

TRUTH



WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International!

Build the Workers Party!

Weekly Organ of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION
US Supporter of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Prohibited by the Voorhis Act from belonging to the Fourth International
Down with the Voorhis Act!

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To build the Workers Party, take up the fight against Centrism

Rebuild the US section of the World Party of Socialist Revolution!

To build the workers party of the USA to prepare the socialist revolution -- Take up the struggle against centrism: rebuild the US Section of the world party of the socialist revolution!

Resolution on the tasks in the preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International -- open to all the youth, workers and militants of the workers movement -- July 3 and 4.

I. The US working class has taken the offensive in the struggle against the capitalist class. This is the expression of the revolutionary mobilization of the working class throughout the world which is continuing throughout the Americas, in Chile, Argentina and Bolivia, despite the vicious repression of imperialism; which is reaching its highest point in Europe, East and West, in Portugal and Spain, where the workers are engaged in a fight to the death with the last fascist regime in Europe, supported by world imperialism.

The US working class, especially the youth, especially the most oppressed layers of the youth, have lost confidence in the capitalist class and its parties, the Democrats and Republicans, in their lackeys in the trade unions, Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons. So have the workers and oppressed masses throughout the Americas and in Europe, again East and West, lost confidence in the parties which have claimed to represent their interests -- the so-called "Communist" and "Socialist" parties, the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties, directed respectively by the Kremlin bureaucracy and the US capitalist class with its closest allies amongst the European bourgeoisie. The workers and oppressed masses are seeking an alternative to imperialism and Stalinism and a new leadership to realize that alternative.

In the face of this revolutionary mobilization of the working class, the US capitalist class with the collaboration of the Kremlin bureaucracy and its international apparatus, have launched a vast counterrevolutionary plot. It wishes to reinforce the illusions of the workers of the Americas and Europe in the possibilities of reforming capitalism and in the parties which oppose socialist revolution and propose reform -- above all the Stalinists -- while it tries to crush the US working class, and continues to wage a vicious attack on the workers and oppressed masses of South America. It wishes to prevent the working class from finding its way to our party, the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, and taking the road of the socialist revolution, of the destruction of the dictatorship of the capitalist class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class. It knows that this is the only alternative open to the working class.

Stalinism, the international apparatus of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is the principle supporter of imperialism in this plot. In the name of the Russian revolution, it preaches peaceful coexistence with imperialism, organizes governments together with the imperialists to protect them from the assault of the working class and attempts to destroy all the militants true to the true tradition of the Russian revolution.

But it is centrism, maintained and developed today principally by the leadership of the US Socialist Workers Party,

(SWP), with the collaboration of other centrist leaders in Europe and the Americas (Lambert, Lora, Mandel), which presents the greatest danger to the working class. Centrism, in the name of Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, attempts to obfuscate the fundamental conflict between the working class and its party and the bourgeoisie and their treacherous agents, the Stalinists and Social Democrats. The leadership of the SWP uses the place that the SWP once occupied as the US Section of the Fourth International and as the pillar of the Fourth International itself to confuse the workers, while it participates fully in the plot of imperialism and Stalinism to reinforce the illusions of the working class in the possibilities of reforming capitalism and in the parties which openly oppose the socialist revolution. The centrists oppose themselves to the construction of the world party of the socialist revolution which is the only way to maintain and develop the political, theoretical and organizational independence of the working class in the US, in every country, going so far as to slander, threaten, and physically attack the militants of our party.

Thus the principle task and objective in the preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization is the delimitation of the vanguard of the working class in the struggle against centrism. This is concentrated in the struggle against the leadership of the SWP to build a proletarian faction in the SWP to wage the fight with the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth against centrism to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International and destroy the SWP. It is on the basis of this struggle that it is possible to rebuild the sections of the Fourth International throughout the Americas, the objective of the Fourth International in the Conference of the Two Americas.

The preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization through an implacable struggle against centrism and its principle expression in the US, the leadership of the SWP, is the central task of the whole working class and all of its militants, not simply of the Trotskyist Organization, the Revolutionary Worker Youth, and the working class militants of the SWP. For this is the central obstacle to the construction of the party of the working class to defend the working class from the counterrevolutionary attack of the imperialists and prepare the socialist revolution. Thus the Congress and its preparation are not only open to all the youth, workers, and militants of the workers movement, but its realization demands their active participation.

II. THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PLOT OF IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM AND THE ROLE OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SWP

It's in relation to the central problems facing the working class that the class nature of centrism and the leadership of the SWP is clearest and thus the necessity to destroy them and their organizations the clearest. Thus it is along these lines that the struggle must be led.

