

workers of the world, unite!

# TRUTH



BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE--REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

NO. 18

NOVEMBER 7, 1975

15¢



## NEW YORK - AN ATTACK ON EVERY U.S. WORKER!

By JON MYERS

New York City is on the brink of default. A conservative estimate, produced by Data Resources, Inc., states that the default of New York would cost the US \$14 billion in lost national production, 500,000 in jobs. The crisis is even deeper in human terms -- more and more misery for the millions of workers in New York.

Everyone knows these facts. But what everyone tries to hide from the American working class is that the attack on

attack on the American working class as a whole. It is not "New York's crisis" or "New York's problem" but it is a problem that must be taken up and resolved by the entire American working class.

### NO "NEW YORK" SOLUTION

The capitalists and their allies are desperately trying to find a "solution" to New York's crisis. There is no "New York" solution. New York's crisis is the crisis of American capitalism. Only the mobilization of the entire American working class led by workers in BASIC INDUSTRY -- auto and steel, organized through a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF AUTO AND STEEL (of the UAW and USW) which will prepare a nationwide strike against unemployment and its results can provide the "solution" that the workers of New York are seeking. The unity of the American working class behind the workers in New York is what the capitalists and their friends fear the most.

### WHY NEW YORK?

The capitalists want New York to be a lesson to the American workers. From Ford to Carey and Beame the bourgeoisie is putting forward one argument: the working class in New York and around the country must be disciplined if capitalism is to survive. This argument is crystal clear to all the labor leaders like Gotbaum and Shanker to the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Discipline the workers, capitulate to the bosses, or face the militancy of the American working class which will bring down capitalism in this country.

Especially singled out throughout the country and in New York are the public service workers who are extremely militant but also extremely vulnerable to attack. The capitalists are trying to break them first because they have the

least bargaining power in terms of capitalist production. The bosses have proven that they can dispense with hospitals, schools, public transportation, etc., in order to break these unions and turn sections of the working class against each other.

### REACTION

American workers: say NO to Ford's anti-workingclass reactionary propa-

gandists and their "prostitutes on dope" is an explicit attempt to turn the American middle class against New York workers. The capitalists are preparing a reaction to blame blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews and other minorities for all the evils in this country.

### TREACHERY

The union bureaucracy have capitulated totally to the bankers, even going so far as to lend the bankers union pension money to bail them out. The Communist Party (CP) follows in the footsteps of the Democrats, hailing NY Governor Carey's call for a rally saying "Let that program (to save New York -- ed.) be the program of the CHURCHES' (our emphasis) City Hall Rally Tuesday . . . of the rally now supported by Governor Carey." (DAILY WORLD, November 1, 1975)

The CP and the Socialist Workers Party counterpose the rallies called by the Democrats to a general strike that the workers are demanding. They counterpose their calls for "federal aid," "cuts in the military budget" (as if better government spending was the answer) to the call for NATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS, PUBLIC SERVICES, TRANSPORT AND INDUSTRY in New York and NO PAYMENT OF DEBTS TO THE BANKERS.

Even the left centrists refuse to organize and prepare the workers in New York for the general strike. The Workers League calls for demonstrations "to demand that Victor Gotbaum and city union leaders call a general strike." They tell workers to rely on the bureaucrats, who will only betray, to carry out the tasks that only the working class and its revolutionary party can carry out.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UAW AND USW

The preparation and organization of continued page 7



## SPAIN-Workers' and Peasants' Gov't!

By JON MYERS

The death of Franco, the last fascist dictator in Europe is near. His death will be a call for celebration by the oppressed people of the world and especially the working class in Spain which has felt his bloody tyranny for thirty-eight years.

But the Spanish working class and peasantry will not be satisfied with Franco's death alone. Franco may be gone but FRANCOISM and all that it represents remains. Juan Carlos, the designated "ruler" of Spain, is nothing more than a puppet, Franco's hand-picked successor who swore his undying loyalty to Franco and Spanish fascism on his knees.

### JUAN CARLOS

Nothing is changed by Juan Carlos' rule. The jails of Spain remain filled with political prisoners. Workingclass militants continue to be arrested and assassinated in the streets. All political and democratic rights continue to be denied to the Spanish working class

and peasantry. The rule of the bourgeoisie through its allies, the Church and the Army, remains intact. Call it a "monarchy" or "liberalization," Francoism is still the mortal enemy of the Spanish people and must be crushed.

### WORKERS AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT

All the lessons of Spanish history, the Revolution and Civil War, all the lessons of today's struggle point to this: the historical task for the Spanish working class remains: ONLY THE SPANISH WORKING CLASS THROUGH ITS OWN ORGANS OF POWER, THROUGH ITS INDEPENDENT MOBILIZATION, CAN FINISH WITH FRANCOISM. The Spanish working class must take the lead in the fight for democratic rights, for the rights of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities through the fight for its own government, a WORKERS AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT. continued page 5

On the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution!

# NOV. 7--IMPOSE THE SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS!

# STOP FRANCOIST REPRESSION! DEFEND & SUPPORT THE P.O.R.E.

## Letter from Militants of the PORE Imprisoned in Basauri Prison-Bilbao, Spain

POLITICAL PRISONERS AGAINST THE  
FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

The death penalty demanded against the nationalist militants Garmendia and Otaegui and the approval of the anti-terrorist law demonstrate in an unequivocal fashion the attempt of the dictatorship to drown the working class in blood, its organizations and its parties. The working class battles of last year which, above all between October 1974 and January '75 were close to achieving the general strike pushed to the end the mortal crisis of the dictatorship.

The Communist Party's support to the bourgeoisie, its refusal to call the general strike and even its confrontation with the workers where strikes have begun, as a SEAT or in the Basque Provinces on December 11, 1974, is the only explanation for the survival of the fascist regime.

Only our party has shown the solution for the working class; an immediate general strike until the fall of the dictatorship; to begin the proletarian revolution through the independent organization of the working masses in factory committees and their centralization.

These were (and are always) our fighting slogans, at the side of the proletariat. Thus, we have confronted the CP and its allies on the right, the Socialist Workers Party of Spain, and on the left, Maoists and Pabloites.

The ranks of the bourgeoisie are gripped with fear. No one believes any longer in the survival of the dictatorship, still less in the demagoguery of the "opening up." After it abandoned this demagoguery the dictatorship passed to the state of exception in Euskadi, with "legal" assassinations, with massive arrests, with the most savage tortures that we, imprisoned militants of the PORE still have marks of on our bodies. It attempted to terrorize the entire population. The nomination of Solis (Falangist of the old Francoist guard, named to the last government), the threatening lectures of Arias and the lengthening of the Cortes legislature demonstrate the definitive triumph of the most right-wing section of the interior of the regime as an expression of the decisive confrontation which is being prepared between the dictatorship and the masses. For if the general strike has not yet been unleashed, the working class combats continue even under the state of exception: the strike of June 11th was the proof of this. The state of exception did not stop either the activity of the ETA and the FRAP which is still developing or the movements of the working masses. The result was an acceleration of the social and political crisis. The anti-terrorist law, a real state of exception throughout the country for two years, will not reach its end, for now is the end of the dictatorship.

The collection of photos above are clippings from various European newspapers -- LA VANGUARDIA, Barcelona, the Paris LE MONDE, the LONDON TIMES, and O SECULO in Lisbon. They detail the Francoist campaign of political repression in Spain and in particular, against the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Spanish section of the International League. The clippings detail a recent wave of arrests in Barcelona where the PORE is most widely known. The letter printed above is from prisoners, members of the PORE, in Bilbao -- in the Basque Provinces who were arrested just days before the official state of emergency in the Basque Provinces was declared (April 25th).

The International League has led a campaign to defend the political prisoners in Spain for months -- beginning at a time when there was an official "wall of silence" in the bourgeois press about the events in Spain and particularly about the attacks on the PORE, which is second only to the Communist Party in Spain in terms of its strength in the working class and which has decisively won the claim to be THE Trotskyist Party in the eyes of the advanced workers in Spain.

