

# TRUTH



WORKERS OF  
THE WORLD  
UNITE!

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ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A Workers Congress to organize a...

## GENERAL STRIKE TO BRING VICTORY TO MINERS

188,000 coal miners of the UMW have begun the third week of their national strike. The strike has exploded with tremendous militancy.

Mass caravans of 500 to 1,000 miners have been organized to shut down non-union mines in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Kentucky. In Utah and other Western states miners have fought battles with the state police trying to stop scab coal.

In Utah, miners blew up the sole bridge leading to a mine, preventing anyone from getting to it!

Now, in the face of this combativity and desire to WIN, it is rumored that the UMW leadership of Arnold Miller and Co. have arrived at a "settlement" with the coal companies.

Betrayal would be a better word. This so-called "settlement" reportedly gives up the demand for the local right to strike. And further, this "settlement" would place monetary penalties on workers participating in wildcat strikes.

The right to strike is a life and death question for the miners and every worker.

If he hasn't proven it to you before, he certainly has proven it now. Arnold Miller and Co. must go! A new leadership is needed NOW, not after the settlement.

A winning policy is needed.

You will not find this new leadership from the Stalinists or pseudo-revolutionaries who have filled their press with thousands of words of rhetoric about the miners.

Do you know what all their rhetoric amounts to? Nothing.

"The coal industry openly provoked this strike--" sneveled the front page of THE MILITANT, newspaper of the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

This powerful and militant strike is a "provocation"? What an insult to the fighting young miners! This statement only shows



their fear of the young workers, their complete passivity and impotence.

Since the strike is a "provocation," why not simply accept the defeat organized by Miller & Co.? Remember, these were the same people who called miners who burned the 1974 contract in disgust three years ago: "ultra-leftists."

What kind of strategy do these

"big" organizations offer the miners? Here's the policy of the American Communist Party, loyal servants of the Kremlin;

"But support from trade union and community groups is essential to win. Moral support in the form of food, money and toys, will be needed. The trade union movement must be in the forefront in this effort."

(DAILY WORLD, December 8, 1977)

Moral support, canned goods and Christmas toys. Now that's a policy to win!

No. These organizations are "big", but the amount of leadership they can provide the miners or any worker is mighty small.

The Fourth International is still small in size in the US, but

because we are the party of the world socialist revolution we can offer the miners and the whole working class a policy that will win: A GENERAL STRIKE OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS!

This is not a fantasy. Not just a dream. It is the only realistic policy in front of us.

On December 14th small farmers across the country began a national strike against the Carter government and the agribusiness monopolies for a fair return on their crops.

The working class can do the same. A General Strike for the rights of the iron workers who have been out on strike for over four months. For the miners.

For the political rights of all workers and oppressed, including the small farmers who must be won over to the side of the working class.

The small farmers have a political objective. The vanguard of the working class must have its objective as well-- a General Strike to win victory for the miners, to defend the right to strike, to free jailed miners and autoworkers.

How will we build this General Strike? Like the small farmers did, but with the methods and politics of the working class. Mass assemblies in the mines, in the UAW, the USW, the IBT, in all factories to formulate the demands of the working class and to democratically elect delegates to fight for them.

A Congress of the US Working Class and the oppressed to centralize this fight, coordinate and lead this General Strike.

This is the kind of Christmas present the miners and working class needs.

And the leadership for this fight has to be built. Join the Trotskyist Organization, US Supporting Section of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Worker Youth.  
December 15, 1977

Report from Revolutionary Worker Youth delegate  
to World Metalworkers Conference!  
December 29th!

# DO YOU BELONG IN A 'LABOR PARTY' WITH HARRY PATRICK?



Would you buy a used car from this man? THE MILITANT, newspaper of the centrist Socialist Workers Party would like you to buy a "labor party" from him.

By Jon Cohen

One of Groucho Marx's famous one-liners was the one that went: "I would never belong to a club that allowed someone like me in as a member."

This joke rightfully makes fun of social snobbishness. But unfortunately, sometimes it is necessary to be choosy about the type of company you keep. Especially in the workers movement where the ability to pick out friends from enemies is sometimes a life and death question. Like in life, so in politics you often become known by the type of people you hang out with.

That is why it is especially important to be able to pick out those who claim to be your friend but are really just trying to pull the wool over your eyes and give you a bad name at the same time. Sometimes it is necessary to say: "He's no friend of mine!"

This happens to be the case with one Harry Patrick, currently Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mineworkers of America (UMW). Patrick's name has been featured prominently in the last issues of THE MILITANT, the newspaper of the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which falsely claims the name of Trotskyism in the US (as Trotsky once said about someone else: "If this is Trotskyism, then I'm no Trotskyist!").

Several articles and interviews have appeared with this Patrick, all of which are designed to give workers the impression that this bureaucrat stands for their interests and is moving in some kind of "revolutionary" direction. In particular, there is a report on a speech he gave in Cleveland entitled by the SWP: "Harry Patrick Speaks on Union Democracy" (THE MILITANT, November 11, 1977) in which Patrick claims to come out against the Democratic Party and for a "labor party."

The "labor party" is a very important theoretical and practical question for the education of the vanguard of the American working class. Everyone knows that the American working class has never had its own mass political party and that the majority of the working class has historically been tied

to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The question of the break of the working class EN MASS from the Democratic Party and the formation of its own mass party of class independence has always been the single most important political task in front of the American working class.

Both Lenin and Trotsky, the foremost leaders of the international workers movement saw this question also. Lenin, during the early days of the Third International, proposed to the American Communists to develop agitation and propaganda in the working class for a "labor party," a party which expressed this mass break from the US bourgeoisie. Trotsky as well proposed this to the leadership of the American Section of the Fourth International, the SWP, in the 30's and 40's before the SWP abandoned Trotskyism.

But there is just a small distance between the "labor party" of Lenin and Trotsky and the "labor party" of the SWP and



the revolution and they viewed the construction of a revolutionary party as one and the same.

To be more precise, the "labor party" of Lenin and Trotsky was a means to organize a REVOLUTIONARY CONFRONTATION in the trade unions by the vanguard of the working class against the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists who refused to break from the Democratic Party. It was a means to expose all those who talked "revolutionary" in the workers movement, but who refused to take revolutionary action.

Today the Fourth International does not advance the slogan of the "labor party" in the United States because it has become a confusion, a trap for the working class, stripped of its revolutionary content and meaning by pseudo-revolutionaries of all types. This is why the Fourth International in the US says that the question of a mass party for the American working class is first of all a question of its program and that the fight for the Workers Party, the US Section of the Fourth International represents the program that the American work-

ing class needs.

The pseudo-revolutionaries will respond: "But you are being sectarian. Harry Patrick is moving in our direction. A 'labor party' is a way to work with those who don't yet agree with the whole program of the Fourth International."

But you are the sectarians and also opportunists, Msrs. pseudo-revolutionaries! For you, the program of the Fourth International is for the "enlightened" few, never to be used, while for the masses-- all they deserve is reformism. We know that there is a line of blood between the working class and the trade union bureaucrats, including "left" ones like Sadlowski or Patrick and we, gentlemen, believe that the program of the world socialist revolution, that of the Fourth International is a program for ALL the workers and can mobilize them TODAY!

