

TRUTH



WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!

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ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA

SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

BOURGEOIS REPRESSION CAN'T BE REFORMED!

Two weeks ago we were treated to the spectacle of 200 FBI agents demonstrating outside a federal courthouse in support of their "comrades"—former FBI head L. Patrick Gray, W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller, indicted by a grand jury for illegal break-ins and wiretapping.

The same week, Wallace LaPrade, former head of the New York section of the FBI, recently fired for his role in illegal break-ins, spilled the beans to the press, insisting that "the FBI is still conducting warrantless investigations under authorization from President Carter and Attorney General Bell."

Where else but in a "democracy" could the agents of the government's secret police be allowed to demonstrate in public? After all, as the FBI was so fond of telling anti-war demonstrators in the 60's—"You'd be shot if you tried this in Russia."

But don't believe that the same "democracy" that exists for the secret police exists for the working class and the youth in this country. Don't believe that this repressive apparatus can be reformed or "made accountable to the people."

It is just one more maneuver of imperialism that is designed to give the bourgeoisie more time to organize its counter-revolution, in the name of "human rights."

The indictments of Gray (famous for his role in dumping Watergate files into the Potomac River), along with the various "reform" bills now in Congress are attempts to give the hated secret police a "legal" cover in order to better hide its crimes from the working class.

Senate Bill 1566, recently passed, hailed as a "reform" of the FBI and CIA pretends to prohibit warrantless wiretapping in "domestic" cases. But this is only a maneuver.

A maneuver to ALLOW wiretapping, break-ins and spying in the name of "national security." Against "foreign intelligence." According to the NEW YORK

TIMES S. 1566 would allow wiretapping "only after a senior official, such as the Director of the CIA, had certified that the purpose of the surveillance was to seek important foreign intelligence."

Someone trustworthy. Like the Director of the CIA, which "destabilized" the Allende government in Chile. Plotted to assassinate Fidel Castro. Put bacteria into the New York sewers.

As we pointed out before, "foreign intelligence" and "foreign power" is defined to include any working class organization in the US. Above all the Fourth International.

None of these "controls" on the secret police apparatus compares with the LEGAL repression now being organized against the working class and its organizations. Like S. 1437 which makes wildcat strikes a felony, which makes membership in the Fourth International a felony. Which "reforms" the criminal code to prohibit probation.

All of this has a tremendous importance. It fits into the entire framework of US imperialism's preparation for war against the international working class and in the first place against its own working class.

Part of this is the maneuver to give the secret police a "democratic" cover.

But there can be no democracy in this country as long as there is ANY bourgeois secret police. Until the FBI and CIA is DESTROYED and its secret police punished for their crimes by the working class.

This government cannot be reformed and the continued existence of the FBI and CIA is a powerful proof of this fact.

The working class, its unions and its organizations must expose these maneuvers, must expose this phony democracy and "human rights." It must build a power-

ful campaign to smash these repressive laws, to abolish the FBI, CIA and the entire police apparatus.

In the front ranks of this fight must be the working class youth who must win the unions to the fight for the rights of the entire working class.

For Workers rights, for Workers Democracy. AGAINST BOURGEOIS REPRESSION.

For the right to live and organize.

Join the fight of the Fourth International in the US and the Revolutionary Youth International against bourgeois repression. Join the fight to build ACTION COMMITTEES to SMASH S. 1437 and all repressive legislation. ABOLISH THE FBI AND CIA! April 29, 1978



MURDER

Murder. There is no other way to describe the death of 51 workers in St. Marys, West Virginia who fell 168 feet after the scaffolding on a power company cooling tower they were working on collapsed.

They are calling it an "accident." But it was no accident. The deaths of thousands of workers before them has no excuse.

It was no accident but instead the result of a system, capitalism, which places the drive for profits above the interests of the rest of society and above the interests of the workers who produce all the wealth of this society with their sweat and blood, and their lives.

Like the ten miners who have already died in the mines since the contract was signed, "Greedy," "Selfish," "Crazy" were the comments on the front pages of all the bourgeois papers while the miners were on strike. But the deaths of these miners is

reported on in the back pages, if at all.

Or the three workers in Detroit who died last summer in the auto plants because they were forced to work in 120° heat. The Trenton Seven workers who led a wildcat strike against these conditions were sentenced to jail for "contempt of court."

But they insist on calling these deaths "accidents." At the same time that they report that the Pleasants Power Station had been inspected 13 times since 1973 and the inspections revealed "numerous violations, both serious and non-serious," and that the most recent inspection took place A YEAR AGO and that the operations of the present contractor, Research-Cottrell HAD NEVER BEEN INSPECTED.

Murder. For profit. No "accident." No "tragedy." But planned. Planned into this system to get the most sweat and blood out of the working class that they can get away with.

Not any longer. The miners were right in insisting on the right to strike over safety conditions. It must be taken up in EVERY union, in EVERY factory.

But the right to strike is not enough. The working class must insure control over its working conditions. It must take away the power of these murderers.

WORKERS CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION—based on factory committees must be established in every mine, factory, construction site.

100,000 miners have lost their lives since 1900. Almost equal to the number of lives lost in World War I. And this is just miners.

The real war is at home. The real enemy is at home. Avenge these deaths. Take the power away from these criminals! April 28, 1978

TRUTH

INSIDE - THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, JOURNAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FI INTERVIEW WITH POLISH MILITANT... AMERICAN TROTSKYISM... 8 PAGE SUPPLEMENT

A LESSON OF THE MINERS STRIKE-- CENTRISTS & BUREAUCRATS

By JON COHEN

The tremendous combativity of the miners, their defiance of the trade union bureaucracy, the capitalists, and the bourgeois state, along with the depth of support they received among the entire working class sent shock waves throughout this society as the miners strike signalled the approaching American revolution.

The miners strike may be over, but the shock waves are still in motion and all of the major social forces in this country continue to be active and continue to draw their own conclusions from the strike.

The miners strike and the inability of the Carter regime to deal with it successfully played no small role in the deepening crisis of the Carter regime. His popularity has sunk to an all-time low. Sections of the bourgeoisie are becoming openly critical of his leadership. His administration is passing from one crisis to another.

How to control the mobilization of the working class has become the central preoccupation of the Carter administration, a preoccupation accelerated by the miners strike. It is not accidental that after the miners strike Carter announced his "war on inflation" with an open rallying call to the bourgeoisie to demand "sacrifices" from the working class.

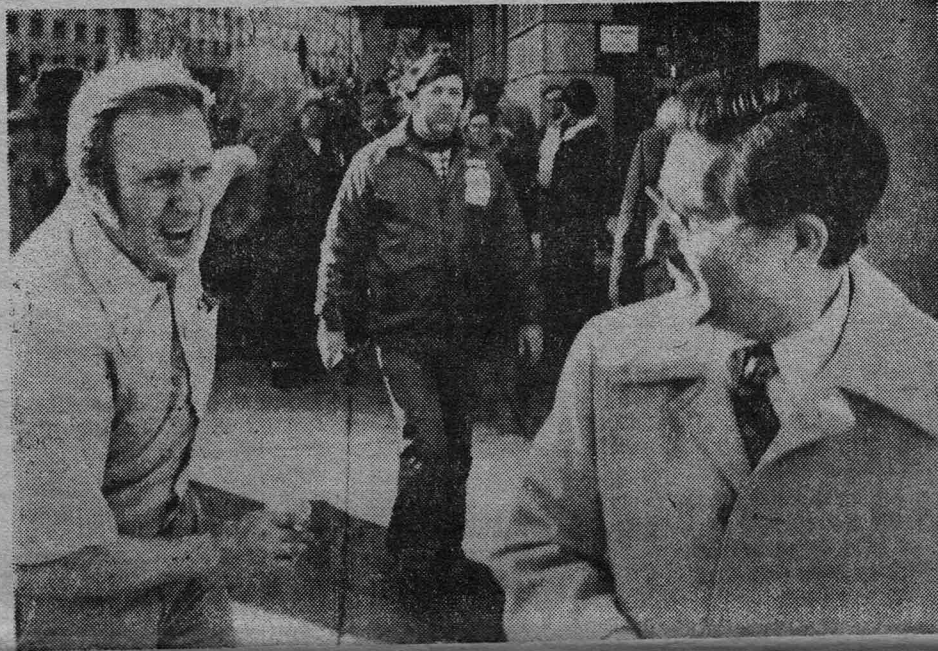
The bourgeoisie has already set its sights on the 1979 contract round, which although over a year away, will produce a major crisis for the bourgeoisie and the Carter government. In 1979, the major unions -- the UAW, Teamsters, Rubber Workers, Telephone, among others, will re-negotiate their contracts which will represent a major crisis for both the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy.

