



## Young workers-- Win back your unions!



Things will never be the same in this country regardless of the outcome of the vote on the latest miners contract.

180,000 miners stood up to the Carter government and defied the Taft-Hartley back-to-work order. An open defiance of US imperialism in its heartland.

A message to the fighting working class and its youth around the world.

The Carter government made an embarrassed retreat in the face of this defiance when last week a federal judge refused to continue Taft-Hartley and declared that the government had failed to prove that there was a "national emergency."

A slap in the face to Carter and his "human rights." Reflected in a resolution of the 16,000 member District 6 of the UMW which declared: "As miners, we are disappointed that the Carter administration resorted to the use of this law. We believe it's a disgrace for him to use this law and at the same time piously claim to the world that he and his administration believe in "human rights."

But Carter and the bosses are not finished with the miners. The latest sell-out contract offer represents a retreat on all lines even from the miserable 1974 contract.

Full health benefits are not

restored, nor are full pension rights. And on the issue of wildcat strikes the contract dangerously takes the issue out of the contract and places it-- IN THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT, through compulsory arbitration.

In the hands of a government which ordered Taft-Hartley and which passed the S. 1437 bill making wildcat strikes a federal crime, a FELONY!

The only way they will succeed in forcing this contract down the throats of the miners is through starvation. But this "victory" will be short-lived. The miners will continue to fight for their rights with the support of the entire working class.

Young workers-- the miners have defined the terrain of the class struggle in the coming months. THE FIGHT IS IN THE UNIONS!

The miners proved that the unions can be powerful weapons of the working class, weapons to defend and win our rights. The miners have shown that the struggle in the unions is POLITICAL-- against the bosses, against the union bureaucracy, against the Carter government and FOR workers rights.

Your place is in the unions which were built by young workers and which once belonged to young workers. They must become yours once again!

It's about time. Since the upsurge of the workers in the 30's and 40's which built industrial unionism in the space of a decade the unions have been in the hands of a reactionary trade union bureaucracy, slaves to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state.

It's about time. These bureaucrats have done their best to drive the youth out of the unions in order to keep the working class chained to the Democratic Party.

You can change this. Now. The miners strike has proven this. The young workers in the factories today, who hate this system more than anyone else, can change this situation by winning the unions to the cause of the entire working class and the oppressed. By building a new, revolutionary leadership.

By taking the fight for Workers Democracy where the workers are organized EN MASS-- in the unions, where they can learn the lessons of the preparation of the American revolution IN ACTION. The place to fight for POLITICS today is in the organizations built by the workers themselves.

Where all the false leaders of the working class can be CONFRONTED and by winning the majority of workers to our side, they can be DEFEATED, once and for all in front of the workers.

It's about time. The unions are where you can defeat the Democratic Party and its agents. Defeat the Stalinists and their policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. Defeat the pseudo-revolutionaries who everyday cover for the bureaucrats in the name of revolution.

Where we can defeat the plans of the capitalists for their counter-revolution. Where we can fight to smash S. 1437 and the repressive plans of the bourgeoisie.

Where we can prepare the revolution and build the party of the working class to lead it.

Where the American section of the Fourth International is being built.

Young workers-- the unions must become yours. To discuss and organize this fight we urge you to attend the meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers in Detroit on Sunday, April 2nd, to prepare the spring elections in the UAW. March 23, 1978

## DEFEND THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION! Statement of the Secretariat, TO/USA

On March 14th Israeli troops invaded Lebanon in a bloodthirsty attempt to destroy the organized resistance of the oppressed Palestinian masses to this expansionist, genocidal regime.

Today Israel occupies a 15-mile portion of southern Lebanon with over 700 people dead and 160,000 left homeless, their villages reduced to rubble. The latest "ceasefire" means nothing-- the Zionists intend to establish themselves permanently as an occupying force in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the butcher Begin is meeting in Washington with Jimmy Carter to organize the collaboration of US imperialism with this attack. Labelled a "mass murderer" even by fellow Zionists for his responsibility in the slaughter of over 200 Arab women and children in 1948, Begin is proceeding with this latest attempt to crush the Palestinian resistance with the full support of the Carter regime and the US bourgeoisie.

THE NEW YORK TIMES called

the massive retaliation "justified. In fact, the "revenge" of the Zionists for the PLO act of terrorism in Israel which killed 35 Israelis is the "revenge" of mass murder-- of the Nazis, of Hiroshima, of Mai Lai.

But this "revenge" and "retaliation" is just a coldly-calculated lie to hide from the rest of the world that this Zionist regime of Israel; illegal and oppressive by its very origin, can only exist through war and destruction, and above all through the elimination of the Palestinian masses.

This invasion of Lebanon has been planned for years. The Zionists have just been waiting for the proper moment-- the Sadat "peace" initiative whose purpose was to isolate the Palestinians, the desperation of the bankrupt policies of the PLO leadership and the collaboration of US imperialism and Stalinism in imposing the defeat of the fight of the Palestinians for self-determination.

The responsibility for this attack

does not lie with Israel alone. It is part and parcel of the entire policy of the world counterrevolution being organized by imperialism and Stalinism to crush the most revolutionary sections of the working class and oppressed masses. The Zionists are only their policeman.

Our defense of the PLO and the Palestinian masses is unconditional. Our opposition to the bankrupt policy of terrorism which only cuts the Palestinians off from a real fight to win the support of the Jewish and Arab workers in Israel in no way changes the need for the American working class to support the fight of the Palestinians against Zionist oppression and for their right of self-determination.

There is another reason why American workers must defend the Palestinians. The attempt to exterminate the Palestinians, carried in the name of a campaign against the PLO is meant as a lesson to the entire world working class.

It is the lesson of the counter-revolution. This is how far im-

perialism, Stalinism and its allies are prepared to go against all fighters for the liberation of the working class and the oppressed. War and destruction against all those who oppose this old order of oppression, racism and misery.

THEY MUST NOT SUCCEED!

It is up to the world working class and above all the workers in the US to defend the Palestinian revolution by organizing a fight against US imperialism-- the enemy is not only in Tel Aviv-- THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE!

NO MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL!

ISRAEL OUT OF LEBANON AND ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORY! UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIANS!

FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

March 22, 1978

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FRENCH ELECTIONS

# The Miners Strike and the Fight to Rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International

By JON COHEN

The miners strike which has now lasted over 120 days symbolizes the new stage in the offensive of the American working class. Even if the latest contract offer is narrowly accepted it will resolve nothing.

The offensive will continue, but on a higher level because the miners have won a great deal with this strike, a victory not contained in the printed pages of Miller's latest sell-out.

They have won confidence in their own forces as the only way to wage a fight against the coal bosses and a capitalist government. The mass picketing, the caravans, mass assemblies and armed self-defense will remain active in the mines far longer than any contract Arnold Miller signs.

The "reform" leadership of Miller stands exposed -- 18,000 signatures collected for his recall testify to the fact that a struggle has begun to throw out the reactionary leadership which has been the principle obstacle to their fight for a decent contract and for their rights.

Only 30 miners out of 180,000 obeyed Carter's Taft-Hartley order-- the miners have shown the entire working class that THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE!

The hundreds of union resolutions passed in support of the miners, the food and monetary support, the mass meeting organized to discuss the miners strike were not just expressions of "solidarity" with the miners but expressed the fact that all American workers saw the fight of the miners as their own. Something which the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and its supporters did their best to hide.

The entire working class has won a great deal with this strike because they have learned IN ACTION the treachery of the bureaucracy, the counterrevolutionary plans of the capitalists and their state. Lessons have been learned for the MASSES of American workers.

But these lessons must become conscious. The fundamental fight of the workers for their rights against the fraud of "human rights" must have a leadership and organized expression. The working class needs its own PARTY to continue this struggle. A REVOLUTIONARY party.

A new stage has been opened up in the construction of this party in the US through the fight of the Trotskyist Organization to bring home the message of the miners strike and to draw the necessary conclusions for the young workers.

In the meetings organized by the REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS, who along with the TO are fighting to build the Fourth International in the US: "The Enemy is in the White House-- The Lessons of the Miners Strike and the Road Forward" held in the last weeks in Detroit and Chicago,

the RYW drew the lessons of the miners strike and concluded that the only way to take this fight forward was to engage the same fight in all the unions-- for a new leadership and for the construction of the revolutionary party of the working class.

As a young worker wrote in the last issue of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the paper of the Revolutionary Youth International concerning a discussion with auto workers about the miners strike: "This taught me that people feel strongly about their political views and have important opinions about the miners strike, but SOMEONE has to make these views conscious!"

