

TROTSKYIST



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JOIN the WORLD FIGHT BUILD WORKER YOUTH CIRCLES AT FORD! **in AUTO!** DEMONSTRATE FOR JOBS JULY 3RD!

By JON MYERS

The Trotskyist Organization of the United States calls upon working-class militants and especially working-class youth to join, build and help organize the international campaign in auto led by the International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International under the slogans: JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS! FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE TO BRING DOWN FORD-ROCKEFELLER -- FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT! FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL! FOR THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL, WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Our international campaign in auto has one purpose: to organize the working class through its youth in a fight to confront the capitalist crisis in the United States and around the world. The crisis in the United States is clear to every worker -- official unemployment continues to rise and is now at 8.9% of the workforce. The slump in the auto industry continues to fall -- the auto

industry, auto workers have been hit hardest by the worldwide capitalist recession. Traditionally the bastion of working-class militancy in the United States and around the world, the international auto workers have borne the brunt of the capitalist attack. The capitalists first and foremost try to break this most organized and militant section of the international working class. The auto workers around the world have begun their offensive and in almost every major country in Europe it is the auto workers who are leading the working-class upsurge. They are responding to conditions that are the same around the world -- massive layoffs, plant closures, speed-up inside the plants and attacks on the rights of workers to organize.

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

A united, international response to this attack, led by the auto workers, is key to organizing the fight of the international working class on a world

scale. The International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International, is leading and

the International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International, is leading and organizing the fight on a world scale. In France, the only party to call for the General Strike against the Giscard government, is the Party of the Workers, led by the betrayals of the French Communist Party and winning the hearing of the working-class youth at Renault.

In Spain, it has been the fight of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Spanish section of the International League, to organize the workers at SEAT, the key auto plant in Spain, for the general strike in Barcelona that has opened up a situation that is profoundly revolutionary in Spain. Through its strength at SEAT and among the working-class youth throughout Spain, the POR represents the only revolutionary party in the eyes of the Spanish workers and has been designated as the most dangerous organization in Spain by the Franco dictatorship. The fight against the repression of the fascist regime in Spain must become the fight of every worker in the US, especially the auto workers -- the auto workers at SEAT play the key role in the coming Spanish revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

The International League is continuing this fight throughout Europe and the US: in FIAT in Italy, Volkswagen in Germany, Volvo in Sweden, British Leyland in England, and Ford Motor in the US. It is the axis of the fight of the International League to mobilize the working-class youth of the world for the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International in Berlin this summer under the slogans: Down with the Berlin Wall! For the Socialist United States of Europe! For the World Soviet Republic! For the 4th International! This fight will be the key for the success of the International 4th Open Conference held by the International League in August which will proclaim the 4th International, the world party of the socialist revolution, to be rebuilt. It is part of the affirmation of the International League that the world party cannot be rebuilt by words or proclamation alone, it must exist in

reality in the eyes of the international working class and especially its youth as the ORGANIZER and the MOBILIZER of their struggles on the international level. The Trotskyist Organization of the US is sending a representative to the international meeting of young auto workers to be held in Paris on June 15th.

UNITED STATES

The unity of the world class struggle must be deepened in the US as well. The Trotskyist Organization launched the international auto campaign in the US on May 3rd through the call for Workers' Youth Circles at Ford. Ford will play a key role in the upcoming UAW contract in 1976 and most likely will be the target company for the negotiations. The Workers' Youth Circles will organize the auto campaign in the US through the fight to build the Revolutionary Workers' Youth in the US which will be founded on July 4th. The fight against unemployment -- JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF

WAGES AND HOURS! STOP THE ATTACK ON IMMIGRANT WORKERS! will be key to organizing the unemployed working-class youth for the auto campaign.

The task of the Workers Youth Circles is to win the unemployed and the working-class youth in the high schools for the fight IN THE FACTORIES, IN THE UNIONS. The capitalists try to divide the working class through unemployment. Our job is to bring the unemployed BACK TO THE FACTORIES, where the power of the working class lies in order to confront the capitalists head-on.

American auto workers -- the international campaign in auto represents the unity of the struggle that you are trying to build. JOIN THIS STRUGGLE. BUILD THE WORKERS' YOUTH CIRCLES AT FORD! AID IN OUR PETITION CAMPAIGN FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION! JOIN THE FIGHT FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL! It is your struggle.

unable to... 20% of the... for an even worse recession to come. The hardest hit by the crisis continues to be the working-class youth -- especially black and brown youth whose unemployment continues to soar at a 40-50% rate.

MOBILIZATION HAS BEGUN

In the face of this vicious attack by the capitalists, which represents their refusal to give in to a single one of the demands or needs of the working class and their resolve to take back all the gains previously won by the American working class in its long history of struggles, the American workers and youth have begun their mobilization against this attack. Despite the sabotage of their struggles by the labor bureaucracy, and despite the absence of an organized leadership for their struggles, the American workers have expressed their desire to fight back.

APRIL 26th

The April 26th demonstration in Washington, D.C. of 50,000 American workers was an expression of this mobilization. Angered by the refusal of their "leadership," the union bureaucracy, to wage any kind of fight against unemployment or to lead their struggles, 50,000 workers responded with force -- shouting down the labor bureaucrats and refusing to allow the capitalist "friends of labor," the Democratic Party politicians, to speak. Against the labor bureaucrats, against the misleaders of the workers, in particular the Socialist Communist Party and the Stalinist Workers Party, it was the call of the Trotskyist Organization of the US for the General Strike that won a favorable response from the workers at the rally. April 26th must be developed and deepened; the response of the American workers to the crisis must be organized and centralized.

AUTO IS THE KEY TO THIS FIGHT

The key to the organization and centralization of the fight of the American working class is the fight in the auto

To WORKERS and YOUTH of Workers, Youth, Intellectuals of France and Portugal! DEFEND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION!

A new wave of arrests has broken out in Spain. The repression has struck the militant revolutionaries, it is attacking the masses of workers in struggle. A state of emergency has been decreed in Bilbao and St. Sebastian, making possible any action by the state. Any "suspect" person can be arrested without warning or charge. Those in prison can be savagely tortured, accused and condemned for the charge of assassination, including that of Carrero Blanco.

The rotten regime of Franco is tottering, its days are numbered. The fall of the last fascist dictatorship in Europe is imminent. It is haunted by the spectre of Portugal. Born in the blood of the revolution, its convulsive death agony increases its ferocity even more. The open repression directly faces the totality of the workers whose growing and combative mobilization is directed towards the completion of the objective of the defeated revolution and strikes the regime in a head-on collision. The repression attacks in the first place the conscious section of the working class, judged to be the most dangerous.

In the first two weeks of April, a large number of militants were arrested in Bilbao and Pamplona, accused of belong-

ing to the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party), Spanish Section of the International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International, as well as the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria ETA VI (Mandelites) and the organization, Communist Left. The majority are accused of being members of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, precisely of this Party which, while organizing the struggle of the workers at SEAT, asserted itself on April 16th as the leadership of the general strike of the building workers in Barcelona. The Council of Ministers met immediately. It examined the activity of all the "subversive" organizations, while paying particular attention to the Partido Obrero Revolucionario. In an unprecedented fashion, the press, the radio and the television, all at once united in concert in order to support this examination. The decaying regime designated the Partido Obrero Revolucionario as the most dangerous organization. The police have accused the majority of the arrested and tortured militants of being a part of it. At the same time they present the militants as thieves, murderers and terrorists in order to be able to "legally" and more ferociously attack them, the same with the "subversive" organizations, in the

Continued on Page 2

DEMONSTRATE at the SPANISH CONSULATE

MAY 17th IN CHICAGO, 11 E. ADAMS ST., 12:00 NOON.
SUPPORT THE PETITION DEFENSE CAMPAIGN!

Forward to the First National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization of the US

The Trotskyist Organization of the United States calls upon all working-class youth and working-class militants to join in the struggle for the First National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization of the US, to be held on the weekend of August 2nd and 3rd in Chicago. This Conference will be the final stage of the preparation in the US for the International 4th Open Conference which on August 20, 1975, the thirty-fifth anniversary of Trotsky's assassination, will proclaim the 4th International rebuilt.

Like the International 4th Open Conference, which will rebuild the world party of the socialist revolution, the First National Conference of the TO/US is not just an "internal affair" for the militants of the International League, or for those who claim to be Trotskyists. It is above all the concern of the working-class militants in this country, and above all, the working-class youth.

The tasks of the First National Conference will be to set the precise objectives and goals for the holding of the First Trotskyist Congress in the US and the proclamation of the constructed Revolutionary Workers Party in the United States. Every struggle today of the working class and especially its youth cries out for such a party, a revolutionary workers party, to organize and lead its struggles. In the face of all the opportunist and confusionist leaderships of the working class who avoid constructing such a party, either through the substitution of a "labor party," or a "labor party government," for the tasks of the revolutionary party, or by staving year after year that they are for building a revolutionary party but refusing to say when or how this party will be built, the Trotskyist Organization, through the struggle of the International League, tells the American working class through its youth that such a party can and must be built NOW. The First National Conference of the TO/US must be able to proclaim that it will be under the leadership of the TO/US alone that the Revolutionary Workers Party in the US will be constructed.

The preparation of the First National Conference falls under the orientation outlined by the Second Congress of the International League. In his report on the Second Congress at the public meeting of the Trotskyist Organization held in Chicago on April 20th, Kevin Tracey of the TO/US stressed that this means the concrete transformation of the TO/US from a propaganda group into an ORGANIZER AND MOBILIZER of the working class, leading the struggles of the working class through its youth.

This transformation must be accomplished through the implantation of the TO/US in the centers of the working class, primarily in auto. The purpose of the international auto campaign launched by the TO/US in the US through its implantation and construction of Worker Youth Circles at Ford Motor is to mobilize the working-class youth in auto behind the struggle of the Revolutionary Youth International and the fight of the International League to rebuild the Fourth International.

The fight to build the international auto campaign is the center of the fight to found the Revolutionary Worker Youth in the US, which will be founded on the weekend of July 4th. The discussions at the Second Congress of the International League provided a clarification for the struggle of the TO/US to build the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States. The Second Congress stressed that the center of the orientation of the International League must be towards the working-class youth in the FACTORIES. The factories must be the focus of all our work -- to win the unemployed, the high school youth TO THE FACTORY, which is where the unity of the class struggle must be built.

