

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

CARTER'S "NEW FOUNDATION" IS A CRUMBLING FOUNDATION... WE NEED A **WORKERS GOVERNMENT!**

The Democratic Party gave us Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom," Roosevelt's "New Deal" and JFK's "New Frontier."

It also gave us World War I, World War II and Vietnam.

But that's all in the past. Now Jimmy "human rights" Carter is giving us the "New Foundation," announced this week in his "State of the Union" address.

Declaring that "real sacrifices must be made," Carter announced his "lean and austere" budget for 1980. Lean and austere for the workers and the oppressed.

\$15 billion were cut in social services from last year. Social Security benefits, as miserable as they are, were cut by \$600 million. 250,000 summer jobs for youth were eliminated. School lunches were drastically reduced.

But no austerity for US imperialism's drive towards war. The \$122.7 billion war budget is the largest in history, the only part of the budget INCREASED. With emphasis on preparations for ground war in Europe.

Carter declared that "The challenge for us is to build a new and firmer foundation for the future."

But there is no future for this corrupt capitalist system! There is no future for this anti-working class regime led by this hypocrite!

His "State of the Union" made no mention of US imperialism's humiliating defeat in Iran. No mention of the 160,000 American miners who openly defied his back-to-work order last year. No mention of the millions of American workers and youth who view his "Union" with total disgust.

There is no future for this government up to its neck in lies, corruption and moral decay. This entire paper could be filled with all of Jimmy "human

rights" Carter's lies.

Let's just mention Carter's latest slap in the face, symbolic of all the rest. In 1976, when he received the nomination for president he got a standing ovation when he declared: "I see no reason why big-shot crooks should go free and the poor ones go to jail."

Everyone knew he was referring to Richard Nixon. And everyone knows that one of the major reasons Carter won in 1976 was because of Ford's association with Nixon and above all Nixon's pardon. That workers voted for Carter to get revenge on the Republicans and Nixon.

Next week Richard Nixon will sip soup in the White House with Carter and the Stalinist vice-premier of China. "New Foundations" indeed.

BUT WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

The balance sheet of the last three years is not just one of the failure of the Democratic Party and its broken promises. Of its lies and attacks on the workers and youth.

It is also the failure of ALL those leaders who helped Carter get elected and keep him in power today. Who want workers to forget what they did in 1976.

It is the failure of the newly formed "Progressive Alliance," a coalition of liberals and trade union bureaucrats led by Fraser of the UAW which claims to be the only organized "left" opposition to Carter.

THESE ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO ELECTED CARTER IN '76.

And who today propose "alternatives" that are NO ALTERNATIVES: -- The reform of the Democratic Party.

-- A "mass demonstration" in Washington, D.C. against the budget cuts to bring back LAST YEAR'S budget of misery and social decay.

-- To have you spend the next year and a half in fruitless electoral

politics getting a "better" Democrat like Ted Kennedy elected in 1980.

Workers-- these "alternatives" as well as other "left" versions are NO ALTERNATIVE to the crumbling foundation of this capitalist system.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA said in 1976 and says today that there IS an alternative to this decay. That a new society must be built on the ruins of the old.

And that the only way to stop the attack on our rights and working conditions is to break with all half-way "solutions" and false "alternatives" proposed by those who are as much a part of this system as Carter.

The alternative is the struggle for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT -- a government that will destroy this imperialist, racist and anti-working class state. A government that will destroy this fraud of bourgeois "democracy" for the rich and replace it with WORKERS DEMOCRACY-- the democratic rule of the workers and oppressed through their councils.

Not "realistic"? The same people who will say this are those who a year ago said "Down with the Shah!" was not "realistic."

But the Fourth International says that the fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT in the US is as real a task as "Down with the Shah!" in Iran. Like "Down with the Shah!" it is the only fight representing the real sentiments and struggles of American workers and youth.

"Human rights" Carter lectured us in his speech last week, telling us to "avoid selfishness, cynicism and apathy at home."

We agree. The way to do this is to launch a fight to get rid of this CYNIC #1 and his government and replace it with a government of the workers and oppressed.

January 25, 1979

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TRUTH is your weapon!

In the past year we have advanced in our fight to make TRUTH our central weapon in rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International.

TRUTH has expanded in size from eight to 12 pages and its distribution has significantly increased in Detroit where the Trotskyist Organization/USA has concentrated its forces.

We can give many examples of how TRUTH has become a weapon. Like the Detroit Harper-Grace hospital workers strike last year where strikers bought over 200 copies of TRUTH and prominently displayed an article about their strike on their bulletin boards.

More recently a young student in Kansas who had subscribed to TRUTH for several months wrote us asking for another subscription and enclosed a \$5 contribution, saying: "You are by far the best of all the FI representatives around," and concluding: "Keep up the good work!"

We discovered that he ordered another subscription because he had been distributing his single copy of TRUTH among 10-20 people and it was getting so worn-out he needed another copy!

This militant has since begun receiving a bundle of TRUTH and has started work towards building the Revolutionary Youth International in his area. It is also worth pointing out that this militant had also been subscribing to THE MILITANT and THE BULLETIN, newspapers of two pseudo-Trotskyist organizations and was able to see the difference between them and us.

We learned something also. The importance of using TRUTH to expand our forces into areas where we do not yet have a physical presence and the importance of asking workers and youth in other cities to order bundles of TRUTH. There is no need to pass around one worn-out copy!

These examples show some of the possibilities. But the situation in front of the American working class and the tasks of rebuilding the Fourth International throughout the Americas demand much more. Demand that TRUTH take a qualitative step forward.

While everyone is lining up behind the attempts to save the Carter government and the Democratic Party TRUTH stands out as the only voice that exposes these maneuvers, even if these maneuvers go under a "Communist" or "Trotskyist" label.

TRUTH is not only a voice, it must ORGANIZE the resistance of the workers and youth to the attacks of the capitalists and Stalinists.

We have already taken our own steps to deepen this fight. Two comrades have been added to our Editorial Board--Kevin FitzPatrick and Rich Tetrault, while the other comrades who were also part of the Editorial Board will continue to write regularly for TRUTH also.

But we have something to ask of you, the readers of TRUTH. We want TRUTH to be your voice also. To accomplish this, we must hear from you-- your questions, comments, your problems and struggles. Our pages are open to you.

There is something else. Our printer apparently hasn't heard of Carter's "voluntary anti-inflation program." Costs for printing TRUTH have been increased 26% in the last three months alone. This increase threatens our present size as well as plans for future expansion.

While all the other pseudo-revolutionary organizations have announced a "retreat" in the face of "austerity"-- politically and organizationally-- we have NO INTENTION of retreating.

But we need your help. Our distribution must increase. In particular, our subscription base, indicating a regular, on-going support for TRUTH must dramatically rise. Contributions must start coming in. We have set the goal of selling 500 copies an issue by April and 100 new subscriptions in the next two months.

These goals are not just nice things. They are ESSENTIAL if TRUTH is to take even the smallest step forward.

It is up to you. If you are reading this right now, stop and think for a second-- have you been reading TRUTH for awhile and like what we are saying, or is this your first time and you would like to find out more about the Fourth International?

Then make a commitment. A commitment that will be a blow against this government and everything it stands for.

Send in \$5 for a subscription. Or find out how you can regularly sell a bundle of TRUTH in your factory or school.

