

# TRUTH

A REVOLUTIONARY TROTSKYIST NEWSPAPER

REBUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

No. 6

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## The Fourth International Exists and Fights!

During the special conference held in January, 1975, the members of TRUTH unanimously adopted the decision to declare themselves an organization supporting the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International and to call themselves the Trotskyist Organization of the United States.

The discussion was held with the participation of a delegation of the leadership of the International League, in the framework of and on the basis of the proclamation of the IL. The discussion resulted in complete agreement with the IL on the question of the political content of the continuity of the Fourth International. The Fourth International was founded as an answer and a solution to the historical crisis of leadership of the world proletariat. This necessitates wresting from the traditional organizations -- treacherous, confusionist, centrist -- the leadership of the working class, to lead it to the dictatorship of the proletariat by a revolution on a world scale.

The political content of the proclamation of the FI is thus the fight to destroy the Stalinists. This fight is the fight for the class independence of the proletariat before the bourgeoisie. It is at the same time a struggle against the old currents inside the workers' movement who, in one way or another, have capitulated to the bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers' movement -- the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

Understood in this way, the continuity was assumed during the last twenty years, between 1953 and 1972, by the International Committee. Despite its weaknesses, the IC maintained the fight against Stalinism, against Pablosism through its struggle against the United Secretariat and other by-products of Stalinism, for the unity of the class struggle of the countries of socialist conquests which are dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the class struggle of the countries ruled by the capitalists. It did this by creating, among other things, the Trotskyist groups of the East European countries.

After the abandonment of the IC by the SWP in 1963 when it joined the U. Sec., after the abandonment by the WRP that created its IC (which can be considered in no way other than as an obstacle to the rebuilding of the Fourth International and, therefore, a liquidationist center) and after the liquidation by the treacherous OCI leadership of the IC in 1972, the continuity of the Fourth International is assumed today by the IL. In fact, the International League is today the only international center fighting to build the International, the world party of the proletarian revolution, on the basis of democratic centralism. With the IL we affirm that this party cannot be any other than the Fourth International.

With the IL, we affirm that our period is the period of the FI and that, therefore, the building of the FI is not a perspective for the future but an immediate objective.

The decisions adopted at this conference constitute a qualitative change of the situation of the organization, which has no value except by its translation into organizational form. The continuity of the FI is expressed by its program and by the organizational realization which is the party. In this way the conference decided:



1. From now on the task of the Trotskyist Organization of the US is to fight to implant the FI in the working class of the US by the construction of the Revolutionary Workers Party of the US, politically supporting the FI.

2. The construction of the FI as an immediate objective is the fight for the 4th Open Conference -- the conference of the rebuilt FI -- set, by the First Congress of the IL, for August of 1975. The rebuilding of the FI proceeds by the destruction of the liquidationist centers of the FI, confusionist and centrist. This means changing the relationship between the FI and the working class by clear political differentiation in constant intervention.

3. The TO of the US will concentrate all its efforts to fight in the working class of the US for the 4th Open Conference and to win the most advanced militants in the preparation of this conference and to have them participate. The TO considers that the axis of this intervention and activity has to be oriented towards the 4th Open Conference. The TO of the US will ensure all means to be able to realize all the tasks flowing from this orientation. Primarily, its central organ, TRUTH, the voice of the TO, mobilizing and organizing the proletarian vanguard, has to be adapted to the new task, to prepare the 4th Open

Conference.

4. The present moment is one of the incredible acceleration of the class struggle, provoking the forward movement of the revolution internationally. The Portuguese working class has broken down the oldest fascist dictatorship, opening the revolutionary process in that country; the revolution pounds on the door in Spain and the anger of the working class is rising in all the countries of the world. At the same moment, the world bourgeoisie is plunged into the gravest crisis, which results in unemployment and misery all over the world, including the US. At this moment, the Stalinist bureaucracy, and its ally, the Social Democracy, comes to the aid of the bourgeoisie, faithful to its role as a lieutenant of the bourgeoisie in the working class. The Kremlin answers the rising movement of the working class with its policy of peaceful coexistence and the status quo, which is translated by the CP's of the world into the installation of the Popular Front in different forms, but which always means class collaboration. The Popular Front, the global strategy of the Kremlin, represents the last bastion of the bourgeoisie in the face of fascism, but in every case it opens the road to fascism.

The TO of the US will fight to the

death to defeat the counterrevolutionary policy of the Popular Front and counterpose to this the fight for the Workers' and Peasants Government issued from the workers' councils. In certain concrete cases this slogan can be expressed in an educational form to demand that the ministers who claim to represent the working class break with the bourgeoisie in order to apply the workers' program.

5. In the framework of the preparation of the 4th Open Conference around this slogan, the TO calls the militants of the Workers League and their organization to join them and take their place in the historical fight for the rebuilding of the FI. The parent organization of the WL, the WRP, is in full crisis -- torn by several factions who are looking for an alternative to the sectarian, ultimatumist, and therefore liquidationist policy of the leadership of the WRP. The place of militants who claim to be Trotskyist is at the side of the IL in its fight to prepare the 4th Open Conference, Rebuilding the 4th International.

We call the militants of the SWP to answer the call of the supporting sections of the U. Sec. in Spain -- the LCR and LC -- to join them in an international faction inside the U. Sec. around the slogan of the 4th Open Conference.

The TO of the US will make all efforts to win the militants of the organizations which claim to be Trotskyist to the fight for the 4th Open Conference, as well as the most advanced militants of the traditional organizations of the workers' movement.

6. The Fourth International will be rebuilt if we are able to win the youth. The FI needs the youth for its rebuilding and it offers to the youth the only framework which can allow them to resolve their problems and to fight for a new world. Only the working class can resolve the crisis of humanity which is expressed today by the alternative -- Socialism or Barbarism. The FI that is being rebuilt calls the youth to link themselves to the fight of the working class, to the fight for the rebuilding of the FI, to prepare the 4th Open Conference.

The TO will put in the center of its activity the fight to conquer the working-class youth of the US, to regroup all of the fighting youth around the working-class youth, for the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International around the slogans:

- Down with the Berlin Wall!
- For the Socialist United States of Europe!
- For the World Soviet Republic!
- For the World Revolution!
- For the Rebuilding of the Fourth International!

8. The TO of the US sets for itself within the framework of the task of preparing its first national conference, the proclamation of the party of the proletariat in the United States, politically supporting the Fourth International. The conference will be held before the holding of the 4th Open Conference in August. The TO affirms that this task cannot be realized other than through the method set by the First Congress of the International League: "Sharp political differentiation in constant intervention."

RESOLUTION OF THE  
TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the US

# Down with the Berlin Wall!

Of all the crimes of capitalism, perhaps its greatest is the crime it commits against the working-class youth of the world -- those who bear no responsibility whatsoever for the world of misery and decay in which they were born. In the United States, the wealthiest nation in the world, the official unemployment rate for black teenagers between the ages of sixteen and nineteen is 41.2%. At the same time these figures are released, Ford announces in his budget message to the Congress that unemployment will remain at this level for the next five years before it will diminish slightly. The statistics and Ford's speech reveal what every working-class youth in this country knows deep inside -- THAT CAPITALISM OFFERS NO FUTURE FOR THE YOUTH.

Working-class youth in this country and all over the world want a future. They want to learn a trade, to work, to study, to understand art and culture, to live and TO CREATE A NEW WORLD. In every country of the world, working class youth are in the front ranks of the struggle against the old order -- capitalist and Stalinist. It is the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth that will guarantee the chance for success in the battles of today and tomorrow. It will be the fight of the youth that will return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution.

The youth are the key to the future and will willingly rally to the banner of those who bring it a future. It is for this reason that the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International makes the fight for the youth the principle force for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, for the preparation of the 4th Open Conference which will proclaim the Fourth International rebuilt. It is only the Fourth International, because it represents the historical interests of the only class which can reorganize the world on a new basis, that can promise the youth a future. It is under the banner of the Fourth International that the International League WILL win the working-class youth.

As part of the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, the International League has called for the construction of the REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL in Berlin this summer. A mass rally of youth in Berlin under the slogans: DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL! DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY! FOR A WORLD SOVIET REPUBLIC! will symbolize the unity of the working-class youth of the East and West and the beginning of the world-wide fight of the youth against the bourgeoisie and their agents in the Kremlin.

The fight for the Revolutionary Youth International is open to all working-class youth who are fighting to rebuild the world party of the working class. It will be through the fight to win the working-class youth, the best fighters of today, that the rest of the youth will be won to the Fourth International. The International League calls upon all militants who recognize the hegemony of the proletariat as the only revolutionary force in this epoch and recognize the Fourth International as the political leadership of the revolution to join in the fight to bring down the Berlin Wall and construct the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI).

