

TRUTH

A REVOLUTIONARY TROTSKYIST NEWSPAPER

REBUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

No. 7

March 15, 1975

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FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

VIVE LES ETATS UNIS SOCIALISTES D'EUROPE
ES LEBEN DIE SOZIALISTISCHEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN EUROPAS
LONG LIVE THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE
VIVA LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS SOCIALISTAS DE EUROPA
ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИЕ СОЕДИНЕННЫЕ ШТАТЫ ЕВРОПЫ



BY JON MYERS

The capitalist attack against the youth is directed first and foremost against the youth of the United States.

It is in the youth of the United States that the capitalist system expresses itself in its most visible form. It is here that it reveals its true nature -- that it can offer no future whatsoever for humanity. Because it is their only alternative and because it represents the future, it will be the working-class youth who will be the first to join and build our movement. The youth of the world are in the forefront of the struggles going on today all over the world and will be in the forefront of the struggles in the United States as well.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment situation among the youth is the proof in statistics that the attack of the capitalist class is directed first against the youth. Out of the 7.1 million teenagers counted in the civilian labor force, 20.8% are unemployed. These figures don't tell half the truth about the situation but even the figures are astounding. They are the highest unemployment figures since the Depression. The official unemployment rate for black and Latin youth in the US between the ages of sixteen and nineteen was 41.1% in January. For veterans between the ages of twenty and twenty-four the unemployment rate is 19.7%. The youth who are employed are forced to accept part-time jobs or wages that are below even the minimum wage levels. Through the unemployment of youth the capitalists are attempting to break up, demoralize and even destroy the most rebellious and militant section of the population. They are preparing now for the future class battles and are turning first to destroy those who will be in the front ranks of these battles. This goes hand in hand with their attempts to weaken and isolate the trade union movement. As with the entire working class, the working-class youth must take up the fight for: **JOBS FOR ALL! 30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY! FREE TECHNICAL TRAINING UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS!**

EDUCATION

As part of the decay of capitalism, the most menacing attack of the capitalist class is directed against the public school systems today -- nothing more than temporary prisons for the youth. The illiteracy rate, already high, is growing in the United States, the wealthiest nation in the world. The dropout rate continues to soar and the federal, state and local governments continue to cut funding for the public school system at the same time that the military budget is the largest ever. The capitalists prefer destruction. They can no longer tolerate an educated or skilled working class and are now seeking to destroy all the educational and cultural gains that the American working class has fought for throughout its existence. The fight to DEFEND THE EDUCATION AND THE CULTURE of the working-class youth in the United States is a question of its very survival.

REPRESSION

In the streets of American cities the working-class youth receive their real training in the bourgeoisie's "civics." They are trained in learning what bourgeois democracy means under a President and Vice-President that were never elected to their offices. The scandals of Watergate, the CIA and FBI are complemented with brutal repression of working-class youth in their day to day lives. The campaigns against "crime," and for "law and order," by the bourgeois politicians, the police and the courts are directed in the first place against working-class youth and, primarily, black and Latin youth. They are the majority in the prisons of the US and are among those shot down daily by the police. The capitalists provide no jobs, no education and no future and then seek to physically wipe out the youth. They are the real criminals in this society. Only a government run by the working class can insure the protection of the rights of the youth.

For those youth who are not in prison, or hunted down, the capitalists offer them the army -- to fight the bloody wars of the imperialist system.

The youth want and need a movement that is not just a trade union movement to be used by the working class, not for imperialist destruction.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

The capitalists turn most violently against the working-class youth because they know that the youth are the greatest danger to their continued existence. At the time when all the capitalist classes of the world are busily preparing the next imperialist war of destruction, they understand that the youth are the major obstacle to these schemes. The youth have always been the first to oppose wars and are the first to understand that the needs of the youth know no national boundaries.

Because the youth are the first to rebel, on a worldwide scale, they have the most need for a world party to organize and lead their rebellion. Just as, for the capitalists, the youth are the most important section of the class to smash, along with their attack on the trade unions; so for the Fourth International, the vanguard of the working class, the youth are the most important section to win and are the key to the rebuilding of the Fourth International that is today being led by the International League. This is the purpose of the struggle to found the Revolutionary Youth International in Berlin this summer and to mobilize the youth of the East and the West under the slogans:

**DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL!
FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!**
The fight for the Revolutionary Youth International means that the youth of the world will no longer tolerate the domination of the capitalist class and their Stalinist agents and that the youth are building the party to defeat them -- the **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.**

The youth of the world need the aid of the working-class youth of the United States.

The youth of the world need the aid of the working-class youth of the United States. Organizing and building the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States. The fight against unemployment, educational decay, repression of the state, for the world revolution must begin here as well as around the world. The first meeting of the Committee for the RYI will be held on April 5th to plan the Founding Convention in July of the RYI in the United States. At the meeting we will discuss plans for linking the struggles of the working-class youth to the fight of the working-class movement and campaigns to protect the interests of the working-class youth. A program of action will be developed that will organize the youth in the United States -- **AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT, AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE, ITS POLICE AND ITS COURTS -- FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES, FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL, FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!**

The youth of this country, because they are the best, most dedicated fighters, will be the key to building the Fourth International in this country. The struggle to win the working-class youth in the US will enable us to found the revolutionary party this August. The question of winning the working-class youth is the question of the revolutionary party in this country; it is the question of the Fourth International.

--YOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES--
THE FUTURE IS IN YOUR HANDS!
FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!
FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE US!
ATTEND THE APRIL 5TH ORGANIZING MEETING IN CHICAGO!

Two Letters to the WORKERS LEAGUE

March 15, 1975

Helen Halyard
National Secretary
Young Socialists

Dear Comrade Halyard,

At the North Central Regional Conference of the Young Socialists which took place in Chicago on March 1st, two comrades of the Trotskyist Organization of the US were refused permission to participate in the conference, after considerable hesitation on the part of your organization. You at that time stated that it was not your decision, but one up to the national leadership of the Workers League and that you were not familiar with either our organization or the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International.

What concerns us is not the right of your organization to decide who should attend its meetings; that is your decision to make. What concerns us is that this policy towards us represents a refusal to confront political questions that are vital to the future of both the Workers League and Young Socialists, as well as the international working-class movement.

The fact that you are not familiar with our political positions is the fault of your organization, not ours. Above is a letter written to the Central Committee of the Workers League, stating our position and proposing an open discussion of our differences. There is, as well, correspondence between the International League and the WRP that took place well over a year ago. It can be found in Issue #1 of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, our journal. But your ignorance of this correspondence is not surprising. Leading members of the Central Committee of the WRP, as well as the national leadership of the WL knew nothing of this correspondence either. For us this is one more sign of the organizational and political decay of

the WRP, no longer able to function as an international center.

We will state here our proposal that we were not permitted to make at the Young Socialists' meeting. We propose that the Young Socialists join us in the fight to found the Revolutionary Youth International this summer in Berlin under the slogans: Down with Imperialism and the Stalinist Bureaucracy! Down with the Berlin Wall! For the Socialist United States of Europe! For the World Soviet Republic! For the World Revolution! For the Rebuilding of the Fourth International!

The fight for the Revolutionary Youth International is of special importance to the Young Socialists. Your organization, along with the

British Young Socialists, played an important role in organizing the meeting at Scarborough, England, in 1971, which called for the founding of the revolutionary youth international and prepared the meeting at Essen, in 1971, that organized thousands of youth under the banner of the Fourth International and its slogans.

The struggle you abandoned at Essen must be continued today. The revolution is beginning in Europe and the youth of the world, whose struggles know no national boundaries, vitally need the aid of the working-class youth of the United States. The positions that you raised at Essen concerning dialectical materialism and the struggle of youth cannot be real issues unless they are fought for in the current struggles of the youth. We think that these "issues" fundamentally represent a fear to confront and to win the youth of the world to the banner of the Fourth International. Prove that we are wrong by joining our struggle to build the Berlin meeting this summer and by fighting for your policies within the real movement of the working-class youth.

Through this fight we are willing to discuss with you practical proposals for mobilizing the working-class youth in the United States for the Revolutionary Youth International, which necessitates concrete campaigns to mobilize the youth around the specific conditions of unemployment, educational decay, police repression, etc., that they face in this country. This will include our practical proposals for linking the struggles of working-class youth to the struggles of the trade union movement, which cannot be separated from each other, which TUALP, the industrial section of the Workers League, must take up at its April National Conference.

We await your response to our proposals.

Trotskyist Organization
of the United States

January 28, 1975
Chicago, Illinois

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
WORKERS LEAGUE

Dear Comrades,

At the last meeting of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Chicago, Comrade Will Roehmer asked me, a member of TRUTH, to prove myself to your organization by making a pledge to your fund drive.

"I'm not interested in TRUTH, just in you. You can't stand outside the IC..."

with 'nit-picking' criticisms." This is what he said to me. And: "We are not moving an inch. We are not coming over to you (TRUTH). We are not changing our positions. You have to come to us."

So, we have decided to "come to you" in order to make known to you our views.

When we were in the RSL we were accused of being "soft" on the WRP and the WL, of being "entrists" for the "IC." And there was more truth to these accusations than we realized at the time. For, despite our incorrect views on the continuity of the Fourth International, and even on the Russian Question, we always defended, as best we could, the tradition and cadres of the Fourth International and the IC's struggle to maintain these against its Shachtmanite detractors in the RSL. We always insisted that the IC could not be equated with the Pabloites; that we stood with the IC against the Pabloites. More than we did, the defeatist leadership realized how alien this position was to the RSL.

