

workers of the world, unite!

# TRUTH



BIWEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE--REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

NO. 19

DECEMBER 29, 1975

15¢



by Jon Myers

## REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH FOUNDED!

### BUILD STRIKE COMMITTEES IN AUTO!

The founding of the Revolutionary Worker Youth in the US on December 21, 1975, in Detroit, Michigan has a very specific meaning for the fight of the American working class. Not only does it have an international significance, as part of the international mobilization of the workingclass youth to found the Revolutionary Youth International in Berlin, Germany, but it also has a special meaning for American workers. It was no accident that the RWY/USA was founded in Detroit, Michigan and that the majority of the young workers present, including its leadership, were composed of young workers in auto at Ford's River Rouge Plant. The RWY is not just another organization, or even just another "socialist" youth organization. It is an organization of YOUNG WORKERS in the bastion of the American proletariat -- auto, and in the center of the world's auto production -- Detroit, and River Rouge which is responsible for 40 % of Ford's production.

The axis of the fight of the RWY, fighting alongside the Fourth International in the US -- the Trotskyist Organization, is the fight to LEAD and ORGANIZE the struggle of the working class youth. The PLATFORM OF COMBAT for the RWY outlines the central fight as being the fight in auto -- to organize and prepare the NATIONAL STRIKE OF AUTO.

The auto industry concentrates today the crisis of American and world capitalism. It is here that the attacks of the capitalists have been the sharpest. The auto industry has been in deep crisis for over two years, a crisis prepared by Woodcock's sellout contract in 1973. Today there are 84,000 auto workers who will be on lay off during the holiday season. This 84,000 includes 67,823 workers who have been on indefinite layoff for up to two years. This does not include the 100,000 or more auto workers who have been laid off for over two years and who have lost their seniority. In addition, a Michigan economist has estimated that 500,000 workers in auto and related industries have lost their jobs in this latest recession.

Along with this vast unemployment -- throwing thousands and thousands of

young workers into the streets with no hope of finding a job, comes the repression inside the plants. Whatever increase in car production that has occurred this year has come largely off the backs of those who are still working -- through increased speedup, harassment, etc. In most auto plants, workers are now doing the jobs that two or three workers once did and there is still forced overtime even with workers laid off. Along with this speedup has come a new wave of disciplinary layoffs in every auto plant -- most concentrated at Ford's River Rouge, but present throughout the auto industry. The foremen, the plant guards, the lowest form of life in the factories, are becoming more and more bold every day in their attacks against the workers.

#### UNION "LEADERS"

What has the "union," the UAW, done in this situation? The so-called union "leadership," in fact, spineless and cowardly bureaucrats, have only betrayed the attempts of the workers to fight back against this repression. They tell the workers to abide by the "contract" -- a contract that the companies continued on page 7



AUTO WORKERS OCCUPY FACTORY 1974

## SPAIN - THE CENTER OF THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

by Ann Russell

The founding of the Revolutionary Worker Youth in the US, the Berlin Rally, the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International have a common meaning for the Spanish revolution which is approaching -- it is the hour of the Fourth International and the hour of the Fourth International especially in Spain. It is the Spanish revolution which has given the decisive impulse to found the RWY in the US and the Revolutionary Youth International and it will be the international mobilization of the workingclass youth which will provide the decisive aid to the Spanish working class youth whose task today is to leave clandestinity, to take to the streets, and lead the Spanish workers and oppressed masses towards the proletarian revolution in Spain. What is at stake has never been more crucial -- the fate of the European and world revolution, and the fate of the world party which will lead this revolution -- the Fourth International.

#### FRANCOISM WITHOUT FRANCO

The Spanish government, under Juan

Carlos is attempting without success to sustain the dying Francoist regime and to prevent the Spanish workers from putting fascism in its final grave. Despite all the talk about "liberalization" the Spanish workers are now undergoing the worst terror since the victory of fascism in the Spanish Civil War. According to the NEW YORK TIMES, there are between 50 to 100 arrests of militants daily. Terror is the only method that the fascists have left, the only method that the Spanish bourgeoisie has been able to rule with for the last thirty years.

#### WORKERS MOBILIZATIONS

Every attack on the regime is answered by the mobilization of workers in Spain. Even on the day of Juan Carlos' "coronation" 20,000 Chrysler workers took to the streets in Madrid to protest the death of a fellow worker due to an industrial "accident." Demonstrations have taken place in the last few weeks on a daily basis, protesting to free all political prisoners. Mass strikes have taken place in the Basque Provinces, in Catalonia (Barcelona) and in the major universities around the country.

#### TAKING THEIR PLACES

Every organization which claims to represent the working class is taking up the place that they will occupy in the coming revolution. The lines are being drawn. The next weeks or months will be decisive in determining whether or not the Spanish working class will receive the leadership it needs to carry through its struggles to the end.

The Spanish CP, led by Santiago Carrillo, is trying to leave clandestinity in order to take its place behind the "Democratic Junta" of the "liberal" bourgeoisie (led by monarchists!). The Spanish CP is doing everything in its power, along with the Socialist Party, to deliver the Spanish workers into the hands of the bourgeoisie -- as they did in Chile, as they are still trying to do in Portugal.

The French OCI tries to lead the Spanish workers back to 1939 under the slogan "for the Spanish Republic" -- a "republic" that the Spanish workers know all too well -- they paid for this "republic" with 30 years of fascism! To do this, they resurrect the POUM -- an organization that hardly exists today but which the Spanish workers also know

all too well and which Trotsky labelled as the chief betrayers of the Spanish Revolution in the 1930's through their role as left cover for the treacherous Spanish Republic.

In the US, the Socialist Workers party (SWP) under the slogan: "After Franco What?" (which would only be laughed at by workers in Spain) is preparing to disarm its militants by ignoring the fate of the European revolution and plays the role of cover for all of those who do know WHAT -- Ford-Rockefeller, Juan Carlos, and the Spanish CP.

#### THE PORE

The International League, since the founding of its party in Spain, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE), and made more precise at the last meeting of its International Executive Committee, has defined decisively the place of its party in Spain -- opposed to all other others -- a position of complete CLASS INDEPENDENCE, at the head of the mobilization of the Spanish workingclass youth. This is the meaning of the all-out mobilization of the International League and in Spain especially in the continued on page 6

and violence.

Against such methods, the International League has struggled for a long time to form a Workers Commission of Inquiry in order to allow the entire workers' movement to expose the charge against Comrade Varga and the International League. The founding of such a commission (see communique below) marks an important victory in the fight of the International League against police methods within the workers' movement.

The work of the Commission of Inquiry must be supported in the US. Especially since the Spartacist League in the US has now openly joined the OCI's campaign of slander against the League.

Two letters, one from a worker at Ford

in Chicago and another from a militant in the workers movement in the US, discuss the importance of the struggle against the methods of slander for workers in the US.

