

TRUTH

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Rebuild the International in the Americas!
Rebuild its US section!

Weekly Organ of
the **TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION** of the USA
Section (Sympathizing) of the **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

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

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FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA!

With this SPECIAL EDITION of TRUTH we are launching the final stage of the preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA which has as its task the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International. The purpose of this issue of TRUTH is to politically arm the young workers, the militants of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, the militants of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) in drawing a balance sheet of our struggle to date and in further outlining the tasks in the construction of the Fourth International in the US.

The task of constructing the world party in the US, of preparing the American working class for power is not a "sectarian" affair, something to be discussed in private. It is the concern of every revolutionary in the US today, those who claim to be part of the Fourth International, militants of other organizations which are part of the working class movement, and all of the young workers of the American working class who are today seeking to form a new leadership in combat against the old order of capitalism and Stalinism.

Thus the discussion and the fight for the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International is for us an affair of the entire US working class movement. To all the young workers in the US who have been part of this struggle to date, we call on you to join us in these final weeks to insure the success of this Congress. To the militants of other organizations, in particular, the SWP/YSA who have not yet joined this struggle: the struggle for the Congress of the TO is the struggle of the American working class to prepare its revolution, it is your history and tradition which is at stake, the rebuilding of the Fourth International in the US cannot be avoided, no matter how well your leadership tries to avoid it, you have a responsibility to answer to the desire of the American working class for its world party which can only be the party of the Fourth International.

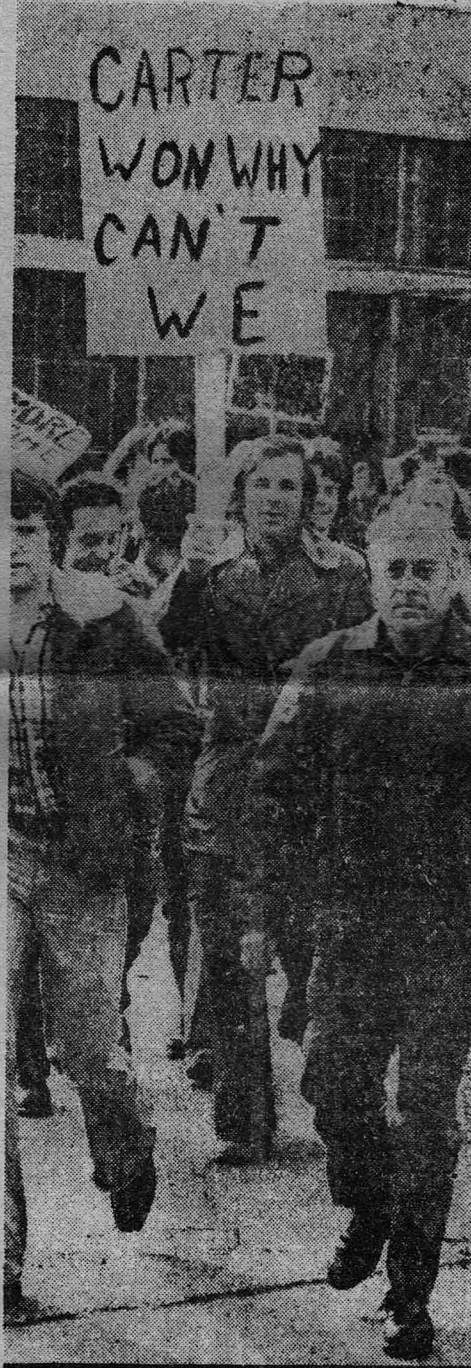
We are at a turning point in the class struggle in the United States. The understanding of this fact and the policy to meet the needs of the vanguard of the US working class in this situation has distinguished the Fourth International in the US from all other tendencies in the US working class movement. Against the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party which still claims that the US working class is "cynical and apathetic" in order to cover for their maneuvers with the trade union bureaucracy, against all

the other organizations in the US workers' movement which claimed that the working class could put forward no policy against the bourgeoisie in the elections, the Fourth International alone has been able to respond to the revolutionary aspirations of the working class in the United States.

Only those who refuse to put forward a policy for the class independence of the American working class, only those who seek to shut the US workers in a national framework, isolated from their brothers and sisters in Europe, Latin America and throughout the world can deny the revolutionary mobilization of the US working class. The strike wave of the US working class which began in 1974 and has continued since then, as well as the movements of the late 60's and early 70's has shaped a young generation of the American working class that has engaged in repeated and open confrontations with the trade union bureaucracy, the capitalist state and their police. And every mobilization has proven that the US working class is more and more refusing to respond to those in the workers movement who refuse to construct the independent party of the working class that the young workers are fighting for.