The bourgeoisie well knows that the dictatorship has lasted for a long time without social support and that it is unable to stop the mass movement and even the crisis inside the army. The paralyzed bourgeoisie allows its fascist wing to attack the masses and seeks an answer in a desperate fashion. This answer for capitalism is opened up by the traitorous parties, the Spanish CP aided by the Labor Party (Maoist) in the Democratic Junta, the PSOE (Socialists -- ed.) and the ORT and MCE (Maoists) in the "Democratic Convergence." One or another platform, both opposing the general strike, offer capitalism an attempt to control the working class within the framework of the respect of private property, through the medium of a coalition bourgeois government which will take the baton from the dictatorship, peacefully.

But today they cannot prevent the general strike from finishing with the dictatorship; any more than they can tomorrow stop the proletariat and the masses on the road to the revolution.

From the moment when the dictatorship announced the war council against Otaegui and Garmendia, and while we write these lines, the entire Basque country took to combat. The news that arrives here in prison speaks of the general strike in Guipuzcoa, Aizpeitia, Vergaram, Zarauz... of demonstrations, as well as in Viscaya where the main factories began an immediate strike: Babcock, Naval and Euskalduna, AHV, the Duranguesado region... and it is only the beginning of what we are waiting to see also explode in the rest of the country.

For our part, as political prisoners, we have begun an unlimited hunger strike for the liberation of Garmendia and Otaegui, the liberation of all political prisoners, to bring down the dictatorship. This hunger strike is taking place in all the prisons in the country in order to support the working-class mobilizations.

As political prisoners and as militants of the PORE, section of the International League, we say that the answer to the present situation, what can save the militants of the ETA and FRAP threatened with death, is the general strike which, by finishing with the dictatorship, will allow the masses to struggle for their objectives. Here our slogan continues to be: unlimited general strike until the dictatorship is finished with; occupation of the factories and the election of factory committees; centralization through workers' committees in every city.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS  
GOVERNMENT!

SOCIALIST UNITED  
STATES OF EUROPE!

Political Prisoners of the PORE  
BASAURI Prison (Bilbao)

We can assure our readers that the "facts" now published in European bourgeois papers are only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the extent of the repression against the PORE in Spain. While we always have and still are willing to defend and support the struggles of all political prisoners, we have a particular obligation and we believe our readers do as well to defend the party of the Fourth International in Spain. The Stalinists and the centrists in the US have built up their own wall of silence about the repression against the PORE. We believe that all those who claim to be Trotskyist have the obligation to help us break this wall of silence and join us in the defense of the PORE.

Please send your statements of support and contributions to:

TRUTH  
PO BOX 4997  
CHICAGO, IL 60680

DOWN WITH FRANCOIST REPRESSION!

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE PORE  
P.O.R.E. -- SPANISH SECTION OF THE  
THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE!

### Han sido desarticulados varios grupos subversivos, comandos armados, aparatos de agitación y propaganda

Fueron puestos a disposición judicial setenta y seis detenidos, supuestos autores de diferentes actos terroristas, ataques a bancos, colocación de bombas y agresiones a la fuerza pública

LA VANGUARDIA  
BARCELONA 16 SEPT. 75

LE MONDE  
PARIS  
18 SEPT. 75

**Trotskistas solidários** - **76 arrested in Barcelona**  
com camaradas espanhóis - **after killing of policeman**

De notre correspondant... Les cinq accusés ont... A prisão de grande número de militantes em... A LIRQI considera que este ataque repressor é muito mais forte do que o de Burgos, em 1970, pelo que finaliza o seu trabalho por um novo e mobilização operária, organizada e unitária em que colaborarão todos os grupos operários e revolucionários portugueses, em solidariedade com a LIRQI.

O comunicado alerta todas as organizações operárias e democráticas portuguesas para o estado-de-excepção proclamado em Espanha para as províncias bascas de Euzkadi e Guipuzcoa, e para as regiões de Vizcaya e Cantabria. O comunicado do comitê de LIRQI em Portugal.

BANDERA COMUNISTA (Red Flag)  
Theoretical journal of the PORE

LA AURORA (Dawn)  
organ of the Central Committee of the PORE

Both available from the Trotskyist Organization

PROLETARIOS DE TODOS LOS PAISES, UNIOS!



## Reports

The Liaison Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International met in Detroit on Sunday, October 26th. Present were the members of the Liaison Committee from Ford River Rouge, a hospital worker, and the representatives from the Trotskyist Organization. The meeting discussed and detailed the plans for the November 7th demonstration at River Rouge in Detroit as part of the international day of action. Greetings were sent to the Preparation Committee in Paris to be read on November 7th and an Open Letter to the Preparation Committee in Paris was discussed which elaborated on the development of the work of building the Revolutionary Youth International in the US. The meeting also discussed a financial plan to raise money to send a delegation to Berlin in December and chose correspondents for YOUNG GUARD, the journal of the Committee of Preparation.

Sales of TRUTH for the month of September in auto and steel: US Steel South Works -- 75 copies, Ford-Torrence -- 55 copies, Ford River Rouge -- 17 copies.

The campaign for the eight-page TRUTH has not met with any substantial results so far. We made a step forward in obtaining the support of workers for our propaganda by collecting enough money from young workers at South Works and Torrence to pay for the joint leaflet put out for November 7th by the TO and the young workers. The same effort must be made to support the publication of TRUTH. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS NOW:

TRUTH  
PO BOX 4997  
Chicago, IL 60680

NOTE: With this issue of TRUTH our price goes up to 15¢ an issue. This is necessary to meet the rising costs of production. It makes it even more worthwhile to now get a joint subscription to TRUTH and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -- 24 issue of TRUTH and 12 issues of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for only \$6.00 to be mailed right to your door. SUBSCRIBE NOW!

# Dunlop Bill Attacks Right to Strike

By KEVIN TRACEY

Labor Secretary John Dunlop, Ford-Rockefeller's hatchet man for the working class, is rushing through Congress a bill which is an attack on the power of construction workers and the opening gun in a campaign against the strike power of all unions -- the power that alone gives unions strength.



## IN CONSTRUCTION

As we pointed out in TRUTH #5 ("Turmoil in Construction"), the building-trades unions are the guinea pig for anti-union schemes. The RELATIVELY high wages in the industry and its critical importance for the capitalist economy give the bourgeoisie a powerful economic incentive to attack there. And the CRAFT (e.g. Carpenters, Painters, etc.) rather than INDUSTRIAL (e.g. Auto Workers, Steel Workers, etc.) organization of the unions -- and the result and expression of this in the most reactionary section of the bureaucracy -- gives the capitalists an opportunity for victories that they can extend

to other unions.

Thus, beginning in 1971, Dunlop created and ran the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), on which the bureaucrats and the bosses worked out deals that drastically reduced wage increases. CISC was the "trial run" for Nixon's wage freeze and wage board (both also run by Dunlop) on which the Meanys, Woodcocks and Abels sat and which set back the living standards of the working class for years.

But in 1974, when the wage freeze had to be removed, construction workers led the strike wave, rolling up major wage gains in the process. Wage gains were in the 10-15% range. Faced with this offensive and the urgent capitalist need for a profitable construction industry, Dunlop has proposed his new bill.

## PROVISIONS

The bill's provisions are clear and menacing. Ford will appoint a "Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Committee," composed of ten "union" (pro-capitalist), ten "management" (capitalist) and five "neutral" (capitalist state) members. Local unions and contractors must notify the national unions and companies sixty days before a contract expiration. Then CICBC could step in, "defer" the expiration for thirty days (a copy of the notorious Taft-Hartley "cooling-off" period) and involve the national unions and companies in the negotiations.

The big companies could then "give some spine" to local contractors, while the national unions could VETO any contract won by a local. This bill is clearly directed at preventing repetitions of the pacesetting Northern California Carpenters' strike of 1974.

The bureaucrats cynically present the bill as a "victory" because the lower wages bound to result will make union labor "competitive" with scab labor and because an attached bill (a

"deal") legalizes on-sit picketing (shutting down a building site to force out scab contractors). Only a bureaucrat can see "competing" with scabs on scab terms and winning a strike tool for strikes that won't be allowed as a "victory."

## SIGNIFICANCE AND RESPONSE

As with CISC, this bill is aimed at all unions. Dunlop is on the record as favoring new wage controls and already Canada, whose economic problems parallel those of the US, has imposed a three-year wage freeze in response to a massive strike wave. In the industrial unions, Abel has sold out the right to strike in basic steel through his "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA), hailed as a "breakthrough" by other bureaucrats and capitalists alike. They want to extend this "breakthrough" to all unions. Dunlop's bill is a major step in that direction.