The meetings of the RYW concluded that this SOMEONE could only be the fight of the RYW to build the Fourth International and could only take place by "taking this struggle to the workers."

Thus, the miners strike had immediate practical conclusions for the RYW. The circle of the RYW at Ford River Rouge was consolidated around a fight for a revolutionary alternative in the coming elections. A circle at Ford Torrence in Chicago was founded and new workers from hospitals, Chemical factories and Wayne State University were associated to the RYW in the course of this struggle.

This new stage in constructing our party must be carried out to its immediate practical conclusion-- the completion of the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution.

We have always based ourselves on the offensive of the working class and in return, it has been during the periods of working class offensive that the FI has experienced its greatest advances.

This was true with the first Trotskyists of the Communist League of America which placed Trotskyism on the map in the US with their leadership of the Minneapolis GENERAL STRIKE of 1934 and their fight to throw out the reactionary leadership of the Teamsters union. They formed the Workers Party in 1934 with militants who led the Toledo Auto-Lite strike which was an important battle in building the UAW.

Likewise, it was the revolutionary opposition of the Fourth International to World War II and to the no-strike pledge supported by the Stalinists and bureaucrats which enabled the FI, then the Socialist Workers Party, to play a major role in the post-World War II offensive and to triple its size in a single year.

Our fight is a fight to continue this tradition of the Fourth International-- to base ourselves on the new offensive of the workers and to bring to it the only positive solution-- a revolutionary leadership, program and party. To continue the revolutionary fight of the FI against the trade union bureaucracy, Stalinism, and the capitalist state.

To provide new leadership for

the coming struggles.

But there is an obstacle to the completion of this task. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which once represented this fight abandoned the Fourth International many years ago. Now they only speak in its name in order to throw mud on Trotskyism.

There is nothing new in this. The history of the workers movement in the US and around the world is full of organizations which once represented the revolutionary fight of the workers, but under the pressure of imperialism, of reaction, abandoned it. The construction of the party of the working class is not a linear struggle.

Above all, the SWP abandoned the FI by developing a theory of the backwardness of the American working class, saying that it had lost its revolutionary potential. We have constantly fought against this.

The miners strike CONFIRMS everything we have been saying since our foundation three years ago and TOTALLY REJECTS everything the SWP has stood for since 1963.

In a cynical way the leadership of the SWP also realizes this. Now they must make a greater effort to hide their non-revolutionary policy from their membership and the working class.

This is the essence of the conclusions of their latest National Committee meeting as reported in their paper, the MILITANT. "A New Stage in US politics-- SWP turns toward new opportunities in industrial working class" reads their headline.

The article explains the decisions of the SWP leadership regarding the fact that they see "greater anticapitalist sentiment and openness to socialist ideas among American workers today than ever before-- including the 1930's" and will now send a majority of their members into industry where "The center of American politics lies in the industrial working class" and to try to develop an orientation among "young workers."

We will forget for a moment that this is the same organization that proposed the strategy of "red universities" to launch the American revolution in the early 70's or which as recently as last year called the struggles of the working class "defensive" and "similar to the early defeats of the 1930's" and called American workers "cynical" and "a-political."

Don't be fooled. If the SWP is today making a physical turn towards the trade unions it is only to give a cover to its more and more right-wing policy of support to the trade union bureaucracy. In ACTION, in recent months the SWP has become the foremost defenders of the trade union bureaucracy in the workers movement.

TRUTH has previously shown how this has been expressed in the miners strike. How the SWP has consistently defended the UMW

bureaucracy by refusing to call for rejection of the contracts or defiance of Taft-Hartley. How they have given legitimacy to the UMW bureaucracy by being the foremost organizers and shock troops for the "solidarity" meetings organized by Arnold Miller and the UAW and USW bureaucrats around the country.

How they laid the basis for this last year by supporting Sadlowski in steel, who along with their favorite bureaucrat in Chicago, Jim Balanoff is now actively engaged in supporting Miriam Balanoff who is running for the Illinois legislature in the Democratic Party. As well, through their support to Harry Patrick, of the UMW leadership who has now taken a \$35,000 a year job in Jimmy Carter's ACTION CORPS, making him a mouthpiece for their "labor party."

In a mass meeting in San Francisco, supporters of the SWP denounced a Resolution of the Executive Board of the Longshoremen's union calling for a one-day support strike for the miners as "ultra-left" and joined forces with the reactionary bureaucrats (even the Communist Party abstained) in voting down a resolution for such a strike.

This is the real "turn" towards the trade union bureaucracy.

Perhaps militants of the SWP do not yet agree with our criticism. But how can you take this "turn" seriously without at least drawing a balance sheet of the past fight of the SWP in "mass industry?"

How do you explain what happened to Sadlowski and Fight Back? Why did Harry Patrick so proudly grace the pages of your paper only months ago? Why does your leadership respond to the latest contract offer by saying "Miners new contract offer?"

Perhaps you think that a turn of your petty bourgeois leadership towards industry is "progressive" maybe you think you can "push them to the left" in this manner?

But comrades, we have learned something about this kind of "industrialization" before. We participated in it in the Shachtmanite International Socialists in the early 70's.

We learned, as you will, that it is not a physical question. The central question is POLITICAL-- what policy for the unions, a revolutionary or centrist one?

This question will be at the center of the fight of the TO and RYW in the next months as we complete the rebuilding of the FI in the US. Now more than ever this will be a fight to unmask the false policy of the SWP leadership and to prove in action that it has nothing to do with Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

We will complete the rebuilding of the FI by making its program a living reality in the bastions of the proletariat. The RYW will be the barometer of this fight as well as our efforts to win the best militants of the SWP away from their petty bourgeois leadership.

The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization has launched our final efforts to realize the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization which will complete the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International. We call all working class militants, especially militants of the RYW to join this fight with us and to hold this Congress in September 1978, on the 50th anniversary of the founding of American Trotskyism and the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International to express this renewal with Bolshevism.

We will be making more concrete plans for this Congress in the coming months, to give expression to the fight of the RYW to RETURN TO LENIN in the US as a mass organization of the working class youth in the unions and to carry this fight into the ranks of the SWP.

A public Call will be published in the coming months and as well we will begin a massive campaign in May to expand and develop TRUTH as the weapon of the rebuilding of the American section of the FI.

Our fight to rebuild the FI in the US has been a long struggle that is nearing its conclusion. James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism and a leader of the Fourth International wrote these words in 1938 in an article entitled: "A New Party is Formed" which expresses the fight we have led:

"The reconstruction of the revolutionary labor movement in the form of a political party is not a simple process. In the midst of unprecedented difficulties, complications and contradictions the work goes ahead, like all social movements, in a zig-zag fashion. The new movement takes shape through a series of splits and fusions which must appear like a Chinese puzzle to the superficial observer. But how could it be otherwise? The frightful disintegration of the old movements, on a background of world-wide social upheaval, disoriented and scattered the revolutionary militants in all directions. They could not find their way together and draw the same basic conclusions in a day. The new movement is fraught with catastrophic reverses, forward leaps and deadening periods of seeming stagnation. But for all that, it is a movement, with an invincible historic motor force, and it moves along."

The miners strike, the offensive of the American and international working class, and the urgency of the construction of its party makes this "historic movement" all the more important today.

FORWARD TO THE REBUILDING OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE FI  
FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION!

March 22, 1978



the hands of the worst enemies of the youth -- the capitalists and the union bureaucrats.

"They're completely wrong. We've got to plan today for tomorrow."

"Politics is really the differences between the classes all over the world."

And, in answer to the young worker's question about the RYW: "Don't come on to me like that. Tell me, what do you KNOW about this organization?"

The discussion brought out the importance of this fight today, its urgency in the face of the capitalists preparation of civil war against the workers.

"The workers' ideas are changing slowly, but too slowly for the times."

"The ruling class already knows what's going on. It US that must learn and get organized."

THE UNIONS - KEY TO THE POLITICAL FIGHT

is turbulence."

"I think that the next contract fight in auto will be a lot like that of the miners today. After all, now that they've made a stand for their rights, it'll be that much easier for us to. There'll probably be heat walkouts again this summer if they don't do something about that heat, too."

HOW MANY ARE YOU?

It was in this context -- of the deepening class struggle -- that the problem of how many workers were at the meetings was taken up. Although the number of workers present was small, what was MOST important was the agreement that was arrived at about the situation facing the workers and what to do about it.

A comparatively small number of workers, organized, who wage a fight for workers democracy can make the difference between victory and defeat in demonstration, walkout or strike.

The discussion began to explore what would the unions look like if the young workers and not the bureaucrats and opportunists led them.