Also printed is an open letter to Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields, former leaders of the Workers League, the Workers League and the SWP/YSA, demanding that they take a stand in support of the work of the Commission of Inquiry.

We make this demand to ALL working class militants and organizations, especially those that call themselves "Trotskyist," to support the work of the commission in order to help rid the workers movement of police methods and slanders.

# Correspondence

## FORD RIVER ROUGE

STAND IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE FIGHTING YOUTH OF THE WORLD! SIGN THIS STATEMENT, YOUR NAMES WILL BE READ BEFORE THE BEST MILITANTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD AT THE FOUNDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL IN BERLIN!

Young workers of the United States, in the very stronghold of the fighting working class, the Ford River Rouge complex, one of the largest centers of production in the world, you have held the founding meeting of your own fighting organization, the Revolutionary Worker Youth of the United States. The meeting adopted a combat platform and a plan of action to mobilize the youth in mass actions against unemployment and repression of rights, against the traitors in the trade union bureaucracy, against wage slavery. A subscription campaign for the paper of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, YOUNG GUARD will be going on. Members of the National Committee chosen at the meeting will be getting you, the workers at Rouge to write for the paper to make it your own, getting reports from the different sections.

A delegation of 3 militants from Ford River Rouge, along with a member of the Trotskyist Organization, the American section of the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International, and a young worker representing the past struggles of the black youth, an ex-Black Panther, were elected to go to the rally in Berlin, December 27th. This rally unites the fighting youth from all over the world, gathering all the elements necessary to organize the entire working class

beginning with the revolution in Spain and Portugal and uniting their actions on a world scale. The rally marches under the slogan, DOWN WITH THE BERLIN WALL, that divides the workers in the East from the workers in the West FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, FOR A WORLD SOVIET REPUBLIC, a world system of workers governments, run and controlled only by the working class.

The revolutionary youth of Spain and Portugal welcome the reinforcements from the United States. All those who stand in SOLIDARITY or who want to go to this rally in Berlin but do not have the means, SIGN THIS STATEMENT, your names will be heard around the world when they are read at the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International in Berlin.

"I stand in solidarity with the fighting youth of the world, with the revolution in SPAIN and PORTUGAL, with the rally in Berlin for the independent organization of the youth, the Revolutionary Youth International and the Revolutionary Worker Youth of the United States."

Michael H. Robert M. William P. Jimmy F. Clara J. Walter W. Wayne H. Earnest L. Dan W. Robert W. Kenneth S. Willie W. Louis A. Lorenzo B. Terry B. Ronald J. James W.

and six more names collected by a worker that are not listed.

## FORD TORRENCE

to the meeting of the RWY -- "I support your cause but I can't make the trip because I am unable. But I support the fight." Fred S.

statement to Berlin Rally -- "The best of luck to those of the working class." James T.

"I support your cause and I hope you get more people to join." Fred S.

## U.S. STEEL SOUTH WORKS

statement to founding meeting of RWY and to Berlin -- "To the meeting of the RYI. I think that the RYI has a really possible chance of making the cause of revolution. Keep up the fight and let us know how it comes out." Richard R.

	ROUGE	TORRENCE	SOUTHWORKS
MONEY COLLECTED	\$30.30	\$13.47	\$5.00
PLEGGED	\$20.00	\$35.00	--
INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARDS SOLD	52	9	4

# PUBLIC MEETING!

The Struggle for the Fourth Open Conference and the First Congress of the Trotskyist Organization

Report from Delegation from Berlin

Sunday January 4th 7:30pm

YMCA 3039 E. 91st St. \$1

# and Provocations Movement Commission!

## LETTER TO WORKERS VANGUARD

This letter refers to the October 3rd article in WORKERS VANGUARD entitled "Platsky/Varga: Anti-Spartacist Odd Couple." As you know, Michel Varga of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International has been accused of CIA-KGB agency by the Lambert-Just leadership of the French OCI; an organization in which the ILRFI constitutes a faction. Consequent to this very serious allegation against Varga by Lambert-Just of the OCI, a Commission of Inquiry has been founded to investigate these charges and determine if they have any basis in fact.

Against this background, your article not only fails to mention the charges against Varga and the Commission of Inquiry, but also insinuates that he is some kind of suspicious character when it states, in its initial characterization of Varga that he is a "highly dubious figure." You seem to be echoing the unsubstantiated charges brought against

Varga by the Lambert-Just grouping, yet you do not mention their earlier charges, the Commission of Inquiry, or any evidence which would make you say he is a "highly dubious figure."

WORKERS VANGUARD owes its readers an explanation before its characterization of Varga as a "highly dubious figure" can be accepted. In the context of the allegations made against Varga by Lambert-Just your statement will be taken as a slanderous innuendo by those readers familiar with the earlier allegations unless you either defend the insinuation with evidence (in WORKERS VANGUARD, before the Commission of Inquiry) or otherwise politically explain what you meant. Sincerely,

R.M., New York

WORKERS VANGUARD has yet to print this letter, or answer any of the questions that this militant poses.

## FOUNDING STATEMENT OF THE WORKERS' COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

The undersigned organizations, militants and personalities belonging to the international and French workers' and democratic movement, responding to the call of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International and of comrade Balazs Nagy (called Michel Varga), member of the International League, decided to constitute themselves as a Workers' Commission of Inquiry, whose goal is to take a position on:

a) The campaign of unproven accusations launched by the leadership of the Organization Communist Internationaliste (OCI) according to which Comrade Balazs Nagy, former leader of the Hungarian Revolution of the Councils of 1956 and former Secretary of the Petoeffi Circle, was an agent-provocateur of the CIA and KGB.

b) The extension of these accusations to the International League as such, going as far as repeated physical attacks against the militants of the OCI-LIRQI Faction, notably during the united demonstrations against Francoism and during the distribution before the meeting for the liberation of the mathematician Leonid Plyushch.

And, to make public the conclusions in order to finish with the methods contrary to workers democracy.

For the basis of the constitution of the Inquiry Commission is that there cannot be a question in the workers and democratic movement of launching public accusations of this gravity against a revolutionary militant or a workingclass organization without proof or on the basis of possible doubt.

The Commission of Inquiry constitutes itself because in the many articles and brochures published by the leadership of

the OCI to this day, not only does it not furnish any proof, contrary to what it claims, but it has launched a campaign of physical aggression. These accusations and attacks being made without proof, and given that is the accuser who must furnish the proof, they thus constitute slander and provocations. (amendment #1) The Commission will take into consideration all the documents and publications which the leadership of the OCI affirms constitutes proof.

This is the point of departure of the work of this Commission of Inquiry. Its first action will be to convoke the leadership of the OCI, which claims to possess proof, to appear before the Commission of Inquiry to return the archives of Balazs Nagy and to bring all the documents in its possession.

The Commission of Inquiry being a unitary organism fighting for respect of workers democracy, and not a political bloc, is open to all organizations and militants of the international workers' movement, including, of course, the militants of the OCI, to all democratic personalities, on the basis of its constitution.

