

TRUTH &

REBUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
NEWSPAPER FOR THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE US

No. 8

April 15, 1975

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL REBUILT this Summer!

...growing minority of the CP's in Western Europe to contain the and peasants' government. in France.

STOP THE TRUCK OFF

...the anti-Trotskyist... The international... of the WRP and its American... section, the Workers League, is... crisis as well. Militants of the... national Committee who are seeking... of the Fourth International now... the International League... continued and surpassed the... of the International Committee... is most advanced in France... dominant-faction of the... response to the increasing... of the International League... among the French... youth, has been forced... before the French workers... of Stalinism inside... It is the... faction of the OCI,... International League,... and youth are... their revolutionary

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

The central task of all sections in the coming period is the mobilization of the working-class youth for the Revolutionary Youth International and the meeting in Berlin, through concrete campaigns that pose solutions for the working-class youth -- AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT and for SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS!

FRANCE

The Congress devoted a whole session to the present situation in France and the tasks of the French section. With the rising level of working-class militancy in France, the Second Congress affirmed that France is the key to the revolution in Europe. As the country with the strongest and most organized working class and as the bastion of Stalinism in Western Europe, it will play a crucial role in the coming revolution in Europe.



DEMONSTRATION AGAINST DEPORTATIONS IN MONTREAL CANADA

The Trotskyist Organization and the Organizing Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International in the U.S. have launched a campaign against the cutting edge of the imperialists' attack in the United States - unemployment and reactionary legislation. The TO and the OC/RVI/USA will mobilize the working class youth to demonstrate that they will not accept the racist and reactionary "strategy" of the government to "solve" the job crisis and will fight for the solidarity of the unemployed youth with the struggles of the working class.

The Ford-Rockefeller regime is bringing "American diplomacy" in the Middle East and Southeast Asia home. Evidently they think they can be more successful in bludgeoning the workers in the U.S. than they were in containing the masses across the ocean. In the wake of the highest unemployment since the Great Depression, Congress is considering a bill making employment of "aliens" illegal. This bill -- the Rodino Law -- will make anyone who has contact with an "alien,"

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JOIN THE CAMPAIGN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION!

STALINIST METHODS

The Trotskyist Organization has decided to take the opportunity presented to it by the latest ravings of the Spartacist League to demonstrate the Stalinist character of its methods, the danger which such methods represent for the workers' movement, and, in this way, to prepare working-class militants for the struggle against ALL petty-bourgeois agents of imperialism within its movement.

THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

In the latest issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, the Spartacist League has escalated its campaign of slander against the International League and the Trotskyist Organization of the United States. It has dropped all pretense of opposition to the charges of the OCI against Michel Varga, member of the LIRQI; charged the OCI with "criminal irresponsibility" for not presenting enough evidence AGAINST Varga, and the LIRQI with setting up a "rigged jury" to "white-wash" him. Similarly, it has dropped all pretense of opposition to the charges of the Shachtmanites against the Trotskyist Organization. Indeed, it has taken the charge of "cliquism" as its own and, in the article "Clique Fights Explode RSL," defends the right wing of the RSL, the Landau and Olsen tendencies, which comprise the most voracious opponents of the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, the most voracious opponents of Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

With the advance of the International League, with the clearer and clearer counterposition of Bolshevism to Stalinism, the centrists have no choice but to revert to Stalinist methods -- gossip, slander, charges of agency -- to combat the Bolsheviks. So it was with the OCI, with the RSL, and with the Spartacist League. (It must be said, however, that the SL has the most extensive experience outside the Stalinist movement in this tradition. They are, after all, the authors of the infamous charge that Harold Kinross was a Trotskyist. See Slanderer Perplexed in Issue #4 of TRUTH).

They defend the Berlin Wall built by the Stalinists against the struggle of the LIRQI to bring it down, to build the World Soviet Republic on the rubble of this wall, beginning with the mobilization of the proletarian youth throughout the world for the Revolutionary Youth International and the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

The SL, to the extent that it concerns itself with the question at all, entrusts the defense of the conquests of the proletariat to the Kremlin bureaucracy. Thus to aid the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, it wired the Kremlin asking it to extend its "nuclear shield" over Southeast Asia. All things being equal, we can expect, in response to the call of the LIRQI, a wire to the Kremlin asking it to extend the Berlin Wall to the Mediterranean, in the next issue of WORKERS VANGUARD.

As a petty-bourgeois tendency in the heart of imperialism the Spartacist League has no confidence in the international proletariat. It believes that the workers in the East and the West want to bring down the Berlin Wall in order to restore imperialism. This is what is behind all the garbage about the "dual" and "contradictory" character of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Wishing doesn't make it so. The SL covers for this parasitic caste which IS FUNDAMENTALLY the agent of imperialism within the workers' movement.

For petty-bourgeois democrats, the Berlin Wall is a symbol of "communist totalitarianism." For communists, for worker militants, it is a physical manifestation of the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence," DESIGNED to isolate the proletariat of the countries of the socialist conquests from the proletariat of the capitalist countries. The strength of the rally in Berlin this July will demonstrate this for all who wish to see.

We have taken up the question of the Berlin Wall at length in order to illustrate that behind the utilization of Stalinist methods there always lies the capitulation IN PRACTICE to the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucracy. It is this political capitulation that the centrist leaders, confronted with the Fourth International actually being rebuilt, attempt to cover in a cloud of gossip and slander.

EDITORIAL



THE ONLY ANSWER IS THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

The capitalist regime in the United States has reached its greatest crisis since the downfall of Nixon. Its Vietnamese and Cambodian puppets are being defeated and Kissinger's "diplomacy" in the Middle East has failed. Workers by the thousands are mobilizing for the March on Washington and are determined to by-pass the trade union bureaucrats.

At the same time, the leadership of the Workers League is holding the Conference of the Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party (TUALP) in Detroit which represents a qualitative step in the liquidation of this organization, which through the combat of the International Committee, was for a decade the continuity of Bolshevism in the United States.

The program of TUALP is not the policy of CLASS INDEPENDENCE OF THE PROLETARIAT, the struggle of Bolshevism inside the unions. It is instead an attempt to place pressure on the trade union bureaucrats to organize a Labor Party for an electoral campaign. The struggle of the Workers League for the world party of the socialist revolution, for the revolution in the United States

has been postponed to the indefinite future.

The organization of the Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party is only the clearest expression of the liquidationist course followed in the US by the leaders of the WRP and the WL -- the "International Committee" -- since they walked out of the International Committee in 1971, abandoning the struggle to build the Fourth International, and created their own "IC," an organization which has no congresses, no elected leadership, no publications, and has never intervened as such in the struggle of the international proletariat. It is a fraud, designed to fool the militants of the WRP and the WL with "internationalism."

The revival of the Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party is today the political and organizational expression of the abandonment of the struggle for the world proletarian party in the United States. And it is inalterably linked to

the turn of the Workers League leadership away from the struggle to win the working class youth, for the youth have always been the foundation of Bolshevism and represent an obstacle to the pursuit of opportunist policies in the trade unions.

In this retreat, the leaders of the "IC" follow in the footsteps of the French Lambert-Just faction of the OCI with their "struggle" for a "CP-SP Government" in France and their "Committees of Workers' Alliance." TUALP, in its "Call to All Miners," calls for "a general strike to bring down the unelected Ford-Rockefeller regime and force a new election in which a LABOR PARTY GOVERNMENT (emphasis added) can come to power." This is nothing other than the implementation on American soil of the "CP-SP government" strategy of Lambert-Just and represents a capitulation on American soil to the forces of the POPULAR FRONT -- the policy of class treason of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucracy. Our policy has no other object than the establishment of a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT, issued from the struggle of the workers' councils, under the leadership of the revolutionary party.

cry out for the mobilization of the working class in the concrete struggle for power on an international level, the leadership of the Workers League retreats to either passive propagandism or else asks the labor bureaucracy to do the work of the revolutionary party. TUALP represents a confusionist obstacle to the search of militants for a revolutionary leadership to lead it in combat.

The International League-Rebuilder of the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization of the US affirms that only the revolutionary party can prepare the struggle for power. The International League is building this struggle for power through the preparation of the International Fourth Open Conference, the Conference of the Rebuilt Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. In the United States we are preparing the First National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization of the United States which will set the tasks and the time for the campaign for the proclamation of the Revolutionary Workers Party in the US as the ONLY solution to the needs of the working class and the oppressed in this country.