They have begun today by trying to keep the federal workers, the Postal workers, the Transit and municipal employees in New York from continuing the struggle taken up by the miners.

The Carter government is continuing the same strikebreaking it practiced during the miners strike, the same attempt to crush the struggle of the working class for their rights in this country.

Other strikebreakers are now at work also. The allies of the bourgeoisie inside the workers movement -- the trade union bureaucracy and its principal supporter, the American Communist Party.

Just as they worked overtime during the miners strike to prevent the miners from drawing the revolutionary conclusions of their struggle and to prevent the rest of the working class from organizing real solidarity for the miners, so they are working overtime today to prevent the working class from



MINER DENOUNCES UNION BUREAUCRAT DURING STRIKE.
At bottom and right: Miners destroy bureaucrats' contract.

continuing its offensive.

They have good reason to be working overtime. For the trade union bureaucrats, for the left-wing of the Democratic Party and for their allies, the Stalinists of the Communist Party, the miners strike signalled the beginning of the end.

If the miners can chase Arnold Miller into a hospital in Miami Beach, the auto workers, the Teamsters and the steelworkers can chase away the Frasers, Fitzsimmons, and McBrides. If the miners can stand up to Jimmy Carter, the entire working class can stand up to the ENTIRE Democratic Party and refuse to have anything more to do with it. And without the Democratic Party, there is no place for Stalinism in this country.

This explains the "mobilizations" feverishly organized by the bureaucracy, the left Democratic Party and the Stalinists in the last few weeks since the conclusion of the miners strike. A march for jobs in Washington, D. C., channeling the burning desire of the youth in this country for jobs into the left wing of the Democratic Party -- for the passage of the futile Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, amending the Full Employment Act of 1946(!) and other futile, liberal schemes.

This also explains the All Union Conference For A Shorter Work Week recently organized in

Detroit by the same bureaucrats, liberal Democrats and Stalinists. A Conference WHICH EXCLUDED unemployed youth, was only open to BUREAUCRATS and whose conclusion was to petition Congress for a shorter work week through a campaign for 250,000 signatures.

All of this is designed to rapidly cover-up for the strikebreaking role these misleaders have played in the struggles of the working class, to prevent the workers from settling its accounts with these bureaucrats and traitors. And all designed to keep the mobilizations of the working class and the offensive unleashed by the miners in the framework of the Democratic Party and liberal reform.

All of this is an attack on the consciousness of the American working class and its youth. The truth is always revolutionary. And all the misleaders are determined to prevent the working class from drawing the true lessons about the miners strike and from understanding the truth about the offensive of the working class.

The TRUTH is that nothing will come from these bureaucrats. The TRUTH is that these bureaucrats must be chased out of the unions, that a new, revolutionary leadership for the trade unions must be won. The TRUTH is that NOTHING will come out of the Democratic Party and the Carter government. It was the Democratic Party and

the Carter government that sent the National Guard into the mines, that declared Taft-Hartley, that has passed S. 1437 and the Labor Reform Act which outlaws wildcat strikes.

The TRUTH is that no amount of pressure on Congress or the Democratic Party will win what the workers need in this country. The TRUTH is that only the INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION of the workers -- strike committees, factory committees, defense guards can lead the struggles of the working class.

The TRUTH is that it is a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, not the Democratic Party, not an "anti-monopoly people's party," not a "labor party" of bureaucrats, but a party that will fight for Workers rights, for Workers Democracy and for a Workers Government that the American working class needs today.

By the way, we have not forgotten the centrists. As more and more workers begin to draw the truth about their struggles, that is, begin to understand the revolutionary conclusions of their aspirations and struggles, more and more dangerous becomes the role of the pseudo-revolutionaries, those who claim to be revolutionary, but in practice cover-up for the trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the left Democratic Party.

We call these pseudo-revolutionaries CENTRIST. Centrists

because they stand in the "center", in between the policy of revolution and the policy of reform and because they serve as a trap for young, militant workers who are breaking with the bureaucracy, with the Democratic Party, with Stalinism and who are seeking the road to revolution.

These pseudo-revolutionaries, or centrists, are like flypaper, whose sole purpose for existence is to introduce confusion into the workers movement, to stand in the shadow of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" and to try to identify revolution with opportunism in the minds of young workers. The worse ones are the centrists who steal our banner, the banner of the Fourth International, to use it as flypaper. This is the case with the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) enthusiastically and uncritically joined with the Stalinists, bureaucrats and Democrats in the Washington march for jobs and at the Shorter Work Week Conference. Not a word of criticism in their press. During the miners strike their policy was INDISTINGUISHABLE from that of the Stalinists or the bureaucrats.

Now, in order to confuse young workers and their own militants they have engaged in their own cover-up. Their own feverish attempt to prevent the miners and young workers from drawing a real balance sheet of the miners strike. A real balance sheet which would only prove that they were on the side of the bureaucrats throughout the strike.



HAND IN HAND

This cover-up is entitled: "Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People" by Nancy Anole and Andy Rose which appears in the April 28, 1978 issue of the MILITANT. A cover-up in the best traditions of all those who fear to tell the truth to the working class.

As with most cover-ups it is most striking in what it doesn't say, rather than what it does say. Most importantly, it provides NO EXPLANATION for their policy and activity during the miners strike.

Today, they easily criticize the miners contract and the Miller leadership of the UMW. What they would like workers and their own militants to very quickly forget is that THEY NEVER, during the entire miners strike, CALLED FOR THE REJECTION OF THE CONTRACT. That they never, during the entire miners strike, called for ousting the Miller leadership.

Instead they defended the Miller bureaucracy throughout the strike and gave into the hysteria of the bosses over the "layoffs" that the miners strike was supposedly going to produce.

Thus, the February 17th issue of THE MILITANT had the headline:

Step up solidarity with the coal miners! Strike not settled until ranks vote." The first paragraph read: "The coal miners strike is not over. It will not be over until the ranks of the UMW have had a chance to read, discuss and vote on the contract offer. UNTIL THAT TIME (our emphasis) the need for solidarity with the miners is greater than ever."

In fact, the miners never did vote on this contract. The UMW Bargaining Council, which was even apparently to the left of the SWP, REJECTED it, and the promise of the centrists to "defend" the miners at least until they had their "democratic right" to vote on it fortunately had nothing to do with what was on the minds of the miners.

Today they criticize the national leadership of the UMW. But during the strike, when the miners were looking for alternatives, in THE MILITANT of February 24th, they called for "strengthening the bargaining team". Hand in hand with the bureaucrats which strangled the miners!