The work of the Commission as well as its results will be rendered public before the workers' movement.

Signed by:

MAREK KANTOR, International League

JEANNE AUDE, OCI-LIRQI Faction

J. PAUL CHAPEL, former member of the National Committee of the AJS (youth organization of the French OCI)

JOHN DOCHERTY, Workers Socialist League of England (under the reserve of ratification by the leadership of the WSL)



# Editorial

## Forward to the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization!

FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION RE-BUILDING THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

We are entering into a new stage in the international class struggle. This new stage is above all determined by the change in the relationship between the proletarian vanguard of the coming revolution and the working class of Europe and the US. The Fourth International, the essential weapon for the working masses of the world to lead their struggles to their conclusion is being rebuilt by the working class youth in the bastions of the world proletariat.

CALL OF YOUTH IN FRANCE AND SPAIN SPAIN

This is the meaning of the decision by the workingclass youth of the US, centered at Ford's River Rouge in Detroit, Ford Torrence in Chicago and US Steel South Works to take up the call of the Revolutionary Youth of France and Spain to found the REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH (RWY) USA as part of the international mobilization of the workingclass youth for the Revolutionary Youth International which was founded on December 27, 1975. The American workingclass youth has taken its place in the fight of the workingclass vanguard to rebuild its party, the Fourth International.

It is on this mobilization of the workingclass youth for the revolution that the Fourth International will be proclaimed as rebuilt on January 30, 1976 at the International Fourth Open Conference called by the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International. This is also the basis for the fight for the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization, Rebuilding the American Section of the Fourth International.

ALL OUT FOR BERLIN

Valuable lessons have been learned in the last weeks through the direct mobilization of the entire International League for the success of the Berlin Rally and the founding of the RYI. The task of founding the RYI was given to us as an objective necessity. The European revolution is ready to begin, above all through the imminent revolutionary explosion in Spain. Will the revolutionary youth of Spain who are ready to take to the streets to finish with Francoism receive the aid of the international working class and its vanguard party -- Yes or No? Will the International League, basing itself on this international mobilization through its party in Spain, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, by basing itself on the workingclass youth in Europe and in Spain, opposed to all other parties, place itself at the head of the workingclass mobilization in Spain and carry through the proletarian revolution in Spain -- Yes or No? These questions were in the forefront of the mobilization for the RYI and have been tested and fought in the last weeks through the world, above all in Europe and the US.

In the US itself we have learned, once again in opposition to everything that all the centrists have said for years, that the American workingclass youth is ready to take up both its international and national tasks. The young American workers, especially those in the auto industry, are ready to take up the fight for the revolution -- at home and around the world. This is the meaning of the mobilization in the last weeks that led to the founding of the Revolutionary Worker Youth USA and the beginning of the implantation of the Fourth International in the bastions of the American proletariat.

For the young workers in the US there is no contradiction between the fight for the immediate issues in the plants -- against unemployment, repression and war and the fight for the RYI -- for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the defense of the Spanish revolution. The real fighters, those who want to wage the day to day fight inside the factories, are also those who want to take up their international tasks as part of the world proletarian vanguard.

RESULTS

It was by putting these questions in the forefront of our struggle to win the

workingclass youth of the US to the banner of the Fourth International that we were able to impulse the first successes of the RWY. This was done through a massive campaign to gather the funds to send a delegation of the RWY and the TO to the Berlin Rally, a fight waged directly in the factories. Although this campaign was not able to raise all the necessary money in the factories itself -- this fight has begun and the workingclass youth have learned valuable lessons about the political fight to build our support IN THE FACTORIES. This campaign also laid the basis for the publication of YOUNG GUARD/USA as the voice of the young workers THEMSELVES, financed, written, and distributed by the workingclass youth.

This fight for the direct mobilization for Berlin also meant a change in the political and organizational priorities of the TO/USA. The publication in the month of December of two issues of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, two issues of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (one with the Call for the Fourth Open Conference), the first issue of YOUNG GUARD/USA and one issue of TRUTH and the fight for their massive distribution was done in order to place the INTERNATIONAL WEAPONS of the International League and the RYI in the forefront of our fight. It is in this context that TRUTH was unable to come out on a biweekly basis at the end of November and December. This represents a weakness in our financial and organizational means, but also a sign of strength -- our recognition that the workingclass youth in the US need and want not only an "American" paper, but INTERNATIONAL weapons to lead their struggles.

DEATH KNELL

Whether it is immediately recognized by all or not, the founding of the RYI in Berlin, the founding of the RWY in Detroit and the imminent rebuilding of the Fourth International have sounded the death knell for the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance USA (SWP/YSA). This "party" (which has now even ceased to call itself a Party) once represented Trotskyism in the eyes of the American working class. Despite its rapidly rightward course -- its cringing before the American liberals, its abandonment of any revolutionary program under its "Bill of Rights," its abandonment of the world revolution under its falsification of Trotsky's slogan "everything on this planet will be decided on American soil," it still represented Trotskyism in the US because there was no other force to present a revolutionary alternative to it.

Now such a force exists. The RWY exists and is known for what it stands for among workingclass youth in the centers of production in the US. To the young workers at Rouge Trotskyism is known as everything that the SWP/YSA opposes -- the immediate national strike in auto, the fight to impose the sliding scale of working hours, workers defense guard, the revolutionary boycott of fascist Spain, the Socialist United States of Europe, the Socialist United States of America. Now the young workers who are seeking the Fourth International have an alternative to the SWP's betrayals. Now the young militants of the SWP/YSA who are ready to fight have a weapon against their leadership.

WOHLFORTH AND FIELDS

In the fight to resolve the crisis of the Fourth International in the US everyone is choosing their camp. Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields, former leaders of the Workers League who once waged a fight against the SWP and failed have now openly capitulated to the SWP leadership. This is the significance of their article in INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS openly capitulating to the SWP's reactionary position on calling for federal troops to Boston and their support to the Socialist Party in Portugal. This is the meaning of Wohlforth's presence at the YSA convention as one of the "founders of the YSA."

The International League waged a fight with Wohlforth (we plan to publish this correspondence) to draw a real evaluation of his struggles in the US continued on page 7

It was shortly following the founding of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International that the Lambert-Just leadership of the OCI (International Communist Organization) of France made a public attack upon Michel Varga, a leader of the International League, accusing him of being an agent of the CIA and KGB (Soviet secret police). The OCI leadership made these accusations against a former leader of Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and long-time militant within the Trotskyist movement without producing the slightest bit of evidence to back their charges.

Soon the OCI's campaign of slander was extended to include the entire International League. Taking such methods to their logical conclusion, the OCI leadership has organized physical attacks

upon members of the League, the latter being outside a meeting in Paris organized to protest the repression against Soviet mathematician Plyushch. A member of the International League was hospitalized as a result of this attack. This attack was condemned by numerous people including Laurent Schwartz, president of the International Committee to Free Plyushch and Alain Krivine, leader of the French Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire.