These goals are being achieved by the

the U.S. For the Workers League it has meant the liquidation of its organization -- the complete abandonment of public meetings of the WL, in favor of "TUALP" is a graphic illustration of this.

Almost every individual interviewed in the BULLETIN expresses the desire to finish with the capitalist order. And almost every individual raises as the central problem, the problem of leadership. But it is precisely on this question that TUALP fails to answer these militants.

In the face of the pressures of the bourgeois counter-revolution which has put to the test all the claimants to leadership of the working class, the leadership of the Workers League fails to provide the leadership that militant workers are seeking. At a time when the objective conditions of the American working class and the desires of the militant workers

working-class youth and the key sectors of the industrial proletariat and the destruction of all the liquidationist centers claiming to represent the Fourth International. Thus, where the leadership of the Workers League has retreated, we have advanced, taking up the struggle for Trotskyism in the United States.

We call on the comrades of the Workers League to join us in this struggle.

FORWARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL FOURTH OPEN CONFERENCE, THE CONFERENCE OF THE REBUILT FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

FORWARD TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION, TO SET THE TASKS FOR THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES!

...AND THE IC

The leaders of the International Committee, in a shameful imitation of the Spartacist League, have launched, precisely at the moment of the decisive advance of the International League in the United States, a slander campaign against Tim Wohlforth and Alan Thornett, whose tendencies can only be understood as movements, albeit contradictory ones, toward the Fourth International. This constitutes a far more serious threat to the workers' movement for it involves workers' organizations -- the WRP and the WL -- which have been the continuators of Bolshevism.

This is a smokescreen for the incapacity of these leaders to answer the demands made upon them by Wohlforth and Thornett. What are these centrist leaders trying to hide? Their abandonment of the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International. They want to stop the members of these organizations from drawing a balance sheet of their struggle.

Every Trotskyist militant, every worker militant, must take these sheets of slander -- in WORKERS PRESS, in the BULLETIN -- and examine them point by point. They will see for themselves that they are without foundation. The struggle to expose Stalinist methods is a critical aspect of the rebuilding of the Fourth International, of renewing the link with Bolshevism.

REPORT FROM THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

Public Meeting
TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION

April 20 - 4 PM
Lawson YMCA
30 W. Chicago



By A REPORTER

The representatives of the Trotskyist Organization were greeted by a detachment of armed (with wooden sticks ?!) guards, when they arrived at the headquarters of the RSL in Chicago on March 29th, the date set by the RSL for the appeal to its convention against the expulsion of the Soviet Defensists and the Trotskyist Tendency.

They demanded that the representatives of the Trotskyist Organization submit to a search, enter the building separately and be seated separately.

This was their response not to a physical threat (while the numbers of the RSL have certainly been diminished, this process has not yet reached the point where two militants, seated separately or apart, could represent a threat to it), but to the political threat of the Fourth International being rebuilt.

Trotskyists, based itself entirely on the right wing: the revisionist "innovations" of Olsen (ala Johnson-Forrest), the anti-communist and anti-working class hysteria of Landau and Co.

But when these anti-Trotskyists, evidently unsatisfied with the prestige bestowed upon them by the leadership of the RSL, became tired of dabbling with "socialist politics" and decided to seek greener pastures, the leadership of the RSL had no choice but to once again take up the arguments of Trotskyists against the Landau-Olsen tendencies. But in so doing, it completely undercut what POLITICAL defense it did have against the Soviet Defensists and the Trotskyist Tendency.

Thus, the cynical leadership of the defeatists put up "security" measures, to defend itself -- measures designed once again to whip up hysteria in the mem-

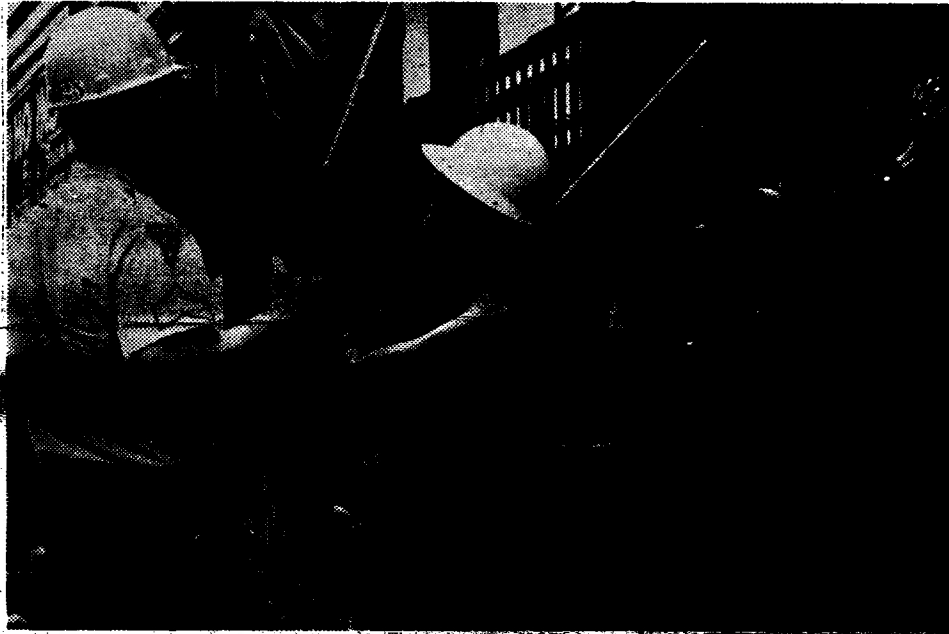
The Last Stand of the RSL

Since the expulsion of the Soviet Defensists and the Trotskyist Tendency last year, the RSL has met disaster after disaster, culminating in the departure of its right wing this February. In its early days, in the course of the struggle against the Shachtmanites of the International Socialists, the RSL was forced to defend the Trotskyist program. It even went so far as to commit itself to issuing a statement in defense of Michel Varga, leader of the International League, against the slanders of the OCI. But with the development of the Soviet Defensists and the Trotskyist Tendency, a movement, in reality, towards the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International, the leadership retreated and, in its struggle against the

bership against the Trotskyists, designed to prevent by any means necessary a presentation by the Trotskyists to the RSL convention.

This analysis is confirmed by the fact that the individual selected to head up this anti-Trotskyist band of toughies was one to whom the Trotskyist Organization had addressed a special appeal to break with the defeatists, since he had been one of the more thoughtful and serious militants among them. This individual, having completely lost his bearings, simply babbled hysterically, "We can beat you up right now."

In this remark is summarized all that remains to the politics of the RSL. The defeatists closed the door of their headquarters and locked themselves within it.



STOP GUN CONTROL

By ROBIN EVERETT

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, police and military preparations against the working class become more important. "Gun control" is not a question of crime, it is a question of which class is going to control the guns. While the capitalists' state apparatus continues to arm itself against the workers, their political representatives press for the disarming of the exploited and the oppressed. But even the most backward sections of the working class recognize that crime is not the question with gun control. "If guns are outlawed only outlaws will have guns." And the gangster government will have the most.

The bourgeois media has started a strong propaganda campaign on gun control to prepare for televised Congressional hearings. The object of these hearings, being held by Rep. John Conyers of Detroit, is nationwide gun-control registration and restrictions. But registration is only another way to attack militants and a step towards confiscation. One of Conyers' proposals is for a greater role for the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the same agency that is busy all over the country setting up paramilitary units like the Los Angeles SWAT!

"People have the right to move about without fear," says FBI chief Kelly, upstanding defender of the capitalists' revised version of the Bill of Rights. And quick to give a legal polish to the cops' demands are all the judges, the rotten accomplices of the police. The Constitution states that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Period. But what do the

judges have to say about this? "My position is that it (the Constitution) is antiquated. The arms of that day would be successful in a revolution then. Today, using small arms against the militia or the army would be like using a slingshot. It is outlandish." So says Judge Cusack of the Cook County "Gun Court."

From the fact that the army and the national guard are a repressive machine the ruling class intends to use against the people, the bourgeois judge draws the conclusion that it is necessary to ... disarm the people! No doubt he thinks that along with the right to bear arms, the right to strike and freedom of assembly are also "antiquated" and "outlandish." But of course you can vote every four years ...