The best defense of the strike weapon, as with any hard-earned right, is its full utilization. Construction workers must strike against this bill. But, along with the UAW and the USW, they must join the national strike for "30 for 40 NOW." In the case of the building trades this demand is the key, along with a program of useful public works, to fighting unemployment, scab labor and union-busting. In the course of this movement, as was beginning to be seen in 1974, the old craft divisions must break down and a new industrial union emerge in construction.

The central slogans in the fight in the unions are "trade union democracy" and "complete independence from the capitalist state." In this fight against the bureaucrats and their collaboration with the bourgeois government building workers will learn the full significance of their struggle and take their place in the ranks of the revolutionary workers' movement, a place from which in the US they have been long absent.



## Bureaucrats Respond to Torrence Circle

By FRED MICHAELS

In the October issue of the 551 News (Local 551, UAW) there was an article entitled, "Unemployment." This unsigned article was written in response to the September meeting of the Ford-Torrence Revolutionary Worker Youth Circle which seven workers attended, plus two representatives of the Trotskyist Organization and they began mapping out a strategy for fighting unemployment, that is, taking on the bureaucrats and Ford Motor Co. In the article the bureaucrats brag about their accomplishments and put forward giving money to the Democrats as the solution to unemployment.

The bureaucrats tell us in the article: "THOSE OF US WHO ARE STILL

WORKING, even if it is "off and on," can help to support and elect legislators who will not support Big Business BUT WILL SUPPORT THE WORKERS. This sounds "old and the usual solitation (sic) for helping ourselves through our elected officials. BUT IT IS THE ONLY MEANS OF DEFENSE WE HAVE." (emphasis in original). In other words we should give money to the Democrats. They don't mention any names because the candidates are too discredited. At the April 26th demonstration in Washington, the Democratic "friends of labor" were driven from the stage by 50,000 angry workers. Most significantly, the bureaucrats

DROP THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. Supporting capitalist politicians is not the "only means of defense we have." We can strike and we should strike. The fact that they "forgot" one of the best defenses we have, tells us what they will do with the strike that they will be forced to call at the contract expiration next year. The bureaucrats will call a strike to "let off steam."

They brag in the article about how hard they've worked to get us increased benefits, called demonstrations for them, etc. But just like the meetings they've been forced to call at the plant (in Chassis for overwork, in Paint for a lousy committeeman), these demonstra-

tions are designed to DEMOBILIZE the struggle, and not to build it. And for anything "they've won," it isn't anything compared to what they have lost for Ford Torrence workers -- 17 weeks of work and over 1,000 other workers!

A full response by the Circle is being circulated at the plant to collect signatures to get it printed in the next issue of the 551 News, along with the specific demands of the workers against the bureaucrats: unsolved grievances, overloaded jobs, speed-up, dangerous work situations etc., to print what they bureaucrats are not doing -- that is, to print the truth about the conditions in the plant.

## PRISONS JAMMED FULL

By FRED MICHAELS

The prison population in nine Southern states is 20,000 above capacity. State penitentiaries are severely overcrowded; local jails without any adequate facilities are forced to take up the overload. Prisons are building "temporary facilities" -- everything from WWII ships to army tents.

There have been rebellions around the country demanding an end to these inhuman conditions and bestial treatment. At the Tennessee State Penitentiary, housing 12,000 men in a 10,000 man prison, there was a rebellion last month where an inmate was murdered. Last year at the North Carolina State Cor-

rectional Center for Women the guards were attacked en masse.

## ATTACK ON THE YOUTH AND MINORITIES

The cause for the rising prison population and the rebellions is not the liberal smokescreen that "unemployment and poverty cause crime" or the right-wing Muslim theory about the "moral discipline of the community" but in the material class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The capitalists use the prisons, as part of their governmental apparatus, to house

the poor and oppressed, driven to crimes by the vicious attack of the capitalists on the entire society, especially on the youth and minorities.

In the Florida Sumpter Correctional Institution the average age is twenty-two. In 1972, 117 out of 800 prisoners had life sentences and the average sentence for the rest was twelve years. In 1975, 177 were serving life and the rest had an average sentence of 17.4 years! It is the youth, above all the minority youth, who are filling up the prisons.

We read of Joan Little who, by defending herself against the sexual assault of a guard, brought on a storm

of protest supporting her right to self-defense. In Florida, the most crowded of all the Southern states, 2 black men, Pitts and Lee, were held in prison for 12 years for a crime they did not commit!

And there are the political prisoners -- those jailed for their beliefs and actions against oppression. Such prisoners as Ruben "Hurricane" Carter, Ruchel McGee, and Martin Sostre are often singled out for especially brutal treatment. But all these prisoners, whether political or not, are consistently deprived of basic rights and human living conditions.

## FUTURE PROSPECTS

The state of Georgia was forced to release 1,000 prisoners because of overcrowding; but there is no real improvement. The prisons, like the army and New York City, foreshadow what the capitalists have in store for the working class across the country. Florida takes in ninety-three new prisoners a week; Georgia 300 a month. The capitalists will build new prisons only as more sophisticated pens for us. The solution to overcrowded jails is not more prisons or better prisons but the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of a free socialist society



# The 'Democratic Junta' Speaks

By ANN RUSSELL

The death of Franco, fascist dictator of Spain for forty years, is near. The whole world is now watching Spain and the world forces of both revolution and counterrevolution are preparing themselves.

The International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International is rebuilding the world party capable of leading the revolution and has concentrated much of its activity on the defense and preparation of the Spanish revolution. In Spain, our section, the PORE, is second in influence among the Spanish working class only to the reactionary Communist Party. The Kremlin bureaucracy, through Santiago Carrillo is preparing for a future popular front government in Spain, that is a government that ties the representatives of the workers' organizations to the representatives of the bourgeoisie. Carrillo names this proposed grouping that is fighting for the popular front government the "Democratic Junta."

## PREPARES DEFEAT

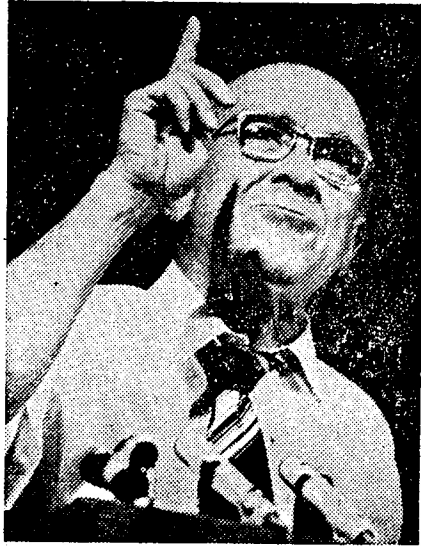
Santiago Carrillo does not even oppose a monarchy: "We are not adventurists who will systematically wave the flag of social unrest. We will accept whatever the majority decides. But the monarchy, to survive, must be on the side of the people."

Santiago Carrillo says further: "I see a future Spain as a Western-style democracy in which every ideological family will have a voice." Workers in the Western countries could tell him quite a bit about the "democracy" of the imperialists!

On the question of a "peaceful transition" in Spain, Santiago Carrillo can't make up his mind. Before Franco's recent execution of five militants accused and "convicted" of terrorism, Santiago Carrillo said: "I would a thousand times prefer a peaceful transition." (Newsweek). After the world outcry against the fascist murders Santiago Carrillo now declares: "I have always thought and said that there will not be a transition but a break. It is impossible to pass from a fascist regime to a democratic regime through simple evolution."

## ON PORTUGAL

The victory of the Portuguese proletariat depends upon its ending its isolation by joining in struggle with the Spanish workingclass fight to bring down fascism, and for the United Socialist States of Europe. But on this question Carrillo says: "The situation is completely different. In Portugal the only real force was the army. But the social movement is extremely powerful in Spain. There is an important, sophisticated and democratic press and we don't have to wait for the army to rebel. Another difference with Portugal is that we in the Spanish Communist Party would be quite happy to



SANTIAGO CARRILLO

take part in free elections at any time AS SOON AS THE ELECTORAL ROLES HAVE BEEN BROUGHT UP TO DATE. (our emphasis). In the recent fascist union elections in Spain, the Communist Party urged participation by the workers.