The reason for this campaign against the League has long been obvious. The League has taken up the fight against the Lambert-Just leadership's betrayal of the OCI's past role as THE Trotskyist Organization of France. The OCI leadership has proven how real the charge is by answering it with slander.

## Against Slander in the Workers' Movement

### Join the Inquiry

#### OPEN LETTER

AN OPEN LETTER TO MILITANTS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS, THE WORKERS LEAGUE, TIM WOHLFORTH AND NANCY FIELDS

Since the foundation of the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International we have called upon all workingclass organizations and militants, and especially those who claim to be Trotskyists, to take a stand against the slanders and provocations of the leadership of the French OCI against Comrade Balazs Nagy (Michel Varga) and their extension to the International League. When these attacks first appeared almost everyone in the European workers' movement denounced them -- from the French Lutte Ouvriere and Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire to the British Workers Revolutionary Party. But when it has come time to directly confront the leadership of the French OCI with their charges, to put words into action, all of these organizations have backed off from the struggle for workers' democracy.

Perhaps workers' organizations in the US could have previously used the excuse (however wrong) that this was a "European affair" having nothing to do with the US. But now these slanders and KGB provocations have been brought to the US workers' movement by the American Spartacist League which in its October 3, 1975, Issue #79 of WORKERS VANGUARD brings these slanders to the US and the American supporters of the International League, the Trotskyist

Organization. This included the publication of a photograph which claimed to be that of Comrade Varga, a photo taken directly from the French OCI as a method well-known, especially in Eastern Europe, of provocation against Trotskyist militants.

All of you know the methods of the Spartacist League in the US -- gossip and slander which can eventually lead to police provocation. These methods have been directed against all of you and condemned by all of you -- including the recent revelations of the FBI's COINTELPRO PROGRAM which show that the FBI directly attempted to use the Spartacist League to spread slander against the SWP. The latest is just one more example of these methods, made even worse by the fact that the Spartacist League claims to have no political agreement with the French OCI and are simply using every piece of dirt they can find against their political opponents.

We must consciously put an end to such methods in the workers' movement here, and internationally. They are a disgrace to all those who claim to be Trotskyist and can only serve the enemies of the workers' movement. The time to do this is now. We urge of you to send your statements of support to the Commission of Inquiry and to join with us in constituting a Commission to expose and put an end to slanders and provocations in our movement.

THE SECRETARIAT -- Trotskyist Organization of the US



## ONLY TRUTH CAN UNMASK FRAME-UP

Trotsky in the 1930's initiated the Dewey Commission (Trotsky testifying shown above) to EXPOSE the slanders of Stalin's Moscow Trials. Trotskyists today must once again expose Stalinist slanders in our movement. (headline from TRUTH published by Socialist Workers Party in 1937).



# Political Resolution of the First National

NOTE: The first part of this resolution appeared in the 1st issue of TRUTH (#17). We are reprinting it in its entirety, including part 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is in this situation that the work of the Socialist Workers Party, a centrist

party, presents the greatest danger to the American working class and its party, the International League, not because the SWP is capable of winning the leadership of the working class, but because it is capable of disorganizing the struggles of the workers while strengthening the hold of the traditional leaderships over them.

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

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

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

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

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

## A BALANCE SHEET OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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

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

tenance of the continuity, of the acquisitions of the IC.

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

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

It is no wonder that while they maintained a struggle against the imperialists, the Stalinists, and the centrist leadership of the SWP, that they did so in an extremely vacillating manner. The confusion is expressed in the names of the group: Revolutionary Tendency, American Committee for the Fourth International, and then, simply, Workers League.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The WL waged no systematic struggle against the wage-freeze. It organized for a labor party and then abandoned this for building a "youth movement." It went from cozying up to the SWP to denouncing it hysterically. The leadership was increasingly subject to the frantic and precipitous interventions of the SLL which contributed nothing to correcting the policies.

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

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

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

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

The International Executive Commit-



# Conference of the Trotskyist Organization

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

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

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

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

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

The Trotskyist Organization has made many of the same mistakes made by the Workers League in the United States. In the absence of taking up the question of the rebuilding of the US Section of the FI as a conscious task, in a systematic and disciplined fashion, capitulation to nationalism and spontaneism is inevitable. This is at the root of the tendency of the Trotskyist Organization to, instead of finding the means to guide the working class through the various stages of the development of its consciousness, to attempt to by-pass them. This was the problem with the general strike slogan and with the Committees of Action slogan, which while not wrong in themselves, were wrong as presented.

Similarly this is at the root of the tendency to, instead of guiding the party through the stages of its development, seek to by-pass them. Since the founding of the Trotskyist Organization, indeed in its resolution, the wresting of the leadership of the working class from the traditional leaderships, the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International (the proclamation of the Revolutionary Workers Party), and the National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization, have been, to one degree or another, at one time or

another, identified. And, as with the Workers League, without taking up the problem of destroying the SWP as a Trotskyist Party in the eyes of the working class.

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

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

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

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

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

**THE STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, TO DESTROY THE SWP, FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION -- REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, PROCLAIMING THE RWP, IS A STRUGGLE OF THE WHOLE PARTY.**

It is only the ILRFI, the world democratic centralist center, which can take on US imperialism, the international apparatus of the Kremlin, and thus the SWP which covers for them in the name of Trotskyism.

Thus for the International League the Congress of the TO -- Rebuilding the US Section of the FI will signify the decisive completion of the task of rebuilding the Fourth International. It is the mobilization of the youth, the construction of the party and the destruction of the OCI as a Trotskyist organization which is the key to the success of the Fourth Open Conference. But it is the mobilization of the youth, the construction of the party, and the capitalization of the work of Berlin and the Fourth Open Conference in the Congress of the TO -- Rebuilding the US Section of the FI, which is key to insuring the advance of the Fourth International.

The SWP can play the role that it does as the center of the regroupment of centrist forces against the Fourth International, precisely because of the role which it once played in maintaining the continuity of the FI. It was precisely the struggle which it waged against Pabloism in 1953 which permitted it to "save" the

Pabloite "international" in 1963. In the present maneuvers with the OCI and Wohlforth, it seeks to bring new life to the Pabloite "international," as in 1963.

As the struggle of the working class obliges the liquidationists and confusionists to drop their Trotskyist facades, the SWP attempts to "reconstruct" them.

Thus the struggle to block this regroupment, to destroy these "centers," is a struggle to demonstrate that it is not the SWP and the so-called internationals which are orbiting around it -- the US Sec. the Organization Committee, the IC -- which is the party of Trotsky but the International League.