It is the liberal "friends of labor" and the Stalinists who play the leading role in the bourgeois campaign to disarm the working class. Conyers, who is conducting the gun-control hearings, is a leading black Democrat from Detroit, and a "progressive" hero of the Communist Party. The Stalinists themselves do not endorse gun control, but indicate their willingness to help the liberals achieve it, by declaring that "gun control is not a real issue now, and for us to talk about it would only be a diversion from the real economic problems that cause crime." But gun control is not a question of crime, it is a question of an attack on the ability of the workers' movement to defend itself. The Stalinists accept the bourgeois lie that gun control is only an attempt -- hopeless, to be sure -- to fight crime. From this, it is only a short step to saying "why not?"

OC·RYI·USA Resolution: April 5

I. We, working class youth of the greatest imperialist power in the world, have decided to prepare with the Trotskyist Organization of the United States (supporter of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International) the Demonstration and the Founding Convention of the Revolutionary Youth International -- a mobilization in Berlin, Germany, THIS JULY, of working-class youth throughout the world against the imperialists and their strongest ally, the Kremlin bureaucracy, for the world party of the socialist revolution.

The experience of our entire lives has shown us that we have no future except through finishing with the capitalist order; that this can only be accomplished by the international working class under the leadership of a world party.

We have no access to education. Many of us will never have jobs. Those we do find are the worst. We are harassed on the streets by the police, who attempt to foment conflict between blacks and Latins, between blacks, Latins, and white working-class youth.

Democratic rights won by our class -- the right to bear arms -- the imperialists are attempting to obliterate. Democratic rights never won -- the right of self-determination for the black people -- the imperialists no longer even bother to promise.

Working-class youth have only one choice: join with the imperialists and their lieutenants in the labor movement -- who have attempted to derail every struggle of the workers from the CIO, to the "Civil Rights" movement, to the movement against the Vietnam War -- in the preparation of another war. Or join with the struggle of the International League and the Trotskyist Organization to build a general staff of the proletariat, the world party of socialist revolution -- to finish with war.

II. We have constituted ourselves the ~~Executive Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States~~ and have resolved the following tasks:

1. THE MOBILIZATION OF AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS YOUTH for the demonstration and convention in Berlin under the slogans: DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL! FOR THE UNITY OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS IN THE EAST AND THE WEST! FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION! FOR THE WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL! FOR THE WORLD PARTY!

The Berlin Wall was built to isolate the workers of the countries of the socialist conquests, dominated by the Kremlin bureaucracy, from the workers of the countries ruled by the imperialists.

The OC/RVI/USA, with the Trotskyist Organization, has decided to take this question to American working-class youth. The strength of the delegation from the United States to Berlin will prove that American youth want to bring down the Berlin Wall, not to restore imperialism, but to establish solidarity with their brothers and sisters, to establish the World Soviet Republic.

2. THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNG GUARDS FOR THE WORLD PARTY, the American detachment of the Revolutionary Youth International, ON JULY 4, 1975.

This is central to the preparation of the Demonstration and Convention in Berlin. This Founding Convention in Chicago will discuss the central problems of working-class youth and elect the delegation from the USA to Berlin. For this convention the OC/RVI/USA will prepare a resolution.

3. THE MOBILIZATION OF AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS YOUTH AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST ATTACK IN THE UNITED STATES under the slogans: Stop the attack on immigrant workers! Jobs for all with 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Build worker youth circles! Build the Revolutionary Youth International!

The imperialists want to drive down the standard of living of the workers and shift the blame for this to the "foreigners." They are preparing a mass base for the Nazis and the KKK to implement this racist and reactionary police. The Stalinists and the trade union bureaucrats are letting them do it.

The OC/RVI/USA has decided, with the Trotskyist Organization, to take this question, like the question of the Berlin Wall, directly to the working-class youth. The organization of pickets and demonstrations, leading up to a March on the Federal Building on July 4th, will demonstrate who is responsible for the crisis of the American working class and who can resolve it.

4. THE TRANSLATION OF "JEUNE GARDE" (YOUNG GUARD), the publication of the International Liaison Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International, INTO ENGLISH AND SPANISH; ITS DISTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS YOUTH; THE DISTRIBUTION OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND TRUTH.

This publication must be put in the language of the American working class. It must be brought to them for it is their publication. Similarly, the International League and the Trotskyist Organization have opened the pages of their English publications, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and TRUTH, to the struggle for the RVI in the United States. With these publications we can reach the working-class youth.

III. In order to accomplish these tasks, the OC/RVI/USA has taken the following measures:

1. The election of a chairman whose job it is to call and organize meetings; the election of a secretary whose job it is to take minutes, correspond with and send reports to the International Liaison Committee in Paris; the election of a treasurer whose job it is to handle finances.

2. The launching of a fund drive -- the collection from the United States -- to finance the work of the committee. The committee will be responsible for making further plans.

IV. There are only three conditions for participation in this movement: opposition to imperialism, support of the struggle of the international working class, determination to build a world party of the socialist revolution.

Most of us believe that the Fourth International is this party and that the International League is the only organization carrying out the task of rebuilding it. But this is no obstacle to combat, side-by-side, against imperialism, for the objective of the Revolutionary Youth International, for the objective of the WORLD party.

We call on all working class youth to join in this struggle. We know that there are many of you who are committed to the overthrow of imperialism and search for a world party!

We call on the militants of the Young Workers Liberation League, who really want to fight imperialism, to join with us. We know that you have questions about the Kremlin bureaucracy and its international apparatus. We are certain that in the course of common struggle you will come to see this bureaucracy as an obstacle to the overthrow of imperialism.

And we call especially upon the militants of the Young Socialists and the Young Socialist Alliance, who retain the objectives of the Revolutionary Youth International and the World Party, to join us. Your place is at the side of the Trotskyist Organization and the Organizing Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States! BUILD WORKER YOUTH CIRCLES!

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNG GUARDS FOR THE WORLD PARTY!

TO THE FOUNDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL IN BERLIN!

TO THE 4TH OPEN CONFERENCE, THE CONFERENCE OF THE REBUILT FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

FOR THE WORKERS

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On the Slogan of the "C

The Union of the Left, or the Union of the People of France, accomplished by the alliance of the major workers' parties, the PCF (French Communist Party) and the SP (Socialist Party), was born as an electoral pact. In France, such an alliance, inevitably including "democratic forces" such as the Radical Party, is made easier by a long tradition. It can be said without exaggeration that a relatively important section of the bourgeoisie considers it a natural element of its political life. The governmental power of such an alliance, seen as a dubious bogeyman by the less experienced bourgeoisie of a number of countries, is considered here, so to speak, as a national institution. To be convinced of that, it is necessary only to read *Le Monde*, the newspaper of the "enlightened" bourgeoisie. For the history of bourgeois France, then, it is not an aberration but an inheritance. It is what the French bourgeoisie, confronted by a combative and experienced proletariat, has had to learn to set up, to maneuver skillfully in order to maintain itself in power. For, in fact, in 1936, it was able to assess the Popular Front at its true value, permitting it to survive that revolutionary period.

On the other hand, the workers of France, the militants of the workers' movement, must not forget any longer that the Union of the Left, the Union of the People of France, is not a unique and unprecedented phenomenon. It has a whole history, full of experiences. Its characterization, its real "worth" as well as its significance cannot be grasped by beginning from today's form, limited to the present alliance. The Union of the People of France -- Union of the Left -- is inseparable from its history. The hopes of our time, fed in regard to this alliance, have to be confronted with the experiences of yesterday. It is in this totality that they appear as illusions, just as it is true that the clear and definitive distinction between legitimate hope and ill-fated illusion is made through practical experience, so also with history.

Now, the Popular Front of 1936 came to a lamentable end. Instead of realizing the aspirations of the working class, it permitted the bourgeoisie to get a grip on itself, to channel and then to repel the proletarian upsurge and, in record time, to directly take over governmental power again. In a manner precisely consistent with this domestic role -- which no one can put into question -- the Popular Front government was, at the same time, that of "nonintervention" in regard to the Spanish Revolution. In giving a free hand to Franco and to the international fascist coalition to wipe out the Spanish workers with the assistance of Stalin, by maintaining the mobilization of the French workers within the framework of society and of the bourgeois state, the "Union of the Left" of 1936 was the artisan of the defeat of the revolutionary offensive of the European proletariat, thus bearing the heavy responsibility of facilitating Hitler's counter-revolutionary war. Since then, even if this classic form of the Union of the Left has not had the opportunity to blossom and to exercise power, its principal components, the CP and the SP, each in their turn, have furnished an impressive number of ministers in the bourgeois governments. Their role was invariably that of disorganizer of the class at the exact moment of the offensive of the proletariat, in particular during the 1944-47 period. Then, "the Moor" having done his duty, he could depart from the government.

