



Miners in Mascoutah, Ill., show how they feel about the president's Taft-Hartley ruling.

## NO MORE SACRIFICES!

On April 11th Jimmy Carter gave a speech before the National Press Club in Washington, D. C. in which he called on the American working class to "sacrifice for the common good" in order to hold down inflation.

In the face of an annual rise in consumer prices of 8.4%, a rise in a wholesale prices of 9.2% and with over 6.1 million workers "officially" unemployed, Carter made it clear who he expected to pay for this crisis.

"Let me be blunt about this point," he said, "I am asking American workers to accept a lower rate of wage increases."

And he began by demanding that federal workers restrict their wage increases this year to 5.5%.

"Sacrifice".... "for the common good"....

Who is he kidding? Who does he expect to fool with this talk? With this hypocrisy, as hypocritical as all his lying talk about "human rights,"?

Does anyone really believe that there remains anything in "common" between the interests of Jimmy Carter, the capitalist class he represents, and the working class and its youth?

After Carter declared, just days after his election that "anyone who thought I would do much about unemployment was naive." After the unemployment rate under his administration has risen to a 17.3% national jobless rate for the youth, 39% for black youth.

After Carter invoked the reactionary Taft-Hartley slave labor

law to order striking miners back to work. After the US Senate passed the S. 1437 Bill which outlawed wildcat strikes and demonstrations.

No. The American working class and its youth have had enough of this kind of "sacrifices," -- unemployment, inflation, and misery in order to fatten the profits of the capitalists, in order to keep alive a dying system which can no longer meet the needs of the majority of the population.

The working class has no responsibility for this system and this government which it cannot control and which is run in the interests of a greedy few and not for the masses of workers and oppressed.

Let the capitalists pay for their crisis! We refuse!

In fact, Carter's speech was not really intended for the masses of American workers who are already fed up with his lying hypocrisy. Carter's popularity, as reflected in public opinion polls, is at an all-time low.

His speech was intended as propaganda to stiffen the resistance of the capitalist class to the working class offensive now underway. It is their response to the new stage in the offensive of the working class symbolized by the recent miners strike.

Now every strike, every demand of the working class will be met with the response: "its inflationary." The resistance of the capitalist class and its repression will be carried out in the name of the "common good."

The working class and its youth want JOBS, not "sacrifices." They want a FUTURE, not endless inflation and social decay that passes under the name of the "common good."

You must answer Carter's attack by saying, NO MORE SACRIFICES! By mobilizing the entire working class in a struggle for its rights against this "common good" of the capitalists.

FOR JOBS FOR ALL! FOR WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES! FOR ALL AVAILABLE WORK TO BE DIVIDED UP AMONG ALL THOSE ABLE TO WORK!

A fight which today passes through the fight to make the trade unions in this country instruments of the entire working class and the oppressed, instruments of the preparation of the American revolution, for the young workers to WIN BACK THEIR UNIONS!

A fight which means a complete break with the Democratic Party and all those in the workers movement who support it or are trying to reform it. A fight to organize the party of class independence in the US, the WORKERS PARTY, the US Section of the Fourth International.

If you've had enough of these sacrifices. If you've had enough of "human rights" and "common good." If you want a future. Join this fight. April 15, 1978

TRUTH

Under the pretext of the defense of our comrade Santiago Alegria, the "Spartacist League" of the United States published an article in its journal which in fact constitutes an insidious attack against the Fourth International, its leadership and its militants.

1) We affirm that this organization, which has already used such methods against our party, has never given and is not now giving ANY CONCRETE SUPPORT of whatever nature to the campaign for the liberation of Santiago Alegria and the legalization of the PORE. Even more, the leadership of the SL refused all propositions for action made by our comrades of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA because: "the Spartacist League does not want its 'good name' associated with the TO."

2) The SL, which supported and relaunched the campaign of slanders of the French OCI against our comrade Michel Varga and the Fourth International, hoped by this article to give a new breath to its slanderous campaign. They cited a photo of an anti-Francoist demonstration in Spain which we published by mentioning that one could see certain leaders of the PORE at the head of this demonstration.

On this basis the SL accused the leadership of the 4th International of opening up its militants to repression. On this point, comrade Jordi Pares, arrested and tortured by the Francoist police already responded to the gentlemen of the SL (La Quatrieme Internationale #35 - 36, August 1976).

He said: "they say that they are for my liberation and that of my comrades. To my knowledge, neither in the USA nor anywhere else has the Spartacist League undertaken the smallest mobilization or advanced the smallest proposition for action to free the political prisoners in Spain. It is a cowardly maneuver in order to say in passing that it is our policy which is responsible for the repression and not the dictatorship... the realization of this conference on July 25th (World Workers Conference in Barcelona in 1976 -- trans.), despite the police of Juan Carlos is enough to send the article in WORKERS VANGUARD to its proper place: the trash can."

What is there to add to this powerful condemnation in August 1976 but that it is still valuable! Except that the leader of the PORE that one sees in the photo of the demonstration is MIGUEL

SALAS, present editor of LA AURORA, the "legal" weekly of the illegal PORE, public spokesman for its Central Committee. Against who a suit has been initiated by the Francoist government of Juan Carlos, not for illegal association, but for having tried to publish an issue of LA AURORA which had as its front page headlines: "DOWN WITH THE MONARCHY OF WAR TRIBUNALS!" This issue was seized by the Francoist police.

What is the SL trying to do? Write another article about the "adventurism" of our party which "dares" to have a public spokesman? Or give its poisonous "support"?

Because this organization does not believe in the possibilities of constructing sections of the Fourth International in Eastern Europe because of the power of the Stalinist police, as their "international" spokesman, John Sharpe maintains, -- it also thinks that it is necessary to either struggle in the security of bourgeois democracy or with the reduced means of ultra-clandestinity under the dictatorships. This is not our conception of the preparation of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) The leadership of the SL tries in vain to discredit the leadership of the Fourth International. Its article, flattering the PORE but slandering the TO/USA and the leadership of the Fourth International, appeared AFTER THE REJECTION by the PORE of a proposition for common discussion made by the SL.

No discussion with the slanderers of Michel Varga and the Fourth International! No discussion with the Spanish section of the Fourth International behind the backs of the international leadership and the TO/USA.

These dirty maneuvers will not enable the despicable leadership of the SL to arrive at its ends. We've had enough of "support" articles of this type! Which in fact only demonstrate on which side Robertson and his friends are found.

Jon Cohen - for the Secretariat, Trotskyist Organization of the USA

Anibal Ramos, for the Political Bureau - Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain

Victor San Muro, International Secretariat, Fourth International

FROM LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE #61

## A CLARIFICATION dirty maneuvers are always despicable

# LATIN AMERICA HUMAN RIGHTS- IMPERIALISM'S NEW HAT

By ANN NELSON

Before the dust from the strike had settled, Carter took off on a seven day tour of Venezuela, Brazil, Nigeria and Liberia. Carter, anxious to draw attention away from the militant miners, took the trip to try to hide the extent of the crisis of his regime. He also wanted to try to strengthen and insure United States domination in Latin America and Africa. His method was pure and simple imperialism which he is trying to call "human rights."

Because US workers don't think the government belongs in Africa or Latin America, "human rights" is the only excuse Carter can use to justify US intervention in these countries. Just as imperialists before him wanted to keep the "world safe for democracy," Carter must sheath imperialism's "iron fist in the velvet glove" of human rights.

In Panama, Carter has tried to make the actual strengthening of US domination over the country and canal appear as if he is giving the country some kind of independence. The United States maintains the right in the treaties to first priority usage of the canal in the event of an "emergency." Therefore, the canal will never truly belong to the Panamanians and the demonstrations of the masses of Panama show that they know this as well as Carter does.

## LATIN AMERICA

Carter said of one of the most oppressive regimes in Latin America, Brazil, that "... our commitment to Brazil is a friend..." (NEW YORK TIMES, 3-31-78, pg. A12). It is not the "human rights" of the Brazilian workers and peasants that Carter is worried about. He is worried about President Ernesto Geisel's ability to keep them in line.