Since our expulsion from the RSL we have been forced to examine, far more closely than in the past, all those questions which concern the history of the Fourth International and the struggle to maintain and advance it today. What was only a SYMPATHY for the struggle of the IC has become the deepest CONVICTION in the absolute and fundamental correctness of that struggle against Pabloism and for the continuity of the Fourth International.

Thus we stand fully on the ground of the IC. But there is no reason for you to take our word for this. We think that it will be proven fully in the course of the struggle ahead.

We believe that it is the International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International (Ligue Internationale de Reconstruction de la Quatrieme Internationale) which is continuing the essential work of the IC, and not the WRP and the WL -- even though they call themselves the IC.

The struggle of the IC...

is demonstrated by the turning points in the struggle of the IC: in 1953 against Pablo; in 1963 in the acquisition of the East Europeans and in the struggle against the SWP leadership; in 1966 in London against the SL and LO and in Liege against the Pabloites and Stalinists.

But it was precisely the struggle for the IC as an international center, as the WORLD party of the socialist revolution, which the WRP and the WL abandoned in 1971, when they left the ranks of the IC to the opportunist leadership of the OCI.

It appears to us that you didn't wage much more of a struggle for the ranks of the IC in 1971 than your comrade waged for me last week when, after asking me for a pledge, he just said: "The decision is up to you -- we're not moving an inch."

We consider the question of the International to be of the deepest importance for the workers' movement. We must assimilate the lessons of the struggle which took place in the organizations of the IC, despite and against the will of many of the participants, between 1971 and 1973.

From our point of view, this discussion, which involved all the most basic questions of the Fourth International, dialectical materialism and ALL its manifestations, was not closed when the SLL declared the IC "split" or when the OCI declared it "dead." It was just beginning then and continues today.

We do not have the same attitude toward the policy of the WRP and the WL as toward that of the OCI. While the OCI actively sabotaged the execution of the tasks of the IC -- attempting the dissolution of the IC itself into the OCRFI -- the WRP and the WL simply passively retreated before them.

We know that the WRP has refused to participate in the preparation of the Open 4th Conference, that it has refused to participate with the International League in a campaign against the strikebreaking activities of the Polish Stalinist bureaucrats. We have been dismayed by both of these things because they are further evidence of nationalist passivity in the face of the pressing tasks of our epoch. But this does not lead us to abandon the conviction that the militants of the WRP and the WL can return these organizations to their rightful places in their respective movements as the staunchest defenders of the Fourth International and the struggle of the International Committee.

Thus, we propose a public discussion between our tendencies on the essential questions of the struggle for the Fourth International.

We believe that such a discussion, well-organized and conducted in a comradely fashion, can provide an example for the American movement

of lies, distortions and personal slander.

We believe that through such a discussion the fight against the petty-bourgeois nationalism of our opponents, for the Leninist world party of socialist revolution can be significantly advanced.

We are enclosing an announcement of our first public forum. We hope that you will attend. We look forward to an early reply and your practical proposal for our meeting.

Communist greetings,

Jon Myers, Central
Executive Committee

cc: G. Healy
General Secretary
WRP

Declaration of the International Secretariat of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International

SLANDERS AND THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY--ONE MORE OCCASION FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE OF THE US TO ATTACK THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(In response to SPARTACIST; French edition, #8, February 1975)

From the beginning of the attacks by the leadership of the OCI against our comrade, Michel Varga, we characterized this method of proceeding as a service to imperialism and the bureaucracy and a conscious and deliberate attempt to destroy the organized continuity of the Fourth International. In this way, the campaign of slanders, the attempts to destroy the Trotskyist organizations of Eastern Europe, permitted the leadership of the OCI to win all sorts of allies against the 4th International -- the latest being the Spartacist League (SL) of the US, which follows the capitulation of the leadership of the OCI, its anti-working class methods of the Stalinist variety, in order to attempt to break the continuity of the 4th International after the crisis of 1953, the International Committee (IC), the organizations which were a part of it, the French OCI and the SLL of Great Britain and, naturally, the LIRQI, the inheritor of all the acquisitions of the IC, which

it surpasses politically and organizationally in its daily activity in preparation for the 4th International Open Conference, to rebuild the 4th International.

For, in fact, it is necessary for the SL to hide behind accusations and provocative denunciations in order to justify its own political history since 1963, situated totally outside of the Fourth International and directed against it. Puffing itself up while giving advice, correcting wrongs and thirsting for "truth," the SL uses the same methods as the leadership of the OCI, only surpassing the OCI in their ridiculousness, and hoping through that -- reaching the height of stupidity -- to gain for itself some reputation in the "Trotskyist Movement," which is how it characterizes all the organizations and cliques who abusively claim the 4th International.

Let us be clear about this: the International League had made contact

with the leadership of the SL with only one goal in mind -- to estimate to what extent the SL has changed and in what sense, since its contact with the IC in 1966 which the IC had judged as being negative. Experience has shown that the SL has not moved an inch closer to the 4th International, but rather, it has moved itself irremediably further from it, and actively participates in confusion that the enemies of Trotskyism cultivate.

The fundamental reason for the anti-Trotskyist position of the SL, truly a gathering which nourishes itself from the crumbs fallen from the table of the Fourth International, is without any doubt the public meeting held in Chicago by the TRUTH organization, which had declared its support for the International League, a meeting in which several militants of the SL, sent by their leadership in order to hysterically attack the International League, participated. Let us bet that their nationalist feelings, hid-

den by pseudo-internationalist positions, could not support the beginning of the rebuilding of the 4th International in the USA!

The International League is characterized by the SL as having been formed "around organizational positions from the right," with an "attempt to appropriate for itself criticisms of the OCI from the left." (?) At the same time it accuses the International League of not having broken with "the impotence of revolution and counter-revolution, the Strategic United Front, the continuity of the 4th International, the Revolutionary Youth International." As a conscious strategy of confusion in the absence of a clear policy, the SL forgets to mention the fact that the LIRQI has always spoken of the tactic of the United Front, and all the rest is actually the political acquisitions of the IC on which we base ourselves, which could not be better stated.

Then it objects to documents "not

published" by the International League. Which ones? The SL cites the "text of Varga of June 20, 1973" (first of all it is a document of the LRS and of the Organizational Committee of the East, and second it is June 20, 1972), "the proposed statutes for the Organizational Committee of Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe, intervention of Varga in the Second Conference of the IC in 1964, correspondence between Varga-Broue, 1965-66." This quote confirms what we have been saying, that it is the entire politics of the LIRQI that the SL wishes to try in court, contrary to its allegations, and that it hides behind accusations, using the same methods and having the same goals. The "Proposed Statutes" was internal, and was never public. The declaration of M. Varga in 1964 and his correspondence with Broue are (and don't you know this, SL?) in the archives stolen by the OCI leadership. Address yourselves to it! But without much hope, because this correspondence is much more damaging to it!

Finally, the SL, which has always kept itself outside of the IC and the 4th International, tries to protect the OCI against "the attempts of Varga and Slaughter to build a clique behind the back of the OCI." (!!) Attacks against the OCI, the SLL, the LRS, then members of the IC, attacks against the 4th International, that's the real game that the SL is lending itself to. It must give an account to the Commission of Inquiry, if it participates in it, of these accusations. One cannot be both judge and prosecutor.

Note: We are also publishing extracts of the letter of the LIRQI to the SL of February 6, 1975, regarding the Commission of Inquiry. This remains our response up to this date and the evaluation of the SL by the LIRQI faction in the OCI, reproduced by the SL in its bulletin still remains totally correct.

TO THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SPARTACIST TENDENCY

Comrades:

We have received your letter from Comrade Lesueur concerning the Commission of Inquiry.

First of all, we must apologize for the fact that our letter was sent to you by surface mail through an error.

But we must immediately add that this does not permit one to remake history. For, in fact, if we are happy

time, we have not found any reference to this demand, either in your press or in your activity. You have, until now, kept total silence on this, except in the attempt at "informal" and unprincipled discussion that you proposed to us. It is necessary to reaffirm here that you tried to deliberately ignore the fact that we were the first to support the demand of Comrade Michel Varga and to fight for its realization, and have done this for over a year independently from your contortions. We recall, to give an example of your contortions, that you had responded, the first time, that you were for a "distinguished jury" composed of personalities from the "International Trotskyist Movement" (which we don't know the existence of) in which you thought you would not be able to participate because of your youth in the "movement." Today, and we are happy to see it, you have changed your position and are ready to participate in the Commission of Inquiry. Good!

But before going further it is necessary for us to speak of the "principled basis" of the commission. What does this mean? For us, the commission is neither based on the Transitional Program nor on a political agreement, and still less to judge the International League. The Commission of Inquiry is constituted independently of the fact that your understanding of the principles of the Program does not seem to be the same as ours.

The goal of the Commission is clear: beginning with the organizations of the workers movement who respect workers democracy and defend it, it is necessary to establish the truth concerning three points:

- the accusations against Michel Varga,
 - the extensions of these accusations to the International League,
 - the origin of these accusations.
- This is the basis of the Commission of Inquiry.