"The whole point of a union is getting the workers organized. Once the workers are organized it is no problem getting a labor relations man out or a good committeeman in. Men representing each department should go to the union meeting. When they come back they should say what decisions were taken. "In order to stop these job eliminations, when the whistle blows, we all walk out!"

"When all of us workers stop working at the same time, then where will the people with the power be?"

The meeting in both cities took the decision to wage a political fight in their unions, beginning with the miners strike, and the need to convene an Emergency Convention of the UAW to stop government intervention in the mines, to stop the layoffs.

## REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS MEET IN DETROIT AND CHICAGO

By FRED VITALE

The question, "What do you want me to do to build the Party?" raised by a young militant at the meeting of the RYW in Chicago gets to the heart of the CENTRAL lesson of the miners strike for all US workers.

The answer: "Take up a political struggle among the young workers. Raise the question: "Who should run this society, the working class or the capitalist class?" with this political offensive the workers can build their Party; with this Party the workers can deepen and broaden this political struggle until it encompasses the whole society. With this political struggle for Workers Democracy against Carter's "democracy," they can win their OWN GOVERNMENT."

The meetings in Chicago and Detroit: "The Enemy is in the White House" -- The Lessons of the Miners Strike and the Road Forward" on March 12th and 19th took up many of the problems that the young workers face, above all in waging this political offensive.

Attending the meetings were autoworkers (militants of the RYW Circles at Ford Rouge and Ford Torrence in Chicago), members of the SSEIU Local #79, workers from BASF Wyandotte (a chemical plant in Detroit) unemployed workers, and members of the Trotskyist Organization.

The opening remarks by Jon Cohen in Detroit and David Helfinger in Chicago for the Trotskyist Organization placed the miners strike in the context of the whole offensive of the American working class for its rights against the capitalists.

MINERS STRIKE

The workers in the course of the discussion decided that the ONLY response of the workers to the imposition of Taft-Hartley by Carter and the threatened seizure of the mines, as well as the sellout contract, was to CONTINUE THE MINERS STRUGGLE. A resolution

was passed in Detroit (see box).

As Jerome Tolbert from Rouge stamping plant who spoke for the RYW said, "the unions give things to the miners but they aren't making any political fight. We've got to keep the government out of the workers unions!"

One of the first problems young workers encountered in making this fight was the hostility of their fellow workers to "politics." One young worker in Chicago when approached said, "are you with this ORGANIZATION?"

Many young workers see being involved in politics as "uncool." This stems from a legitimate and thoroughly understandable disgust with the present-day capitalist politicians. But the young workers at the meetings spoke out against this disgust because it plays into

The meetings affirmed that the unions were key to waging this political offensive for workers rights today because they are the only MASS organizations of the workers. The miners strike, complete with its mass caravans, armed picket squads is being organized through the TAKE OVER of the union meetings by the young workers. By waging the fight for workers rights in the unions, against the opportunists and bureaucrats all the problems of building the Party in the United States will be confronted.

And here too, the workers underscored the importance of the EXPLOSIVE SITUATION brewing in the unions. As one autoworker said "the union appears calm today, but its only on the surface. Undeneath there

What's most important is to know that the goal for the working class is its own government, and that in order to reach it the workers must build their own Party; a revolutionary leadership.

And this question of leadership was particularly emphasized concerning the unions. How to wage the fight in the unions needs to be developed further by the RYW in the coming weeks and months. But already the political importance of leadership was seen.

For example, one worker related how an entire bus of workers on the way to work, starting with a few remarks by him, began a discussion about the importance of the miners strike. As one worker in Chicago put it, "the workers need a leader in the unions. They need someone they can trust."

## DOWN WITH STALINIST METHODS

On March 3rd in Houston members of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) brutally attacked a meeting of the Houston Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Mineworkers Strike. The meeting was part of a national tour by UMW staff members Mike Burdiss and Matt Miller.

In this attack several militants were severely injured, including several members of the Socialist Workers Party, an organization which claims to represent the Fourth International.

We condemn this attack. Violence against working class organizations have no place in the workers movement. Those who use such methods must be driven out of the workers movement.

With the Revolutionary Communist Party is concerns the method and practice of Stalinism. Since its inception the CALLING CARD of Stalinism has been its use of violence, slander and police provocation against other organizations in the workers movement above all against the Fourth International.

Despite their defense of the Chinese bureaucracy and their denunciation of "Soviet imperialism," the Maoists of the RCP are "with Stalin all the way" (as a leader of the RCP

once told us) when it concerns hostility to working class methods of struggle and organization.

They are "with Stalin all the way" when it concerns violent hatred of the Fourth International.

All honest working class militants must reject the practice of this organization and take up a fight against them wherever they appear. They are enemies of workers democracy.

The Trotskyist Organization and Revolutionary Young Workers have had our own experiences with the RCP. In particular, at Ford River Rouge in Detroit and with their organization called "Time to Unite." Several times members of the TO and RYW have been violently attacked by militants of "Time to Unite."

In September 1976 over 50 Rouge workers signed a statement condemning an attack which occurred during a union meeting in the Stamping plant.

Unfortunately, the SWP, which claims to be against violence in the workers movement has remained silent about all these attacks, even though their organization in Detroit was informed of them. In fact, in May, 1977, a supporter of the SWP at Ford River Rouge stood and watched in silence as members of "Time to

Unite" violently attacked two militants of the TO in front of the Local #600 union hall!

The SWP has maintained a total public silence about the Stalinist attacks of the French OCI against our comrades, attacks which even put several militants of their fraternal organization in the hospital. They have kept a total silence about the arrest, imprisonment and torture of our comrades in Spain.

When it comes to the defense of revolutionaries the SWP is silent. Our unconditional solidarity with its militants who have been attacked by Stalinist goons does not stop us from calling the SWP leadership by its right name -- HYPOCRITES.

One more thing. The leadership of the SWP is taking advantage of this incident in order to label all those opposed to the UMW leadership and seeking to take up a revolutionary struggle in the UMW as supporters of "violence" and being "anti-democratic."

The violence and goon tactics of the RCP should not stop any worker from seeing the truth about the role the SWP has played in the miners strike -- they are the LEFT COVER for the UMW bureaucracy.

It is no accident that not a single issue of the MILITANT has

uttered one word against the various UMW contracts, led any kind of fight against the Miller leadership or made any revolutionary proposals to the miners.

At every moment, including through these "solidarity" meetings organized by the UMW bureaucracy, they have sought to legitimize and cover for the betrayals of the Miller leadership. Under the guise of "solidarity" and "letting the bureaucrats speak."

A practice which should disgust any honest miner or worker. But it will not be the Stalinist violence of the RCP which will defeat these politics, but the political fight for the Program and policy of the Fourth International.

A political fight which should not stand in the way of a common activity of our organizations to stop the violence of the RCP. We repeat our proposal, made many times before, that we are ready to unite with the SWP at any time in common defense of their organization and militants and request similar cooperation on their part. March 22, 1978

ADVANCE FOR WORKERS

No meeting is ever perfect. The struggle against the opportunists, those who betray the workers in the name of communism and revolution or worse yet, in the name of the Fourth International, must be deepened and developed for they are the greatest obstacle to the construction of the Party. As well, the fight in the unions must take up the daily problems of overtime, hiring part timers to avoid the union, harassment, racist slurs, etc., that the workers face every day.

Nevertheless, the meetings mark an important stage in the development of the fight for the US Section of the Fourth International, the Workers Party. The growth of the Revolutionary Youth International, in the heart of the US working class, the big factories of the Midwest is the best guarantee of the victory of the coming American revolution. March 22, 1978

# THE FRENCH ELECTIONS-- A NEW STAGE IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

## Declaration of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire

### INTRODUCTION

"France is safe. That was the message that emerged from jubilant government supporters Monday after a stunning national election victory that confirmed political moderation as the choice of the French majority."

So wrote the DETROIT FREE PRESS on March 21, 1978 in an article entitled: "French voters send message: No radical changes wanted."

But the huge signs of relief of the US bourgeoisie and its lackeys over its supposed "victory" in France will be very short-lived. Behind this "victory" lies the reality of the class struggle in France a reality which the lies of the bourgeoisie and its press will not be able to hide for very long.

First of all, the facts themselves. Behind the 91-seat majority that the bourgeois coalition of Giscard-Barre-Chirac obtained in the National Assembly lies the reality of the popular vote in which the bourgeois coalition obtained 50.17% of the vote to 49.26% for the Communist and Socialist Party. Thus, in a vote of 26 million less than 400,000 votes separated the "majority" from the left.