The understanding of the nature of the Union of the Left (Union of the People of France) of today is organically linked to that of its history. Together or separately, the decisive powers in this Union, the CP and the SP, have never presented a real alternative to the society and to the power of the bourgeoisie. Quite to the contrary, they have kept the proletariat within this framework, have disorganized it; which allows the bourgeoisie, all very naturally, to directly take over the controls again. It is in this way that the nature of these parties is expressed, which is not simply working-class, but also, and above all, Stalinist and reformist. Workers, particularly the militants of the workers' movement, can consider the nature of this Union of the Left/Union of the People of France only in the light of its history.

But if they still have illusions, it is also and above all because diverse organizations claiming to be revolutionary, and still more, Fourth Internationalist, deliberately and consciously separate this union of alliance of the CP and the SP from their history, "forgetting" that it is always realized with the bourgeois party of the Radicals.

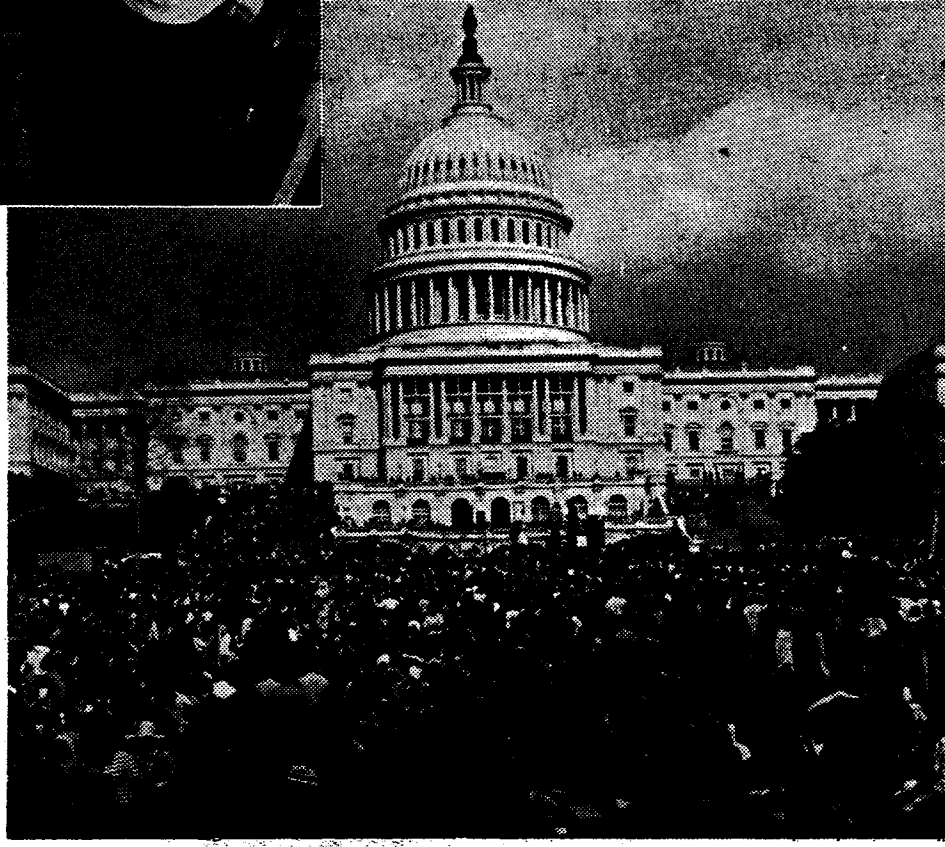
Thus it is that the organization led by Alain Krivine demands an anti-imperialist front of the working-class parties without specifying that these "workers" are Stalinist and reformists, and, therefore, that their front or alliance inevitably implies the presence of the bourgeoisie, that this alliance has a history that leaves no doubt as to the nature and the function of such a front "demanded" by Krivine.

The Lambert-Just faction, leading the OCI, practices the same charlatanism under a different mask. In order to trick at one and the same time the workers and their own members, these leaders write long articles on the Popular Front in general, on its history; afterwards and incidentally, completely separated from these lessons, they advance their present-day strategic orientation for the "improved" unity of these parties. In this regard, the general slogan for the CP-SP Government without bourgeois ministers, (of the Lambert-Just leadership), is the most baneful and the most pernicious.

CP-SP GOVERNMENT OR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP?

This slogan, this "demand" for the unity of the CP and the SP, is developed at precisely the moment when the workers are mobilizing themselves together with the proletariat of other countries, expressing, by their movement of strikes and of powerful demonstrations, the imminence of the revolution while indicating clearly the immediate goal of their struggle -- power; when, at the same time, they are disoriented besides on what concerns the result of their class demands in relation to the governmental outcome of their mobilization. It was seen clearly during the general strike of

* (untranslatable pun, "le Moore," playing on the line from Othello and Maurice Thorez' name)



the Postal Workers -- and since -- how the trade union apparatuses, led by precisely the Stalinists and reformists, each in their own way and differently, have tried and try to defuse these movements, to contain them, to chop them up and to lead them into a blind alley. The disorientation of the working class is not, then, inherent in the working class, but crises directly from the apparatuses as their conscious policy; from these parties whose "unity" is demanded as a global orientation by the leadership of the OCI.

The workers are equally disoriented when they try to translate their aspirations onto the governmental level. Cherishing illusions about the CP and the SP, they painfully resent their refusal to lead them to power.

This disorientation of the workers is an expression of the fact that they lack a revolutionary leadership, alone adequate to the situation. The strategic slogan of the Lambert-Just leadership has to be confronted, firstly and above all, on this fundamental question of the party. From this it proceeds that the central demand of the "unity" of the CP-SP, of their government, is in reality camouflage for this central problem. It signifies not only the refusal of the OCI's leadership to assume the responsibility of constructing a revolutionary leadership before and against the policy of the apparatuses but still more, the reinforcement of the illusions of the workers in regard to these parties, a lining up, a little to the "left," on the apparatuses. It is necessary to go farther. To the extent that these opportunists put the center of their policy and their activity on the demand for a "CP-SP Government" (they add, "without bourgeois ministers," for they are Trotskyists), they are introducing the role of the apparatuses as a necessary and inevitable stage. It is thus, that in place of the imminence of the revolution, they profess in reality that of an intermediary period; and what's more, they are preparing it. This is pure Menshevism, the policy of Stalin between February and April, 1917. More recently, it is exactly the theory of Pablo on the inevitability, even to say, the necessity, of centuries of transition of bureaucratic rule -- this time, without the centuries.

GOVERNMENTAL FORMULA, OR MOBILIZATION OF THE WORKERS?

The policy of the CP and the SP is to SEPARATE the movement characteristic of the workers (strikes, demonstrations, protests) from the problem of government. On the one hand, through their leadership in the unions, and also directly, these parties work on the specific terrain of these movements, while causing to disappear, at any price, their unitary and political character. On the other hand, and completely outside the mobilization of the workers, they pose the question of the government under the form of parliamentary combinations, of a political and electoral alliance of parties.

It is for this reason that the CP apparatus, leading the CGT, confines and limits strikes to categories, or even to specific businesses, that is to say, even inside specific businesses, preventing their unification and centralization towards and in the general strike. At the same time, and parallel to it, they unleash diversionary campaigns in regard to "politics," such as recently, the "truth campaign" on the petroleum companies, posed outside of the movements characteristic to the class. As for the SP, it channels attention towards "capturing the city halls (?)."

Now, the "demand" for the CP-SP Government, central policy of the OCI leadership, makes exactly the same separation, following faithfully this tactic of the apparatuses of deception. That's the origin of the position of the OCI in relation to strikes, which, in its turn, intervenes in specific strikes without putting at the

center of its propaganda and its activity the preparation of the general strike. This attitude reveals itself as treason at the time of the postal workers strike. Thus, the "requirement" of the unity of the CP and the SP, the "demand" for their government, has the exact significance of consciously separating the problem of the government from the mobilization of the working class; still more, of opposing "unity" to mobilization.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PROGRAM

The question is posed; unity on what basis? CP-SP Government with what program? These two parties have for a long time responded to these questions, in a

evade this problem, advancing their slogans of "front, of "unity," of the CP-SP Government in itself, devoid of any programmatic content. Now, in the very exact



AUTO WORKERS OCCUPY FACTORY 1974

conditions of today, such a requirement means strategically the "demand" that the CP and the SP realize their common program. For, from the point of view of their governmental unity in itself, it can be only a matter of uniting around the program. He who evades, what is at the basis of the CP-SP Government, the Common Program, is in the service of the apparatuses. At the January 17th meeting of the OCI, in his contortions to justify his policy before militants listening to him with open coldness, Lambert responded at length to those who within the OCI are posing this question.