The Trotskyist Organization will soon publish its COMBAT PLATFORM for the Trotskyist Congress as our weapon in the mobilization of the working class in the United States behind the program of the 4th International. As part of the preparation of the First Conference a subscription drive will be launched for TRUTH and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which will enable TRUTH to become a bi-weekly on September 15, 1975. It is essential for all of our supporters and militants to join and support this campaign to expand

and develop TRUTH and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

The preparation of the First National Conference as an element of the preparation of the 4th International and the Trotskyist Congress also passes through the destruction of the confusionist centers in the US who claim to be Trotskyist, in particular the Workers League and the Socialist Workers Party. We thus concretely set as a goal for the First National Conference the formation of factions in the Workers League and the Socialist Workers Party for the First National Conference, for the International 4th Open Conference that will rebuild the 4th International. It is part of the struggle to change the relationship between the Trotskyist Organization and the working class in this country; to fight to have the working class through its youth recognize the Trotskyist Organization as the only organization fighting for the 4th International in the US.

American working-class youth and militants who want to fight for the 4th International: we call upon you to join the struggle for this Conference. Skeptics accuse us of being "voluntarists." They say that the time is not yet "ripe" for the 4th International or the revolutionary party in the US, that we are too weak numerically to do anything. Yet they are unable to prove that any of our policies is false and do not dare confront the working class and its youth with their cynicism. They have nothing to say in Spain where the International League is mobilizing under its banner tens of thousands of Spanish workers behind the general strike and soon they will have nothing to say here.

--FORWARD TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE US!



Fascists

Around the country in recent weeks and months, especially in the Chicago area, there has been an upsurge in the activity of fascist and proto-fascist groups -- Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, etc. The most important thing is to understand that this activity is not a sign of growing reaction in this country, but of the growing strength and mobilization of the working class -- shown most recently on April 26th. When the workers are passive and backward, the capitalist class has no use for fascist elements. It (or part of it) turns to these forces only when it is becoming clear that drastic action is necessary to stop the workers from moving against capitalism.

And this means that the response of the working class to the initial steps of the fascists can have a decisive significance for the future. The fascists are the shock troops of the counterrevolution. If the shock troops are beaten, smashed, then the rest of the reactionary forces fall back in dismay and disorder. Every small victory now means greater ones later.

But this defeat of the fascists depends entirely on the workers and their leadership. Anyone who says to rely on the police is directly strengthening the fascists, causing the demoralization and disorganization of our forces. As Trotsky wrote: "The DISARMING OF THE FASCISTS is a shameful slogan when it is addressed to the bourgeois police. The DISARMING OF THE FASCISTS is an excellent slogan when it is addressed to revolutionary workers."

At every opportunity, at every necessity, we must form defense squads against right-wing terror, whether it be directed against racial minorities or against the activities of the workers' movement -- because these are one and the same question. These defense squads require the arming of the workers, the armed protection of picket lines and

demonstrations. And they also pose OFFENSIVE tasks. We must be ready to break up beforehand any fascist activities, to isolate them, to prevent their rallies, to make it unsafe for them even to appear. That will throw a monkey wrench into their plans and into the plans of their bosses.

These activities demand the full participation of the mass organizations of the working-class movement for their full success -- above all, of the trade unions. But this will never happen solely by "calling" on the unions to act -- in general. The fight for the unions to act means a fight against the bureaucrats. And this fight requires the initiative of the revolutionary party, not just in union meetings, but in initiating activities against the fascists which show that they can be defeated, in organizing victories -- even small ones -- which will encourage the workers to be for their own mobilization and that of their organizations.

Once again, as always, the party is everything. It builds itself in order to lead the workers; it builds itself by leading them.

Hypocrites

First the capitalists tried to convince everyone that kidnapping babies from Vietnam was "humanitarian," since it "rescued" them from the "Red Menace." That didn't work -- its real purpose was to whoop up the workers for an intervention in Vietnam. And now that the whole rotten war has gone up in smoke, they're trying to pass off the rescue of their goons and stooges as "humanitarian."

As we have pointed out before, the American capitalist class is howling after "illegal aliens," blaming them for the consequences of the capitalist's own system and trying to divide the working class in this way. Now that jerk, Ford, has the nerve, the cynical hypocrisy, to announce that America is "a nation of immigrants." While the Vietnamese reactionaries pour in the gates, carrying their stolen gold with them, maybe he'd like to explain that statement to the Latinos, West Indians, Greeks, Poles, etc., that Ford and his lackeys have DEPORTED from this "nation of immigrants."

But their hypocrisy doesn't stop there. Now, we do not support in any way the politics of the draft resisters, evaders, deserters: "Individualistic and anarchistic slogans of refusal to undergo military service, passive resistance, desertion, sabotage are in basic contradiction to the methods of the proletarian revolution." (WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, 1934). But it is an absolute necessity that those who at least were against the war be allowed to come back to this country. What's really unbearable is that the Vietnamese reactionaries include huge numbers of young, perfectly healthy, rich individuals, who never served a day in "defense of their country," but bribed corrupt officials with their parents' money and spent the war years in comfort while the Vietnamese workers and peasants -- and American workers, too -- bled and died. And they can come to the US, while the draft resisters cannot?!

And the final and worst aspect of the Vietnamese reactionaries' coming here is that it is a central part of the preparation by the ruling class to deal with the upsurge of the working class. Previous waves of anti-communist refugees -- Eastern Europeans, Cubans, etc. -- have been the basis for reactionary anti-working class movements, opposing the black movement and the struggles of workers. The Cuban "gusanos" in particular have been among the worst -- being involved in dynamitings, arson and, most recently, the Watergate mess. But let's face it, the "gusanos" have nothing on the Vietnamese! These reactionaries have been anti-communists for thirty or forty years, murdering and robbing peasants, stealing, dope dealing, black marketeering. The American working class will find in them vicious and rotten opponents of every struggle, especially now when every struggle leads to the socialist revolution. Thus, the hypocrisy of the capitalists reaches its height on this point, when, under a "humanitarian," "American Way," cover, they try to convince the American workers to admit their bitter enemies.

SEND THEM BACK!

NO ASYLUM FOR REACTIONARIES, MURDERERS AND THIEVES!

SPANISH CALL continued

first place, the PORE. And now a state of emergency has been proclaimed in the Basque provinces while thousands of have been attacked by the police and the Guardia Civil. No doubt on this point can be permitted: faced with the growth of the struggle and its expansion the state of emergency will be extended throughout the country.

Workers and youth of the entire world, above all in Europe and in particular in France and Portugal, are directly concerned, as in the past. They deeply feel the unity between their struggle and that of the Spanish workers, through the immense solidarity that has always been present with the struggles, past and present, of the Spanish working class, as well as through the hatred of Franco and his dictatorship. These profound and living sentiments are the expression of the close link between the outcome of their own combat and that of the struggle of the Spanish workers and of the fall of Francoism. There as well, the past joins the present.

The International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International addresses itself to the entire international working class, to its youth and, in particular, to those in Portugal and France, as well as to all the organizations speaking in their name. It is necessary and urgent to transform these sentiments into an active solidarity. In each country, above all in Portugal and France, the outcome, the solution, of the problems in each struggle of the workers and the youth are directly and immediately linked to the fall of the Francoist dictatorship.

What is at stake goes far beyond what was at stake in Burgos. If, at this moment, the immediate reaction of tens and thousands of workers, of youth and organizations can make Franco retreat, it is indispensable that today the mobilization of the workers, of the youth and all sincere democrats does not stop with immediate action. The present savagery of the fascist dictatorship is the expression of its final death agony.

The fight against this dictatorship is the same as the workers in every country are waging, above all in France and

is necessary is a mobilization that is sustained, organized and united: therefore, urgent, necessary and possible.

--FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

--DISSOLVE THE MILITARY AND SPECIAL TRIBUNALS!

--LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY!

--FREE RETURN OF ALL SPANISH EXILES!

--MOBILIZATION OF WORKERS, YOUTH, INTELLECTUALS AND ALL THOSE WHO SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

The International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International has begun this fight. It calls upon the workers and youth to take up this fight, to sustain it and to develop it. It calls upon the working-class organizations and those which defend democratic rights to unite together for this fight, to engage themselves in it with us.

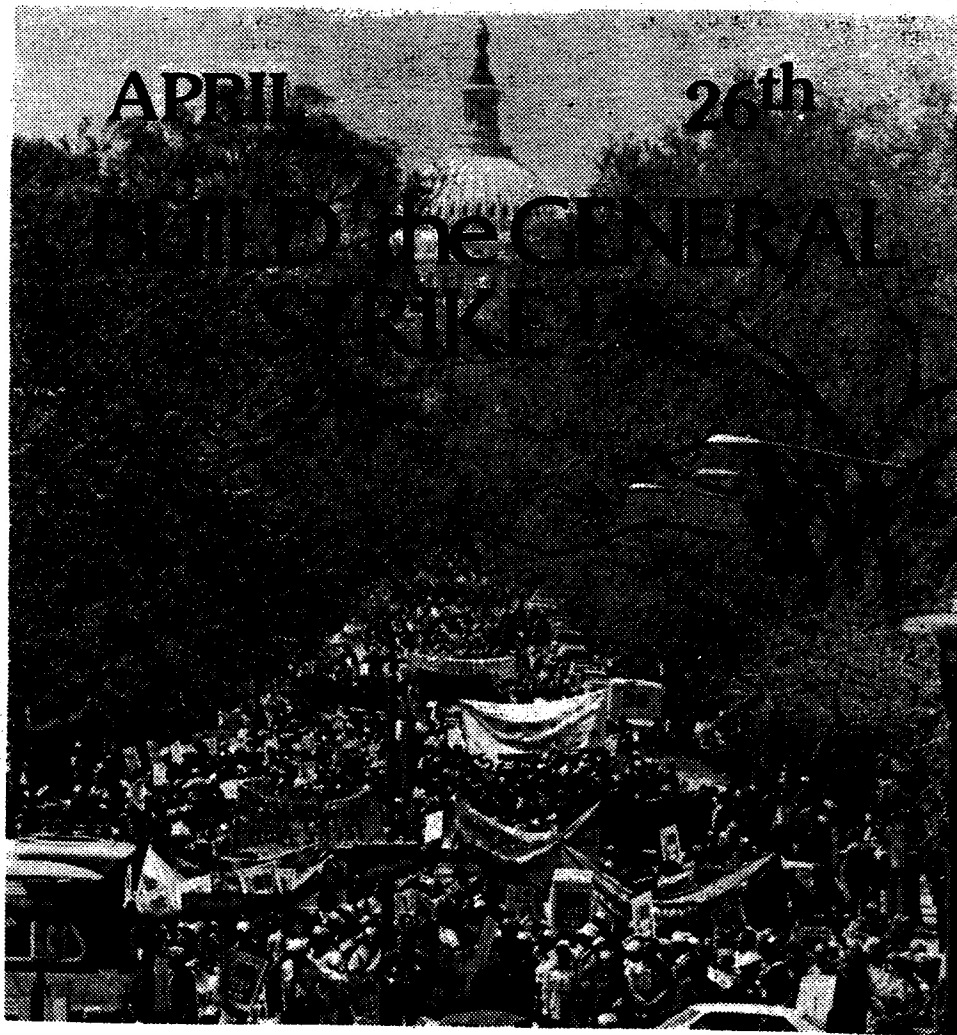
The International Secretariat International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International

FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REPRESSION. PLEASE SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO

ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SPAIN c/o TRUTH PO Box 2099, 901 Lake Street, Oak Park, IL 60304

INITIAL SPONSORS OF THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR SPAIN INCLUDE: The Class Struggle League, The Surrealist Group of the United States, The Trotskyist Organization, Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields, former leaders of the Workers League in the U.S.