This is the true meaning of Carter's "human rights;" with whatever methods necessary he wants to maintain Latin America under the control of imperialism, and now wants a dominant position in Africa as well. Whether it be with the CIA, economic means or "human rights," the United States will maintain the right to exploit and set the terms for all the peoples of Latin America and Africa.

But Carter has a problem. First, he can't control the working class at home. The militancy and political nature of the miner's strike have deepened the crisis of the Carter regime. After Carter's threat to send troops into the mines, workers will have a hard time believing that he has the "human rights" of the peoples of Latin America and Africa in mind when he flies to their countries.

## AFRICA

The workers and peasants of Africa have been developing their mobilization against imperialism and their own national bourgeoisies. United States imperialism which is really beyond its desperate stages must look beyond Latin America, Indochina and the Caribbean, it must now try to gain complete domination over the affairs of Africa.

This is the reason for Carter's trip to Nigeria, the first trip ever made by a US president to sub-Saharan Africa. Carter is trying the same lying method in Africa as he uses with his "Panama for the Panamanians" and in Latin Africa with his "human rights." In Africa, he said that the US will apply pressure to "insure (black) majority rule."

Black majority rule is Carter's proposal because he wants to hide at all costs that it is IMPERIALISM which is responsible for the misery and oppression of the African masses. The Stalinists and the centrists are skipping merrily after Carter in this hoax.

Carter wants to guarantee that the United States will always be able to exploit and extract profits from the Africans. He knows that without a change, the African masses will go further on the road toward throwing the imperialists out of Africa. In order to turn the question away from imperialism, that is away from revolution, Carter says black majority rule is the answer.

The only answer to Carter's trip is for US workers to demand that above all, the United States leave these countries alone. We can not accept that "human rights" is anything but a cover for imperialism.

The United States must apply no pressure on these countries, "economic" or "diplomatic." The real freedom that the African and Latin American workers and peasants need is the freedom from foreign oppression. But at the same time, it is false to put any faith in the national bourgeois governments of the African or Latin American countries.

Ultimately, their only concern is to maintain their rule, so these leaderships will ALWAYS side with imperialism which promises to keep them in power, and not with the African and Latin American masses who would expropriate them.

This coincides with the fact that it will not be possible to confine the struggle for freedom from imperialism and oppression to a single country. "Only a

union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism." (DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL-1933-1940 "Theses on the World Role of American Imperialism.")

This is the policy of the Fourth International, but centrists who claim to be the Fourth International are busy trying to throw support over to the national bourgeoisies of both Latin America and Africa saying that "socialism" will come at a later stage.

This stage theory is used by the centrists of the Socialist Workers Party to counterpose the struggle against imperialism of the workers and peasants to the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. With the "anti-imperialist front" of the Organizing Committee or "black majority rule" of the SWP, they want to establish first a "democratic" state

then later a "socialist" one.

It goes together that the Socialist Workers Party calls for real "human rights" in the United States without saying for which class, the majority of oppressed or the bourgeoisie; and that the solution for the peoples of Latin America and Africa is said to be national bourgeois democracy.

But despite the false leadership of the centrists in Latin America the workers and peasants of Latin America are engaging in a mobilization from Brazil even to Chile. And with the miners strike, and the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, the masses of Latin America and Africa will gain a decisive ally in their fight to win their by putting an end to imperialism. Forward to the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas! Imperialism out of Africa! Rebuild the Sections of the Fourth International!

# ITALY- BOURGEOIS TERROR AGAINST PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

By BARBARA PUTNAM

Bemoaning the "fall of Rome" and the "tragedy of terrorism," the bourgeois papers have wept a lot of crocodile tears over the fate of Aldo Moro, President of the Christian Democratic Party of Italy, kidnapped by a terrorist organization called the Red Brigades on March 16.

His supporters were reportedly "dained and paralysed" by the deterioration of their colleague who is now begging the Italian government to release 160 Red Brigades members imprisoned for the last two years in Turin, for allegedly "conspiring to tear down the state" through highly disciplined and conspiratorial armed units.

Before this incident took place the American Communist Party began introducing confusion into the workers movement calling the Red Brigades "neo-fascists" "common criminals" "master-minded by the Black Prince Borghese" who they claim is the source of their "neo-fascism." They wrote a little diatribe in their paper, the DAILY WORLD entitled "Monopoly's fascist-gangster reserves" to hide their intention of lumping all the struggling youth, workers and leftist terrorists in the same bag with fascism to throw up a smoke screen over the cover they give to the rise of fascism through their collaboration with imperialism.

In this article they claim the reason kidnappers attack leaders of governments is because these

leaders are trying "to counter the threat of fascism within the limits of the constitution."

Their Italian brothers of the Communist Party there would no doubt have us believe the regime of Italy and Moro are countering the "threat of fascism" in their support to a social system that accepts wide unemployment, repression and slave labor conditions for the workers as facts of life.

The International conspiracy against terrorism launched by the bourgeoisie in which every minor terrorist incident is given vast coverage in their papers and blown out of proportion, is designed to leave the impression that terrorism is a mighty force menacing humanity and demanding the defense of the bourgeoisie's version of "democracy."

This has been a focal point for organizing every reactionary force across the world against the leadership of the working class offensive taking place in all major imperialist countries and in all the Stalinist regimes, as well as in Italy where the imperialists social democrats and Stalinists share the power through their joint parliament. This campaign translated in CLASS terms means an attack on ANY and ALL opposition to their rotten regimes.

In Italy, where the CP is carrying out this bourgeois inspired "anti-terrorist" campaign with particular acuity, they are lumping all opposition to them under the heading

"terrorist." Since the march of hundreds of thousands of youth and workers last December who cried WE'VE HAD ENOUGH!, they've deepened this campaign under the slogan "Drive the terrorists out of the factories!"

The CP could only be referring to working class militants, because terrorists, by their policy of INDIVIDUAL revenge on the leaders of capital, separate themselves from the struggle in the factories and in the unions.

Without a program, a policy, a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, the working class is opened up to severe repression without organized means of self-defense. Following Moro's kidnapping 50,000 police and army units were unleashed in working class neighborhoods, ransacking working class organizations in search of "terrorists." They arrested 100 proletarian militants and are continuing searches and seizures. They even went so far as to put out a story that the Mafia was on a patriotic rampage and preparing to murder Red Brigades members in their jail cells, in order to terrify the masses.

It is not the Red Brigades who are to blame. We oppose their imprisonment. Though they use methods of struggle that are false and disorienting to the working class, especially the youth, they are not responsible for BOURGEOIS TERROR; the living fear of the working class that it will be worked to death, starved to death, crushed by the

sheer weight of imperialism and its giant repressive apparatus. This is REAL terrorism that affects the entire working class, all who are oppressed by capitalism.

Bourgeois terror against the working class is what the Stalinists and imperialists want to hide in their joint efforts to make the world safe for "democracy" by eradicating terrorism (i.e., beheading the leadership of the working class.)

When Trotsky wrote "Accounts are too big to settle for one of their ministers" he meant the imperialists had to be suppressed as a class by the fight for a Workers Government and that accounts could never be settled for the working class by capturing a Moro. Accounts are too big, the working class has been terrorized long enough and this is the time to settle accounts, the time to take CLASS vengeance for the crimes of imperialism and for the capitulation of the Stalinists.

The task of the youth and the entire working class is to transform the "fall of Rome" into proletarian revolution. The youthful leadership of the strikes and demonstrations in Italy must be given a chance for a future-- a chance to join the RYI and its struggle to renew the leadership of the workers movement, for a Socialist United States of Europe, for the rebuilding of the Fourth International's fight in Italy.

April 14, 1978



" ' COURSE, Y'ALL HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THAT JIMMY HARDLY EVER MEANS MUCH OF ANYTHING HE SAYS... "

Oliphant in The Washington Star

# Union "officials" and opportunists want to pass laws... HOW WORKERS CAN WIN SHORTER WORK WEEK

By FRED VITALE

For most workers the idea of a shorter work week brings two things to mind -- first and most immediately, to end the unemployment which ravages the working class, especially the youth, blacks and other oppressed peoples. A society where everybody works at a decent wage under decent conditions.