By being the only political force on a world-wide level that is struggling to unite the working-class youth in revolutionary combat, the International League claims the continuity of the Fourth International and, in particular, the continuity of the International Committee, which between 1953 and 1972 maintained the continuity of world Trotskyism. The International League continues what was the greatest achievement of the Inter-



national Committee -- its struggle to mobilize the youth on an international level for the Fourth International. The principal acquisitions of the International Committee were demonstrated at Liege in 1966, Scarborough in 1970 and Essen in 1971, by its struggle to win working-class youth to the Fourth International. The International League continues this struggle and goes beyond what the SLL (now WRP) and the French OCI retreated from and were unable to do -- found the Revolutionary Youth International and mobilize the youth in combat against the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists.

That is why we in particular call upon the Young Socialists of the Workers League and the WRP to join this fight which your leaderships have abandoned. It was the British Young Socialists who organized the Conference at Scarborough which was attended by 5,000 youth that launched the appeal for the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International. Your leadership has abandoned this fight but your place is still at BERLIN this summer with the international working-class youth. Their fight is the continuation of your fight.

Opportunists are distinguished from revolutionaries by their attitude towards the youth. Opportunists fear the youth, they seek to wall themselves off from their revolt. The International League is confident that we will win the youth through struggle. The RYI will be a school for communism and the best will be won to the world party of the socialist revolution -- the Fourth International.

It is to begin this fight to win the working-class youth to the Fourth International, by mobilizing them as well in concrete, day to day, struggles against unemployment -- for free technical training for all working-class youth under workers' control, for full unemployment benefits for all youth upon graduation from school, for the self-organization of the youth, that the Trotskyist Organization of the US

announces the immediate fight to build the RYI in the United States. We are calling for a meeting to be held the weekend of APRIL 5th in order to organize the founding convention of the RYI in the United States the weekend of JULY 4th.

It is by winning the working class youth that we will win the entire youth. We call upon the Young Socialists of the Workers League to take up this struggle: they have a leading role to play. We call upon those youth in the YSA who are sick of the opportunism and cowardice of the SWP, who want to be revolutionaries, not doorbell ringers for the latest reformist electoral campaign of the SWP, to join the fight for the RYI. Your comrades in Spain and Portugal already have. It will also be through the fight of working-class youth -- black and white -- that the best youth of the Stalinist YWLL will be won to the RYI; for we are the only alternative to Stalinist betrayal.

The youth will be the pillar of the Fourth International. They will be in the front ranks of every struggle ahead that will topple the old order. This was true in 1938 when the Fourth International was founded and it is true today. In Spain, today, hundreds of members of the Revolutionary Youth of Spain, alongside of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain (POR), Spanish section of the International League, are leading the campaign to launch the general strike which will bring down the Franco dictatorship and begin the revolution in Spain and in Europe. The Trotskyist Organization of the US calls upon all working class youth to begin the fight here as well.

DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL!

BUILD THE RYI IN THE UNITED STATES!

FORWARD TO THE JULY 4TH CONFERENCE!

The political crisis of the "International Committee," which first manifested itself openly in 1971, has deepened over the last several months. The organizational evidence of this crisis has been a series of major splits in the two organizations that primarily compose the International Committee of today, the Workers Revolutionary Party of Great Britain (WRP), and its fraternal group in the United States, the Workers League (WL). These organizational splits are a concrete manifestation, on the national level, of the present-day International Committee's abandonment of the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, to maintain the continuity of world Trotskyism.

1971

The consequences of the abandonment of the struggle of the IC by the WRP (then SLL) in 1971 has now become clear. The ultimatic and sectarian policy which the SLL pursued towards the youth at the Essen Conference in 1971, and its split, without discussion, from the rest of the International Committee over the pretext of Bolivia in 1971, represented a policy of retreat from the international arena in favor of building revolutionary parties on a nationalist basis. The internal crisis of the WRP and the WL are reflections of this nationalist passivity in the face of the growing crisis of the international workers' movement and the growing mobilization of the international working class.

THORNETT

In December of 1974 the crisis was manifested in Britain itself with the expulsion of more than 200 militants of the WRP led by Alan Thornett, a Central Committee member, and a nationally prominent working-class militant in the auto industry. The completely bureaucratic and hysterical campaign led by the WRP leadership against these militants, who represent the working-class base of the WRP in the auto industry, demonstrates the inability of the WRP leadership to confront the crisis of the British working-class movement. The Thornett documents detail the retreat of the Healy leadership to a policy of abstract propagandism in the place of confronting the day-to-day struggles of the British working class.

WOHLFORTH

This January also saw the public revelation of the struggle inside the Workers League which resulted in the expulsion of Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the WL, and Nancy Fields. The bureaucratic and hysterical campaign led by Healy against Wohlforth and Fields is another testimony to the stagnation and crisis of the International Committee. Neither the WRP nor the WL has yet issued a public explanation of the expulsion of the major leader of the Workers League for over ten years -- it was Wohlforth who led the fight for the International Committee in this country. The WRP and the WL CANNOT give a public explanation because the issues raised require an evaluation of the crisis of the International Committee, of which the WRP and WL leadership is a part.

THE 4TH OPEN CONFERENCE

Many of the issues raised by Thornett; the question of workers' control, the use of the Transitional Program, the abstentionism of the IC in regard to building revolutionary parties in Eastern Europe; and by Wohlforth (the abandonment of its youth work by the WL) are correct, but they remain confined to a national level. They must be viewed within the framework of the struggle to build an international party, based on democratic centralism.

The struggles against the WRP and the WL leadership must move forward. The International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International has made a correct evaluation of the crisis of the International Committee and the Fourth International and is actively struggling to resolve this crisis. The struggle for the 4th Open Conference -- the continuation of the gains of the International Committee, but on a higher level -- must become the struggle of the best militants of the WRP and the WL as well. It is the only way to resolve the crisis of the IC on an international level -- through open discussion and clarification. To those militants who want to decisively defeat the liquidationist leadership of the WRP and the WL -- your place is at the 4th Open Conference and the struggle to build it.

# BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

## Against Rationing

By MARGARET BRECHT

No one in Washington disputes the character of Ford's State of the Union message as a declaration of war. Indeed, no one disputes the necessity of immediate preparation for war. But in order to execute this policy it is necessary to have the cooperation of the working class. It is the task of the Democratic Congress and its allies in the trade union bureaucracy to secure this support. This is why they today denounce Ford's solution to the oil crisis and call for "Equality of Sacrifice."

### TWO POLICIES

A war for Arab oil demands reducing US dependency on Arab oil through cutting consumption and stockpiling. Ford has proposed to accomplish this by putting a tax on oil-based products and by allowing the price of DOMESTIC crude oil to rise freely. Against this obvious giveaway to the capitalists at the expense of the American working class, the Democrats and trade union bureaucrats have proposed to cut consumption through RATIONING. In so doing they seek to base themselves on the democratic and collectivist sentiments of the working class. They want to involve the organizations of the working class in the imposition of sacrifices upon the working class for the purpose of advancing American imperialism. This is the entirety of the content of the Democratic Party opposition to Ford. This is the program of Meany and Woodcock.

### SOCIALISTS?

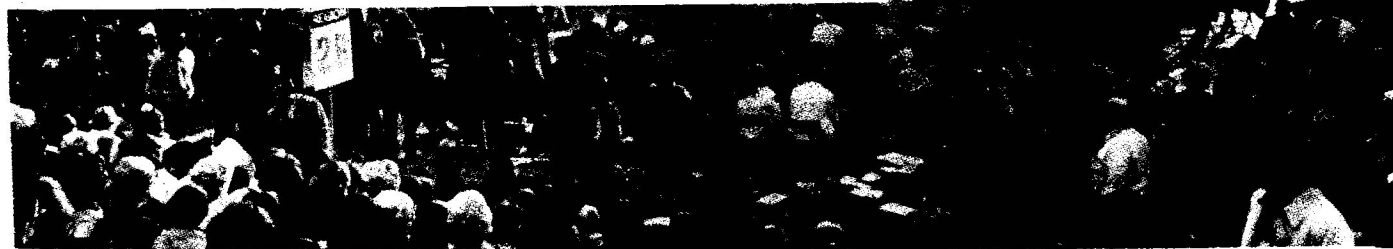
Some so-called socialist groups, such as the British International Socialists and one of its more decrepit American cousins, attempt, in centrist fashion, to "straddle" the issue. They call for "rationing--but under workers' control." This slogan is doubly reactionary, since it provides a left cover for the bureaucracy's own program and also completely fails to point to the socialist program as one which, far from regulating "shortages," is designed to expand the living standards and productive capacity of the whole world. This slogan completely accepts the limits of capitalism--politically and technologically.

### PROGRAM

American workers will come to see the reality of rationing just as they came to see the reality of the wage controls. It is necessary to prepare the inevitable fight. It can proceed only under the banner of planned economy on a world scale--For the nationalization of industry! For workers' control!--under the banner of the World Soviet Republic. It is only by the expansion of production of all the sources of wealth and energy that the oil crisis can be solved. Committees of workers organized to investigate the oil industry will expose the reality of the oil crisis. On the basis of the information gained a plan of collaboration between the workers in the US and those in the Arab states can be begun.