## THE "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA"

The "junta" which was formed last year under the leadership of Santiago Carrillo includes the participation of the Christian Democrats as well as the monarchists. The monarchists support Don Juan who was rejected by Franco in favor of his son prince Juan Carlos. Santiago Carrillo said of the monarch: "All Franco's structures will have to disappear, including Juan Carlos. If the people decide they want a monarch, then he will be Don Juan." At a news conference held by the "Democratic Junta," Rafael Calvo Serrer of the monarchists said that his party supports Don Juan. Santiago Carrillo didn't contradict him.

Santiago Carrillo is willing to go to great lengths to maintain the popular front. He is already greatly discredited in the eyes of the workers. The Spanish CP has already broken workers' strikes in Barcelona. They refuse to call the general strike that all workingclass militants in the CP support. Santiago Carrillo will not have an easy time of selling out the workers but, as the most influential leader of the Spanish workers, the Spanish Communist Party represents a great danger. The great danger is that the "Democratic Junta" of the CP and the "Democratic Convergence" of the SP are designed to give the Spanish bourgeoisie breathing room, to organize and prepare again the fascist reaction.

It is necessary to rebuild the Fourth International which only the International League is doing. This is the vital question for the working class of Spain and it is the vital question for the young workers in America.



JUAN CARLOS "ROPED" INTO NEW JOB

# International Boycott

## BUILD WORKERS' BOYCOTT

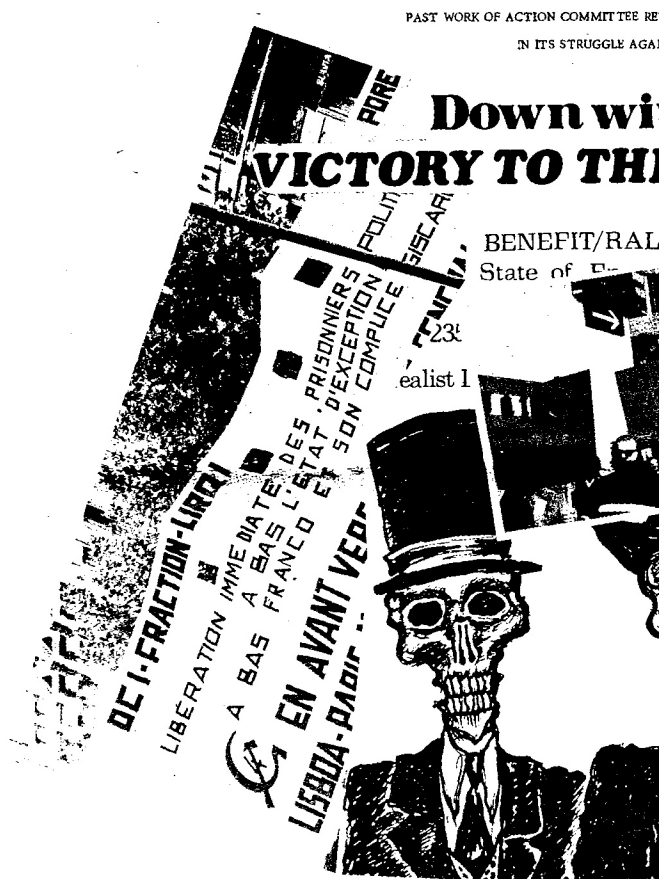
By KEVIN TRACEY and ANN RUSSELL  
Since April of this year the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International has been advocating and organizing an international, united and permanent campaign against the Francoist regime, for the defense of the Spanish revolution. In the United States, this activity has been carried out through the efforts of the Trotskyist Organization, in good measure through the "Action Committee (initially "For the Defense of Political Prisoners") Against Franco's Fascism." An assessment of the political basis for this work, its successes and its shortcomings is essential for going forward in the defense of the Spanish Revolution, for the work of organizing an international boycott of Francoist Spain.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF SPAIN

Alone among all the centers which claim to be the Fourth International, the International League has from its very beginning understood the critical significance of the Spanish Revolution. Only the International League has said from the beginning that the Spanish Revolution would mark the beginning

shortly joined the TO and the International League) and the Chicago surrealists, with verbal support from Tim Wohlforth, Nancy Fields and others.

The Action Committee, formed at the initiative and on the political line of the International League on May 11, 1975, was the ONLY organization which carried out demonstrations, publicity and other activity around the question of the Spanish Revolution and the State of Exception in Spain. Repeat: THE ONLY ORGANIZATION. EVERY other group, so-called Trotskyist, socialist or what-have-you, showed not the slightest interest in the situation in Spain and its critical significance for the world working class. From Jon Britton of the national and Chicago leadership of the Socialist Workers Party to the leadership of the now-defunct Mandeliste shadow of the SWP, the "Internationalist Tendency," the refrain was the same: "We're not interested." So "uninterested" were the Communist Party and the various centrist groups, including the American Workers League, that they couldn't even be bothered to SAY they "weren't interested."



of the European Revolution and, on this basis, that only the Spanish Revolution could break the isolation of the Portuguese Revolution and lead it to victory. While every other organization was interested solely in "where the action was," the International League developed its analysis and built its Spanish section, (the Partido Obrero Revolucionario/Revolutionary Workers Party) thereby demonstrating its right to claim the title of the Fourth International against the centrist and confusionist centers.

And it was on this basis that the International League, at the time of the declaration of the State of Exception (virtual martial law) in the Basque country of Spain this year, saw that this action represented no minor police activity (as it was portrayed in all the bourgeois and so-called workingclass organs that even bothered to mention it), but a conscious attempt by the fascist regime to wipe out the leadership of the Spanish Revolution on the very eve of its outbreak. At that moment the International League issued an appeal for all workingclass organizations and real defenders of democratic rights to organize an international campaign against Francoism.

## ACTION COMMITTEE

The Trotskyist Organization, the US supporter of the International League, immediately began to organize around this appeal. The form that our first efforts took was the Action Committee in Defense of Political Prisoners, a coalition originally composed of the TO, the Class Struggle League (which

Meanwhile, the Action Committee carried out demonstrations in Chicago (May 17th) and New York (May 30th), intervened in the convention of the Communist Party, held a highly successful benefit rally for the political prisoners on June 28th and the ONLY organization, once again, to raise the question of Spain openly in the working class, to organize at the plants in defense of the Spanish Revolution. Twenty workers at Ford-Torrence in a matter of hours signed a petition against the State of Exception, for the freedom of the political prisoners and other measures against Francoism. This is the record of the International League and the Action Committee while others were forming part of the wall of silence around the events in Spain.

## PROBLEMS

It is on the basis of this positive evaluation of the Action Committee and its work that it is possible to discuss its weaknesses, as part of our constant struggle to improve and strengthen our international campaign and its permanent and united character.

The major problem is that of the TO itself. While acting on the basis of the policy of the International League, because of an incomplete comprehension of the significance of Spain FOR the International League, it tended to turn the Action Committee into an activity in and of itself, not integrated into the work of the whole organization.

## "POLITICAL PRISONERS"

Thus, the Action Committee

# of Franco's Fascists

## BOYCOTT COMMITTEES!

originally bore the name "To Defend Political Prisoners." This reflected an inadequate understanding of the fact that the mass arrests in Spain were not something self-contained, a "civil liberties" issue, but the cutting edge of the Franco regime's attack against the nascent Revolution itself. This focus of the Action Committee turned the work too much in the direction of "protest" and seeking support in "radical" and "progressive" circles, not realizing that such support would and could come only on the basis -- as with everything else -- of the independent activity of the TO in mobilizing and organizing the working class, in this case integrating the question of Spain into the daily political work of the TO.

This lack of political clarity was also partially responsible for an overinvolvement with various small groupings, in hopes of expanding the influence of the Committee when an insufficient basis had been established for this in the working class. Together with a major retreat from their responsibilities toward the Fourth International on the part of the Surrealists, it would play a role in their defection from the Action Committee on the very eve of the sentencing

the centrists, immediately took on new life.