Secondly, it calls forth all the dreams of leisure of the workers. They talk about playing sports, partying more, relaxing, about going to school and bettering themselves. They say how they could get involved in politics because they'd have more time.

To take these needs, these dreams of the workers and PREVENT them from becoming reality, the All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week held a Conference April 11-12 in Dearborn, Michigan. Attended by 700 delegates representing over 800,000 workers, its stated purpose: "to help initiate, develop and coordinate, in every local union, a national movement to create jobs by reducing the hours of labor through the process of education, legislation, and collective bargaining."

The Committee was started by Frank Runnels, President of Local #22, UAW, Cadillac plant. Speaking at the meeting was Doug Fraser, along with Democratic Party politician John Conyers. The list of supporters includes many of the "left-talking" bureaucrats in the country -- Jim Balanoff, of the United Steelworkers (USW), Mike Rinaldi of UAW Local #600, Henry Foner, supporter of the Communist Party/USA and President of a union in New York City. ALL have taken their place in the struggle for workers rights in this country. AGAINST THE WORKERS.

All stood by while the capi-

talists exercised their "rights" -- 10,000,000 plus unemployed with 50% and more among blacks and youth; constantly rising inflation and deteriorating working and living conditions. In the 1978 contract round of the UAW, they signed and supported a contract which gave no protection against layoffs of 375,000 autoworkers which took place only one month later!

## WHY NOW?

But these bureaucrats have been doing this for years. As for unemployment, the Call for the Conference says, "the stagnation that has marked the job market for a quarter of a century." So, why start something now?

There's been a growing offensive by the workers against the capitalists for their rights. It's developed most sharply as a struggle in their unions against the same "leaders" who are capitalists' agents. Look at the miners' strike. Look at the massive rejection of the Miller contract and leadership.

This committee is the capitalists' response to the workers offensive. AGAINST the growing consciousness however hazy and unfocused, that this government, this system is rotten to the core and that the workers must enter the political arena. This is the bureaucrat's POLITICAL offensive against the workers, by attacking the lessons that they have drawn from their strikes, their demonstrations.

And it's not coincidental that it was founded by UAW "leaders" in Detroit. For it's here in Detroit, as well as in the UAW throughout the country that this consciousness is the highest. These are the autoworkers who have been the vanguard of the industrial working class. The autoworkers who are the lifeblood of the capitalist econo-

my. The autoworkers who have struck in almost every local AGAINST the contract that this Conference touted as the "first big step towards the shorter work week."

How does this Committee attack the workers consciousness?

They want to pass laws for the shorter work week. They are asking the same government which used the Taft-Hartley law against the miners who wanted to have paid health care to pass laws.

The same government that wants to make strikes "extortion," and punished as a felony with the S. 1437 bill. It won't fulfill the dreams of the workers. It only confirms their nightmares.

This Committee wants to deepen the illusion, the false idea, that the government can be reformed. That the workers can win major gains like a shorter work week by fighting to reform the government.

But behind this idea of reform is the idea that the government is "neutral." That the government stands above the conflicts between "labor" and "business" and can moderate them. And, whoever organizes the hardest, puts the MOST pressure on the government, gets what they want. As one delegate, Ed W. from USW Local 1976 put it, "we want to use this as a lever to bring pressure to bear on Carter."

But unemployment is NOT a question of "opposing interests." It's a question of the very survival of the working class. Unemployment, with the misery and severe social chaos it causes, provides the psychological basis for the growth of fascism, that is, for the counterrevolution to smash the workers. We can see it already in the US with the Nazi Convention in St. Louis uniting them from around the country.

The fascists are merely the

most extreme expression of the anti-working class policy of the Carter regime. To make the government out as NEUTRAL, just when the workers are figuring otherwise, means to HIDE the real source of the unemployment.

## LAWS, LAWS AND MORE LAWS

The Call for the Conference pointed out that by winning 32 hours of work for 40 hours pay TODAY we could end unemployment. So they want to pass a law making it so. But there are already laws saying that full employment is top national priority -- since 1946!

The Socialist Workers Party, falsely claiming the banner of the Fourth International, agrees with the Committee. Their candidate for Michigan governor, Robin Mace of UAW Local 900 said in THE MILITANT "to succeed, we will have to bring labor's power to bear in the political arena as well -- to make into law the right of every worker to a job at a decent wage."

"The SWP welcomes the initiative of the Committee," Robin continues. Now this is revealing. What is the "initiative" of the Committee? It doesn't lie in the fight for a shorter work week. The workers began that long before this committee. Nor does it lie in its "all-union" character. Its initiative is that it marks a new political offensive by the bureaucracy in the interests of the capitalists to control the movement of the workers. In other words, the same old stuff -- but wrapped in "new forms" and "new movements."

Lets forget all this. We'll agree that the workers "need to be educated" about the shorter work week. That this Committee will lead a mass mobilization and get a law passed.

Who's going to enforce it? Perhaps the government which would wouldn't even support the miners demands for paid health care and threatened them with troops; perhaps they'll force corporations to hire millions of unemployed young blacks at union wages?

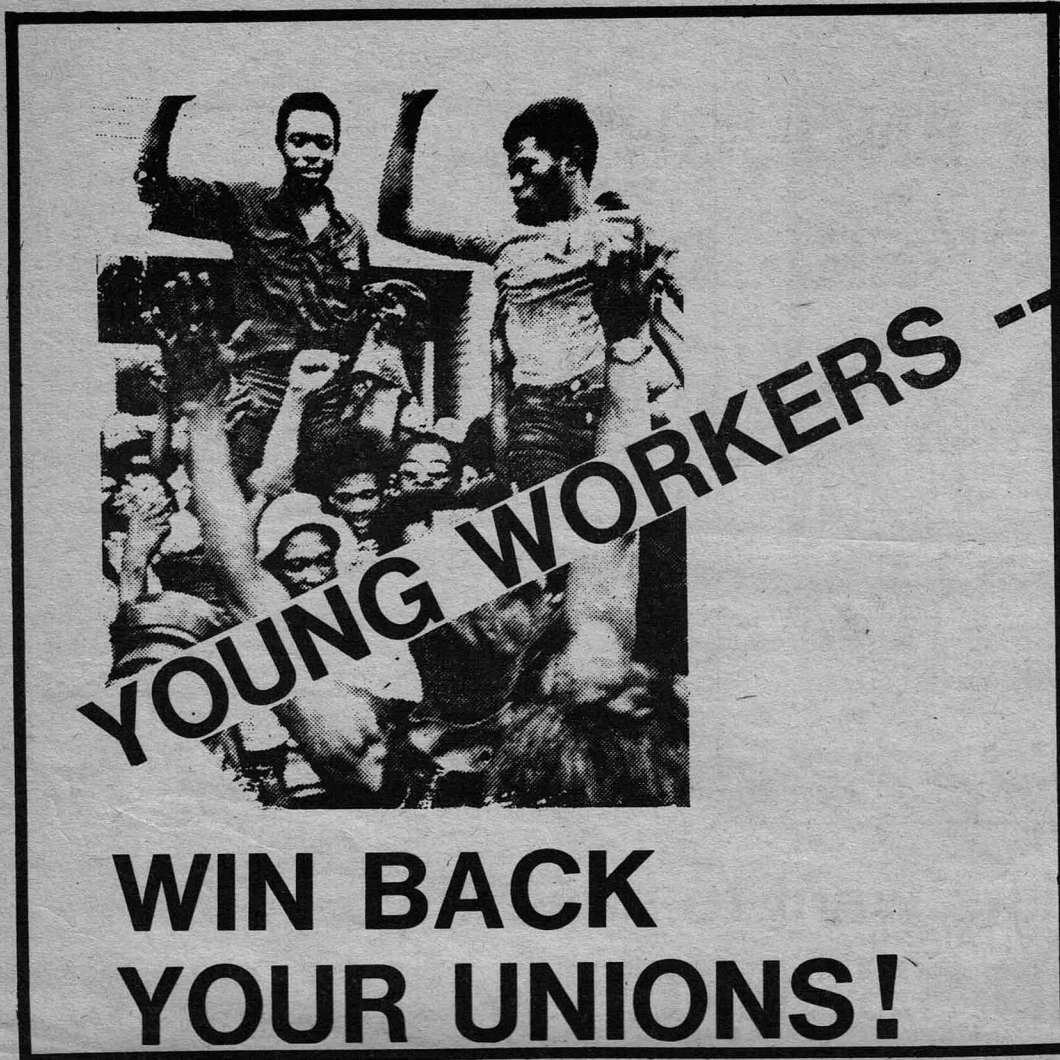
The only way to enforce this law is with workers methods. The way the miners did. They built their own defense squads to protect their pickets; they fought and used their union to organize their fight independently.