A struggle against rationing in the trade unions on this basis will provide an immediate obstacle to the collaboration of the bureaucrats in the preparation of war.

# MARCH ON DETROIT NOT WASHINGTON



By JON MYERS

In an attempt to demonstrate some reaction to the deepening crisis facing their membership, the Woodcock leadership of the United Auto Workers called a rally against unemployment in Washington, D.C. on February 5th; 10,000 workers attended. It was only the powerful pressure of the rank and file of the UAW that forced the bureaucracy to make even this minimal attempt at organizing a struggle against the capitalist attack. For well over a year and a half the UAW bureaucracy has done ABSOLUTELY NOTHING to organize the union in a response to the economic crisis. In fact, the UAW bureaucrats actively paved the way for the situation confronting auto workers. Today, over 300,000 auto workers are unemployed, 24% of the membership of the UAW.

The bureaucracy's fear of the ranks is so great that even this feeble protest -- the bureaucrats originally called for a rally of only 2,000 -- could not have been carried out without the aid of the capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party. The march was held in Washington for their benefit, not for that of the majority of workers in the auto plants.

With unemployment in the United States at 8.2% in January, representing over seven and a half million workers unemployed, the highest unemployment since 1941, and faced with Ford's budget proposal which was introduced two days earlier, the UAW bureaucracy could offer the unemployed auto workers and the labor movement as a whole only the empty rhetoric of the Kennedys, Mondales and Bella Abzugs. Their policies are as bankrupt and as dangerous for the working class as Ford's. Ford's budget proposal IS A DIRECT ATTACK ON THE WORKING CLASS which promises to American workers an unemployment rate of 8% until at least 1977 which will then "level off" at 5.5% by 1980! The unemployment as well as the drastic cuts in social services make it crystal clear that it is the working class which is paying the bill while capitalism dies.

### THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Their fear of the anger and the power

of the rank and file has driven the labor bureaucracy closer to the Democratic Party politicians. There are only two programs that confront today's crisis -- the capitalist one and the working-class program. The betrayal of the working class by the bureaucracy means that the program that the UAW and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy offers to solve the crisis can be only a shallow repetition of that of the liberal Democrats.

The January 23rd emergency meeting of the AFL-CIO General Board, and its "Action Program to Put America Back To Work," represents the collapse of the bureaucracy in the face of the economic and political crisis and their fundamental hostility to the working class in this country. Not one single demand presents a challenge to the capitalist system, which is now openly telling the working class that it is going to drive it into the ground. The bureaucracy demands "one million public employment jobs" -- when there are over seven and a half million unemployed. To demand full employment would be too much for even the "liberal" Democrats. But even though Meany and the AFL-CIO had nothing to offer the working class, they took the opportunity to offer the workers to the bourgeoisie by joining in the chorus of bourgeois propaganda against the Arabs which is laying the basis for the next war, which the workers will have to fight.

### WORKERS' CONTROL

Auto workers must march to the offices of the auto corporations and demand that the capitalists OPEN THEIR BOOKS in order that the true financial state of the companies can be examined. For the unemployed it is just as much their concern as it is the capitalists'. WORKERS' COMMITTEES should be established on a factory and corporation-wide level to begin the struggle for WORKERS' CONTROL of the factories. The situation has gone too far to allow the capitalists to continue as they have in the past. If they cannot provide for full employment then the factories must be occupied and run in the interests of the working class and the majority of the population.

The struggle for workers' control of the auto industry will be a difficult task, but such a struggle will enable the UAW to win to its side the support of the entire labor movement in this country. Decisive action now will be able to turn back the wave of despair and cynicism that the capitalists and the bureaucracy preach every day through their actions and propaganda. The UAW can be the training ground for the new society that will be run in the interests of the majority, not the greedy few.

### REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Committees of auto workers willing to fight for workers' control must be established now in every UAW local. The committees must be open to unemployed UAW members and all unemployed workers. We cannot wait for the bureaucracy, the Democratic Party politicians, or even so-called revolutionary organizations like the Communist Party to lead this fight. THEY NEVER WILL. THEY WILL ONLY BETRAY THE FIGHT. The Trotskyist Organization of the US has begun the fight to build a revolutionary party, based on the program of the Fourth International in order to organize and lead this struggle. The Trotskyist Organization of the USA and the International League ask all working-class militants to join this struggle.

Auto workers have finished being passive audiences for Democratic Party politicians: they are ready for action. The majority of unemployed auto workers are in Detroit. It is the home of the Big Three auto corporations -- General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. A march in Detroit would bring more than just a handful of the bureaucracy's loyalists, it would draw hundreds of thousands of unemployed auto workers and other unemployed from throughout the Midwest. A mass mobilization of the unemployed would be the first step in showing the corporations, the government and the bureaucracy that the American working class will no longer tolerate unemployment.

# FIRST FORUM OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE US

By A REPORTER

On Sunday, February 2, 1975, the first public meeting of the Trotskyist Organization of the US was held. The subject of the forum was a declaration of the perspectives of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International, especially of the open International Fourth Conference, which will proclaim the Fourth International rebuilt. The struggle for this open Fourth Conference, a matter of the greatest importance to all those who claim to be Trotskyist, produced from the various centrist organizations only the most trivial and banal responses, indicating the impotence of these groups before the actual demands of the situation today.

After a brief talk by Kevin Tracey, National Secretary of the Trotskyist Organization (TO), introducing the subject of the gathering and outlining why the TO had been formed and why it was in political agreement with the International League (IL), and an initial presentation by the representative of the International League -- who explained why the IL represented the continuity of the Fourth International and what the perspectives of the IL were -- the meeting was opened up for discussion. (The basic content of both presentations can be found in our lead and centerfold articles.)

### ABSENT OR IRRELEVANT

Due to the fact that the Class Struggle

League, a rest home for tired "Trotskyists", and the Internationalist Tendency (the expelled pro-Mandel wing of the SWP) did not attend the meeting, the attempt to "expose" the political adherence of TRUTH, as the TO, to the International League fell on the narrow shoulders of the Spartacist League.

The CSL and the IT presumably had their own reasons for their absence. In the case of the CSL, this absence was assuredly due to its chronic confusion on all important political questions -- it simply couldn't figure out what to say and so stayed home. The IT, given the smashing of both sympathizing sections of its parent "United Secretariat" by the POR, Spanish section of the IL, may have stayed away out of a well-developed self-preservation instinct on the part of its leadership. Possibly, it was even under discipline not to get too close to the IL.

There were also present two members of a certain rapidly decomposing state-capitalist grouping, whose intervention was distinguished solely by the fact that it had nothing to do with the subject of the meeting, being only a feeble repetition of its foamings inside its branch meetings almost a year ago. Its utter irrelevancy was further demonstrated by its attempts to sell its newspaper as the publication of the grouping which "expelled the people who are holding this forum; want to buy it?"

### SURREALISTS

One striking aspect of the meeting was the participation of members of the Surrealist Movement in the United States in the organization of the meeting, expressing thereby the solidarity of the revolutionary artists with the struggle of the Fourth International. Their participation provoked great discontent on the part of the centrists.

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE

In this situation the SL did its very best, sending more people to the meeting than there were supporters of the IL. The axis, such as it was, of its intervention consisted in trying to exploit "differences" between the Trotskyist Organization and the International League. First, it bravely announced that the TO had supported a vote for Mitterrand on the first and second round of last year's French elections and that the IL hadn't. Differencel! Unfortunately, the SL had its facts completely wrong. While it was true that the TO, nationally isolated in the US, accepted as a given the absence of a revolutionary candidate on the first round, while the IL had agitated for such a candidacy -- exposing the OCI's prostration; NEITHER the TO or the IL (at that time completely without contact) had called for a vote for either the LUTTE OUVRIERE or Pabloite (FCR) candidate on the first round and BOTH

called for a vote FOR Mitterrand on the second round. Far from there being revealed a fundamental divergence, the facts showed a similarity of perspective remarkable under the existing conditions. This was especially true in light of the fact that the TO (in all its previous forms) was the ONLY US group to oppose a vote to the LO and FCR candidates and to favor a vote for Mitterrand on the second round, thus making it by far the most likely to adhere to the IL in this country. Strike one for the Spartacist League.

Secondly, the SL pronounced that the TO thought Cuba was a deformed workers' state and called for political revolution, while the International Committee (from which the IL traces its continuity) held that Cuba was a capitalist state and was for social revolution. How about that? Once again, however, the SL had bet on the wrong horse. The position of the IL was also for political revolution. This had to be repeated a number of times, since the SL'sers present seemed dumb-founded by the revelation. Strike two for the Sparts.

