against opportunism and Stalinism, they nevertheless prop up the reactionary notion that capitalism and bourgeois "democracy" have something left to give to history.

But the fact is that the struggle of workers in the United States today for their rights and the struggle we have begun with them for Workers Democracy is the death knell for bourgeois democracy. There is no more room left for any kind of "democracy" under capitalism except the "right" of the ruling class to crush the workers in order to survive as an exploiting class. This is really what the bourgeoisie means today when IT speaks about "democracy" and "human rights."

The party that seeks to lead the workers to victory must begin by defending the conquests of the workers. But there can be no lasting victory unless the conquests of the working class are extended to that of their own government, a WORKERS GOVERNMENT. It is in relation to the task of constructing this party and this government that we have fought to defend the



unions from the ruling class and the class-collaborationist bureaucracy that runs them.

WE NEED A PARTY TO FIGHT FOR US

One often hears the political struggle for socialist revolution spoken of among the youth as if it is something dull and foreign. This feeling is reinforced, to say the least, by the demoralizing influence of massive youth unemployment, drugs in the factories and schools and the decline in the general level of culture of the workers. But we have fought to make THIS clear to the young workers: If you don't take up a political fight against the capitalist system then you leave all the decisions to the ruling class.

But let's get it straight. It's not the workers who are responsible for the name that the Socialist Revolution has acquired in some quarters of the working class. Oh no. That's what the opportunists say in order to justify their cowardly capitulation. It is above all the sickening role of opportunism itself that is responsible for the feelings about the Socialist Revolution among workers. This is why the fight to build the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International as its advanced guard is so necessary to mobilize the workers.

Our record is clear. We make no compromise with the Stalinists and their policy of "peaceful coexistence." We brand those who are responsible for the destruction of the greatest conquest of the international working class-- the truly democratic councils of the workers

organized in the October Revolution of 1917-- as the conscious agents of world imperialism.

Because of the struggle of the Fourth International to maintain and extend the conquests of the Russian Revolution, to build the Workers Party against the opportunist, treacherous apparatus of Stalinism, WORKERS DEMOCRACY is not a slogan. It is the expression of the struggle of the international working class for its own government, for power.

This is why the RYI has fought to defend the struggle of the Polish workers, why we fight for the Socialist United States of Europe as the key objective of the world working class youth. Because we are for the working class and its interests transcend all petty national boundaries.

In every country where the Revolutionary Youth International fights we are met by the opportunists with their "solutions" to resurrect bourgeois democracy, to resurrect that which is dead and rotten. In every country we say that the key to real democracy, real freedom from the hideous face of capitalism in its death agony is the construction of the Fourth International to lead the battle for WORKERS DEMOCRACY and a WORKERS GOVERNMENT, landmarks of the Socialist Revolution.

This is the most important lesson of the fight we have begun together in the unions. We need, the whole working class needs, its party. We need the banner of the Fourth International to go forward.

December 1, 1977



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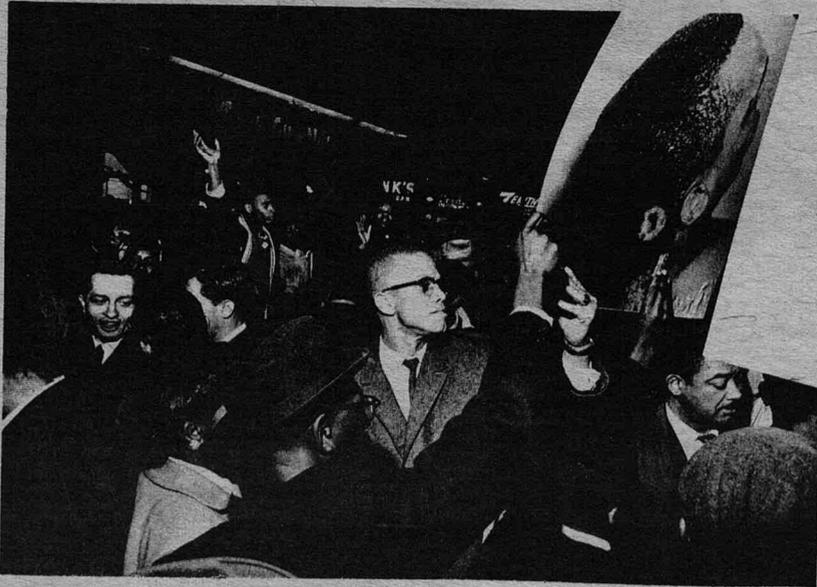
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The program of the Fourth International is the program for black liberation