And once again on March 10th, as the miners were voting on the contract offer the MILITANT's headline read: "Coal miners debate contract." Once again, no call to reject, no call to continue the struggle. No leadership, no independent policy for the miners. Back-handed support to the bureaucrats.

How can an organization which never called for the rejection of the contract, which never proposed any kind of independent action for the miners, now claim to be able to draw the lessons of this strike for the miners and "all" working people? How? By having no honesty, that's how.

Oh, I forgot. The SWP does claim to have organized "independent actions" in support of the miners. The article states that: "Together with student members of the Young Socialist Alliance, they helped initiate broad labor-sponsored meetings and rallies in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Toledo, Morgantown, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Indianapolis and other cities."



rallies THEY helped organize, denouncing groups which wanted to collect money independently from the bureaucrats as "sectarian."

There are many more things covered-up in this article. Like the one sentence reference to Harry Patrick who graced the pages of THE MILITANT for several issues last fall, was a chief proponent of their "labor party," and who now is working for Jimmy Carter's ACTION CORPS. What happened to Patrick? Or what happened to Ed Sadlowski? Don't the workers deserve an explanation since "The Miners for Democracy" and "Steelworkers Fight Back" are presented in this article as models for the workers to follow?

No explanation, because no honest explanation can be given except to say that these organizations were and are TRAPS for the young workers, to maintain the control of the bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

Finally, the cover-up presents no alternative for the miners to follow in continuing their struggle independently of the bureaucrats and the Democratic Party. Sure, there is propaganda about a "labor party" and even about a "workers government" (arising from where no one knows) but no independent proposals on how to advance.

Not even simple proposals. Concrete ones. Like the call for new elections in the UMW and in other unions. Like the insistence that the miners should not disband their picket squads and other forms of independent organizations. Like a call to mobilize the working class to finally defeat Taft-Hartley, the S.1437 Bill, the "Labor Reform Act" etc.

Nothing. Propaganda on the one hand for a "labor party." A cover-up of their real role on the other and a daily practice consisting of marching hand in hand with the CP, the bureaucrats and the left wing Democratic Party against the mobilizations of the working class.

Carter and the bourgeoisie hasn't changed one bit since the miners strike. Neither has the Democratic Party, the Stalinists or ANY of the present trade union bureaucrats. They are just a little bit more scared, a little bit more desperate.

And neither has the character of the centrist leadership of the SWP changed one little bit, despite their "turn" towards the working class, despite their latest cover-up.

But a change has taken place among the American working class youth who are becoming more and more conscious of this type of deception. Among working class militants of the SWP/YSA who are drawing the lesson about the character of their leadership along with the lessons of the miners strike.

Who see centrism as an obstacle to taking the struggle of the American working class forward. April 29, 1978

ASYLUM FOR MARROQUIN FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA

By ANN NELSON

A resolution from the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Young Workers in support of Hector Marroquin was read at a meeting organized for his defense in Detroit on April 19th.

The resolution supported Marroquin's request for asylum in the United States, demanded that charges against him in Mexico be dropped and called for the revolutionary unity of the proletariat of the United States and Mexico.

Hector Marroquin a young revolutionary from Mexico, and now a member of the Socialist Workers Party, has been accused falsely by the Mexican government of being a terrorist and a murderer. The charges include incidents which supposedly took place when Hector Marroquin was either 3,000 miles away or in a hospital with a broken leg.

The Mexican government, like the European and US capitalist governments, is trying to hide its own brutality and terrorism. It uses the excuse of "terrorism" to hound, repress and murder the best of the working class youth and the leaders who threaten it.

This is why the US working class must defend Hector Marroquin. Only the working class can wage a fight against the terror of the bourgeoisie. It's the working class which suffers the true terror through unemployment, deaths and huge workload in the factories, inflation and police brutality. In defending a militant of the working class, the working class as a whole can win a victory.

The most important victory would be in striking a blow at the bourgeois campaign against "terrorists," and uncovering it for what it is, an excuse to justify further bourgeois repression.

SANTIAGO ALEGRIA

Santiago Alegria, is a twenty-one year old soldier, who in civilian life was a member of the PORE (Spanish Section of the Fourth International), also accused of "terrorism" falsely.

The Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Young Workers have been building the international campaign to free him, and founded in February, the Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria.

Santiago Alegria has been in a military prison since the end of December 1977. Originally accused of stealing three truck loads of arms, the police and government have dropped this, but continue to hold him for "illegal association." It is clear that the charge of "terrorism" is only a cover to repress a militant of a revolutionary organization and Section of the Fourth International.

Today, Santiago Alegria continues to be held and tortured. The Spanish government has "found" the "stolen" arms. One Spanish newspaper reported that a shepherd found them. And another newspaper reported that the police found them 300 kilometers away! The "robbery" served its purpose, to jail a militant of the working class by calling him a "terrorist."

The Police have also been playing with the trust of Santiago's family by giving them false reports that the charges have been dropped or that he had been freed. (See THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL #60-51).

To date, the international campaign to free Soldier Santiago Alegria has progressed, but not rapidly enough. But in Spain, a commission of inquiry to find out who DID steal the arms has been formed and has received the support of both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Catalonia.

In the US, miners, chemical workers, autoworkers, and a university workers union in Detroit have given statements demanding the freedom of Santiago Alegria and that the PORE in Spain be legalized.

We call on all workers, organizations and unions to support the fight to free Santiago Alegria and to join the Committee. To do this we have the same thing to say as we said earlier about Hector Marroquin. This is a frame-up to cover for bourgeois terror. And even more, in Spain, the fascists attack, arrest and repress the PORE in particular because it is the Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

NO FAITH IN LIBERALS

At the meeting that the Trotskyist Organization attended of the Hector Marroquin Defense Committee, a message from Democratic Party Congressman from Detroit, John Conyers, said that "Carter only talks about human rights in Eastern Europe and the USSR but will overlook them in Latin America," etc.

This creates a false illusion. The illusion is two-fold. First, Carter is not one bit interested in human rights anywhere. He sees the discussion of human rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe as the ideological way to prepare a capitalist takeover of those countries, when what these countries need is a workers takeover, and workers democracy.

Second and more important, Conyers and others are trying to create the illusion that the Democratic Party or the liberal wing of the government can win victories for the workers.

The role of these "liberals" is to pacify the workers in order to prevent them from breaking from the government and its political representatives and parties.

In the fight to win asylum for Hector Marroquin and to free Soldier Santiago Alegria, workers and youth must be organized in their organizations and unions, and they must be won by turning the accusation around: "It's the government which terrorizes!" In this way, the freedom of the fighting leaders of the working class will be a victory for all the workers.

ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN! DROP THE CHARGES IN MEXICO! FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA! FORCE THE UNIONS TO DEFEND THE YOUTH!

YOUTH ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE CAM



By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Yes, the campaign of the international bourgeoisie against "terrorism" has really gotten under way. Already this hysterical pogrom of Carter and his European counterparts has served as the pretext for the wholesale slaughter of hundreds of Palestinian refugees.

In Europe, especially in Spain and Italy the holy crusade has justified mass expulsions of revolutionary youth from the unions, and opponents of the "democracy" of mass unemployment and repression.

In the United States, despite the fact that terrorists are sorely lacking, Carter's administration has announced plans to develop an elite special force for dealing with "terrorism."

But it is becoming clearer every day that this crusade against "terror" is only a pretext for strengthening the stranglehold of imperialism and streamlining the repressive apparatuses of the European and American governments. The countless "anti-crime" campaigns always base themselves on police repression of black and poor communities. And this campaign against "terror" is aimed squarely at the youth and oppressed of the world.