The centrists, now having discovered "where the action was," suddenly tried to jump on the bandwagon all at the same time. This is what provoked the obscene spectacle as reported in the last issue of TRUTH, of the SWP and the CP trying to claim the initiatives of the Action Committee (in St. Louis) for their own, all the while attempting to distort its real political content.

But it was only on the basis of the Extraordinary International Conference of the II, and especially the last meeting of the International Executive Committee, that the problems in the generally correct work of the TO could be rectified.

### CONCRETE ACTIVITY

The problem common to the Action Committee, both as a group which SEEMED to be only to defend prisoners and as a group against Francoism in general, was that its activities consisted largely of protest and solidarity actions, with CONCRETE ACTIVITY in defense

AINS OF THE WORKING CLASS  
ISM

the fascist  
SPANISH



**20 MILITANT WORKERS at FORD SAY:**  
**LIFT the STATE of EMERGENCY in SPAIN!**  
**BREAK the WALL of SILENCE!**  
**MITTEE for Defense Prisoners in Spain**

mittee for Defense  
soners in Spain

c/o TRUTH  
P.O. BOX 2099  
961 LAKE STREET  
OAK PARK, IL 60313

of Garmendia and Otaegui (not accidentally) and their later full participation in a demonstration called explicitly in support of the popular-frontist "Revolutionary United Front" in Portugal, a grouping which supports the "left wing" of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) as well as the Stalinists.

This particular error was corrected in changing the name and focus of the Committee to the "Action Committee Against Franco's Fascism." This provided a clearer basis for the activities of the organization. It was on this basis that the Action Committee was able to begin the publication of a BULLETIN to serve as an organizing and publicity tool for the fight against Francoism in the US. Once again, this was the ONLY such tool made available to the American workers and others who supported the fight against Francoism.

This correction in name and focus was a critical one. To pose today the question in Spain as one of freeing political prisoners, today when the outbreak of the Revolution is literally a matter of a few days or weeks, is to be absolutely retrogressive, absolutely reactionary. A struggle around prisoners today is a toally unacceptable diversion, a diversion beneficial only to imperialism and Stalinism.

### FORWARD

At the time of the executions of the five prisoners in Spain, the mass upsurge in Spain and throughout Europe confirmed the analysis of the International League. The Portuguese Revolution, pronounced "stabilized" by

of the Spanish Revolution not being put forward.

The campaign for an international boycott of Francoist Spain gives precisely the political and organizational clarity that the previous work of the TO lacked. This campaign, as pointed out in the last issue of TRUTH, directly involves American workers and those who defend democratic rights in practical activity, on the basis of the International League, in defense of the Spanish Revolution. And because the Spanish Revolution will mark the beginning of the European Revolution, it involves them directly in ITS defense as well. And this defense is no abstract matter. It is a question of the preparation and defense of the AMERICAN revolution, whose fulfillment follows upon and derives its strength from the revolution in Europe.

In every locality, in every plant, factory and worksite, boycott committees must be organized. The BULLETIN of the Action Committee will acquire a new form as the organ and organizer of these committees. On this basis the work of the TO on Spain can be integrated, is being integrated, into the general work of the TO in the working class. The basic political problems have been resolved, the past offers great lessons and accomplishments to base ourselves on. The gains of the Action Committee must be taken forward, forward to the organization of a boycott that will cripple American and world imperialism's aid to Francoism.

The defense of the Spanish Revolution is the preparation of our own. Its victory is ours.

# Ford-'Ford'-Franco



CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' STRIKE AGAINST THE EXECUTIONS IN BASQUE PROVINCES

By FRED MICHAELS

In order to organize boycott committees against Francoist Spain, we have begun uncovering the ties between various capitalists in the US, the Francoist regime, and the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Many of the links go directly through the US government. Under the Madrid Pact, signed in 1971 and recently renewed, the US has use of bases in Spain in exchange for modernizing the Spanish defense system. So Hughes Aircraft Co. (owned by Nixon's buddy, Howard Hughes) built an automated air defense system in 1973 for the United States Air Force to give to the Spanish Air Force! This was a joint venture with the Spanish electronics firm Comco Electronica Corporation.

### FORD MOTOR CO.

In one of the single largest investments in Spain, Ford Motor Co. announced in February 1974 that it was building an assembly and engine plant at a cost of \$500 million. Chrysler has had a plant in Spain since 1967 building Dodges and French Simcas.

The Ford Plant, to be built twelve miles southwest of Valencia in Almusafes will begin production by November 1976. It will produce the low-powered Escort line and medium line Taunus. 50% of the materials used to build the plant, as well as to produce the automobiles are to be made in

Spain. However, the rest will be imported.

### REASONS

While the American bourgeoisie holds up the Francoist regime, it receives benefits. Ford Motor will pay the workers \$2.35 a day! Furthermore, at the time of the announcement Ford Motor "denied that it was seeking to replace production of British plants (two Ford plants) where it had considerable labor trouble." (New York Times; 2/4/74) In 1973, Henry Ford met with vice-president Carrero Blanco to discuss building the plant. Building in Spain to avoid "labor trouble," will prove not to be such a propitious move.

### INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT

Organizing the international boycott combines our fight against Ford-Rockefeller and the growing struggle in Spain. Much more work needs to be done. We will be publishing more information especially on US Steel's ties to the Francoist regime. Most importantly, building boycott committees is the ONLY WAY to discover exactly what orders are being sent to Spain. We urge all workers to join with us, take up this struggle. OPEN THE BOOKS! STOP ALL ORDERS TO FRANCO'S FASCISTS!

## Spain...

This is the fight that the International League has been carrying out in Spain, through its Spanish section, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE) for the last two years in Spain. TURN THE FALL OF FRANCOISM INTO THE BEGINNING OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION has been the central slogan of the PORE in the face of Francoism and all of its allies in the workers' movement -- the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and all others who refuse to carry through to the end the struggle against Francoism.

### "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA"

The principle obstacle to the independent mobilization of the Spanish proletariat is represented today in the "Democratic Junta" and "Democratic Convergence" of the Spanish Communist and Socialist Parties. These "juntas" have already proclaimed themselves ready to "govern" Spain and have the same purpose as the Popular Front in Portugal and the Popular Unity in Chile five years ago -- to hold back the Spanish workers, to give the capitalists breathing room and to allow the Francoists time to regroup, maneuver and organize another bloody massacre. The policies of the Spanish CP led by Santiago Carrillo speak for themselves (see page 4); more and more Spanish workers understand its treacherous role.

P.O.R.E.

The PORE has organized the Spanish

workers against the "Democratic Junta" from its inception. In its PLATFORM OF COMBAT issued over a year ago, the PORE stated:

'No one can deny that this very junta of Carrillo and Calvo Serrer (a monarchist -- ed.) has as its goal "reconciliation" between the Francoist oppressor and the oppressed people, that its goal is class collaboration between the exploited proletariat and the bourgeois exploiters; that its goal is the defense of the army, of the police and all the institutions of the bourgeois state, that its goal is the protection of private property against the wishes of the workers, the peasants and all the working population. NO SUPPORT, NO CONFIDENCE TO THE "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA." IT IS THE "JUNTA" OF BETRAYAL BY THE "WORKERS' LEADERS" BEFORE THE PROLETARIAN MASSES IN ORDER TO PLACE THEM IN THE SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE.'

The revolution in Spain will ignite the European revolution. American workers and youth: organize with your Spanish brothers and sisters an international boycott of all aid to Franco's fascists. Unmask the treacherous role of the Communist Party of Spain and in the US as well. Defend and support the struggle of the PORE. JOIN THE WORLD PARTY! JOIN THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE U.S.!

# Part 1

A turning point has been reached in the struggle of the working class and its party, the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International (ILRFI).

The struggle and the consciousness of the working class has reached such a level that the international apparatus of the Kremlin -- the skeleton around which imperialism, Stalinism, and Social Democracy have attempted to organize Popular Fronts -- has proven incapable of disciplining the working class.

The Ford-Rockefeller regime, the gendarme of world imperialism, rapidly hastens the preparation of the counterrevolution. The working class seeks its own means and methods to defend itself. The Popular Fronts find themselves in varying states of disarray and paralysis, in Portugal, Spain and France, expressing above all the disarray and paralysis of the international apparatus of the Kremlin, caught in the conflict of classes.