Today all the efforts of imperialism and Stalinism are directed at focusing the attention of the US working class on the elections, in which the principal question being debated is what to do if the "communists" take power in the elections in the various European countries, and on the negotiations between the capitalists and the bureaucrats of the various unions.

But while the capitalist candidates, the Kremlin bureaucracy, and the CP

USA are debating and the bureaucrats negotiating, in an attempt to reinforce the illusions of the US working class that fundamental change can be brought through elections and negotiations, the US ruling class is piling up arms and preparing to crush the European working class in the name of the fight against "totalitarian communism." At the same time, in the United States they are waging a vicious attack on the workers in the factories, running the lines at unheard of speeds, trying to prevent even the unions, not to mention communists, from carrying on any activity in the factories.

The leadership of the SWP, their candidates, have waged no struggle to expose the collaboration of imperialism and Stalinism in this plot, to unite the workers of the US with the workers throughout the world in the world party, to defend the European revolution and prepare the revolution throughout the Americas. Instead they are collaborating in the attempt to delude the US working class, to isolate it from the workers of Europe and South America, to organize it behind the CIA, the trade union bureaucrats, the organizations of the Democratic Party, and the US imperialism itself.

On the one hand, behind the back of the US working class and its youth, they are trying to regroup all the centrist organizations in Europe and South America, the principal points of agreement being opposition to the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe as an immediate perspective, in favor of organizing the workers to ask the Stalinists to take power, and opposition to the Fourth International, in favor of slandering and attacking its militants, in preparation of the 11th World Congress of the United Secretariat of the "Fourth International." They know that the victory of the working class in the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe will be the decisive blow to the international apparatus of the Kremlin and to the US imperialism.

On the other hand, in the United States, they are trying to organize the American working class to win "A Bill of Rights for Working People" for protection from unemployment, high prices and so forth, by voting "Socialist Workers," to form a labor party, a black party, and a Chicano party at the same time as they are trying to regroup all the centrist organizations. Here the principal point of agreement is opposition to the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International to build the workers party to lead the working class to power, in favor of pressuring the bureaucrats to form a national reformist labor party, and once again slandering and attacking its militants.

The opportunism of this leadership is not an accident. It is a logical consequence of the break from the International in 1963, for it is only as part of the International that it is possible to maintain and develop the theoretical, political and practical independence of the working class, to build the independent party of the working class to prepare the socialist revolution. This leadership has dug its roots deep into the American middle classes. In order to do this and to attempt to drag the whole International down with it, it has had to attempt to suppress any independent expression of the youth. Thus even the YSA, which was never party of an international, never independent and never based on the working class youth, they have tried to liquidate, to confine it entirely to the campuses and "campus issues" in fear that the youth would begin to draw the balance sheet of this treacherous leadership. It

has invented a whole series of theories to justify its nationalist, class collaborationist and middle class policy.

III. THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGAINST CENTRISM

Our party has waged a very long struggle against centrism, against the centrism of the leadership of the SWP. In 1953, it broke with the leaders who wanted to liquidate the International and founded the International Committee of the Fourth International. In 1963, it broke with Hansen, et al., when they wanted to reunify with the liquidators. And in 1973, broke with Lambert and Co. when they wanted to liquidate the International Committee of the Fourth International, and founded the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International.

The proof of this struggle lies in the fact that at each point that the centrists have deepened their efforts to liquidate the International that there have been militants on the international scale who have remained loyal to it and its program and continued its struggle, and that even in the US there have always been militants who sought to find it and build it. When both the leadership of the SWP and the Workers League (WL), the organization of the International Committee in the US, had capitulated and succeeded in breaking first the SWP and then the WL from the International, militants of the workers movement in the US came forward to join the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International, (IL/RFI) and the Trotskyist Organization of the USA to Rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International. And today there rest within the ranks of the SWP and the WL working class militants who oppose their leadership and seek the international.

Thus, all the maneuvers of the SWP leadership, in attempting to block the working class militants of the SWP from drawing a balance sheet of their treachery and joining the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International -- their attempt to "reconstruct" the international, their adoption of our slogans in Spain and Portugal, their alleged working class orientation -- are directed and deny the struggle which has been waged against them. More than anything else they seek to bring together the leaderships which once opposed them, of the Workers Revolutionary Party in England, of the OCI of France, and of the Workers League. In the latter cases they are for the moment proceeding.