Hardly a stunning victory, hardly a "message" that "confirmed political moderation" when 49.26% of the voters, by voting for the Communists and Socialists voted for a radical change.

This goes along with the fact that in the first round, 3.2% of the voters, over one million, gave their votes to candidates of the "extreme left," including 500 votes to the two candidates of the Fourth International running on the Platform: "For the Workers-Peasants Government! For the Socialist United States of Europe!" These one million voters explicitly pronounced themselves in favor of a revolutionary leadership, explicitly rejecting the policy of class collaboration of the Communist and Socialist Party leaderships.

But the reality does not lie in the voting statistics alone. In fact these elections have changed nothing fundamental in the class struggle in France. They have resolved nothing.

The mobilization begun by the French working class in May-June 1968 whose General Strike to overthrow the Gaullist regime was stopped only by the treachery of the Communist Party, and which has continued for the last ten years, has not ended, nor have any of the fundamental demands of the workers been met.

If the French Communist Party was forced to block the electoral victory of the Union of the Left by its break with the Socialist Party last fall it was not because of its "sectarianism" as the pseudo-revolutionary centrists claim. It was because it could provide no guarantees to the French bourgeoisie or to its masters in the Kremlin that it could control the French working class if it entered into a bourgeois government with the Socialist Party.

These elections will open up

a new stage in the class struggle in France. The masses of workers and youth who voted for the Communist and Socialist Parties or for the candidates of the "extreme left" voted for them in order to pursue a policy of class confrontation with the bourgeoisie, in order to win their demands. In no way does their vote signify a support for the class collaborationist policies of their leadership.

Now the workers will take up the fight in the factories, the schools, the streets to win their demands, held back for over five years by the treacherous leaders of the workers movement who told them "wait until the elections in 1978." The elections have resolved nothing.

No, France is not "safe." The results of the elections means only that the inevitable confrontation between the classes is rapidly approaching and that the task of renewing the workers leadership and constructing the party of the French revolution, the Revolutionary Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International is more urgent than ever.

The campaign led by the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire in these elections and the results obtained were an important step in this task.  
J.C.  
March 21, 1978

### DECLARATION

On the occasion of these legislative elections the living forces of the country-- the men and women workers-- signified their wish to finish with the bourgeois coalition in power of Giscard-Barre-Chirac. By massively giving their votes to the candidates and organizations of workers parties they manifested their readiness to engage themselves on the path of the socialist transformation of society, to rally together in open struggle against ALL exploiters.

It also concerns a rejection of the policy of class collaboration, of the policy of the Union of the Left or the Union of the French People through which the leaders of the Socialist Party and the French Communist Party attempted to link the workers and peasants to their capitalist exploiters, to the dying 5th Republic and its reactionary President in order to save the bourgeois state. From this point of view it is significant that the "left" radicals and the "opposition" Gaullists, propelled by the leaders of the FCP and SP, only obtained from 1 to 2% of the vote. The workers knew that they had nothing to gain from these representatives of big capital. They want the unity of their ranks against ALL the bourgeoisie.

More than a million men and women workers voted for the candidates which were part of the extreme left, this despite the demagogic campaign developed by the French Communist Party for the last six months to present it-



J. L. LAURENT, CANDIDATE OF THE LOR/F, 31st DISTRICT, PARIS

self as the only party of the defense of the workers interests. Composing the most active fraction of the working population, those who are fighting for the socialist future of France, these men and women workers marked their deep distrust vis-a-vis the policy of strict collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the liquidation of struggles by the leaders of the FCP and SP. They expressed their search for an orientation and revolutionary leadership to impose, through struggle and mobilization, the working class solutions to the crisis of the capitalist system. This is the principle lessons of the first round of voting.

To these workers we say: in the second round the priority is to defeat all the candidates of the bourgeoisie, "left" radicals and "opposition" Gaullists included, by giving your votes to the candidates of the workers parties who got the most votes on the first round.

To the 500 men and women workers who voted for our candidate in the 31st district in Paris (J. L. LAURENT) and in the 4th district of Oise (Moise ASSOU-LINE) we say: everyone of your votes on the second round must go to the candidates of the FCP who arrived at the head of the list in the first round in these districts.

But the most important thing, in face of the preparations of the leaders of the FCP and SP to manage or to support the 5th Republic of the bourgeois state, whatever the result of the second round may be, is to organize yourselves into the militant force in the factories for the realiza-

( CONTINUED AT TOP)

tion of the revolutionary objectives of the Platform: "FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!" upon which our candi-

dates were presented. It is for this reason that you voted for them, choosing them out of the many candidates of the "extreme left"

## FREE SAMI ESMAIL

Sami Esmail, a Michigan State University (MSU) student of Palestinian descent and an American citizen was fingered to the Israeli authorities by the FBI when he rushed to Israel to see his dying father in late December.

As soon as his plane touched ground he was thrown into solitary confinement and tortured by Israeli police; forced to sign three "confessions" in languages he does not comprehend and was subsequently charged with membership in an "enemy organization" (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and "contact with foreign agents." He now faces the possibility of twenty five years in prison.

The state of Israel is involved in an imperialist war to gain mastery over the Palestinian and Israeli masses. They will not allow the POSSIBILITY of voicing politics that support the enemy; the POSSIBILITY of inciting its own fighters to treason; the POSSIBILITY its military movements will become known to the enemy. They jailed Esmail because of these POSSIBILITIES-- to make an example of him in order to terrify the rebel Palestinians and to terrify the Palestinian emigration in the US.

In this they had the assistance

of Carter's "intelligence community." This international collaboration of the FBI with foreign agents against the leadership of the working and oppressed masses fore shadows the "reform" of the FBI and CIA proposed to the US Congress. The new laws would further empower spy agencies to act as international policemen, outside of any law or any control by the masses whatsoever.

The FBI kept extensive files on Esmail and other Palestinian militants at MSU, continually harassing them and intimidating them. They turned over information to the Israeli government in order to stifle the Palestinian movement in the US and in Israel, but basically to strengthen the hand of the counterrevolution.

Of the 23,000 Arab students in the US, the majority live in Michigan, most live in the Detroit area. The largest Arab and Palestinian settlement in the Western Hemisphere is in the shadow of the largest center of production in the world, the Ford River Rouge factories. The authorities watch this area closely.

Arab and Palestinian autoworkers often belong or are sympathetic to the Palestinian resistance organizations. They are an extremely volatile and dynamic element among the autoworkers. Their presence and their agita-

## "It's not political...just on

By ANN NELSON

"It's not political-- It's just one of those things." This was the response of a leader of the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party to a former militant of the SWP who asked him why the SWP was refusing to take a position in support of our campaign to free Soldier Santiago Alegria and for the legalization of the PORE, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

Of course this statement is simply a disgraceful lie. So disgraceful that the leadership of the SWP would not dare put this into writing either in their press or in response to our letter asking them to join this campaign.

But disgraceful enough to whisper in the ranks of the SWP and among its close supporters who have been demanding a response from the SWP to the repression against the Fourth International in Spain. The same answer has been given to militants who have raised questions about the silence of the SWP over the assassination of a member of the Political Committee of the Workers League, Tom Henahan last winter which has been

discussed in TRUTH.

"Not political." "Just one of those things." Not much of a response, but enough to create doubt in the minds of militants of the SWP-- maybe the Fourth International in Spain are "terrorists" as the government claims? Maybe Santiago Alegria actually did steal the weapons as the Spanish military claims?

This is the response of the leadership of the SWP. To secretly give support to the slanders of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists against the Fourth International in Spain. To secretly justify through insinuation and slander their refusal to defend revolutionaries against repression in Spain.

It is hardly even worthwhile to answer these slanders. The pages of TRUTH, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, and LA AURORA (the paper of the PORE), all of which are available to the SWP, have well documented the POLITICAL nature of this attack and the PROVOCATION behind it.

That hundreds of workers in Spain, trade union organizations, assemblies of workers, militants of almost every single working class and radical organization in Spain have recognized the poli-

# "SOCIALISM" MAKES THE COVER OF TIME MAGAZINE

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The March 13th issue of TIME magazine came out with a painting of block letters spelling out the word "Socialism" on its cover. Inside was a report: "SOCIALISM: TRIALS AND ERRORS. An ideology that promises more than it delivers."

The American bourgeoisie and its lackeys used to pride themselves on the American working and middle class "lack of interest in politics."

Now the closeness of the European revolution, the political awakening of the working masses, manifested in their response to the miners' strike, and the discontent of the middle classes is changing all that. The OLD stupidities and slanders about socialism no longer suffice.