The only way to win the shorter work week, to end unemployment, to fulfill the dreams of the workers is through building a Workers Democracy in this country, a government run by the workers in the interest of the vast majority of people -- a workers government.

Workers Democracy can and must begin today. The unions, indeed ALL unions, must fight for a SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS AND WAGES -- to divide up all the available work among all available workers with no cut in pay. This policy is the ONLY WAY to unite the employed and the unemployed and to destroy the breeding ground for the counterrevolution.

The opportunists who organized this Committee and those that support it show in a negative way that the fight for a shorter work week is a fight to build a new, revolutionary leadership for the unions, for the whole workers movement. The workers must have their own Party, a Workers Party, in order to organize the struggle of the workers for their rights -- to take it beyond the miners strike.

The Trotskyist Organization along with the Revolutionary Worker Youth is fighting in the elections for union office at Ford River Rouge. Join us in building a United Workers Slate for Workers Democracy. Its the surest way to win the shorter work week.



We are printing below the Call and Platform adopted by the meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA in Detroit, Michigan on April 2nd to launch their fight in the unions and especially in the UAW Spring elections. Although this Call is above all directed towards young workers in the UAW, we believe that it concerns all working class youth, employed and unemployed. Thus we urge readers of TRUTH who support this Call and Platform to join this fight in their unions and to send their support or comments to TRUTH to be printed in future issues.

**CALL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS/USA, US SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL**

**"WE'VE HAD ENOUGH!"** This was the cry of 200,000 Italian auto and steelworkers who marched through the streets of Rome last December against the economic policies of their government and against their trade union leadership who has refused to fight back. American workers have had enough also. YOU have had enough. Enough of unemployment, inflation and social decay. Enough of the Carter government and the Democratic Party which has paid back its promises to the working class which elected it with Taft-Hartley and anti-working class laws. Enough of this phony "human rights." Enough of "democracy" in this country. "Democracy" for the rich and powerful -- unemployment, slave labor conditions in the factories and the policeman's billy club for the poor.

It's time for a change. Every worker knows this. Every worker is asking the question -- How can we fight back? And -- How can we take our struggle forward and win?

This is why every worker and especially young workers are looking at the lessons of the just-concluded miners strike. A strike led by 180,000 miners with enormous combativity and dedication. A strike which defied the companies, the state, local and federal government which tried to break it. A strike which stood up to the Carter government and its Taft-Hartley law.

A strike which represented the mass rejection of the bureaucracy of the UMW which was only able to sign a contract by starving the miners.

Who are these miners and what are they fighting for?

Everyone has noticed that the most combative miners, the backbone of the strike, the leaders of the wildcats and the opposition to Miller are YOUNG MINERS. The majority of which are former Vietnam War veterans who came home from US imperialism's bloody disaster in Vietnam determined never to be pushed around again, never to put their faith in a "democracy" of napalm, mass murder and destruction. A "democracy" which killed, wounded and drugged their comrades, leaving them unwanted when they returned home.

They decided to bring the combat home. Into the mines. Into the union. To defend their rights, to stand their ground against the trade union bureaucracy, the state and the government and to renew the struggles of the working class.

They are fighting the fight of the entire working class. For WORKERS RIGHTS, for WORKERS DEMOCRACY against the government, the bosses and the trade union leadership.

They are fighting for THEIR UNION. To make the UMW a

weapon to insure their future and their rights. A weapon for mass struggle on all fronts.

**YOUNG WORKERS --** The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Revolutionary Youth International calls on you to continue the struggle of these young miners in your factories and in your unions. If YOU have had enough -- take up the struggle to WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS and make them weapons of the entire working class and the oppressed.

It was the young workers who built the unions in this country in the 30's and 40's against the fierce resistance of the capitalists and their government. The mass industrial unions -- the UAW, USW, UMW, ILWU, IBT are victories of the US working class against the bloodiest, most repressive anti-union capitalist class in the world.

They are the only mass means of defense of the interests of the working class. They are the only mass weapons of struggle of the American working class. Young workers -- these unions are YOURS!

But we would be lying to you if we said that these unions are today what they were in the 30's and 40's. You know it as well as we do.

Today these unions are in the hands of a reactionary clique which we call the trade union bureaucracy. A clique which took leadership of the unions with the aid of the Democratic Party and the capitalist government in order to smash the workers mobilization in the 30's and 40's and to tie the working class to the Democratic Party and to capitalism.

This clique, which includes everyone from Doug Fraser, Arnold Miller, Frank Fitzsimmons, Lloyd McBride to the sell-out, do-nothing committee men on the shop floor are nothing but POLICEMEN FOR THE CAPITALISTS AND THE GOVERN-

MENT in the workers movement, in OUR mass organizations.

They must be driven out of the unions. They must be replaced with a new generation of leaders, a new generation which will once again make the unions POLITICAL weapons of the working class against capitalism. Weapons that every worker and youth can be once again proud of.

It is up to YOU -- young workers to do this. Because you represent the future and because the reactionary role of the trade union bureaucrats is above all directed against you.

These bureaucrats, with the full encouragement of the Democratic Party and the bosses have done everything possible to drive you out of the unions. Their corruption and betrayal has made you disgusted with unions and with politics.

The bureaucrats haven't organized new workers in over 20 years. Membership in unions is constantly declining. They did nothing to fight the Vietnam War. They have done nothing to improve the position of blacks. They have allowed massive layoffs and for a youth unemployment rate in the big cities of over 70%.

They have led no political struggle for the interests of the working class. Their idea of "politics" is to support the Democratic Party every four years and to make deals behind your backs.

It's no small wonder that many young workers are totally disgusted with their unions and refuse to participate in them. Refuse to attend meetings. Refuse to engage any fight to change their unions. Refuse to organize the unorganized for fear that they will only get sweetheart contracts and more bureaucrats down their throats.

But this can change. It must change. And it depends on YOU.

Young workers -- The Revolutionary Youth International, a world organization of fighting youth seeking to prepare the revolution and build the party to lead this revolution, the Fourth International, calls you to take up a fight in the unions to WIN THEM BACK as a FIGHT FOR YOUR FUTURE.

We want you to take up a fight in the unions, not as a goal for the sake of having a goal, or as an end in itself, but to PREPARE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION -- to build your future.

**GIVE THE YOUTH A FUTURE -- GIVE THE WORLD A FUTURE!** This was the slogan of the Fourth International for the youth of 1938 and remains our slogan today. The unions can and must be our weapons in building this future. The miners strike and all the struggles in the UAW and other unions in the last ten years have shown that this is the road forward.

The youth want to work! Against this system of unemployment which cannot guarantee to the youth a decent job at decent wages. The youth want to learn! Against this system which makes the public schools into prisons, which closes the universities and colleges, medical and professional schools to poor people, which works the youth to death in factories giving them no time to read or educate themselves.

The youth want to live, to be happy. Against this system which is destroying the culture, the sports, the health of the youth with its exploitation, with its drugs and alcohol. Against this system which closes off art, culture, music, sports, a real leisure time to the youth. Or stupefies

the youth with its religion, mysticism, and other false solutions.

**THE YOUTH WANT TO KNOW WHAT TOMORROW WILL BRING.** For them, for their families and friends. For the entire world. An answer which none of the representatives of this dying system can give.

Young workers -- this is the fight we want you to take up in the unions, for your future and for that of the entire working class. A POLITICAL struggle for your right to live, work and build a new society. A political struggle to make the unions into weapons of the revolution.