But if the SWP remains intact, it is precisely because the International has not waged a fundamental struggle against the role of centrism on the terrain of the class struggle in the US, against its collaboration with imperialism and Stalinism in its attempt to isolate the US working class and subordinate it to the bourgeoisie. It must wage a fundamental struggle to expose the centrism of the leadership of the SWP before the whole working class, especially its youth, to win the proletarian wing to the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International and in this way destroy the SWP. In the US this has always been expressed in the denial of centrism -- the principle supporter of Stalinism and thus imperialism -- as the central obstacle to the construction of the workers party in the USA and thus the attempt to construct this party separate and apart from this battle. Imperialism maintains itself thanks only to the treach-

CONTINUED ON BACK

Join in the preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization
Open to all the youth, workers and militants of the workers movement

All out for the Special Conference of the Revolutionary Worker

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erous leaderships and their organizations which sow illusions in the working class about the alternatives with which it is faced. The working class militants of these organizations must be won to the Fourth International, their leaderships defeated and their organizations destroyed, beginning with those who attempt to sow illusions in the name of the Fourth International.

It is only the Trotskyist Organization, organized as part of the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, which has fought to develop the theoretical, political and organizational independence of the US working class before imperialism, Stalinism and centrism. Nonetheless, the Trotskyist Organization is still in the process of surmounting this problem. It has attempted to construct the party apart from this struggle against centrism and the centrist leaderships. This has led it at times to disarm the working class, to lead it to think that it could confront the capitalist state successfully in a general strike of auto without a leadership forged in the struggle against centrism. These problems were expressed in our text preparing our Congress. They became clearer on the basis of the experience of the whole International and in particular on the basis of the work of the last International Executive Committee meeting.

It is the struggle in the working class against centrism, and the centrism of the leadership of the SWP, that the Trotskyist Organization, in winning the proletarian wing of the SWP to the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International, can and must fully assume the continuity of the Fourth International and, together with the proletarian militants of the SWP and the Revolutionary Worker Youth, proclaim the US Section of the Fourth International rebuilt, giving the working class the leadership it needs to confront the imperialist State.

IV. THE TASKS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION

Thus the immediate task of the Trotskyist Organization is, on the basis of this resolution, to deepen the struggle to expose the nature of centrism in collaboration with imperialism and Stalinism in the isolation and subordination of the working class, and the role of the leadership of the SWP as the pillar of centrism, and to rouse the working class youth and the working class militants of the SWP to this struggle.

The central weapons of the Trotskyist Organization in this struggle are the in this struggle are THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and TRUTH. Thus a polemic in these organs must be developed on the following central questions of the construction of the party:

1. The necessity of the International organized on a democratic centralist basis as the only means through which to maintain and develop the theoretical, political and organizational independence of the working class throughout the world and in every country, and thus build its parties and lead it to power in every country.

2. The necessity to base the party on the working class youth in the factories and organize all the youth, including, and especially, the student youth around them independently in the RYI to build the Fourth International.

3. The fundamental opposition between Stalinism and Marxism, between the international apparatus of the Kremlin and the Fourth International, between its interests and the interests of the world proletariat and its party, and the role of centrism in obfuscating this opposition, in supporting Stalinism against the International.

4. The way in which the leadership of the SWP supports the international apparatus of the Kremlin against the construction of the International as a logical consequence of its nationalist and class-collaborationist break from the International and the principal expressions of this policy:

-- the attempted organization of the international amalgam in and around the United Secretariat and their policy in Eastern Europe, the USSR, Portugal, Spain, and throughout the Americas; -- the attempted organization of a bloc in the US for the construction of a national reformist labor party against the re-

building of the US Section of the Fourth International:

-- their campaigns to reinforce the illusions of the working class in the possibilities of reforming capitalism and the reformist and Stalinist leaderships; the Bill of Rights, the suits against the government, busing, the ERA, all of which enter wholly into the counterrevolutionary plot of imperialism and Stalinism.

5. The exposures of the maneuvers of the SWP against the working class militants of the SWP and the TO, in particular the place of Wohlforth in these maneuvers and the way in which all the other centrist organizations, the leaderships of the Workers League, the Spartacist League, Spark, et. al. are lining up behind the leadership of the SWP, in particular with regard to the slanders and attacks on the militants of the Fourth International.

6. The necessity to unmask the nature of centrism, of this leadership, to build a proletarian faction in the SWP to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International and destroy the SWP.

To take this political struggle to the whole working class and especially its youth, the Trotskyist Organization must present a candidate for president on the basis of the following platform:

1. Down with the counterrevolutionary plot of Ford/Brezhnev!
Down with their candidates--Democrats and Republicans!
2. For the Right to Belong to the International! Down with the Voorhis Act!
3. Drive the bureaucrats out of the unions! Workers Party! General Strike! Workers Government!
Washington -- Madrid -- Moscow!
4. Support the International Workers Committee to Free the Political Prisoners in the USSR and Eastern Europe!
5. Support the Spanish Revolution!
Free the militants of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España!
Stop All Orders to Fascist Spain!
6. Support the International Workers Commission of Inquiry into the slanders against the Fourth International!
7. For a united workers slate! Launch a campaign in the factories and unions to support this candidate and this platform. Organize delegations to branches of the SWP and YSA to do the same.