To the specific question -- which expresses the concern of militants before this opportunist policy, to wit, if the leadership of the OCI, by "fighting" for a CP-SP Government, was thus subscribing to the Common Program, Lambert very simply responded that there is nothing to subscribe to, for the Common Program is nothing, means nothing. The knot is tied. The opportunists not only carefully avoid clear criticism of that program, but, moreover, in the place of this "nothing" (?), they don't put forward any program. This policy is clearly apparent in the OCI's activity, which, under the CP-SP Government slogan, is concentrated and

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT

"CP-SP Government"

by Michel Varga



without bourgeois ministers imposes, therefore, the necessity of explaining clearly that such a perspective implies of necessity the rupture of the CP with the Kremlin. But how and in what way? ... And to avoid responding to this, the opportunists avoid the question of the program. Thus, they make an abstraction of the CP, presenting it at once as a French phenomenon and as an homogenous body capable of breaking in its totality with the bourgeoisie as well as with the Kremlin, solely by virtue of words about unity addressed to its leadership.

The clear refusal to broach the question of this government, posed by merciless criticism of the bourgeois Common Program, unmasks the opportunists. Firstly, and from the point of view of method itself, this refusal clearly points out the character of the demand for "unity" and for the "CP-SP Government without bourgeois ministers" as an abstraction. Secondly, and at the same time, it confers upon it a working-class veneer capable of deceiving militants. Finally, and most importantly, it permits the avoidance of the clarification of the true governmental program of the workers, as well as the means of its realization.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT IS THE OUTCOME OF THE MOBILIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

Only the criticism of the purely electoral character of the Common Program permits, in fact, the unmasking of the Stalinists and the reformists opposed to the general mobilization of the workers. Only such a criticism renders, at one and the same time, both possible and necessary the posing of the question of the government in the direction of this mobilization, tied to it organically. The orientation of the Lambert-Just opportunists towards a "CP-SP Government without bourgeois ministers," demanding its realization from the leadership of these parties, and "fighting" for their "unity," presents itself as if this government were a working-class government. But the lying nature of such an assertion is clear, since it poses the question of the government without and outside of the mobilization of the working-class. Not only is it a lie, but it corresponds exactly to the electoralist policy of the apparatuses. Lambert-Just only serve to warp this policy with their formula, "without bourgeois ministers."

In complete opposition to the apparatuses, and to the opportunists in their wake, we formulate clearly before the workers that only a workers' and peasants' government is capable of expropriating the bourgeoisie and of smashing the bourgeois state. But such a government cannot be the product of an electoral alliance between the CP and the SP. It is the outcome and the crowning of the mobilization of the proletariat and the laboring masses through their own organs. It is for this reason that we completely turn on its head the very manner of posing the question of the government, by placing in the foreground, not the thing itself as a slogan, but the mobilization of the proletariat. Responding to the immediate need of the workers, we fight for the unification of strikes into a powerful general strike where the workers will form and must necessarily form their organs, committees and soviets whose unification and centralization will produce the workers' and peasants' government.

Certain comrades advance an argument that to pose the problem in this fashion creates a gap between the present situation and the effective realization of the workers' and peasants' government. To their mind,

* (untranslatable pun, on "gauchir," meaning "warp" but sounding like "gauche," that is "left." Thus, it implies that they "warp" it while "left-izing" it.)

developed in a petition campaign (!), to send a letter to the leaderships of the CP-SP so that they will realize their unity and take governmental power. There is nothing astonishing in the fact that this campaign effectively collects without obstruction the signature of numerous militants of these parties; for it is precisely their illusion which is formulated by it.

The Common Program is not nothing. Its character and its existence are the nub of all the problems of the CP-SP Government. It is a typically bourgeois program, opposed to the interests and aspirations of the working class; it is the alternative solution of the bourgeoisie, carried out by these parties. The total absence of this clear unequivocal characterization of the Common Program unfailingly points out opportunists. The reason for this absence of consistent criticism is precisely to hide the class content of such a government, conforming to the very nature of these parties. At the same time, this program not only allows but renders INEVITABLE the presence of the bourgeois party or parties -- not the opposite! The orientation of Lambert-Just and of many others -- "CP-SP Government without bourgeois ministers" -- is thus a deception which sows illusions and reinforces the influence of the apparatuses. The program of these parties is exactly collaboration with the bourgeoisie. On this plane, the experience of the past Popular Front joins that of the present. It is just this program of the two parties which implies the governmental presence of the bourgeoisie, as was the case with the Allende government in Chile, is today with the government in Portugal or with the "Democratic Junta" of Carrillo in Spain. It is the worldwide and general strategy of the Kremlin and of its parties.

To demand the government of the CP's with the SP



AMSTERS BATTLE POLICE IN 1934 MINNEAPOLIS GENERAL STRIKE

the CP-SP Government fills this void, but without their taking into account that what they call a gap is precisely the mobilization of the proletariat, the general strike and the creation of the organs of the class. It is not accidental that the apparatuses, the same as the opportunists, prevent or avoid activity and propaganda for the general strike, for its preparation. While, however, it is clear that diverse strike movements pose the possibility and the necessity of its realization as the principal means of organizing the proletariat for the taking of power. The demand for a CP-SP Government replaces the mobilization of the proletariat by a formula; it opposes itself to it. It is, thus, the principal means of struggle against the workers' and peasants' government.

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT :
SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE
OR
"NATIONAL" SOLUTION ?

Even if it is not excluded that, given the confidence of the working class in these parties, the mobilization of the proletariat may push them to power; firstly, it is still this mobilization of the class which is the principal factor and, secondly, we Trotskyists never fight for such a government. It is exactly here that we have to grasp the fundamental problem, which is that of the independent revolutionary party of the proletariat. We are convinced and openly say to the workers that only the party of the Fourth International, built by and in the mobilization of the working class, can lead them to power, to the realization of the workers' and peasants' government. The demand for the "CP-SP Government" is the shameful abandonment by those who claim to be Fourth Internationalists, of their responsibility to build its party. They charge the Stalinist and reformist parties with realizing the objectives of the working class; they point them out to the workers as being their parties.

This is a slogan opposed to the workers' and peasants' government since it is profoundly nationalist. It suggests that the solution to the problems of the workers can be found in the framework of a single country, in the circumstances, in France. But, inversely, it consciously lies, presupposing that the CP-SP government is capable of unifying the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat, the sole condition of victory. Our slogan, the Socialist United States of Europe, is incompatible with the CP-SP Government; with or without bourgeois ministers, all the same, that is an obstacle to the Socialist United States of Europe. All those who, like the Lambert-Just leadership, orient themselves towards the CP-SP Government and wage the campaign for it, place themselves against the revolutionary unification of Europe.

BOLSHEVISM AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The problem of the workers' and peasants' government or, inversely, that of the CP-SP Government is presently a central question of differentiation between revolutionaries and opportunists. The International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International (LIRQI), as well as its sections, wage this struggle of differentiation in which is concentrated and expressed in a concrete and practical manner the class independence of the proletariat. The line of demarcation between us and all the opportunists, centrists and confusionists is clear; we fight for the workers' and peasants' government by means of the mobilization of the class, while they



UAW BUILT IN FACTORY OCCUPATIONS 1936

advocate the CP-SP Government. The leadership of the OCI is found on the other side. In terms of theory, this slogan represents an opposition to the program of the Fourth International, by replacing the ALGEBRAIC formula of the workers' and peasants' government with a rigid concretization worthy of schoolboy arithmetic. Politically, this revisionism is expressed by lining up, from the "left," on the apparatuses. Running out ahead of them, the Lambert-Just leadership tries to draw along the whole OCI to the other side of the barricades, which is equal to its destruction as a Trotskyist organization. The militants of the OCI faithful to the Program of the Fourth International can be united against this attempt only by opposing themselves to it with the slogan: Prepare the general strike in order to realize the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

It is around this slogan, opposed to the opportunist "CP-SP Government" slogan (even without bourgeois ministers), that a tendency must and can be developed in the OCI. It is time that the uneasiness, the doubts and scattered criticism be unified and organized by and in such a tendency.