We or any self-respecting worker would not be found dead in any "labor party" led by a Harry Patrick, who is part of the UMW bureaucracy who have proven themselves to be nothing but a gang of STRIKEBREAKERS in the last four years. We would have nothing in common with a man who voted for an anti-strike program in September 1975 in the UMW which called for discipline against union members who struck without authorization, which expelled UMW members for striking.

We would have nothing in common with a man who has time and time again gone into the coalfields to tell miners to go back to work. Nor are we fooled, as the pseudo-revolutionaries are, by his so-called support for the "right to strike." What Patrick in fact supports is just another maneuver by the UMW bureaucracy to isolate local strikes and prevent them from spreading under the cover of the "right to strike."

Patrick has changed? He was just "confused?" Now he is sincere? Good. Let him PROVE it. Let him publically REPUDIATE his

strikebreaking in front of all the miners. Let him REPUDIATE calling the US government to intervene in the UMW elections.

He's not an opportunist? Then let him REPUDIATE his remark, joyously quoted by the pseudo-revolutionaries that: "the one thing in any movement for reform, is that the real enemy is the company... Sure you want to change things that are wrong in the union and that takes time... You can't change things overnight... Go very slow... Go very careful."

Do you know what this REALLY means? It means: "do anything you want, but don't take away my job, my three-piece suits, my fancy car and expense accounts." Fight the company, but don't do anything about those who are LEADING you into defeat. Let Patrick say that the first task in the UMW and the CONDITION for beating the company is a new, REVOLUTIONARY leadership in the unions. Then maybe we'll talk to him.

Patrick, like Sadlowski, never really succeeded in pulling the wool over workers eyes, no one ever really wanted them as their friends. To polish up Patrick and his types, the pseudo-revolutionaries like the SWP enter the picture to pin a bad rap on the working class, to identify the Patricks with their struggles.

We call these pseudo-revolutionaries, CENTRISTS. Centrists, because while talking about revolution, they practice reformism in action. Centrists, because they stand in between bureaucrats like Harry Patrick and the revolutionary young workers in order to try to prevent them from finishing with the Patricks once and for all. Centrists who have to be politically defeated if we are to build a mass, revolutionary party in this country. Fighting for our party AGAINST this confusion and trap called a "labor party" is part of this struggle. Against those who give revolution a bad name.

Do you belong in a "labor party" with Harry Patrick? Do you belong in the middle of the Okefenokee Swamp?

December 14, 1977



Harry Patrick today. Just a small distance. The distance between Earth and the furthest galaxy!

Lenin and Trotsky proposed a REVOLUTIONARY policy for the American working class. A policy not based on an adaptation to any so-called "backwardness" or "apolitical" character of the American working class, but exactly the opposite-- its revolutionary potential. The "labor party" of Lenin and Trotsky was not seen as a stage in the American revolution, a stopping-off point, but a means to PREPARE

# NEW WORKERS OFFENSIVE IN LATIN AMERICA

The task of forging the revolutionary unity of the US working class with its brothers and sisters in Latin America is one of the most important tasks of the Fourth International today. It is an urgent task.

Urgent because the growing offensive of the working class in the US and the turn in the class struggle that has taken place in Latin America in the last months poses more and more the need for this unity. The fight to unite the vanguard of the US working class with those in the forefront of the struggle throughout Latin America around the revolutionary objective of the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS and in the construction of the party of this unity, the Fourth International, is the condition for the victory of this offensive.

While Carter has been trying to keep the military dictatorships in Latin America alive with his phony "human rights" campaign, trying to pretend that US imperialism will force these regimes to "reform," the real fighters for human rights-- the working class and the oppressed-- have launched an offensive throughout Latin America which has brought all these dictatorships to near-collapse.

In Peru, after a general strike last July, the working class continues to engage in massive demonstrations against the repression launched by the military dictatorship after this general strike.

In Ecuador as well, mass demonstrations took place in the major cities after the brutal massacre of 120 striking sugar workers by the army on October 21st.

In Chile, the struggle of the working class has begun again as the Pinochet dictatorship has been forced to openly retreat in the face of this mobilization. Last month the copper miners went on strike, including miners at the huge "El Teniente" copper mine.

The Bolivian dictatorship of Banzer has been forced to promise that it will restore "constitutional rule" next year. No one believes this promise. But it was not Jimmy Carter who caused the crisis of the Banzer regime and its open admission of its inability to rule. It has been the struggle of the Bolivian working class and a wave of strikes in the last months which began with the miners and textile workers, spread to the universities and to the peasants who launched a wave of strikes also.

This growing offensive of the working class and oppressed is an answer to all those who have said that the defeats in Latin America were "inevitable" or that they were the result of the incapacity of the working class in Latin America. It is also an answer to all those who have said that pressuring Jimmy Carter to grant "human rights" in Latin America was the only way to wage a fight against the military dictatorships.

It is also an answer to those who have always tried to say that the class struggle in Latin America

was determined by "special conditions," unique to Latin America and who used this theory to introduce non-working class methods of struggle into the workers movement, such as the strategy of "guerrillism."

In fact there is nothing "special" or unique about the class struggles in Latin America. The struggle of the Latin American working class and oppressed is part and parcel of the fundamental revolutionary confrontation that is being prepared by the working class around the world against imperialism and Stalinism. And the tasks of the working class are the same.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates this fact than the struggle led by the working class in Argentina in the last months. Because of the depth of the combativity and the level of organization achieved by the Argentine working class it holds the key to the situation of the class struggle throughout Latin America and the fall of the Videla dictatorship will open up the revolution throughout the Americas.

The struggle began with the auto workers in Cordoba which have always been the most militant section of the working class. In October, workers at the IKA-Renault plant organized a sit-down strike for a wage increase. The army was sent in to force the workers back to work and in the battle four workers were killed. This provoked a strike of auto workers throughout the city. Over 6,000 workers struck for four days despite the threat of the anti-strike law of the government which provides nine years in jail for any worker who strikes.

The strikes of the auto workers spread to a virtual general strike at the end of October and the beginning of November. Public service workers, subway workers, railroad workers, dockers, oil, post office and telephone and light and power workers all went on strike against the austerity plan of the government and in defense of other workers victimized by repression.

In these struggles the workers began to renew their fight for their own independent organizations, crushed by the dictatorship. In the strikes, in particular among the public workers, the workers formed their own assemblies, chased the dictatorship-controlled bureaucrats out of the meetings and elected their own leadership and formulated their own demands.

What conclusions must be drawn from all of this? The only conclusion for carrying this struggle forward is that this offensive begun in Argentina and throughout Latin America is an offensive to prepare the workers revolution, an offensive for a Workers and Peasants Government in Argentina and throughout Latin America and an offensive for the revolutionary unity of the workers of North and South America.