Finally, the SL embarked on an extremely ill-considered attack on the past positions of the International Committee, especially those of the OCI. As we revealed in our response, the SL had, many times in the past, while claiming to agree "fundamentally" with the IC, supported the Pabloites; for instance, in voting for "reunification" in 1963, in appealing its expulsion from the

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# FOR INTERNATIONAL

When our organization emerged as an independent group, we had already completely fought through the Russian Question. But we were immediately faced with a question even more fundamental than the Trotskyist theory on the class nature of the Stalinist states. On every point, in every aspect of our work, it became more and more clear to us that we could not hope to proceed successfully without a correct understanding of the question of the Fourth International.

## OUR OLD POSITION

As we began to reexamine the question, the position which we had formerly held began to progressively seem more inadequate to us. This position, as was demonstrated in TRUTH #4, was not particularly unique. In fact, it was the common coin, in one or another variety, of the whole movement claiming to be Trotskyist, outside the U. Sec. and the International Committee. Its content -- that the Fourth International had been destroyed, that the continuity was broken, that no tendency could speak as the Trotskyist leadership, that it was therefore necessary to begin all over again -- began to seem to us to stand in practical opposition to our overall political direction.

The fact that it was the position generally of groups with which we regarded ourselves as having nothing in common was extremely disconcerting. We disagreed on all important questions with the Spartacist League, with the Class Struggle League, with those whom, in fact, we had just finished defending the FI and its program from charges of "Pabloism." How could we then, on the most important question -- the very question which defines us as Trotskyists -- "agree?"

This uneasiness was further emphasized by the fact that we had never drawn the logical conclusions which other groups had from the same premise. We never thought or said that there was no difference between Pabloism and "Healyism;" that they were merely different crank varieties of centrism. We refused to say that the history of the last thirty years was a history of defeat and unrelieved futility. We refused to treat those who had fought for the International in the same way as those who had tried to destroy it. We refused to sneer, in the fashion of the arrogant "critics," at those who had not had the great good fortune to be arriving on the scene just now -- gifted with a complete lack of humility and a full 20/20 hindsight.

So we began to carefully go over our past views, weeding them out, trying to make them more consistent with our general direction. But we could not recapitulate the International on a national level. Short of an international intervention our positions would remain inconsistent, empirical and even sentimental. Without seeing the question in a totally new light we would remain stuck at a certain point -- and being stuck in politics means being already in retreat.

## A NEW PERSPECTIVE

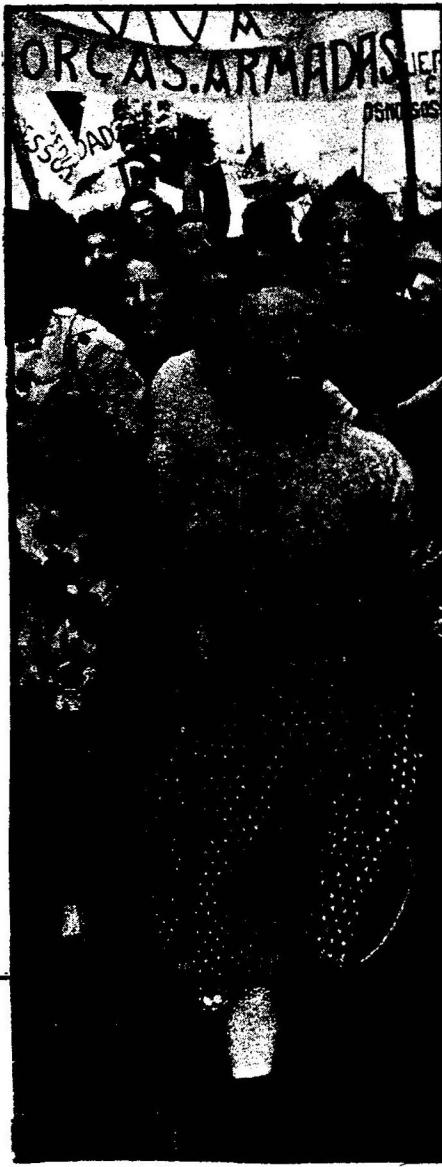
We could not have gone beyond these rather passive sympathies had we not decided to contact the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International. The ILRFI developed from the opposition within the International Committee to the OCI's liquidation in 1972 of the IC into the so-called Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International. We were aware of the existence of the ILRFI and had a limited knowledge of its positions, but we had no contact with them prior to this past Autumn.

In studying the documents and analysis of the IL, we found a perspective which incorporated the "rational kernel" of our past sympathies while destroying the retrogressive aspects of our former position itself. The analysis of the IL integrated all the various elements of the history of the FI and, therefore, of the IC, into the proper context, presenting a unified, monistic, conception of the problem.

## CRISIS OF THE FI

The crisis of the Fourth International has to be seen as part of the general crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, which the Fourth International itself was created to resolve. There was no way in which the FI could stand above the crisis of the workers' movement internationally over the last thirty years. It was part of the working class and part of its crisis. With the heavy blows inflicted on the International, because it was the historic leadership of the proletariat, by world imperialism and its Stalinist agents, the crisis of the revolutionary leadership became the crisis of the Fourth International.

This crisis did great damage to the International, impeding it gravely in its work of giving leadership to the revolutionary working-class movement. The clearest reflection of this was Pabloism, a direct expression of Stalinism (and hence of imperialism) within the FI itself. Pabloism succeeded in destroying the International AS A CENTRALIZED WORLD PARTY, capable of fully expressing the unity of the world proletariat and organizing its victory



## The Lessons of the S

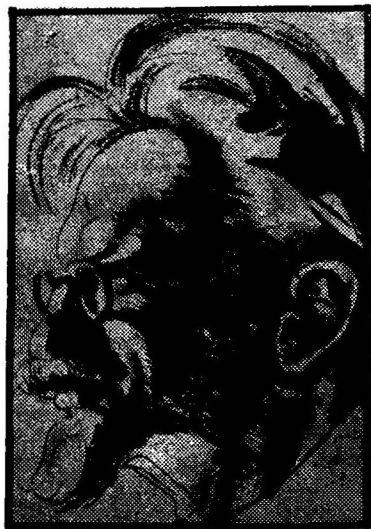
internationally. But it could not destroy the FI completely, its program, its cadres. The FI could no more be destroyed than could the whole struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, whose leadership it was. The International lived, despite everything; but it lived in a distorted and incomplete fashion.

## CONTINUITY

And this continuity of the FI expressed itself in organizational form. It was not, and could not be, that "only the program" survived. A program does not live other than through human beings who express it in the material world, other than through the cadres of the party (the world party) to which the program belongs. And if ONLY the program survives, only a piece of paper, then the whole question of its correctness, of its validity, and of the correctness and validity of Marxism in this epoch is raised. A program whose expression, its party and its cadres, DO NOT EXIST, HAVE FALLEN AND HAVE FAILED -- this program nonetheless is correct? If the program in fact cannot find expression in material forces then it is not in fact anything other than idle good wishes or the futile dreams of a better world which have arisen at every point in the history of humanity. Historical materialism denies the possibility of the existence of a correct program as an abstraction without physical expression. (And it is not without interest that those who have this position -- that the program but not the International exists -- have drawn the logical conclusions and have liquidated the program).

Therefore, if the International's continuity had to have a material, real expression, the question arises as to how this was expressed. The only possibility is that the International Committee represented this continuity, not because it was the only existing and continuing current outside the Pabloites, but precisely because it was the expression of the program and of the cadres who fought for it against the Pabloite betrayers.

But because the IC represented a reaction to the Pabloites of a delayed and belated character, it had to continue the crisis of the FI within itself. The damage that Pabloism had already done, the destruction of the International as a CENTER, its programmatic deviations from Trotskyism (towards Stalinism especially), were inextricably connected with the existence of the IC as well.



## Emergency

IN ORDER TO BEGIN THE TASKS AHEAD OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES EMERGENCY FUND DRIVE, ITS PURPOSE IN THE PREPARATION OF THE FOUNDING 4TH OPEN CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL, THE ENGLISH EDITION OF TRUTH, THE ENGLISH EDITION OF TRUTH, FUNDS FOR A DELEGATION TO THE SECOND CONTINUED PUBLICATION OF TRUTH, A COMMITTEE FOR THE RYI IN THE UNITED STATES GOAL THE RAISING OF \$2500 BY MAY 15, TO SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL, ALL THAT THEY CAN TO THE EMERGENCY FUND DRIVE. YOUR SUPPORT. (Checks are payable to TRUTH PUBLISHERS.)

## STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TROTSKYIST

# THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE



Struggle of TRUTH



and Drive

OF US, THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES ANNOUNCES THE LAUNCHING OF THE FUND DRIVE TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE EXPENSES OF THE CONVENTION OF THE RYI AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE IL, THE APRIL MEETING OF THE IL AND CONGRESS OF THE IL, THE APRIL MEETING OF THE IL IN THE STATES. WE HAVE SET AS OUR OBJECTIVE TO CALL UPON ALL MILITANTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE BY CONTRIBUTING TO THE FUND DRIVE. WE NEED YOUR HELP TO GET THE TRUTH.)