As for us who are fighting, in actual fact, for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, in France by the means of the building of our faction of the OCI, belonging to the International League, we will help any tendency or faction which begins this fight in the OCI without posing any prior condition. But, for the necessary clarity, we say beforehand that any consistent fight can find its outcome only in the perspective of rebuilding the Fourth International; in other words, in joining our faction in the struggle to prepare together the Extraordinary Trotskyist Congress of the OCI. (translated from *La Verite des Revolutionnaires*, organ of the LIRQI faction of the OCI; February 1, 1975 number 1) translated by Kevin Tracey

CORAL PREACHES DEFEAT ON US TOUR

By A REPORTER

Juan Carlos Coral, a leader of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores/Socialist Workers Party) is touring the United States. The sole purpose of this tour is to whine to middle-class American liberals and radicals about "rightist terror" in Argentina, completely separated from any perspective or mobilization for the Argentine Revolution.

Certainly, the right wing is mobilized in Argentina and certainly this needs to be made public. But Coral is unable to really do anything about it for the same reason that it is there to complain about in the first place. This reason is the betrayal of the Argentine working class by its "leaders," especially including Juan Carlos Coral and his PST. As we showed in "The Treachery of the PST (TRUTH #5), this party has helped at every step of the way the Argentine ruling class to defeat, demoralize and set back the proletarian revolution. And Coral's tour is part and parcel of the same perspective.

Speaking in Chicago early in March, Coral demonstrated his completely rotten role once again. He made a dull and lifeless speech, basically bemoaning the fate of the "left," and blaming the rightist violence not on the government but on the guerrillas who "provoke" it.

Following this miserable performance, the SWP'ers running the meeting announced that "questions" would be taken -- which could be no longer than two minutes. A representative of the Trotskyist Organization immediately intervened, revealing the role of Coral and the PST in Argentina and pointed out that in his speech Coral had not EVEN ONCE mentioned the workers' militia as a means of not only answering right-wing attacks but of preparing the conquest of power by the workers. Coral's response showed even more than did his speech the totally reactionary character of his politics. He said that it would be foolish to call for a workers' militia today, because 90% of the proletariat supports the government and if they were

armed they would be fighting with the police and fascists against the left-wing movement! This person is totally anti-working class; he fears and hates its mobilization and opposes at every step the revolutionary solution to its problems. The working class is reactionary -- that is the stock-in-trade of every betrayer, every reformist, every bureaucrat. And, in reality, the only ones who are reactionary are these denouncers of the working-class movement.

This meeting was quickly adjourned after more hostile points were raised from the floor, with the SWP retreating to a small room, hoping in that way to sort out the troublemakers. Such was not the case. In the next meeting Coral was continually pursued by hostile questions to which he advanced totally reactionary answers. For instance, as part of his assertions that workers were reactionary, he stated that the AUTO WORKERS had put ads in newspapers calling for Americans to buy cars in order to solve unemployment. He lied. The bureaucracy, Woodcock and his friends, put ads in the papers, precisely to avoid the mobilization of the working class. In Detroit today, auto workers are so "conservative" that the unemployment offices refuse to allow large numbers to assemble there, in fear of riots. Coral places himself unhesitatingly on the side of Peron, on the side of Woodcock -- against the working class.

At a later meeting at the University of Chicago Coral was attacked by Cuban counterrevolutionaries. The response of the SWP was to stand idly by hoping for the police to protect them while Coral snuck out the back door. And that's exactly what he does in Argentina, too. This policy of the SWP and its ally the PST lead only to terrible defeats for the working class. Coral and his PST must be smashed if the Argentine working class is to win. And if the SWP gets a chance, it will play exactly the same role here in the tumultuous years to come. That party must be destroyed or it will help destroy the American Revolution.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE POR

The Spanish Revolution Moves Forward

By AN OBSERVER

The national conference of the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario), Spanish section of the LIRQI, was held this March to elect delegates to the Second World Congress of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International. The discussion was carried out within the framework of the Theses for the Second Congress presented by the International Executive Committee and focused on the particular problems of the Spanish section and the coming revolution in Spain.

The conference was held at a turning point in the course of the Spanish Revolution. In the face of the massive mobilization of the Spanish working class and youth that has taken place throughout the country during recent months, the Spanish bourgeoisie and its loyal agents inside the workers' movement, the Stalinist CP, have launched all the forces of the counterrevolution in an attempt to demoralize, isolate and weaken the combativity of the working class. The very fact that the Spanish CP of Santiago Carrillo has for the moment put off its call for a "Government of National Reconciliation" (the Spanish version of the Popular Front), is a sign that the Spanish CP has succeeded, for the moment, in holding back the working-class upsurge.

The decisive question for the POR and the Spanish working class is now posed: to go forward to turn the fall of Francoism into the proletarian revolution or to retreat in the face of the counter-revolution and Stalinist treason. It was in this context that the National Conference of the POR discussed the POR's call for the general strike in Barcelona on February 26th that mobilized 3,000 workers and youth in the streets -- against Francoism and against the refusal of the CP to fight for the independence of the working class.

Yet the National Conference affirmed that even this call for a general strike can represent a retreat and a capitulation to the pressure of the CP unless the general strike movement of the working class is deepened, extended and CENTRALIZED under the direct leadership of the POR. The revolutionary Spanish working class must be ORGANIZED directly by the POR and the advanced workers, particularly those at SEAT -- the key industrial center of Spain -- must be RECRUITED directly to the revolutionary party, the POR. This requires a direct combat against the Stalinist CP. The National Conference affirmed that it is not sufficient for example, that the majority of the CP cells at SEAT supported the call of the POR for the general strike. They must be organized directly under the leadership of the POR and the most advanced elements of the CP must be won directly to the POR. This process has already

begun -- a number of important militants of the CP have broken with the CP and have joined the POR. The POR is already recognized in the eyes of the most advanced workers as THE revolutionary party in Spain in opposition to all the treacherous leaderships, but the struggle to build the revolutionary party must be deepened and the POR must move forward in its fight to organize and centralize the struggle of the Spanish working class and youth.

The National Conference affirmed that the key to the mobilization of the revolutionary Spanish working class behind the POR is the struggle to mobilize the youth behind the call of the International League for the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International and the mobilization of the working-class and student youth IN MASS behind the POR in concrete struggles against unemployment and for solidarity with the struggles of the working class. The revolutionary workers have a decisive need for the mobilizations of the youth to deepen and extend their struggles.

The POR must also deepen and extend its efforts to win the workers of SEAT in Barcelona -- the industrial center of Spain. The struggle of the workers at SEAT is the key to the destruction of the influence of the Stalinist CP and will be the bastion of the general strike and the workers' councils which will bring down Francoism and establish the workers' and peasants' government.

The National Conference of the POR recognized the continued growth of the POR throughout Spain, especially in the growth of Revolutionary Youth Circles and the rapid growth of the POR in the key industrial centers in the Basque country, particularly in Bilbao. Greetings were presented to the conference from the comrades of the Trotskyist Organization of the US, which once again affirmed the INTERNATIONAL character of the Spanish revolution and the central role that the POR has in the rebuilding of the Fourth International and the fight for the International 4th Open Conference which will proclaim the Fourth International rebuild this summer. All the comrades of the POR recognize that the Fourth International is the only answer that the revolutionary Spanish working class is searching for and that only the International League is continuing this struggle today.

American workers and youth:

- The BEST AID to the Spanish Revolution will be the revolution in the U.S.!
- Victory to the Spanish Revolution -- Rebuild the Fourth International!
- The Next Conference of the Rebuilt Fourth International in Revolutionary Barcelona!

CAMPAIGN CONTINUED

from doctors to trade unionists, subject to a fine. Its aim is obviously to mobilize every sector of society in the attack on immigrant workers. The government has already given the go-ahead for raids and deportations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

At the same time, the new Attorney General, Edward Levi, has stated that while HE was not in favor of "domestic passports," he thought that "we are drifting in that direction." The head of the Passport Bureau in Washington, Francis Knight, has been pushing for a law to require every citizen in the United States to carry a "passport" which will include his employment record and will be submitted to every prospective employer. Under the guise of controlling employment of aliens, she wants to control every move that every worker in the United States makes.