THE EMERGENCY FUND DRIVE LAUNCHED BY THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE US ON FEBRUARY 15TH HAS MET WITH SUCCESS. THE GOAL OF \$2500 BY MAY 1ST HAS BEEN EXCEEDED BY ALMOST \$1000. ON MAY 1ST WE HAD COLLECTED \$3425. THIS MONEY REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT GAIN FOR THE TO/US IN LIGHT OF OUR STILL SMALL FORCES AND RESOURCES. WE THANK ALL OF OUR MILITANTS AND SUPPORTERS FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS AND KNOW THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO AID US IN THE TASKS AHEAD OF US.



By FRED MICHAELS
The demonstration of 50,000 workers in Washington, D.C., on April 26th was the biggest display yet of the ever-growing militancy of the American proletariat, despite the obstacles placed in its path by the union bureaucracy and their partners, the Stalinists. The Trotskyist Organization of the United States intervened in this mobilization with our leaflet, the ONLY group raising the slogans -- Build a General Strike to Bring Down the Ford-Rockefeller Regime -- For a Workers' Government and Forward to the Rebuilding of the 4th International. These slogans evoked a deep response from the employed and unemployed workers who attended, especially the young workers.

The demonstration, consisting of a rally and a march, was called respectively by the Industrial Union Division of the AFL-CIO and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) locals in New York, New Jersey, Michigan from the Communication Workers of America (CWA), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), United Electrical Workers (UE), and Postal Workers from Eastern cities also came. The workers in this area have been among the hardest hit by the crisis of capitalism -- only last month in New York 80,000 exhausted their unemployment benefits.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The rally revealed the deep fissures in the bureaucracy which are a result of the growing discontent of the workers. George Meany refused to endorse or attend the rally; the IUD refused to endorse the march of the AFSCME locals; at the last minute I. W. Abel, head of the IUD, decided he "couldn't make it" and sent a stand-in.

For now, however, they do stand "united" in attempting to ONCE AGAIN channel the discontent of the workers back into the Democratic Party. This time they failed. The workers refused to listen to the "friends of labor" -- Hubert Humphrey, Barbara Jordan (black Representative from Texas) and other liberal Democrats.

The interruption of the speakers was the voice of the workers clearly speaking their anger and militancy. They cheered when an IUE worker broke out onto the field; they booed as the security guards hired by the bureaucrats attempted to remove him. Yet, despite this militancy the rally was ended by the bureaucrats who hadn't wanted it in the first place. What was LACKING was the revolutionary leadership to lead this combat into TAKING OVER THE RALLY and using it to begin building the General Strike -- to build the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY -- US section of the 4th International, world party of revolution.

STALINISTS

The Communist Party, the American servants of the international apparatus of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is the main agent of the capitalists INSIDE the workers' movement. At the demonstration the CP gave total support to the slogans of the bureaucrats -- "Jobs Now" and "We want jobs, Mr.

President." To better yet serve their masters, they attacked the "disruption" of the capitalist politicians, an expression of the militancy of the workers, even more ferociously than the bourgeois press! They called it "an ultraleft action" and "racist" (!). They fail to mention that some black members of their youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), (some of these militants were attracted to the call of the Trotskyist Organization for the Revolutionary Youth International), were out on the field as well. By this attack, the CP attempts to convince the capitalists of their ability to control the militancy of the workers' mobilizations and thus prepare the road to the Popular Front. The Maoists, for all their rhetoric about a "new Communist Party," are not building a new party of class independent workers. They are repeating the slogans of the bureaucrats at Humphrey and the other liberal politicians who replied, "Yes, we are with you. We want you to have jobs." They played their role as junior partners of the Stalinists well.

CONFUSIONISTS

The various confusionist centers which claim to represent the 4th International revealed their capitulation to the Communist Party and its road to the Popular Front. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Hansen wing of the Pabloite United Secretariat, joined the Communist Party in labeling the "disruption" -- "against the wishes of the rank and file" and called it "arrogance" when the workers refused to listen to the capitalist politicians. They called for "better-organized" demonstrations in the future, i.e., those where the militancy of the workers will be controlled.

The Workers League, sympathizing section of the International Committee, revealed its capitulation before the Stalinists. At the demonstration they too chanted the slogans of the bureaucrats. Although their national secretary, Fred Mazelis, "attacks" the Stalinists in the May 2nd issue of the BULLETIN, he does not mention the 4th International and the fundamentally INTERNATIONAL character of the treachery of the Stalinists and, therefore, lies to the militants of the Workers League that the Stalinists can be defeated on a NATIONAL basis. Only the International League, by building the international party -- the rebuilt 4th International -- can combat the international apparatus of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

GENERAL STRIKE

The main obstacle to the rally going beyond a demonstration of militancy was the lack of the Revolutionary Workers Party -- US section of the 4th International. The Trotskyist Organization of the US is building this party. As the workers left the stadium, fed up with the bureaucrats and the Stalinists THE MOST FAVORABLE RESPONSE of the workers was to the slogan: Build the General Strike! The young workers, hearing this slogan for the first time, responded enthusiastically and bought copies of TRUTH. The militancy and

anger displayed in Washington shows that the American working class is ready to move and UNDERSTANDS the political significance of the slogan: Build the General Strike to Bring Down the Unelected Ford-Rockefeller Government!

POWER IS IN THE FACTORIES

The real power of the working class lies in the factories where production for the entire society takes place and where the capitalists make their profit from the work of the proletariat. The industrial workers and in particular the AUTO

workers -- most militant section of the American proletariat -- are the focus of an INTERNATIONAL campaign of the International League to win auto workers around the world to the Call for a General Strike and the party that alone can build it -- the 4th International. We are building Worker Youth Circles in the factories to build the revolutionary party. This program is the ONLY road forward to complete the powerful demonstration in Washington against the capitalist politicians and for a Workers' Government.

TUALP

By MARGARET BRECHT

The fight to retrieve the militants of the Workers League, the Young Socialists and those they influence in the "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" from the disastrous course of the "International Committee" leadership has begun.

On April 12 and 13, these "leaders" brought working-class militants from the East Coast and the Midwest to the city of Detroit, THE CITY of the American working class. But not to the factories in Detroit, not to the working-class districts in Detroit. It brought them to the DETROIT HILTON, now called the Heritage Hotel.

This is the essence of the "International Committee" leadership's strategy of pressuring the trade union bureaucracy to form a labor party. The location of the conference at the Heritage Hotel had one purpose: impressing the trade union bureaucrats and intimidating the militants who came to the conference seeking the road to revolution.

On April 12 and 13, the International League, through the Trotskyist Organization of the United States, brought the struggle for the International 4th Open Conference, building the 4th International, the struggle to mobilize the American workers in the General Strike to bring down the Ford-Rockefeller government, to the working-class militants attending the 2nd Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party at the Heritage Hotel.

The Trotskyist Organization, which was prohibited by the WL leadership from participating in the conference itself, placed itself at the stairs to the conference. It called on the militants to join the fight to rebuild the 4th International, to join the campaign of the Trotskyist Organization against the bureaucrats' attack in the United States, to form a faction in the Workers League, the Young Socialists and TUALP for the International 4th Open Conference.

The Trotskyist Organization, which was prohibited by the WL leadership from participating in the conference itself, placed itself at the stairs to the conference. It called on the militants to join the fight to rebuild the 4th International, to join the campaign of the Trotskyist Organization against the bureaucrats' attack in the United States, to form a faction in the Workers League, the Young Socialists and TUALP for the International 4th Open Conference.

When the initial efforts to simply discipline the militants against responding to the Call failed, the WL leadership began to advance "political arguments."

It attempted first to identify the TO, the American supporters of the International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International, with the Spartacist League which had, true to form, organized a picket of the conference, as it has of nearly every conference held by those who defend the struggle of the 4th International against the Pabloites, since it ran away from this struggle in 1966. Unable to convince the militants of this lie, the WL leadership attempted to claim that it was the 4th International. This effort was no more successful than the first, since the WL leadership was unable to present militants with any evidence of its international organization; still less explain why, if it was the 4th International, it was calling itself the "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party."

So the WL leadership was finally forced to rely on the Heritage Hotel management to stop the Trotskyist Organization from distributing its Call and talking to the militants at the stairs to the conference.

It was too late. The call to join the fight to rebuild the 4th International had already reached the majority attending the conference. The WL leadership couldn't stop militants from attending the meeting called by the Trotskyist Organization to organize the fight within the Workers League, the Young Socialists, and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for the International 4th Open Conference.

At this meeting the Trotskyist Organization presented the strategy of the International League for the Rebuilding of the 4th International and the mobilization of the American working class to establish the Workers' Government. Some of those who attended raised questions about this strategy. In particular, they questioned the necessity of building the world party and argued that it was

necessary to build the party and the revolution in the United States "first." And they questioned the policy of the TO for the mobilization of the workers in the general strike, for the formation and centralization of factory committees and workers' councils throughout the country to lead the strike and bring down the government. They argued that it would be nice, "if we could get it," but that Woodcock had "the power," and it was necessary to pressure him to form a labor party.

The Trotskyist Organization fought for the revolutionary strategy of the International League, based entirely on the mobilization of the international proletariat, and pointed out to the militants that their questions reflected precisely the defeatist policy of the "International Committee" leadership, its retreat before the demands of the international working class mobilization. There is no way "to get" the Workers' Government except by the mobilization of the class under the leadership of the party. No "labor party" can replace the struggle that a revolutionary party must wage.

The militants who attended the meeting did not commit themselves to the formation of a faction for the 4th Open Conference. They are waiting for their leadership, that of the "International Committee," that of the Workers League, to respond to the International League.

But the very fact that these militants attended this meeting is a manifestation of the crisis of this leadership, of its incapacity to respond politically to the International League. And the attendance of these militants at the meeting of the Trotskyist Organization deepened the crisis of this leadership.

The Trotskyist Organization moved immediately to consolidate the gains made in the holding of this meeting. Throughout the last day of the TUALP conference it continued the distribution of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, TRUTH, and the Call and the discussion with militants. By this time, the leaders of the WL, demoralized, stopped even trying to block their members and supporters from responding to the Call of the International League.