So TIME, the most widely read news magazine in the country, has come out with something more "serious". With it, they hope to contribute to blocking the working class from charting its own course for political power. They hope to confuse the vanguard of the working class and organize the most backward elements against it.

## TIME'S STORY

What does TIME say about socialism?

First, it claims socialism, albeit different brands of same, now exists in 39% of the earth's territory and has a good chance of being brought into existence in some more through the elections of "socialists" to office in Spain, France, Italy, etc.

It claims there are three brands of socialism: "Marxism-Leninism," "Social Democracy," and "Third World Socialism." "Marxist-Leninists," TIME claims, are for class warfare, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the construction of the party and preside over the USSR, Eastern Europe, China and Cuba. "Social Democrats" are for peaceful reform of capitalism into socialism and preside over Britain, West Germany, Austria, etc. Under the heading "Third World Socialism," TIME includes every sort of ideology and government which is nationalistic and hostile to the US government.

Finally, TIME "assesses" how each of these brands of socialism measures up with respect to "economic development," "quality of life," "liberty and freedom," and "equality and the elite." It concludes that none of these brands of socialism measures up. That capitalism, which it equates with democracy, has proven itself better.

The "Marxist-Leninist brand" has brought, it says, astounding results with respect to economic development and social services. But, it goes on, these are long-lasting and have been achieved at the expense of political freedom and accompanied by the growth of a privileged bureaucracy.

The report is illustrated with a five-color "geo-political" map on which "Marxist-Leninist," "Social-Democratic," "Third World Socialist," and capitalist countries are each indicated with

a different color. Countries are also rated on a political freedom scale from 1 to 100. The US gets 100, Brazil, 42, Chile, 17, the USSR, 8, and Angola, 0.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM

This map is only the most obvious manifestation of TIME's warped, false, perception of reality.

First, socialism, a society in which the means of production are owned and controlled by working people, where production is planned and takes place in accordance with the needs of the masses, where everyone contributes according to his ability, gets what he needs, and has freedom-- in short a workers democracy-- does not exist anywhere.

The working class led by the Bolshevik party (in Russia in 1917) seized power, took over industry and began central planning with the aim of building socialism. But its road was blocked by the growth of the Stalinist bureaucracy which, acting in the interests of imperialism, opposed the continuation of the revolution to Europe. This further progress toward socialism became impossible because it is not possible to sufficiently raise the level of the productive forces within the borders of one country.

While the working class expropriated the capitalists in the USSR, Eastern Europe, etc., it has not yet done away with the bureaucracy which blocks the road to socialism. One can't say countries in which there is still unemployment, shortages, and most importantly, no rights for the working class, are socialist. As for the rest of the countries TIME mentions with allegedly socialist leaderships-- Norway, Tanzania, etc. -- the capitalists haven't been touched.

Second, there are not three brands of socialism. There is only one, that of the working class, the struggle for which has been led by its world party: the First, Second, Third and Fourth Internationals at the heads of which have been Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

All the difficulties the working class has encountered in the construction of socialism are entirely the result of the collaboration of those who claim to lead it with imperialism. Faced with the choice of fighting imperialism to continue the revolution or imposing austerity on the masses, the opportunists choose the latter. The lack of political freedom in the USSR is not a consequence of the Marxist fight for socialism, but the Stalinist collaboration with imperialism.

It's not possible to say the same for capitalism however, contrary to the claims of TIME. How many more times will capitalists put fascist dictatorships in power before they admit that it, fascism, not bourgeois "democracy," is the form of rule most appropriate to this bankrupt system.

(CONTINUED TO PAGE 7)

said; such a defiance is not enough, it is against the constant policy of betrayal of these leaders that it is necessary to engage the independent mobilization for workers power, it is a new political leadership of the working class that has to be built in this fight: the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY of France.

This is what we call you to take up, first of all by massively participating in the meetings which the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire will organize in Paris and Creil following the second round. Whatever the results, none of the problems which confront you -- unemployment, inflation, repression -- will be re-

solved. With the support of the leaders of the FCP and the SP the bourgeoisie will try to make you retreat from your demands and mobilization, at the same time that it is preparing to crush you by force if necessary.

These elections will leave unresolved the principle problem, still present since the General Strike of May-June 1968 and the ten years of struggles which followed it: the revolutionary power of the workers and peasants. Only your mobilization and this orientation can resolve it.

March 13, 1978  
Political Bureau of the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (French Section of the Fourth International)

# FBI & ZIONISM HAND IN HAND

is a constant source of irritation to imperialist interests in Detroit, a constant reminder to all the workers their struggle is international, that imperialism itself is international; that solution for working and oppressed masses must be international.

Each maneuver of the Israeli expansion and aggression has its impact among the Arab and Palestinian autoworkers. Many took part in the mass march and demonstration down the streets of Ford's Dearborn, protesting Israeli policies and for the liberation of Palestine; in protest of imperialism and the starvation of 10,000 Palestinian refugees. This was the summer of 1977 and the US government seeks to curb any restraints to any further manifestations of militancy of Palestinians. It is not the FBI they seek to "restrain", the new "reform" laws notwithstanding.

Esmail's politics or even being to the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine is no crime in the US. What they want to make a crime is to be political LEADER of the masses, even under the bourgeois First Amendment citizens are allowed right of "free speech" but the FBI's action against Esmail proves Constitution provides no pro-

tection for individual rights as long as a FBI can exist. The only guarantee of rights is to destroy the FBI which in fact means destroying the social order which spawns it.

If we should lack more examples of the falsity of bourgeois legality, the Detroit City Council has supplied yet another. In February, they voted for a resolution asking the Carter administration to investigate Esmail's arrest and declared Israel's actions are "a denial of fundamental and universally recognized human rights." By March 9 they did an about face and voted to rescind the resolution because as a spokesman said, "We had calls from some pretty substantial people." (Zionists and the like.) Can Esmail depend on this spinelessness for his freedom? Can we continue to assert he has "free speech" rights as a citizen or is it necessary to take another course of action?

If the FBI is allowed to get away with its action against Esmail in the interests of collaboration between imperialist powers to suppress the revolt of the masses and behead its leadership, it will strengthen their ability to pass the new legislation for Criminal Code "Reform" with its statutes allowing a million loopholes for secret agents, for business interests while applying greater and greater

restraints on the workers, their strikes, demonstrations, but above all their leadership.

The fight we have launched among factory workers in the US to form Action Committees to disrupt bourgeois plans to unite their counterrevolutionary agencies against the mass struggle of the workers must include a specific effort to FREE SAMI ESMAIL! Blocking the policy of the ruling class in its formative efforts means mass participation of all working class parties, organizations and unions to take mass action against their S. 1437 Bill (or HR6968 as the House of Representatives version goes) and their laws LEGALIZING what was done to Esmail, legitimizing their FBI and CIA.

This struggle to smash S. 1437 and the FBI must be taken to the workers and fought for through the election of representatives of the workers, recallable at any time and answerable only to them. Rather than assert the First Amendment, assert Workers Democracy, the mechanism of the freedom of the workers. These Action Committees must discuss Esmail and in the mobilization fight for his freedom.  
March 21, 1978

BARBARA PUTNAM

# of those things" says SWP

al nature of this attack. That ally, even the Spanish Socialist Party and the Spanish Communist Party, through its Catalan sections and through the POCs Catala" (a coalition of working class parties in the Franco-Cortes) have recognized the nature of this attack, have taken part in the Commission of Investigation initiated by the PORE and have demanded the legalization of the PORE.

All of this makes the slanders of the SWP leadership even more shameful. But also very predictable.

They must at all cost hide the presence and the fight of our party in Spain. To talk about the "Alegria and the PORE" would force them to answer the inevitable question: why are our comrades "legal" in Spain, while our comrades are in prison? Saying "just one of those things" is easier than explaining that their fight is not revolutionary. In Spain, or in the United States, this is all the more reason for militants in the SWP and its supporters in Chicago to continue the fight they have begun to break the official silence and stop the slanders of the SWP leadership.

The work of the Commission of Investigation into the provocation has continued in Spain. The third meeting of the Commission in Barcelona reported that the charge of illegal association remains held by the police against Martin Pretel, Nuria Marti, Albert Marti, Toni Rius and Federico Lax.

A report was also given on the situation of Santiago Alegria. He remains held incommunicado, forbidden to even see his lawyer. He was brutally tortured for four days by the military police and it took several weeks for him to regain feeling in his hands.

Presently, he is being interrogated in the presence of a judge and is not being tortured. The police have told him several times that he will be held as long as the weapons have not yet been found. Which means that at any time they can again accuse him of the robbery of the weapons from El Pani, a charge which has been dropped.