TRUTH IS YOUR WEAPON.

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TRUTH

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AUTO WORKERS- FRASER & HIS "PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE" ARE PREPARING YOUR DEFEAT IN '79:

The Combat is in the Factories!

By JON COHEN

Some people just have no shame. Or else they think that American workers and youth are stupid.

The latter is most likely the case with a coalition of liberals and organizations which met in Washington, D.C. last week and formed an organization called the "Progressive Alliance." They elected as their chairman Doug Fraser, President of the UAW.

The basic premise behind this organization is that a sucker is born every minute and that this grab bag of worn-out liberals and bureaucrats can fool the American working class.

Over 60 organizations are a part of this coalition which includes the UAW, IAM, AFSCME, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the National Urban League and the Americans for Democratic Action. They are part of the "movement" created by Fraser last fall in Detroit to: "reaffirm the Democratic Party Platform of 1976."

Since this platform has not yet been "reaffirmed" (this coalition being defeated at the DP's recent mini-convention in Memphis), this "Progressive Alliance" is continuing this fight, above all against the massive cuts in Carter's proposed budget. The declaration of principles (!) of this "Progressive Alliance" declares:

"It is our intention to build an alliance of working people, national minorities, women, family farmers, environmentalists, senior citizens, the poor, educators, students, religious leaders and all those committed to human dignity, economic justice and peace."

Sounds pretty good. I bet you're all ready to sign up. You'll have plenty of company. The American Communist Party has already signed up, hailing this "Alliance" as a great step forward, and is physically present in some of the liberal front groups.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party is like a wallflower at a dance waiting to be asked, writing editorial advice to Fraser and Co. in their paper, mumbling some words about a "labor party" and ready to join if ONLY Fraser would just mumble some words about a "labor party" too.

Like the liberals and the trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinists and centrists think that the American workers are suckers. That workers have learned nothing in the last ten years.

Isn't this the Doug Fraser who

was the FIRST major labor bureaucrat to support Jimmy Carter, who told autoworkers to vote for Carter in '76 and forget about their strike; that Carter would "take care of them"?

Is this the same Doug Fraser who, in 1973, organized a 1,000 man goon squad armed with iron chains to force striking Mack Avenue Stamping workers in Detroit back to work?

Is this the Doug Fraser who, in 1977, personally broke a wildcat strike of Chrysler workers in Indianapolis, allowing 40 workers to be fired, including ALL the local union officials?

Is this the same Doug Fraser who refused to defend the Trenton Seven Chrysler workers from Trenton, Michigan who were convicted in federal court of "criminal contempt" for the "crime" of leading a walkout during 120° heat in the factory?

Is this the same Fraser called "DIRTY DOG" by militant autoworkers?

You bet it is. "Human dignity, economic justice and peace."
INDEED!

And if Doug Fraser is today talking about "human dignity" and "mass demonstrations" in Washington against the budget for this coming spring he is doing it for the same reasons that have earned him the title of #1 SCAB in the UAW-- to crush the mobilization of autoworkers and the rest of the working class and to keep this decrepit Democratic Party alive.

Workers-- all of the other members of this "Progressive Alliance" have credentials like Fraser's. All of them are professional DISORGANIZERS, professional TRAITORS, of the interests of the workers and oppressed.

They have a lot of nerve complaining about Carter-- they got him elected. They have a lot of nerve telling you the 1976 Platform of false promises should be "reaffirmed."

And they have a lot of nerve trying to tell you they are going to organize a demonstration against the budget cuts. In order to: "MAINTAIN SOCIAL SERVICES AT THE PRESENT LEVEL."

At the present level! This is the lofty goal and ambition of this "Progressive Alliance." Something really worth mobilizing for -- the maintenance of the PRESENT standard of living, the decay of the cities, the misery, unemployment and inflation!

But this "Progressive Alliance" is more than just a bit of foolishness. It is a conscious obstacle to the struggles of the working class. There is a reason why the petty bourgeois liberals

have chosen Doug Fraser as their spokesman.

Because the real combat against the Carter regime is taking place today in the factories. The real crisis and break with the Democratic Party is not taking place in the hypocritical circles of liberals, trade union bureaucrats, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists, but in the consciousness and struggles of the working class and youth.

Today the workers in the UAW hold the key to this struggle. Historically and today the vanguard of the American working class is found in the factories and above all in the auto factories. Autoworkers have borne the brunt of the capitalist attack and hold the key to resisting this attack.

In September the UAW contracts expire. What does Fraser, full of talk about "human dignity" and "mass mobilizations" when it concerns his "Progressive Alliance," have to say about the coming UAW contract?

"I think it's much too early to talk about the issues," declared Fraser in a recent article in the DETROIT FREE PRESS. Plenty of "issues" for the reform of the Democratic Party but none for autoworkers and their upcoming contract fight.

This is why Fraser is picked to head this "Progressive Alliance." To head-off and betray any mobilization of UAW workers in 1979, the condition for launching a revolutionary fight against the Carter regime, under the guise of a pseudo-reform of the Democratic Party and the promise of Ted Kennedy in 1980.

To do this Fraser must hide the "issues" in front of autoworkers or pretend that they are minor or trivial. Because the real "issues" in front of autoworkers scare this "Progressive Alliance" and its hangers-on to death.

The REAL issue in front of autoworkers is that 1976-1979 is a balance sheet of BOTH the bankruptcy of the UAW bureaucracy and Jimmy Carter's Democratic Party. The bankruptcy of both a contract and a President that were never accepted by the UAW workers.

A Ford contract that was barely ratified, with a massive abstention. Wildcat contract strikes at both GM and Chrysler. Three years of continuous wildcats and local strikes. Local agreements (Ford Rouge Stamping Plant, for example) that have NEVER been ratified. A contract shoved down the throats of autoworkers but never accepted.

And a Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter shoved down the throats of the working class but never accepted. The miners strike, the strike wave last year, the massive abstention in the November 1978 elections, being just examples of not only a hostility but a REJECTION of the Democratic Party and everything it stands for.

This is what this "Progressive Alliance" is desperately trying to hide and why they have tried to renovate Fraser. That the balance sheet of the exploitation in the auto plants and the social decay in the US is one and the same. That the enemy is BOTH the Democratic Party and the union bureaucrats who BOTH betrayed the struggles of UAW workers throughout the last three years.

Hiding what autoworkers need to lead their fight in '79 is not this "Progressive Alliance" of traitors, responsible for the defeats of the last three years, but a NEW leadership. A leadership to replace BOTH the UAW bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

There is one good thing about this "Progressive Alliance." It is a good warning to all workers and especially autoworkers to PREPARE NOW! The liberals, bureaucrats, Stalinists and centrists are working overtime to sell you out in September as part of their efforts to derail the mobilization of the entire working class. Because they know that the autoworkers hold the key to this mobilization.

PREPARE NOW! Expose this "Progressive Alliance" for the fraud and trap it is. Expose those so-called "communists" and "Trotskyists" who are engaged in this fraud with Fraser.

And organize the struggle to get rid of this noose around the neck of UAW workers called the UAW bureaucracy, by building and developing independent organizations of UAW workers -- factory committees, picket squads, around a revolutionary program that can challenge both the auto bosses and the Carter government.