The TUALP conference was a defeat for the "International Committee" leadership for the leadership of the WL. After weeks of preparation, attendance at the conference, even according to the press of the WL, was only slightly over the actual membership of the WL. Discussion was desultory. In the evening, many of the participants drifted away. The effort of the TUALP Conference to mobilize for the April 26th demonstration in Washington, DC, resulted in a contingent of only thirty or forty people.

This political and organizational degeneration of the Workers League under the leadership of the opportunists of the "International Committee," simply makes all the more important the fight of the International League and the Trotskyist Organization to build a faction within it. The policy of this leadership -- of reliance on the trade union bureaucracy for the organization of a labor party -- has led to and will continue to lead to demoralization in the ranks and the destruction of individuals as revolutionary militants.

Thus the Trotskyist Organization deepens its efforts to implant itself among the working-class youth in the factories, to mobilize the working class through its youth for the international auto campaign and the demonstration in Berlin. In this way, it proves to the militants of the WL, of the YS, of TUALP, that it is the continuator of Bolshevism, of the International Committee; it proves to them that the 4th International exists and fights! -- not through the fiction of the present day International Committee, but through the International League.

FORWARD TO THE FORMATION OF A FACTION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL 4TH OPEN CONFERENCE!

DEFEND THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SPAIN -- DEFEND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION!

TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION!

TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE REBUILT 4TH INTERNATIONAL!

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The Second Congress of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International meets at a moment in the class struggle that we characterize as a pre-revolutionary situation on the international level and particularly in Europe. This means that the bourgeoisie is determined to fight all the demands of the working class and its youth, and to smash them; but above all, the situation is characterized by the determination of the latter to not only resist, but to organize their offensive against the bourgeois state and the domination of its bureaucratic agents who usurp the power of the workers in the countries of the socialist conquests.

The Spanish revolution will be the detonator of the European revolution. Not only through the depth of the working class offensive against Francoism and the bourgeois state, but also because the LIRQI, through its Spanish section, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), is in the process of becoming the revolutionary leadership of this combat by confronting and directly destroying the Stalinist Party in Spain. Through the junction with the French revolution, the revolution will become European.

The maturation of the process of the political revolution in Eastern Europe and in the USSR constitutes one of the clearest expressions of the prerevolutionary situation on the level of the entire European continent.

This revolutionary mobilization of the world proletariat forces the "labor" lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, in particular the Stalinist bureaucracy, to reveal their true counterrevolutionary nature in front of the class.

The revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat on the international level is expressed by the fact that the Kremlin bureaucracy and its international apparatus is obliged to deepen their collaboration with imperialism. On the one hand, through the attempts to set up governments of the Popular Front in order to create a barrier to the proletarian revolution (a policy whose most advanced expression is found today in Portugal), and on the other hand, through the heightening of the preparation of the Conference of European Security and Cooperation, and the opening of the planned economies to imperialist capital.

In its fight to reunite with Bolshevism, the LIRQI reaffirms as an essential task the construction of the Soviet section. In the preparation of the 4th Conference the LIRQI must go beyond the abstract understanding of this necessity and effectively undertake this task starting from the "Manifesto To Workers in Eastern Europe and the USSR" whose axis is the call to the Soviet workers to join the 4th International, World Party of Socialist Revolution, in order to "Return to Lenin."

This situation aggravates the crisis of all the centrist and opportunist organizations, in particular those who claim the 4th International.

The process of the dislocation of the Pabloite United Secretariat of Mandel-Hansen, of the International Committee of Healy and the Organizational Committee of Lambert-Just is strongly advanced. This process of dislocation throws all these opportunist, liquidationist and centrist centers into the same regroupment, despite their differences, on the basis of the same policy of support to Stalinism, of capitulation in front of it, making these organizations play the role of agents of Stalinism inside the workers' movement.

They thus clearly affirm their character as liquidators of the 4th International, which is concentrated in the common slogan of "CP-SP Government," opposed to the slogan of "Workers' and Peasants' Government," defended and advanced by the International League. This is expressed in their attempt to isolate and to destroy the International League as well as in the absolute opposition to any manifestation of political differences inside their own organizations.

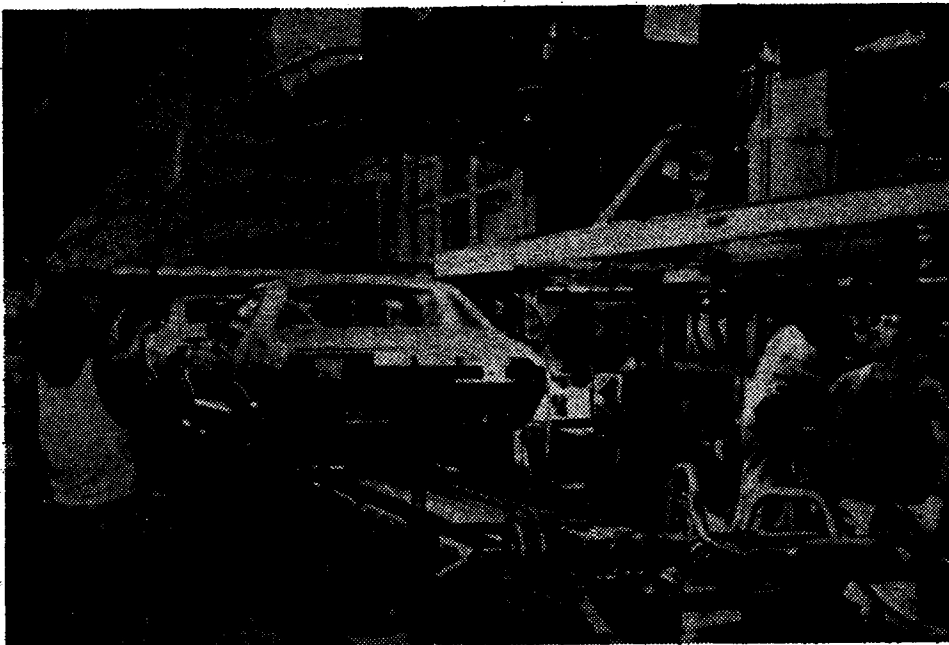
The political delimitation in relation to these centers, determined by the First Congress of the International League, and through which our party has become an objective factor in the class struggle, must be transformed, in the preparation of the 4th Open Conference, to the plane of organization, by the destruction of these centers.

This delimitation is the result of the theoretical, political, and organizational development of the combat of the International League against all forms of class collaboration (Popular Front) and against all attempts to avoid the construction of the party through the construction of intermediate organizations, a combat in which the LIRQI has developed as a world party.

In Portugal the present government is the first Popular Front set up in Europe since 1945-47; in order to block the proletarian revolution in this country itself and its development towards other countries, in particular, Spain. It is for this reason that the concentration behind Stalinism of all the variants of centrism is found presently in Portugal.

The fact that the bourgeoisie directs, through its army constituted as a political movement (MFA), the Popular Front in Portugal translates the distrust of the bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the capacity of the treacherous leaderships in crisis to contain the decisive advance of the workers in struggle.

In this way the army supports itself directly in the Stalinist apparatus in Portugal and on the Kremlin, who unconditionally supports it in this business of the preparation of the civil war against the proletariat.



RESO SECOND CONGRE

Beginning from our fundamental battle for the organization and the centralization of committees and workers' councils as the basis of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, the International League struggles against the government of the Popular Front and its allies, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this battle, the International League must intervene in relation to all the important problems which confront the working class and its youth, such as the Constituent Assembly, to better combat their illusions, for the construction of its Portuguese section. At the same time, it must advance demands of an educational value for the masses, such as the break of the ministers who claim to represent the working class with the bourgeoisie whose principal representative in Portugal is the army. The Congress approves the elaboration by the Committee of the LIRQI in Portugal of a tactical plan in relation to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly as an effort to go beyond the stage of propaganda in order to offer the 4th International as the response to the aspirations of the working class in struggle.

It is on this basis that in the United States the LIRQI condemns the falsifications of all the centers and opportunist organizations who, using the concerns of Lenin and Trotsky for the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States, have transformed them into a strategy for the construction of the party "through stages." The LIRQI recognizes that American workers towards a Labor Party, expressing their will to have a party of class independence and a Workers' Government, it will intervene in this movement in order to lead it towards the 4th International. Consequently, the International League calls the working class to join the Trotskyist Organization of the USA in the preparation of the Trotskyist Congress in the USA.

Nevertheless, this development has been unequal in the sense that certain sections have not taken up the practical realization of the tasks flowing from the political orientation adopted at our First Congress.

The evolution of the situation of the class struggle and the development of the International League since its First Congress has openly confirmed the content of its central resolution, namely that the working class and first of all its youth are seeking a new revolutionary leadership. That it is the epoch of the 4th International, the continuation of Bolshevism, because it was founded to wrest from Stalinism the leadership of the world proletariat and to lead the workers to the victorious revolution of the workers' councils.

The rebuilding of the 4th International under the form of the preparation and holding of the International 4th Open Conference is not only necessary and possible as our First Congress affirmed, but will be realized within the time set, more precisely, August 20, 1975, the 35th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

The rebuilding of the 4th International was posed at the First Congress of the International League under the angle of changing the relationship of the 4th International with the working class. This passes through the construction of the revolutionary leadership which fights for the leadership of the working class against Stalinism. For this reason, the objective factor in the class struggle that the LIRQI has become since its First Congress, must become a determinant factor in this class struggle, that is to say, a party that leads the working class in its combats, by concentrating its forces on the most decisive sectors. This necessitates going beyond the stage where it intervenes under the form of agitation and propaganda in order to insert itself in the movement of the proletariat, in particular in its youth, and to become the organizer and leader, building its own strength which will allow it to effectively change the relation between the 4th International and the working class.

The essential element of the preparation of the 4th Conference is the mobilization and organization of the working-class youth, in the combat for the proclamation of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) fixed for July 1975. This turn towards the working-class youth must be translated through our implantation in the bastions of the proletariat, which are represented by the large metal-works factories, in particular, by the auto

industry. This is the sector which expresses, in concrete fashion, the international unity of the working class and particularly its youth. This is the sector where the workers are object, on an international scale, of layoffs by thousands. Finally, it is this sector where the combativeness of the working-class youth is found.

The preparation of the conference of the proclama- tion of the RYI is a decisive stage in the rebuilding of the 4th International. It is around the central slogan DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL! that the International League mobilizes and organizes the working-class youth in order to prepare the foundation of the RYI.