Why do we stress this? Because anyone who tells you something else also has learned nothing from the

defeats in the last years. Those who again try to tell you that there must be a "democratic stage" before the revolution or an "anti-imperialist struggle" separate from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Latin America can offer nothing but betrayal of this new upsurge.

Typical of those who have learned nothing and can offer nothing are the centrists of the US Socialist Workers Party who write in their magazine, INTERNATIONAL PRESS concerning the upsurge in Argentina: "The dictatorship is still on the offensive." (IP, December 6, 1977) Just days before the coup several years ago they told the workers to stop their offensive in order not to "provoke" a coup and to keep bourgeois democracy intact! Now, when the workers are on the offensive again, they deny it and say that only a struggle for "democratic rights" is on the agenda. They were bankrupt three years ago and are bankrupt today.

The coming months will be decisive for the course of the class struggle in Latin America. For



Peruvian miners

US workers, the fate of the struggle in Latin America is linked to our own. Our fight to prepare the American revolution is totally linked to the fight to take the lead in forging the revolutionary unity of the workers of the Two Americas in a common struggle against imperialism.

The Fourth International is the only party in the US and in Latin America fighting to build this revolutionary unity.  
December 13, 1977

TRUTH

## UAW - UMW : SAME FIGHT

By Fred Vitale

"It is better to have the strike vote abolished in order to get the Seven their jobs back," threatened Homer Jolly, International UAW rep. His words were repeated by the Trenton Chrysler local's recording secretary during the bureaucracy's attempt to overturn the strike vote by the Trenton workers of last month. To stop this treachery, this collaboration with the capitalists against the interests AND desires of the masses of UAW workers, to build a new revolutionary leadership which serves all the workers, the RWY took up the construction of the Revolutionary Workers Faction/UAW at its December 4th Conference.

Along with the Trotskyist Organization, the RWY leadership, with young workers from Rouge Stamping and Frame plants as well as unemployed workers, discussed how the workers can fight to reclaim their unions-- to make them weapons of all workers and oppressed to bring down the imperialist Carter government. The Conference began to elaborate how to intervene in the upcoming elections at the Rouge plant, Local #600 UAW, to win the masses of workers to this fight.

### MINERS

The 130,000 striking miners are the target of the counter-revolution of the capitalists and their government today. The miners fight, for safe jobs, security, full pension and medical rights, unlimited right to strike, to defend themselves armed against the company and cop goons, these are the needs, the demands of all workers.

The autoworkers have fought for these same rights. The present Trenton 7 case is an excellent example. While the workers have voted to strike to stop the inhuman working conditions and win the Trenton 7 their jobs back, the bureaucracy, which tried to get them to work in 130 degree factories, which supported the judge that sent them to jail, now tells them they shouldn't strike to get these men their jobs back! The UMW bureaucracy has done the same thing to the striking miners in Kentucky.

The autoworkers must be the link between the miners and the working class strongholds in the big cities. To defend the miners means to throw out the UAW bureaucracy-- the SINGLE BIGGEST OBSTACLE to the success of the struggle of the American workers, to the defense of the miners.

The unions can only defend the workers if there is a new revolutionary leadership. Nothing less can stop the counter-revolutionary offensive. The RWF will fight for resolutions in each local, demanding a general strike to defend the miners as well as meetings in the factories to discuss this question. VICTORY TO THE MINERS, TO ALL WORKERS!

December 14, 1977

# The preparation of the Pabloite United Secretariat's 11th Congress: A MANEUVER AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT

This article is reprinted from the November 15, 1977 issue of LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE, the French edition of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the organ of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

This article takes up the latest attack of the centrists against the Fourth International. As the article points out, the fight against this attack is not an "internal" affair concerning those who claim to be Trotskyists.

It is the affair of every young worker who wants to renew the leadership of the workers movement and prepare the revolution. These centrists and their plans for their 11th Congress of the Pabloite "United Secretariat" (a grouping which broke away from the Fourth International in 1953) stand in the way. These people must be unmasked in front of all workers.

Also, this article has a particular importance for workers and militants in the US. The "Theses" that the article discusses are just the "theoretical" justification for the entire policy of the US Socialist Workers Party which plays a central role in the preparation of this 11th Congress.

It is their "justification" for their present role as the left wing of bourgeois democracy and Stalinism in the US.

The author of this article, Antoine Balint, is a member of the EDITORIAL BOARD of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

TRUTH

By Antoine Balint

This begins the publication of a series of articles on the "Theses" published by the United Secretariat (which fraudulently gives itself the name of the Fourth International) in order to prepare its 11th Congress with the goal of "reunifying" around these "Theses" all the centrist groups and centers who claim to be Trotskyist. These "Theses" appear at a very precise moment in the class struggle. When the European revolution is on the agenda, and the world proletariat, beginning with the European proletariat, has taken the offensive-- from Poland to Spain, from Rumania to France-- and confronts the bourgeoisie and its agent, Stalinism. They appear when this offensive is shaking the "detente" that the bourgeoisie and Stalinists are trying to patch up in Belgrade. As for the centrists, they are upset.

They are seeking allies against this working class offensive, to run together to aid Stalinism whose apparatus is cracking apart under the blows of the proletariat. This is the objective of the 11th Congress. It is necessary to try to reunite in order to be respectable and respected, as a support for Stalinism, and its faction that is called "Euro-Communist." The condition for this is a fundamental attack against the living continuity of Bolshevism: the Fourth International. It is an attempt to destroy what Stalinism has not been able to destroy, to grab from the working class the only unstained banner that it has: that of the Fourth International, that of Lenin and Trotsky!