The centrists -- the liquidationist and confusionalist centers -- who, through supporting either the Stalinists or the Social Democrats, have all worked to reform the Popular Fronts, to establish "CP-SP, governments without bourgeois ministers," on the basis of this crisis of the traditional apparatuses, of class-collaborationism, are finding themselves in ever greater crisis. Hansen, Mandel, Lambert-Just, Healy, Mazelis, and now Wohlforth, are maneuvering desperately to attempt to block the working class and the militants of their own organizations from drawing a balance sheet of class-collaborationism. At the center of this is the SWP, negotiating with the OCI and with Wohlforth, in order, most especially, to prevent workingclass militants of their own organizations from drawing a balance sheet of the United Secretariat, the Comité d'Organisation, and the "International Committee." It is a maneuver directed much less against Mandel, Healy, and Mazelis, than it is against the militants of their own organizations, the working class as a whole, and its party, the ILRFI.

The outcome of this conflict of the classes is entirely dependent on the leadership of the working class. Either our party, the International League, takes a decisive step forward in the mastering of its own development, and thus in the rebuilding of the Fourth International, and thus in the mastering of the development of the struggle of the working class itself, or the working class and our party will be set back. This is the alternative which the International Executive Committee has placed before the whole party. It is the alternative with which this conference of the US Supporter of the ILRFI, the Trotskyist Organization, held with the participation of a representative of the IEC, is faced.

In the United States, our party is confronted with a situation which is also, in the language of the IEC, both full of possibilities and full of dangers. The mobilization of the American working class has begun to develop very rapidly and explosively. That the preparation of the counterrevolution has begun to take the form, not only of the attack on the standard of living and the democratic rights of the working class, but also of the more or less open organization of police provocations and fascist gangs, expresses the weakness of the regime in the face of this mobilization of the proletariat and oppressed masses.

Neither Meany and his Social Democratic cadres, nor the liberals and their Stalinist cadres, are, in their own name, capable of confining the working class. The promises of "independent political action" and reform in '76, made with varying degrees of militancy, ring hollow.

But the American working class wants its own party and its wants its own government.

It is in this situation that the work of the Socialist Workers Party, a centrist party, presents the greatest danger to the American working class and its party, the International League, not because the SWP is capable of winning the leadership of the working class, but because it is capable of disorganizing the struggles of the workers while strengthening the hold of the traditional

leaderships over them.

The indispensable nature of the party and its struggle against centrism is the central lesson which we draw from the situation in Portugal and the struggle of our section there.

This conference, by drawing a balance sheet of the struggle of the Fourth International in the United States and setting the tasks of the ILRFI and its US supporter in the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International, must mark a decisive stage in the struggle of the Fourth International to master its own development, to break with the methods which have permitted the SWP, while supporting Stalinism, to continue to be viewed as THE PARTY OF TROTSKY by the international working class.

It is only this which will permit our party to take advantage of the rising of the American working class and not be overwhelmed by it.

## Political Resolution of the First National Congress of the TO/USA

This struggle to develop an understanding of the tasks in the rebuilding of the US Section will strengthen the struggle of the whole ILRFI, in particular the struggle of our French section against the Lambert/Just faction in the OCI, the junior partner of the SWP in these maneuvers.

And, in accordance with the resolution of the IEC, this is a struggle to fully assume the continuity of Bolshevism against centrism, against all resistance and hesitation in the struggle to mobilize the workingclass youth for Berlin against the treacherous leaderships, for absolute political discipline and organizational discipline.

### A BALANCE SHEET OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Throughout the conflict of the working class with imperialism and its Stalinist agents, the Fourth International has continued to exist and fight. The struggle of the FI is by its very nature an international one -- against the international apparatus of the Kremlin -- and thus it can only be maintained and developed as a world center.

The International Committee maintained and developed the struggle of the Fourth International from 1953 to 1972, against the Pabloite agents of Stalinism, theoretically, politically, and practically. The massive mobilization of the youth internationally and under the banner of the Fourth International and the creation of the sections, above all in the countries of the socialist conquests, are the material expressions of this work.

It was in the struggle to block the liquidation of the FI into the Stalinist and Social Democratic apparatuses that the IC itself was created, in particular against the attempts of the Cochran-Clarke faction to liquidate the SWP.

And it was the struggle waged by the IC against the liquidation of the SWP into the Pabloite "International" between 1957 and 1963 by the Dobbs/Kerry/Hansen leadership, with the approval of Cannon, which made possible the creation of a faction to win the leadership of the SWP from the liquidationists.

It was only the struggle of the IC which permitted the continued existence of this faction, its development as the American Committee for the Fourth International, and later as the Workers League. The work of the IC for the RYI and the Fourth Open Conference were the most important steps taken in resolving the crisis of the FI.

While the International Committee maintained the continuity of the Fourth International, its inability to go beyond its federative nature, to fully confront the Stalinists through the establishment of a world DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIST center, constantly threatened the maintenance of the continuity, of the acquisitions of the IC.

Thus it proved unable to systemat-

ically confront imperialism, which is a confrontation with the Stalinist apparatus because it seeks to subordinate the struggle of the workers to imperialism, through taking up, SYSTEMATICALLY, the question of the construction of the party in the United States as a question of the REBUILDING OF THE U.S. SECTION.

In its sole resolution on the topic, a resolution of the American Commission at the Third Conference in 1966, the IC noted in passing that it was against the law to build the world party in the US and then proposed that the ACFI draft a perspective for the construction of the revolutionary party in the US -- in particular for the elaboration of the labor party tactic -- without mentioning the trade union bureaucracy, the CP, or the SWP!

in an extremely vacillating manner. The confusion is expressed in the names of the group: Revolutionary Tendency, American Committee for the Fourth International, and then, simply, Workers League.

The capitulation under the pressure of imperialism to nationalism and spontaneism is expressed theoretically in the counterposition of the existence of the FI (the SLL) to the necessity to rebuild it (the OCI) which co-existed at the conference in 1966. This national and spontaneist conception of the continuity was expressed in the view of the OCI that the SWP represented the continuity, "in the United States," and the view of the SLL that the simple existence of the WL in the US was sufficient to maintain the continuity. They were united in the practical conclusion that it was, therefore, not necessary to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

On the political plane the capitulation was expressed in the nationalist and spontaneist conception of building the party itself. The transformation of the labor party from a tactic through which to fight for the program of the world party into the strategy for the seizure of power and the construction of the party in the United States constituted an evasion of the confrontation with the traditional leaderships and above all, with the centrist leaderships of the SWP. This was accompanied by a failure, in 1966, not 1956, to openly fight the Vorhees Act.

The capitulation on the organizational plane was expressed in the maintenance of Social Democratic forms of organization, Bolshevik methods and forms not being "appropriate" to the struggle, "in the United States."

The point of departure for all these deviations is the failure to take up the struggle to build the party in the United States as a struggle to build the world democratic centralist party.

This weakness of the IC permitted the SWP to provide a left-cover for the class collaborationism which dominated the movement against the war in Vietnam in the United States, and the United Secretariat to do so internationally. Similarly the United Secretariat and the SWP were able to take the greatest advantage of the student uprisings in 1968, which resulted, in the United States, in their destruction at the critical moment by the Stalinists. At the same time, the mobilizations deepened the crisis of the SWP.

The centrist leadership of the SWP was permitted to maintain the mantle of Trotskyism and thus anti-Trotskyist organizations like the Maoists, the Spartacist League, and the International Socialists (Shactmanites) were able to present themselves as "left" alternatives.

In the critical years of its mobilization between 1968 and 1971 the American working class was left to be betrayed by the trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinists, and then the SWP. It was the inability of the IC to win the leadership of the SWP from the centrists

which permitted the movement of workingclass youth, above all black workingclass youth to be taken over by the Stalinists and dissipated.

Precisely at the moment of the Nixon counteroffensive, when the American working class had the greatest need of the world party, and when the greatest possibilities for the rebuilding of the US Section were presented, as indicated by the mobilization of the youth for the Essen Conference, the SLL and the WL abandoned the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International.

The Nixon counteroffensive, which followed the Essen Conference by months, was carried out with the collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists. The Maoists were incapable of waging a fight against the wage-freeze. The SWP was in total crisis in the face of this attack on the working class for it demonstrated the bankruptcy of student vanguardism.