The recent struggles of the auto workers, at Ford and Chrysler and the struggle which will continue in the next weeks against GM has proven the depth of the mobilization of the US workers. In opposition to the sell-out of the Woodcock bureaucracy, in alliance with the Democratic Party, over 100,000 auto workers refused to vote on the contract signed by the bureaucrats. At Ford River Rouge and several other plants workers chased the bureaucrats out of meetings called to "explain" the contract to them. 22,000 Chrysler workers wildcatted before the expiration of their contract, coming just two days after the victory of Jimmy Carter, coming out of the plants with picket signs reading: "CARTER WON, WHY CAN'T WE!?" And in this auto strike 100 young workers in Detroit and Chicago signed the statement of the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW, organized by the Trotskyist Organization and Revolutionary Worker Youth.

The young workers who signed the Faction Statement, the young workers at Ford Torrence in Chicago who organized a defense guard to drive away the police who attempted to arrest our Presidential candidate for distributing literature on union property, the young



22,000 CHRYSLER WORKERS WILDCAT

workers at Rouge who fought to defend us against the attacks of the Maoists have proven what the policy of the Fourth International in the US represents; the only policy which expresses their aspirations for a new society against the bourgeois order of unemployment, war and repression. It is expressed in the words of a young worker at Rouge, who has engaged in

a struggle with the Revolutionary Worker Youth who was once a part of the Maoist organization there, saying "the difference between you and 'Time to Unite' (the Maoists) is that you are the only ones at Rouge fighting for a new leadership."

The Congress of the Trotskyist Organization must mark a step in the formation of this new leadership, which is what the policy of the Fourth International stands for throughout the world. Although the victory of Carter and the Democrats will in no way stop the growing mobilization of the US workers, the working class must be armed to face the attacks that Carter and the Democrats are planning. Wage controls, forced labor at poverty wages, attempts to tie the trade unions to the capitalist state, preparations for war and repression are all means by which the Carter regime will attempt to tie the US working class and its youth to a dying system. And all of this will be part of the effort of US imperialism to isolate the US workers from the workers of Europe, Latin America and the rest of the world. The US working class can only combat this and can only lead its fight for its own demands by organizing and regrouping the vanguard of the US working class in the construction of its own independent party, the WORKERS PARTY, which can only be a part of the world party of class independence, the Fourth International. The working class has reached a new stage in its class struggle in the US; a stage that must be launched through the direct fight to construct and organize a mass party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, on the basis of the international fight of the working class, the WORKERS PARTY, the US Section of the Fourth International.

The other articles in this issue demonstrate how this fight must be deepened in the coming weeks; in the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas in which the US workers must take their stand as the most resolute fighters against US imperialism throughout the Americas, as the leadership of the struggle to unite the workers in the Two Americas -- North and South in a common struggle against US imperialism, in the fight in the US against the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin, to free the workers imprisoned in Poland in order to demonstrate that the workers in the US refuse to accept repression waged in the name of "communism", and most importantly in the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International in the US as a mass, independent organization of the working class youth as the vanguard of the construction of the party in the US and throughout the world.

This fight cannot advance without definitively resolving the crisis of leadership of the working class in the US. As more and more workers in the US are coming to understand what the Fourth International in the US stands for and are joining its struggle, it becomes more and more intolerable and dangerous that other leaderships seek to use the banner of the Fourth International in order to block the workers from building their own party of class independence. As the crisis of the Democratic Party deepens, as the trade union bureaucrats are more and more incapable of controlling the workers, as the US workers come closer and closer to forming their own party, the leadership of the US Socialist Workers Party which until 1963 was the party of the Fourth International in the US becomes more and more an obstacle to the young workers who are seeking the party of the Fourth International.

REBUILD THE US SECTION OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL!

Centerfold-THE ROAD FORWARD FOR
PROLETARIAN MILITANTS IN THE SWP/YSA

The Revolutionary Young Workers Will Construct The Workers Party In The US--



Join The Struggle Of The Revolutionary Youth International!

By ANN NELSON

"The movement is revitalized by the youth who are free from the responsibility for the past. The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with the belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was, thus it will be." -- Leon Trotsky, The Transitional Program, 1938.

The youth of the working class have throughout the history of the workers movement played a critical role in the development of the revolution and its leadership. It was a few militants in the "Youth International" which founded the first international workers paper. These youth fought against the imperialist World War I and later became the framework of the Communist Youth International, and after that composed the majority of forces in the Left Opposition against Stalinism. It is today the Fourth International, rebuilt after the years of crisis of its international party, which has put forward a bold and consistent policy towards the youth, leading the fight to build the independent REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL. It is in the Revolutionary Youth International and its US arm, the Revolutionary Worker Youth, that the young workers in the factories, the students, the militants in other organizations who truly want to prepare the revolution belong.