Our implantation in the working class by construction of the RYI is the basis and the means of the political practical centralization of the entirety of the International League and each of its sections. However, this concerns in the first place, the centralization of the international level of the class struggle; and secondly, the angle of our combat slogans, as well as our strategy of implantation which was determined to be the metal-works industry, and in particular the auto industry. In particular, this preparation is the most important means of the implantation of the International League in Eastern Europe and in the USSR, as well as in Germany.

The unification of the proletariat of all of Europe. It is within the framework of this struggle that the slogan "Down with the Berlin Wall!" is inscribed and the choice of Berlin for the meeting of the youth in the Summer of 1975 which has the objective of the proclamation of the RYI. Because of this, a primary role will be given to the implantation of the International League in Germany, through the construction of its section in this country. It is the most important step in the construction of the 4th International in France, under the form of the holding of the ordinary Trotskyist Congress of the OCI.

It is the party, the International League and its sections which directly addresses itself towards the working-class youth by calling them and by organizing them into the party (by leading its struggles), all of which is done through developing an organization of revolutionary youth of a mass character, which is indispensable to the construction of the party.

The International Executive Committee will call for an international Platform of Action as an instrument of this centralization. The Second Congress of the International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International calls the working class of the entire world, in particular its youth, the most advanced militants, the militant and organizations that claim to be Trotskyist and remain loyal to the 4th International and to fight the ranks in order to join the International League in the fight for the preparation of the International 4th Open Conference that will rebuild the 4th International.

FORWARD FOR THE WORLD PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!



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of the LIRQI



FRENCH RESOLUTION

The Second Congress of the League, preparing the last stage of the 4th Open Conference to Rebuild the Fourth International, met in a situation that is politically pre-revolutionary on the European scale, considers that the task of the League in France is to rapidly advance in the construction of its French section, through the preparation and the realization of the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress of the Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI).

In effect, the mobilization of the working class in France poses the question of power with insistence, already objectively openly posed at the level of the confrontation with the bourgeois state through the General Strike of May-June 1968, betrayed by the apparatuses still leading the working class. At the same time, this strike nakedly demonstrated the treacherous politics of all the centrist organizations, particularly the Pabloites and Lutte Ouvriere.

However, the decomposition of the bourgeoisie which resulted from this mobilization of the working class on its own ground in this General Strike imposed on the French bourgeoisie, as in all of Europe, the search for a permanent solution in order to channel the movement of the working class into the framework of the bourgeois state.

The mobilization of the proletariat, its mistrust of the traditional leaderships, based on the experiences of its struggles, which has resulted in the open crisis of the international apparatus of the Kremlin since 1968, and is particularly manifested through the difficulties that the Popular Front in Portugal has in saving the bourgeois state, the incapacity of the Democratic Junta to strangle the movement of the working class to bring down the



dictatorship, and principally, the fact that in France, the movements of the working class, its youth, the petty bourgeoisie, and the soldiers express a movement towards the General Strike, which, allowing the organization and centralization of the independent organs of the proletariat (committees, councils), will open up the path to the direct struggle for power. This mobilization has already shattered the Common Program as a program. Also, the Popular Front appears as a very unsure solution for the bourgeoisie. It places pressure on the treacherous apparatuses in order to delay its implementation, trying to go still further on the path of class collaboration, pushing them towards the Sacred Union. Nevertheless, the mobilization of the proletariat which affirms itself with more and more determination each day, accelerates the crisis inside the French CP, where several fractures now openly appear, notably in the public disavowal made by its leadership of a faction favorable to this Sacred Union, a faction which expresses the majority wing of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The bourgeoisie openly tries to impose on the French CP this perspective, also supported by the Socialist Party.

The Stalinist apparatus can no longer accept this solution, if it wishes to continue to play the role of traitor which is its nature. Today it concentrates its efforts in order to prevent the General Strike from being placed on the agenda, in response to the frontal attacks against the working class already begun in all sectors by the bourgeoisie, in order to impose its conditions on the class collaboration claimed by the apparatuses. The struggle of the workers at Renault and the difficulties the apparatus has in serving the bourgeoisie, finding itself placed between the determined demands of the two classes, summarizes the precarious situation of the Stalinist apparatus, unmasking it more and more clearly in front of the workers.

At the same time, these attacks have already shown the elements of the preparation of fascism towards which the wing furthest to the right of the bourgeoisie is orienting itself. These elements are already used by the Giscard government in order to prepare the direct confrontation of the bourgeois state with the proletariat, in case of the impossibility of the apparatuses being able to channel its movement.

In this situation only the party of the 4th International that is being constructed through the French section of the International League could and can effectively assume the revolutionary leadership, of which the present weakness is felt as the absence of this leadership for the working class, mobilized against a terrified bourgeoisie and with its leaderships in crisis. For the League, the task of its rapid construction is urgent, in order to give the working class the leadership that it is seeking.

The necessity of the confrontation between the classes is approaching in an accelerated manner with the movement begun, after the Postal Workers, by the workers of Renault, who have a determining place in the unleashing of the General Strike, as well as for the construction of the party, in order to assure for it a revolutionary result in France; the taking of power by the working class.

The task before the vanguard is therefore determined by the necessity of inserting itself in this mobilization,

through the preparation and organization of the General Strike, in order to impose the Workers' and Peasants' Government. In this mass mobilization, it is necessary to construct independent organs of the class, committees and workers' councils, in order to direct the struggle against the bourgeois state. This task is concentrated in the construction of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the only one capable of leading the working class along this path.

The immediate character of this necessity poses an enormous responsibility on the vanguard in France, a responsibility to which the Lambert-Just leadership of the OCI has responded by criminal support to the treacherous apparatuses in their attempt to stop the powerful movement of the workers at Renault, making the OCI, claiming to be 4th Internationalist, openly play the role of the agent of Stalinism, directly, and also through its alliance as a go-between with reformism.

The intervention of the OCI -- International League faction in order to develop and organize the movement of the workers at Renault, orienting them towards the General Strike, through the beginning of its implantation in the decisive sector of the working class, implies the confrontation, in struggle, with the Stalinist apparatus, and is the basis of the junction between our faction and the proletarian wing of the OCI, who resist Lambert-Just.

Through the role that the OCI plays under the Lambert-Just leadership today in the class struggle, this centrist organization sets itself up as the principal obstacle to the rebuilding of the 4th International in France, a condition for the destruction of the Stalinist apparatus, the principle barrier to the mobilization of the workers.

The accelerated development of the class struggle in France, and the treason of the Lambert-Just leadership of the OCI, imposes on the International League the immediate task of continuing, through the OCI-International League faction, its independent intervention and its implantation, in the first place at Renault, as the decisive elements in the construction of the revolutionary workers party in France.

The Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress of the OCI signifies that the Faction struggles through its independent intervention in order to wrest the OCI from the liquidationist Lambert-Just leadership so as to transform this organization into the independent and proclaimed French section of the International League. This battle can only be waged through the open split of the proletarian wing of the OCI with the Lambert-Just leadership and its clique, whose preparation and realization is the task of the OCI -- Faction of the League.

This is the content of the preparation of the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress of the OCI, whose date is set -- taking into account the rapid development of the class struggle -- for the end of May, beginning of June.

To refuse this fight will mean for all the militants of the OCI who are loyal to the principles and the organization of the 4th International, to become the accomplices of the Lambert-Just renegades, traitors to the working class and the 4th International.

The preparation of the Congress is directly linked to the development of the class struggle, as its response. It has already begun through the intervention of the League in the ranks of the working class through its youth, based on Renault, by marking the flight of Lambert-Just in their attacks against the Faction before the workers at Renault associated to the combat of the International League. In this struggle it is necessary to elaborate and apply our tactic of the United Front, directed towards the militants of the organizations which claim to be Trotskyist and in particular those of the OCI.

The character of the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress of the OCI, as the builder of the revolutionary workers party, is given by the implantation of the International League in the decisive sectors of the working class, the intervention and the organization of the working class youth in mass action.

The convocation of the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress with the content of the open affirmation of the party in the class struggle signifies a new stage in the character of the intervention of our section. It is necessary to go beyond the stage of propaganda by passing to the realization in practice of our politics, through the fight to win the leadership of the proletariat from the treacherous leaderships. This means assuming in practice the leadership of the mobilization and the centralization of the proletariat, taking into account the real forces of our organization, presently centered at the precise points and sectors in the fight for the unleashing and the organization of the General Strike in order to bring down the capitalist government of Giscard, as the means for the 4th International to prepare the masses for the conquest of power.

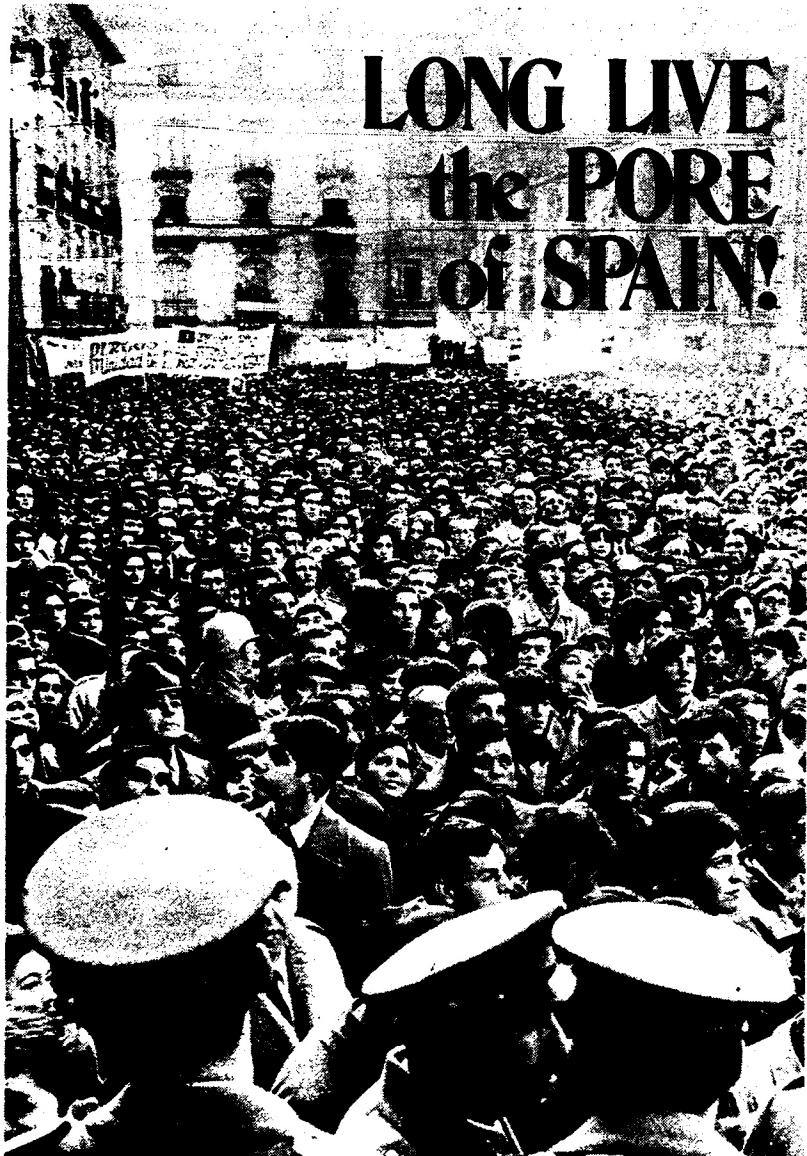
The axis of our implantation in the decisive sectors of the proletariat, essentially at Renault, must be done through the working-class youth through the largest possible mobilization for the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress, within the framework of the struggle for the International Meeting at Berlin, which will proclaim the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International.