It was in this period that the plethora of splits from the SWP and other organizations developed: the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, the Leninist Faction, the Communist Tendency, the Class Struggle League, Vanguard Newsletter, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Internationalist Tendency, etc., believing the Fourth International to be dead and looking for it at the same time.

While prior to 1971 the struggle of the IC through the Workers League in the United States had obliged all organizations -- the Maoists, the SL, and the IS in particular -- to define themselves in relation to the struggle of the Fourth International, the abandonment of the struggle by the SLL and the WL in 1971 meant that group after group, looking for the Fourth International with varying degrees of principle, was left to nationalism and spontaneism. Needless to say, this has caused and continues to cause a great deal of confusion in the American working class.

It was the crisis of the Fourth International, above all the abandonment of the struggle by the SLL in 1971 and by the OCI in 1972 which permitted the American working class to be quite disoriented in 1971, obliging it to take nearly three years to recover itself.

The WL waged no systematic struggle against the wage-freeze. It organized for a labor party and then abandoned this for building a "youth movement."

It went from cozying up to the SWP to denouncing it hysterically. The leadership was increasingly subject to the frantic and precipitous interventions of the SLL which contributed nothing to correcting the policies.

But with this crisis of the Fourth International, with the incapacity of the Healy/Lambert/Just leadership to resolve it, and then with their efforts to deepen, came also the means to resolve it.

### A BALANCE SHEET OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE -- REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, THE CONTINUATOR OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

It is the existence and fight of the ILRFI from its origin as the faction for the maintenance and development of the International Committee to its founding as the world democratic centralist center rebuilding the Fourth International, which has permitted the task of rebuilding the Fourth International in the bastion of imperialism to be taken up again.

It was the existence and the fight of the ILRFI as a world democratic center fighting to rebuild the Fourth International which led militants of the RSL to break with its opportunist leadership, to form the Soviet Defensist, and the Trotskyist Tendency. And it was the ILRFI which obviously led the TRUTH group to break with centrism in founding the Trotskyist

Organization, the US supporter of the ILRFI.

The International Executive Committee since the founding of the Trotskyist Organization has waged a struggle with and in the leadership of the Trotskyist Organization, which spent most of its political life outside of the Fourth International, for the Trotskyist Organization to fully assume the acquisitions of the struggle of the International Committee and the International League, against nationalism and spontaneism

The acquisitions of this struggle are expressed in the resolutions of the Special Conference of the Trotskyist Organization; in the resolutions of the conferences of June, August and September; in the draft political resolution of the Secretariat and in the Tactical Plans of the Secretariat. These struggles took up the questions of the continuity of the Fourth International; the nature of the Fourth International as a world center organized against the Kremlin apparatus; opposition to all forms of class collaboration; the "CP-SP government without bourgeois ministers;" the independence of the proletariat; the necessity to take up directly the building of the party, against the so-called transitional organizations such as the labor party; the significance of the struggle against Stalinism in the US; the necessity to base the party on the factories; for Bolshevik methods and Bolshevik organizational forms; against spontaneism -- the necessity to plan; the nature and the necessity of the fight for the RYI as the means to rebuild the FI; and the significance of the SWP.

It has been on the basis of this political struggle that it has been possible for the TO to wage the campaign for the sliding scale of working hours, to end all support to Franco, to build the RYI, to rebuild the Fourth International, those things for which it has become known. This has contributed to forcing the liquidationist centers to define themselves in relation to the International League. It has been on the basis of this political struggle that it has been possible to publish and expand the distribution of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and TRUTH, to establish cells at key plants and to win new militants to the party. It has been in the course of this that the leadership of the TO has been formed.

However, it was only with the Extraordinary International Conference that the International League began to put into practice an INTERNATIONAL PLAN for the mobilization of the workingclass youth for Berlin, and thus to break fully with the nationalist and spontaneist methods which characterized the work of the International Committee.

The political struggle which was waged in the Trotskyist Organization was not done so in the best manner. The formation of a section and its leadership requires open discussion in the whole party on the basis of written documents, not conversations between the international leadership and one or two members of the national leadership. It is a question of forging a leadership in open political combat. Improvisation retards political development.

The Trotskyist Organization has made many of the same mistakes made by the Workers League in the United States. In the absence of taking up the question of the rebuilding of the US Section of the FI as a conscious task, in a systematic and disciplined fashion, capitulation to nationalism and spontaneism is inevitable. This is at the root of the tendency of the Trotskyist

Organization to, instead of finding the means to guide the working class through the various stages of the development of its consciousness, to attempt to by-pass them. This was the problem with the general strike slogan and with the Committees of Action slogan, which while not wrong in themselves, were wrong as presented.

Similarly this is at the root of the tendency to, instead of guiding the party through the stages of its development, seek to by-pass them. Since the founding of the Trotskyist Organization, indeed in its resolution, the wresting of the leadership of the working class from the traditional leaderships, the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International (the proclamation of the Revolutionary Workers Party), and the National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization, have been, to one degree or another, at one time or another, identified. And, as with the Workers League, without taking up the problem of destroying the SWP as a Trotskyist Party in the eyes of the working class.

And, the Trotskyist Organization pursued the question of the Fourth International first as a question of regroupment outside the class struggle (the 1963-66 period of the WL) with some youth work on the side, and then, later, as a simple question of implantation in the working class, in which it tended to capitulate to trade unionism, ignoring the struggle against centrism (1966-71 period of the WL).

It is this that has allowed the continued existence of a tendency within the organization capitulating to centrism, its periodic flowering, and the periodic "crisis" of the leadership.

It is not surprising that this has come with the Second Congress, with the Extraordinary International Conference, and above all with the preparation of this conference. Each of these events has posed most starkly the question of the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International as a conscious task which can only be carried out by the whole party and the degree to which we have fallen short of this.

This reached such a point that after the National Conference of Youth, in which the Trotskyist Organization demonstrated its progress in its capacity to win the worker youth and defeat the centrists, that the leadership, with the request of the IEC to postpone the conference and the criticisms of the IEC of the draft resolution, nearly abandoned its responsibility to prepare the conference completely. It did not prepare the next phase of the mobilization for Berlin.

The task before the International League and this US Supporter is to deepen and make more profound the break which was represented by the Extraordinary Conference. It was on the basis of the Conference that the Trotskyist Organization began to take up a systematic analysis of the class struggle in the United States, to formulate with care its agitation and propaganda, to combat the resistance and hesitations in the mobilization of the workingclass youth for Berlin as the basis of the rebuilding of the Fourth International. To continue this struggle requires taking up the task of rebuilding the US Section as a conscious task and a resolute struggle against centrism, for Bolshevik methods and Bolshevik organizational forms.

continued next issue

## Politics of Slander

By KEVIN TRACEY

The crisis of the Fourth International gave birth to a number of centrist groupings whose very existence depends upon the continuation of this crisis and to whom each step forward in its rebuilding comes as a heavy blow. Thus, the Spartacist League, a distinctly American blend of domestic Shactmanism and imported Pabloism, is unable to rely on anything but the anti-workingclass tools of slander and provocation.

The latest example of this occurs in the October 3 Workers Vanguard, the SL's newspaper, and is directed -- not surprisingly -- at the International League and its US supporter, the Trotskyist Organization. In content and in tone, the articles reveal what is bothering the SL. And it is not that the IL is "invisible" -- far from it. It is precisely that our activity, in France, in Spain and in the US, represents a challenge that the SL cannot endure and cannot answer.

This latest hysterical attack on the Fourth International is of a piece with a long history of such actions, Slander, lying, gossip, provocation -- these are not "excesses" by the SL. THEY ARE ITS POLITICAL METHOD. For example, as we reported in TRUTH #4, SL leader James Robertson, supported by his henchmen, has charged that Harold Robins, a political opponent of the SL and the captain of Trotsky's guard at Coyocan, "got Trotsky killed." The inability of the SL to honestly withdraw this charge or to offer the slightest proof indicates the vile and cowardly character of the method involved.