The Trotskyist Organization must fight for the Revolutionary Worker Youth, US Supporter of the Revolutionary Youth International, to take up this struggle by mobilizing all the youth to present themselves for the various offices, Senate, Congress and so forth, on the basis of this platform, as part of the slate of the RYI.

The TO must make it clear that it is willing to withdraw its candidate if any of the other candidates of the parties which claim to represent the working class, the CP and the SWP, will adopt this platform, in order to demonstrate that it is they who stand in the way of the unification of the working class against the capitalist class.

It is in this struggle that the TO must organize the delegations to the Congress Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International, the Conference of the Two Americas Rebuilding the Sections of the Fourth International throughout the Americas, and the World Workers Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe in Barcelona.

V. THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH/US SUPPORTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

It is on the basis of this platform and the struggle to mobilize the youth to present themselves as part of the slate of the RYI that it is necessary to construct the RWY as the US Supporter of the RYI, as the independent organization of the youth. This is the way in which the RWY/USSRYI must take its place fully in the fight to build the Fourth Inter-

national and rebuild its US Section.

In this framework the RWY must wage the fight to organize the workers independently in the factories against the speedup, layoffs, etc., to defend their rights to distribute literature, hold meetings etc., in the factory, to drive the police out of the plants, to defend the militants, in particular those of the TO and the RWY, under attack, to build the circles of the RWY to realize this. In this way the leadership necessary to assemble all the workers and lead the strikes of the workers against the bureaucrats, particularly in auto, can be built.

It is in this struggle that it is necessary to demand of all the militants of the various Stalinist and centrist youth organizations to take a stand in relation to this platform, to support the fight in defense of the political rights of the workers in the factories, and in this way begin to break them from their leaderships.

In the framework of the preparation of the World Congress of the RYI in Barcelona, and the organization of the delegation of the RYI, the RWY must hold a special conference to draw up a plan to realize these tasks, in which the development of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD and YOUNG GUARD, and the education of the youth on the nature of Stalinism and centrism, must be placed at the center.

VI. THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS MILITANTS OF THE SWP

On the basis of the program and struggle of the Fourth International, on the basis of the struggle waged to build and rebuild its US Section, first by the SWP, then by the Workers League, then by the TO, and on the basis of their own experiences, the working class militants of the SWP must draw a balance sheet of centrism, of the centrism of the leadership of the SWP, draw up a platform and organize themselves in a proletarian faction to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International and destroy the SWP, to bring the working class wing of the SWP to the Congress of the TO. The principle points of this platform must be:

1. For the International; against collaboration of the leadership of the SWP with Stalinism and imperialism in the isolation, division and subordination of the working class.
2. For a class policy; against the subordination of the struggle for the program of the working class to the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights.
3. For the independent organization of the working class, especially the most oppressed, the youth, the blacks, the women, latinos, etc.; against the organization of the workers behind the NAACP, the CLUW, Chavez' organization, the trade union bureaucrats, Sadlowski, etc.

The organization of the working class militants of the SWP on the basis of a principled platform into a faction to rebuild the US Section is the condition of this struggle. The counterparts of the leadership of the SWP in France have already demonstrated that they will stop at nothing to block the rebuilding of the sections of the International. A central tactic through which to develop this struggle is to demand of the leadership of the SWP to put forward a proletarian platform as the basis for a united workers slate, to demand that they take a stand in relation to the platform of the TO, the RWY and the faction. In this way it will become clear that the platform and the campaign of the leadership of the SWP is a platform and a campaign to organize the workers behind imperialism and Stalinism, to liquidate their organizations, not an "independent" campaign to "unite" the working class behind "the party," as it is presented by the leadership.

In this way the proletarian faction of the SWP can win its working class wing to the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International and bring it to the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization with this objective.

VI. THE TASKS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

On the basis of this struggle, the Congress of the TO, open to all the youth, workers, and militants of the workers movement and uniting the militants of the TO with the militants of the proletarian faction of the SWP, together with the militants of the RWY, must draw a balance sheet of the struggle of the Fourth International in the United States, determine the US Section of the Fourth International rebuilt, and found the Revolutionary Workers League of the US/Section of the Fourth International. On the basis of this struggle, which must be the delimitation of the Fourth International against centrism in the US, the RWL of the US must hold its founding Congress, adopt a resolution on the tasks in the preparation of its first Congress, in the framework of the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas, the World Workers Conference in Barcelona, and the Fifth World Congress of the Fourth International, and elect its Central Committee.

VII. On the basis of this resolution a plan for the press, a work plan, a plan for organization, and a financial plan to realize these tasks must be elaborated. FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION REBUILDING THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Adopted by the Secretariat of the TO/ USSFI, 7/6/2

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