Revolutionary Greetings,
for the International Secretariat

By ANN RUSSELL

Chicago's mayoral primary, held on February 25th, resulted in a decisive victory for the Democratic Party machine of Mayor Richard J. Daley, the only STABLE political machine left in the big cities today. Daley won the primary by a large 57.97% of the vote, with his runner-up, Kennedy liberal William Singer, taking only 29.21% of the vote. Chicago's ONE Republican alderman, John Hoellen, still the Republican candidate for mayor, lost the seat he had held for twenty-eight years, also held by his father before him. Hoellen, bitter in his defeat, claims the two-party system is dead in Chicago and plans to write, when he retires, a book called THE LAST REPUBLICAN.

OTHER CANDIDATES

The other candidates, Singer, Newhouse and Hanrahan, were unable to gain any significant vote. Chicagoans do not consider Singer's liberalism or Hanrahan's ultra-conservative policies as viable alternatives to the Daley organization. Hanrahan's reputation as the murderer of Black Panther leader, Fred Hampton, and his staunch "law and order" campaign made him the

most unpopular candidate in the primary, bringing in only 4.97% of the vote. The city's black vote was divided, but the overwhelming majority went to Daley. In the city's ten all-black wards, Daley got 47% of the vote and the black candidate, Newhouse, only 19.9%. The vote was overwhelming for the machine despite newspaper endorsements of Singer, a new phenomenon. The newspapers' position shows that a section of the ruling class is dissatisfied with the Daley machine. They are looking toward the future.

TROUBLE

There is deep trouble beneath the surface of Daley's "victory." It was vital for Daley to go all out to win this election. He knows he is now forced to prove to the ruling class that his machine still has control of the city blacks, through the church leaders, and the city workers, through the trade

unions. His campaign was carefully planned, all the way down to the Daley slogan "Good for Chicago." But beneath this "victory" surface there is deep working-class dissatisfaction. Unemployment, crime and rising inflation are the main concern of the workers in Chicago, and they are something Daley ultimately has no control over. Daley proudly boasted during his campaign that the unemployment rate in Chicago is lower than in the rest of the big cities (Chicago's inner city rate is a large 9.1%), but it will soon be known to the workers, if it isn't known to them already, that the comparatively low unemployment rate in Chicago is due to the fact that Chicago's industry is more diverse than in most American cities. The crisis will hit Chicago as well. The city of Chicago, and the Daley machine, can less and less "deliver" the goods. That is why it is necessary for Daley to win an overwhelming number of votes in the election, that is why he must tighten his grip on the city; because now more than ever there is the danger of his losing control completely.

WORKING-CLASS RESPONSE

One of the keys to whether the ruling class will continue to support Daley is their evaluation of how closely he can control the city's "labor leaders." Officers of the important United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters participated actively in the re-elect Daley campaign. Daley holds a strong card as long as he has a grip on the labor bureaucrats and as long as they have a hold on the workers.

The elections demonstrated significantly that the workers feel Singer, Newhouse and Hanrahan are no alternative to Daley. One worker, a long-time member of the Teamsters Union and anti-Daley, said of the other candidates, "It's just one crook stabbing another crook." The workers know that the vying candidates present no solution either, so the ones that vote, vote for "tradition," rather than for the chaos that the others represent.

Daley and his backers are well aware that there is great potential for explosion and action on the part of the workers. The workers' anger is not something that builds up slowly and then is expressed balanced and evenly. In Chicago, as in other large American cities, the workers will have explosive and deadly. The changes that workers are experiencing in their job situations, food prices and in the increase in crime and the degeneration of their cities will not be endured forever.

That Mayor Daley "makes Chicago work" is an illusion that is breaking down. Daley has no control over the crisis of capitalism that American cities are experiencing today. Workers in greater and greater numbers must be won to the only program that will make Chicago and the United States "work," the revolutionary program and the revolutionary party.

Daley represents the past that some sections of the working class are still tied to. But the younger and more combative sections of the workers are not being won to the Singers, they are being won to the revolution.



THE REAL S.W.A.T. -- THE SLA SHOOTOUT IN WATTS

"SWAT"

By ROBIN EVERETT

"When the city of the street is wearing a target on its back, the only way to survive!" With this declaration, Commander Hondo Harrelson starts the new TV series "S.W.A.T."

Seeing the real life of the spring, when their assault on an "SLA hideout" was broadcast nationally. They left the six occupants dead and the house burnt to the ground. A few weeks later, SWAT made the local news when a helicopter crash near LA revealed a team practicing heavy weapons fire from the air.

The LA SWAT unit was originally formed in 1968 with sixty recruits from the Marine Corps. In addition to their previous heavy training in "civil disturbances," they got more than 1000 hours of instruction at Camp Pendleton in methods like "Quick-Kill Techniques with the M-16" and "Night Elimination" using a rifle with starlight scope. Now numbering 100 men, SWAT trains on movie sets at Universal City, practicing maneuvers, assaults and house-to-house combat coordinated by walkie-talkie.

The one realistic aspect of the TV show is the technical organization of their teams, which have a basic skeleton of four men -- scout, marksman, observer, rearguard. All carry special weapons and equipment in addition to sidearms. SWAT is funded by the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Agency for use in areas of "high crime, civil unrest and labor disputes."

The show has to do such a heavy whitewash of SWAT that none of the characters are believable. To start with, the program plot has to obscure the social tensions and changing conditions of class rule that are really at stake with SWAT. So we've had SWAT defending civilization against: 1) a super-professional gang of crooks who are going to clean out an entire luxury hotel in one sweep, 2) a lunatic hillbilly family who ambush cops to avenge a police murder one of them fantasized, and 3) a Manson-type Satan cult who are out to "purify the town."

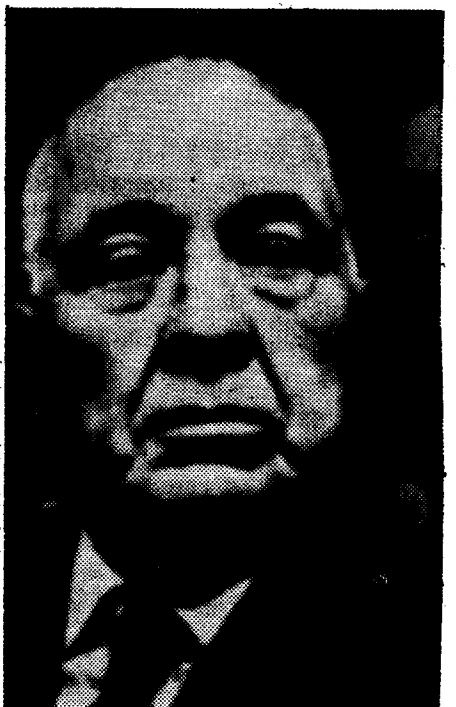
These are not exactly the kind of situations most people can get emotionally involved in. Not only does the show leave unanswered the social

questions involved in the breakdown of bourgeois "law and order," it can't even raise them! And it's probably the only way to put up with Harrelson's goody-goody act and then still not get to see black militants or communists shot dead.

When the show is done with the show, the theme is that the "S.W.A.T." can't handle the police showing down people like they do in real life, so, in spite of all the sophisticated equipment, the action is pretty routine and the show doesn't get any heavier than a lot of back-and-forth over the radio and some other military-technological razzle-dazzle. On top of that, all the SWAT members have to be so careful about their attitude that the show doesn't even have the attraction of something like "Kojak" or "The Untouchables," where you've got a cop who is one tough individual who's not afraid to talk a bunch of stuff. With SWAT's overkill capacity, the only thing they can do for interest and action is have more diabolical attacks on cops and more super-pro crooks.

SWAT is only the elite "special operations" end of repressive preparations now. The entire Los Angeles Police Department is taking training for strikes and mass demonstrations, which they first tried to explain as preparation for "food riots." Along with this comes a conscious policy of media coverage to act as a "deterrent." No doubt a few "preventative strikes" ("hitting them, before they hit you") will be seen, too. But it must be understood that this all represents an effort to HEAD OFF the open breakdown of the official state apparatus, NOT its triumph or its transformation into fascism.

All history shows this effort is doomed to failure. No repressive machine can save a system from its own decay. The incorporation of paramilitary teams into the police is a sign of the weakness of the ruling class, not its strength. The strengthening of the state apparatus here is another expression of the increasing antagonism which separates it from the masses of people, and indicates that the ruling class can no longer legitimize "law and order" in its own house. It will take the revolutionary workers to "clean house," and when they do, SWAT will go out with the rest of the trash.



By JON MYERS

The struggle of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization of the US to win the working-class youth to the fight to rebuild the Fourth International is the axis of our strategy and political intervention. At stake is the rebuilding of the Fourth International itself and the fight to re-establish the continuity of our movement with Bolshevism. Our struggle to win the revolutionary youth to the 4th International is a concrete demonstration that the continuity with Bolshevism exists today and that it is carried out through the struggles of the International League.

OUR PROGRAM

The Program of the Fourth International is clear on the centrality of the fight to win the youth to the Fourth International:

The movement is revitalized by the youth who are free of responsibility for the past. The Fourth International pays exceptional attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with the belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was, thus it will be. (The Transitional Program, 1938).