This fight expresses itself in the preparation and the convocation of the Founding Conference of a revolutionary youth organization, May 4th, based on the working-class youth, and particularly the Revolutionary Youth Circles at Renault.

The preparation and the realization of the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress of the OCI is a task that engages the entire International League, because, given the international importance of the construction of the party of the 4th International in France, its success will guarantee the effective rebuilding of the 4th International by the International 4th Open Conference.

translated by Jon Myers

BUILDING the INTERNATIONAL



Interview With Anibal Ramos, Leader of the PORE

We are reprinting below an interview with Comrade Anibal Ramos, leader of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain (PORE), Spanish Section of the International League. This interview originally appeared in LA VERITE, organ of the OCI-International League Faction in France. The interview takes place before the most recent events in Spain that are described in our CALL on page 1. Yet this interview should give the reader some real insight into the activity of the PORE and its strategy for leading the working class in Spain to power.

The latest wave of repression is in direct response to the mass mobilizations in Spain which spell out the dying days of the Franco dictatorship. In particular, this repression is launched against the leadership of the Spanish revolution, first and foremost against the PORE, the only revolutionary party in Spain. Almost all the arrested militants in the Basque country are accused of belonging to the PORE, whether or not they are actual members.

The latest information that we have received from Spain indicates that the Franco regime has not succeeded IN THE SLIGHTEST DEGREE in disorganizing or demoralizing the militants of the PORE. Despite the arrests of some of our militants, the PORE, especially in the Basque country, was able to immediately take the proper measures to preserve the security and the organization of the revolutionary party in Spain. This was able to happen because the PORE is rooted in the strength of the Spanish working class and because every militant understands that the latest repression in Spain represents the beginning of the revolution in that country.

The struggle of the PORE, the international campaign for its defense led by the International League, is just one more proof in practice that the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL EXISTS AND FIGHTS. The defense of the Spanish Revolution TODAY means the defense of the 4th International that is being rebuilt. The Spanish Revolution has always had a profound significance for American working-class militants. We ask those who are committed to defending this revolution to join our struggle.

TRANSFORM THE FALL OF FRANCO INTO THE BEGINNING OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

1. Q : What is the fundamental axis of the intervention of the PORE in the face of the present political situation in Spain ?

A.R. : The situation is characterized by

the complete dislocation of Francoism, through the dispersion -- accelerated by panic in the ranks of the bourgeoisie who know that the fall of the dictatorship is imminent. It is also characterized by many capitalist attempts to find shortcut solutions for the regime. All solutions are based on the army of Franco and the "Democratic Junta" of the Spanish Communist Party of Santiago Carrillo and the monarchist, Calvo Serer, but none of them have taken shape yet. This lack of confidence of the bourgeoisie in its own ability to succeed in ending the powerful mass movement, be it by a bloody military coup, or by the collaboration of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the Socialist Party (PSOE) with the bourgeois state. Therefore, what characterizes the present situation is precisely the unprecedented mobilization of the working class, its growing level of combativity and consciousness, and the efforts of the masses to unleash an action capable of bringing down Francoism. The situation is therefore profoundly revolutionary. The revolution is knocking at the door with such insistence that each week, we live in a climate of extraordinary tensions and agitation, with the feeling, above all in the large factories of the country, that at any moment tens and thousands of workers who are mobilizing will bring along with them the masses and the revolution will begin.

In this situation, the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) of Carrillo unmask itself by openly playing the role of a demobilizer. The most recent examples of this were given in the public condemnation of the general strike in the Basque provinces for the liberation of the political prisoners, and when it launched the slogan of the resumption of work to the strikers at SEAT, abandoning the more than 400 workers on layoff. These are its demands for participation in the "Democratic Junta."

On its part, the PSOE, since its last Congress has oriented towards an agreement with the CP, maintains an attitude of complicity through silence in relation to all the important workers' struggles.

The PORE intervenes among the masses by calling them to immediately unleash the general strike to bring down Francoism by occupying the factories and by electing factory and workers' committees in all the cities. It is necessary, as we say to the workers, to make the imminent fall of Francoism the beginning of the proletarian revolution, thus closing the door to the

maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and its "worker" agents, the leaders of the PCE and the PSOE.

Through its mobilization as a class, through the general strike and above all through the formation of Workers' Committees, the proletariat must take up the struggle for the Workers' and Peasants' Governments, for the Socialist United States of Europe. Our section therefore fights the PCE for the leadership of the proletariat, by confronting Stalinism, the agent of the bourgeoisie, on the terrain of the struggles of the masses, in order to smash the PCE and lead the working class to power.

2. Q : Can you give us some concrete examples of the application of this orientation ?

A.R. : Yes. As you know, the last two strikes at SEAT in Barcelona have put all the political leaderships to the test, with thousands of workers going out into the streets and sections of the city, to win support in the fight of the entire working-class population. Day after day, the PORE participates in all these actions in order to break the isolation of those at SEAT and to transform the struggle into the general strike. "GO TO THE DOORS OF THE FACTORIES AND PUT ALL OF BARCELONA ON STRIKE ! DECLARE THE GENERAL STRIKE ! GATHER AT SEAT ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND WORKERS IN ORDER TO OCCUPY IT AND ELECT THE WORKERS' COMMITTEE OF BARCELONA ! These were the concrete slogans of the PORE. The PCE was forced on the defensive. Those at SEAT brought along with them several factories (Olivetti, Cumbre, Saenger ...) and all the students. The struggle has not yet succeeded in realizing its objective, but by abandoning the divisive orders of the PCE for several days, the demonstrations of thousands of workers followed the PORE by calling out in the streets of Barcelona : "THE GENERAL STRIKE !"

Our orientation necessitates a tactic of the United Front. The PORE addresses itself towards all the parties and organizations in order to force them to determine themselves in the face of our practical proposals directed towards the mobilization of the masses for the general strike against the dictatorship.

We cannot subordinate the workers' mobilization to "unity" between the PCE and the other parties tied to the bourgeoisie. In any case, our party always proposes the largest unity in the struggle, with the goal of mobilizing the entirety of the proletariat. The local organizations of the PORE, such as in the Basque provinces, during the general strike of December 11th for the liberation of the political prisoners, as well as more recently in the 24 hour strike of Cerdanyola-Ripollet, have participated together with other organizations in the mobilization, in the pickets, although our objective was not to limit it to a simple one-day strike, but to make it unlimited and to organize it around workers' committees elected by the workers.

3. Q : What is the orientation of the PORE in relation to the Workers' Commissions ? Does the PORE intervene in the Workers' Commissions ?

A.R. : The PORE does intervene in the Workers' Commissions. It is necessary to respond to the second question first, since one cannot effectively combat the PCE without intervening in the "Workers' Commissions" which are led by the Stalinist apparatus, and in which many militants and sympathizers of the PCE confront their leaders on the many problems relating to the mobilization of the masses. For us, what we strongly reject, is the policy of the centrists who present such "Workers' Commissions" as the "natural framework of the United Workers' Front," which in the end result winds up subordinating the struggle of the proletariat to the Stalinist apparatus which controls the "Workers' Commissions" and which is identified with the apparatus of these "commissions."

Today, the "Workers' Commissions" are going through a grave crisis, they are retreating throughout the country in direct relation to the crisis of Francoism, since the "Workers' Commissions" are narrowly linked to the vertical fascist "unions" as the internal "opposition." The condition for leading a revolutionary fight in the "commissions" is the demand for a real workers' union, which is not and cannot be these "Workers' Commissions" controlled by the PCE.

4. Q : What does the PORE's objective of smashing the PCE signify ?

A.R. : Since the struggle of the masses poses the problem of political power, the class independence of the proletariat is concentrated and will resume its revolutionary character through the leadership of its party : a class orientation necessitates a fight, party against party, in which the revolutionary vanguard leads the masses towards the seizure of power, against the other parties who act as the agents for the transmission of the policy of the bourgeoisie among the workers, in the first place, against the Communist Party (PCE). Without this fight our party would renounce unification of the working class behind the revolutionary program, behind the 4th International.

Even more, the PC of Carrillo is today the weakest link of the international Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin, and the PORE is the section of the LIRQI in the best condition to lead such a confrontation, with immediate success. The present crisis, which is each time more profound, of the PCE demonstrates that its shattering is on the agenda. By making the "smashing of the PCE" an objective of our own section, the PORE, what we wish to say is that our party is prepared to become the determinant factor in its crisis, by winning the best militants of the PCE, by isolating its apparatus, by destroying it as an organization, and by becoming the leadership of the proletariat in Spain, after the flight of the Stalinist leadership.

5. Q : Today, in Spain, where is Pabloism and the other centers who claim to be Trotskyist ?

A.R. : If the PORE can today give itself the immediate objective of smashing the PCE and taking the leadership of the masses, it is also because the class struggle has concretely demonstrated that there are no other intermediate alternatives : the centrist groups, and concretely the Pabloites, are in an accelerated decomposition.

The Spanish Section developed through a fight undertaken against centrism and Pabloism, and at the expense of them, in such a manner that constantly we are winning from the Pabloite factions and militants who have been misled until now. The latest demonstration of this is the conference of militants of the LCR-ETA VI and the LC (Hansen faction) from many

localities, above all from the Basque provinces, with a member of the Central Committee of the LCR-ETA VI who had broken from Pabloism in order to struggle for the International 4th Conference, to rebuild the 4th International. It is necessary to say that the Basque provinces are the point where the Pabloites still conserve a certain influence, a result of its unprincipled unification with the ETA VI faction of Basque nationalists. However, the crisis of Pabloism is there as strong as in other areas. Its policy, and here there is no distinction between the LCR-ETA VI of Mandel and the LC of Hansen, consists of proposing a "Government of the Workers' Commissions and in general, to call the Commissions to "take the head of the struggle of the masses." In the absence of our party, such a policy can sow illusions among sections of militants and youth who oppose the "Democratic Junta" of the PCE. But our policy disarms centrism, since it openly shows that a "Government of the Commissions" is nothing other than a variety of the Popular Front, of collaboration between the treacherous workers' leaders and the bourgeois state.