Editorial [cont.]

This leadership cannot be ignored, the working class will only suffer defeats at their hands, as they have suffered defeats at the hands of centrists throughout the world. The US working class must be politically armed against these misleaders and they must be defeated. The young, revolutionary workers must confront these leaders who say the workers are "apathetic and cynical." The young, proletarian militants of the SWP who know that this is a lie, who know that the only

AGAINST US IMPERIALISM AND ITS SUPPORTER, STALINISM!

The RWY-USA held its Second Congress on November 7th, on the last day of an International Week of Action called by the Revolutionary Youth International to continue the struggles of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Spanish Revolution of 1936. During the International Week of Action in the US, young workers in auto, against the maneuvers of the union leaders, organized their own leadership by building the Circles of YOUNG GUARD (newspaper of the RWY USA), in the factories. Dozens of workers signed statements of support of the imprisoned Polish workers, and held meetings in the River Rouge plant in Detroit to plan the fight of the US working class youth against Stalinist repression. The RWY, by supporting the candidates for President and Vice President of the Trotskyist Organization in the US elections, was the only youth organization in the United States which fought for an alternative to the bourgeoisie, against class collaboration, and fought for it in the factories among the younger generation of the working class.

The struggle of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, because it is the only youth organization in the US fighting for an independent leadership of the working class in the factories, has had its problems as well. Problems, which the Second Congress of the RWY took up and clarified. One of the main questions the Congress discussed was the necessity of making ADVANCED and bold enough proposals to the youth in the factories. Time and time again during the auto

strike in particular, the youth demonstrated that they were willing to take far-reaching actions. This was what occurred in a meeting of the Stamping Plant at Rouge where shouting workers forced the union leadership to abandon its OWN meeting. The Congress also decided that the production and distribution of YOUNG GUARD must become more regular, taking up the problems of the young workers in the factories, centralizing all the actions and plans of the RWY, and must be used as the main weapon of the workers in organizing and leading their struggles.

The plans of the Second Congress of the RWY concentrated on developing a bold plan for the youth in the US. The struggle against US imperialism is a generalized aspiration among many young workers and youth in the United States. The RWY has begun a campaign against US imperialism, against Carter's proposed policies, and against all US aid to reactionary dictatorships throughout the Americas. Carter has already announced plans for a Youth Job Corps, to force unemployed youth to work for scab wages. The only other alternative the bourgeoisie proposer for the youth has already shown its face in Detroit and many other cities -- increased repression. The RWY will continue with more strength the fight it has started against the attempts to revise youth laws, impose curfews, etc. This fight is taken up by the RWY throughout the Americas, in Latin America, Mexico, Canada and the Caribbean. The workers in many of these countries have led and are increasing their struggle against their own bourgeoisie and against the domination of the United States. The RWY has set for itself the task of building sections of the Youth in these countries, particularly Argentina, Bolivia, Peru and Mexico. The slogans of the Revolutionary Worker Youth: BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE! DOWN WITH THE STALINIST REPRESSION IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR! BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL--OUR WEAPON!

Through demonstrations, actions in the factories, deepening the revolutionary fight against the old union leaderships and proposing joint actions to other workers organizations, particularly the SWP/YSA, the RWY will fight to send a delegate to the Conference of the Two Americas at the end of December, to send a delegation of youth to Poland.

The immediate task of the RWY is to build the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization. This Congress will have the task of rebuilding the US Section of the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International. The support of large numbers of young workers is vital to its success. The RWY will in the next weeks be organizing the youth to attend this Congress and take up the task of building the revolutionary leadership in the United States.

The RWY has said that it seeks to engage militants of the SWP/YSA in particular through joint actions and common proposals, because many of its own militants and workers who do not belong to the SWP/YSA see the Socialist Workers Party as the party of the Fourth International in the

United States, while the leaders of SWP/YSA defend a policy of national isolation and back-handed support of the US bourgeoisie and Stalinism. The RWY seeks to continue its fight and to prove to the best of these militants that it is the youth organization in the United States which is fighting to build the Fourth International and its US Section. An examination of how the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was founded its important militants in the YSA and for the young workers of the RWY who are continuing the policy on which the YSA began its fight. This is our history.