First it was the blacks and the welfare recipients who were responsible for unemployment, then it was the Arabs, now it's the "foreigners." THIS IS A LIE. The capitalists, having destroyed the economies of the backward countries, have brought thousands of workers from these countries to the U.S. at starvation wages. The capitalists have driven hundreds of thousands of workers out of the plants, and tripled the work-load of those who remained, in order to increase their profits, in order to accumulate enough surplus, to start the whole vicious cycle over again.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS

The trade union bureaucrats have done nothing to stop this attack on workers in the United States. Indeed, George Meany has endorsed the Rodino Bill. They have all supported Chavez who brought shame on the labor movement by CALLING for the attack on Mexican workers in the U.S. They eagerly accept this cover for THEIR FAILURE to fight unemployment in the U.S. They allow the capitalists to prepare a mass base for the Nazis and the KKK to implement the government strategy. But the Nazis and the KKK will not stop with "foreign workers," they will go after the trade unions and Meany himself.

The American working class has begun its mobilization against the capitalist attack -- moving forward against the treachery of the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats have been forced to call a March on Washington on April 26 against

unemployment and workers are taking advantage of this opening to mobilize thousands over the heads of the bureaucrats. The mobilizations of thousands of workers make it increasingly difficult for the bureaucrats to contain the protests of the working class within the framework of the Democratic Party. The working class offensive against the capitalist counter-revolution in the U.S. has begun.

THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION

In this situation, the intervention of the the working class leadership, the forces of the Fourth International through the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization and the youth becomes decisive.

The revolutionary youth of the U.S., through the fight to build the Revolutionary Youth International must mobilize their struggles IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS. This is the only way forward for the youth and will be the decisive aid to the struggles of the working class. STOP RODINO! STOP THE PASSBOOKS!

The sliding scale of wages and hours -- THIRTY HOURS WORK FOR FORTY HOURS PAY! -- The only solution to unemployment.

BUILD WORKER YOUTH CIRCLES IN AUTO! -- the key sector of the American working class.

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNG GUARDS FOR THE WORLD PARTY!

Our mobilization has one purpose; to win the working-class youth -- in the high schools, the unemployment offices, the unions, and the factories -- for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, in the course of common struggle against the imperialists, and their agents in the labor movement -- the bureaucrats and the Stalinist party.

Working class youth in the U.S. -- Join the fight of the TO and the OC/RYI/USA to mobilize the workers in the auto industry in struggle under the banner of the Fourth International! Help distribute TRUTH. Join our demonstrations at the Ford Torrence Assembly Plant on April 24th and May 1st! Join the campaign of the Trotskyist Organization and the Organizing Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International in the USA!

The Fourth International continued

tion of the Soviet section -- the implantation of the FI in the heart of the bureaucracy -- which will be one more sign that the II represents the fusion of the political and social revolutions.

THE UNITED STATES

Today is the hour of the Fourth International in the United States as well. The revolutionary proletarian upsurge that is taking place in Europe has begun in the United States. Only the Fourth International can pose the solution to the crisis facing the workers and youth in the U.S. All of the forces of the counterrevolution and, the most powerful bourgeoisie in the world confront the U.S. workers with unemployment, starvation and police repression. The struggle against this can be organized only through a world party, the Fourth International. In the face of all the liquidationist and confusionist centers and against the bourgeoisie itself it is only the International League -- through the combat of the Trotskyist Organization of the U.S. -- that is capable of organizing and leading this struggle to today.

AMERICAN WORKERS AND YOUTH :
The fight to rebuild the Fourth International this summer -- on the thirty-fifth anniversary of Trotsky's assassination by Stalin's agent -- is your fight. The world bourgeoisie and the Kremlin know that the mobilization of the American working class under the banner of the Fourth International will be their destruction. The Second World Congress of the International League -- our militants in Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and all over the world -- call upon your support and your struggle. The Fourth International is the answer that you are searching for.

- Forward to the Revolutionary Youth International!
- Build the First Trotskyist Congress in the U.S. this summer!
- Join the Struggle of the Fourth International!
- Forward to the International Fourth Open Conference, Rebuilding the Fourth International!

IN THE NEXT ISSUE:

Political Resolution of the Second Congress

AS WE GO TO PRESS, THE EMERGENCY FUND DRIVE, LAUNCHED BY THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION IN FEBRUARY, NEARS ITS END. OVER \$2000 HAS BEEN RAISED BY MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS. THE GOAL OF \$2500 IS STILL TO BE REACHED. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS NOW. MAY FIRST IS THE LAST DAY!

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MAY DAY -- 1975

The Time Has Come



MAY DAY IN PORTUGAL -- 1974 --

By ANN RUSSELL

In country after country, hundreds of thousands of workers, under the leadership of the traditional organizations of the workers' movement, are organizing celebrations of MAY DAY, the international working class holiday. This is not happening in the United States. Only the openly revolutionary issue the call to celebrate this great holiday. MAY DAY and all that it stands for in the United States poses too great a threat to the imperialists. The reformists do not want to touch it.

Nearly a century ago, on MAY DAY, 200,000 workers throughout the United States struck for the eight-hour day, that is, for the right to work ... and LIVE. The bourgeois press at the time wrote: "The thing is really too silly to merit the attention of a body of lunatics." But this MAY DAY movement in America represented such a threat to the bourgeoisie, that it murdered four of its leaders, anarchists who had participated in the organization of the demonstration at Haymarket Square in Chicago.

Since that time, the bourgeoisie, under the pressure of the workers' movement, has passed laws for the eight-hour day. It now pays lip-service to it. But every worker knows that this is a fraud, that the working class in the United States still hasn't won the right to work and live.

August Spies, who was among those condemned to death for his leadership of the MAY DAY struggles in the US, stated before he was hung: "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

This time has come. The great mass of American workers are losing their tolerance for the silence of their "leaders" on MAY DAY. As they come into open conflict with them, their memories of their martyrs give them new determination.

The struggle for the right to work, for the right to live; can today proceed only through the struggle for the sliding scale of wages and hours.

All the work to be done must be divided up among the available workers -- a sliding scale of hours.

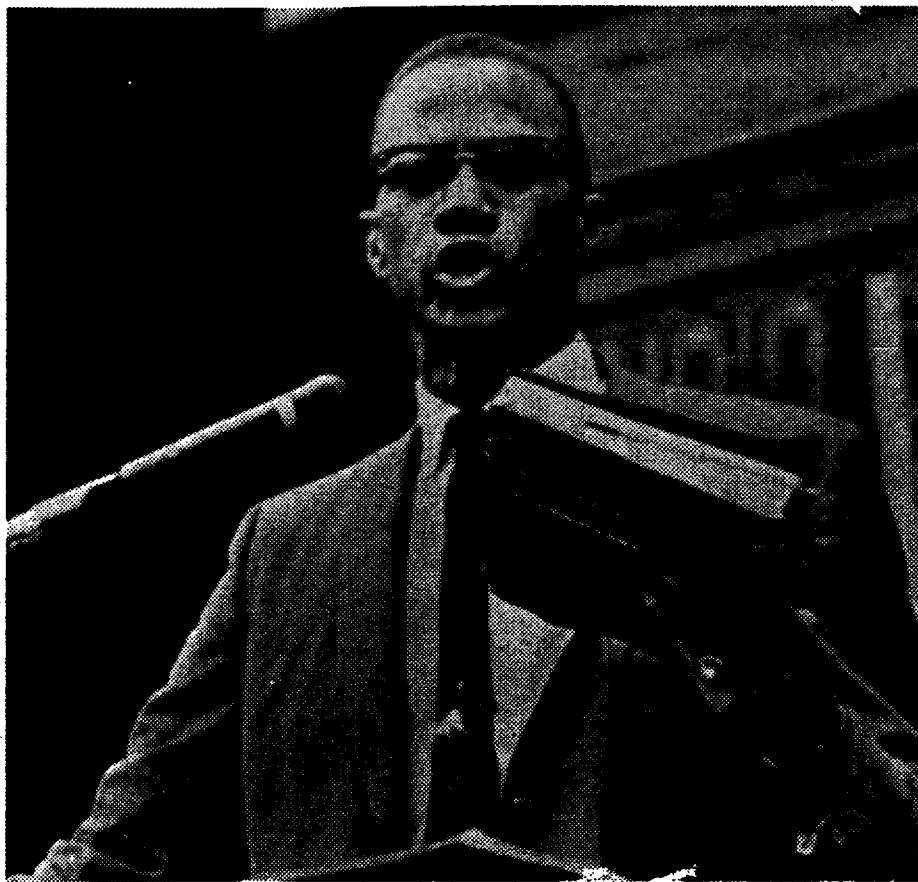
Wages must rise in accordance with the rise in prices -- a sliding scale of wages.