The Revolutionary Youth International is leading a struggle in Europe and the United States to regroup the youth and the workers against this despicable crusade of imperialism.

The victims of terror are not the poor billionaires and heads of state. For though the RYI opposes terrorism as a political policy, as Lenin and Trotsky did, we still shed no tears for the likes of Moro, the Italian premier, responsible as he was for countless crimes against the workers of Italy. The real victims are the innocent and helpless of the Palestinian camps. The real victims are those who want to see the end of the barbarism and decay of the capitalist system.

Santiago Alegria, our comrade in Spain is a victim, charged with the high crime of organizing for a "planned socialist economy." Hector Marroquin in the US, a militant of the Socialist Workers Party, who faces torture and prison if returned to his native Mexico is a victim.

And who are the REAL terrorists? Small groups on the fringe of the workers movement who are limited to occasional acts of despair? Or the governments of the exploiters of humanity with their fragmentation bombs, refined methods of

torture, and slave labor in the factories?

A new form of terror, in reality a return to slavery, is being introduced into the auto factories. Under the threat of being fired the auto bosses are forcing newly-hired workers to sign away all their rights in waivers which reduce the workers to probationary employees for one year. In these waivers, workers are forced to sign away their rights to a grievance procedure, they cannot be late or miss any work for one full year, they cannot refuse any overtime, etc.

These waivers represent a fundamental attack on workers rights and on their unions. The UAW bureaucracy has agreed to these waivers just as they agree to every attack on young workers. The youth are after all, expendable, and will work cheap.

The Revolutionary Young Workers has begun to build an offensive against these slave labor pacts in auto. Local elections are being held in May-June in many UAW locals. **YOUNG WORKERS-- WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS** is the slogan under which we are fighting. Due to the UAW by-laws under which workers must have at least one year of seniority in order to run for union office, many young workers will be unable to run for office.

Nevertheless all the youth in the factories should use these elections to expose the opportunists and bureaucrats in the unions and as a means to defeat the terror of the auto barons with their slave labor waivers and unbearable working conditions. For these waivers are the factory edition of the attack on fundamental rights which is being led and prepared by the Carter government.

Carter's use of Taft-Hartley during the miners strike is the most glaring example. But lesser known to the American public is the action behind closed doors. In January, the Senate passed the infamous S-1437 Bill, a slightly doctored version of a similar bill which Nixon tried unsuccessfully to pass. Recently, after all the exposés on government spying, Carter's Attorney General, Griffin Bell admitted that the FBI and CIA still use illegal burglaries in order to terrorize opponents of the government.

The facts show that the real terrorists are the greedy minority of financiers and capitalists who rule the world. The reign of terror and repression will never

Thousands demonstrate in Washington FINISH WITH UNEMPLOYMENT MAKE THE UNIONS DEFEND TH

By FRED VITALE

On April 8th thousands of young people, mostly black, demonstrated in Washington against unemployment. The youth expressed their anger at the government. They realized that it is the government which is responsible for unemployment.

On April 12th mostly local union presidents met from around the country in the All Union Conference for the Shorter Work Week. They decided to collect 250,000 signatures to petition Congress to pass a law to reduce the work week.

What's the link between these two movements?

The youth were marching to win a future for themselves. They chanted "we want a J-O-B so we can E-A-T!" How can all the millions of young blacks, all youth win jobs?

That brings us to the All Unions Committee for the Shorter Work Week. As we explained in the last issue of TRUTH, this Committee was organized to prevent the struggle of the workers and youth for a shorter work week from going outside "acceptable channels." But, **IT'S THROUGH A STRUGGLE IN THE UNIONS, A STRUGGLE TO WIN THEM BACK, THAT THE YOUNG WORKERS WILL HAVE A WEAPON TO WIN JOBS FOR ALL.**

This is the reason why the government, and its lackeys in the unions, the trade union "leaders", didn't want the youth at their Conference. This is the reason they both discourage young workers from participating in the union at all. How much discussion would they have listened to about whether it should be 32 hours or 35 hours instead of 40 a week? Whether it should be won "legislatively," or in an "industry by industry fight?"

WHAT POLICY FOR THE YOUTH?

The main organizers of the demonstration in Washington was the Communist Party/USA and its various affiliated groups. A demonstration on April 15th against

be ended until this system is destroyed and a government of the majority of exploited and oppressed is built-- a Workers Government.

The message of the Revolutionary Youth International to the youth of the world is to build this new future by constructing the party to lead this fight, the Fourth International. The Third Congress of the RYI being held on May 27th in Paris, France represents an important stage in building this party.

All the other claimants to the leadership of the working class and the youth have caved in to the campaign of the international bourgeoisie against "terrorism." Most notably, the Stalinist ap-

paratus which has its own repressive apparatus of terror in the countries of the socialist conquest as in the Soviet Union. And in Italy, the Stalinists are the only force still holding up the right-wing government of the Christian Democracy. It is the same throughout Europe and America, the Stalinist "Communist" Parties of the world have joined hands with the bourgeoisie against "terror," meaning against the vanguard of the workers and the youth.

The centrist parties, the SWP in the US, play an important part in the bourgeoisie's campaign by upholding the legitimacy of the trade union bureaucracy as an alternative for the youth. A



the Bakke decision, a similar demonstration concerned with jobs for blacks, was organized by the NAACP with the participation of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And, the trade union bureaucracy, especially of the UAW, organized the Shorter Work Week Conference, with the complete support of these two parties.

Doug Fraser, head of the UAW, speaking at the Conference said that he didn't think Congress, even though it's filled with the "friends of labor," would pass any laws for the shorter work week. He pointed out, with a certain amount of truth, that Congress won't even pass the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill which only says that full employment is a national goal! Yet this old cynic says the alternative is winning more "advances" like the present UAW contract. Only 300,000 workers still laid off during the last four years!

The Communist Party/USA, supporter of the Kremlin regime, says that it is through "independent political action" like the demonstration, that the youth can bring pressure to bear on Carter and get him to sign Humphrey -

Hawkins Bill. And, that the youth should keep demonstrating, writing their Congressmen until he does sign it. They unconditionally support the Shorter Work Week Committee.

They support the Democratic Party's proposals, those that the youth have already demonstrated against, and use the name of Communism to further confuse the workers. This cannot be the policy for the youth.

The Socialist Workers Party was the main force behind the anti-Bakke demonstration. They have supported many of the proposals of the bureaucrats and the Democratic Party such as an amendment to the Wages and Hours Act (since proposed by Democrat John Conyers) the "industry by industry fight" etc.

Right now, however, the main thing they want to say about unemployment is that the workers need a "labor party." Quoting their leaflet for the Shorter Work Week Conference in THE MILITANT of April 28th, a "labor party would not talk about jobs only when elections roll around. It would campaign for a shorter work week all year long through

PAIGN AGAINST TERROR

allow lie to the young workers in the auto, and steel factories, and the mines who know better. It is the youth who are leading the battles of the working class. Young miners and autoworkers. These are the vanguard fighters of the working class who express the real aspirations of the exploited and oppressed. Young workers, the Revolutionary Youth International calls you to take up the battle against repression with us. Fight to overthrow the party to lead this struggle to victory, the Fourth International. Win back your unions, your rights, and your future by fighting for a new world, for the socialist revolution.

or jobs...

E YOUTH



... large political actions."

There is no difference between the SWP's "labor party" and the "independent political action" of the Communist Party. They say that the labor party would not "talk" about jobs "only when elections roll along." No. It will "talk" about them all year long! They say it will "campaign" with "large political actions." They supported the Communist Party's demonstration with no criticism at all of its "independent political action" policy.