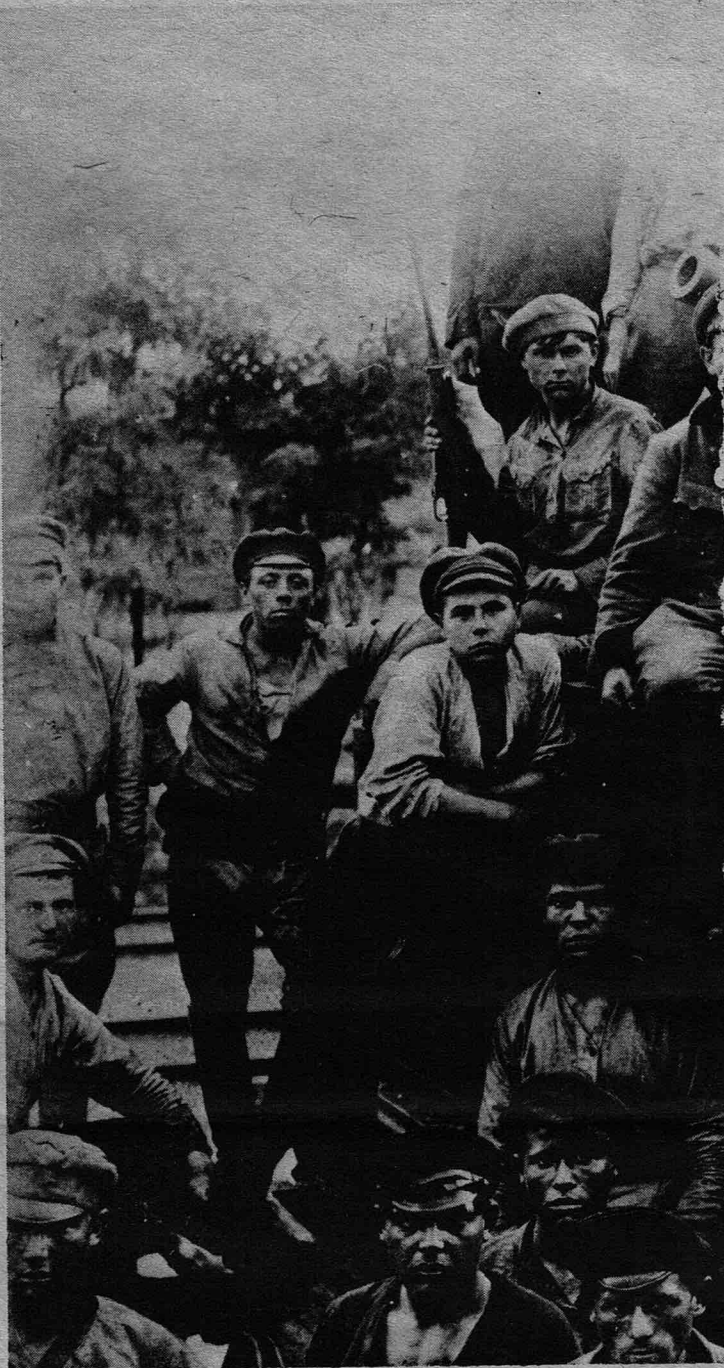
The struggle against these centrist maneuvers is the affair of all working class fighters. It is not an "internal" affair of those who claim to be Trotskyist. To unmask and destroy the centrists, is the affair of the working class youth in the first place, because their maneuvers are directed against its mobilization. The centrists wish to take away its revolutionary character instead of organizing it for the revolution-- a task which only the Fourth International takes up with the construction of the RYI. They wish to submit the youth to the opportunist apparatuses.

WHEN CENTRISTS DISCUSS....

In the Preface, the United Secretariat (USec) indicates the central place that it gives these "Theses" in its maneuvers. This document, entitled "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is presented as a resolution of the USec submitted to public discussion and which will be put to a vote at the 11th Congress of the Pabloites. Right away, it is necessary to say that the Fourth International does not intend to enter into the type of "public discussion" called for by the centrists. For these people, theory and practice are two separate entities in time and space. What they call "theory" only serves to justify after the fact their present capitulations in front of Stalinism and to lay the basis for future capitulations. For them, "public discussion" is only conceived of in terms of unprincipled bargaining between "top leaderships." In the same way that the pseudo-discussions organized by the Stalinist bureaucrats only serve to throw powder into the eyes of militants upset by their treachery.

It concerns sinister bargaining between "historic chiefs" such as Mandel, Hansen, Krivine, Lambert, Lora. Bargaining whose terms, conditions, and results are not determined by the interests of the proletarian revolution, but by delicate turns of "positions" inside and among organizations. All of them have their eyes set on the somersaults of the crisis of Stalinism, all of them cherish their impossible dreams of a world with "CP-SP Governments" of "democratic and tolerant" Stalinists, a world where the armada of the centrist busybodies (of course united) will bring these governments of the counter-revolution "peacefully and democratically" towards socialism.

When the working class takes up an offensive for a political leadership for its party-- none of these centrist organizations address themselves to the workers. For they have a visceral fear of workers in struggle and above all of working class youth. The only solution that they pose to the workers is, as in France or Spain, the unity of the treacherous apparatuses, or as in Poland, to put pressure on



Gierek so that he evolves to the "left"!

Not even the approximate date for this 11th Congress is announced. This is not by chance. The maneuvers have their own logic that the protagonists themselves have not succeeded in controlling. The first factor is the struggle of the Fourth International to give the real revolutionary content to the working class mobilization, to renew the leadership of the workers movement.

It is not by chance that each of them, in their own way have united their voices in order to slander us, or that the price of the blustering declarations of the centrists of the French LCR over the so-called "advance of democracy" in Spain was their complicit silence in the face of the prohibition of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International by the Francoist government of Juan Carlos.

Caught in a vice between the Fourth International which bases itself on the initiative of the working class offensive and the crisis of the Stalinist apparatus, the centrist organizations are profoundly upset. If this crisis has not been finished by the detachment of militant workers who are trying to find the Fourth International it is because our con-

frontation with the centrists in the workers ranks is not sufficiently bold and politically enriched. This is the task in front of us in the construction of the mass revolutionary organization of the youth.

Thus, the maneuvers of alliances and fusions engaged between the different components of the centrist currents have as their goal hiding from their own militants, hiding from the workers their situation and their real goal: their fear of the independent mobilization of the working class, their "critical" support to the faction called "Euro-Communist" of the Stalinist apparatus. The reunification without the least attempt of explanation or balance sheet of the two factions of the USec, led respectively by Mandel, Krivine and Hansen, has not resolved any of the crisis of the USec, whose factions were created in order to prevent a split.

It has resolved nothing because it goes against the stream of the content itself of the revolutionary mobilization. It is based on the elaboration of this new revision of the very program of the Fourth International, represented by these "Theses". This manner of envisioning what they call "the construction of the revolutionary party" by itself is enough to un-

mask them in the eyes of conscious workers as petty-bourgeois servants of Stalinism.

While the Fourth International, the inheritor of the combat of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky offers itself for the leadership of the world proletariat, for its revolutionary unification, fights to win the masses in the working class basins, these gentlemen say to the workers: "we are too small, too weak, it is still the turn of the apparatuses, give them your confidence." Thus, one can understand the content of their fusions; such as that which the US SWP has realized with the declared enemies of the Fourth International, the Shachtmanites (a fusion which the American CP has not failed to use to throw dirt on the Fourth International by using the policy of the SWP), or that of this group--cule well known for its role as pioneer in the propagation of the slanders of the French OCI against the Fourth International, the US Spartacist League, who has just triumphantly announced its fusion with a group of "left homo-sexuals."

The group belonging to Healy (the so-called "International Committee") who, for the moment is outside these negotiations, is leading a campaign of slanders against the centrist leader, Hansen and discusses with Carillo (here joining the Spanish LCR) for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky-- by his assassins! The group of Lambert-Lora, the "Organizational Committee" which is leading its negotiations with the USec in secret, is organizing a Latin American Conference to use what remains of the prestige of Lora, leader of the Bolivian POR to put pressure on the USec whose organizations in Latin America are reduced to a skeleton state, in order to batter the influence of Lora in its discussions with the French LCR.

The reader must excuse us for having taken you on this nauseating journey. You are right for feeling disgusted, but at the same time it is necessary to be conscious of the fact that centrism will not die a good death all by itself. Its political destruction, delimitation in face of it, conditions the victory of the proletarian revolution because it is the agent of Stalinism fraudulently enveloped in the banner of the Fourth International.