## THE CRISIS OF THE IC

The IC represented the continuity in its fight against Pabloite revisionism and liquidationism and it made gains in the process which no other tendency was capable of making. It sank its roots into the working class, which the Pabloites and the "critics" never did. It began to build sections in the Eastern European countries -- again something no one else did -- establishing once again the unity of the class struggle between the capitalist and degenerated and deformed workers states, and striking real blows against Stalinism. It began to carry out one of the fundamental perspectives of the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 -- the creation of a Revolutionary Youth International.

And at the same time, it began to dispel the hangovers of Pabloism which lingered in its midst. It fought against the SLL-WRP's position on the "Arab Revolution," against the adaptation by the OCI to the nationalist Messali Hadj and his Algerian National Movement (MNA) during the Algerian War, against many other programmatic deviations and against the peripheral sects (Spartacist, Lutte Ouvriere) whose very existence reflected the damage done by Pabloism to the unity and authority of the FI, which the IC was as yet unable to fully overcome.

But at the same time, it also continued the crisis of the FI at a new and higher level. The development of the IC in a generally progressive direction raised the remaining contradictions to fever pitch. The most serious of these, which exacerbated all the other problems, was the inability of the IC to function on a democratic centralist basis, to FULLY assume the continuity of the FI as the leading world center of the proletariat. This problem was the expression of Pabloism's fundamentally destructive role. Democratic centralism was the next and decisive step for the IC to take if it were to overcome the remaining problems and be able to deal with the great historic tasks which the FI was immediately called upon to meet.

## BREAKUP

The period following the great class upheavals of 1968 is one in which the historical reality of socialist revolution became a living presence. This impelled the IC to either finally make a decisive step towards establishing itself as THE Fourth International, the leadership necessary for the proletariat in this period, or to turn decisively backwards and fall victim to its crisis instead of resolving it in a healthy way.

Under this pressure, expressed most sharply by the necessity, if the RYI were to be built, of functioning on a democratic centralist basis (which alone could provide the key to resolving other problems), the IC's two major sections (the SLL-WRP and the OCI) retreated from their obligations and ultimately liquidated the IC, placing in jeopardy twenty years of work and struggle.

The SLL-WRP, which had had historic problems with nationalistic tendencies, broke first, using as EXCUSES the role of Lora in Bolivia, dialectics, the Essen Conference, etc. This attempt to cover a fundamentally retrogressive step with a revolutionary facade, of denouncing opportunism by others while retreating from the tasks that have to be faced, is nothing new in the history of Marxism.

The OCI, stricken by the loss of the SLL-WRP, faced with its own weaknesses, in the context of the new situation totally collapsed and turned its back on every positive step it had ever taken. In setting up the so-called Organizing Committee, it put into doubt all that the IC had stood for as well as the historic correctness of the proclamation of the Fourth International itself. At a time when the FI was needed as NEVER before, the OCI decided it was necessary to start all over again from zero. Its prostration has been endless, with a continuing right-wing movement on its part which has a velocity that is simply incredible.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

But, just as nearly twenty years before, the International found its defenders from within itself. This historic truth was expressed by James P. Cannon (even if he wrote better than he knew): "The ideas of Marxism, which create revolutionary parties, are stronger than the parties they create, and never fail to survive their downfall. They never fail to find representatives in the old organizations to lead the work of reconstruction." (THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM, pp. 30-31).

Thus, from within the IC itself came its continuers. Organizing themselves originally as a faction "For the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee," within the OCRFI, the Trotskyists understood in the course of the struggle that the necessary task was to GO BEYOND the IC; that this was in fact the only way to maintain and develop its progressive content and its gains. Thus, they moved to proclaim the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International as an organization which would carry forward the fight that the IC could no longer continue.

Precisely because the IL saw that it was necessary to go FORWARD, it was able to TRANSCEND the weaknesses of the IC. The International League began from the beginning as an international organization functioning on the

basis of democratic centralism. In addition, it alone was able to put into action the decision of the IC, adopted at its Third Conference in 1966, to call an open Fourth Conference which would be the conference that would proclaim the Fourth International rebuilt. The SLL-WRP and the OCI, each in their own way, had shrunk from this task and now had failed wretchedly.

## THE IL AND TRUTH

It was this perspective and analysis which appeared to us to explain what was wrong with our old perspective and the consequences which had flowed from it, to explain and make coherent and consistent our refusal to draw out the implications of our past policy to their reactionary ends.

And, as we began to look beyond these fundamental considerations, to look at what were secondary but still important points, we could see that the fundamental agreement was not deceptive, not a matter of self-hypnosis, but represented exactly a foundation for agreement on strategic, tactical and conjunctural analyses and perspectives.

This was the case, for instance, as is noted in the report on the forum, with Cuba and the French elections. In addition, on the Russian Question we found ourselves in agreement to a remarkable degree for groups which had had no previous contact -- as for instance, in regard to the significance of the "economic reforms" and on the significance of the Pabloite theory of the "dual nature" of Stalinism (sometimes good, sometimes bad). This is true on a wide range of issues.

But this should in no way be considered as being a statement that two identical tendencies have "fused." Aside from the fact that even on the points on which we already agreed, the IL has deepened and corrected our perspectives, our adherence to the perspectives of the IL has enabled us to make major corrections and to reach a level we could never have attained alone. But, still more, a leap from being a national group which has relatively good positions to being a part of a world party which carries out international perspectives is fundamental and completely transforms the character of the organization and its work. The best group in the world, if isolated on a national basis will INEVITABLY degenerate. The best positions become twisted and deformed and turn into their opposites without an international corrective. There is, in addition, the critical fact that the world revolution is not made in one country; that it has an unpredictable inclination to ignore the pretensions of groups which set up an apparatus on a purely national basis in order to make their "own" revolution. The participation in the world revolution of a national party, in fact, in its own national revolution, is possible only on an international basis. No revolution will be made by starting with national perspectives.

## THE ROAD FORWARD

The International League today has sections in Eastern Europe: in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and in the rest of Europe in France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden. In addition it has sections in Morocco, connecting the Arab world with Africa and in Chile, representing a foothold in Latin America. While no group in the US can officially affiliate with an International, due to the reactionary Voorhees Act, the Trotskyist Organization is in full political solidarity with the IL and its political views and acts accordingly. This connection between an organization in the center of world imperialism and the struggle of the workers in the capitalist and Stalinist countries of Europe, in Africa and in Latin America, indicates the dynamic and vital character of the International League and of the validity of its basic views on the task of rebuilding the International and of overthrowing capitalism on the world scale in our time.

The International League will hold the open International Fourth Conference this August. The expansion of the IL itself is proceeding apace with the creation of factions inside the United Secretariat and inside the Social Democracy, as well as by winning members from the old organizations of the International Committee, now in the gravest crisis, for this historic conference. And prior to this conference will be held the Founding Congress of the RYI, which will provide in its work the future recruits and cadres of the rebuilt Fourth International and which will open the door to the general movement of the working class for the Fourth International, to present itself as THE leadership of the revolutionary working class.

All these steps will result in the destruction of the counterfeit claimants to the Fourth International and of the Stalinist and reformist misleaders and betrayers. The rebuilt Fourth International will conquer. Its initial steps are already taken. For those who are seeking the road of the International the opportunity is now present to actually advance onto this road. Those who will not or cannot take this road can only further degenerate.

# TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES

# French Workers and Soldiers Struggle For Labor Draft

By ROBIN EVERETT

The wave of militancy and organization growing in the army for the last year is a sure sign of the great struggles soon to be launched by the French workers. Trotsky analysed the significance of the armed forces in many of his writings: "For if it is correct that war is the continuation of politics by other means, then it follows that the army, with bayonets held ready, is the continuation and capstone of the entire social-state structure." And as the "capstone" of bourgeois rule -- the "last bulwark of liberal society," as the minister of the army phrases it -- it is the armed forces, first of all, that the ruling class tries to put in order and purge of class tensions. The ability of revolutionists to prevent this and to break up the capitalists' control, by firmly embracing the efforts of the soldiers in the revolutionary program of the workers movement, will have the greatest importance in deciding victory or defeat for the struggle for power.

## DEBRE LAW

The drive in all the NATO countries, spearheaded by England and the US, is to replace the draft army with an all-volunteer force loyal only to the ruling class. In mobilizing the "public opinion" of the middle classes and upper layers of the working class against conscription, the American ruling class first abolished the student deferments. This tactic enabled the ruling class to recruit to its side those influential layers which had traditionally had an "out" from the draft. In this way the framework of "public opinion" was successfully prepared for shifting the discussion from attacks on the military regime to the necessity of ending conscription. Early in 1973 the French ruling class took its first steps in the same direction with the "Debre" law, which abolished the right of students to finish their course of study before serving.