Fraser -- it's not "too early" for us to talk about the "issues." The "issue" is how to get rid of you and your kind and how to lead a winning fight in auto by building the revolutionary party of class independence, the WORKERS PARTY, US Section of the Fourth International.

A combat that will be won and decided in the factories, not in the liberal salons.
January 23, 1979

RYW PLANS NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, American supporters of the Revolutionary Youth International are planning to hold a National Conference in Detroit on February 11th. In preparation of this Conference we interviewed Rich Tetrault, a leader of the RYW/USA.

The RYW is planning its National Conference for February 11-- How is it being built?

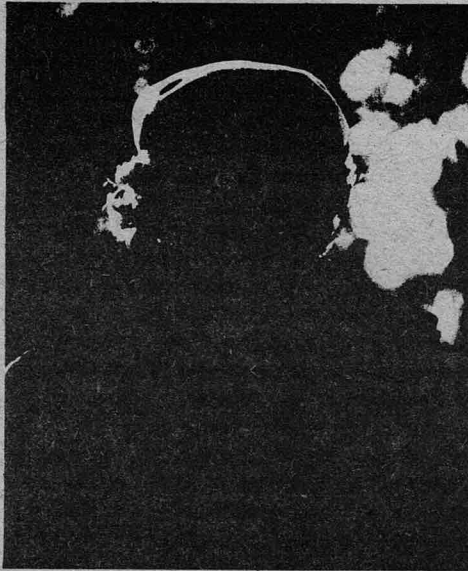
Rich: As a significant part of the rebuilding of the Fourth International in the US, the RYW recognizes the necessity for the youth of this country to take its place alongside the Trotskyist Organization/USA in building the party of the American revolution. We, as young revolutionaries, offer other youth the opportunity to learn about the alternatives to this repressive state. Unfortunately, the imperialist and Stalinist governments have spent a great deal of effort in keeping the history of Bolshevism from us. It is only through a clear political perspective that the RYI can lead a fight to return to Bolshevism.

In Detroit the RYI is concentrating a great deal of energy in the high schools. Here the attack on the youth is the most disgusting. It is here that Coleman Young and his bands of cops grip the throats of the youth. To deny the youth the right to a decent education.

The RYW/USA is fighting to build its circles in the high schools. The key to this struggle is the proper political organization that will enable the youth to see their problems as part of society as a whole and determine their plan of attack. In this way the youth can see that there is an international struggle of the youth taking place, a struggle that has to be led as a struggle for socialism.

The RYW/USA is trying to explain the international nature of this fight by waging a fight for independent trade unions in the USSR. This movement is yet another example of the desire of workers to break with their bankrupt systems. It is even more profound when one realizes the great repression of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Klebanov and his comrades have been detained in "psychiatric hospitals" for fighting for their rights which the state-controlled unions were incapable of insuring for the workers. The RYI has fought to defend Klebanov and his comrades. In the US we have developed this mobilization in the schools, with workers, with other organizations. We are holding a Teach-In in Detroit on January 26 to continue this fight. We are also planning an Educational on February 3

INTERVIEW WITH RICH TETRAULT



around the theme, "The World Crisis of Imperialism," to deepen the understanding of the youth about the situation in front of them today.

You have spoken about the attacks on the youth, especially the fight that the RYW is leading in the high schools. What is the best way to build the RYW to lead a fight against these attacks?

RICH: Young people often ask what they can do to fight these attacks. The solution is the organized fight of the RYI as above all expressed through its paper, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD. The production of our paper represents the concretization of thoughts and energies to explain and inform. IYG is a paper written by young students and workers and represents the decisions that they have made in their search for a revolutionary solution. With the power of the press, students can organize a mass movement to drive the cops from their schools, do away with ID cards, build student unions, do whatever they feel is necessary to protect their rights. With a paper an organization has a powerful hand. With the policy of the RYI, which shares the rich history of the Fourth International, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD can be developed into a real weapon.

The production of IYG has been sporadic in the past but we are trying to overcome this problem. The next issue will reflect our fight with the students and our struggle in the high schools.

What is the role of the RYW in rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International?

RICH: Like the Fourth International, the RYW must not only lead the struggles of the youth,

it must also expose the enemies and traitors who attempt to sabotage their struggles, especially those who falsely claim the banner of the Fourth International in order to destroy its history as a service to imperialism and Stalinism.

In the US the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) is the largest youth organization which falsely claims to have something to do with the Fourth International. A prime example of their centrist activity was found at their recent national convention in Pittsburgh. Most notable was their obvious decline in membership. Their convention was quite simply a collage of reformist activity carried out by some activists masquerading as revolutionaries. When pressed into political discussion, many of these centrists would revert to middle class snobbery and would conclude with a laugh or gesture.

They refused to take a position for the liberation of Klebanov which we asked them to join. Many militants claimed they knew nothing about Klebanov. Their leadership was so sectarian that they even refused to read a statement of the RYW defending their comrade, Hector Marroquin.

What have been some of the problems in the construction of the RYW?

RICH: In order to deal with our problems we must expose the roadblocks that stand in the way of our growth. The oppression in the schools, the abuse in the factories and the fight for workers

rights everywhere is a combat with the Democratic Party, the Stalinists and the centrists. These are the forces that we must overcome and it can only be accomplished with an organization built for and by the youth. It must represent the youth and their fight and allow them a forum to learn and experience.

Certain misconceptions in the minds of the youth must be fought. They will first of all have to ignore the lies and slanders against the Fourth International and the fight for Leninism and see these lies as yet another attack on the consciousness of the youth to hide the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN.

A problem is that we have often underestimated these attacks on the youth -- the importance of drugs as a tool of the bourgeoisie to control the youth; the significance of Jonestown and other machinations of the Democratic Party as a means to attack the consciousness of the youth and to stand in the way of a revolutionary alternative. Some of these lessons have been hard-learned and in many ways have been costly to our growth, yet at the same time they have provided us with the tools to forge a road forward.

Armed with the international battle of the Revolutionary Youth International, reflected in INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, we can succeed in aiding in the rebuilding of the Fourth International with our battle grounds in the schools and factories. The National Conference in Detroit on February 11th will be a major step in this direction.
January 24, 1979

**REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG
WORKERS
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 11
- 2 pm -
WSU STUDENT CENTER
Rm. 261 A**

SPAIN:

Defeat of the Referendum-- Forward to the Workers Cortes

We are reprinting an article which appeared in the January issue of LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE giving a balance sheet of the referendum held in Spain on December 6 to adopt a Francoist Constitution and the activity of the Fourth International in waging a fight for the boycott of this referendum.

The description in the article of the international reaction to the failure of the referendum in Spain holds true for the U.S. After maintaining a total silence during the months leading up to the referendum, the bourgeois press was forced to admit the failure of the Suarez government to shove this anti-working class constitution down the throats of the Spanish workers and youth.

Now the NEW YORK TIMES and other bourgeois papers have "discovered" that the "possibility" of a military coup exists in Spain. No American worker should believe that this "discovery" is innocent.

It is as innocent as the "speculation" taking place in the papers today about the "possibility" of a military coup in Iran. Innocent as hell.

It means that U.S. imperialism is preparing for this military coup in Spain just as it is in Iran. And it is urgent that American workers begin a fight to expose all those who are hiding this fact.