THE "DEMOCRACY" OF THE EURO-COMMUNISTS AND THE CENTRISTS AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Today's pre-revolutionary period is essentially characterized by the development of the working class consciousness concerning the content and the stake of the class struggle. Working class combativity is not only measured by an addition of the numbers of days of strikes, but by the consciousness that the advanced workers have of the political content of their combat and this advance in consciousness is expressed by the character of the open and independent confrontation which the working class attempts to give to each of its combats (the election of strike committees, attempts to centralize them in the face of the apparatuses, etc.) It is the political maturation which is at the basis of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its international

# AN REVOLUTION

apparatus. In Eastern Europe, the proletariat directly confronts the repressive apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy, in Western Europe, more and more important fractions of the working class, in particular the youth, reject the bloody caricature of workers power that Stalinism presents under the name of socialism.

It is this rejection of Stalinism that the faction called "Euro-Communist" of the bureaucracy tries to respond to by identifying the "left" terror with the October revolution, by rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat and proposing the "opening up" of socialism under the "democratic" dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by safeguarding its state. They prevent the democratic rights which workers are attached to for good reason, as "gifts" of the bourgeoisie, whose defense and expansion are linked to the maintenance of the bourgeois state, while in fact, these rights are the conquests of the proletariat, won in bloody struggles and which today imperialism is trying to take back at all costs.

But, this international maneuver of the "Euro-Communist" faction has started to be cut short. The crisis of the "Union of the Left" in France and the crisis of the strongest bastion of the international Stalinist apparatus--the French CP, has come into the open. The French CP, which can give no guarantees, neither to the Kremlin nor to the French and international bourgeoisie of being able to control the working class, is the most burning example. But also the 1,000 workers who left the meeting held by the Spanish Stalinist Camacho crying: "Down with the Moncloa Pact!": the last attempt of the treacherous apparatuses to save, against the revolution, the Francoist regime of Juan Carlos.

The "Theses" of the USec are precisely oriented in function of this crisis of Stalinism. To close the ranks of the centrist organizations around a programmatic orientation which expresses what is to be the practice of the opportunists. They try to present an intermediary solution for the workers between the revolutionary confrontation, its preparation as an immediate task, and the class collaboration of the treacherous apparatuses. But there is no intermediary solution between the revolution and the counter-revolution, between the socialist revolution and the imperialist barbarism. Those who preach the contrary are swindlers in the service of Stalinism, which is the agent of the counter-revolution in the workers' ranks.

Workers who believe, deluded by the centrists, that there is an "easier" road to arriving at the power of the proletariat, at its dictatorship, other than the revolutionary confrontation, are holding dangerous illusions. Besides their own experience of struggles contradict these illusions.

It is precisely these illusions that the centrists wish to codify and raise to the level of a political doctrine, occasionally colored with a "revolutionary" paint. All at the same time attacking the honored heritage of the struggle of the world proletariat, attacking October, the point of departure for the world revolutionary process that is necessary to be contin-

ued. There is no other more realistic task today. It is precisely against these mortal illusions and against those who carry and develop them in the service of Stalinism that the Fourth International organizes the fighting youth around the slogan: RETURN TO LENIN! for the world revolution, for the Socialist United States of Europe, in the Revolutionary Youth International.

"THE ONLY THEORETICALLY AND POLITICALLY COHERENT AND CONSEQUENT (our emphasis) alternative to our program of socialist democracy based on the power of workers councils and a multi-party system which can be advanced by those who claim to be favorable to the dictatorship of the proletariat is the STALINIST CONCEPTION (our emphasis) of the use of the power of the State under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by a single party acting in the name of the

working class." (IMPRESOR, #10, page 10).

These few lines of the "Theses" already say too much about this centrist undertaking. To begin with they spit shamefully on the millions of victims of the common graves of Siberia and the caves of Lubianka, those shot down at Gdansk and Gdynia, the revolutionaries exterminated by the GPU in '36, those of Budapest... the list is unfortunately too long. It is Stalinist terror, the instrument of Stalinist policy which is alive today, whether it be by Brezhnev or Carrillo, that these gentlemen legitimize, by qualifying it as "coherent and consequent."!!

The Stalinist gangrene on the healthy body of the revolution is for them one solution, of course "criticizable" you see,!! but all the same a solution. In the face of which the centrist agents of Stalinism propose an "alternative" (admire the term!). This "alternative" is not of course the destruction of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its apparatus in order to give the working class a world revolutionary leadership,

but a "workers state," arising from where one does not know, in any case in a "democratic" manner without that "horrible chaos" called revolution. In this "workers state," the Stalinist, reformist and centrist parties peacefully live together inside some "workers councils," peacefully surrounded by bourgeois parties who "respect the Constitution of the workers state" according to these "Theses."

In this idyllic vision one recognizes the "left" version of the "historic compromise" put forward under different forms by the Stalinists as a means to arrive, without confrontation, and in "democracy," to socialism. In fact, to maintain the power of the bourgeoisie, to invent this lying vision, it is necessary to be a centrist of the cameleon type, like Mandel, the inspiration for these "Theses," Mandel, who, it is necessary to recall for the good memory of the workers, has already exercised his "creativity" in the name of the pseudo-Trotskyists as the advisor to Fidel Castro (while the Cuban Trotsky-

ists were stagnating in prison!!)

In this beautiful world of "multi-parties" only one actor is missing: the working class and its vanguard. Its place is not foreseen. The working class has only use for them as a pressure group on Stalinism. Against the Fourth International they are already linked by their complicit silence concerning the pact that Stalinism has concluded with the bourgeoisie in Spain for the crushing of the vanguard in the name of the defense of "democracy" and the struggle against "terrorism."

In this article we have only begun to take up the content of this attack against Bolshevism which is inscribed in the counter-revolutionary preparations which the Pabloite "Theses" constitute. In our next issue we will return to the different aspects of this attack, because the struggle against the centrist thievery is integrated in the struggle of the Fourth International to renew the working class youth with the party of Lenin and Trotsky.

October 29, 1977

## From rebellion to revolution... WE WANT TO POLITICIZE THE YOUTH



RYI Rally for the Socialist United States of Europe, Barcelona, Spain

By Jon Cohen

How can the working class youth begin to take up a political struggle for its rights? How can we build a revolutionary youth organization INSIDE the factories in the centers of US industry?

How can we transform the rebellion of the youth into revolutionary political consciousness? And what working class party can lead this fight?

These were some of the questions taken up at the Conference of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, US Supporters of the Revolutionary Youth International, held on December 4th in Detroit.

The Conference was held under the theme: WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS, THE UNIONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS! and brought together young workers representing Ford River Rouge Stamping and Frame plants and unemployed workers. The Conference elected two delegates to the Revolutionary Youth International's World Metalworkers Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe.

This Conference was an important step forward in the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International as a POLITICAL OR-

ganization of fighting young workers in the United States.

The question of "politics" is not a trivial question. The discussion at the Conference revealed that a major effort of the bourgeoisie, its politicians, the trade union bureaucrats and organizations led by the Stalinists and centrists is made to instill the belief among the working class youth that they should have nothing to do with "politics."