This is why the Revolutionary Young Workers are fighting alongside of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA, the party of the Fourth International in the US which is fighting to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International. It is only the Fourth International which offers to the working class youth this combat, this revolutionary future and hope to the working class youth in the United States.

In our struggle in the trade unions we have learned and will learn that the fight to throw out the reactionary bureaucracy and make the unions OURS also requires a fight against those who support the trade union bureaucracy, but from "the left." Those like the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, the Maoists, or the pseudo-revolutionaries of the Socialist Workers Party who prefer to keep the bureaucrats in place, or who offer you phony "alternatives" like Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski because they, in their own way, also fear the revolutionary fight of the youth and the revolutionary perspective that will be opened up by a fight to make the union OURS.

We say that in this fight to make the unions your weapons you will learn that it is necessary to forge a REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP for this fight, a vanguard of the most committed and dedicated fighters who can really take this struggle forward. And that this vanguard must be organized into a revolutionary PARTY to oppose the Democratic Party and the misleaders in the workers movement.

This is why we are fighting alongside the Trotskyist Organization, which represents the beginning of such a party today and which will lead to a conclusion the fight to build a mass party of class independence in the US -- a WORKERS PARTY, to prepare the world revolution in the US and to lead the fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT.

It is a fight open to all young workers who believe they've HAD ENOUGH of this system, enough of these bureaucrats. Open to all those who want to fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, for real rights and real democracy which only the majority of the population can guarantee against the phony "human rights" of Carter and his gang of thieves.

We are taking this fight up first of all in the UAW. Not that this fight isn't a fight for all workers in all unions, or as well for unorganized workers, but because the UAW is the most important union for the young workers in this country to conquer.

The auto industry is the most important industry in this country. Every attack against the UAW workers is a prelude to an attack on the entire working class. And every decisive struggle and mobilization of the auto workers can take the lead of the entire working class.

# HAD ENOUGH? WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE SPRING ELECTIONS

By FRED VITALE

On April 2nd, autoworkers from Locals 15, 600, 869 and unemployed workers met in a meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers to develop a strategy for fighting for Workers Democracy in the upcoming UAW elections.

The meeting continued the fight which has been made by the RYW and the Trotskyist Organization on the lessons of the miners strike -- that the enemy of the workers is in the White House; that the workers need their own Party to win their rights, to impose a Workers Democracy.

## CALL AND PLATFORM ADOPTED

The meeting adopted a Call to young workers to participate in the elections and a Platform of the candidates of the Revolutionary Worker Youth. The Call, said that millions of workers in this country have had enough. Enough of the Carter "human rights," which has only meant less jobs, more inflation, and more laws, actions against the workers. That in order to end this situation, to even BEGIN to end it, the young workers must win back the UNIONS, win them back for a future free from oppression. This is the fight that the miners have opened up like a broken dam.

The Call makes it clear that this struggle to reclaim the unions is a POLITICAL struggle, a struggle over who should lead this society -- the few greedy capitalists with their Carter democracy or the working class with the Workers Democracy. The Call concluded that the workers, in fighting for their rights, will be convinced that they need a new, revolutionary leadership for their unions. This struggle in the unions, the leadership in the unions, is a decisive part of building the workers own Party, against the Democrats, Republicans, and the whole ruling class.

These are the fundamental issues in these elections, which all the others participating will deny. These elections will have

a great deal to do with the course of the autoworkers daily lives, with their struggle over the next year.

## THE DISCUSSION

The discussion showed that the fundamental issues are at the HEART of all the actions, strikes, movements of the workers. But they are not yet conscious completely of it. Michael, an autoworker from Fisher Body - Fleetwood (Local #15) said, "We've got to clean house. Get rid of all the sell-outs in the union in order to accomplish anything".

Another worker said, "the conditions in the different plants, even in different countries, are basically the same. That's why we don't need little changes, we need a fundamental change."

The task before the young workers is to bring to every mobilization of the workers the central questions. "I thought at first that to get elected to do something for the workers, personal power was needed," said Jerome Tolbert of the RWY Circle at the Rouge. "But its not true," he continued. "It's a struggle to raise political consciousness."

The agents for the capitalists in the union, the union "leaders," know the importance of politics. That this fundamental question of workers democracy vs. Carter's capitalist "democracy" cuts through all their bickering, infighting, cliques and "loyal oppositions." So they suppress it.

Robin, who works at Warren Stamping (Local 869) went to his union meeting and no sooner had he opened his mouth than he was told by the vice-president, "There's no discussion of politics at a union meeting. It's an official rule here." They actually refused to let him speak on the "forbidden subject" at the meeting!

## HOW TO BUILD THE PARTY THROUGH THESE ELECTIONS

How can the Party, the leadership

that the workers need, be built through these elections?

By making the political fight for workers rights as the Platform outlines. For the right to a decent job with wages that keep up with prices, with safe and humane conditions. For the right to schools, hospitals, parks and transportation. For the workers right to control their own organizations -- their unions. For a Workers Democracy -- the workers own government -- to defend these rights.

By making this fight the REVOLUTIONARY WING OF THE UAW CAN BE REGROUPED. A NEW LEADERSHIP BUILT. Tens of thousands of autoworkers across the country have proven themselves in hundreds of wildcats, local strikes, and union meetings. They've tried to win workers rights -- the Trenton 7, the miner's strike, to name a few, against the capitalists and against the treachery of the bureaucrats. They remain isolated, however, without leadership, without a clear understanding of what to do next. Some are misled by opportunists. Regrouped in their own Faction, the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW, their own organization to struggle for leadership with, they can win the unions back for the workers.

It is in this political struggle in the unions, that the decisive strength for building the Party will come.

This fight will draw a line among the other organizations in the factories. It will clarify what now seems like a maze of different names, with little differences in policy. Will they join with the RWY, no matter what OTHER differences we have, in a United Workers Slate for Workers Democracy, or will they stand by the side of the bureaucrats, the capitalists, and their government?

In the coming weeks we will be fighting to clarify, to deepen these fundamental questions as they develop in this campaign. Join with us!  
YOUNG WORKERS -- WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS!

The lessons of the miners strike can give a new impulse to the massive resistance to the 1976 UAW contract. A resistance which has taken the form of local strikes, wildcats, walkouts in every major UAW local in this country. THIS CONTRACT HAS NEVER BEEN ACCEPTED by the UAW workers! It must be rejected once and for all, and along with it the leadership that signed and enforced it.

The local elections coming up this May give the young workers an important opportunity to do this and carry out this fight. To take the first initiative in the fight to win the UAW back for the WORKING CLASS.

The RYW wants to be able to prove to the young workers in auto that they can change this situation, that the perspective that we are offering is the only one forward. We want to prove this to as many workers as possible and to work in common with as many workers as possible.

We want to put forward no obstacles to working together with any young workers who want a change and want a new leadership NOW. Even if they belong to other organizations or do not yet agree with everything we stand for.

That is why the RYW is proposing to all working class organizations in the UAW and to all young autoworkers to become candidates or join us in building a UNITED WORKERS SLATE FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY to put forward candidates in the May elections as a step towards building this new leadership for the UAW.

The UNITED WORKERS SLATE FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY that we are putting forward and which candidates of the RYW will run on stands for:

1. THROW OUT FRASER AND CO!  
A new leadership for the UAW,  
YOUNG WORKERS -- WIN BACK YOUR UNION!

2. A SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW FOR A NEW CONTRACT.  
The present contract was no good from the start. But after a year and a half of speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, continued violations of this contract by the companies, can we afford to wait until 1979 for a new one? No. A new contract must be proposed at a Special Convention elected by democratically elected workers delegates from every department in the UAW.

3. NO MORE OVERTIME! NO MORE LAYOFFS. No more of this brutal overtime while hundreds of thousands of UAW workers still are laid-off from 1974, with an "official" youth unemployment rate of 25%. A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS.

Slide up all the available work among all available workers -- to end both unemployment and overtime.

4. A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES. WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES. The government has just announced a huge increase in the price of food. The electric and gas companies have raised their rates. US Steel, in a slap in the face to every American worker raised the price of coal \$10 a ton, while the miners contract only cost them \$2 a ton. NO MORE INFLATION!

5. WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION! On March 16th, Orby Miller, a 60 year-old Rouge worker, just 10 months from retirement was crushed to death by a Ross Carrier. Last summer, three Rouge workers died of heat. We accuse Henry Ford of MURDER! There was no excuse for these deaths. The workers must insure that there are no more by taking the control of production out of the hands of the greedy capitalists. FACTORY COMMITTEES, elected by workers in every department must control the production, line speed in the interests of the health and safety of the workers, not profits.

6. RIGHT TO IMMEDIATE RECALL OF ANY ELECTED UNION OFFICIAL. No "terms" of offices so that promises can be made and then taken back the moment officials are elected.

7. THE UNCONDITIONAL RIGHT TO STRIKE. At any time. At any moment. To be decided by general assemblies of workers called on the spot. To engage the UAW in a fight with all other trade union organizations to SMASH S. 1437, the law in Congress which attacks the right to strike and the right of workers to organize as well as to SMASH TAFT-HARTLEY.

8. WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS. To be organized by every union local to defend against the fascists, the company and private goon squads and to protect every strike and workers meeting.

9. MAKE THE UAW A WEAPON OF THE OPPRESSED -- Organize the unorganized. The union to organize a massive program of education, promotion of sports, music, art and culture to open up culture and education to the working class, organized and unorganized. YOUTH COMMISSIONS to especially take up, study and deal with the special problems of the youth, job training programs. OPEN THE UAW TO THE WOMAN WORKERS -- special programs to take up the specific demands of women and to insure full participation in all levels of the union. AGAINST RACISM -- for the specific demands of blacks and other minorities.

10. NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES! Complete independence of the UAW from the capitalist state and its parties. WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UAW. Capitalist parties out. The right of tendencies and factions in the UAW and free expression and publication of their programs. Open up the UAW and its meetings to all workers organizations and parties. THROW OUT FRASER AND HIS STRIKE-BREAKING GOON SQUADS!  
April 2, 1978

Initial supporters:

Jerome Tolbert  
Local 600 (River Rouge Ford)

Michael Rollerson  
Local 15 (Fleetwood Body)

Benjamin Hernandez Local 869  
(Warren Chrysler)

Otis Watson - unemployed

Verdell Smith - unemployed

## FROM THE WHITE PAPER

PROCLAMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
DOCUMENT 3.24

In the last issue of TRUTH, we published an excerpt from the WHITE PAPER OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, "For the Maintenance of the International Committee," a document of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary which put forward the political opposition to the French OCI's (of Lambert-Just) proposal to liquidate the Fourth International.

We said in the introduction to that document that we printed it to clarify the political nature of the slanders of the OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

In this issue, we continue that effort, by publishing the Proclamation of the International League, Rebuilder of the Fourth International (LIRQI).

This document was published at the end of May 1973 after the break between the faction for the maintenance of the International Committee and the OCI. This central document, proclaimed the necessity of rebuilding the Fourth International, the new organization's (the LIRQI) intention of rebuilding it, and why this fight had been abandoned by all other tendencies, but particularly the International Committee.

Adopted by the founding Conference of the International League Rebuilder of the Fourth International, April 1973

"The economic prerequisite for the proletarian revolution has already in general achieved the highest point of fruition that can be reached under capitalism... The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard." The Transitional Program.

It is to solve the historical crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat, a crisis reflected also and concentrated in that of the Fourth International, that the following organizations - League of the Revolutionary Socialists of Hungary (L.R.S.H.), Trotskyist Organization of Spain (O.T.E.), the Trotskyist Group of Morocco (G.T.M.), the Trotskyist Group "Walka Klas" of Poland, the Trotskyist Group "Proletar" of Czechoslovakia, the Trotskyist Group "Proletarska Avangarda" of Yugoslavia, (formerly composing the Organization Committee of the Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe), decided to constitute the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, based on the Transitional Program. The founding organizations and groups proclaim that the theoretical, political and organi-

zational continuity of the Fourth International, founded in 1938, maintained and defended by the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE between 1953 and 1972, is now maintained by the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, inheritor of all the conquests of more than thirty years of the Fourth International's history, especially through the International Committee. They call all the militants, groups and organizations faithful to the teachings of Bolshevism and determined to fight for the world party of the proletariat, the Fourth International, to join their ranks.

On the international scale, the working class, the youth and all the oppressed are rising against imperialism and the bureaucracy, against their counter-revolutionary alliance. In the heart of all their battles, power is directly and immediately the matter at stake. Considering the lessons and experiences of the worldwide class struggle of these years, strikingly verifying Bolshevism and the program of the Fourth International, but considering also their responsibility towards the world working class, all the revolutionaries, all the labor militants ought to reaffirm in theory and practice that the power of the working class, the proletarian dictatorship, central and immediate question of our times, is the only solution to all the economic, political, social and cultural problems of humanity, and is confounded with the solution of the political leadership of the revolution, the party. There can be no slinking off; neither the simple renunciation nor the principleless compounding with the treacherous Stalinist and reformist organizations, nor the seeking of various substitutes, nor, at last, the more refined retreat of those who, invoking the "conditions", postpone the task.

But which party will lead the proletariat to victory?

Long and rich experiences - particularly in the actual phases of the class struggle since the General Strike in France and the process of the political revolution was, and is, able to apprehend and therefore assume this task, the Fourth International. For irreconcilably opposed to Stalinism, grave-digger of the revolution, it concretized the continuity of Bolshevism as the organized expression of political proletarian independence.

It is the only organization capable of leading the proletariat to power. Imperialism in its crisis, vigorously defending itself, increases its attacks to submit the proletariat to its influence, without renouncing, however, crushing it by force. Stalinism, reformism, different centrist and other petty-bourgeois tendencies have the essential function of conveying this influence; they canalize the workers' fight within the framework of bourgeois

society and policy, or of the regime of the bureaucracy, which usurps the workers' power to imperialism's benefit, in the countries of socialist conquests.

In the framework of this counter-revolutionary force aiming at the destruction of proletarian class independence, the relative strengthening of reformism, and the proliferation of petty-bourgeois movements and various centrism are essentially due to the treason of the October Revolution, of the world revolution, by Stalinism and to the relative weakness of the revolutionary vanguard, the Fourth International. But the development of the class struggle has put to the test all the programs and all the movements and tendencies not pertaining to the proletariat, particularly in the last few years, and it contains this lesson: the construction of the new party of the world proletariat can only be that of the Fourth International and based on its program.

To carry out this task, the only valuable task in our times, it is necessary to assimilate the lessons of all the Fourth International's history and therefore of its crisis, with even more determination, since, instead of finding its solution, it has known new developments. That is why the militants who really want to fight for the world proletarian revolution and particularly those who claim a kinship to the Fourth International and its program, must think over this entire history and this crisis while they are fighting for the proletarian revolution.

For many years, a great ravaging struggle has been carried on all grounds to secure the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat against the forces who try to stray it and destroy its results. The Fourth International, just as the entire workers' movement, lives in the class society, the destructive influence of which also affects it. For this reason, its history is also that of a struggle in its own ranks which its crisis expresses. For the attack of imperialism and its agents against the class independence of the proletariat has had various manifestations all along its history in many attempts to destroy the Fourth International. Not forgetting one moment the physical attacks against the Trotskyists, their murder of Leon Trotsky, all their other attempts aimed at the same thing: deprive the Fourth International of its essential character: the theoretical, political and organizational expression of the proletarian independence. It is precisely in the Fourth International's leadership that arose elements working to deprive it of its independent character, tending to submit it to Stalinist influence, and that have managed to change its secretariat into a liquidationist center. But the strength of the Fourth International, because it is the continuity of Bolshevism, is such, that within its own ranks arose the resistance to these attempts. It developed into an organized struggle in the International Committee defend-

ing the Fourth International as the organized expression of the proletarian class independence, thus securing its continuity.

THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL precisely sprung from this ceaseless struggle between the forces which, to the benefit of imperialism and its agencies, consciously or unconsciously were and still are striving to destroy the Fourth International, including from the inside, and the forces which fight to save and develop its nature of expression of theoretical, political and organizational worldwide working class independence, necessary condition of the proletarian victory. Arising out of the Fourth International's crisis and the struggle for its rebuilding, as the answer to the pressing needs of the international class struggle, the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE makes a qualitative stride forward towards the crisis' positive solution.

For, founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IS ALIVE AND FIGHTS!

And today, it is the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE which, in spite of its weaknesses, assumes the task of solving the historical crisis of humanity - that of the revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat, for it is the continuity of Bolshevism.

In the same way as in the past, today also, it is on the terrain of the new development of the worldwide class struggle - since the proletariat took the initiative, setting as the central question of all its struggles the fight to seize power - and in direct connection with this new development, that the Fourth International's crisis, open but not solved since 1952-53, was aggravated. It couldn't be otherwise because the working class' international party is the stake of all the workers' struggles; rather than spontaneously solving the crisis of the organizations who were the international party - such a way of thinking belongs to the spontaneists - this powerful force acted as a catalyzer of new crises and extending previous unresolved crises, prolongations of the former one unresolved.

The rise of the world proletariat has laid bare all the petty-bourgeois tendencies. Before the eyes of the workers and youth, Castroism, guerrillaism, "third-world"-ism, Dubcekism, various spontaneous movements of the youth, have all demonstrated their nature of substitute serving to canalize the masses' revolutionary fight into a deadlock. It is therefore natural that in front of the bankruptcy of all these movements and programs, a crisis would develop within this liquidationist center, the United Secretariat, misusing the banner of the Fourth International, since it identified itself with these petty-bourgeois movements. An important faction, supported by the American Socialist Workers Party (the

reactionary American law forbids affiliation to an international organization) was organized, which leaned on some organizations and some militants affiliated to the United Secretariat. It opposes the consequences of the policy defended mainly by Mandel, Maitan and the French Pabloite league who continue to cover up openly the various spontaneous petty-bourgeois movements, the rural and urban guerillaists, etc., in opposition to the workers' movement and the Fourth International's program. This crisis has literally split in two factions several organizations affiliated to the United Secretariat. Its nature is evident. Confronted by the new development of the class struggle, the liquidationist role of Pabloism became more clear; many militants driven into this path try to free themselves out of it and look for the path to the Fourth International. But crisis and clarification have hardly started; the American, Joe Hansen already advises to give up the struggle in the name of the United Secretariat's unity and preach reconciliation, "re-unification" with the opposing wing of Mandel/Maitan/Krivine. He tries to slacken the clarification process, a maneuver which goes directly against many militants belonging to these organizations and who precisely look for the ways and means of continuing the fight for the Fourth International.

These militants must realize, that all the criticism developed today by their fraction against Mandel and Co, raises exactly the same questions that were brought up considerably more clearly by the 1952/53 crisis. Those who want to continue the struggle must come to this conclusion: on one hand, the Socialist Workers Party, determined by its place in the whole history of the Fourth International, has already played an important role in the struggle against Pabloism in 1952/53. It is upon its initiative that the International Committee was set up. On the other hand, determined also by other strong factors of the class struggle in the world and in the United States, it has never been able to carry out this fight to its end, and organically break with Pabloism, and that is what prepared it for a reunification with it in 1962. And today, the SWP leadership is repeating its pragmatic adventure. They draw back hastily, for they would have to get to the heart of the matter of the 1952-53 crisis, and characterize the United Secretariat as well as the International Committee, in drawing their balance sheet. But such an attitude asks for breaking with pragmatism and nationalism, something which the SWP leadership is completely incapable of doing.

The militants belonging to the so-called Hansen faction, all those who really want to fight for the Fourth International, ought to break with such pragmatism covering a principleless policy. The positive outcome to their struggle will find its way through

# REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

a definite clarification of their position in regards to the entire crisis opened in 1952/53, and it is only from that angle that they will be able to, and have to examine all the problems with which they are confronted today. Such a clarification implies that they take a stand in the fight that the International Committee lead against the Pabloite Secretariat. If the SWP leadership draws back in front of this necessity - though the American party ought to face it - its militants have to solve this problem and solve it positively, for there is not a third solution. Either they approve the past policy of the Secretariat - in which case they will have, today, to reconcile with Mandel - or they recognize that all the International Committee's struggle between 1953 and 1972 and the always more evident treachery of the United Secretariat, prove that it is the International Committee which in spite of its weaknesses, maintained the continuity of the Fourth International.

The content of the crisis which broke out in 1952/53 was the virulent open attack of Pabloism against the essence of the Fourth International and its program as expressions of the class independence, attack which aimed at subduing it to the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy and hence to imperialism. The International Committee arose from the resistance to this attempt and it maintained the continuity of the Fourth International in this fundamental struggle. Its entire history in the last twenty years is that of a struggle for the proletarian class independence against Pabloite revisionism, to maintain the Bolshevik continuity.

By clarifying its position against Pabloism, by strengthening its struggle, the International Committee started its long fight in defense of Marxism. It defended the program and policy of the Fourth International against the attempt to submit it to the Stalinist bureaucracy. In 1959 it became stronger in the fight to define a proletarian policy in the face of Castroism. Concretely, this policy was led against the policy of the SWP. The International Committee maintained the policy of class independence against Pabloite revisionism regarding the theory of "neo-capitalism" and against various forms of alignment with petty-bourgeois and confusionist movements in advanced and backward capitalist countries as well as against the unprincipled alignment with spontaneous movements influenced by a wing of the bureaucracy in the countries of socialist conquest.

This struggle for clarification went on within the ranks of the International Committee, for instance, the struggle against the Socialist Labor League's false position in the Middle East conflict with its notion of "Arab revolution" as well as to convince the OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) to give up its spontaneous position in the 1953 coal miners strike, or even to

overcome the hesitations of the LRSH (Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary) as to the continuity of the International Committee.

This struggle was led for the theoretical and political independence of the proletariat held by the Fourth International whose continuity was maintained by the International Committee. This is its positive balance sheet. This struggle allowed important steps forward in rebuilding the Fourth International. Because the defense and construction of the International are the same process. The best example from this are the rebuilding and development of the French section, the development of the British section, the gathering of important forces in Latin America, the beginning of construction in Spain and Germany as well as in the Maghreb (North Africa) and the Middle East, and at last the beginning of construction of sections in Eastern Europe allowing the Fourth International to rebuild the organized expression of the world unity of the class struggle. A unity broken by the Stalinists attacks in favor of imperialism and aggravated by the Pabloites.

Meanwhile, the United Secretariat degenerated, Pablo himself deserted, expelled by his followers, several Pabloite organizations have passed to the side of the bourgeois order like the Ceylonese L. S. S. P. backed by the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat itself and its sections are undergoing a deep crisis which is disintegrating them and pushing them towards the petty-bourgeoisie.

However, the conquests of the International Committee that we consider ours -- but which has been abandoned by the OCI -- must not hide the weaknesses of the International Committee which we must clearly analyze. Even more since only such an analysis makes it possible to understand the present crisis as being an integral part of the whole crisis of the Fourth International, and thus makes clear how to resolve it.

The International Committee developed as an expression of resistance to and later struggle against Pabloism. It expressed the evolution of the class struggle in the early fifties and was supported by it while at the same time being influenced by all the agents of this struggle. Even its total independence vis-a-vis the United Secretariat was only recovered years after its foundation. The Socialist Workers Party constituted the hyphen between the two organisms, also accepted by the SLL and the OCI. The long and slow evolution of the IC was characterized by its constant fight against Pabloism for the theoretical and political proletarian class independence. The International Committee started to establish clearly the necessity to destroy Pabloism and its center and therefore rebuild the Fourth International only in 1962 when the SWP reunited with the Pabloite United Secretariat without principles. The character of the Third International Conference of the International Committee in 1966 is explained by this development.