By ANN NELSON

Today, because of its desperate crisis, the Carter government attacks the working class in the United States. This attack above all means increased oppression for black workers and youth. Everyday it becomes more apparent.

Unemployment for black youth in the cities has reached 80%. In the factories, the repression and layoffs increase and union "leaders" openly or subtly support the repression. And for the youth, the attack on education and culture has reached an all time high. In the public schools in Detroit, the youth must carry ID cards to get in!

To meet the most deeply felt desires of black workers, to end the repression, unemployment and attacks on culture, the immediate task is to build the REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP of the whole working class, particularly the most oppressed -- the Fourth International.

This fight is for WORKERS DEMOCRACY against the BOURGEOIS "DEMOCRACY" of the Carter Government and his liberal-labor-black alliance. This is the true and only fight for the black workers and youth in the United States. Only our party in the US fights for this solution to the attack on black workers.

The Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party and other Stalinist and centrist organizations ALL support the Carter Government's attempt to tie militant black workers to the government of capitalism, to Carter's "human rights" campaign. All support Carter's treacherous bourgeois "democracy."

The CP wants to pass a bill in Congress making racist attitudes illegal! The SWP capitulates to the government under the slogans of "preferential hiring," "Federal Troops to Boston," and they say they are for a Black Party to fight for the "special demands" of blacks.

As if it wasn't black youth in particular who see the necessity of winning ALL the workers to overthrow the common oppressor; as if the demands of blacks weren't those to end unemployment, layoffs and repression! This is not the year before the civil rights movement, it is now years after, and the black masses have experienced a great upheaval.

What stands in the way of freedom for the masses of black people is naked capitalism, which attacks the whole working class. "Rights" are on the books and they still do not exist. The SWP still asks for a new capitalist "Bill of Rights," the Fourth International wants -- a Workers Government.

Contrary to what the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party say, the black liberation movement of the 60's was not a classless movement for "civil rights"

against classless "racists," or a "stage" toward socialism. The movement was on the one hand a struggle of one of the most courageous sectors of the US working class, black working class youth, to TAKE from capitalism real rights and to wrest power from the capitalists.

On the other hand, the civil rights movement developed a reformist leadership, which wanted to ASK the government for rights "non-violently" and which preached collaboration with the capitalist government. These leaders today have won their positions at the side of the oppressors; Coleman Young is one of them, the NAACP is their lobbying organization.

The civil rights movement was in no way classless. It was a class CONFLICT between the young black workers and unemployed, and the petty bourgeois leaders who sided with capitalism.

The necessity of a revolutionary leadership to win the demands of the black workers has been the case since black workers began to struggle. Before World War II, the Communist Party USA had won thousands of black militants to their party as these militants had then seen the need for a revolution and thought the CP represented the Russian Revolution.

But in World War II, the Stalinists supported the imperialist war and Roosevelt's anti-working class policies. Black militants could not accept this counter-revolutionary stand and left the Communist Party literally by the thousands.

This betrayal of the revolutionary aspirations of the black CP members allowed the bourgeoisie to say: "Look, blacks should no longer trust 'white' revolutionary organizations," and drove some of the best proletarian fighters away from the revolutionary struggle. And their support to Carter's government today in the name of communism betrays above all the black masses no matter what phrases they throw around about being against racism.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IS FOR BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The leadership of the Socialist Workers Party has put forward different proposals for the black masses throughout the years. The one thing their different proposals have in common is that they echo whatever the petty-bourgeois reformists say.

In the 60's when the petty-bourgeois leaders of the black movement put forward nationalism in opposition to the revolutionary wing of the movement the SWP went all out for nationalism. Today, when the leaders of the NAACP, etc. say "preferential hiring," the SWP fights for this, too. Never do they propose a proletarian policy, never do they fight for a revolutionary solution.