The YSA was given its main impetus from the Hungarian Revolution of the Workers Councils in 1956, it developed in the United States as a large response of the youth to this internationalization of the working class. It was because of the struggle of the Hungarian workers against capitalism and Stalinism that many of the founding militants of the YSA could not accept the SWP leadership's capitulation to Stalinism in 1963 through its reunification with the liquidators of the Fourth International those who saw "hope" for Stalinism. It was these youth who developed the framework of the International Committee in the United States, continuing the fight of the Fourth International. It was also in the first year of the YSA, founded in 1960, that the present leaders of the SWP "developed" Peter Camejo and Barry Shephard began their careers by trying to convince the youth that the Cuban revolution was going "increasingly towards Trotskyism" and that it was necessary to join with the liquidators of the Fourth International, becoming the self-proclaimed liquidators.

Camejo, in his version of the beginning of the YSA (From: THE YSA by Guy Williams (Tim Wohlforth)), said that the problem with the founders of the YSA (who were expelled) was that they came from petty bourgeois organizations and could not break from their methods. In reality, the founders of the YSA had led a significant fight against the policy that the USSR was not a workers state of any kind, against the support of the Shacnikites to US imperialism. Camejo denies the real gains that were made in the fight to found the YSA. The fight of the youth against Stalinism, against imperialism, against the liquidation of the world party of the socialist revolution.

To the militants of the SWP/YSA to the young workers in the auto factories, the steel factories and throughout the US, the RWY is building its organization to end the system of unemployment, repression and war. The letter below on the death of Palmer Ambers, a young worker and fighter of the RWY shows what kind of youth the RWY is winning to its struggle. Militants of the SWP/YSA, examine the article in the MILITANT which reads: "YSA Build For its Convention on the College Campuses," and compare it to the fight of the RWY. The RWY will be at your convention to convince you. Take up the fight against the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party. Young workers and youth-- JOIN THE FIGHT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL-- BUILD OUR WEAPON!

world party, to prepare the world revolution. By rebuilding the Fourth International in the US, in the heart of world imperialism, the US proletariat will give renewed strength to the workers throughout the world who are engaged in a daily struggle against imperialism and Stalinism. It will strike a blow against the collaboration between imperialism and Stalinism, the "peaceful-coexistence" of counterrevolution against the working class. It will strike a blow against all the maneuvers of the centrists which use the isolation of the American working class to forge an alliance with the Stalinists against the workers. The decisive outcome of the world revolution

rests on the shoulders of the US working class. The victory of the European revolution, the revolution in Latin America will be insured by the US working class. The Congress of the Trotskyist Organization will help prepare this victory.

The Fourth International will prove to the entire world that the American working class is ready for this fight. You can prove it too by joining our struggle today.

The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International. November 14, 1976.

PALMER AMBERS: YOUNG REVOLUTIONARY

At the beginning of the Ford strike, Palmer joined the struggle of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, saying, "Revolutionary Worker Youth... yeah, that's what I am, a revolutionary young worker." Robbed and murdered in his apartment on October 19th, only a few weeks after his 25th birthday, Palmer was a casualty in the class war.

Under the capitalist system, the working class communities, particularly the black and Latin ones, have become vicious jungles. Permanent unemployment over 50%, has made homicide the HIGHEST CAUSE OF DEATH among black males, killing each other almost always over money. It was this brutal reality that Palmer had first tried to lift himself out of by many individual efforts, at schools, etc., and later struggled against it with the RWY.

He joined the fight of the RWY at Ford Torrence in Chicago and right

away took a leadership position in the demonstration at the factory gates on September 14th, and collecting signatures for hours at the union parking lot for the Revolutionary Workers Faction Statement/UAW to overturn the bureaucrats at the ratification meeting. He displayed its literature on his table in his home for all his friends to see.

From the "discipline" of the US army, from the beatings he received at the hands of the Chicago police, from the grueling exploitation at Ford, he had learned, as so many of his class brothers and sisters have, the viciousness of the capitalist system, and its pointed assault on the working class youth. Unlike many of them, however, he did not succumb to its pressures, but rather fought to rise above them and become a leader of his class against all the traitors. He was proud to be associated with the

Fourth International.

When he turned 25, he said that he was at a "turning point in my life." The RWY was an important part of that turn for him. It is these youth that are being won to the RWY today, as the only organization with a bold enough program to actively break the chains that capitalism places around their wrists.

And, too, it is no coincidence that the US working class is today engaged in a decisive turn in the construction of its leadership, as we approach the Second Congress of the RWY. Palmer joined that struggle right on time.