Thus the question of the youth was, for Trotsky in 1938, the question of the Fourth International itself. Without the realization of this task the Fourth International cannot be rebuilt. To win the youth necessitates a conscious break with traditions that have entered into our movement over the last twenty years, traditions foreign to the program of the Fourth International; traditions of fear, distrust, and aristocratism. It is necessary to begin a conscious examination of the past in order to reaffirm the positive traditions of our movement, the lessons of Bolshevism.

LESSONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

The understanding found in the Transitional Program is based on the entire experience of the international revolutionary movement in our epoch. In THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED Trotsky wrote:

Every revolutionary party finds its chief support in the younger generation of the rising class. Political decay expresses itself in a loss of ability to attract the youth under one's banner. The parties of bourgeois democracy, in withdrawing one after another from the scene are compelled to turn over the young either to revolution or fascism. Bolshevism when underground was always a party of young workers. The Mensheviks relied upon the more respectable, skilled upper stratum of the working class, always prided themselves on it, and looked down on the Bolsheviks. Subsequent events harshly showed them their mistake. At the decisive moment the youth carried with them the more mature stratum and even the old folks.

The leadership of the Bolshevik Party and cadres like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Bukharin, Bakayev, Smilga, Piatakov, Sverdlov, etc. joined the UNDERGROUND party between the ages of fifteen and twenty. Sverdlov directed the underground party in Sormovo when he was seventeen years old. Lenin was thirty-one when he wrote WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, and he was considered "old" by the rest of the Bolshevik movement. Trotsky was a member of a revolutionary organization when he was nineteen. The Bolsheviks were a party of the youth throughout their existence and it was that stratum of the working class that provided the basis for its support.

The formation of the Third International was closely tied to the fight to win the revolutionary youth. It was the youth who revitalized the revolutionary movement that had been betrayed by the Social Democracy. The average age of those who, from 1914-1915 on, began to regroup for a new international was very low. The communist nucleus of the new revolutionary parties was very young as well, almost exclusively composed of youth. In speaking of the Third International, Trotsky always spoke of it as a movement of "the young generation of the proletariat." An important part of the world groupings that formed the Third International was that of the independent youth organizations created by Social Democratic youth. They were regrouped by the International Conferences of Youth at Bern in 1915 and Jena in 1916. They had their own journal, "International Youth," and provided many of the later cadres of the Third International.

The battle for the Fourth International was also closely linked to the battle for the youth. The youth of the Russian Communist Party provided the initial base of support for the Left Opposition. Trotsky's battle for the FI, from his expulsion from Russia in 1929 up to 1930 was a struggle for political clarification that eliminated a large number of the old oppositionists of the Third International who were unable to go beyond the limits of centrism -- Rosmer, Sneevliet, Urbahns, Nin, etc. The old cadres of the Third International that remained, like James P. Cannon and the Greek, Poulouopoulos, were very rare. While this was going on, a new nucleus for the Fourth International was forged among the youth -- Leon Sedov, Erwin Wolf, Rudolph Klement, etc. It was these cadres that the GPU focused its attention on. They were all assassinated.

THE PABLOITES AND THE OPPORTUNISTS

As an expression of their attempts to liquidate the Fourth International, the policies of the Pabloites and the opportunists represent a refusal to win the youth from Stalinism and the bourgeoisie and a refusal to construct the world party. The general characteristic of both the Pabloites and the opportunists is that they deliberately and consciously direct their activity toward the STUDENT youth. This is nothing other than an expression of their refusal to fight in the working class for the Fourth International.

The Pabloites reduce the construction of their organizations to the student youth. They have even created



'THE MOVEMENT IS REVITALIZED BY THE YOUTH'



PORTUGAL

a "theory" to justify the construction of the party "from the periphery to the center." It is a thoroughly petty-bourgeois theory. They begin from the strata and milieu most peripheral to the proletariat and at the same time they prostrate themselves in front of the movements and organizations of the youth in order to dissolve themselves into these movements. From this flow the theories of "student vanguardism," that state that these student organizations are the real vanguard of the class struggle, acting as catalysts to "stimulate" the proletariat which, they claim, is asleep or "too bourgeois."

The political function of these theories of "student vanguardism" is to give free rein to the Stalinists and reformists inside the workers movement, abandoning this terrain to them and, on the other hand, to turn the youth FROM the road to the party TOWARDS demoralization and dispersal of the movement. The most well-known experience with the Pabloites in this regard was in the French General Strike of 1968. They played the same type of treacherous activity in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia during this period. The SWP played the same role in the student anti-war movement in the United States -- leading the movement away from the proletariat and towards the bourgeoisie, eventually destroying the movement and demoralizing it. The students who remain in the SWP/YSA from that period are now the right-wing careerists who compose the opportunist leadership of the SWP/YSA. In all these countries, after the Pabloites do their work, one finds neither movements, nor youth organizations, nor the nucleus of a party.

OCI

The French OCI has the same fundamental policy of the Pabloites but under different forms. What was of a contradictory policy, which in the context of the IC and the fight to rebuild the Fourth International produced some of the most positive gains of the IC, has now, with the abandonment of the IC by the OCI, encouraged the worst aspects of its policy towards youth, including the

OCI has developed a theory to explain and affirm the privileged and preponderant place of students in the construction of the party. Students are used as the "shock troops" for the entire organization and the responsible posts and functions in the OCI and AJS (Alliance of Youth for Socialism) are held by students. But now even the work of the AJS has been abandoned in favor of the OCI opportunist pursuit of trade union leaders.

From this criticism of the OCI it does not flow that deliberately or artificially keep students from the party. Experience has shown the importance of organizing students from the point of view of mass movements and providing important cadres for the party. But it is the AJS of our intervention that is the question. Students will win on the basis of activity among young workers, not the reverse. The youth organization must be working class in its majority, which will then intervene and form factions in mass student organizations. But the must be towards the proletariat youth: for through the we will win the entire working class.

WRP/WL

In contrast to the Pabloites the WRP and WL have pursued work among the working class youth, in particular among the most oppressed strata. But as we have pointed out elsewhere, as part of its abandonment of the International Committee, the struggle for the youth was abandoned as well. This is the major source of their weakness today. The theoretical basis for the youth work of the WRP combines both sectarianism and opportunism. The official program for the Young Socialist is the Trotskyist program -- this is the criterion for admission into the YS. From the start this is an obstacle for it establishes an identity between the party and the youth organization, a formal identity which in reality does not exist, since there cannot be two parallel parties, one of which is for youth. This policy is sectarian because it excludes the masses of youth, who have no way to clarify, through mass struggles or concrete actions, their relationship to the Trotskyist program other than full agreement with it. This is why the YS in Britain has stagnated for many years, unable to go beyond a certain limited strength and to organize tens of thousands of youth for the construction of the party, which is a real and urgent possibility today in Britain.

On the other side, to counterbalance this inevitable stagnation, the WRP is led at the same time to practice opportunism in its work among youth. The center of activity of the YS is not political, it does not mobilize the youth on the basis of a definite political line which is translated into political campaigns to build the party but its activity takes an autonomous form. The WRP uses the YS to organize dances, concerts, and plays in order to attract a large number of youth, in order to "hook" some as a fisherman does with a line; but they are not organized politically.

OTHER CENTRISTS

Most of the other centrist groups claiming to be "Trotskyist" can be distinguished only by their total lack of concern with any organization of the youth. Worth mentioning in this regard is the American Spartacist League, which if not important in its influence, does express to an important degree the essence of the right-wing Menshevik CLASS hatred that these petty-bourgeois currents have for the working-class youth. In WORKERS VANGUARD #61 it criticizes the WRP/WL from the right, for precisely its healthiest aspects and in this way reveals the true nature of the Spartacist League:

Thus we can attribute to the Healyites a lumpenproletarian component as the context for their opportunist/adventurist oscillations and systematic organizational abuses... The corresponding layers in American society to the raw material of Healy's Young Socialists are overwhelmingly black and Spanish-speaking youth, a generation or two removed from rural isolation and poverty, very heavily chronically unemployed in a country with no political class consciousness and themselves with so little access to the labor movement that economic class consciousness often appears as a privilege of older white workers aimed against minority group youth... A NATIONALIST OR MAOIST RHECTORIC CORRESPONDS FAR MORE CLOSELY TO THE IDEOLOGICAL PROCLIVITIES OR AMERICAN RAW GHETTO YOUTH. Very serious and dedicated revolutionist can indeed be recruited from such strata, but under prevailing conditions only by individuals INVOLVED BREAKING, THROUGH A DIFFICULT, LENGTHY PROCESS, FROM GHETTO EXISTENCE." (our emphasis)

us, the names "Young Socialists," or "Young Socialist Alliance" are too vague and indecisive. We do not fear the strongest expression in the names for the youth organizations. The youth distrust, correctly, those who hide what they are. Instructive in this regard were Trotsky's discussions in his 1938-39 WRITINGS with the SWP/YPSL over the question of a name for the youth group. It was precisely this indecisiveness and fear of the youth that he was fighting.

PROGRAM FOR THE YOUTH

The Program for the youth must be a concrete application of the politics of the International League to the specific conditions which youth face in every country. It is, in this way, based on the Program of the Fourth International, without being formally identical with it. It is not simply a matter of a smaller or shortened copy of the Transitional Program, it must express the specific nature of the struggles of the youth and the concrete conditions of the young generation of the proletariat and the students. The program must respond to their problems by mobilizing them to fight. To do this, to win the youth through combat, does not require full acceptance or understanding of the entire Transitional Program.