According to the information that the Commission has received the imprisonment of Santiago Alegria is illegal, even according to Spanish law, since an official document of charges has never been signed or presented.

All of this makes it even more

important that the Commission of Investigation continues its work in exposing the provocation against our party in Spain and that workers and militants in the United States continue the mobilization they have begun to FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA! FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF THE PORE!

## CORRECTION

In the last issue of TRUTH we reported on the agreement made between the PORE and the Spanish Communist Party in defense of Santiago Alegria and for the legalization of the PORE in the article "Spanish Communist Party Takes a Position." But through a mistake in translation we identified the "PSC" as the Spanish Communist Party. In fact it is the Catalan section of the Spanish Socialist Party. The "PSUC" is the Catalan section of the Communist Party of Spain.

Thus, both major working class organizations in Catalonia, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, entered into this agreement with the PORE.

## FROM THE WHITE PAPER

# DOCUMENT 3.3 FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

In the last issue of TRUTH we published an excerpt from the WHITE PAPER OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY which investigated the slanders of the French OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International. The excerpt, "The History of the Affair," revealed the political nature of the origins of this campaign of slander; a fight against the liquidation of the Fourth International proposed by the Lambert-Just leadership of the OCI.

The document presented below, "For the Maintenance of the International Committee" was the document presented by the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary to the Pre-Conference of the International Committee in Paris on June 20, 1972. This document was presented against the proposition of Lambert-Just of the OCI to liquidate the International Committee which had maintained the continuity of the Fourth International since 1953.

Readers may ask-- what does this have to do with slanders? We are printing this document because precisely the motivation behind the slanders and behind all those who have taken them up since then is to hide the political nature of the fight of the Fourth International and the fight of those who fought to maintain its continuity.

By focusing on the slanders all the centrist organizations wish to cover up our political fight and especially wish to cover up the existence and the fight of the International Committee from 1953 to 1972, a fight which stands in direct opposition to all the unprincipled maneuvers taking place throughout the world to regroup all the centrists who falsely claim the banner of the Fourth International.

It helps to prove the point that we have been making since the slanders began-- that the revolutionary policy of the Fourth International is the best defense and weapon against Stalinist slander. March 21, 1978

(Document of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary) Paris, June 20, 1972

At the Third International Conference of the International Committee in 1966 we unanimously voted a Resolution which affirmed:

"The historic continuity of the 4th International, . . . was maintained since 1953 by the fight led by the Trotskyist organizations gathered in the International Committee.

Consequently, the International Conference proclaims that the continuity of the 4th International was preserved by the action of the International Committee."

This resolution added:

"At the present stage, the decisions of the IC can only be taken by unanimous decision. The IC does not proclaim at this stage to be the centralized leadership of the 4th International that still has to be rebuilt."

We do not see any reason to change this Resolution.

For the document entitled "The tasks of the rebuilding of the 4th International" (International Correspondence, No. 4-5) proposes to abandon the International Committee for an Organizing Committee. It says: "Such a proposition flows from the entire analysis presented in this report." But unhappily, in no way does this flow from it.

## CONCERNING SOME APPRECIATIONS OF HISTORY

Before taking up this problem we must immediately underline: we are not talking about names, nor epithets. Nor are we in love with forms. To believe this would avoid posing the real problems. The discussion on the name of the international organism is not formalist, it reveals the history of the 4th International, more particularly, the last twenty years, with its content the nature of the organism which continues its fight. Thus, it directly touches the problem of the international Trotskyist fraction of TODAY.

For the proposition to really flow from the analysis which is presented it would be necessary to concretely characterize the International Committee as having failed. Such a characterization would demand the balance sheet of the entire IC, leading to such a negative judgement. This is impossible.

For the proposition to abandon the International Committee inevitably demands that despite everything, the analysis itself must try this impossibility. The result is an ambiguity, even a contradiction between two differ-

ent positions as to the characterization and balance sheet of the IC.

On the one hand no one proposes to revise the Resolution of the Third International Conference of 1966, according to which "the continuity of the 4th International was preserved by the action of the International Committee." For this reason, the present document writes for example that: "The action of the IC allowed for saving the continuity." (Page 3).

But on the other hand this same document insists in several places on the fact that "The betrayal of the Program of the 4th International by Pabloism does not signify the failure of the Program." (P. 3) We must remark even if we must constantly reaffirm the validity of the Program and defend it, we must also realize that no Marxist program has failed, beginning with the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. That which has been made clear in the history of the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation is that the question of the program is at the same time the question of its organizational incarnation. It is the 4th International, proclaimed in 1938, and since 1953, the International Committee, which has continued it. The insistence on the non-failure of the Program suggests the failure of its organizational incarnation. And in fact the document affirms that: "The continuity was assured by the Trotskyist organizations . . . (p. 3) -- and this is where there is an ambiguity for the question is posed: Trotskyist organizations in general, or concretely, the International Committee?"

Of course, the international proletariat can have, and did have, some moments when the Marxist continuity was assured without an international center, by organizations or even by a single organization.

But in 1938 the Fourth International was proclaimed and since 1953 it continued its work through and in the International Committee, as the Resolution already cited affirmed.

For this essential reason we cannot accept this ambiguity in relation to the International Committee. It logically leads the document to several very dangerous statements, full of grave consequences. It says for example (p. 20) that: "it is not a question of proclaiming an international leading center (SI or IC) which, as the experience of the U. Sec and the IC has proven, leads nothing"

Of course it is not necessary to proclaim it; this proclamation was already done in 1938. By realizing this historic act, Trot-

sky did not imagine either that the 4th International already led or instantly would lead important sectors of the international working class. Therefore no one had the intention of giving this meaning to the "center." But from the banal statement that the 4th International is not yet the leading center of the international workers movement to renouncing the need to maintain an international center of the Trotskyist fraction is a big step which we cannot and do not wish to take. Among the arguments advanced against a "center" there is this other statement, as evident as the preceding one, that Pabloism destroyed international democratic centralism and consequently, there is no question for the moment, of a center. It is exact to say that Pabloism destroyed democratic centralism. The International Committee made this clear in the Resolution already cited. It is none the less true that it was, however, a center? Therefore, why abandon it?

For in order to prove that the IC was not a center the document is forced to go even further and for example, in the phrase cited above, it establishes a sort of equality between the U. Sec. and the IC on the basis of an affirmation that they lead nothing. This is false!

The attempt to destroy the 4th International and the fight against this revisionism and liquidation is not a "nothing" and these struggles were very much led. This is the essence of the history of the 4th International incarnated by the IC. There cannot be any kind of equality between these two diametrically opposed centers, yes, as CENTERS, and opposed in a fight whose stake is the 4th International.

We do not wish to subscribe to this neutral comparison. It leads the document to develop even further: "The crisis of the 4th International . . . did not stop deepening after 1950-53, as much in the organizations belonging to the U. Sec. as in those which constituted the International Committee." (P. 20).

Here the ambiguity in relation to the International Committee becomes something more. It is transformed almost imperceptibly into a negative judgement of the IC, placing it on the same level as the U. Sec.

First of all, the crisis in the IC and in the U. Sec are not of the same nature. All the crises of the IC were crises of growth, moments of clarification and strengthening. On the contrary,

those of the U. Sec were marks of a process of degeneration and decomposition, bringing of course, here and there, some small signs of a certain clarification. The neutral characterization of the "crisis" hides this fundamental opposition of development.

Following this it replaces the contradictory history of the IC with a too-unilateral evolution towards a degeneration which thus appears inevitable. It serves to support the unclearly formulated thesis according to which only the Program has not failed and that the continuity was not assured by organizations.

The history of the IC, as with all history, was contradictory. But its essence was, opposed to that of the U. Sec., the fight to maintain and ALSO for the development of the continuity of the 4th International. In the oral discussions of these problems certain comrades raised the argument that in 1953 already the IC was founded on an unclear basis resulting from different conceptions, even opposed in the founding organizations. Certainly there were unclaritys. But the proposed document itself writes: "The break in 1953 of the SWP with the SI (International Secretariat-- trans.), as well as that of the SLL and the Chinese representatives in the SI, who, with the OCI were to constitute the International Committee, demonstrates that the organizations founded on the basis of the Program of the Fourth International belonging to the United Secretariat could develop the resistance to Pabloism."

This is not exactly simply unclarity! With all the possible unclaritys at this time, and inevitable at the time, the foundation of the IC was therefore equal to

the resistance to Pabloism and this is the essential point, for it was the translation (of course very imperfect) of an effort for the continuity of the 4th International.