But for working class youth "politics" is not the dirty schemes and corruption of Democratic Party politicians. It is not the sleazy maneuvers of the trade union bureaucrats. It is not a series of fictitious, petty bourgeois "movements" invented by the Stalinists and centrists.

Politics is the struggle of the working class youth to survive and insure a decent future for itself. Politics is the fight for workers rights. It is the fight to prepare the world working class revolution.

Only the Fourth International openly says to the working class youth: "We want to POLITICIZE your struggles." The Fourth International fights to organize, ed-

ucate and make conscious the tremendous spirit of rebellion and combativity of the working class youth.

The Conference developed the fact that in order to fight the rotten and treacherous "politics" of the enemies of the working class, the working class youth had to develop its own "politics." This fight would not be won spontaneously, it had to be organized and led by an organization of the working class youth.

And this fight has to begin INSIDE the factories. The Conference of the RWY discussed the fact that for many young workers, politics, even revolutionary politics is something considered outside of the factories.

Young workers see the Stalinist and centrist organizations selling their papers outside of the factories while inside these pseudo-revolutionaries either hide or tell workers things like "what you need is a new water fountain" or something like that.

What the young workers need is to bring revolution INSIDE the factories. Not to run around screaming "revolution!" but to bring the burning questions of the revolution, of politics into the discussions among the young workers. To have a revolutionary organization that can answer the questions and problems of the young workers and point their struggle in a revolutionary direction.

All the pseudo-revolutionaries say that this is an impossible task or that young workers are not "ready" for the preparation of the revolution. In fact, it is not the young workers who are not "ready." It is the pseudo-revolutionaries who have nothing to offer.

Thus, the decision taken by the young workers present at the Conference to form a circle of Revolutionary Young Workers at Ford River Rouge, was a practical de-

cision to make the Revolutionary Youth International in the US a living organization of the working class youth.

A circle was formed to prove that the political fight to prepare the revolution belonged to the young workers inside the factories, that it is in the factories that all the burning questions of the revolution will be decided.

The young workers also decided that this fight began with the revolutionary press, to make INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD and REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER the voice of the fighting youth in the factories, their means of expression and education. There can be no revolutionary education without a revolutionary press.

Finally, the Conference took up the question of the party, the necessity to build the Fourth International as the world party of the socialist revolution. During the discussion a young worker asked: "But what will keep the Fourth International from falling into opportunism like all the others?"

There are no guarantees. But the Fourth International, representing the continuity of Marxism, of Bolshevism has an unstained banner in its forty years of history. It has never lied to the working class. Never betrayed it.

Yet this young worker was not really asking a historical question. He was saying: "What you are saying seems to be right, but how can I be sure, how can young workers come to really trust the Fourth International?"

This is precisely the reason for the Revolutionary Youth International. A mass international independent organization of working class youth open to all youth opposed to Stalinism and

(CONTINUED TO PAGE 7)

# From the WHITE PAPER... SOME STALINIST SLANDERS

## INTRODUCTION

Reprinted below from the WHITE PAPER OF THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY is "Some Stalinist Methods," which is from the last section: "Why the Slanders, Against Who, In Who's Aid?" (pages 234-236, French Edition). This article is important because it explains the slanders of the OCI against Michel Varga, a leader of the Fourth International, in political terms. That is, these slanders are not "just accusations" as the SWP and Spartacist League claim, but are STALINIST, and have a direct connection with the slanders of the Kremlin bureaucracy against all workers and oppositionists.

Militants of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League should be aware that a pseudo-Commission of Inquiry was set up or supported by their leaderships. This pseudo-commission "found" that "Michel Varga is a dubious character" (the Spartacist League) or that "the slanders are not proven" (the SWP), all in the name of an "impartial investigation." But these leaderships cannot (ask them!) give one political reason for the slanders, or describe their nature.

We call on militants and workers to carefully consider the following article and to reject the decision of their leaders that the slanders of the OCI could be investigated "impartially" or that any conclusion can be reached without naming the class nature of the slanders. Do they aid the bourgeoisie? Stalinism? Or do they come out of thin air?

So far only we have been able to give the answer. Militants can decide for themselves. Read the WHITE PAPER! Support its publication in English by sending contributions to TRUTH.

One of the troubling characteristics of the entirety of the slanderous publications of the OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International consists in a striking identity between the methods used by the leaders of the OCI and those which have been developed by Stalinism to a level that has still never been equalled. Of course, the first and principal Stalinist method is slander itself. Since Stalinism has been in power in the USSR and Eastern Europe, all political opponents, and above all those who claim the fight of communism, were invariably slandered, some of them before being executed. Slander has entered the daily mores of the bureaucrats in Eastern Europe to such an extent that for the population of these countries to say, for example, "agent of the CIA," or "in the pay of imperialism" has come to mean purely and simply, Stalinist.

The Commission of Inquiry judged it indispensable to make a list, not limited, of the principal Stalinist methods employed by the leaders of the OCI in their campaign of slanders. These methods demonstrate the direct link of the attack of the leaders of the OCI against the Fourth International with the attacks organized by the police and political apparatus of the Kremlin. The international workers movement is rich with bitter experience with these methods, and not only in Eastern Europe, but also in the capitalist countries where the leaders of the different communist parties have faithfully followed Stalin in his slanders against the Bolsheviks and the Left Oppositionists in the 30's, against Slansky, Rajk and Kostov in the 50's, and those who themselves organized local versions of the Moscow Trials against their own oppositionists.

To demonstrate the Stalinist origin of the methods used by the leaders of the OCI allows the Commission of Inquiry to reinforce its conviction, already presented in the preceding chap-

ters, that it concerns in certain terms an attack of Stalinism against the Fourth International through the intermediary of the leaders of the OCI who act as loyal students of Stalin.

1. Stalin and the Stalinists, in their slanderous attacks against their opponents, always carefully hid the real political positions of their victims. While the Left Opposition and Trotsky himself were accused of being "spies," "Hitlero-Trotskyites" and "running dogs of imperialism", their publications, journals and books were censored and forbidden. All those found in possession of slandered writings immediately fell to the repression of the GPU. To censor writings and ideas, to falsify political positions, to only publish extracts (doctored up besides) in order to shore up police slander -- this is the old Stalinist method. The leaders of the OCI followed it to the letter.

In the slanderous publications one cannot find any information concerning the real political positions defended by the Fourth International and Michel Varga. Simply because these publications do not even speak of the existence of such an organization. Never, at any time, did the journal of the OCI mention the existence of the Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee, the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International, the rebuilt Fourth International. Not even in their internal bulletin. Without speaking of the fact that the existence of a faction inside the OCI itself, namely the OCI-International League Faction, which later became the Revolutionary Workers League of France has never been mentioned.

In order to not be forced to respond to opposition on the political terrain, in order not to discuss real differences, one falsifies reality, one "suppresses" entire organizations, their press,

their activity. And this is the goal of all slander, above all Stalinist slander.