A good place to start would be to expose the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP who have comrades in Spain, a section which is the largest section in their "International." For almost NINE MONTHS not one single article concerning Spain has appeared in THE MILITANT. Not one word about the referendum, the threat of a coup or the activity of their section.

Why the silence? Read their articles on Iran or Peru and you will find out why they will soon be silent about these countries as well. When their policy of "democratizing" fascism and military dictatorships fails there as it has in Spain.
January 23, 1979

The entire bourgeois and Stalinist press, on the international level and in Spain, itself have not been able to hide their total confusion and disappointment in face of the failure of the referendum laboriously cooked up for many months by Carrillo, Gonzales and



the Francoist monarchy of Suarez. A massive abstention of 37% of population (12% more than in December 1976 during the referendum of the "political reform" of Francoism), the refusal of half the Basque population to vote; the constitution only received 56% of the vote throughout Spain (an official figure, and certainly inflated).

The Stalinist, Carrillo, had put all his energy into making this "a constitution for all Spaniards," but the factories (which the monarchy is maintaining a total silence about) did not follow him, nor did the oppressed nationalities, or the youth who had been given the right to vote. The Kremlin supported Carrillo in order to organize the Sacred Union against the masses; just like Castro, as well as the entire Euro-Communist faction of the Kremlin, wants to make Spain the advance point of the Holy Alliance between Stalinism and imperialism against the growing European revolution.

It is a defeat. A defeat also for the pseudo-Trotskyists led by Mandel and Lambert who want to push the workers towards an impossible and reactionary "democratization" of Stalinism and want to bring Stalinism to power in capitalist Europe.

Only one policy has been strengthened in face of and against Stalinism and imperialism, in face of their terrorist constitution in Spain: that of our party, the Fourth International and its section, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE) which organized the first workers detachments in an active boycott of the referendum and has opened up to the masses of workers who abstained the immediate perspective of the Workers Cortes of

workers delegates against the so-called "democratized" Cortes of the Francoists and their allies, the Stalinists.

The situation created by the refusal of the workers to submit to the Sacred Union will force the Spanish bourgeoisie and the Stalinists to seek the military method for keeping the masses in line. There is no more urgent task than the one of transforming the massive abstention of the Spanish working class into the conscious and organized preparation for its own power: the Workers Cortes, with and around its party, the Fourth International.

The PORE prepared the day of the active boycott of the referendum by actions against the "anti-terrorist" demonstrations of October 28 and November 10, convoked by Suarez and Carrillo to make the workers participate in this referendum. Around the slogans: "Separate the workers from the bourgeoisie and the Francoists," "Terrorism-- is the constitution," "Boycott!" and "Workers Cortes" the PORE and the Revolutionary Youth of Spain called for a demonstration in front of the SEAT factory in Barcelona of the committees of unemployed, in order to unite the unemployed and the workers in the boycott on the day of the referendum.

On December 6th (the day of the referendum) the Stalinists at SEAT did not even have the courage to call for a "yes" vote and around a hundred workers from SEAT and unemployed youth from committees in Barcelona and Terrassa organized an assembly that the SEAT workers imposed against the security police who tried to prevent it. In the afternoon the PORE organized the

first open assemblies in Madrid and Barcelona of workers delegates and workers for the Workers Cortes-- the meeting in Barcelona united around 70 workers who adopted a manifesto as well as an organizational resolution.

New assemblies for the Workers Cortes will be prepared and common actions were decided, with the CNT, CSUT and SU trade unions against the new "social pact." The PORE struggled and is waging a particular fight with militants of the anarchist union, the CNT, which called for an abstention, and at the last moment, a boycott, under the pressure of our actions and CNT militants, in order to lead the CNT into an active and open confrontation with the terrorist constitution and in the preparation of the Workers Cortes against the abstentionism and total passivity of the leadership of the CNT.

THE CENTRISTS: "UNITY" WITH CARRILLO

The pseudo-Trotskyist organizations of Mandel and Lambert in Spain-- the LCR and the OCIE-- abstained from any struggle against the terrorist constitution of Carrillo-Suarez. They called for a platonic "no" vote, covering their common policy for "unity" with the Spanish CP and SP which the workers are massively rejecting. The LCR of Mandel was strikingly absent from the streets during the common demonstrations of the Francoists and Stalinists-- in Bilbao on October 28 and in Madrid and Barcelona on November 10-- which unsuccessfully tried to make the workers accept the constitution through the blackmail of "anti-terrorism" and a fascist coup. The OCIE demonstrated on the other side of Barcelona in order not to confront the Stalinists and to beg the latter to convoke a "Constituent Cortes" and a bourgeois "republic." Both of them accepted the electoral farce; one did not see them in the streets the day of the referendum because they were hurrying to the ballot boxes with Carrillo in order to discuss "in unity" the modalities of a bourgeois and Francoist constitution.

Break the National Isolation

By JON COHEN

Every class conscious American worker and youth must have shared the joy of millions of Iranians as they poured into the streets of Teheran on January 16 celebrating the flight of that despicable butcher, the Shah. American workers should feel more than sympathy; it is a victory for them as well, since the flight of the Shah represents a defeat for the hated enemy of both the Iranian and American working class-- Jimmy "human rights" Carter.

Just a year ago, at a lavish New Year's Party thrown in his honor in Teheran, Jimmy "human rights" Carter praised Iran as "an island of stability." Toasting this butcher placed into power by his CIA, Carter told the Shah that this "stability" was "a great tribute to the respect, admiration and love of your people for you."

Day after day, for the last three months, millions have gone to the streets in Iran, showing their "love" for the Shah. But it should not come as a surprise to American workers to see Jimmy "human rights" Carter exposed as a liar and a hypocrite.

Ever since he has come on the political scene this "preacher" who has "seen God" has been lying to the American working class. Covering up his rotten maneuvers here and abroad with hypocrisy and lies. Beginning to make Richard Nixon look like a saint.

As a matter of fact Nixon will soon be coming to the White House to eat dinner with Carter and the vice-premier of China. The stench of the moral corruption and bankruptcy of Carter's White House will make Nixon feel right at home. As if he had never left.

The corruption in the White House is not a personal problem. It goes with the job. The job of leading US imperialism in crisis, saving a system that is on the defensive throughout the world and at home in the face of a renewed upsurge of the international working class.

Everywhere the mask of US imperialism's "democracy" is being stripped away. The "human rights" policy of supporting "our friend," the Shah down to the bitter end and now preparing a bloody coup to crush the Iranian revolution. And "human rights" in the US-- turning the cities into jungles and building a "new foundation" by terrorizing the American working class and youth.

That is why the lies and hypocrisy are now so obvious, because US imperialism is on the defensive and can no longer hide its crisis nor its intention to drown the present workers mobilization in blood.

Most American workers feel a great deal of sympathy for the struggles of the workers and youth throughout the world. For the revolution taking place in Iran, for the struggles of the black workers in South Africa, for the workers and oppressed in Latin America, in Europe.

But it goes well beyond a question of sympathy. Everyone wants to hide this fact, but the fact remains that the American working class and its struggles is an important factor in the world class struggle and an aid to the workers in revolt against US imperialism everywhere.

The mobilization of the American workers and youth against the Vietnam War in the 60's was a decisive factor in the defeat of US imperialism in Southeast Asia. The resistance of the American working class to another Vietnam is a decisive factor preventing US imperialism from a direct military intervention in Iran, in the Middle East, in Nicaragua.