Even more, the IC is not just identical with its foundation. From this point of view its history is nothing but the contradictory development to affirm this continuity and trying to surmount all the unclaritys. On this road the IC made important steps forward, materialized by the growth and reinforcement of the groups which belonged to it or which joined its combat. That it has not finished its work? Of course. This is one more reason to not close its history. Even for the development of the OCI, the motor force of the IC, this was necessary. In its letter addressed to the SLL, Sep-

SUPPORT THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE

tember, 1970, the CC (Central Committee-- trans.) of the OCI wrote:

"... the existence of the IC and the continuity of the 4th International that it assumed were indispensable to the rebuilding of our section, the French Section and remain indispensable to our construction, as to the construction of all sections of the International. It is a section of the 4th International, because by belonging to the IC, by accomplishing its task in function of its material and political means that the OCI is built and continues its construction. It concerns the very substance of Trotskyism." (LA VERITE, #556, p. 148).

The one-sidedly negative view of the crises transforms the concrete history of the IC into a series of defeats. Thus, the important stage in its development, in 1963, is presently one-sidedly as only that of the break of the SWP and the entry of the Hungarian Revolutionary Socialist League should mean something for the IC in relation to the unclarity in 1953 and also in relation to its development. In any case it is impossible for us to accept that in seeking the 4th International (its continuity) we were mistaken and only entered into unclarity.

For the last twenty years the 4th International was the International Committee, as it really was. Its history is the real and not imaginary or broken history of the 4th International.

#### THE RECENT CRISIS OF THE IC

It was an organic part of the history of the IC, which ALSO proceeds through crises. Even if the break with the IC operated by the SLL and followed by several groups is certainly not just any crisis. However, it does not determine the fact of the International Committee.

We have not accepted the legitimacy of this break (see the different documents written and voted on this subject, since the act of the SLL) even if the SLL maintains its attitude. By this fact neither the International Committee nor the SLL have changed their nature. If the SLL puts out labels of all types (centrist, etc.) regarding the IC and its organizations, it is not a reason to follow it on this irresponsible path. We therefore continue to not justify this break that we correctly explain as a flight from clarification to the end. It follows that the IC is not dead, as the convocation of the Second Session of its Pre-Conference as well as the invitation addressed to ALL members of the IC testifies. Nothing major has occurred since the break which would annul for example the Declaration signed by comrades Lambert, Lora and Nagy affirming the necessity to continue the IC.

On the contrary we cannot avoid continuing the International Committee whose history is far from over. Thus, it is not exact to say that: "At the present time, the ground is swept away."

Unhappily, it is not possible for us to thus label the present situation. If the terrain was already swept away nothing would prevent us from realizing, for example, international democratic centralism. For every one knows very well that this is not the case.

The recent crisis of the IC cannot be characterized in this way, suggesting that it was only

a gain, as well that, inversely, the history of the IC cannot be one-sidedly described as one of losses. We want to avoid giving the dangerous impression that the history of the 4th International only lasted until 1953 and, after a long sleep, it only begins now. The terrain is, on the contrary, full of ambushes that we cannot avoid by renouncing the International Committee. The SLL is not the only organization, the only group having enormous difficulties to surmount in relation to the rebuilding of the 4th International and its problems. Far from it. And precisely because the terrain is not swept away we need all the acquisitions of the history of the 4th International. For the fundamental acquisition at this time is the IC with its history. The moment for passing to another form has not come, even though one day it will. It is beginning with THIS GAIN that we can and must advance to finish the necessary sweeping for the rebuilding of the 4th International.

#### CONCLUSIONS (Method and Program)

But why the proposition for an Organizing Committee in place of the IC? The efforts of the documents to justify this proposition in relation to the history of the IC are not convincing, and this is the least one can say. As to the recent crisis of the International Committee, it not only does not justify such a proposition, but on the contrary, it demands-- with all the implications-- the maintenance of the IC. The argument that was brought up in the discussion by the SLL and company over the sterile question of who had the majority does not stand. We do not discuss rubbish.

There remains a single motive. To assure the greatest openness to the rebuilding of the 4th International. This is our common wish. We are all agreed to see this historic task anchored in the workers movement and to associate the militants and cadres who are breaking with Stalinism, the reformists, Pabloism, Castroism and with other forms of ideology and enemy organizations. Our struggle and experiences in and towards Eastern Europe sufficiently proves that this is our method.

But precisely to realize such an association we need, more than ever, the strengthening of the international Trotskyist fraction, its open and clear definition, including its organizational form, even and including in relation to all those who we wish to work with us in rebuilding the 4th International. This need has also been verified several times by our experiences and struggle towards Eastern Europe. The development of the class struggle in this period in which we are heading towards gigantic confrontations between the classes whose stake is power, implying the shattering of organizations, forces us to reinforce even more our international fraction. It is not by chance that the second document "on the International Situation" insists on the necessity to reinforce the International Committee. We are not in agreement with the proposition made by a comrade during the discussion to rewrite at least the 6th Chapter of this document. We think, on the contrary, that our position for the maintenance of the IC is in agreement with the

political analysis presented by this document.

We seriously fear that this form of Organizing Committee carries the risk of "softening," that is, dissolving the international Trotskyist fraction. That this Committee would be the organizational form offered to all those who declare themselves loyal to the Program and who we wish to associate to us. But everyone says they are loyal to the Program. Precisely for this reason we need a definition. And it is here that all the acquisitions of the IC take on their importance, expressed by its name. The gains which we consider the most important are undeniably the combat led by the IC for the clarification and for the application of the basis itself of the Program: the independence of the proletariat. The name of the IC is linked to this content, dear to us, even if the SLL had and has some anti-Marxist positions on the "Arab revolution," on Ho Chi Minh, etc. But the SLL is not the International Committee!

Certainly the recent crisis has created a new situation which we must take under consideration. But not only the crisis: the development of the activity of the IC as well. There is no doubt that many groups and organizations, thanks to the activity of the IC, have proven their maturity for becoming members of the International Committee. There is therefore a real possibility and at the same time a necessity to strengthen the IC through the entry of these groups and organizations. To do this is not only useless to invent a new organizational form, but dangerous, for it inevitably suggests to them the rejection of the continuity.

In fact there is a need for changes. Other than its reinforcement, the IC can and should also change its name into an International Committee FOR the Rebuilding of the 4th International. But these changes which express exactly the stage we are in by translating a certain development, in no way justifies this organizational resolution which is proposed to us.

It therefore seems that the proposition to abandon the IC is motivated by the legitimate wish: through what organizational form should we associate all the groups, organizations and militants who claim the Program to the rebuilding of the 4th International? It is therefore the method which is at question.

In the history of the workers movement the method to best associate and educate worker militants and their independent organizations to the International preoccupied Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. We know their method and wish to apply it. But the organized form of the international Marxist fraction was never at stake in this method. No method can determine by itself the organizational form of the Marxist fraction: not at the national level and STILL LESS on the international level. It is above all and principally determined by the Program INCARNATED by the precise history of the latter. It is only beginning from this that we can define and apply a method. In other words, WHO applies a method, and for what?

We are not against an Organizing Committee regrouping the groups, organizations, militants who, on the basis of the Program,

are engaged in the rebuilding of the 4th International. However, on the condition that within this regroupment (the name hardly matters) we firmly maintain the International Committee, reinforced by other groups and organizations and by making its name precise.

We think that these measures conform to the situation and to our tasks, measures which can and should be taken by the Second Session of the Pre-Conference.

(The International Pre-Conference was held from July 1-4, 1972). The OCI proposed the dissolution of the International Committee and its replacement by the Organizing Committee in a resolution which was adopted. The RSL of Hungary submitted to a vote a counter-resolution, which was defeated.)

#### CORRECTION

In the last article, "The History of the Affair" it stated that the Faction, "For the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee" was constituted in January 1974. This was in error. The correct date was January 1973.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5)

TIME would like to push Chile under the rug. They hope no one will remember they supported the coup.

Why does TIME make these mistakes concerning socialism? Are its reporters badly educated or misinformed?

No. By denying the significance of the international socialist revolution, by denying the profound change this must mean for the workers and oppressed masses, by claiming that socialism already exists in 39% of the globe, they hope to give the workers the impression that should they choose the road of socialism they will have no choice but to settle for the dismal results of the Stalinists Social Democrats, and Third World Socialists efforts.

By denying the existence of the Fourth International, the world party of the working class, and identifying socialism with the three brands of misleaders, they hope to convince the workers that should they take the road of socialism they will have to do so without a leadership they can trust.

And finally by completely falsifying the records of socialism, of workers democracy and capitalism, bourgeois democracy, they hope to convince the workers not to take the socialist road at all, but to settle for what they've got now. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie is preparing guns with which to settle all these questions regardless of what the workers think.