The emphasis in the program must be placed on the POLITICAL situation of the youth and the youth must be directed against the bourgeois state and the bureaucracy. The attack of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy against the working class is directed in the first place against the youth of the working class -- through unemployment and educational and cultural decay. The power of the state -- the police, the army, and the courts -- are directed in the first place against the

accept the position of the party. There must be a struggle to convince the youth. Lenin, in 1916, at the same time that he criticized the errors of the journal, YOUNG INTERNATIONAL, wrote:

The middle-aged and the aged often do not know how to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a different way, by their own paths, in other circumstances than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly favor organizational independence of the Youth League, not only because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For, unless they have complete independence, the youth will be unable to either train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward. We stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but also for a complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors! We must not flatter the youth. (COLLECTED WORKS, Vol. 23)

This is the method through which the best youth of the working class will be won -- the banner of the Fourth International and the struggle of the International League. It will be primarily through the youth that the International League will be able to change its relationship to the working class and be recognized as the international center of the world party of the socialist revolution. Once again, the revolutionary youth of the world will revitalize our movement. That is the meaning of our orientation towards the youth and it is only the International League that is carrying out this task. That is why we must move forward to build the organizing meeting this April 5th to found the RYI in the United States -- the driving force behind the founding of the revolutionary party in the United States.

LIZED OUTH'



Leave the working class youth to the Maoists and nationalists. The "real" Trotskyists have broken from their existence, are fortunate enough not to be chronically unemployed and are in the Spartacist Youth League at Harvard and Yale! The entire history of the Menshevik attitude towards the working-class youth finds its expression here.

OUR TASKS

From the experience of the past, as well as the experiences of the Pabloites and the opportunists, several lessons must be drawn. First, that the organization of the youth is the central task in the building of national parties and the International. It must be the center of activity of the Trotskyist Organization of the US. There is no divorce between the construction of the party and "youth work." In every phase of our work the orientation must be towards the young workers. This also means the task of recruiting youth DIRECTLY into the party. The youth organization is in no way a "purgatory" that all youth must pass through before they can enter the party. Those who are in full agreement with our program must be won directly to the party.

Thus the revolutionary organization of the youth is not an organization FOR youth, or a "gimmick" for the youth, but is a policy and organization TO CONSTRUCT the international party and its sections. The organization of the youth is an element in rebuilding the Fourth International and constructing its parties. Like cement blocks that create a building, they are not blocks in or for themselves but exist as part of the building. The organization of the youth is the MOST IMPORTANT building tool for the Fourth International.

The revolutionary party is built dynamically, not by mechanical, linear evolution, but through conflict, growth and qualitative leaps. It is for this reason as well that we orient towards the youth -- we orient ourselves exactly on the dynamism of the youth. This necessitates that we assure that the youth organization takes on a MASS character as well as, at the same time, that we openly state its character as a fighting organization, under the leadership of Trotskyists, building the world party.

It is not enough to define the youth organization as one that is fighting imperialism and the bureaucracy. We must fight for it to be a struggle for the construction of the revolutionary party, not alongside, but UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of the Trotskyist party. It is only on the basis of such an affirmation of its real character that we can assure the nature of the youth organization as a MASS organization and not a vanguard. At the same time that it is a fighting organization, under Trotskyist leadership, for the construction of the party, it must orient itself concretely towards the masses of the youth in order to mobilize them in struggle. What seems on the surface to be a contradiction is in fact the source of the dynamic development, at the same time, of the organization of the youth and the construction of the revolutionary party. The dynamic of this process is expressed by the fact that the party is not constructed only on a linear basis, seeking individuals, one by one, to recruit. The party must use the dynamic created by the organization of the youth to recruit the youth to the party in mass, thus opening the door for QUALITATIVE growth in the construction of the party.

This character of the youth organization must be translated into the names of these organizations which must as well express this character. That is why, for

youth. The program of the youth must also fight the attempts of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy to corrupt the youth and turn them away from the road to revolution through the Church, drugs, pseudo-culture, pseudo-philosophy, etc.

We recognize that it is the youth who are the first to break from the old parties and leaderships of the working class. But it is not enough to break from these parties -- unless they are won to us they will only be demoralized and seek "new paths" which in reality are only the old petty-bourgeois currents -- terrorism, spontaneism, etc. Thus the question of the Fourth International must be in the center of the program. The revolutionary party can be explained only by the fight for proletarian revolution, the workers' and peasants' government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international proletarian character of the revolution must be explained concretely through slogans like the Socialist United States of Europe, which is at the center of the world revolution. Regional slogans, such as the Socialist United States of Latin America, must be linked to this central slogan.

The Fourth International must be explained by the relation of the organization of the youth to the construction of the party. It is the axis of the program but it must be explained by the concrete conditions of youth, not abstract explanations of the need for the party. It is in this way that the call for the Revolutionary Youth International becomes a key level in the rebuilding of the Fourth International. The necessity for rebuilding the Fourth International must be explained and the Revolutionary Youth International is the essential weapon and the best way for the youth to do this. It is the concrete way for the youth to aid in the rebuilding of the Fourth International, under the leadership of the organization which is the center of this fight, the International League.

This is the context in which the slogan, DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL! is raised, as a slogan that expresses the mobilization of the working-class youth of the East and the West to found the Revolutionary Youth International this summer. That is the meaning of the slogan, the meaning of the founding of the RYI.

Finally, the program must express the need of the youth for Marxist education, through both study and practice. Educational activity must be an essential part of the activity of the youth organizations. It will be through the education and the activity of the youth that the party will help the youth understand the Fourth International and be able to win masses of youth to it.

THE YOUTH HAVE THE RIGHT TO MAKE MISTAKES

The International League educates youth to become communist militants, through the autonomous organization of the youth, because the youth must acquire their own experiences and education without ultimatums. They must be won politically to the party, convinced or our correctness through their own struggles. Otherwise we risk educating, not conscious revolutionaries, but careerists or those without any opinions at all. This is especially true today when the correctness of our politics is far from clear to the youth. All kinds of organizations today abuse the name of the working class, socialism and the Fourth International.

It is because of this that the International League recognizes the right of the youth to make mistakes. We do not accept silently their errors, but do not force the youth in an authoritative or mechanical manner to

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SPAIN--



Victory is Near

By MARGARET BRECHT

All eyes are upon Spain as the fall of Franco approaches. For the bourgeoisie and its Stalinist agents it is a question of the maintenance of capitalism against the onslaught of the world proletariat.

For the proletariat and its party, the Fourth International, it is a question of the rebuilding of the 4th International, transforming the fall of Franco into the beginning of the Spanish Revolution and, in so doing, visiting upon the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie a defeat which will reverberate throughout Europe, from which all working men and women will gain strength. It is a question of the world revolution.

THE SPANISH BOURGEOISIE IS PARALYZED

The few supporters of the Franco regime attempt to prolong its death agony through the placement of Prince Juan Carlos at its head and the formation, at the initiative of Premier Arias Navarro (who has taken the place of the assassinated Carrero Blanco), of "associations" designed to bring the bourgeoisie to the side of the deathbed.

These steps indicate that the Francoists have learned that the bourgeois regime cannot be maintained nor the working class contained by terror alone. They gain support, however, not from those who have any confidence in Francoism, but from those like Garcia Rebull who have not yet learned this lesson. Afraid of the Spanish proletariat and aware that a coup could not at this time be victorious, they wish to gain time, to hide behind the "throne" and the "associations" of Francoism while plotting an attempt to overthrow the

The rest of the bourgeoisie, the church, the liberal democrats, the "progressive military," turn to Santiago Carillo, the leader of the Spanish CP and his program of "national reconciliation," of the Popular Front. What hopes they once had for this scheme, diminished by the fate of Spinola and the evident incapacity of Cunhal to, in similar circumstances, contain the Portuguese proletariat, are being dashed by the Spanish proletariat. Its strength has prohibited the "liberal" bourgeoisie from trotting out the Stalinists under the banner of a fight for democracy against Francoism. Afraid that the proletariat would turn such a move to its own advantage, they have taken not one step to ouster Franco and install the government of "national reconciliation." Instead, while the liberals commiserate in their drawing rooms, the Stalinists must work OPENLY among the workers AGAINST their every-growing determination to bring down the Francoist dictatorship.

THE STALINISTS HAVE NO PLACE TO HIDE

With the proclamation of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario in Spain -- section of the International League -- and its struggle for a general strike to bring down Franco and establish a Workers' and Peasants' Government, a struggle which is based entirely on the determination of the Spanish proletariat, Stalinism is once again confronted -- face-to-face -- with Bolshevism.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is standing in the way of the overthrow of Franco. But its Spanish party, saddled with a heritage of treachery -- it was the Kremlin which delivered the Spanish proletariat and its revolution into the hands of Franco's fascists nearly forty years ago for the sake of the fleeting affections of the "democratic imperialist powers" -- and with only limited roots among the workers, is the weakest of all its parties.

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of the Fourth International, basing itself entirely in the revolutionary heritage of the Spanish proletariat, and with growing support among the workers, has set as its task the obliteration of the Spanish CP. And it rallies all its forces, which are the largest in Spain, to accomplish this task.