The crisis of US imperialism throughout the

world is directly tied to its crisis at home-- its inability to control the mobilization of the working class, the crisis of the Democratic Party and its trade union apparatus, the growing fraud of bourgeois "democracy." US imperialism cannot maintain its role as policeman of the world without policing its own working class, an effort that is becoming more and more difficult.

American workers are not conscious of all this. Neither of their own power at home nor of the relationship between their struggles and those around the world. "What does all this have to do with me?" is a question most workers ask when they think about Iran, South Africa, Latin America, Europe.

It is not just an "American" problem. The overwhelming problem of the world revolution today and the class struggle in every country is the problem of NATIONAL ISOLATION.

In no matter what country of the world you may look at, especially those countries where the process of the revolution has gone the furthest, you can see that the central problem, the central obstacle blocking the way to the victorious revolution is this problem of national isolation.

It was the problem of the Russian Revolution of 1917 which allowed for its degeneration. It is the problem of the Iranian revolution today which US imperialism will succeed in crushing or derailing without the aid of the international, above all European and American working class. It is the problem in the Iberian Peninsula today, the unity of the Spanish and Portuguese workers being the only thing that can prevent a military coup that hangs over both countries.

National isolation is the central problem in Eastern Europe where the workers in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc. are cut off from the struggles of the Soviet working class, the only force that can prevent the intervention of the Kremlin's tanks. And workers in Eastern Europe and the USSR as a whole are cut off from the struggles of workers in the capitalist countries.

Even though this is a central problem everywhere it is necessary to say that ABOVE ALL it is a problem for the American working class and the American revolution. The US working class is the most powerful and technically advanced proletariat in the world. It confronts US capitalism, the centerpiece of world capitalism, the policeman of the world. The fate of the world revolution depends on the American working class. As Trotsky correctly said: "The future of humanity will be decided on American soil."

Without the aid of the American working class any successful revolution ANYWHERE will be crushed by the joint efforts of US imperialism and Stalinism. It above all concerns the question of the revolution in Latin America. The US bourgeoisie views Latin America as its private backyard.

But today, despite numerous spontaneous efforts to deal with this problem, American workers largely feel isolated from the struggles of workers around the world or see little connection between the struggles in the US and those abroad. It has nothing to do with distances, language differences or oceans. The isolation of the American working class is not accidental.

It is conscious. More than conscious, the isolation of the American working class is one of the centerpieces of the world COUNTERREVOLU-

TION today organized with the joint collaboration of US imperialism and the Stalinist paratus of the Kremlin.

Leave US imperialism aside for a moment. Except to say that while the US bourgeoisie allowed to have its "friends" abroad like the Shah, the American working class is formally prohibited from any kind of ties or affiliation with an international revolutionary organization (the Voorhis Act, continued in S.1437 now before the House of Representatives).

But the US bourgeoisie is not the chief obstacle to breaking the national isolation of the American working class. Would any worker seriously expect anything different? No-- the chief obstacle is in the workers movement itself centered on the international Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin and its various "Communist" parties.

The Stalinists are petty bourgeois servants of imperialism inside the workers movement. They are, as Trotsky said "the chief agents of the world counterrevolution." Nothing more, nothing less.

The Stalinists came to power in Russia on the basis of the national isolation of the Soviet working class. They developed a theory of international collaboration with imperialism based on this national isolation called "socialism in one country" and have used this theory ever since to bury revolution after revolution.

This is the policy that allows for their totalitarian dominance over the socialist countries in the USSR and Eastern Europe. It is the "national road to socialism" of the "Euro Communists" in Spain--with the heirs of Franco.

In the United States it is at the origin of all the theories about the "backwardness," "revolutionary" nature of the American working class today spouted off by that petty bourgeois philistine in Havana, Fidel Castro. And the origin of the support of the American Communist Party to the left wing of the Democratic Party the party of US imperialism.

This is the fundamental basis for the combat of the Stalinists today against Leninism. It is the basis for their struggle to the death against Trotskyism which above all stands for the world revolution and the world party of the working class against all national isolation, any adaptation to "socialism in one country" which is nothing less than adaptation to imperialism itself.

The fight to break from national isolation and to break with all those who support it is the key question of the world and American revolution today. As such this has immediate, practical conclusions for the tasks of revolutionaries in every country.

As Lenin understood in 1917, as Trotsky understood when he founded the Fourth International in 1938-- the central task in front of revolutionaries throughout the world, as a CONDITION for the success of the revolution in their respective countries is the construction of a revolutionary, international PARTY, an INTERNATIONAL CENTER to lead the fight against imperialism and Stalinism.

It is not simply a nice thing. Or, something that will come about as a by-product of "building strong national parties." Or a question of international solidarity and sympathy.

But it is a question of an international leadership fighting in an organized and centralized fashion to break the national isolation imposed by Stalinism and imperialism and

AL THROUGHOUT THE TWO AMERICAS --

the American Working Class!

to unite the struggles of the workers and oppressed around the construction of a world party of the socialist revolution --the Fourth International.

Which is first and above all a political struggle to arm the working class against all those who seek to impose this isolation on the American working class-- the imperialists, the Stalinists and the pseudo-revolutionaries who masquerade in the name of the Fourth International.

Militants of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party have asked us how can we "dare" call ourselves "the Fourth International." After all, as one militant told us, "Even the Spartacist League recognizes us as the real Fourth International." So does Carrillo, Berlinguer, Doug Fraser and other "recognized" leaders of the "official" workers movement. And isn't the "International" that the SWP is affiliated with much "bigger" than ours, with many more "sections"?

But the questions answer themselves. The Fourth International has nothing to do with size, how many sections it has, how well it is "recognized" by the traitors of the working class.

The Fourth International is an international center of the world socialist revolution built to destroy Stalinism. Built to arm the international working class against this chief obstacle to the world revolution and the revolution in every country, which is the national isolation fostered by Stalinism and imperialism.

It has nothing to do with telling the workers in Iran that their problems can be solved by building a constituent assembly with or without the Shah. By telling South African workers that "black majority rule" is a solution for them. By calling that slanderer of the American working class, Fidel Castro, a "revolutionary." Or by telling the US working class that Congress can end unemployment. Policies that are only a "left" version of "socialism in one country."

To understand the nature of the Fourth International that we are building here and around the world is to understand the nature of the coming American revolution and the party that must lead it. That a central problem of the American revolution is the isolation of the American working class and that the American revolution can be led only by an international party-- the Fourth International.