The announcement of the Debre law provoked the greatest movement of students since May - June 1968. Adding fuel to the fire were student strikes against the new "DEUG" diploma "reform", designed to further regiment and streamline the upper school system. The movement culminated in demonstrations called for April 2, the opening day of the new parliament. By this time the size of the movement had forced the support of the CP. Significant numbers of young workers participated, as well as the CET (technical school) students.

"Hot, hot springtime will be hot!" "This is only the beginning!" The main slogans taken up by the demonstrators show the responsiveness of the youth to the increase of social tensions: "To hell with the Assembly, power is in the streets!" "CET - barracks, we're fed up with both!" "Down with the strike-breaking army!" "Open your eyes, turn off the television!" The youth are ready to struggle before they know the way. But what was the rallying cry their "leaders" trumpeted out to this tumultuous gathering against bourgeois regimentation? Not a clear revolutionary marching song, but only a stilted, straight-jacketed echo of the demonstrators themselves. The Pabloite FCR (Revolutionary Communist Front), main organizer of the demonstrations, did absolutely no agitation for trade union control of military training! This miserable tail-endism can only help make the roar of the youth part of the bourgeois orchestration for a volunteer army.

## REBELLION IN THE ARMY

Class tensions have continued to rise. In a confidential report recently made public, the Chief of Staff of the army warns the Minister of Defense that any serious economic and social "disturbances", as in 1968, might now involve participation by soldiers. This is hardly news, since the revolt in the ranks is already open. By releasing this report, the military gives notice to the entire ruling class and its representatives. Every revolutionist must understand this as proof of the urgent necessity of agitation in the trade unions for the Labor Draft.

As Trotsky observed, "The army is a copy of society and suffers from all its diseases, usually at a higher temperature." Since May of 1974, the class tensions in France have found open expression in the growing militancy of the soldiers. This is no accident. In the army, the youth are organized for their first great collective experiences under a caste which barks out the essence of bourgeois rule. The answer of the youth will be repeated by the entire working class.

The demands of the conscripts crystallized around the "Appeal of the One Hundred", a petition originally

signed by one hundred soldiers and addressed to the presidential candidates in the May elections. After circulating two months, the "Appeal" had 1000 signatures. Now more than 4000 conscripts have signed it.

From the start, the working class has instinctively embraced the movement of the soldiers. The conscripts, by their struggle against the bourgeois military system, have automatically moved towards the Labor Draft. After the "Appeal" was made public, the summer congress of the Postal Workers adopted a motion calling for the union to maintain contact with young workers after they were drafted. Following this, the Paris section of the union -- which later led the October-November strike wave -- published a pamphlet, "Postal Worker or Soldier, You Remain a Worker." This pamphlet talked about the army as an instrument of the ruling class, demanded full trade union wages for conscripts, and reprinted many of the demands of the "Appeal." Other local trade unions have also passed resolutions of solidarity with the struggle. According to LE MONDE:

The scope of this protest movement seems to have inspired prudence among the military hierarchy... The margin of maneuver is narrow... At Rouen, five conscripts were transferred to other regiments. The left parties and the trade unions in the city protested strongly -- in a common petition -- against these 'completely unjustified sanctions.' The military authorities would no doubt rather avoid such demonstrations of support which only help increase the audience of the "Appeal of the One Hundred."

Strengthened by the open support of the workers, the conscripts have moved beyond mere petitions and have set out to win their rights by exercising them. In September, 200 uniformed conscripts marched through the streets of Draguignan, giving the clenched fist salute and making their demands known. In January, a week after the trial of the Draguignan "ringleaders," (who got almost no punishment because of mass pressure), soldiers at Karlsruhe in West Germany met to discuss their demands and protest the trial. Later some 200 of these soldiers marched out of the camp to demonstrate in town. Through our the armed forces, conscripts continue to produce and circulate their own demands in greater numbers.

## LABOR DRAFT

The fight for a Labor Draft cannot be left for sometime in the hazy future -- the struggle in the army indicates that the working class will soon launch a new offensive. Not is the program of the Labor Draft in any way a utopian abandonment of the immediate struggle of the soldiers. The more earnestly the workers put forward their program, the surer the conscripts will feel in their demands. To a tremendous extent, the militants in the army have already raised the program of the Labor Draft. The movements' demand for free choice of induction date must be taken up by the workers as part of the general struggle to make universal military training A WORKING CLASS RIGHT, not a bourgeois service. The soldiers have raised the demand for no postings outside the country. This is a mighty blow aimed at French imperialism which must get the unconditional support of the proletariat. In taking up this demand to fight for the Labor Draft revolutionists in the trade unions must put forward definite proposals for the REORGANIZATION OF MILITARY TRAINING INTO MILITIAS UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL. This is the workers' practical answer to the capitalists' claim that the armed forces only exist for the "defense of the nation."

Above all, the proletariat must use the power of the trade unions to break up the capitalists' army by calling for the election of officers. This is the demand the trade unions must raise without equivocation, because it is the one which is most difficult for the soldiers themselves to put forward. As part of the same struggle to end the conditions which make military training a service to the ruling class, the workers must continue to demand full trade-union wages for conscripts. The soldiers' demand for an end to special "military law" and military tribunals is another step towards shattering the bourgeois sanctity of the army. The soldiers must have the same rights to expression and organization as the workers organizations exercise.

The coming year will see tremendous class battles in France. By embracing the soldiers struggle in the workers' program for power, the revolution will march forward from these battles to victory.



## FOR THE POLITICAL

By KEVIN TRACEY

At long last, the hot air of "detente" is afloat on the tropic breezes of Cuba. Fidel the Good, patron saint of the Pabloites and other confusionists of all stripes, is showing in his recent actions that the program of "socialism in one country" leads inevitably to accommodation with capitalism. In this sense, as in so many others, the Castroites share a fundamental similarity with the worst Stalinist bureaucrats, despite their more recent revolutionary rhetoric and demeanor.

## MONOCULTURE

Historically, under imperialist rule, the island of Cuba was a single-crop economy, a sugar monoculture. This was simultaneously the cause and symptom of its economic backwardness and dependency. When the Castro group came to power, as a radical petty-bourgeois layer which wanted to redress the grievances "its" country had suffered, it sought to immediately broaden the economic base of the nation. As a result of the initiative of the Cuban masses and of the absolute necessity for the Castroites to rely on the Soviet Union for their very survival, they carried out this program of national capitalist "independence" only within the framework of the nationalized means of production and the planned economy. So, while Mandel and others cheered the attempts of Guevara to diversify the Cuban economy, they were actually encouraging -- in the guise of "unconscious Trotskyism" -- a policy

which had to lead ultimately to the most reactionary conclusions.

## AUTARKY

The only way in which the economic disadvantages and backwardness, the unevenness, of any single country can be overcome is in the context of a planned world economy. Only that can guarantee the complete abolition of all the capitalist relations of production -- national boundaries, private ownership -- which impede economic growth on a world and national scale today, as well as the practical recognition of the socialization of production. The only way to this objective is through the perspective of the permanent world revolution. This means the most bitter fight against Stalinism, at once the expression and exacerbation of the continued existence of the capitalist production relations.

Because the Castroites did not represent the working class, the only class capable of carrying through this perspective, and because they were therefore wholly dependent on Stalinism for the execution of the tasks of national independence, the work of the permanent revolution, they could create only a peculiar and temporarily left version of that classic Stalinist program which bows before the continuing existence of world imperialism: "socialism in one country." This program of completely false economic independence (autarky) meant that its outcome would be very dangerous to the working class and to the continued existence of the limited gains of the Cuban Revolution.

## FIRST FORUM - CONTINUED

SWP to the "United Secretariat" and in denouncing the 1966 Liege intervention of the IC into a Pabloite-Stalinist youth rally as a "provocation." (This charge was repeated at the meeting by the SL's Chicago organizer.)

## SL AND THE OCI

Then the Spartacist League tried to tar the TO and the IL with the brush of the past bad positions of the OCI. This is extremely remarkable in view of the fact that the SL in 1973, AFTER the split which produced the IL, AFTER the OCI had begun its vile campaign of slandering the IL's leadership as agents of the "KGB-CIA," approached the OCI and its "Organizing Committee" for discussions. (SPARTACIST #22) And none of the points raised by the SL in the forum appeared in its request in 1973. Far from it. It was precisely the RETROGRESSION of the OCI, precisely its renunciation of the continuity of the IC, which inspired the SL to seek discussion with it. The right-wing turn of the OCI made it inviting to the SL, hence its sour grapes attitude towards the present SWP-OCI relationship. Strike three for the Sparts, and out.

## THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL EXISTS

While the SL intervention was completely confused -- all mixed up with hysterical personal attacks and a purely static and formal distortion of

democratic centralism -- it did have its political significance. One of the signs of the weaknesses of the IC, which the IL has transcended politically, was the creation of a plethora of groups claiming to be Trotskyist, due to the inability of the IC to fully build itself as the FI, as the leading center. One of the most successful of these groups, in a momentary sense, "nourished on accidental crumbs from the table of the Fourth International," has been the SL. The heavy numbers it sent to our forum, including "imports" from New York, its ranting and raving throughout the meeting, all reveal the desperate fear it feels before the fact of its rapid disappearance from the scene.

As the IL representative stated in his summary speech, the SL could not and did not address the central question -- what about the Fourth International? What is it; how to build it? This was most graphically demonstrated by the fact that the SL NEVER mentioned in its whole intervention its "International Spartacist Tendency," not even once. Before the reality of the Fourth International rebuilding itself, the SL simply shrank up and was reduced to at least passive recognition of its historical irrelevance.

The first forum of the Trotskyist Organization signalled the doom of tendencies like the SL. Not in some sectarian, purely polemical way, but by the beginning of the rebuilding of the Fourth International itself in this country.

**"THE TEN MILLION"**

The program of Guevara ran up almost immediately against the stone wall of reality. The revolution in Latin America did not materialize (small wonder, given the Castroites' program), the Russians and Chinese were reluctant to give and give to make Cuba a mini-model of socialist economy, the American blockade reinforced the existing weaknesses of the economy, etc. "Che" grew weary of the futile battle and went off to pursue his own quixotic adventures.

And Fidel was left at home with the same old problems. It was then that the idea of using Cuba's very backwardness to overcome its backwardness arose. This too is part of the Stalinist perspective, summed-up in the brilliant "juche" formula of Kim Il-Sung: "Use what you got to get what you need." Thus was conceived the campaign for the "ten million" tons of sugar in 1970. This great harvest would produce enough revenue to allow Cuba to take off economically.

But the drive was a bust. The lack of machinery, of a skilled and sufficient workforce, of a fully controlled plan understood by the workers -- all the signs of Cuba's existing backwardness -- meant that the campaign would fall 15% short of the goal. This was the end of the glorious promises of the Castro leadership.

**PRODUCTIVITY -- AND MORE**

The spell of autarky -- by diversification or by leaping over your own head -- was completely broken. It was then that Castro began his demagogic campaign for "workers' democracy" -- which, to their everlasting shame, the Pabloites cheered -- which quickly degenerated

into a crude attack on "shirkers" and "idlers" and increasing demands for growth in labor productivity. The classic Stalinist methods were now resorted to; the period of dreams was over.

Since that time, Castro has proceeded in a pattern more and more reminiscent of any other Stalinist bureaucrat. His accommodation with the US on "skyjackings," his reasonableness on revolution (as in Chile), his eager seeking of trade agreements to overcome the backwardness of Cuba through integration into the very economic system whose continued existence is responsible for that backwardness, his eager approaches to rapprochement with the United States, all fall under the heading of the Stalinist normalization of Cuba -- a situation in the making for sixteen years.

**NOT REFORM BUT REVOLUTION**

The Castro leadership is incapable of rectifying this Stalinist course. It can no more reform itself than can any other Stalinist bureaucracy. The recent hullabaloo about elections -- in one province, once, maybe -- reflect not a moderation of bureaucratic rule, but the institution, albeit on a modified scale, of the whole democratic charade common to the other deformed workers' states. It marks the formal end of the period of revolutionary pretense, of the provisional character of the government, appropriate to seeming revolutions.

The slogan of political revolution, politically correct all along, can now find a real response among the Cuban working class, shorn of its illusions and faced with the increasingly extortionate nature of Castroism. Now is the time and the chance to begin that task.

**On International Working Women's Day**



By MARGARET BRECHT

While the Social Democrats, Stalinists, feminists and centrists join together in making pious speeches in favor of the rights of women, the Trotskyist Organization in the US proclaims the utter incompatibility of capitalism and human liberation and the indissoluble link between the struggle of women and Bolshevism. And it fights to rebuild the Fourth International upon whose fate hangs the dictatorship of the proletariat. March 8th -- International Working Women's Day -- is our holiday.

It was sixty-seven years ago that women of the American proletariat led the fight against the criminal exploiters of the textile industry in New York and Philadelphia, once again taking their place in the forefront of the struggle against capitalism as they had in its earliest days.

This struggle, among others, signaled the close of the epoch of capitalist ascendancy in the United States and the dawn of the revolutionary epoch, our epoch, the epoch of retribution for the most downtrodden. And it was in honor of these fighters that International Working Women's Day was, in 1910, proclaimed by the left-wing leaders of the Second International.

Seven years later, the women of the Russian proletariat, taking this holiday as their own, went into the streets of Petrograd to demand bread. They called on the workers and soldiers to join them and together they brought down the Czarist dictatorship and began the world revolution.

The Russian Revolution answered the question that was posed before the young movement in America. The February regime, the most democratic BOURGEOIS regime in the world, could not stand. Capitalism and human liberation are incompatible. In the place of this regime was constructed the October regime, the regime of the Soviets, of the masses of workers and peasants, of Bolshevism. It was this regime which defeated the White Guard reaction which threatened the democratic conquests of February. The struggle of those forgotten under capitalism demonstrably found fruition in Bolshevism.

Lenin, on the occasion of International Working Women's Day in 1921, wrote: No party or revolution in the world has ever dreamed of striking so deep at the roots of the oppression and inequality of women as the Soviet, Bolshevik Republic is doing... And so on this International Working Women's Day, countless women in all countries of the world will send greetings to Soviet Russia, which first tackled this unparalleled and incredibly hard but great task, a task that is universally great and truly liberatory.

The completion of this task of Bolshevism falls today to the forces of the Fourth International.

The Stalinist bureaucrats, in abandoning the International revolution and in turning on the working class of the whole world, robbed the women of the Soviet Union of their new freedoms and deepened and exacerbated the old inequalities.

In the prohibition of abortion in the 1930's -- presented by the bureaucracy as a measure in keeping with the notion that in a "socialist" society no woman has the right to decline the joys of motherhood -- and in the accompanying official statistics on the occupations of women meeting death through "mutilation" -- no Soviet "ladies" will be found among them -- is expressed the essence of the regime as one thoroughly hostile to the working class.

It attempts today, as it has in the past, to save capitalism from its inevitable fate through the installation in the name of the working class of bourgeois regimes in country after country.

But so discredited is Stalinism in the eyes of the advanced workers that it must seek others, misusing the banner of the Fourth International, to carry out its work.

This is the significance of all the work of the Pabloite "International," including its advocacy of "feminism" and, in accordance with this, its substitution in its press of "International Women's Day" for what for the communist movement has always been International WORKING Women's Day.

In Portugal and Spain, where women have taken to the streets, have struck against the government and have fought on the barricades, the Pabloite "United Secretariat" has publicized the miserable feminist campaign of the "Three Marias," enjoining women of all classes to unite to reform the society. In the United States, where the women of Harlan County physically defended the miners' strike against Duke Power, the Pabloite United Secretariat has played the critical role in the organization of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. This organization, born in ignominy by its refusal to hear the appeal of the Harlan County militants, has as its sole purpose the wedding of women to the traitors of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The struggle to defeat these Pabloite lackeys of the Stalinist bureaucracy and, in so doing, to once again bring Bolshevism face-to-face with Stalinism, is the struggle to rebuild -- TODAY -- the Fourth International. The International League, and the Trotskyist Organization in the US, carry out this work. The formation of a faction for the 4th Open Conference -- the Conference of the Rebuilt Fourth International -- within the Pabloite "International" in Spain must be followed by the formation of a faction in the United States within the YSA/SWP and IT. Unlike the Stalinists and the Pabloites, who base themselves entirely on the upper layers of the working class and on the middle-class and its students, the International League needs all those who have no stake in capitalism to carry out its work. This means especially the women.

And the women of the world proletariat need the Fourth International. So while the opportunists occupy themselves with protest demonstrations on March 8, the Trotskyist Organization calls on the women of the American proletariat to join with the Fourth International, to reclaim your holiday as your own under the banner of the Fourth International. This is the banner of human liberation, of Bolshevism. This is the banner of your approaching victory.

**REVOLUTION IN CUBA**



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# Ten Years After MALCOLM X

By FRED MICHAELS

February 21, 1975, will be the 10th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. Unlike the Jesse Jacksons, Jarvis Tyner and Andrew Pulleys who, if they are remembered at all, will be remembered as the shadow of US imperialism in the black community, Malcolm X has made a contribution to the struggle of the black proletariat -- his life was a living example of their road to liberation -- the road past nationalism to socialism.

Malcolm X spoke for the needs of the black masses -- those who have "nothing to lose but their chains." At a meeting held in New York City in 1964, black intellectuals begrudgingly observed that Martin Luther King could secure the allegiance of the middle and upper classes of blacks, but Malcolm X alone could secure the allegiance of the blacks at the bottom. "Malcolm X cannot be corrupted, they know this and therefore respect him."