What's worst about the SWP is that it carries out this policy of betrayal in the name of the Fourth International, our party.

Both these parties, want to make the workers and youth into a "loyal opposition" to the Carter government. This is very dangerous.

The Carter regime is moving quickly to organize even greater repression and attacks against the working class especially the youth. Already the laws are being changed to accommodate this attack -- S.1437, modernization of the FBI and CIA, etc. The battle against this government can-



"THE AMERICAN ARMY A SHOCKING STATE OF READINESS"

On April 20th ABC-TV presented a special news program entitled; "The American Army: A Shocking State of Readiness." The program focused on the state of the US Army in Western Europe and its message was clear: in the face of what they call "the ominous Communist build-up in Europe" the US Army and its soldiers are unprepared to insure the defense of the "free world."

Even though the program concluded by propagandizing for the increased preparations of US imperialism for the counterrevolution against the working class in Europe, ABC-TV revealed some important problems that confront imperialism in realizing this task.

The bourgeoisie is becoming more and more unhappy with the all-volunteer army established in 1973. Designed to replace draft

and the political problems associated with it, above all the rebellion of the draftees in Vietnam, the volunteer army was supposed to rebuild an army shattered and demoralized by the Vietnam War.

It was supposed to be reliable, "professional" and free from "political" problems.

But the program revealed the volunteer army to be anything but "reliable" or "professional." The statistics showed that the present army is overwhelmingly composed of poor, working class and minority youth who joined the army not because they want to be a "professional" soldier or because of any great love for American "democracy", but because THEY NEED A JOB and there are no other jobs available.

And now the US bourgeoisie has become concerned that the

army has become TOO BLACK. Too sensitive to the racist, oppressive nature of US imperialism and too unwilling to fight or die for a government that cannot provide equality or jobs.

ABC-TV revealed a survey made of the 200,000 US troops stationed in Western Europe. 55% of the soldiers said that they had no trust or confidence in the ability of those around them to confront a battlefield situation.

Over 30% said that they WOULD REFUSE TO FIGHT in an overseas war if there was popular opposition at home.

The young generation of the working class has not forgotten Vietnam!

They went on to paint a picture of a demoralized and unprepared army in Western Europe, supposedly helpless in the face of the Soviet Army across the border--

called by ABC: "the best army in the world."

Although the US army is certainly facing a crisis, don't be fooled by this propaganda about it being "helpless" and "unprepared." Behind the cover of "human rights," the SALT talks, Helsinki and Belgrade, US imperialism is engaged in the most massive build-up of its military in its history. All the "arguments," such as that about the neutron bomb, are only about how to do this.

The threats of an "ominous communist build-up," with pictures of Soviet tanks sweeping through Europe in 48 hours is only propaganda, designed to cover up the preparations of US imperialism and its allies for war against the working class in East and Western Europe.

The 200,000 troops, tanks, planes, bombs are being aimed in the first place at the workers and youth in both Eastern and Western Europe who are moving closer and closer everyday to overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie in Europe.

Even ABC-TV hinted at this when they said that the "threat" in Europe was not simply Soviet tanks, but the "communist revolution" which "threatens Western Europe as well."

But US imperialism faces an obstacle in these counterrevolutionary preparations-- the US working class, at home and in the army around the world. A working class which has to fight the National Guard at home to win its strikes just might not point their guns in the "right" direction when they get to Europe.

The working class and its youth must respond to this situation in the army and the preparations for war in Europe. For the immediate withdrawal of all US troops and bases from abroad-- US troops out of West Germany and Spain in particular!

Abolish the volunteer army! Military training for youth under the control of the trade unions. For the right to organize in the military. Democratic elections of officers.

Only the working class can stop the preparations of the US bourgeoisie for war. Solidarity between the working class and soldiers will guarantee that one day soon the US will be in a real state of "readiness"-- ready to defend and organize the workers revolution.

J. C.
April 27, 1978

not be won by protesting to its generals about the slaughter conducted by their troops. It's necessary to organize our own generals and army.

The Trotskyist Organization fights for a completely different policy. We support demonstrations for jobs, any move which betters the conditions of the workers and youth. But we say that the workers need their own Democracy in this country, to overthrow the Carter "democracy," and establish their own Workers Government.

The unions are decisive to this fight. The unions are the only mass organizations in this country built by the workers. The miner's strike showed how important they were.

To end unemployment the Fourth International fights 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. For public works programs under the direction of the workers and youth themselves. For all wages to rise with prices starting with a strictly guaranteed minimum.

No other policy, no other program is acceptable for the conditions of constantly rising inflation and millions of permanently unemployed.

If you want to end unemployment, if you want the best guarantee for your future, join this struggle.

April 25, 1978

Revolutionary Youth International Manifesto.

\$1.00. Write: RYI/PO BOX 07066/DETROIT, MI 48207

WHAT DOES THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL WANT?

MANIFESTO OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RYI



FROM THE WHITE PAPER

PROCLAMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

PART II CONTINUED FROM TRUTH 70

The class independence of the proletariat on the plane of organization is summarized in the centralized character of the combat of its Marxist vanguard, expressed in the democratic centralism of the Fourth International. The International Committee (IC) was never able to realize this.

But as in the class struggle, those who do not advance, retreat, this distortion between theory and practice developed and reinforced a national narrowness in the principal organizations of the IC. Since 1968 the development, acceleration and exacerbation of the class struggle on the international level, the growing crisis of the workers movement and the mobilization of the youth which is at the same time its expression and consequence, placed before the IC the essential task of taking a decisive step forward on the path of the rebuilding of the Fourth International so that the new possibilities could raise it to a higher stage.

But this same process aggravated the weaknesses of the IC by reinforcing the national isolation of the principal organizations which were unable to resist this tendency. The Socialist Labor League of Great Britain and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste of France successively abandoned the IC. The former by hesitating in face of the strategy of an active and centralized intervention in the crisis of the international workers movement necessitating the deployment of the Fourth International, the IC, in this movement and in the movement of the youth, forced a split. We denounce this unprincipled retreat of the SLL which on the international level is expressed by a narrow regroupment of the former "domain" ruled by the SLL. Shaken and terrified by this split, the French OCI, previously the pillar of the International Committee, retreated and abandoned the IC. It proclaimed its "decomposition" and replaced it by a so-called Organizing Committee with several organizations, including certain organizations who had a position against the Transitional Program.

The SLL was led to proclaim that the Fourth International did not have to be rebuilt, which is an unprincipled capitulation to Pabloism; as for the OCI, it claimed the impossibility of an international center under the pretext that the crisis of the Fourth International was too deep. In both cases, it concerned organizations, who, while leading the combat against the Pabloites for the theoretical and political independence of the proletariat only insufficiently surmounted-- as proven by the latest experiences -- Pabloism which they were also profoundly effected by. The abandonment of the IC takes on all of its meaning precisely in this period of the class struggle which is expressed in relationship to the tasks that the IC had to accomplish and which the SLL and the OCI in the end refused

to assume.

Today, at the moment when more than ever the aggravation of the joint crisis of imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy has set free gigantic forces that are ready to evolve towards the Fourth International, on the condition that we intervene on the basis of principles, the blow is delivered against the only international organism which allowed for the preservation of the continuity of Bolshevism.

Already the qualification of the International Committee by the OCI as being ambiguous gives justification to the SWP and engages the OCI in an opportunist policy towards the SWP and the USec, in reality returning to the parity IC of before 1962.