As we have said many times, this begins with the counterposition of our world strategy for the construction of the party as a world party and the mobilization of the workingclass youth against the traditional leaderships on the basis of this strategy. This is a question of the fight to bring down the Berlin Wall, for the Socialist United States of Europe, beginning with the revolution in Spain which will spark the revolution throughout Europe and bring new life to the Portuguese revolution.

It is necessary above all to develop the OPEN character of this mobilization, and in this framework, systematic propaganda against the policy of Hansen's SWP as such, driving a wedge in the centrist regroupment.

It is necessary to take us systematically the question of building an apparatus against the apparatus of the SWP.

On the basis of this political struggle, materialized in the growing mobilization of the workingclass youth for Berlin, to be capitalized in the Fourth Open Conference, it is possible to deepen the class tensions in the SWP, obliging the leadership to take an increasingly open anti-Trotskyist stance, developing the proletarian wing of the SWP, splitting the SWP and thus destroying it as the Trotskyist party in the eyes of the whole working class.

This is the content of the Congress of the TO -- Rebuilding the US Section of the FI Proclaiming the RWP: the destruction of the SWP as Trotskyist in the eyes of the workers. It is only this which gives the SWP any utility for the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus, thus it will increasingly disintegrate.

It is only this struggle which can provide an alternative to all the nationalist and spontaneist groups in the US. This concerns first of all the militants of the WL who because they are isolated believe the destruction of the SWP to be impossible, thus they simply say the FI exists and this is enough. But it also concerns all the groups and individuals who because they are isolated also believe it impossible to destroy the SWP so they say the FI is dead. This is the unity of the WL, the SL, the RSL, the LPL, the SL(DC), the TOC, ET AL. On the basis of this struggle for the world democratic centralist party, against the SWP, against centrism, all these groups and militants will define themselves and the best will be won to the Congress of the TO -- Rebuilding the US Section of the FI.

This is a struggle for the whole of the party to draw a balance sheet of the class struggle in the US, of its work in the US, developing its capacity to win the whole of the American working class to the FI.

In the struggle for the Congress of the TO -- Rebuilding the US Section of the FI, basing ourselves on the lessons of the struggle against the Lambert-Just faction of the OCI, it is necessary to avoid the tendencies to, on the one hand, transform the Congress into a Congress of the SWP to reform the SWP, or, on the other hand, to turn it into simply a Congress of the TO. Both tendencies constitute an avoidance of the struggle with the criminal leadership of the SWP.

This speaks all the more to the question of the world democratic centralist party, to taking up in a systematic and disciplined fashion in accordance with Bolshevik methods, the question of rebuilding the US Section of the party. Open political struggle in the whole party is indispensable to the struggle against capitulation to centrism in the TO,

to developing a firm leadership of the TO.

1. The discussion begun on the balance sheet and the tasks in the US must be continued and the conclusions drawn in the form of a resolution of the IEC. This must include a discussion and approval of the Platform of Combat.

2. A plan for propaganda in the FI specifically directed against the SWP for the Congress of the TO must be drawn up by the international responsible for Agit-Prop. and the responsible for Agit-Prop in the US.

3. A plan for the publication of the most important cadre education documents in English must be drawn up by the responsible for Agit-Prop with the TA. This must be concretized in the form of work and financial plans, setting specific requirements for raising funds with English speaking sections.

4. A work plan for the discussion and issue of the Platform of Combat and a specific call of the Fourth Conference to the Congress in the US must be developed by the Political Bureau of the TO with the representative of the IEC.

5. The development of the international technical apparatus is indispensable to these tasks.

**THE TASKS OF THE TO IN THE REBUILDING OF THE US SECTION OF THE FI**

The nature of the struggle to rebuild the US Section of the FI as the struggle of the world democratic centralist party, does in no sense make the struggle of the TO, as its US Section in the process of being rebuilt, an easier one. Quite the contrary, it is precisely to the extent that the TO functions increasingly AS A SECTION, and not as an adjunct, that the pressures of imperialism, of the international apparatus of the Kremlin, of centrism, will increase.

It is necessary to be very clear on this. The whole of the history of our party in the US, particular in the period of the Left Opposition and the period of the Second World War, demonstrate this. The SWP was made of very hard stuff. We have often denounced those who have shown contempt for our movement with their criticisms of the old leadership of the SWP based on 20-20 hindsight. The point is to surmount, to by-pass this leadership, to build a leadership FULLY adequate to the tasks.

The barrage of slander which has been heaped on the International League and more recently the Trotskyist Organization is a drop in the bucket compared to that which will be launched as we increasingly progress in the rebuilding of the US Section.

This progress can only develop by basing ourselves fully on the mobilization of the international working class, above all its youth.

It is necessary to deepen and make more profound our fight to implement the decisions of the Second Congress and the Extraordinary Conference in mobilizing the American workingclass youth for Berlin. This must take the form of elaborating our demands and slogans in accordance with the method outlined in the first draft political resolution (the mobilization of the masses on transitional demands, etc.) and in elaborating the political content of the Tactical Plan. In addition, it is necessary to take up the organization of the unemployed, the high school, and the student youth around the young workers in the factories.

On this basis it is necessary to develop the independent, mass, and open character of the campaign, above all in relation to the militants of the YSA.

In the framework of carrying out the line of the party and on the basis of the world strategy of the International League it is necessary to elaborate the strategy in the United States and develop the tactics necessary to raise the American working class to the level of the tasks with which it is presented.

This is a struggle against Stalinism and the centrism of the SWP for it is a question of developing the consciousness and organization of the American working class continued on page 7





Washington et Moscou: les meilleurs partisans de la «continuité» à Madrid.

general strike to bring down Francoism. Nor is there the slightest mention of the relationship between the Spanish revolution and the Portuguese revolution and their significance for the European revolution as a whole. This is not an accident. After having slavishly defended and followed behind the Portuguese Social Democracy, the SWp now has washed its hands of the Portuguese revolution by opening up a "general discussion" on Portugal in an effort to cover its tracks of political capitulation to one wing of support of the bourgeois order.

In Spain, the SWp hopes to avoid this embarrassment. If you leave no trail, you won't have to cover anything up. And, of course, this fits other needs too. If the maneuvers of the SWp toward the Lambert-Just faction of the French OCI are to continue unhindered, it is better to say nothing than be in a position opposed to that of the OCI,

which calls for "the Republic" in Spain. Let there be no mistake about it. Today is not the hour of a "democratic Spain" or a "Spanish Republic." Today is the hour of the proletarian revolution. The slogan of the "Republic" was the slogan of the Stalinists which paved the way for Franco in the 1930's and is the slogan which will pave the way tomorrow for a new counterrevolution.