The struggle of the POR to shatter the CP proceeds as an integral part of the struggle for the independence of the proletariat against the bourgeois state. The weakness of the traditional parties of the working class in Spain has allowed the workers in the initial phases of the struggle to go beyond them in the formation of their own organizations. To the extent that the Stalinists and Social Democrats gain support it is against the mobilization of the class. The POR, fighting all spontaneist illusions among the workers, takes every opportunity to strengthen the independence of the proletariat as a class against the bourgeois state. This proceeds through the struggle for committees to lead the general strike and prepare the struggle for power. It is the struggle, within the workers' councils, of Bolshevism against Menshevism:

The audacity which must be employed by our party at the initial stage of the revolution, in which we find ourselves, must consist always in seizing upon each struggle, each confrontation between the working class in movement and the forces of the bourgeoisie, in order to organize and reinforce the workers' councils in all cities and finally to centralize them in the whole country.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE)

There can be no consequence of this struggle but the strengthening of the Spanish proletariat and its party the POR. Victory is near.

VICTORY IS NEAR

In the United States today the International League prepares for the victory of the Spanish revolution through the struggle to build the revolutionary workers party in the US as part of the rebuilding of the Fourth International. It publishes and distributes FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, in English and Spanish, the only journal which tells the truth about the situation in Spain. It fights among the youth for the Revolutionary Youth International; for the American youth to take their place at the side of those in Spain who today fight Franco's police for the Fourth International. And it prepares the American workers and youth to come to the defense of the victorious Spanish revolution, to block all shipment of arms to the reactionaries with their kings, priests and generals.

As the struggle of the POR, against the Stalinists, for the independence of the proletariat, proceeds under the banner of the formation of workers' committees throughout the country to prepare the fight for power, the workers will come to see the POR as THEIR party. The Spanish proletariat will be won to the side of the Fourth International.

An irreparable breach will be made in the international apparatus of the Kremlin, the last defense of the bourgeois order. There will be a qualitative transformation of the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat throughout Europe. The International League, rebuilding the Fourth International through the struggle for the 4th Open Conference, will deepen and widen the breach. All of its forces will be deployed to assure the victory of the proletarian revolution.

"ILLEGAL ALIENS"

Every day, the ruling class deepens its attack on so-called illegal aliens. Round-ups, deportations, harassment, are increasingly directed against "foreigners," whom the capitalists and their hired hands in the newspapers, television and the trade union bureaucracy are trying to blame for the unemployment of AMERICAN workers.

You see, according to them, it's not CAPITALISM that's to blame for unemployment -- oh, no -- it's the FOREIGNERS who take away American workers' jobs by working at below-standard wages. Sure! Just like it isn't capitalism that doesn't provide enough jobs for young people, it's that there are too many young people! It's NEVER capitalism that's responsible for poverty and misery. It's "greedy foreigners," Arabs, Russians, the baby boom, etc., etc., etc.

It is a lie that this campaign against "illegal aliens" is intended to protect American workers' jobs. Its real purpose is to convince American workers to turn on foreign workers, so that the working class fights among itself while the bosses profit. Its real purpose is to terrorize foreign workers so that they won't make any trouble about their pay and working conditions -- because they'll be deported if they do. In the time of capitalism's deepest crisis, the bosses are out to destroy all the gains of the workers, out to reduce them to the deepest poverty, out to return them to the conditions of a hundred years ago.

And that's behind the very "strange" fact that the capitalists somehow have a very selective enforcement of their laws, and very selective laws in the

first place. After all, why bother beefing-up the Border Patrol, when the real point is to keep just enough cops going to be able to keep the pressure on the "illegals?" And it's not so "strange," then, that it's not illegal to hire "aliens," just to BE one. After all, how would the bosses make any money if they couldn't hire "illegals" at wages that doom them to poverty? And how could they hire them at those wages if they weren't "illegals" in the first place? AFTER ALL, who are the laws for; after all?

The working class cannot allow this offensive to go unanswering. In all its organizations, with all its organizations, it must wage a fight against deportations, against the reactionary immigration laws, against the companies and their starvation wages, against all those -- from Cesar Chavez to the big TV networks -- that peddle the reactionary, racist and xenophobic garbage of the "illegals" scare.

The only answer to all the unemployment that capitalism causes, all the low wages and low living standards imposed on foreign workers, is the abolition of the SYSTEM that produces them. The laboring masses cannot accept the limits of capitalism. Their program must be that of the expropriation of the capitalists, of socialist revolution on a world scale, of the abolition of national boundaries and the planned expansion of production on the whole planet. Outside this perspective, the campaign against "aliens" is only a small sample of what a dying society has in store for the workers.

VIETNAM • STALINISM

By DAVID MARKOS

The latest attacks by the National Liberation Front (NLF) have been exaggerated by the Ford administration to be made to look like a large-scale offensive by the North Vietnamese. We are to believe that all of Southeast Asia hangs in the balance with only American aid to stop these countries from becoming communist "satellites."

up of the puppet regimes in Indochina, the converse, that with the withdrawal of American forces and American aid the Stalinists of North Vietnam would institute socialist regimes in all of this region is completely false. Rather, after decades of bitter fighting against the imperialists in Southeast Asia, the peoples of this region will be served (with the possible exception of South Vietnam) the same dish of bourgeois "democracy" that they have had for so many years already. The forms may change, the content will not.

STALINISM

Fundamentally, the Stalinists have always had a mortal fear of the socialist revolution, and Vietnam has been no exception. So, in French colonial Indochina, after the Vietminh under Ho Chi Minh had decisively defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu, away the Stalinists went, wagging their tails, to the Geneva Conference of 1954 to sit down to talk with the imperialists. At this conference they gave away more than half of Vietnam and agreed to let elections, scheduled for 1956, decide the fate of the Vietnamese south of the 17th parallel. What a big surprise when the American puppet in South Vietnam, Diem, refused to hold the elections and proceeded to destroy the Vietminh in South Vietnam during the period 1954 to 1956!

With the Diem regime in South Vietnam, the intervention of the U.S. into the Indochina war also began. This was not, as anti-war liberals liked to call it, an intervention into a civil war. Contrary to American propaganda, North Vietnam had never sent any troops into South Vietnam until AFTER Johnson began the bombing of the North. Primarily, the U.S. action has been aimed toward China and is part of the imperialists' desire to carve up the workers' states for their own profit. Today, "detente" is merely the best way that the capitalists see to undermine the degenerated and deformed workers' states. In this, they have the greatest cooperation from the Stalinists.

Even given the continual betrayal of the socialist revolution by the Stalinists, however, imperialism sees in the nationalized property forms and planning of

the deformed workers' states a deadly threat. And rightly so, because these very same property forms threaten the accommodating Stalinists also; in the end they belong not to the bureaucracy but to the proletariat. It is on the basis of economic backwardness that the Stalinist bureaucracy arises, but the progressive development that the proletarian property forms engender, EVEN AGAINST THE

NORTH VIETNAMESE

This crisis does not remain in the realm of abstract theory, but breaks out in the open and presents itself to the Stalinists as the POLITICAL REVOLUTION. It is no accident that at the same time as the proletariat in Poland and Hungary rose up against Stalinist domination in 1956, peasant and worker revolts were breaking out in North Vietnam -- and not (as the Stalinists would have us believe) among the more backward layers of the Vietnamese masses. The 1956 revolts in North Vietnam against the bureaucracy's "land reforms" (which saw a wave of repression against the peasantry and the workers alike) broke out in Nghe province, the birthplace and home base of Ho Chi Minh and the scene of the first attempted "soviet" in Vietnam in 1930. In the first uprising, the peasants were crushed by the imperialists, but in the second, it was the Ho Chi Minh regime that mercilessly crushed the revolt along with the uprising of miners and Haiphong dockworkers that accompanied it.

It is in the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" that the betrayal of the world proletariat is represented. The bureaucracy it is true, does seek to "unify" Vietnam, but this is merely the drive of any NATIONALIST regime to expand to the natural geographical limits of its domain. Vietnam was, after all, "united" under the control of the Vietminh before the Geneva Conference. This is precisely what made the 1954 Geneva division such a sellout.

POLICY

The POLICY of the Stalinists, however, is not to spread the revolution but to, at least, CONTAIN it. This is why, in neighboring Laos, in which at least 80% of the countryside is under direct Pathet Lao rule, the Stalinists still preserve a CAPITALIST coalition government. And in Cambodia, the Stalinists only directly intervened in the revolutionary movement in 1970, after it became increasingly necessary to preserve this region, as with Laos, for

purely military purposes. The Khmer Rouge insurgents of Cambodia now hold most of the country and encircle completely the capital of Pnom Penh, which survives only through daily airlifts by the United States. It is not the superiority of imperialist forces in Vietnam today, but the bankrupt strategy of the Stalinists that keeps the workers and peasants of South-east Asia from seizing power.

The strategy of the North Vietnamese regime since the January, 1973, ceasefire has been in complete accord with their past policy of accommodation to the capitalist powers. The offensive that Thieu, the American puppet, embarked upon immediately following the '73 ceasefire was in violation of the agreement, but was certainly no surprise to anyone. The response of the National Liberation Front was once again to retreat. Finally, after it became clear to the Stalinists that Thieu had no intention of stopping his assault on areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam, the forces of the NLF retaliated, taking back lost areas and even extending their control to a small extent.