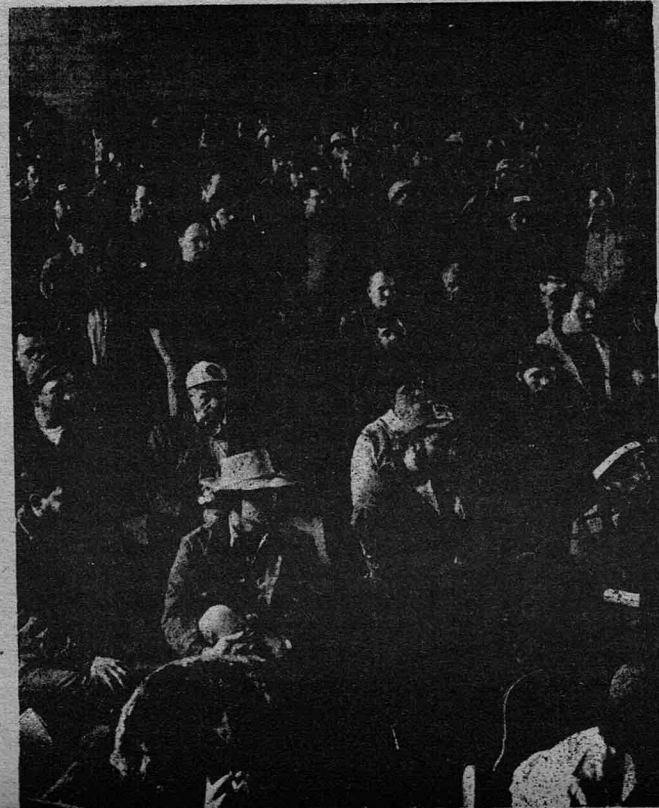
Today this means a struggle against Stalinism and the pseudo-Trotskyists who support its policy of national isolation throughout the world, but above all in the US and Latin America. This is the reason why the Trotskyist Organization/USA, in its fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International says to the American working class that this fight must be taken up as a fight throughout the Two Americas--North and South-- for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

A goal that can immediately be translated into a practical struggle to translate the deep sympathy of the American working class for the struggles of workers and youth around the world into the condition for their victory both in the US and around the world--the construction of the Fourth International.

January 24, 1979



Peruvian miners



American miners

DEFEND THE REVOLUTION IN PERU!

On January 6 the Morales Bermudez military government of Peru declared a "state of emergency" in an effort to stop a planned general strike.

Over 2,000 trade union and political leaders have been arrested. The government sent armed troops into working class districts, gatherings of three or more persons were prohibited, police were given unconditional authorization to search homes and make arrests without warrants. Virtually all working class journals were banned.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA demands the lifting of this "state of emergency" and the unconditional release of all political prisoners jailed by the military regime. In particular, we demand the release of Mike Kelly, a militant of the US Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners who is being detained along with militants of the PRT and POMR.

The revolt of the Peruvian workers and peasants who have been engaged in an open mobilization against the dictatorship for almost a year is now in danger. There are several lessons to be drawn from this latest attack by the dictatorship.

First of all, it demonstrates the bitter truth about the Constituent Assembly. That this farce of an un-democratic Assembly was ONLY a maneuver on the part of Carter and the military regime to give them time to head-off the workers mobilization and prepare its

counterattack. That this Constituent Assembly was and remains a noose around the neck of the Peruvian working class. And that no revolutionary has any business participating in it.

Secondly, the proposed general strike, which was a failure, demonstrates the treachery of Stalinism and its total bankruptcy. The strike was called by the CP-controlled CGTP trade union federation to DEMOBILIZE and DEMORALIZE the working class. It was called with no preparation and excluded major unions like the miners.

It makes all the more bankrupt the policy of the PRT of Hugo Blanco and the POMR of Napuri and Lambert-Just who are both sitting in this Constituent Assembly and have CONSISTENTLY refused to warn the Peruvian workers against the treachery of Stalinism.

By drawing the lessons of both Stalinism and centrism the Peruvian workers can regain their initiative, turn back this attack and lead a successful struggle for a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT in Peru.

We urge all our supporters and workers and youth to take up an immediate fight against this "state of emergency" and for the liberation of all political prisoners in their unions, factories and schools.

LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS! LONG LIVE THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION!

January 25, 1979

SOCIALISM or BARBARISM!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International has just produced its Text of Formation #1 -- "The Crisis of Imperialism." This will be the basis for a Revolutionary Young Workers Educational on February 3.

"ECONOMICS"

The capitalist class, the Stalinists, all the centrists-- especially the pseudo-Trotskyists -- are engaged in an attack on the consciousness of the working class. One of the chief ways in which they do this is by presenting themselves as masters of "economics," especially "Marxist economics." On the one hand they present this "economics" as something highly complex, difficult and mysterious, which can only be understood by "experts." On the other hand, they present it as something remote from reality, having nothing to do with "politics." In both cases, it is "theoretical" in the worst bourgeois sense -- it is not "practical."

The Text of Formation addresses itself directly to shattering this attack.

"Formation" is a word that means more than just "education;" it also means "training" and "development" -- the education, training and development of the working class, especially its vanguard, for the revolutionary tasks that it faces.

The Text begins with a quotation from the Transitional Program of the Fourth International: "The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened;' they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind...The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

Here we find the heart of the question. Capitalist society can no longer go forward. It can only destroy itself and the world with it unless the socialist revolution triumphs. The choice today is clearer than ever: SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM!

IMPERIALISM

During the First World War Lenin wrote IMPERIALISM: THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM. But he did not write it as an "economic" work in the manner of the centrists. No; the economic analysis that Lenin made was part of the preparation of the world revolution, of the Russian Revolution of 1917. It was part of the "formation" of the Bolshevik Party and the Third (Communist)

International, whose struggle the Fourth International continues today.

Lenin's conclusions were clear and simple. Imperialism represents the ultimate development of the productive forces under capitalism. This opens up the possibility for building socialism. At the same time, as long as capitalism remains, not only can the productive forces not grow, they are doomed to constant attack. Therefore, socialist revolution is not only possible, it is necessary.

We live, therefore, in "an epoch of wars and revolutions." This was the basis on which the Fourth International was founded and on which it fights today. Beginning with World War I and the Russian Revolution we have seen an uninterrupted process of world revolution, right down to today and the upsurges in Iran, Latin America and, above all, the development of the European Revolution.

This is what the centrists and pseudo-Trotskyists try to hide in their "economics." This is how they help imperialism and Stalinism in their counterrevolutionary alliance.

CONFLICT

The productive forces are the means through which the human race has lifted itself up over the ages. They are tools, knowledge, science, the accumulated wealth of society, all the ways in which we have expanded production and expanded culture. Under imperialist capitalism these means of production reached a point dwarfing anything ever achieved before. The whole world was opened up, not just one corner of it. The possibility of liberating the human race from poverty and degradation existed in reality; it was no longer a dream.

But the productive forces do not grow automatically or spontaneously. They develop in the framework of relations of production. BASICALLY, these relations of production are systems of ownership.

The development of capitalism, culminating in imperialism, raised the productive forces through abolishing the old relations of production which had held them back. Fundamentally, it did this through creating NEW relations of production which gave the productive forces greater room in which to grow. Private property, private ownership of the means of production, together with national boundaries, constitute the relations of production under the capitalist mode of production.

How do these new relations of production once again come into

conflict with the productive forces?

Capitalism does not cease to increase TECHNOLOGY. The point is that now these technological advances are no longer forces of production, but forces of destruction. Private property (private profit) remains in control of society and every advance is turned to its advantage, against society.

For example, automation opens up the possibility of freeing humanity from back-breaking toil for the first time in history. But, under imperialism, it means large-scale unemployment. It means no future for the youth. It means double and triple work for those who keep their jobs.

In the same way, technical breakthroughs such as nuclear power become transformed into means for global destruction, for the annihilation of the human race.