2. This is why the slanderers concentrate their attack on one man, normally a leader. One recalls, "Trotsky and his acolytes," "Trotsky and his band of provocateurs," Imre Nagy and his accomplices," Lazslo Rajk and his clique," etc. . . The leaders of the OCI say "Varga and his look-alikes."

3. Next, one unleashes a hunt after "Vargaites." There has

private life, which was supposed to provide elements of their "corrupted character."

Of course, in order not to speak of the present, one speaks of the past, or rather, one re-invents it. One falsifies it with all kinds of means. Here as well the leaders of the OCI followed to the letter the Stalinist methods by going through the archives of Michel Varga and reproaching him for all possible and imaginable defects.

5. To explain present differences

teur," "in the pay of imperialism," "in contact with Radio Free Europe," "anti-communists" "enemy," etc. . . all these slanders of the leaders of the OCI against Michel Varga are taken directly from Stalinist manuals, recopied to the letter from publications (books, brochures, transcripts of phony trials) of the Stalinists who denigrate Imre Nagy, the Hungarian Revolution, the Left Opposition, the Bolsheviks executed in the Moscow Trials, etc. . .

7. It is the same with slanders that one could call "auxiliary," which seek to reinforce the principal slander: "took money from an imperialist institution," "wrote in an anti-communist journal," "met with bourgeois personalities" . . . . .

All the transcripts of the fake trials, all the fake acts of accusation in the 30's and 50's formulated these type of nebulous accusations, vague and ready for possible modification at the moment when the slanderers wish to change their aim.

Michel Varga is accused of "direct support to imperialism," "secret dealings with the direct offices of imperialism," "work financed by US imperialism," "asked for dollars to lead an anti-communist activity," . . . .

8. The Stalinist slanderers have devoted entire pages to "discover" the "dismal character" of their victims. Slander is not enough, it is necessary to make it more plausible by trying to stick the character of the target with the work of a provocateur. The accused of the Moscow Trials and the 50's were "Jews," "cosmopolitans," "Zionists," "without a country," "cynical," etc.

Michel Varga is: "anti-Semitic," "corrupt," "greedy for money," "manipulator," "crafty," "hypocrite," "factionalist," "has a double loyalty," "liar," "crook," etc. . . the list is long.

9. Confessions constitute one of the dominant and most repugnant traits of Stalinist practice. The hangmen need the approval of their victim to legitimize their crime.

The leaders of the OCI also sought to procure the "confession" of Michel Varga. This is the argument of the "authenticity" of "his own writings" which we raised above.

10. Another common trait between the Stalinist methods and those of the leaders of the OCI is the argument that the "provocateur" would have to "act under the cover of Marxist phraseology." This is a current way among the Stalinists to say to the workers: "above all pay attention. It can appear to you that X is a communist, that he defends your desires and positions. No! In reality, it is only a mask, he is a provocateur. He acts like a Marxist in order to better fool you."

The leaders of the OCI have used this "argument" many times against Michel Varga.



Done in 1938, this photo shows the result of Stalinist terror

already been in the history of the struggle against Stalinism many hunts of this type. The most known is the hunt after "Trotskyists," when Stalin wished to hide the fact that Trotsky only continued and developed the revolutionary policy of the Bolsheviks, which he was, and for good reason, one of the most eminent leaders. In the 50's all opposition to Stalin was taxed with "Titoism."

The Commission has stated that the purge operated by the leaders of the OCI in their own organization after the July Conference of 1972 was made under the sign of the "struggle against Vargaism." Even, and including militants who were not in agreement with the Faction but who expressed doubts or opposition to the policy of the OCI, were invariably labelled with "Vargaism." Still an old Stalinist method to hide a political orientation and avoid open political combat.

4. In order to disgust the militants of the man which one concentrates the slanders on, slanderers rummage through his past, in order to find "weak points," that is, "irrefutable proof proofs." This is what the leaders of the OCI did in relation to Michel Varga.

It is always what Stalin did and what his epigones still do today. All victims, without exception, of phony trials of the 30's and 50's were slandered on the basis of the "analysis" of their past. Trotsky was accused of having "under-estimated the peasantry" in the 1910's and also that he was not a Bolshevik before 1917. This accusation only came to Stalin in 1924 when Trotsky (and Lenin before his death) resolutely opposed the growing bureaucracy of the Bolshevik party and the policy of Stalin.

The confessions wrested through force by the Stalinist police from Rajk, Slansky or in London in the 50's made use of all this type of "counter-revolutionary" past and accusations, including from their

through lies based on the "past" of the accused, also demands that one falsify all political history. As one has seen the OCI falsify the history of the International Committee, wishing to "prove" that all that Michel Varga did and (implicitly, all the activity of the Eastern European Sections) was only a "police provocation."

One rewrites history in two ways:

A) falsifying documents, letters and positions

B) by "suppressing" the elements of this history, and notably entire organizations.

To see the direct parent of this type of process with that of Stalinism it is enough to recall the successive editions of the famous Encyclopedia edited in Moscow. One sees how, for the needs (changing) of the struggle against "Trotskyism" and against Trotsky, all the history of the USSR itself was falsified. And not falsified once and for all, but constantly. The falsifiers are forced to even falsify their own falsifications. In each successive edition of the Encyclopedia, the same term goes through continual transformations. It is the case with the names of all oppositionists in each case where they enter into the picture.

The leadership of the OCI, on this terrain, only imitates its Stalinist predecessors.

6. The form under which slander is clothed also shows its Stalinist link. They are exactly the same slanders. They have been used on the Trotskyists, with Trotsky and the head and on all other communist opponents.

"Agent of the CIA," "provoca-

**LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL & THE NATURE OF THE SLANDERS! SUPPORT THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE PAPER IN ENGLISH**

# What way forward for youth ?

## THE REAL HISTORY OF THE YSA

By Ann Nelson

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA -- youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party) was born in a rich political struggle which young workers today would be proud to claim as their own. The YSA was not founded like so many pseudo-revolutionary youth groups are founded today: "so the party can have a youth group," but was founded through a struggle waged by young revolutionaries who fought to associate themselves to the then Trotskyist party, the Socialist Workers Party. This was in fact one of the main political questions in the founding of the YSA in the late 50's -- the necessity to support a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, and not be an "independent" youth group as was argued by some who did not want to become attached to a party.

But support for a revolutionary party was not the only reason for founding the YSA. The YSA leaders fought against Stalinism and capitalism and those who capitulated to them and it fought for a newspaper, which would guide them in their actions and win new youth to their ranks. The newspaper was called YOUNG SOCIALIST, and had a very different content than the YOUNG SOCIALIST published by the YSA today.

In an article in the latest YOUNG SOCIALIST called "YSA Convention to Plan 3rd Decade of Struggle," an attempt is made to explain the history of the YSA in terms of the issues of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. In this article, not one thing is said about the political struggle in which the YSA was born.

The article tries to show that the YSA has always fought for "issues." First "civil rights," then against the Vietnam war, with a few "issues" thrown in between. This is a falsification of the true history of the YSA, which the current leaders of the YSA and SWP believe is necessary to hide.