But the International Committee continued to work like it did in the past. In spite of the conquests of the Fourth International and its own, in spite of the qualitative change in its own nature between 1962 and 1964, it was never was able to carry out on the organizational level the political and theoretical character of its fight because it did not function as a centralized international organization with the aim of rebuilding the Fourth International. It worked as a federative organism with the rule of unanimity for its member organizations. Its main organizations had their own private territory. Though it was based on the Transitional Program, in reality the International did not carry out one of its essential points:

"Without inner democracy" no revolutionary education. Without discipline - no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on the principles of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM; full freedom of discussion, complete unity in action."

The International Committee was unable to act like an homogeneous force, like a fist in the general crisis of the workers movement because of its uncentralized character. These facts were concretely theorized in such formulations as "the Fourth International has been destroyed by Pabloism" or "the Fourth International does not exist, it has to be rebuilt" - as if it had already been built before 1953.

These kind of formulas carried the Pabloite crisis into the International Committee itself. Indeed, it is not enough to say that the Fourth International "has been destroyed" and simply recognize this fact. Intervening to solve this crisis means to wage a fight, which must be centralized to be successful.

Aware of this necessity, the International Committee and its members tried to overcome this weakness. On the terrain of the organization of youth in Liege (Belgium) in 1966 and in general in all the activity for the Revolutionary Youth International the International Committee sought to centralize the fight and to a certain extent had good results. But any serious effort to transform the International Committee into a real center was met by the resistance (with different motivations) of the SLL and the OCI, or even by the powerlessness of the others who witnessed the fight between the so-called "major" organizations.

The main weakness of the International Committee was as follows: by developing its struggle against Pabloism the International Committee could progressively raise itself to the task of assuming the defense of the theoretical and political independence of the proletariat, but did not succeed in concretizing this on the organizational level.

END OF PART ONE. TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE

## Revolutionary Youth International Manifesto.

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## THE WORKERS NEED A REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

By ANN NELSON

### PART II

In the last issue of TRUTH we published "The Workers Need a Revolutionary Press, the Miners Strike Proves it." This article discussed the lying of the bourgeois press as it took the side of the mine owners against the mine workers.

The article in TRUTH also discussed the role played by the MILITANT, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, as the distributor of "left-information" during the miner's strike, and we said that the workers need a press which takes the side of the working class and provides a revolutionary leadership, that is, a revolutionary press.

In this article it is necessary to depart from just the question of the miner's strike. Workers can see how the bourgeoisie fails to tell the truth and even how the centrists fail to give a clear leadership, but why is the press so important?

The recent mobilization of the miners, the auto workers, steelworkers, city employees and others has demonstrated that the working class in the United States is in the midst of a mobilization. The miners strike even went further to encourage action on the part of workers in other industries.

With this mobilization, it is becoming more and more clear to workers that a perspective is necessary. Even if the majority of workers are not consciously for a revolutionary perspective, the old ways of "action for action's sake," is not sufficient. This is an advance for the American working class.

Workers want to know WHAT to strike over. They want to know about their leaders and are becoming much more willing to reject those who will not fight in their interests.

The American working class is becoming more political in its search for solutions to its problems of unemployment, inflation and overwork.

The Trotskyist Organization thinks that if anything in this advancing situation of the working class is necessary, it is the instrument of the workers which is capable of leading the fight for the revolutionary alternative. The American working class needs its own party, a revolutionary party, the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist Organization is fighting to rebuild the United States Section of the Fourth International. In this fight to build the party that the American working class needs, it is necessary to have a way to reach large numbers of workers with our revolutionary policy. It is necessary to provide an alternative to the lies and anti-working class campaigns of the bourgeois press.

It is necessary to have a forum for the workers themselves to speak and develop as leaders. It is necessary to have an organizing tool to make the presence of the workers revolutionary leadership felt even in places where it can not physically be. It is necessary to have a weapon. That weapon is the revolutionary press.

#### TALKING SOCIALISM

The Socialist Workers Party, even though it claims to be the Fourth International, has not put forward a revolutionary perspective for fifteen years. To rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, workers must be able to put forward, defend and lead other workers on the basis of a revolutionary perspective.

It is necessary to analyze the press of the SWP, THE MILITANT, to convince workers that it is necessary to REBUILD the United States Section of the Fourth International, and not to support the old leaderships in the name of "socialism" as the Socialist Workers Party does.

The leaders of the SWP have recently said that now because of the new militancy of the working class, it can begin to "talk socialism." This is a very dangerous idea. Dangerous because it turns "socialism," that is revolution, into something to "talk about," STILL for a later time.

This is the policy of the MILITANT, not "to say what is" as Trotsky proposed, but to "say what the masses are ready for." This has to be distinguished from putting forward a revolutionary policy in a way which is COMPREHENSIBLE for the masses of workers. The two are entirely different.

To decide to say only what the masses are ready for is to deny the necessity of the revolutionary party at all. If the workers can



come to revolutionary conclusions themselves, why is a party necessary?

Trotsky pointed out in his article "What is a Mass Paper?", that this idea that the workers are not ready for revolutionary slogans in the revolutionary newspaper is also the worst kind of elitism.

He said: "It accepts the ... centrist recipe; in seeking the line of least resistance DO NOT SAY WHAT IS. The program of the Fourth International, that's for 'us,' for the big shots of the leadership. And the masses? What are the masses? They can rest content with a quarter, or even a tenth, of the program. This mentality we call elitism, of both an opportunist and, at the same time, an adventurist type. It is a very dangerous attitude, comrades. It is not the attitude of a Marxist." (THE CRISIS OF THE FRENCH SECTION (1935-36) by LEON TROTSKY.)

In almost any article concerning the workers in the United States in the MILITANT, workers are hard pressed to find any real proposals for action. This was particularly true of the articles in the MILI-

TANT on the miners strike.

There are endless articles which appear to be "straight reporting." But straight reporting is not the job of the revolutionary press.

Failing to give a perspective to the workers, so-called "straight reporting" can result in pessimism on the part of the workers who will be informed that the situation is bad for them, but they will not know what to do.

This absence is not an honest mistake. This absence of policy is intentional. As Trotsky said: "Vagueness serves the class enemy."

The absence of policy, throws the workers into the arms of the leadership which DOES exist, and which DOES have a policy. Above all, the MILITANT clears the way for workers to support the bureaucracy of the trade unions which they call on to form a "labor party."

#### CAMPAIGNS

Through its press, the Socialist Workers Party also confuses the character of the struggle of the revolutionary party of the working class.

One look at the MILITANT will tell the reader that there are a lot of things going on, the ERA, the miners strike, the problem of immigrants, suits against the FBI, Bakke, etc.

The reader is told that he or she can participate in any one of these campaigns and be "building socialism." Not only is the party presented as a series of activities, but none of them seem to be very related to each other.

The reason for this is that the Socialist Workers Party is not interested in developing a revolutionary perspective for those who are interested in insuring that minorities get quality education, it presents these campaigns as ends in themselves, that is as things that can be won under the present capitalist government.

The Bakke campaign, to take a good example, is not presented in a manner where it can be used to give confidence to young students, and workers, in their OWN paper, in their OWN independent struggle, but as a way to say, well we just need to win this court case.

The method of building the party is entirely wrong. It turns the party into a series of campaigns and not a unified organization fighting for the leadership of the working class.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

TRUTH has fought to put forward a revolutionary perspective for the working class. We think this is the most important standard for a revolutionary press. It is necessary to build a leadership through the press.

It is interesting to note that for all its rhetoric, the Spartacist League does not understand this principle. It does not publish one author's name on any of its articles in WORKERS VANGUARD. Its leaders are totally anonymous to the working class.

We think that the best way to begin to develop a revolutionary press which is a real weapon of the workers, that is a workers paper, is to develop a much larger and an ongoing readership of TRUTH in the factories.

The Trotskyist Organization has set September for the Conference Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International. A true measure of the progress of our struggle to rebuild the revolutionary party in the US will be in TRUTH and how much it has become a workers paper and how well it is distributed in the factories. Is it understood? Does it lead the daily struggles of the working class?

We call on the workers and youth who read TRUTH, to take an active part in developing its content and its distribution. Write to TRUTH your agreements and disagreements. Take part in our new subscription campaign. The workers need the revolutionary press. TRUTH is your weapon! April 16, 1978

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