OFFENSIVE

This "offensive," however, bears no resemblance to any of the large-scale offensives that the North has launched

comes from stockpiles existing at the beginning of the ceasefire). Furthermore, the North itself has now been supplied with the most advanced edition of Russian anti-aircraft weapons.

BETRAYAL

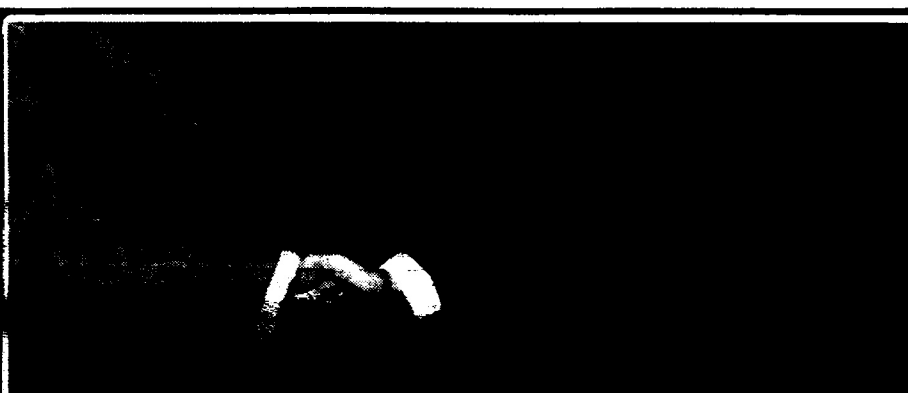
While the mouthpieces of the Stalinists, and the Stalinists themselves, might defend this course of retrenchment as necessary in the face of imperialism, fundamentally this lame defense is just an excuse for the Stalinists to explain their betrayal. The real reason behind their betrayal is that with the end of American involvement, revolution throughout all of Southeast Asia has become COMPLETELY POSSIBLE. The Stalinists draw back; they are mortally afraid of the proletarian revolution.

VICTORY -- OR DEFEAT?

American workers have an obligation to aid their struggling brothers in South-east Asia. They can, by taking steps which aid in the defeat of imperialist efforts there, not only result in the military defeat of US imperialism but aid in putting the Stalinists, in the face of a proletariat on the offensive, in an impossible situation. The old motto of socialism: "Not one penny and not one man for the war," should be the theme of all these activities. Work must be



OR REVOLUTION?



in the past, but rather is more comparable to the holding action that the Stalinists pursue in Laos and Cambodia. The North has abandoned any offensive in the South in favor of a policy of retrenchment and rebuilding in North Vietnam. Aid has been substantially reduced to the forces of the South in accordance with this strategy. This comes at a time when the Thieu regime is on the verge of collapse and under attack from BOTH the right and left in Vietnam. South Vietnam's economy, since the withdrawal of American troops and aid, has fallen to pieces. Per capita income has been cut IN HALF. Inflation has increased at a 90% rate for the two-year period since the ceasefire ended. Unemployment has reached mass proportions.

Militarily, the forces of the NLF are estimated by American experts to be far superior to what they were at the beginning of the ceasefire. The rapid retreat alone of Thieu's army (once the Stalinists decided to fight) shows conclusively that the NLF has the military advantage. All this WITHOUT significant aid from the North. (Most of the weaponry of the NLF

undertaken against any voting of "aid" to Cambodia. Enough is enough! Soldiers must show in action that they are against the triumph of oppression and brutality. Workers on the docks, truckers, railroadmen, workers in "defense" industries, must prevent the shipment of arms to the lackeys of the imperialists. The greater the setbacks and defeats the imperialists suffer, the sooner the Stalinist betrayers are exposed, the better off American workers will be. Their enemies are the same as those of the oppressed masses of Southeast Asia.

The prospect for a Socialist United States of Southeast Asia is better than it has ever been. Such a federation of workers' states would possess the material and human resources required to build socialism; certainly, much more so than the isolated state of North Vietnam. But the Stalinists would be swept off the map in a revolutionary upheaval of this kind. And so the bureaucrats stand -- opposed to the development of socialism in North Vietnam, opposed to the proletarian revolution in South-east Asia -- in the camp of the exploiters and oppressors of humanity.

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James Connolly and the Easter Rebellion

By KEVIN TRACEY

At Eastertime, 1916, an insurrection against British imperialist rule in Ireland broke out in Dublin. This "Easter Rebellion" was the first spark in the fire of proletarian revolution which World War One would ignite, bursting into flame only eighteen months later in the Russian Revolution. It is inseparable from the name and ideas of James Connolly.

CONNOLLY

Connolly was born in 1868 in Scotland of Irish emigrant parents, among the many who were forced to leave their homeland to seek work and survival in foreign lands. Thus, from the first, he was of the most oppressed and exploited. He would never desert his origins, remaining faithful unto death to those from whom he sprung.

Connolly's childhood and youth were passed in the period of the definitive transformation of capitalism from an historically progressive system into one which was totally reactionary. Connolly's experiences were those of a whole generation of the working class, moving inevitably to the socialist movement.

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC

This epoch in which we live, this era of "wars and revolutions," has as a central motif the "Permanent Revolution." This is the specific manifestation of the way in which the inability of the capitalists to extend, or even maintain, the gains of the bourgeois revolution necessitates the seizure of power by the proletariat.

One of the sharpest ways in which this is posed is in the national question, which is intimately tied up with the question of economic and cultural development. Connolly, as an IRISH WORKER, felt, in every aspect of his existence, the double burden of national oppression and economic exploitation.

As he began to take leadership in the socialist movement, especially when he started his work in Ireland, he put forward the perspective of the Irish Workers' Republic, of achieving the goal of national independence through the means of the socialist revolution. Only the working class, in Connolly's words, "the only class which never betrayed Ireland," could accomplish this task. And he saw the movement for national independence as opposed to the interests of the exploiting layers:

If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organization of the Socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain.

England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country.

James Connolly wrote that in 1897! This perspective, fundamentally that of the Permanent Revolution, would never leave him and would lead him to his death in the Easter Rebellion.

CITIZEN ARMY

From the very beginning, Connolly was situated on the extreme left wing of the international Social Democracy. In the United States, where he lived for a number of years, he joined the Industrial Workers of the World, that remarkable contribution of the American proletariat.

When Connolly returned to Ireland in 1910, he had added to his empirical understanding of the permanent revolution the militant syndicalism of the IWW. And syndicalism -- revolution by the unions through a general strike -- exercised a powerful influence at that time over those opposed to opportunist socialism.

Thus, in 1913, when Connolly, along with the formidable agitator, James Larkin, was faced with a lockout of the entire Dublin working class by what was in fact the "national bourgeoisie," he reacted by mobilizing the proletariat in a general strike. This bitter class conflict, one of the epic battles prior to the First World War, gave rise to a workers' militia, another one of the central weapons of the working class in this epoch. This was the Citizen Army, whose very NAME was seditious, since it raised the question of the workers' being CITIZENS of their OWN republic, not SUBJECTS of the British crown.

Arming itself at first with hockey (hockey) sticks, the Citizen Army battled the police, militia and repressive forces in the streets, defending the strike, turning it into a virtual civil war. Although the strike would be defeated, due solely to the strength of the labor bureaucracy in Ireland and Britain, the Citizen Army would not disappear. Connolly would maintain it for battles yet to come.

CIVIL WAR

With the beginning of the war, Connolly opposed the betrayals of the reformist Social Democracy with the deepest anger. Now he advanced to the action which would connect all the past elements of his work.

The position of the revolutionary socialists was to turn the imperialist war into a civil war; the old position of the revolutionary Irish nationalists was that "England's misfortune is Ireland's opportunity." On this dual basis, Connolly determined that an insurrection must be made against Britain while it was engaged in the war, striking a blow for Ireland's liberation and for the world revolution simultaneously.

He then sought out and tried to win the nationalists of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and its military arm, the Irish Volunteers, to this perspective. This alliance with the nationalists was not simply an attempt to gain more numbers, more support. It also reflected the desperate weakness of the Citizen Army; Connolly had to arm his own men by sending them into the Irish Volunteers.

EASTER REBELLION

Eventually, by dint of his ceaseless effort, he won the leadership of the Volunteers to his views. It was agreed that, under cover of a traditional Easter dress parade of the Volunteers, the insurrection would be made. On Palm Sunday, a week before Easter, Connolly ordered unfurled at the headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, Liberty Hall, the green flag of the Irish Republic. This matched the internationalist banner already there: "We serve neither King nor Kaiser, but Ireland."

And that same evening, cognizant of the difficulties in making the insurrection with bourgeois nationalists, Connolly reaffirmed the perspectives of the Permanent Revolution. Speaking to the Citizen Army, he said simply: "In the event of victory, hold on to your rifles, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic as well as political liberty."

On the very eve of the rising, this warning was borne out. The right-wing leadership of the Volunteers canceled the marching orders on a national scale. Only in Dublin was there time to repair the damage. All that stood with the workers now were the extreme left-wing Republicans such as Padraic Pearse, representative of the poorest peasantry and the small men of the cities -- a layer analogous to the Left Social Revolutionaries who briefly supported the Bolsheviks later.

The question was now posed: to drop everything or to go ahead to certain defeat? Connolly drew the revolutionary conclusion, just as Marx did on the Paris Commune, that to ignobly retreat would be far worse than to be defeated. The rising was on.