If the SWp tries to be discreet on the Spanish Revolution in words, it has utterly failed to be discreet in deeds. The SWp, at first, consistently refused to participate in the campaign launched by the International League to end the

State of Exception proclaimed in the Basque Provinces in April of this year and for the defense of all political prisoners. From the beginning, the International League made it clear that this could only happen through the socialist revolution and that the fight against repression was inextricably linked with the fight for the workers' and peasants' government. At a demonstration called by the Action Committee in St. Louis, however, where the SWp did decide to participate in the form of their presidential candidate, the SWp tried to make it appear that the only question involved with the political prisoners was one of "democracy" pure and simple. But then, what can be expected from a party which reduces the problem of the American socialist revolution to one of "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Similarly, when the Trotskyist Organization called upon the SWp at an SWp forum to join the struggle for an international boycott of fascist Spain, once again the SWp refused to take up the fight.

At the up-coming convention of the YSA, the militants of both the YSA and SWp will again be faced with a choice: continuing along the path preparing the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution or joining the struggle to defend it through the mobilization of the working class in the organization of boycott committees. The Trotskyist Organization calls upon the militants of the YSA to join with the Revolutionary Worker Youth in the US to take a stand on the side of the Spanish Revolution.

## SWp Prepares Betrayal of Spanish Revolution

by Mike Conrad

With the death of Franco and the installation in power of the "little prince" Juan Carlos, the crisis in Spain enters on a new level. Franco's death signals not only the desperate attempts of the Spanish bourgeoisie to scramble for positions in the consolidation of the new government, but it signals the opening for the working masses to turn the death of Franco into the fall of the entire Francoist system.

It is in this context of the imminence of the Spanish Revolution that the Socialist Workers party begins to take its place among those reformists and centrists who seek to prevent the proletarian revolution in Spain. In the case of the

SWp, it is not a question of "just one more tendency" determining itself in relation to the struggle for power by the working class. The SWp, because of its past (which it betrays with every utterance and action today), is still seen by the workers as the party of Trotsky in the United States. This gives its stance a particular importance.

After many months of silence on the developing revolution in Spain, the SWp was finally forced to say something prior to Franco's demise. But its article titled "After Franco -- What?" is significant not so much for what it says (a recapitulation of the events in Spain up to that point) as for what it doesn't say. Nowhere in the entire article is there a word about a CONCRETE PERSPECTIVE for the Spanish Revolution, i.e. the



### SPAIN

continued from page 1

last weeks for the Berlin Rally -- to give the Spanish workingclass youth the international support they need to carry out their fight.

The next weeks will be decisive for the PORE, the International League, the Fourth International and the fate of the European revolution. In the next weeks the PORE must place itself at the head of the vanguard of the Spanish working class through the fight outlined by its PLATFORM OF COMBAT which founded the PORE:

In the face of whatever maneuver by whatever bourgeois group: in the face of the Francoist dictatorship and its repression, faced with the putschist plants of the "ultras" of the regime, faced with the attempts to change the regime peacefully in order to prevent the workers from struggling and to establish a new bourgeois government -- in the face of all that, and as soon as possible, workers, you must mobilize yourselves with the goal of the working class' taking the political scene with the aim of imposing its own solutions.

BEGIN THE GENERAL STRIKE, OCCUPY THE FACTORIES, CALL TOGETHER ASSEMBLIES, ELECT FACTORY COMMITTEES, SPREAD THEM AND CENTRALIZE THEM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE TO BRING DOWN FRANCOISM AND BURY IT!

also taken their decisive place -- against all other leaderships in bringing the aid of the American workers to the Spanish revolution. By organizing the fight against Ford-Rockefeller at home -- in their factories, the American workers will aid the fight of the Spanish workers as well -- the fight against Ford, GM and Chrysler is a world fight. The Trotskyist Organization and the RWY have also launched a call to all workers, militants and workingclass organizations to take up the fight to STOP ALL ORDERS TO FASCIST SPAIN! OPEN THE BOOKS! NO MILITARY AID TO FRANCO'S FASCISTS! For all of those who say that they are in "solidarity" with the struggles of the Spanish workers, we say that solidarity is not enough, the Spanish workers need our active support. JOIN THE BOYCOTT OF FASCIST SPAIN! JOIN THE FIGHT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH!



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH

In the US, the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth have



LONG LIVE  
the PORE  
of SPAIN!



# TRUTH

## Revolutionary Worker Youth Sends Delegation to Berlin

On December 21, 1975 in Detroit, Michigan, the final stage of the mobilization of the workingclass youth in the US for the Berlin Rally and the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International was completed by the decision to found the REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES, the American arm of the Revolutionary Youth International.

The meeting heard greetings from Jon Myers in the name of the Trotskyist Organization and the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International. The greetings stressed the international significance of the decision being taken to found the Revolutionary Worker Youth as the response of the American workingclass youth in the center of the industrial proletariat -- the auto industry to the world-wide crisis of capitalism and the beginning of the revolution in Europe. It means that the American workingclass youth is ready to take up the international fight against the Ford-Rockefeller regime, a fight that is underway today in Spain, France and throughout the world and which will be carried through to the end in the US by the Revolutionary Worker Youth, fighting alongside of the Fourth International. Today's meeting will not only be heard in Detroit, but throughout the US and throughout the world -- in Berlin, Paris, Barcelona, Stockholm, Warsaw and Budapest.

The meeting also heard greetings from Fred -- a worker at Ford Torrence in Chicago, and Richard -- a young worker at US Steel South Works in Chicago who were unable to come to the meeting. Reports were also given on the progress of the fight for the RWY in Chicago. The meeting adopted the Plan of Action presented by David Markos of the Committee of Preparation of the Berlin Rally in the US which included the decision to found the RWY, the decision to launch YOUNG GUARD USA, the newspaper of the RWY with a campaign for subscriptions, correspondents, and distributors in the major factories in the US. The meeting also made

plans for its first public meeting in the US to be held on December 31, 1975, at the YSA convention in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

After discussion and amendments the RWY adopted its PLATFORM OF COMBAT (published in Issue #1 of YOUNG GUARD USA) to mobilize the American workingclass youth for the First Congress of the RWY in the US. This PLATFORM OF COMBAT is the basis of the fight of the RWY, its political and organizational weapon to wage the fight to transform the RWY into A MASS ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKINGCLASS YOUTH for its First Congress.

Finally, on the basis of those who have come forward so far in taking the leadership and initiative in the fight for Berlin and the RWY the meeting elected four delegates to the Berlin Rally to found the Revolutionary Youth International and elected its National Commi-

tee that will lead the fight for the First Congress of the RWY. The National Committee is composed of three young workers from Ford River Rouge -- Willy, Walter, Wayne and Walter W., and David M., who is a member of the Trotskyist Organization. The meeting resolved that this National Committee must be expanded as soon as possible to include workers from Chicago and must also be expanded as soon as new militants come forward and prove themselves in the struggles ahead.

The first successes made in our fight which resulted in the founding of the RWY could not have been achieved without the total mobilization of the entire International League and the Committee of Preparation for Berlin and each of its sections in the direct mobilization for the Berlin Rally and the founding of the RYI. It has been the response and the fight of the workingclass youth through-

out the world -- especially in France, Spain and the US which has proven that the Fourth International exists and fights through the International League and which will provide the mass basis for the Fourth Open Conference on January 30, 1976 which will proclaim the Fourth International to be rebuilt. This is what is at stake and this is the fight that the RWY will insure the success of.

JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH!

READ, DISTRIBUTE, CORRESPOND WITH YOUNG GUARD!

READ AND DISTRIBUTE ITS PLATFORM OF COMBAT!



## SWp Says 'Maybe' to Fight Against Layoffs

by Margaret Brecht

November 14 -- Chicago -- A delegation of the Trotskyist Organization of the US went to a public meeting of the Socialist Workers "party" (SW"p") held in a university district on Chicago's Southside. (Formerly the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), this organization has recently changed its name in order to reassure the American bourgeoisie that it is indeed no longer the party of the Fourth International, of Lenin and Trotsky, in the United States.)

This meeting was called to rally support for the liberal bourgeois feminist campaign to ratify the so-called Equal Rights Amendment. The Trotskyist Organization went to fight to win the militants of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the SW"p" who continue to claim to be Trotskyist to the campaign which it wages with the revolutionary worker youth to impose the sliding scale of working hours; to block the attempt of the Hansen/Barnes leadership of the SW"p" to subordinate the struggle of the workers to the "liberal" bourgeoisie.

### THE BLOC WITH THE REFORMISTS

The speaker, a member of the SW"p" AND of the bureaucrats' "Coalition of Labor Union Women," in an attempt to maintain the bloc with the reformists and Stalinists, attempted to avoid responding to the demand of the Trotskyist Organization that she with the other militants organize delegations of the YSA and the SW"p" to the meetings which the revolutionary worker youth and the Trotskyist Organization are organizing at

US Steel's South Works -- also on Chicago's Southside -- to advance the fight to impose the sliding scale of working hours.

The Hansen Barnes leadership of the SW"p" accepts the view of Meany/Woodcock and the Stalinists that the workers have no choice but to accept the layoffs. Instead of mobilizing the workers to stop the layoffs, they propose that the workers ask the courts and the legislature to make the corporations distribute the layoffs "equally" among workers of both sexes and all races! Against the attack of the Ford-Rockefeller regime, "Preferential Layoffs!" is their battle-cry.

### THE FIGHT OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION

The Trotskyist Organization, basing itself on the mobilization of the American working class against the regime, took up the struggle for the independence of the proletariat as a class. It demanded of the speaker that she explain how a mobilization of the workers to ratify the "Equal Rights Amendment" would benefit the MASSES, how it would strengthen the independence of the class against the capitalists, and how this proposition of the SW"p" differed in anyway from that of the Stalinists who propose a "Bill of Rights for Women."

This struggle was supported by the intervention of a woman worker who said that Title VI and the "Equal Rights Amendment" had been cited by her foreman as justification for placing even more work on the women.

Before these class questions the speaker was tongue-tied. The Trotskyist

Organization denounced this capitulation to the bourgeoisie and explained that it constituted a break from the tradition of the Fourth International in the United States which never supported the mobilization of the proletariat to ratify the "liberal" bourgeoisie's "ERA."

### "MAYBE"

Thus the speaker was finally forced to take a stand on the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization to unite the working class to stop the layoffs, to impose the sliding scale of working hours.

"Maybe," she said, "We'll see if we think that its good for the workers. I don't know much about it."

This equivocal response to collaboration with the revolutionary worker youth and the Trotskyist Organization at US Steel's South Works was too much for the hacks of the Hansen-Barnes leadership.

One of them jumped up in the back of the room and began to impassionately implore the audience to "unite" in the marches, previously unmentioned, being organized by the National Organization of Women (NOW), a bourgeois organization designed to maintain the discontent and the protests of upper class women within the framework of the Democratic Party, composed of just such women, middle-class professionals, and a handful of trade union bureaucrats.

### THE TIME IS RIPE

It is the conflict of the classes, which was both expressed and advanced in this struggle between the treacherous leadership of the SW"p" and the Trotskyist

Organization, which is at the basis of the crisis of the SW"p".

In this period critical for the American workingclass it finds itself paralyzed. One young militant of the SW"p" approached the delegation of the Trotskyist Organization and asked: "Who is the Fourth International?" In this "joke," his own sense of bankruptcy of the SW"p" was manifest.

The time is ripe for the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International.

All the young workers who fight to unite the whole working class in the fight against unemployment, who fight to organize the revolutionary worker youth in the United States in the RYI for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, should confront the militants of the YSA and the SW"p" who claim to represent the Fourth International with this "Maybe" and fight to win their participation in the united campaign to impose the sliding scale of working hours.

And the militants who claim to be Trotskyist must take up this same struggle. It is only in this struggle to unite the working class though its youth in the bastions of the proletariat against the attack of the bourgeoisie and its agents that it is possible to destroy the SW"p" as the party of the Fourth International, of Lenin of Trotsky, in the US.

JOIN US IN THE MOBILIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH FOR BERLIN!

JOIN IN THE FIGHT FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION REBUILDING THE U.S. SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!



## WORKER YOUTH

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break every day. Woodcock and his lackeys prepared for the layoffs in the 1973 contract -- they "won" SUB pay for the workers who they knew would be laid off in the coming year. Ask the 500,000 workers who have lost their jobs permanently in auto because of Woodcock's betrayal about his SUB pay "victory." They refuse to organize a fight against the layoffs, they refuse to bring the young workers back to the factories and are already preparing for a sellout in 1976 with their "Apache" strategy -- having the workers go out plant by plant or company by company, isolating and demoralizing them. We need a NATIONAL STRIKE of the entire auto industry, not Woodcock's "strategy."

### SPAIN

Woodcock and Co. have come up with another scheme to take advantage of the workers' anger against what is going on. Now Woodcock has come out against the involvement of the auto corporations in Spain. Taking advantage of the vast solidarity and support that the Revolutionary Worker Youth has organized in Ford River Rouge against the fascist regime in Spain, Woodcock now tries to use Ford's involvement in Spain as an excuse for his refusal to fight here at home. He blames the auto corporations' involvement in Spain as a reason for the loss of jobs in the US, saying "We watched with agony the arrival of giant multinational companies in Spain." Where is Woodcock's "agony" over the loss of 500,000 jobs by the auto corporations in the US! The Trotskyist Organization and the RWY propose that the American workingclass youth fight both at home and in Spain, fight both Woodcock and the auto corporations by linking the struggles here and in Spain -- JOBS FOR ALL! A NATIONAL STRIKE IN AUTO! STOP ALL ORDERS TO FASCIST SPAIN! Spain is not an "excuse." We fight to join the revolution in Spain with the revolution in the US.