Likewise, the retention of national boundaries is directly connected with the whole question of "foreign imports" and trade deficits, which the imperialists seek to use to make cannon-fodder out of the working class. These national boundaries and their conflict with social production and exchange on a world scale are also connected with the dollar and monetary "crisis" which is an engine of inflation and its attacks on the living standards of the working class.

WORKING CLASS

It is not accidental that all these attacks by imperialism on the productive forces center on the working class. Outside human labor, all technology and machinery are nothing. The working class itself is the greatest of all the productive forces.

It too has been organized and created on a world scale. It too seeks to break through the present relations of production, to find a new outlet for its growth and development. And it too comes under direct attack by imperialism which seeks to destroy it.

The striving of the productive forces against the strait-jacket of imperialist relations of production is the general source of the crisis of imperialism. But this crisis is expressed directly and concretely in the struggle of the working class to crush imperialism on the world scale and to build its own new society on a worldwide basis.

1914 and the beginning of World War I marked the point at which the conflict between the forces of production and the re-

lations of production exploded. But the Russian Revolution of 1917 opened the first breach in the imperialist system. It and its continuation in the world revolution created imperialism's CRISIS.

This is the REAL CRISIS. Outside of this framework it is impossible to understand the monetary "crisis" and the "economic" crisis. These are the ways in which the social and political crisis develops and expresses itself.

There are two aspects to this question.

First, that capitalism, imperialism today, will never "automatically" collapse as a result of the "economic" crisis. This is another way in which the agents of the counterrevolution seek to hide the necessity of consciously making the socialist revolution. Long ago, Lenin wrote against the myth of the "final crisis." He said there is no situation that the bourgeoisie cannot get itself out of, short of the conscious intervention of the working class. The sole final crisis of capitalism is the one in which the working class takes power.

The other aspect of this question is the line put forward by Stalinism and the pseudo-Trotskyists, the same line that Lenin had to fight and that the Fourth International fights today. This line presents the "economics" of imperialism -- development of the productive forces, monopolization and concentration of industry, etc. -- as a simple fact, and the expression of this in terms of exploitation, war, crisis, degradation, as a POLICY. And since it is only one "policy" among others, the struggle is not to crush imperialism through proletarian revolution, but to change the policy.

This is the basis for the schemes of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists: to "win peace," for the "divestiture" of investment in South Africa, for "affirmative action" and "equal rights," etc. These schemes not only accomplish nothing but they are consciously intended to divert, once again, the working class from its revolution.

In order to further develop the Text of Formation, we will take up in the next issue of TRUTH the latest "economic" soothsaying of the pseudo-Trotskyist leader and "distinguished Marxist economist," Ernest Mandel, as published in the January 22, 1979 issue of INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS.
January 21, 1979

Rebuild the South African Section of the Fourth International!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

This article is a continuation of a discussion begun with South African students who attended the YSA Convention in December and met with us. It is an important discussion to open in the American working class and a way to begin re-arming the vanguard of the South African section of the Fourth International by REBUILDING it.

As these students told us, the South African working class has a long and militant history. In 1973, there was a general strike in Durban in defiance of the apartheid regime, in 1975 and 1976 there were massive boycotts in Newcastle and Springs (Kwa-thema). Each week, every day, the workers strike and demonstrate, and of course this struggle is suppressed in the bourgeois papers.

The South African workers are a powerful force in South Africa, made up of mainly black workers in the mines and factories of the multi-national corporations. Under the apartheid overlords and their imperialist masters, South African workers have been welded into a gigantic force capable of waging the fight to the finish against apartheid and leading the national struggle against oppression to its proletarian conclusion: a Workers and Peasants Government. Not spontaneously, but with the correct leadership. This is the key to victory for the oppressed masses and workers.

What kind of leadership must this be? A leadership that understands that the motor force of the struggle unfolding in South Africa is the CLASS STRUGGLE. This party has to understand the national question the same way Lenin and Trotsky understood it.

"The Bolshevik Party defended the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination WITH THE METHODS OF PROLETARIAN CLASS STRUGGLE, entirely rejecting the charlatan "anti-imperialist" blocs with the numerous petty-bourgeois "nationalist" parties of czarist Russia..." (Leon Trotsky, "On the South Africa Theses" -- WRITINGS, 1935).

The Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, to which these South African students belong, is a petty bourgeois movement permeated through and through with the decrepit national policy of Stalinism. Drake Koka,

who claims to represent this movement, was sent on tour in the US by the Socialist Workers Party, (SWP), US appendage to the United Secretariat (USec), in full collaboration with trade union bureaucrats, "left" Democratic Party

figures like John Conyers and the NAACP. Koka is touted by the SWP as a leader of the Black Trade Union Movement of South Africa.

Koka barely mentioned black workers or the unions in his speeches in Detroit. He didn't want the working class to appear any more important than anybody else. His appeal to black auto-workers was that they should "be at one with the mystical beat of the cowhide drum."

With this outlook the South African working class would be hurled back to the days of tribalism!

One of the South African students got upset when we questioned the revolutionary credentials of Drake Koka, the Roman Catholic "unionist". But listen to the arrogant attitude towards the working class from this petty bourgeois bureaucrat himself:

"I must point out that at this moment it is a misnomer to say that we have got a black working class and a sort of black non-working class. That gives the connotation that we have got DIFFERENT CLASSES (our emphasis) in the black community. You see, the apartheid system has brought blacks together, no matter whether they are workers, white collar or EVEN BUSINESSMEN. (Our emphasis). They have brought all of us into one camp, the camp of blacks. So we do not see black workers as a separate entity from the rest of the black majority. Therefore, in the struggle for liberation they are fused into one. So, therefore, at the present moment, I fail to see a distinct black working class.

But the workers are still the major force upon which we rely. That is why we are doing our best to organize workers." (Drake Koka quoted in the INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, October 30, 1978). Koka is nothing but an opportunist using the struggle of the black workers to put black businessmen in power.

Some of the South African students we met in Pittsburgh are trying to establish a branch of the BCM in the US to return to Africa to fight apartheid. One of them said the goal of this movement is "political power for the masses of people and a comprehensive economic reform, that is, a complete economic reconstruction... It's only through the revolutionary effort of a politically conscious black mass that a viable solution will be achieved to the South African problem."

But what kind of politics is this "black mass" being made conscious of?



The politics of Stalinism-- its Castroite face. The politics of the pseudo-Trotskyists of the USec who limp after Castro, giving him advice on how to "liberate" Africa.

One of the students thinks Castro came to Africa "at the behest of the African people." But both "human rights" Carter and his black lackey Andrew Young know the real reason. That is why Young praised Castro for the arrival of Cuban troops in Angola which he said "aided in the re-establishment of order and clearly stabilized the situation."

This "black mass" our student friend mentioned has to be made "politically conscious" that Castro is an obstacle to liberation. Thinking militants must question why Castro's troops allowed the MPLA in Angola to crush left oppositionists (Maoists) and allowed it to diffuse and destroy independent organizations built by the Angolan people to fight imperialism -- in the interest of the MPLA's "self-determination." Just like Castro liquidated the equivalents of soviets after the Cuban working class had overthrown capitalism using its own means -- then this "liberator" took over with his July 26th gang who have ever since blocked the extension of the workers revolution throughout the Americas.

In one moment in the African class struggle, Castro sides with the Eritrean liberation forces, the next he abandons them in favor of the reactionary Dergue, the military government of Ethiopia, (not wanting to interfere with Ethiopia's "self-determination.") The South African masses need to be liberated from this "liberator".