Today, TIME likes to present all these questions like they're up for discussion among reasonable men. Tomorrow, they will be trying to mobilize the most backward to crush the working class with their lies.

An uncompromising struggle against imperialism, Stalinism, and all their lies is necessary to achieve socialism, in 5%, 10% and 100% of the world.  
March 22, 1978

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PAPER IN ENGLISH - SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUTH

## THE WORKERS NEED A REVOLUTIONARY PRESS THE MINERS STRIKE PROVES IT

By ANN NELSON

Since 1900 over 100,000 miners have lost their lives in the mines. Over one million have been permanently disabled and 4,000 die each year of black lung disease. The wealth and power of the utility and mine owners is responsible for the lives of those miners.

Since December 6, 1977, over 180,000 soft coal miners have been on strike. The strike has gone further to question the right of the coal bosses to demand blood for profits, to challenge the bureaucratic leadership of the unions and to organize the miners themselves independently than any other strike of the American workers since the 1930's.

What has taken the miners as far as they have gone is a political understanding that to stop the deaths in the mines they need the right to strike. The miners have gathered 13,000 signatures for the recall of Arnold Miller, United Mine Workers president, have organized their own defense guards and have demonstrated in Washington. They have rejected one sell-out contract, and may reject another.

TRUTH was able to say in advance of the miners strike, that the struggle of the miners would be a decisive one. Throughout the strike TRUTH has drawn out the political questions posed by the miners strike. As well, TRUTH has fought to carry the fight of the miners into the auto factories, by calling for an Emergency Convention of the UAW to decide how to support the miners and how to fight the threatened layoffs in auto.

TRUTH has not just made proposals on how to carry on the struggle, and how to win it, but it has constantly said what the political questions are. Above all, the necessity for a new leadership in the unions, a revolutionary leadership. TRUTH has called for a conscious struggle against the US government and its threat of seizure of the mines with federal troops.

TRUTH has fought against those who have become nothing more than a cheering section for the UMW bureaucracy like the Socialist Workers Party through its newspaper THE MILITANT as well as the American Communist Party, which in the DAILY WORLD calls anyone who criticizes the Miller leadership an agent of the coal bosses.

IS THE BOURGEOIS PRESS OBJECTIVE ?

In school workers learn that the newspapers in this country are "objective" and that the Bill of Rights guarantees freedom of the press. But the large bourgeois newspapers in this country like the DETROIT FREE PRESS or the NEW YORK TIMES are owned and run by the ruling class and they report the "news" that the ruling class wants reported.

But no one could have done a better job of supporting the mine owners and the government than the bourgeois press did during the miners strike. All along the newspapers said that the miners cause "violence," only wanted higher wages, would create an "energy shortage" and layoffs in other industries-- all lies.

The rumors they have spread of an energy shortage have been just as effective against the miners as the billy clubs of the national guards. Everyday the reports of the electric companies on the amount of coal they have left changes. And it still has not been explained why the workers should pay more for heat and electricity because supposedly these stockpiles haven't run out.

Inflation existed before the miners strike, and will continue when it's over. The striking coal miners are supposed to take the blame, according to the press, for the fact that the coal operators are not willing to cut into their profits, but will instead raise prices.

This is the same for the layoffs which certainly did not begin with the coal strike. Every auto worker knows that GM, Chrysler and Ford make more profits when they are working less workers longer and harder. But the bourgeois press says the coal strike will cause an "energy shortage" and layoffs as if these things were "objective" facts.

Violence is another thing the bourgeois papers blame entirely on the coal miners. Did the miners hire a motorcycle gang armed to the teeth as a provocation? No, but the mine owners did. The papers make up for the fact that they rarely report on the armed thugs who protect scab coal, by reporting double on the arming of the miners. And, of course, the papers aid nothing while the miners were dying in the mines. And of all the violence, the conditions in the mines top the list by far.

In the first months of the strike, the DETROIT FREE PRESS ran lead article after another without ever mentioning that the miners most important demand was the right to strike over health and safety.

Instead, the FREE PRESS said that the issue was WAGES, and it went on to say how high the miners wages already are. This is not "objective" reporting, and is designed to create hostility between the miners and other sections of the working class, the majority of which is underpaid.

And then there are the WORDS used in the bourgeois papers which betray their support of the government and the coal companies. The workers "demand" but the owners "offer." Or the miners are guilty of "violence" and "sabotage" but Carter has the "choice" of invoking Taft-Hartley.

There are hundreds of examples of how the press distorts and lies. The question is "Who's side are the newspapers on?" The answer is that the bourgeois press does not base itself on some abstract "objectivity" or on "freedom of the press," but is the press for a class the ruling class. The newspapers in this country are THEIR newspapers.

Workers are familiar with these methods of the bourgeois press to distort, change and create the news. Blacks, for years hear if a murderer or armed robbery suspect was black, but never heard if he was white. And now, with the "trend" in journalism to make the news more entertaining, workers are hard pressed to find any kind of news at all in the papers. The movement in the papers toward eliminating international news and reports is the most anti-working class of all the new changes in the newspapers today.

The press of the pseudo-revolutionaries, in particular the Socialist Workers Party, plays into the hands of the bourgeois papers by merely "exposing" the fact that the bourgeois papers are not "objective" as if they COULD be. The SWP paper, THE MILITANT, relies on printing better "facts" as if to show the bourgeois papers the way. The centrists do not say it is necessary to have a WORKERS press which also takes a side like the bourgeois papers do, only the side of the workers.

The fact that there is such a thing as "news" is a capitulation to the ruling class papers. Yes, there are facts of an event, but these facts are interpreted by classes. The bourgeois press interprets them one way and makes



its proposals. They have all called for Taft-Hartley cooling-off period and seizure of the mines by the government. All of them. That these newspapers are "objective" is what keeps these papers on their feet and effective as propaganda for the bourgeoisie.

So the question is not "exposure" of the bourgeois papers but the development of a revolutionary press. A press that above all leads a political fight to build the organization of the workers that represents a leadership which makes proposals to lead the way in the struggles of the workers.

THE MILITANT bills itself as "A Socialist newsweekly/published in the interests of the working people." That the press is an ORGAN or weapon of a revolutionary leadership is foreign to the centrists.

The MILITANT has played up that it gives "real coverage" of the miners strike. THE MILITANT has in fact said that Arnold Miller is not an obstacle to the fight of the miners but that he has just "lost touch with the majority of the miners." The MILITANT openly supported former UMW bureaucrat Harry Patrick who said that he would resign before he would work in the coal fields.

The front page headline of the March 10, 1978 MILITANT says: "Coal miners debate contract" (!) This could be a headline in the FREE PRESS. The MILITANT insists on stressing the fact that the miners have the right to vote on their contract. They do this in order to give Miller a position of importance that he does not deserve. The MILITANT has placed itself BEHIND the most advanced miners.

This "newsweekly published the interests of the workers" is willing to put itself to the "left" of the bourgeois papers, but it will not place itself AGAINST the bourgeois papers. The centrists have shown, particularly through their press that they are not capable of "saying what is" to the working class.

The Socialist Workers Party, which speaks on Sundays about the Fourth International, has not found a place for the Fourth International in its articles on the miners strike. They say, "rely on Miller," be glad you can debate the contract, and join a "labor party" that the bureaucrats run. The building of the revolutionary party, the Fourth International and the independent organization of the working class against its enemies can not find its way into the pages of the MILITANT.

In the miners strike, the key is to have an opinion. The bourgeois papers shun "opinions" for a false "objectivity." An opinionated and political struggle from the point of view of the working class, is the struggle that will be led by the revolutionary press.

Sixty years ago, Lenin waged a fight against the opportunists for a revolutionary all-Russian newspaper. Lenin argued against those who tended to glorify the spontaneous struggle of the workers that the most effective way to actually ORGANIZE these struggles FOR THE REVOLUTION was with one newspaper of the revolutionary leadership throughout Russia.

Lenin said that the newspaper would be the scaffolding with which the revolutionary party could be built. He said the press could centralize the struggles of the workers, where workers in one part of the country could learn the mistakes of workers in another and not repeat them or they could be spurred on by their victories.

The Fourth International has maintained the fight for the Leninist press, that is a press that is the ORGAN of the leadership of the revolutionary party. Trotsky discussed in his article WHAT IS A "MASS PAPER"? (Writings 35-36 p. 58) that the workers are very aware of their own misery but what they need is a clear program and leadership.

The Trotskyist Organization has fought to make its press a weapon in the struggle to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, that is the revolutionary party of the US workers. March 22, 1978