The replacement of the IC by the Organizing Committee is an abandonment which in place of going beyond the principle weakness of the IC in a positive way, institutionalizes it and brings its consequences to a fitting conclusion. This organism not only is not a center and does not wish to be -- but each of the organizations which belong to it "applies its own policy." This character itself deprives it of any possibility of assuming the continuity of the Fourth International since it is enough to "claim" the Transitional Program in order to be part of it. This Committee regroups some organizations which recognize a faction of the bourgeoisie as "progressive," thus openly revising the theory of the permanent revolution and another group affirms that there exists a "developed Israeli nation."

This unprincipled regroupment of organizations "having their own policies" is already in itself an attempt to dislocate the world unity of the proletariat at the moment when imperialism in its convulsive agony is trying to give it mortal blows with the aid of the bureaucracy in full crisis, at the moment when they are trying to restructure and centralize on a world scale their counter-revolutionary alliance. At the very moment, finally, when the centrist and nationalist currents are running to the aid of imperialism and the bureaucracy in its death agony.

The Organizational Committee is a "national" conception and practice of the International where organizations are complacently added who lead different policies, even opposed policies, in their own countries. Proof that the neither the SWP nor the SLL nor the OCI were able to openly get rid of this plague for the workers movement which is the desperate search for national "solutions." What was before only a weakness, a problem to resolve, has today become a policy, a principle. The Organizing Committee is an opportunist retreat in relation to the history of the Fourth International. It places in question the irrevocable character of its proclamation. It is an unprincipled retreat in face of the task which the International Committee had to realize; to continue its combat by basing itself

on its results, to forcefully fight to assume the independence of the proletariat on the terrain of organization as well.

But the constitution of the Organizing Committee is precisely the refusal to take up this task and it is for this reason that it can only monstrously express this fault which the IC could not overcome. By spitting on the gains of the IC, by denying its fundamental character as an international center, despite its inability to translate this on the plane of organization, one inevitably falls to its weaknesses.

It is precisely the negation and the refusal of a center which constitutes the "cement" of the Organizing Committee, thus consciously rejecting the continuity of the Fourth International. Such a policy and practice leads one logically to consider a single organization, by itself, as an international center. In fact, the leadership of the OCI considers itself as such a center. It provoked and engaged in an unprincipled struggle against the organizations which opposed the abandonment of the IC. Successively, the organizations which have signed this document have been violently attacked and their destruction was undertaken by attempts to construct parallel organizations to those which existed in the countries concerned. The OCI took as its own "the right to prohibit access to the Organizing Committee" (to founding members of this Committee!) because they were constituted in the Trotskyist Group of Morocco despite the fierce opposition of the leadership of the OCI.

At the same time this "opening" which constitutes the Organizing Committee is evidently directed towards the so-called Hansen faction of the United Secretariat, towards the SWP in general, "theorized" by "a commonality of views" as to the "ambiguous" character of the IC. The hidden role of international center played by the leadership of the OCI has already permitted it to translate this "opening" into practice by launching its unprincipled appeal towards organizations who "claim" Trotskyism. This heterogeneous and decentralized character of the Organizing Committee has made it possible for the leadership of the OCI to close its eyes on the attack in MASAS by the Bolivian POR against the theory of the permanent revolution as well as the slide of the OCI into opportunism, into vulgar Social Democratic electoralism during the March elections in France.

Here we can measure all the consequences of the abandonment of the IC as a refusal to assume the task of finishing its work, of maintaining and defending the Fourth International as expression of the independence of the proletariat theoretically, politically and also organizationally. The IC undertook the combat to realize this task. But since its principal organizations were unable to lead this combat to the finish by realizing democratic

centralism as the expression of the political independence of the international proletariat, in the presence of the impulsive development of the class struggle, they fell back into the rut of Pabloism.

III.

In the face of all attempts to cover up a destructive activity, its gains and its militant forces with the banner of the Fourth International, we proclaim once more that the continuity of Bolshevism, of Trotskyism, must be assumed in favor of the construction of the indispensable revolutionary instrument: the world party of the proletariat. In the face of all the various forms of subordination of the proletariat to the class enemy, the Fourth International affirms itself in this new phase of its crisis. The Fourth International therefore exists. However, it must be rebuilt, namely, it must resolve its crisis. For the crisis which is developing in the USec and in the organizations which are affiliated to it, as well as that in the principle organizations which formed the International Committee cannot be resolved and surmounted by themselves. It is impossible to resolve this or that crisis of the entire movement which claims to represent the Fourth International without grasping the entirety of its development, without situating and characterizing its different manifestations, from 1952/53 until today, as an organic whole.

On one side this problem is that of the entire international workers movement, of all the sincere militants, whether or not they consider themselves Trotskyists. If they are seeking the road to the revolution by breaking away from Stalinism, reformism and centrism -- as they are in fact doing -- they must recognize that it is impossible to invent the Marxist vanguard of the world revolution and that only the Fourth International represents the organic continuity of Bolshevism, itself the expression of all the previous revolutionary experiences of the working class. All of this demands that we Trotskyists bring, and not only in words, to the entire workers movement and the youth, the Fourth International, and not its negation or a bastard.

This is the fundamental meaning of the constitution of the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE -- REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

It is the result and the organic continuation of the fight of the International Committee. Its forces have fought from the beginning against the unprincipled and too easy abandonment of the IC by constituting a faction inside the illegitimate Organizing Committee, trying to convince the majority of its member organizations. But all principled combat became impossible from the moment when all the groups and organizations of the Organizing Committee, and the latter in its entirety rapidly took up its trajec-

tory of liquidation, approved and covered for the aggression of the OCI against the Trotskyist Group of Morocco, its attempts to fabricate parallel organizations in Spain and Eastern Europe, its slanders and denigrations of a barely-hidden police character.

We warn these organizations: if their leaders, through shameful calculation or through lack of firmness have aligned themselves without hesitation and without discussion with this policy (there was not even an abstention during the vote to keep out the Trotskyist Group of Morocco), they will never construct a party of the Bolshevik type, they will never lead the proletariat to victory. Any kind of calculated maneuver has its limits in principles. Those who try to play with this or those who have no opinion will be carried away by the first wave.

In particular we warn the militants of the OCI because this organization through its history and its forces has a particular responsibility towards the Fourth International. Where is the policy of Lambert? Just leading the work of rebuilding the Fourth International? Today they are found on the one hand with organizations who have a position contrary to the Program of the Fourth International and on the other hand with organizations who conduct themselves as puppets without any independent opinion. This is why any discussion about the International is prohibited inside the OCI, trampling on its own Statutes. This is why its last Congress was led without any discussion to give a blank check to the leadership in its international policy.

The organization which we have founded flows in an organic manner from the combat led by the International Committee. At the same time, the accentuated demands of the class struggle, posing in all its sharpness the necessity of the Fourth International which is its fundamental stake, constitutes the demonstration of the fact that the time of the International Committee has definitively passed. It is necessary to go beyond its gains, but by integrating them, resolutely surmount its weaknesses. For years it fought Pabloism, it was the framework of the struggle and the development of the Fourth International crisis and its sections but it was not able to lead its combat to the end by transforming itself into a real centralized organization.

For the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE -- REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is constituted to win the power of the international working class by building its world party, it is nothing other than a means to continue the combat of the Fourth International by at the same time opening up a new stage in its rebuilding.

We are faced with a certainty: the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL EXISTS! IT IS NECESSARY TO REBUILD IT!

REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The essence of the Fourth International is that it is a center. That of the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat in order to conquer and assure its revolutionary leadership against the treacherous leadership of the bourgeoisie. To bring down imperialism and the bureaucracy. The International Committee maintained this continuity in its theoretical and political struggle against Pabloism, but the weight of its history neutralized the efforts to assume it organizationally. Death took hold of the living. Not inevitably but because in the face of certain defeat, the past heritage became just a "theory."

It is not by chance that the battle between our forces and the leadership of the OCI was engaged and crystallized above all around two questions: must the independence of the proletariat constitute the basis for any regroupment, yes or no? Is the Fourth International and therefore its continuity a center, yes or no?

The rotten "theory" of the negation of the center is an attempt to consciously dislocate the unity of theory and practice. It has brought forth such idealist anti-Marxist formulations such as "The Fourth International only existed through its Program," revealing here a spontaneist conception. This is the center of the differences that we oppose to the leadership of the OCI as to the conclusions of the balance sheet of the International Committee.

The maintenance and the continuity of the Fourth International demands that precisely at the present stage of the class struggle we finish the work of the IC by realizing the class independence of the proletariat on the organizational plane as well. How otherwise to advance in the struggle, among others, for the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International? It is evident that the Organizational Committee, not being a center, has quickly abandoned this combat. It is therefore necessary to overcome the dangerous gap between theory and practice by constituting a centralized international organization, functioning according to the Program, therefore on the basis of democratic centralism.

It is in this way and only in this way that the Fourth International can exist and will really exist. Any other attitude inevitably tends to place into question its proclamation. However, the Fourth International must be rebuilt. The theoretization of the question of the character as a center of the continuity of the Fourth International tries to present the process of the rebuilding as being identical with that of the establishment of democratic centralism. This gradualist "theory" does not tell us when its protagonists estimate that the moment has come to establish it, nor how they hope to arrive at it without centralization.

THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE --REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL affirms that the Fourth International exists, that

it cannot live and develop without democratic centralism based on its principles, but that it still has to be rebuilt.

Today the Pabloite United Secretariat, including in the crisis which is dislocating it, continues to usurp the title of the Fourth International, acting as an agency for Stalinism and setting up a barrier between the working class, the youth, their militants and the Fourth International. On the other hand, the majority of the organizations who belonged to the IC or were in solidarity with it have been led to new liquidationist attempts of the same type as the USec, whether they be in the wake of the split of the SLL, whether in the framework of the Organizing Committee, following the OCI.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International is identified with the process of destruction of the Pabloite USec, of the Pabloite organizations for the construction of Trotskyist parties and the reinforcement of our League, it is the process of the correction of Trotskyist organizations such as the SWP, the SLL and the OCI and the liquidation of their "international" regroupments.

Only international democratic centralism, continuing and developing the character as center very essence of the Fourth International can permit it to surmount its crisis and in the same

process to regroup the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. This is the content of this new stage of the fighting history of the Fourth International opened up by the constitution of our INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International is evidently the work of the entire world proletariat and its youth. It can only be done through the active intervention of the Trotskyists in the class struggle, in the crisis of the workers movement. For this reason, the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International takes as its own the strategy outlined by the International Committee. It is convinced that the solution to the crisis of the Fourth International as seen in its entirety depends on the capacity of the International to lead the best militant workers and youth in its construction. For this reason it estimates that it is necessary to open up to these militants as well the struggle for the Fourth International through the Fourth Open Conference and its preparation. It is in this framework and in this perspective that all militants, all groups and organizations fighting actively and sincerely for the Fourth International and its principles can also find the solution.

It is from this fundamental point of view that we criticize the policy of the SLL of Great Britain which already organized its "Fourth Conference" in 1972 with the participation of only those organizations already declared members of the IC. It therefore detached the construction of the Fourth International from the entire world crisis of the workers movement and consequently, also from that which ravages the United Secretariat and its organizations. It has thus renounced the struggle for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

But it is evident and of primary importance, that such an opening is only possible on the firm basis of the Program and organization of the Fourth International. For it is it and it alone which can offer this perspective to the entire workers movement. On the contrary, in the unprincipled framework of the Organizing Committee far from opening up the road to all those in the class struggle are seeking the International, the destruction of all that constitutes the theoretical, political and organizational gains of the International Committee is being undertaken.

It is on the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International which the responsibility for opening up the concrete per-

spective for the solution of the crisis of the workers movement in its entirety, of providing a positive solution; entirely rests. For it precisely maintains the indispensable border between the Fourth International and its continuity and all those, as sincere as they may be, who only "claim" the Fourth International, or more generally, the proletariat. And it is still our International League who by opening up this perspective struggles actively for the preparation of the Fourth Conference by intervening in the crisis of the workers movement. We also say to all the militants who have taken up the struggle to rid the Fourth International of Pabloism and its supporters that in order to finish, they must inevitably take a position in the combat which the IC opposed to the USec and which today, in the face of and against all attempts at liquidation, has led to the constitution of the International League.

On the contrary, by continuing its opportunist policy of throwing the IC overboard, the leadership of the OCI now addresses "all organizations who claim to represent the Fourth International," in particular the SWP -- without whispering a single word about irreconcilable differences, without mentioning the meaning of the last twenty years. Through this alone the OCI blocks the development of the crisis towards a positive solution based on principles, by sending militants into the grip of Joseph Hansen. This is the very nature of the Organizing Committee, without form and uniting some organizations "which claim Trotskyism" which make it impossible to have any other kind of policy.

It is on the basis of this present proclamation that we concretely open up as a process of clarification and struggle, the preparation of the International Fourth Conference. We open this perspective and combat up to the entire workers movement, to militants convinced of the necessity of forging the revolutionary International and its parties, instrument of the victory of the proletariat. We offer this perspective in particular to all those who are in struggle for the Fourth International against Mandel and Co., so that they can continue their combat through the clarification of the meaning of the crisis of the Fourth International towards its solution by joining the combat of the International League. We open up the perspective of the International Fourth Conference to the organizations, in particular the SLL, to the OCI and their militants, who today, whether they are a caricature of the IC, or of the Organizing Committee which have turned their backs to the Fourth International, to its rebuilding.

The Fourth International exists. Forward to its rebuilding by preparing the International Fourth Conference with the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE -- REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! Join its combat! May 1973

A WARNING

For the last several months we have been publishing excerpts from the WHITE PAPER OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY against the slanders of the French OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

According to the leadership of the OCI, Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (secretary of the Petofi Circle), a founder of the Hungarian Section of the Fourth International, for many years a leader of the OCI as well, and today a member of the Fourth International, was "an agent of the KGB and the CIA."

The WHITE PAPER proves that not only are these accusations totally false but that they were SLANDERS, SLANDERS that were STALINIST in both method and origin.

The Commission proved that these slanders by the leadership of the OCI and the acts of violence that went along with them were the same slanders as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and its leadership and had the same purpose: to crush political opposition to its treacherous policy.

We have also shown how these slanders have been taken up by the pseudo-revolutionary groups which falsely claim the banner of the Fourth International. Their unanimous refusal to condemn these slanders only proves their distance from Trotskyism.

Particular mention must be made in this regard to the Amer-

ican Spartacist League. Totally insignificant and irrelevant to the class struggle in the US or around the world, this organization's sole claim to fame internationally has been the service they have rendered to the French OCI, and through this to the Kremlin bureaucracy, by giving a new life to these slanders. The discredited leadership of the OCI passed the baton to them.

They call Michel Varga a "highly dubious figure." A slander, but in a more cynical form, since one can at least respond to "agent of the CIA," but "highly dubious" is open to whatever interpretation one desires. Slanders for cowards.

It has been reported to us that a militant of the Spartacist League recently encountered a member of the Revolutionary Young Workers at Ford River Rouge where they both work. The militant of the RYW was selling copies of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD and distributing copies of the RYW's Platform for the unions.