The SWP never told the South

African students that a section of the Fourth International once existed in South Africa. They would like to bury this history, because they no longer represent it. It was built and grew up in a struggle against Stalinism.

The struggle for the section began in the 30's when black militants from Johannesburg addressed a letter to the Left Opposition, the faction organized by Trotsky in the Third International based on all the hard-earned principles of revolutionary internationalism, against Stalinist betrayals. The Left Opposition became the Fourth International. The Johannesburg militants were attracted to the Left Opposition because, in spite of its small size and in spite of the slanders launched against it by the Stalinists, it was the only revolutionary tendency in the world capable of leading their struggle.

"This interest" wrote Trotsky, "is wholly justified. The working masses of the oppressed peoples who have to carry on the struggle for elementary national rights... are precisely those who incur the greatest risk of suffering the penalties for the muddled teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship." (Leon Trotsky, "Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!" -- WRITINGS, 1932)

Not the democratic abstraction, "national democratic state" (black majority rule), but a South African October. That was the basis of the Workers' Party of South Africa; that is the basis for the rebuilding of the South African section of the Fourth International today.

January 22, 1979

CONCERNING SLANDERS AGAINST THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL—

We don't take "I don't know" for an answer!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

At the recent Young Socialist Alliance Convention we asked YSA and Socialist Workers Party members: "Do you want to be in the same organization with the slanderer Lambert?"

This may seem like a very strange question. In fact, it's a very important POLITICAL question, a CLASS question.

With the 1972 rally of 5,000 youth in Essen, Germany for workers unity against imperialism and Stalinism, for the Fourth International and the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International, the International Committee went farther than ever in its struggle to rebuild the International.

Nevertheless, Lambert, with the rest of the leadership of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), refused to continue this struggle. They capitulated to the Stalinist apparatus which had announced in June 1972 that it planned to fight for power in France. A lie to fool the workers.

At the July 1972 Pre-Conference, called to make final preparations for the International Committee's Fourth Open Conference rebuilding the Fourth International, as a world democratic centralist center AGAINST Stalinism and the pro-Stalinist United Secretariat, Lambert and Co. decided to dissolve the International Committee. They formed a loose federation of groups with diverging views (which they dishonestly called the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International—OCRFI) and INDEFINITELY postponed the rebuilding of the International.

Our comrades, led in particular by Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution and member of the International Committee for ten years, opposed this. They formed an international faction within the OCRFI for the maintenance and development of the International Committee and the completion of the task of rebuilding the International. When it became clear that this was one view that Lambert and Co. wouldn't tolerate in their "federation," our comrades broke with them and formed the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International.

What did Lambert do? Defend his positions? No. He suddenly discovered "a police provocation." He described and denounced it at length in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES Nos. 617, 620, 637, 638, and 641, a brochure entitled "A Provocation in the Fourth International," and internal bulletins.

What was the provocation? Denouncing comrades to the police? Stealing money? No — the political struggle Michel Varga and the rest of our comrades led at the 1972 Pre-Conference against Lambert's attempt to liquidate the International. This was the ONLY contemporary activity to which Lambert referred in his mountain of literature.

And they suddenly discovered a "provocateur," Michel Varga. What was the evidence? MICHEL VARGA'S POSITION AT THIS SAME PRE-CONFERENCE and a lengthy falsification of his political history designed to further back-up the slanderous charge.

Since that time, Lambert and Co. have continued to dedicate themselves to the destruction of the Fourth International. The major organizations of the USec came to their aid, formed a commission to whitewash them and their Stalinist slanders. And today, as we've reported in previous issues of TRUTH, Lambert is dissolving what's left of the OCRFI into the pro-Stalinist United Secretariat, reunifying with the Socialist Workers Party.

We, on the other hand, have continued the revolutionary struggle. Formed the Revolutionary Youth International, rebuilt the Fourth International, fought the political agents of Stalinism who dishonestly call themselves Trotskyists. Above all Lambert who is twice a criminal. First, for trying to destroy the Fourth International in 1972. Second, for trying to cover himself with the same sort of slanderous attacks on the Fourth International in 1973, that Stalin used against Trotsky and his comrades in 1933.

You'll hear a lot about the "Varga affair" from the centrists. How Michel Varga's a CIA-GPU agent; how he took money from the CIA; how he's a "dubious figure." But you'll never hear about the political struggle Varga and the rest of our comrades waged against Lambert and Co.'s treachery at the 1972 Pre-Conference. Nor will you ever hear that Lambert's principal accusation against us has always been that the fight at exactly this Pre-Conference was a police provocation.

And this isn't a matter of opinion. It's a matter of historical record, documented in THE WHITE PAPER of the Inquiry Commission Against the Slander.

Why won't you hear this? Because with this information anyone who wants can see what's up. A POLITICAL FIGHT WHERE ONE SIDE'S LOSING SO IT HITS BELOW THE BELT. Just as THE WHITE PAPER says: "This accusation ("provoca-

tion in the Fourth International," SWP) served the OCI to attempt to eliminate a political opposition other than by political combat."

So when we ask the question -- "Do you want to be in the same organization with the slanderer Lambert?" -- we're asking: Which side are you on? Is our struggle "a police provocation"? Are we "provocateurs"? Or is this Lambert's slander, inspired by and serving Stalinism?

While Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party members claim to be revolutionary politicians, to represent the Fourth International in the US, to be against Stalinism; almost every one of them answered our question with: "I don't know; I can't say." Very few in the course of the four-day convention bothered to find out anything about it.

Of those who did, most formally disassociated themselves from Lambert's grossest slanders, but refused to fight them. Other dismissed Lambert's attacks on us as a thing of the past, as an error, said we should "let by-gones be by-gones," after all, "he 'stands' on the program of the Fourth International."

Still others accused US of slandering the SWP. ("The SWP has never said in writing it supports Lambert's campaign; you say the

SWP does; therefore, you, not Lambert nor the SWP, are the slanderer.") And of course there were also the miniature Lamberts: the Canadian OCRFI member who hissed "Vargaite spies" at us, the Detroit SWP member who perennially does the same; together PROVING our whole point.

So concerning a question like this -- slander against the Fourth International -- we don't take "I don't know" for an answer. And we don't think anyone else should.

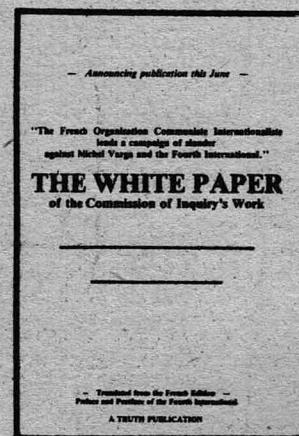
The imperialists and Stalinists use the same kinds of slanderous lies to mow down young workers every day, calling them "trouble-makers," "splitters," "criminals," "terrorists," "provocateurs."

We've started a campaign to finance publication of the English Edition of THE WHITE PAPER of the Inquiry Commission which tells the truth about the Fourth International's struggle and shows Lambert and Co.'s campaign for what it is -- lies in the service of Stalinism.

We ask all young workers and honest militants who agree that on a question like this nobody should take "I don't know" for an answer, to join us and subscribe to the WHITE PAPER.

January 22, 1979

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