The liberation of those "at the bottom" was at the center of his life. "No God, no religion, no nothing will make me forget the conditions of our people in this country, until it stops, until it's finished, until it's eliminated. I want to make that point clear." It is precisely for this reason that he was drawn towards socialism -- the only solution which can aid the black masses.

## NATIONALISM

He joined the Muslims in 1953 -- at the time one of the few organizations which ADMITTED the oppression of blacks. After his expulsion in March, 1964, he founded his own religious organization, the Moslem Mosque, Inc, which he planned to engage in political activity. He put his intentions quite plainly: "Our political philosophy is black nationalism, our economic philosophy is black nationalism, our cultural emphasis is black nationalism." After the stagnant nationalism of the Muslims he wanted to enter the mass movement with the nationalist program. Pushing the nationalist program to its limits, he was forced, in order not to abandon the revolutionary solutions of these tasks -- the only solution -- to move towards revolutionary socialism. Upon returning from Africa in May, 1964, he founded a secular organization on a radical program that was not explicitly nationalist. In early 1965 he decisively rejected the nationalist program.

When he was a nationalist, his nationalism was not that of unnoticed conferences funded by the Ford Foundation but of radical demands for land and separation. This program reflected the desire of the majority of blacks to be independent of capitalist society. At the first meetings of the Muslims that he attended there was a blackboard with an American flag painted on it. Underneath was the inscription, "Slavery, Suffering, Death." On the other side of the blackboard was the Muslim flag with the words, "Freedom, Justice, Equality." Malcolm's program was a realization of this goal -- a separate black nation.

"The race problem can be easily solved -- just send these twenty-million ex-slaves back to our own homeland... this government should provide the transportation, materials, and finance, from twenty to twenty-five years until we can be independent in OUR OWN COUNTRY." (emphasis in original). Such demands would not be granted by a benevolent Eisenhower. A revolution was required. Elijah Muhammad did not include this in his program but Malcolm X did. "If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism."

As he fought for the nationalist program the limitations became increasingly clear to him. In 1962, he planned a full program of activity to protest the slaughter of seven Muslims in Los Angeles by the police. His appeal was non-sectarian -- "Whether you are white or black this is your fight too." In the middle of the building of this campaign it was called off from Chicago without explanation. He was expelled from the Muslims ostensibly for saying of Kennedy's assassination in 1963 that it's "just the chickens coming home to roost." Such experiences led him to conclude several years later: "Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you noticed, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard-pressed to give a specific definition of the over-all philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country." Having left nationalism, he was searching for a new program. But he did not embrace the bourgeois program -- integrationism.

## DENOUNCED INTEGRATIONISM

Malcolm was always completely hostile to bourgeois politics. He never ceased to rail against the reformist leaders who wished to integrate the black masses into the dying capitalist system. These leaders, discredited in the early sixties because they had accomplished nothing, were propped up by the government with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Malcolm X correctly diagnosed this as a "slap in the face." Its existence was proof of the complete lack of democratic rights in the home of democracy! Integrationism as a political policy is inextricably tied up with non-violence. And this, too, was a major target of Malcolm X. Black demonstrators were constantly attacked during the civil rights struggles. The leaders refused to mobilize the masses to defend these marches and relied completely on the police. Malcolm X offered his assistance in the form of defense guards to these leaders. This united action was designed to expose the leadership and win away the allegiance of the black masses. "I do believe that the time has come for forming whatever nucleus or defense groups are necessary... We sent Martin Luther King a telegram letting him know that if he needed help, we'd come on the run. But not non-violently..."

## MALCOLM'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The period of struggle in the late fifties had thrown up a new leadership, which expressed the growing militancy of the black masses. These young leaders consciously counterposed themselves to the established organizations -- NAACP, Urban League. They attempted to channel the growing frustration of the black masses into nationalism. But the program of nationalism, while it raised hopes even higher, provided no solution. The ghetto rebellion in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 was the first of many that displayed the inherent incapacity of these NEW leaders to give any real direction to the growing frustrations of the masses. In this confusing context, attacked by civil rights leaders as too radical and by the nationalists as too moderate, Malcolm X began to find a road to socialism.

The colonial revolutions occurring in Africa, while broadening his outlook, confused Malcolm X. He thought these were socialist revolutions -- which they were not -- and sought to use their example to further his own understanding, as well as popularize the idea of socialism. His misconceptions of these revolutions led him to think that

he could rely on a bloc of these "revolutionary" nations in the UN to support his tactic of bringing the oppression of American blacks before the UN.

At the same time, he EXPLICITLY REJECTED the nationalist program. The SWP claims that Malcolm X supported community control but for him it was not a separate demand, but a training ground for developing the black state. "Once we control our own communities now, then perhaps we will later be able to control our own country..." When asked some months later, "But you no longer believe in a black state?", his answer was "No." In rejecting nationalism, he had rejected community control. Secondly, he rejected the racialist analysis which is part of any nationalist program. "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict, or as purely an American problem." He was searching for a complete program that would bring together the many insights he had so far developed. That program is the Trotskyist program.

## SWP BETRAYAL

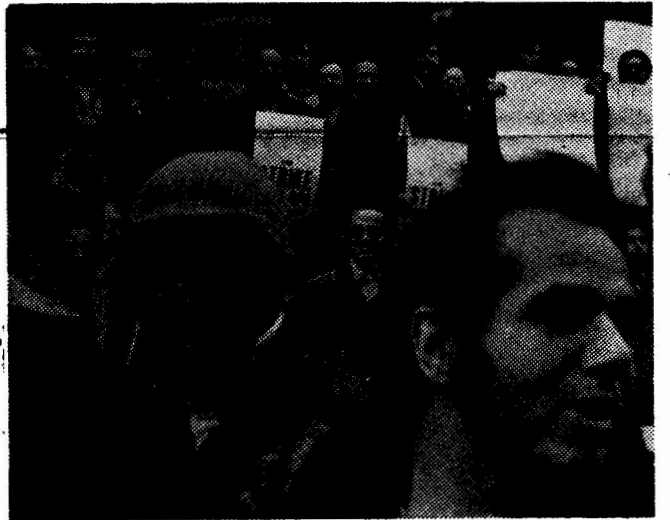
During his last months, he had become quite friendly with the SWP. They were virtually the only left group to honestly report his views. Yet their attitude towards him was completely tailist. They did not treat him as a serious militant. They offered no guidance. Ironically, Malcolm X publicly disagreed at one forum with their 1963 pamphlet "Freedom Now," which was the last pamphlet of the SWP which contained in the most skeletal form the Trotskyist position on blacks. Needless to say, the SWP did not defend the pamphlet.

The SWP claimed that Malcolm X and Fidel Castro took the same road, only Fidel went down it further to become an "unconscious Trotskyist." The SWP, by tying Malcolm X to their revisionist position on the Cuban revolution aided in derailing the understanding of militants to Malcolm's unique role in the black movement. Instead of carrying the light in FRONT of Malcolm X so that HE could better see the road, the SWP held it BEHIND him so that THEY could be seen with him.

## ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X

As a Muslim, Malcolm X established himself as a mass leader. During his tenure as a Muslim minister their membership increased from 400 to 40,000! His integrity made him stand out against such leaders as King, who used Rockefeller's jet to hop from city to city "calming" the rebellious masses. As he moved towards socialism, his stature as a leader placed this development in the limelight. He became a menace to capitalism.

The ghetto rebellion in Harlem in 1964 convinced the government it was time to act against the best militants -- and Malcolm was the best. Propping the civil rights leaders politically with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the War on Poverty, etc., they moved militarily against the radicals. Malcolm began to receive death threats upon his return from Africa in December, 1964. At first Malcolm suspected the Muslims. In January, 1965 he was refused admission to France! He became convinced that it was not the Muslims who were after him. In April, 1965, a North African diplomat said that at the time of the refusal his



UPS WORKERS IN NEW YORK ON STRIKE

country's intelligence department was quietly informed by French intelligence that the CIA planned Malcolm's murder and France feared he might be liquidated on French soil! The government's role in Malcolm's death appears certain -- it is part and parcel of the bourgeoisie's "strategy" in this epoch.

## THE ROAD FORWARD

The nationalist movement as well as the civil rights leaders were unable to move forward after his death. The years following are marked almost exclusively by more planless, undirected ghetto rebellions. Today the situation is ripening for the intervention of revolutionaries in the leftward movement of the black proletariat. Only last month Imamu Baraka, perhaps the last "nationalist" leader, in what can only be described as a caricature of Malcolm's sincere interest in socialism, declared himself a Marxist-Leninist of the Amilcar Cabral variety. This is, however, only a reflection of a changing sentiment among advanced militants, whom Baraka is trying so desperately to catch up with.

Malcolm's fight will show the way for the black working class today and it will be the revolutionary proletariat who will claim him as their own:

The young generation of whites, blacks, browns whatever else there is, you're living in a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time there has to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change, and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. I for one will join with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth.

# TRUTH