Furthermore, as revealed by the documents of the FBI's COINTELPRO "disruption" activities, the SL has taken material sent to it by the FBI, without the slightest concern for its origins or truth, and used it against the Socialist Workers Party. This material was fabricated by the FBI precisely for this purpose. This demonstrates that the SL is an organization totally without any sense of political principle or proportion, an organization which

can be used by alien class forces.

In this context, the falsehood of the charges raised in the October 3 attack and its provocative character, can be clearly seen. Apart from a total distortion of our work on Spain (see centerfold for the reality), the SL also announced that we called off a scheduled June 11 demonstration against Francoism in Paris. In fact, June 11 marked a major protest against Franco in which we participated fully. This can certainly be attested to by the French Pabloite militants who were injured in the defense of our contingent from attacks by the goon squad of the French OCI -- an incident which seems to have escaped the notice of the SL.

In addition (as is its habit), the SL prints photos of militants identified as being from the IL. One of these photos is identified as that of Michel Varga, a leader of the IL, and is reprinted from the press of the OCI. When the OCI sought to identify an Eastern European militant, a militant who at the time of Brezhnev's visit to France was placed under virtual house arrest, it was seeking to do the work of the KGB. And the SL, trailing after the OCI in a shared fear of the Fourth International (as it has done in regard to the slanders of the OCI against Comrade Varga and the IL), demonstrates once again its provocative recklessness.

We call on all workingclass militants to repudiate these methods in the workers movement -- gossip, slander and provocation have no place in our movement. We call upon all honest militants in the Spartacist League to repudiate the slanders of their leadership. We especially urge militants of the SWP and Workers League who have also experienced the slanders and provocations of the Spartacist League to join with us in fighting to drive these methods out of the workingclass movement. Send your messages of support to the Committee of Inquiry against the slanders of Lambert-Just of the French OCI. Stop those who are carrying out their KGB work in the US!

### New York...

a general strike by the workers in New York must become a national struggle: they must turn to the workers with power in basic industry. New York workers: support the struggle to build a National Assembly of the UAW and USW, send delegations of New York Workers to it. Demand that this National Assembly organize a national fight for 30 FOR 40 NOW! This National Assembly must organize and prepare for a national strike in auto and steel that will also take up the demands of the workers in New York.

Workers in auto and steel: Say NO to Ford's reaction. Organize to fight for your demands and organize the fight to save the entire American working class.

NEW YORK IS THE STRUGGLE OF EVERY AMERICAN WORKER!

PREPARE A GENERAL STRIKE IN NEW YORK -- ORGANIZE A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UAW AND USW!

30 FOR 40 NOW -- DEFEND WORKINGCLASS RIGHTS!

**SUBSCRIBE!**

**TRUTH**

**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

24 issues of TRUTH—12 issues of  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL—\$6.00

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# LA VERITE

DES REVOLUTIONNAIRES

Organe de l'O.C.I — FRACTION LIGUE INTERNATIONALE  
DE RECONSTRUCTION DE LA IV<sup>ème</sup> INTERNATIONALE

LA VERITE -- ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE --  
REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(ILRFI) FRACTION OF THE O.C.I.

AVAILABLE FROM THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/US

# Building the Revolutionary Youth International in the USA

**"Instead of being in separate countries,  
everybody should be unified."**

We present here an interview with a young black worker who works at Ford Dearborn Assembly plant in Michigan. Mike is twenty-four years old and has been working at the plant for several years. The interview was conducted with TRUTH reporter, Robin Everett who met with Mike in the course of the work of the Trotskyist Organization and the Liaison Committee for the Berlin Rally in the preparation of the November 7th international day of action for the sliding scale of working hours at River Rouge.

**Q:** As part of the plan for mobilizing worker youth around the world to found the RYI, the Committee of Preparation of the RYI together with the International League, is organizing an international day of action on the anniversary of the Russian revolution, Nov. 7th. The action is directed against unemployment and repression, the capitalists' "answer" to the militant workingclass youth.

The young workers and workingclass youth will lead the revolution, but they will only be able to get there by fighting to organize all the workers in the struggle for their common needs. So in this demonstration and our other actions, we say to the worker youth to prepare the revolution in the fight against unemployment, the fight against the most basic attack on the working class. What do you think about this approach?

**Mike:** I think its about the best way to come about it because most of the power in this country and anywhere is in the plants. So I kind of feel mobilizing workers is where you have to hit first, because thats where the most discontent is now, that's within labor, unemployment, like you say, so I think that would be the main thrust.

**Q:** What do you think about making the connection between what we're doing -- that we're building the RYI, we want to build the leadership of the young workers to make the revolution, but at the same time, we don't want to separate out the young workers from the rest of the workers and that's why we say the main thing has got to be against unemployment. Its not just the struggle against unemployment, but its the struggle to organize the entire working class around the young workers, through the struggle against unemployment, the struggle against the layoffs and the speedup.

**Mike:** Yeah, I think it's good, because you have to start with the youth. First of all, it has to be the youth because we are the next generation anyway, so I think it's up to us to take the reins and lead it and, you know, eventually the older workers will have to come along, because they're like us, their jobs aren't guaranteed because they've got ten years on the job; that was proven this last winter when guys with ten, twenty years seniority, they were laid off, too. I think it would have to be the young people who would lead anything, it would have to be built around that; because if it comes to violence or fighting, it would be mostly more or less the young people that would be involved. And as far as unemployment, you know, that's with everybody.

Another thing I see is the armed forces, that's part of the working class; its young, young people are in that. The way things are now, I just couldn't see them firing on us, their parents or their brother or sister, somebody that's



Attended by 5000 youth from all over the world, including the countries of socialist conquest, the Essen Conference was an important gain in the struggle to build the Revolutionary Youth International.

at the plant trying to get theirs; so I think the military will have to be brought into that.

**Q:** What do you think about this "volunteer" army Nixon put through?

**Mike:** I don't think its having too much success because there's not too many people volunteering.

**Q:** There are enough -- they've filled as many as they want, they've got them.

**Mike:** It seems like most of the people that join the army tend to come from the South, from what I've observed. Most of the ones I know from the city that joined the army, they're just people that didn't have anything to do, and the army is, you know, offering a all these "golden opportunities" to see the world and its really a whole lot of bullshit.

**Q:** Yeah, we are against the volunteer army, mainly because it's too dangerous. The reason they wanted volunteers, the reason they got rid of the draft, is because it provided too much resistance to their plans.

**Q:** Their officers were getting "fragged;" they started thinking, well, you remember this stuff with the "De Mau Mau;" it came too close to fulfilling peoples' needs for military training. That's why they got rid of it, and they're trying to do that in all the NATO countries, they're trying to push it through in France right now. We feel there has to be military training under union control, the workers have got to control it, run their own training, elect their own officers, and we've got to fight for that, because this volunteer army, you know who that that's going to be used against.

**Mike:** Right. They have a tendency to keep out the "undesirable" people. Like if I went into the army now, everything I'd be learning, I'd use it against them in the long run, some kind of way I'd use it against them. So I'd be "undesirable," and you'd be.

So I feel you could start, make them see the power they have. The people in the military, the higher-ups, they see they're really the power, because they have all the weapons and the installations -- and let's face it, that's it, the military is the country, they own more land and employ more people than anybody.

**Q:** That's what it comes down to, that's what the government amounts to, force.

**Mike:** So you have to hit the military and the workingclass people. That will be the power base, because the military is young, and the majority of peo-

ple that will be involved in our thing will be younger people. How many people who fought in WWII will even touch anything that's communist; they won't touch it at all.

What I see is, instead of being in separate countries, everybody should be unified, help one another and they could wipe out a lot of problems like hunger. The reason I turned on to coming in with you was because of the international scope. You're not just at home, but you're all around the world, everybody reaching out to one another. I think that's the main goal as far as world peace. That's the only way to save anything, is to share.

**Q:** You're going to have to go through a whole lot of fighting to get to that point, though.

**Mike:** It has to be done, though. The fighting has to be done, you have to sacrifice somewhere.

## Help prepare the revolution!

### I want to:

- JOIN THE COMMITTEE OF PREPARATION FOR THE BERLIN RALLY IN THE UNITED STATES
- DISTRIBUTE \_\_\_ BUNDLES OF YOUNG GUARD
- CORRESPOND TO YOUNG GUARD

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# RYI • BERLIN '75!