The "Organizational Committee" of the OCI has simply renounced the construction, not of a party, but even of an independent group under any form. The policy of the opportunist leadership of the OCI in Spain is to tie themselves to the trailer of the Social Democratic leaders of the PSOE by asking them to struggle for a "PCE-PSOE Government." No one, even the "Left" Spanish Social Democracy has followed them, since the centrists have no need of them to carry out a policy that they already know how to carry out by themselves, without the advice of Lambert-Just.

The same thing has happened with the Spanish group (called LOC) of what is called the "International Committee" of the WRP that no one hears or is able to find in the country. Formally, it is an independent group, but by attacking the PORE, who, "through the pretension of proclaiming a party thus hides from the workers the fact that their leadership is the PCE," (thus speak the Spanish followers of the WRP), demonstrates that their job is not to lead the proletariat, but to substitute themselves as a marginal pressure group on the Stalinist Party, Along with the OCI, along with the rene-

FOURTH OPEN CONFERENCE

gades from Trotskyism, their policy is to demand a "PCE-PSOE Government," that is to say, to set up the Popular Front along with the bourgeoisie in place of the "Workers' United Front."

6. Q: What is the particular intervention developed by the PORE in relation to the youth?

A.R.: Last summer the Young Revolutionaries were founded, that the PORE politically leads towards the constitution of the Revolutionary Youth International at the meeting in Berlin convoked by the International Liaison Committee set up by the LIRQI for the summer of 1975. The Young Revolutionaries translated through an organization appropriate for young fighters, and which is their own, the particular orientation of our party towards the proletarian youth in order to mobilize and organize them in the construction of the party.

Circles of real local organizations of Young Revolutionaries already exist in many cities in Spain. Presently it is necessary to transform it immediately into a mass organization, whose base will concretely be the working-class youth.

The first steps realized two demonstrations in Barcelona, of hundreds of youth, who, with their slogans, placards, and leaflets, mobilized for a WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT, for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. These are the methods of the fight of the proletarian youth. Around them, the

Young Revolutionaries gather the young workers, apprentices, students and soldiers in the mobilization against unemployment and the super-exploitation of youth, against Francoism for political rights of youth, against bourgeois militarism.

Thus, we were the first to develop a campaign in the working-class areas to mobilize the youth against the sending of troops to the Sahara, Ceuta, and Melilla for Spanish colonialism. This campaign, which has hardly begun, hit a large echo among the youth. Other initiatives were the demonstrations in Barcelona during the last weeks against a recent decree submitting the freedom to take trips to the authorization of the Youth Branch of the Falange (Fascist Party). In this demonstration, alongside the slogan, "Down with the Decree!" many youth demanded: GENERAL STRIKE! DOWN WITH THE DICTATORSHIP! WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT!

In the universities, the students of the PORE and the Young Revolutionaries are the only ones to struggle against the "participation" policy of the PCE, by fighting to construct an independent students' union, and in many cases, they succeeded in having some Assemblies of Institutes and Universities pronounce in favor of this, leading to the flight of the partisans of "participation."

translated by Jon Myers

PLATAFORMA DE COMBATE del Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España

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STATEMENT of the SURREALISTS

To The Meeting Organized By The Trotskyist Organization of the U.S., 11 May 1975, To Form A United Front Committee To Defend Political Prisoners In Spain, etc.

Comrades,

The surrealist movement has been and remains intimately and organically linked to the Spanish Revolution. A tract issued by the French surrealists in 1931, titled simply FIRE!, saluted a mass uprising of workers and peasants in Spain, during which innumerable churches were burned, and innumerable priests put to death. While world liberal opinion recoiled in horror from such "excessive" violence, the surrealists welcomed the splendid upheaval as the first step of the permanent revolution across the Pyrenees.

In the Revolution of 1936, many surrealists fought in the workers' militia; among others, the great poet Benjamin Peret, who was also active in the Trotskyist movement in France, Brazil and later Mexico; Juan Brea, who also happened to have been a founder and leader of the Trotskyist movement in Cuba; and our good friend E.F. Granell, one of the greatest surrealist painters, who was also a pioneer in the Trotskyist movement in Spain.

Among the endless crimes of Franco, the extermination of the surrealist movement is rarely mentioned. In 1968 there appeared a worthless volume titled THE SURREALIST MODE IN SPANISH LITERATURE in which the author, a swinish academician named Paul Ilic, pondered mindlessly why there has been so little organized surrealist activity in Spain since the mid-1930s. His posing of this question in a historical vacuum is sufficient to characterize Ilic as one of that irredeemably loathsome species of bourgeois intellectuals who never set foot outside the university. In the first issue of our journal ARSENAL/SURREALIST SUBVERSION, we recalled, for the benefit of Mr. Ilic and others sharing his cynicism or his ignorance, that several Spanish surrealists were shot by fascist goons, and that a few others managed only with difficulty to escape to France or elsewhere. Since Franco's victory, surrealism -- like all revolutionary tendencies -- has been outlawed

in Spain, if not by specific decrees then by a multitude of unwritten but nonetheless very real laws.

The surrealists of all countries have repeatedly denounced the barbarous regime of Franco's Falange, and have repeatedly allied themselves, whenever possible, with other militants (Trotskyists, left socialists, independent radicals, anarchists) to protest actions of this regime, and to defend Spanish comrades who have undertaken acts of resistance and revolt.

We, surrealists, attend this meeting in the hope of assisting in the establishment of a committee to defend those who are imprisoned and tortured in Spain for daring to affirm the cause of freedom. We are here, moreover, not as mere civil libertarians, but as revolutionists defending the Spanish Revolution. We regard the establishment of an effective, non-sectarian, fighting defense committee, organized according to the principles of the united front, not only as an instrument of defense in the narrow sense, but as an instrument of aggressive education and agitation to prepare the intellectual and moral climate in this country for the coming revolutionary struggles in Spain, which hopefully will serve as the harbinger of revolutionary struggles throughout Europe.

We intend to devote our energies and resources, to the greatest possible extent, to the tasks outlined in the call for this meeting. And we shall do so, through our publications and other manifestations, even if this meeting fails to result in a viable and truly representative committee capable of sustained and united action.

We insist, finally, that the best way to aid those who are confined in Franco's prisons, the best way to aid all comrades in all prisons in every country of the world, is to hasten the advent of communist revolution in "our own" country. And in fulfilling this fundamental revolutionary task, we refuse on principle to abandon the means that are particularly ours. Our entire experience, the experience of the entire international surrealist movement, convinces us that we best serve the revolutionary cause by pursuing specifically surrealist research and activity ever more relentlessly.

THE SURREALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

Renault-- The LIRQI Prepares the General Strike in France



By ANN RUSSELL

As part of the worldwide working-class response to the world crisis that is particularly acute in the automobile industry, Renault, the "fortress" of the French working class, is in motion. The French government and the trade union leadership had hoped that the end of the Postal Workers Strike last fall would signal the end of a prolonged strike wave in France. But they have The workers at Renault have accelerated their fight against layoffs, shortened work hours and plant closures and have engaged in a strike that is unprecedented in post-World War II French history, lasting over twelve weeks. The movement of the French auto workers at Renault is a response to the attacks of the capitalists and the government who are attempting to make the workers in France pay for imperialism's crisis. This movement is a movement towards the General Strike which will bring down the Giscard government and replace it with a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The task of revolutionaries is to support this mobilization and give it clear perspectives for organization and development.

KEY TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Renault, where there are over 100,000 workers in a dozen factories, is the bastion of the proletariat in France and in Europe. There is a saying in France: "when the workers at Renault sneeze, France gets sick." Renault was the key to the General Strike movement in May-June 1968. But it is also the stronghold of the Stalinist French Communist Party, the strongest Communist Party in Western Europe, which controls Renault through its domination of the CGT trade union. At Renault, the Stalinists are increasingly caught in the vice between the bourgeoisie, which pressures them more and more into an open alliance with the bourgeois state, and the revolutionary mobilization of the French auto workers. The ability to win the workers at Renault, and in particular, the working-class youth, for the General Strike, in opposition to the Stalinist leadership, will open the way for the revolution throughout Europe. This is the task set by the OCI -- International League Faction in France.

The Stalinist controlled CGT has consistently called upon the striking workers at Renault to return to work "with enthusiasm." Their role as strike-breakers for the bourgeoisie is becoming clearer and clearer to the young workers, especially through their verbal and physical attacks on the "gauchistes," or ultralefts, which include all those

who are pressing for the continuation and deepening of the strike movement -- the young workers and, especially, the International League at Renault.

WORKER YOUTH CIRCLES AT RENAULT

The OCI -- International League Faction has already established the first Circles of Revolutionary Youth at Renault and begun the task of recruiting young auto workers to the world party of the socialist revolution, the 4th International that is being rebuilt. The central slogan of the International League is for the General Strike to bring down the Giscard government. In response to the layoffs and the reduction of working hours for 35,000 Renault workers, the OCI -- International League Faction has put forward the demands: EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK FOR ALL OF RENAULT! MAKE THE LEADERSHIP BACK DOWN ON THE 15% INCREASE THEY REFUSED! NO TO THE ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS! NOT A SINGLE LAYOFF! FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS!

With these demands the workers at Renault are immediately able to link up with the workers in ALL the metal works industries. The same situation threatens the workers of Usinor, Dunkerque, Thionville and Montataire.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT

The struggle of the workers at Renault is closely connected to the struggles of the auto workers in the United States as well. The same conditions face workers here, and especially the young workers. The confrontation of the OCI -- International League Faction with the trade union bureaucracy, and in particular the Stalinists, shows the way forward for the working-class youth in auto in the US as well. The General Strike at Renault will deal a shattering blow to the French government of Giscard and to the grip that the Stalinist apparatus has on trade unions throughout Europe. This is the real meaning of the fight of the International League at Renault -- the preparation of the French and European revolution and the construction of the world party that will lead the international working class to power. The working-class youth in auto in the United States can demonstrate their solidarity with the French working class by taking up the struggle for the international auto campaign in the US. The Worker Youth Circles at Ford will be our message to the struggling French auto workers at Renault and our response to the international capitalist crisis in auto.

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Indochina -- NOW THE STRUGGLE BEGINS



By KEVIN TRACEY

The complete victory of the Stalinist-nationalist forces in Cambodia and in Vietnam is a stunning defeat for US imperialism, and thus for the world imperialist system as a whole. At the same time, it opens up great possibilities for the triumph of the proletarian revolution in all Southeast Asia, something which will have a tremendous impact on the worldwide mobilization of the working class.