Thus, on Easter Monday, April 24, the revolutionary forces marched into the General Post Office, and other strategic locations, and issued the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. After six days of bloody, brutal fighting, the insurgents surrendered. A white terror descended, with the leaders of the rising shot as fast as the firing squads could do their work. Connolly, wounded in the fighting, was shot in a WHEELCHAIR, so that his execution could take place before there was any chance of stopping the blood fury of the imperialists.

Thus, on May 12, 1916, James Connolly gave his life, as many have before and as many will yet, for the world revolution. But such a life gives an example to other lives. And that cannot die.

Smash the Police Menace!

By KEVIN TRACEY

This dying capitalist system has nothing to offer the poor, the oppressed, the working people -- especially the working-class youth -- but the repression of the police and the promise of a police state.

REPRESSION

There is a complete contradiction between what the young people of the working class need and what the capitalists can give. The youth want jobs, and they get unemployment. They want the chance to lead a decent life, and they get poverty and hunger. They want a chance to do something with their lives, and they get desolation and emptiness. No education, no increase in living standards, no access to culture; that is what the ruling class delivers.

When the youth fight for the things they need, they must be stopped. Even before they start to think about what they need, they must be kept from going where they choose, from getting together. They must be kept in a state of disorientation, kept off balance. For all these things, the capitalists have only one tool. That tool is the police force, in all its violence, corruption and brutality.

The constant harassment of the youth on the streets, the constant menace of brutality are a threat to the youth, a warning not to step out of line. The schools, which the lies of bourgeois propaganda present as the road to success and fulfillment, are loaded with cops to keep the angry youth under control, to keep them from getting out of hand, to keep them from fighting against their oppression.

And, at the same time, the capitalists use the crime that results from the decay of their own system as an excuse to put more cops on the attack against the working class. But the cops themselves feed on crime, directly and indirectly. If there were no crime -- that is, if there were no capitalism -- where would the cops be? Out of work, for sure and out of all the money they make on bribes, on payoffs, on their own rackets. They might have to get an honest job like everyone else.

NATIONAL SCENE

But these facts do not concern the local police alone. The desperate situation of capitalism and the social unrest which it provokes are part of the national and international scene also. The crisis demands an increased repressive machinery on all levels.

And this is where we come to the beloved FBI. This is the federal police force, the "G-Men" that catch all the bad guys and save



America -- just like on TV. Sure! The real role of the FBI is to carry out the same work as the local police, but on a national level. Their job is to take care of things that are too big, too important, for the dumb local cops to handle.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

The FBI is what the government uses against socialists who are trying to change this rotten society. It investigates people who want to exert their rights. It causes people to lose jobs, it frames people in the courts, it keeps tabs on people it doesn't like. It is basically a spy and secret police agency designed to root out opposition to the government and the system.

Back in the 1950's, at the height of the "red scare," it was responsible for sending people TO THEIR DEATHS -- as, for instance, with the frameup of the Rosenbergs for allegedly being "atom bomb spies." This was open murder, intended to terrify the American people about the Communist "menace," to terrify those who were leftists and opponents of the government into submission.

That was its job then, that is its job now, and that will be its job even more in the days to come.

NATIONAL POLICE

The government and the capitalist class must move constantly towards the imposition of a police state, if they hope to be able to defeat the working-class movement.

The FBI runs training academies for local police, teaching them how to be more "efficient," how to cooperate with each other and to coordinate their activities on a national level. This lays the basis for the creation of a national police force, a national organization as yet unguessed at in danger, which will be a threat to the entire working class.

It also controls one of the largest sets of fingerprints, files, etc., anywhere in the world. This is designed to enable them to know who their enemies are and where they are. This will be a great aid in smashing the working-class movement in the future. Its sole objective is to prepare the road for a police state.

POLICE STATE

This is what lies behind the attempt to introduce ID cards into the schools, to make everyone -- in the interests of "safety" -- register with the police. This kind of ID system is what exists in fascist systems, in military dictatorships, in countries like South Africa and in the countries where the Stalinist bureaucracy rules.

That is why the reactionary director of the Passport Service, Frances Knight, wants to introduce into this country a system of internal passports. That, you see, will protect American freedom! (If we get any more free we won't be able to turn around without bumping into bars!) What is really significant is that the justification for this campaign is to "protect" AMERICANS against the menace of illegal aliens! (see page 6) You see, there are so many foreigners around now, stealing jobs and causing all the unemployment, etc., that Americans need to be able to prove they're Americans -- thus making sure the foreigners don't take over. What a lucky break that people like that are looking after the best interests of the American workers! Not only that, but when they want to put them into slave labor camps the paperwork will already be done.

PROPAGANDA

Nowadays, after Watergate, the ruling class is very interested in restoring the "credibility" of organizations like the FBI. That's why, a few weeks back, they put on TV a two-night program, "Attack on



Terror," which supposedly showed how the noble FBI broke up the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi and caught the murderers of civil rights workers. This piece of tripe is a complete fabrication. The FBI was notorious for harassing civil rights workers, for siding with racists in the South. It moved on the KKK, very reluctantly, only AFTER the murders of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner (two of whom were white) got the Northern liberal establishment all worked up. The KKK had gone too far too fast, and had to be brought to heel. If they're so hot on crushing the KKK, why is it that it's growing, along with other fascist and proto-fascist groups, all around the country without the slightest interference?

LIBERALS

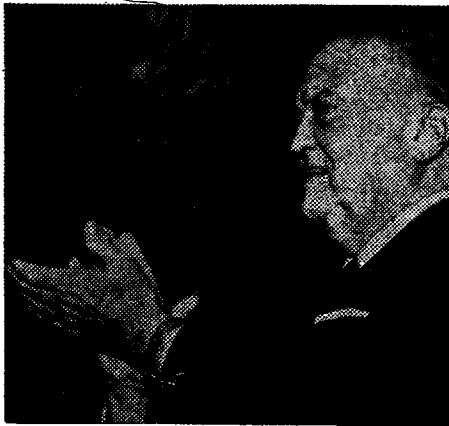
The most recent line on the FBI is that, while it may have been wrong (a LITTLE bit) in the past, it's alright now. Nasty old J. Edgar Hoover is gone and real professionals are in office.

It's clear now that what was behind the attacks on Hoover in the period before he died was not indignation about his reactionary actions, but

Hoover was too independent, too powerful, and wouldn't (for his own reasons) get involved deeply in Nixon's attempts at secret police work. And, of course, the dopey Democratic Party liberals fell right into it -- howling along with Nixon for a new FBI director. The sole gain they managed to get was that instead of an incompetent reactionary cop, the FBI now has a competent reactionary cop as its head. Another victory for the liberals! It's not surprising, then, that some of these same liberals are for a National Police Force. It would be more efficient, they say. Yes, but against who?

CIA

Moving on from the FBI, we come upon the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which is very much in the news these days. It seems -- surprise,



HOOVER

surprise -- that the CIA was and is engaged in all kinds of bad things. All this is supposed to be very shocking. But the problem is that the CIA was created exactly to carry out the functions of police, of the FBI -- that is, of the defense of the 'reactionaries' interests -- on an international level. So what, then, if it went a little overboard?

The CIA was created after World War II as part of the Cold War anti-

communist apparatus. It specialized then, as now, in overthrowing governments, in political assassinations, in breaking trade unions unsympathetic to capitalism and in establishing unions which would not fight for the interests of the workers. Seen in this light, it isn't very surprising that it went a tiny bit outside its "charter" and spied on Americans in the US, opened mail, bugged a few offices, even got involved in Watergate. All that's pretty small potatoes compared to overthrowing governments, murder and torture.

MURDERERS

For instance, the CIA was responsible for the notorious "Phoenix" program in Vietnam, which was nothing more than organized murder of Vietnamese sympathetic to, or said to be sympathetic to, the Viet Cong. This is what is known as "winning the hearts and minds of the people."

For instance, the CIA was directly involved (and this is now admitted, despite the usual lying denials at first) in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile and the establishment of the brutal dictatorship there.

Tortures of indescribable cruelty, wholesale slaughter in the streets, incredible poverty. That's the work of the CIA in Chile, in Indonesia, in Brazil, in Greece and elsewhere.

Therefore, it's not surprising that the CIA was involved in "domestic" operations. What good is murder and torture overseas, in the interests of American imperialism, if you can't do it at home where it really counts?

POLICY

All these facts will increasingly become burning issues of the day. Either the working class destroys these organizations, or they and their capitalist masters will destroy it. Anyone who gives the slightest trust to the various Congressional committees which are "investigating" the CIA and so on, is merely making things easier for these secret police agencies the next time.

No confidence in these committees! The working-class movement must expose the truth about these organizations, it must expose those who work for them, those who are in their pay. It must drive out of the labor movement the bureaucrats, such as Meany, who work hand-in-glove with them all over the world. It must prevent one penny from being appropriated for these murder squads. It must mobilize to prevent recruitment to the police, the FBI, the CIA, it must destroy all groups, publications, etc., which are fronts for them. It must prepare its own self-defense groups to replace the police, to really crush crime -- fruit of capitalist decay -- and to protect itself from the present forces of repression.

CHOICE

For its own salvation, the working class, defeating at every turn the maneuvers of these agencies and the class for which they work, must take over the state and smash all these organs of repression and terror. The road leads either to a new society, a truly human and free one, or to a society which will mean the imposition of barbarism on the human race. There are no other choices.