The political questions that the leaders of the YSA/SWP can't mention, the questions over which the YSA was founded are: Stalinism and the Party. They cannot mention Stalinism at all because they are its supporters in the US, and the SWP/YSA has abandoned the party, the Fourth International, which is the only alternative of the workers to Stalinism, and the only way to fight it and the bourgeoisie.

The struggle to found the YSA began in 1956 and ended with the actual founding in 1960. The first issue of YOUNG SOCIALIST came out on September 15, 1957. The first leaders, the most important of which was Tim Wohlforth, were in the Shachtmanite youth movement, (Shachtman and his

followers were defeated in a political battle in the SWP, led by Trotsky, in 1940). They said that there was nothing left to defend in the USSR.

It was the revolutionary events of 1956 in Hungary and Poland that gave the impulsion for the youth to challenge the Shachtmanites' refusal to support the Hungarian working class. In 1956, the workers of Hungary formed their own organs of power, workers councils, and proceeded to throw the Stalinist bureaucracy out of office. This struggle was answered by the Stalinists with tanks and brutal repression of the Hungarian workers. The youth of the YSA (from which the first leaders of the YSA came), proclaimed their support to the Hungarian workers and called for "All Power to the Soviets."

The Shachtmanite leaders on the other hand, said they would support "democracy" in Hungary. The youth called this "support" by its right name: support to imperialism. They said that there was no such thing as abstract "democracy," that to pose it this way was to call for democracy for the imperialists. They said that WORKERS DEMOCRACY was what they supported, and could only be won through supporting the Soviets of the workers.

The first issue of YOUNG SOCIALIST said: "The capitalists' only interest in the struggles of the working people in Eastern Europe is in the futile hope of somehow reestablishing capitalist domination in these countries. We Young Socialists share the Hungarian workers' abhorrence of any attempt to turn the legitimate struggle against bureaucratic rule into an attempt to restore capitalism."

This is not what the SWP and YSA say today. Today, the SWP and YSA, like the Shachtmanites in the 50's, call for "democracy" in the USSR and Eastern Europe. For these leaders the fight is no longer against the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialism, but to reform the bureaucracy with the aid of imperialism. The SWP has initiated many meetings and coalitions in which they stand together with representatives of the Democratic Party of imperialism, to aid the "democratic struggle" in the USSR.

### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE YSA ?

The militants of the YSA also proved that it is the youth who renew the leadership of the workers movement. In the United States, it was Tim Wohlforth, a founder of the YSA, who fought against the reunification of the Socialist Workers Party with those who thought that Stalinism was progressive; the Pabloites, in 1963.

It is from this reunification that the SWP's present policy of calling for "democracy" in the USSR comes. It is also from this reunification that the SWP's

renunciation of a proletarian policy and no "reunification" of the Fourth International itself is derived. If Stalinism can be "progressive" can "reform itself" as the SWP thinks the Euro-Stalinists are doing, we don't need the Fourth International. With no need for an international, there is no need for a proletarian policy.

Wohlforth, himself, did not see clearly that the fight against the SWP had to be a fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, to discredit the notion that Stalinism could create revolutions before the whole US working class. This laid the basis for Wohlforth re-joining the SWP.

This is also the main problem with the book Wohlforth wrote under the name Guy Williams: THE YSA -- HOW IT BEGAN. The fight of the YSA is still seen as a national fight having little to do with the international mobilization of the youth. The book was written after thousands of youth from all countries travelled to Essen, Germany to found the Revolutionary Youth International, to build the Fourth International and did not mention this rally.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

Today, the Revolutionary Youth International is being built in the United States. It stands for: the Socialist United States of Europe, the World Republic of Soviets against capitalism and Stalinism. It stands for Workers Democracy.

And our fight for workers democracy means a confrontation with the Carter Government. We, like the first members of the YSA, do not call on Carter to grant "democracy," and we do not ask Democratic Party politicians for it or trade union bureaucrats for it.

It is because this is our fight, that we ask YSA militants who will attend their National Convention this December in Detroit to consider the slogan for their convention: Human needs before profits." to ask: Who are you asking to put "human needs before profits"? How is this slogan to be won ?

We think that the leaders of the SWP and YSA mean to ask the Carter government to meet human needs. The Revolutionary Youth International says that the capitalist government can't. The SWP wants to avoid the workers struggle so much that it has tried to make the YSA a purely student organization, therefore it says "human", not "workers."

How is this slogan to be won ? The SWP says that it will be won by the petty-bourgeois leaders of the "black movement," "women's movement," etc. But these movements explicitly support the Democratic Party. "human needs before profits" is not a revolutionary demand for the leaders of the SWP. And for the militants of the YSA who do want to see this demand met who want the Socialist Revolution -- you want to fight for Workers Democracy against the phony "human rights" of the Carter government. 12-13-77

АЛТИЧЕСКИЕ СЪЕДИНЕНИЯ



Essen, Germany, 1971 -- 5,000 working class youth rally under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the Fourth International. The Revolutionary Youth International continues this fight today. Its Third Congress will be held in Paris, France in the Spring of 1978.

## The press is our weapon WHY ?

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

This slogan -- "the press is our weapon" -- probably seems strange at first, maybe even a little "sissy," especially in America where guns and knives are part of the daily life of the working class. Only a few days ago we received word of the first shots fired in the miners' strike. What good is a piece of paper?

Really this "piece of paper" is everything. Without it guns are nothing. This has been proven in the last weeks.

TRUTH has led the political fight for workers rights in America, exposed the phyness of capitalist democracy, and been decisive in bringing forward and beginning to form a leadership of revolutionary young workers in the auto factories.

"Every worker in the plant knows a change has to come, but they don't know how to make it and who to trust," said one worker.

"KNOWLEDGE, we gotta have knowledge, that's the key," said another.

You can get this from TRUTH. Not because its the biggest paper with the most news, not because its the highest priced with the fanciest layout. But because it speaks the truth.

With it you can organize yourselves in the RYI to spread the truth. Like every hunter knows, if you don't really UNDERSTAND, if you don't really know how to use a gun, then it is not useful at all. With TRUTH the American working class will learn how to use, build and defend its power, by any and every means necessary.

While we didn't reach as many people as we'd planned with TRUTH in the preparation of the World Metalworkers Conference, many of the ones we did really saw why it is our weapon and began to distribute it themselves. Many copies of the RYI's MANIFESTO were sold, and despite the snow, more than \$75 was raised with the RYI benefit which all contributed significantly to the financing of the delegation to the Paris Conference.

We're planning to launch a campaign with the New Year in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of American Trotskyism to build our press, to finance a full-time writing and production staff. We ask every reader, especially our new readers, to join us in this campaign by subscribing now, or if you already subscribe, and your subscription is running out, renew it. TRUTH IS OUR WEAPON!

December 15, 1977

## A note to our readers.

This will be the last issue of TRUTH published this year. We will be taking a vacation break for the holidays and will resume regular, bi-weekly production of TRUTH again with Issue #64 on January 13, 1978. Have a happy holiday! See you next year.

## Read TRUTH!

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