"OFFENSIVE" --OR COLLAPSE ?

The reality of the way in which the Khmer Rouge and PRG forces came to power tells us far more about the reality of the nature of Stalinism and the dynamic of the situation now about to unfold in Indochina than all the uncritical adulation of the "revolutionary victory" that appears in the "Trotskyist" press ever will.

To begin with, there was no PRG-North Vietnamese "offensive." There was a purely defensive reaction, taken under the pressure of Thieu's constant incursions on PRG-held territory and in order to respond to the demands of the mass base of the PRG to do something against this. What happened was that the totally corrupt and rotten regime of Thieu, totally incapable of any progressive action, beset by economic disaster and internal opposition, without the prop of American troops and massive aid, simply COLLAPSED in the face of even the most minimal response by the Stalinists, a retreat turned into a rout and, willy-nilly, the Stalinists found themselves forced with the absolute necessity to take power -- or let the situation slip completely out of their hands.

This situation is by no means unprecedented. This is exactly how Mao and the Chinese CP came to power in 1949. This was fully analyzed in 1951 by the Chinese Trotskyist leader, Peng Shu-tse, in his "Report on the Chinese Situation." Whole passages in this brilliant analysis (even if distorted already by the problems of the 4th International), need only to have "Thieu" substituted for "Chiang" in order to sound exactly like a description of today's events. For example: "This situation resulted in the appearance of various kinds of factions and cliques against Chiang Kai-Shek within the Kuomintang itself, which was thus involved in complete decomposition... The only remaining hope for Chiang Kai-shek was imperative aid from Washington... To the regime of Chiang Kai-Shek, this final decision on the part of American imperialism came as a death knell."

THE POLICY OF STALINISM

The fact that the Stalinists are now in power in Saigon and Phnom Penh is used to justify the alleged "revolutionary" role (or "dual nature") of Stalinism. How can we say that Stalinism is counterrevolutionary, that it is the direct agency of world imperialism, when the Stalinists have driven out the imperialists and their local stooges and have taken over completely the governmental power?

This outcome of Stalinist policy is only the final result of a whole policy of betrayal, in constant conflict with the revolutionary upsurge in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh handed power over to the imperialists after World War II, the Stalinists gave back half the country to capitalism in 1954 -- even after they

had completely defeated the French militarily. And the creation of the Viet Cong itself was solely an attempt to take over the spontaneous revolt of the peasants and rank-and-file guerrilla fighters whom the Stalinists had abandoned to the tender loving care of the dictator, Diem, and to direct it -- not to socialist revolution -- but to protecting North Vietnam (as a flanking action) from Diem's attacks.

The situation in the last few months was similar. What could the Stalinists do in the face of the total collapse of Thieu? To leave the masses in the areas abandoned by Thieu alone, to not try to control the growing mobilization in the cities, would have meant the "getting out of control" of the upsurge of the poor peasantry and the workers -- thus threatening the preservation of the bourgeois order to which Stalinism INTERNATIONALLY is committed. And this situation was doubtless reflected inside their armed forces, whose left wing would have been in opposition to any refusal to take Saigon and Phnom Penh. The Stalinists deliberately did not attack Phnom Penh and Saigon in their last days, while they desperately searched for SOMEONE with whom to form a "Government of National Conciliation" -- that is, a bourgeois popular front regime. The shambles of the bourgeoisie, however, couldn't even get this together and the Stalinists were forced to take power directly (with only minimal cover) and to carry out the same program in their own name.

Laos, where the Stalinists still preserve an openly popular front bourgeois regime, shows the reality of their policy -- the unity of the policy in Cambodia, Vietnam and Indochina. And in Laos, also, where the mobilization of the workers and peasants is FORCING the Pathet Lao -- even while they guard the American Embassy and welcome the king and queen of Laos -- to move against the Americans and their lackeys, the opportunities for socialist revolution take on a burning reality. The Stalinists move towards their own seizure of authority only in order to CONTAIN the masses.

"Taking the power" for the Stalinists was the ONLY way to play their counterrevolutionary role.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

In backward countries like Vietnam the requirements of national development and the needs of the masses can be met only by smashing imperialism, which retards economic growth, and by smashing the native capitalists who are totally dependent on imperialism and totally incapable of fulfilling the progressive role of earlier capitalist classes. Thus, from the start, the national revolution has to "grow over" into the socialist revolution if any real gains are to be made.

Thus, today, in Vietnam and all of Indochina, the nationalization of the means of production and the introduction of a planned economy, which means the complete expropriation of the imperialists and their "national" imitators, are necessary. In addition, national unification is absolutely essential, especially in Vietnam where the North-South division is between the industrial and agricultural areas of the country, thus maiming any economic development. And more than this, the revolution cannot stop at national boundaries. Ultimately, because imperialism

is a world system and must be smashed completely, and immediately because development now requires breaking down national boundaries -- for example, in Indochina today where harnessing the Mekong demands regional organization, without which no power for electricity, for development can exist.

NOT STALINISM

But the program and the policy of Stalinism, as the direct agency of imperialism and thus as a reactionary parasitic bureaucracy in North Vietnam, is completely contradictory to this. For instance, far from nationalizing capitalist holdings, the official declaration of the PRG states: "The property of industrialists and shopkeepers is protected." Also, "The lives and property of foreigners are protected;" that is, imperialist holdings are protected. This is borne out by the statement of a leading PRG figure that its policy, in regard to the "position of foreigners and foreign investment after the war... has been to defend the legitimate interest of foreign nationals." Again, according to the declaration, only property controlled by the old government is nationalized. "Other enterprises having no financial link with Saigon are invited to continue." (INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS; April 14, 1975)

While the crying need and desire in South Vietnam is unification with the North, the famous Madame Binh stated in Danang that: "...in the present situation our immediate task is to build a peaceful, independent, neutral South Vietnam." Why, now of all times, do they deny explicitly the minimal aspects of a socialist program -- especially when they are supposedly making the "revolution?" And this "peaceful, neutral, independent" line means no abolition of national boundaries. It means an "independent" Cambodia, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, etc., when the task is to build a socialist federation of Southeast Asia. And both these policies mean no direct revolutionary offensive against imperialism and also leave intact whole areas that imperialism will use to support itself internationally and prepare a new attack.

THEN...

But those who cover their capitulation to Stalinism (that is, to world imperialism) with a "Trotskyist" veneer, say that sooner or later the Stalinists -- because of their "dual nature" -- will inevitably expropriate the imperialists and capitalists and establish a workers' state ("deformed," of course, for the sake of Trotskyism).

It is true that Stalinism was able to create deformed workers' states in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam, as a defensive reaction to imperialism's assaults. But it could do this only on the basis of the already existing socialist conquests of the October Revolution, conquests which the workers felt to be their own and would defend -- despite the Stalinists' initial smashing of the proletarian upsurge and their reestablishment of a ruined capitalist order. Overall, this creation of deformed workers' states was not some kind of abstractly progressive event, but occurred in the context of a period in which



TA THU THAU

Stalinism internationally was responsible for the betrayal and beheading of the postwar revolutionary upsurge. The deformed workers' states were the sole "happy ending" that Stalinism could provide to a reactionary chapter of world history.

... AND NOW

But this is an entirely different period internationally; not a period of reaction and defeat but -- since 1968 -- the period of the imminence of revolution and counterrevolution, where the world proletarian upsurge is not defeated, Stalinism cannot establish a deformed workers' state in Vietnam (which can come about only through unification with the North and the South's integration into its economic, political,

and social forms) outside of such a defeat. The road is open in all of Southeast Asia for the clear triumph of the proletarian revolution.

And it is open because this period is different from that following World War II in another way. It is also the period of the 4th International. That means that the revolutionary leadership necessary for the workers' victory exists and fights to win that leadership, to place itself at the head of the masses. At the end of World War II the Fourth International was disoriented, its central leadership wiped out. This was a conscious policy of Stalinism, which sought to eradicate any trace of Trotskyism in Eastern Europe -- a policy followed by Mao in China and by the "revolutionary," Ho Chi Minh, in Vietnam as well, where the Trotskyist leader, Ta Thu Thau was assassinated and the Trotskyists, who had mass support in the working class, especially in Saigon, were wiped out. But today the 4th International exists and fights for its rebuilding. The International League -- Rebuilder of the 4th International is rebuilding the FI as the centralized world leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading it to victory. This fight is the central element of the possibilities open for victory in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

TELESCOPING THE STRUGGLE

The demands of the situation in Indochina today pose imperatively the solution of the permanent revolution -- the social revolution against capitalism. But the major barrier to the success of this struggle is Stalinism, particularly the Stalinist bureaucracy of North Vietnam. The road to the victory of the workers and peasants, to the accomplishment of the tasks of the permanent revolution, lies through the defeat of Stalinism. This means that in Vietnam the social and political revolutions are telescoped into one complex process.

The days to come will be extremely troubled and difficult. This is not because the tasks are so complex or enormous, it is because Stalinism will not be able to finish with the workers and erect a deformed workers' state as a minimum concession to the whole struggle and gains of the working-class movement. The forms of this struggle cannot be predicted but one thing is certain. Even if the Stalinists attempt to defuse the struggle by implementing this minimum concession to the workers, it will not mark an end -- as it has in the past -- but only a deepening of the struggle in which the mobilization of the laboring masses will seek their fulfillment in a direct and continuing struggle against the bureaucracy -- the same struggle in a different form.

This struggle will not be finished in a few months. And this alone is another side of its chance for victory. Because this means that the 4th International's party will be able to be built in the very midst of these struggles, not enter into them only as a peripheral element. In this, the role of the International League is critical, because it and it alone represents the program and the continuity of the 4th International, which alone can lead to victory. In this way, as in all others, the LIRO will prove what it, and not the other centers, above all the Pabloite United Secretariat, is Trotsky's 4th International, while these others are agencies of Stalinism and thus of world counterrevolution.

WORLD SIGNIFICANCE

This significance of the events that will unfold in the coming period in Indochina will be worldwide. A successful upsurge leading to a Southeast Asian Socialist Federation will place the Stalinist bureaucracy in the gravest peril, especially in China. This, together with the success in Southeast Asia, can open up ALL Asia -- India, Japan, etc. -- for the socialist revolution. In turn, this will have a major effect on the world revolution.

And the role of the 4th International in an Indochinese victory can be a major part in its attaining the leadership of the world working class, the decisive element for the victory of the world revolution.

The situation in the United States, where the capitalists dared not attempt intervention in Vietnam because of their terror at the prospect of unleashing the coming working class explosion, can be sharpened and deepened. This is especially true if the incredible contempt felt for the bourgeoisie and its war can be galvanized into action through the victory of the socialist revolution in Indochina, its extension and the growth of its party on the world and US scale.