### NATIONAL STRIKE IN AUTO

Many workers want to fight back and are fighting back every day even in the form of the small, day to day struggles inside the plant. They have questions about the possibilities for a national strike in auto because they have only seen the losing strikes that the bureaucracy has led. We say now -- there will be a strike in auto this year -- but it will be a losing strike if it is led and organized by the trade union "leaders," the bureaucrats. If the strike is to win, if it is to win all of the demands that we need, it must be led and organized by the young workers themselves, independently of the bureaucrats and in order to get rid of Woodcock and Co. The question is not whether a strike will occur -- but who will lead it? The bureaucrats, who do the jobs of the bosses in our unions, or the workers themselves? This is the decisive question.

## BUILD STRIKE COMMITTEES

The Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth fight to organize and prepare this strike in the factories NOW. This must be done through the organization of strike committees in every auto factory, through the election of workers' delegates in every department, every line, etc. Through the fight to elect the delegates of the workers themselves, in their own strike committees, the workers will organize their demands for the national strike and confront the union leadership with these demands.

The bureaucrats will not agree to our demands and therefore we must organize and prepare the national strike independently of the trade union leaders. We must fight inside the unions and at the same time organize our own independent forces. This is the real meaning of the slogan for the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UAW that we had previously raised in TRUTH. The National Assembly is not a thing in and of itself. It is not a device to "pressure" the union misleaders. It can only come about as a result of the independent organization of the workers in their own committees, with their own delegates. It is on this basis that a National Assembly can win the majority of the UAW to our fight. But our first priority remains the organization of our own independent weapons.

### OUR DEMANDS

The demands that the Trotskyist Organization and the RWY proposes to lead this fight imply a direct confrontation between the workers in auto and the bosses and the bureaucrats. In the face of unemployment we must demand: JOBS FOR ALL, IMPOSE THE SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS -- 30 HOURS FOR 40 HOURS PAY! BRING THE YOUNG WORKERS BACK TO THE FACTORIES -- ORGANIZE THE EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED! EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK -- end the oppression of minorities and women workers! ORGANIZE A NATIONAL STRIKE IN AUTO -- OUST WOODCOCK AND MEANY! END REPRESSION IN THE FACTORIES AND THE STREETS -- NO DISCIPLINARY LAYOFFS! DEFEND EVERY ACTION, DEFEND EVERY MILITANT! ORGANIZE WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS in the factories and in the streets to protect our rights! DOWN WITH THE UNELECTED REGIME OF FORD-ROCKEFELLER! FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!

The workers in auto must meet and discuss these demands and formulate their own demands dealing with the specific conditions in every plant, in every department. The Revolutionary Worker Youth is preparing, through the fight for its First Congress, for a mass meeting in front of Solidarity House to organize for the strike and to confront Woodcock and Co. with our demands and to demand their removal. The Revolutionary Worker Youth is open to all those who want to take up this fight. The struggle has already begun at Ford River Rouge, at Ford Torrence in Chicago. Join us and deepen the fight for it to succeed.

## RESOLUTION

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class, beginning with its present concerns, in relation to its tasks in the world revolution. It takes the form of the constant struggle to make more precise our slogans expressing the relationship between the struggle in defense of the immediate interests of the working class in the US, and the necessity to take a stand in defense of the revolutions begun in Portugal and beginning in Spain and throughout Europe.

This is a struggle against electoralism and syndicalism which is concretized in our strategy of uniting the working class in the mobilization for transitional demands, in preparation of the general strike, in the course of which the party builds the independent organs of the working class, the workers' councils, militia, and government. It is the construction of the party itself which summarizes this struggle.

It is not an accident that we have all but abandoned systematic propaganda for the workers councils, militia, and government against the Ford-Rockefeller regime. These pose the questions of political power based on the masses of workers against electoralism and syndicalism.

Our development of our strategy and tactics must be summarized in the form of the Platform of Combat for the Congress of the TO -- Rebuilding the US Section of the FI, Proclaiming the RWP.

It is on the basis that we must intervene against all parties trying to channel the desire of the American working class for its own party and its own government into class collaboration, be it the anti-monopoly people's party of the CP or the mass socialist party of the SWP.

In particular it is necessary to intervene in the campaign of the SWP forcing its candidates to take a stand in relation

to our mobilization of the working class on the basis of our program, using its claim to represent the Fourth International against it, forcing it to increasingly disassociate itself from the Fourth International in order to maintain its support from liberals. In particular it is necessary to use the question of the Vorhees Act and the slanders of the OCI and the SL to demonstrate the limits of the SWP's commitments to democratic rights, that it is our party which is the party of Trotsky. The question of supporting or not supporting the candidates of the SWP is secondary to this and should be thoroughly discussed by the CC.

It is on the basis of this struggle to build the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization -- Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International to Proclaim the RWP, that we can gain the forces necessary to present the FI as the alternative to the American working class in the critical months ahead.

Victory to the Congress in March 1976 requires a struggle in the TO itself, against capitulation to nationalism, to spontaneism, to centrism. It requires a struggle to win the comrades who confuse the tradition of centrism in the US, with the tradition of the Fourth International in the US.

We call on all the comrades to take up this struggle on the basis of this political resolution and this organizational resolution: to elect the central committee and charge it with the tasks necessary to lead our party to victory.

BACK TO BOLSHEVISM!

FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIFE TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

October 11, 1975

## EDITORIAL

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and in the International Committee. He retreated from this and his capitulation today shows that in today's crisis of leadership there is no "middle ground" that Wohlforth tried to find for awhile. Out side of the Fourth International there is only capitulation, of the worst sort of betrayal. We failed to win Wohlforth and Fields but they will fail even worse -- they have NO CHANCE of playing a left cover for the SWP/YSA leadership. The Fourth International exists in the US and will sweep all the weaknesses of the past crisis of the International in the US away. Take up the fight for the Fourth International or capitulate down the line -- this is the lesson Wohlforth and Fields can teach us.

### A CHOICE

This is the choice squarely before every militant in the SWP/YSA. Form a faction in the SWP for the Fourth Open Conference to rebuild the Fourth International. In Spain, the majority of the militants of the LCR-ETA VI have already done this. In place of the Platform of Camejo and Reid -- a platform which the MILITANT proudly announced that the Chairman of the Democratic Party Platform Committee was in full support of -- demand a

candidate of the Fourth International, under the program of Trotsky for 1976. Militants of the YSA -- join the fight of the RWY for the immediate national strike in auto, take up its Platform of Combat, join your brothers and sisters around the world in the Revolutionary Youth International. Break out of the national isolation that the SWP/YSA leadership tries to shut you up in.

Militants of the SWP/YSA. If you are not yet convinced of this, the fight of the TO and the RWY in the coming weeks will prove it. The American workingclass youth has said that they are ready to fight. They ask you to join it. Your choice is clear -- join the fight to prepare the revolution -- or retreat -- down the line. We will convince you of this. We will win you to our fight. The Congress of the TO will be held with your support and the American Section of the Fourth International will be rebuilt and you will be a part of it.

JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH -- JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION REBUILDING THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

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