The first and ONLY response of the Spartacist was: "Don't you know that this is VARGA's group?"

Our militant responded that he was a member of the RYI, engaged in building the Fourth International and asked the Spartacist if he would like to discuss politics.

The Spartacist kept responding: "But don't you KNOW about Varga?"

Like all Stalinist slanderers, even of the cheap variety, the leadership of the Spartacist League

believes that it is enough to "cast doubt" on the Fourth International and that this will automatically prevent workers from joining our fight.

We believe that the militant of the Spartacist League was honestly surprised that this young worker didn't faint at the mention of the magic word, VARGA. A little bit of "magic" that may work inside the Spartacist League, but not in the real world.

We warn the Spartacist League: any attempt to spread these slanders in the factories in the US will fail as miserably as all the previous maneuvers and treachery against the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization.

The last time the Spartacists attended a public meeting of the RYI, a young worker, not a member of the RYI, responded to their slanders by saying: "Stop the bullshit. Why don't you all tell it like it is?"

In response to this public defeat they have taken to whispering in private.

In private or in public, slander has no place in the workers movement and will only result in the further isolation of this organization.

Now is as good a time as any for the honest militants in the Spartacist League to break with this policy. The pages of TRUTH are open to any militant ready to do so.

April 28, 1978

MAY DAY 1978

By MAGARET GUTTSHALL

What's May Day?
This year hundreds more young workers will ask that question. They deserve the truth.

THE ORIGINS OF MAY DAY

Over a hundred years ago the First International met in Geneva, Switzerland. Workers' representatives from Europe and America, fresh from the class struggles in their own countries, resolved to wage an INTERNATIONAL campaign to impose the eight-hour day.

American workers, newly industrialized, new to wage slavery, and led by militants who had been part of the First International, were among the first to take up this struggle.

Thanks to their efforts, the movement grew to massive proportions and won concessions in many industries. So workers' organizations, centered in Chicago, planned a general strike for the eight-hour day. The date: May 1, 1886.

The bourgeoisie was also organizing its forces. It launched a slander campaign, called the workers' leaders "anarchist/terrorists, and "spies." It built private armies in the industrial cities.

On May 3rd, police fired on a strikers' rally at the Harvester plant in Chicago. On May 4th, a police provocateur exploded a bomb at a rally organized in Haymarket Square to avenge the murder of the men the previous day. The police fired again, moved in,

attacked the workers, and arrested their leaders. They jailed and prepared to execute them.

Workers across the world rallied to the cause. In 26 countries workers went on strike to demand the release of the Haymarket leaders. While the bourgeoisie went ahead with the execution, it wasn't able to crush the movement. 275,000 workers gathered at their funeral. They sang "the Marseillaise," the battle hymn of the first workers' government, the Paris Commune, which had been organized in 1871 in Paris, France.

The Workers' International, because of the revolutionary and international nature of this struggle, saw it as a turning point. At its World Congress in 1889 it decided to deepen its struggle for worldwide workers' unity and the eight-hour day. It proclaimed May 1st, in honor of the Haymarket martyrs, the fighting American workers, and all who had come to their side, an international day of struggle for this cause.

THE MEANING OF MAY DAY

Three principles stand out in this struggle: 1) The incompatibility of the interests of the working class and the interests of the bourgeoisie and the necessity for the workers to organize a dictatorship over it; 2) The identity of the interests of workers of all countries; 3) The necessity of the world party.

Thus May Day is a day of affirmation, dedication, and struggle for these principles which guide

the working class and its party EVERY day.

The bourgeoisie and the opportunists have tried to obliterate these principles from the mind of the proletariat. They deny their daily, practical validity, while making references to them on the holiday. Lately, they've even begun to deny their validity on May Day. They've falsified the origins of May Day, tried to reduce it to simply a celebration of the struggle for the eight-hour day, tried to hide its international character and the decisive role of the world party.

Yet they haven't succeeded because the entirety of the history of the working class since that time has affirmed the fundamental truth of these principles.

Because the Russian working class led by the Bolshevik Party overthrew the Czar, organized a workers' government, and fought to unite the masses of Europe and America for this cause, they were actually able to bring about the eight-hour day and put an end to the imperialist's First World War.

Because the Fourth International remained true to these principles it was able to prevent the destruction of all the workers' conquests after the opportunists, led by Stalin betrayed the revolution. The opportunists accepted the imperialists' limitation of the revolution to Russia, let Hitler come to power, and threw hundreds of thousands of workers to the slaughter in the Second World War.

And the Fourth International has been the only party which provided leadership to the



PORTUGAL, 1974

masses of youth and workers who have risen up in the West and the East since 1968 against capitalism and Stalinism, fought to build the party to lead the class

to power. The continuity from May Day 1886 to 1978 lies in this struggle of the world proletariat and its party for unity and power.

AMERICA TODAY

While the official leaders of the workers' movement in America will do nothing to celebrate May Day and the Stalinists and centrists will either falsify its meaning or speak of it as an exotic holiday, the American working class does have something to celebrate.

Once again with the miners' strike it has shown its tremendous determination and combativity. The masses of workers are beginning to realize that their demands cannot be won without an all-out confrontation with Carter, that they can and must take over their unions.

So terrified is the bourgeoisie that it has turned to silencing, by whatever means necessary, the most conscious elements of the working class. They are trying to make their repression "legal" through laws like the S.1437 Bill now in the House of Representatives. It's clear the masses of workers want their rights, want cooperation with workers and oppressed peoples across the world and a leadership and a party to realize that.

The Trotskyist Organization thinks this is something to celebrate.

Young workers, Revolutionary militants, May Day principles have to be EVERYDAY principles. Let's return to this tradition, push aside the false leaders, build the Revolutionary Youth International and rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International. Let's make the ideals of the 1st May Day a reality. April 26, 1978

JUST OUT! - THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Inside this issue of TRUTH our readers will find the April issue of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the English edition of the journal of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International. It is also published in French and Spanish.

We think that its regular appearance, after many difficulties, is an important advance for our readers in the United States. We will be publishing THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL as an eight-page supplement to TRUTH until September. This explains the price increase for the issues of

TRUTH which contain THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL from 25¢ to 35¢. In September, after our readers have become more familiar with THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, it will be sold separately.

This issue contains many articles that should be of interest to our readers. An article on France, which while written before the recent elections, will give workers in the US an important insight into the perspective of the Fourth International in France in particular, the fight of our French Section, the Ligue Ouvriere Revolution-

naire.

Also of special interest is an interview obtained by our Polish Section with a Trotskyist militant in Poland, who was a Trotskyist from the very first days of the fight against Stalinism and who spent many years in Stalinist prison camps for his belief. His expression of support for the perspective for the political revolution in Poland offered by WALKA KLAS, the journal of our Polish Section demonstrates the possibilities that are now opened up for the Fourth International in the face of the developing workers mobilization

in Eastern Europe.

This militant represents a different kind of "dissident" in Eastern Europe whose story you will find in the bourgeois papers in this country.

Finally, there is the first part of a two-part series of articles on the continuity of the Fourth International in the United States. In this year of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International and the 50th anniversary of its American Section it is important that workers and youth in the US understand the real history and meaning of American

Trotskyism -- against those who falsify our history such as the present-day leadership of the centrist Socialist Workers Party.

Both the Editorial Board of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and the Editorial Board of TRUTH are very much interested in your comments about THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -- problems, questions or disagreements you may have.

This space in TRUTH is open to your comments -- You have the floor. April 28, 1978