This is not just a question of the "positions" of the SWP, but the demoralizing and treacherous effect these policies have on working class youth. The SWP uses the name of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International, in support of reformist "solutions" for the black masses.

And they also use the authority of Trotsky himself who in the 30's worked closely with the SWP. Trotsky said in several discussions with the SWP leadership that it was particularly important to win the most oppressed, the black workers, to the Fourth International in the United States. Today the SWP leaders tell the best fighters for socialism to reform the bourgeoisie and to rely on its army.

The Socialist Workers Party says that for blacks the problem is that there is no black party, that there is a crisis in black leadership. But there is a "leadership" to the "black movement" today: it sits in Washington and in City Hall in Detroit, and it carries out every one of Carter's anti-working class programs.

The blacks who are becoming the REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS are in the factories, and the program they need is one that shows how it is possible to throw the old union leaders out, the program they need is one that will end the unemployment, the layoffs.

The program they need is one which points the way to throwing Carter out of office and says how to fight for the Workers Government -- the program they need more urgently every day is the program of the socialist revolution!

The leaders of the SWP have the nerve to use the just desires of the black workers and youth to end their oppression, an oppression by capitalism and not just "white racists" in order to hook the black masses back onto the train of the Democratic Party of Coleman Young and Carter.

SWP REWRITES THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Our Program, the Transitional Program, begins by saying, "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership." This is the task in the United States today, to build the US Section of the Fourth International, to give the US working class the leadership it needs to overthrow capitalism.

But the SWP leadership has rewritten the program of Trotsky, to "adapt" it to the struggle for black liberation. They have written "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" (1969). The SWP tells the black workers who are looking for a revolutionary solution to seek a "black solution."

To justify this "rewrite" the leaders of the SWP attempt to form theories which do not just call for a rewrite, but for throwing out the Program of the Fourth International.

George Novack, a leader of the SWP, in his introduction to Trotsky's program called, "The Role of the Transitional Program," says, "Take out of the

Transitional Program whatever is timely and appropriate for the degree of development of the mass movement, the consciousness of the masses, their readiness to act on this or that element of the program. And if it doesn't contain the right one for the occasion, it may be necessary to devise one or two."

This is a complete repudiation of the method revolutionary workers must use if they are to change society. Above all it is necessary to tell the truth about the objective situation in front of the working class. That situation is either the continuation of capitalism leading to barbarism or the workers taking power.

It is from this real situation that revolutionaries judge their policies and proposals. But Novack tries to tell the workers that they should say what is appropriate for "the consciousness of the masses."

After saying it is necessary to adapt to the consciousness of the masses, the SWP leaders then lie about what the real situation before US workers is. "In the country as a whole, a struggle for government power by the working class is not an immediate perspective. This obviously holds true for white workers, who remain relatively quiescent politically and still tied in with Democratic Party machinery through the union bureaucracy." (A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM FOR BLACK LIBERATION) The only conclusion that is left is that it is necessary to struggle for reform.

The leaders of the SWP also try to say that the United States is different from other countries, that it is "exceptional." This is not true. The conditions here are not exceptional, except that perhaps capitalism is degenerating even more quickly than in other countries, at what Trotsky called an "American pace." And the road forward for workers, no matter what the current consciousness is the socialist revolution.

The most important reason why the SWP's "program for black liberation" will not lead the black masses one step forward is because it is not a program for revolution. It is a program which guarantees the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The experience of the Trotskyist Organization has been that the best fighters for our revolutionary policy in the factories have been young black workers. This is because the young workers in the plants know who their enemies are, or are learning who they are. They are the union bureaucrats, Carter and the bosses. And above all what these young fighters want is the program that will help them defeat their enemies.

Young workers -- you need a leadership that can tell the difference between a proletarian policy and the policies of liberals and the petty-bourgeoisie. The fight for young black workers everywhere, the fight for the true liberation for blacks must be the fight to rebuild the World Party of Socialist Revolution in the US -- the Fourth International. December 1, 1977

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