This is the only solution to unemployment and inflation. It is a simple question of survival for the workers.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on all the youth and the workers to join with it and the Organizing Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International/USA in its celebration of MAY DAY in Chicago; to take up the banner of the sliding scale of wages and hours.

"If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

John Brown: American Revolutionist



They try to make it look like John Brown was a nut, a fanatic. They depict him in this image because he was willing to shed blood to free the slaves. If we want some white allies, we need the kind that John Brown was, or we don't need you.

--Malcolm X, 1964

By FRED MICHAELS

May of this year is the 175th anniversary of the birth of John Brown. He is the towering figure of 19th century America because his revolutionary struggle for the complete abolition of slavery -- "the sum of all villainies" -- continues even today.

John Brown was not a lunatic or eccentric, as the history books in high school picture him. Rather he was a revolutionary; his struggle against slavery led him to understand its true nature -- "slavery is war." Pacifist abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison denounced his actions, claiming that the parasitic Southern plantation owners could be convinced to free the slaves! Two years after he was hung, the industrial bourgeoisie, after yielding to the slave-owners in "compromise" after "compromise," were forced to launch the Civil War against them. It was John Brown who had his hand on the pulse of the times -- not the bourgeois politician Lincoln or his shadow, Garrison.

But John Brown's goal was not that of the industrialists. He was devoted to the extermination of the oppression of the slaves. The industrialists, forced into battle against the slave-owners, wished only to stop them from roadblocking the expansion of industrial capital with their archaic slave labor system. The capitalists had to free the slaves in order to destroy the base of the slave-owners. In so doing, they released a tremendous force, which they were not able to contain until the end of the century. By then a system of peonage had been established making blacks into veritable serfs! John Brown's work remains incomplete to this day. His figure looms over the final American revolution -- the proletarian socialist revolution.

DEVOTION TO THE MOST OPPRESSED

From the first day he joined the movement, Brown's devotion to the oppressed was the only real devotion one can have -- to aid the oppressed in liberating THEMSELVES.

His devotion began early in life. As a young man staying at the home of an acquaintance he saw a slave his own age, continually beaten and mistreated. He understood only one thing -- this was wrong.

His barn became a station in the Underground Railroad. He once planned to found a school to "educate" slaves -- to aid them in furthering themselves. While he remained a religious man throughout his life, in the face of the onslaught against the Abolitionists, he abandoned his reliance on "god" and the "Christians of the free states" to help him in his attempts to free the slaves.

KANSAS

Brown had little patience with bourgeois politicians and parties. His decisive intervention in the civil war in Kansas in 1856 illuminates his hostility to bourgeois forms of "struggle," going beyond the limits they set -- a character trait of the American working class.

As the influence of the slave-owners grew, Brown became more and more certain that the politicians had sold out the struggle against slavery. Under the shadow of federal bayonets, 3000 border scum -- mercenaries hired by the slave-owners to terrorize the settlers in Kansas -- sacked and looted Lawrence while the residents stood by defenseless. Seeing it was necessary to turn the settlers against the "passive resistance" of their leaders, Brown planned a decisive action to arouse the settlers to battle. He chose 5 of the most disgusting hirelings; captured them; hacked them to death with broadswords. This action was NOT MEANT to stop the scum or to end slavery. Brown had no illusions in terrorism as a METHOD of political struggle. But, the settlers saw at once its significance. Somebody could fight against the menace that the slave-owners were. It inspired them to rekindle their struggle, this time AGAINST the wishes of the politicians -- beyond the limits imposed by the law. Kansas became a free state because of John Brown.

HARPER'S FERRY

From the liberal conception of founding the school to the revolutionary attempt to ARM THE SLAVES, the focus of Brown's work was always on common struggle with blacks. Only in this context can the raid on Harper's Ferry be understood.

"The Great Black Way" -- a belt of counties in which blacks were the majority, extending from northern Virginia through the deep South over to southern Missouri -- was the target of his plan. By conducting raids from the near-by mountains and swamps into these counties he would break off slaves bit by bit, the most courageous enlisting for further raids and the others sent via the Underground Railroad to Canada. Thus he would gradually free all the slaves.

The plan itself was solvent -- workable by the standards of existent military strategy. Garibaldi had fought basically the same type of war in Italy; Brown had hired one of Garibaldi's top lieutenants to work at planning the raid. And the raid, without the sabotage by one of its members, would have succeeded. As it was, seven slaves were freed and their masters held for ransom. Brown and his men -- 21 young fighters in all -- were trapped at Harper's Ferry and finally surrendered to Robert E. Lee, who headed the FEDERAL forces that stopped Brown.

Reaction to the raid drew the line on the slave question. The bourgeois politicians, like Lincoln, condemned the act. The major abolitionist leaders, like Garrison, also condemned it as "senseless violence."

But not so the blacks. Frederick Douglass, who opposed the plan and thought that slave-owners could be dealt with "peacefully," admitted the profound effect that the raid had on black people. Among freed blacks, groups were formed; resolutions passed. The black women of Brooklyn wrote to Brown in jail: "We truly appreciate your most noble and humane effort, and recognize in you a Savior commissioned to redeem us, the

American people, from the great National Sin of Slavery, and though you have apparently failed in the object of your desires, yet the influence that we believe it will eventually exert, will accomplish all your attentions." The Negroes of New Bedford, Massachusetts resolved: "That this meeting do fully endorse and heartily approve of the spirit manifested by Captain John Brown and his associates, but deeply regret that the plans so well laid did not succeed." And certainly the unheard voices of millions of slaves cried the same thing.

CP---SWP

Neither the CP or the SWP stand in the great tradition of American revolutionaries. On the one hand, the Communist Party, the main agent of imperialism inside the workers' movement, agrees with bourgeois opinion of John Brown. Using the phrases of the revolutionary movement, they call him an "ultra-leftist," and raise Frederick Douglass, the liberal, as their hero, creating out of thin air the "Douglass-Marx strategy for the Civil War." (?) In a parallel situation they called Malcolm X a POLICE AGENT and Martin Luther King "an unconscious Marxist."

On the other hand, both Malcolm X and John Brown appear in diluted form in the propaganda of the SWP as "revolutionaries." But because they consider Brown a "revolutionary terrorist," i.e. who "inspires the masses by exemplary actions," they suck the life out of his goal which was fundamentally NOT terrorist -- to arm all the slaves to fight for freedom. And, since the SWP considers him to be a petty-bourgeois terrorist they are, in fact, forced to agree with bourgeois and Stalinist opinion of him. George Novack, the SWP's own Will Durant, concludes: "Harper's Ferry was not wholly reactionary in its effects." Indeed! The blacks who wrote of Brown's



raid said NOTHING about "reactionary effects." Brown attempted to arm the slaves to fight for freedom, while today, the SWP wants federal troops to protect blacks in Boston!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

John Brown is THE figure of the 19th century, not Lincoln, Garrison, or Frederick Douglass. The first American Revolution, as the FIRST of the great bourgeois revolutions, opened the road to freedom for all the oppressed. But capitalism proved unable to keep its magnanimous promises. John Brown, as a true believer in the American revolution, fought to his death to extend that freedom promised to all and given to so few.

Brown's roots are sunk deep in the American tradition of struggle -- bold and uncompromising action in the face of resistance. His father fought in the revolution against England, and was an Abolitionist all his life as well. Yet his struggle placed him beyond the capitalist revolution. He was the first American hung for TREASON. His battles foreshadowed not only the Civil War but the final American revolution -- the proletarian socialist revolution.

To those for whom capitalism was only a change of name -- from chattel-slave to wage-slave -- Brown gave his life. The proletariat today, their descendants, will rally around his call:

Better that a whole generation of men, women, children be swept away than that this crime should exist one day longer.



WORKERS!
YOUTH!
CELEBRATE
MAY DAY

The Time Has Come
RALLY! DANCE!

THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL
SATURDAY, MAY 3, 8:00 pm -- ROBERTS MOTEL 301 E. 63 ST. ROOM 120