He felt-- knew-- he could be anything he wanted, always combatting others negative attitudes. At his funeral, the preacher, (whom he would have despised) said that the "Impossible Dream" was his favorite song. Certainly not the "impossible" part. But a dreamer he was. Dreaming

of a better life free from the suffering and exploitation he had seen and felt. And he threw himself into the struggle to make that dream a reality.

We, his comrades-in-arms, will remember Palmer and his place in our struggle for freedom and an end to capitalism. His dream will come true -- we shall make it so!

FRED VITALE
for the National Committee of the
Revolutionary Worker Youth USA
(Section of the Revolutionary Youth
International.)
Chicago. November, 1976.

REPRINTED FROM YOUNG GUARD

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A Salute from the Revolutionary Youth of Spain

TO THE COMRADES OF THE RWY,
TO THE FIGHTING YOUTH OF THE
SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE USA,
TO ALL THE YOUTH --

We have learned with sorrow of the news of the murder of the comrade from Ford in Chicago, a leader of the strike. With sorrow and with anger.

Sorrow for the loss of a comrade.

Anger in order to avenge this cowardly murder.

Sorrow for the murder of a revolutionary.

Anger in order to raise with even greater energy the banner of the socialist revolution.

In this tragic hour we are not pulled toward tears nor impotent rage. It is the hour of denunciation! It is the hour of vengeance!

Denunciation of the bestial and cynical imperialist bourgeoisie that

organizes assassinations and who wishes to surround with silence those who wish to murder and silence those who raise up against wage slavery.

Denunciation of the powers of the earth that have in the meantime culminated their electoral farce with their new servant, Carter, "the most democratic of the democrats," imposing their exploitation with the low and corrupt means of organized crime.

Denunciation of the trade union bureaucrats who break strikes and by denouncing the revolutionaries they deliver you to the assassins. Denunciation of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats, of the criminals of the world, which hates a youth that announces their end, that hates us for our strength and enthusiasm which cements the road of the communist future.

In the Iberian Peninsula, in the old Spain of capitalism and Stalinism, the revolutionary youth render you homage daily, comrade, fighting so

that the revolution, which fights to break through, will shatter into a thousand pieces the old order of terror, of unemployment, of cultural decay and war.

We unite with you, comrades of the RWY, youth of Ford and the USA, trying to bring down the imperialist monster which is leading humanity to barbarism. Side by side comrades, let us raise the red banner of world communism, let us build the International.

That your sacrifice will not be in vain!

The strength of your intelligence, the cause of humanity for which you were murdered, receives today our homage, strengthens our ideals and renews our will to transform the world.

So that the millions of exploited and oppressed youth throughout the world, despised and hated by the powers of the earth will find in your sacrifice the path of your liberation, the communist revolution, in front of you and in front of the thousands of communists

assassinated for the cause of the emancipation of the human race, we swear we will not give rest nor shelter to the criminals of the world, that we will fight until the finish to organize the army of those who will bury the old society and build on its ashes the new.

Comrades, make our hatred the force which will bury the assassins of the comrade of Ford!

Let us build the Revolutionary Youth International in order to prepare the revolution which will bring down capitalism and its agents!

COMRADE FROM FORD WE WILL NOT FORGET YOU!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

The Executive Committee of the JUVENTUDES REVOLUCIONARIAS DE ESPANA (Revolutionary Youth of Spain). Barcelona, Spain. November 9, 1976.

To My Brothers and Sisters in the SWP/YSA

A small opposition group was at the Conference with the same line as the SWP leadership. They were against the revolutionary mobilization of the workers consciously for the Socialist United States of Europe and instead were for various stages between now and the Workers Government. They sought to justify a struggle for reforms as separate from the fight for the Workers Government, just like the SWP leadership does in the "struggle" for federal troops to Boston. Along with the majority of the militants present, including workers from key industrial centers in Spain, I fought these proposals and voted for the Resolution presented by the Fourth International.

In the US the SWP has followed a similar line, isolating the workers in the US from those around the world, and connected with this, to reform the capitalist state under the guise of revolutionary talk and Trotskyism. The "Bill of Rights for Working People" does not raise one demand to break through the isolation of the American workers. I have argued with workers to support the "Bill of Rights" and their response has almost always been: "with these Bill of Rights we can reform the present government." In my experience the Bill of Rights did not act as a stepping stone to leading the workers to conclude that they need their own party, but rather the opposite -- the line of the liberal bourgeoisie: "Yes, the system has many problems, deep problems, but we can solve them

in the framework of the system -- change the Federal hours and wages act, the Constitution, etc." There was no fundamental difference between the program of the SWP and the CP in this election as the Trotskyist Organization correctly pointed out.

The policy of the SWP leadership is a policy which refuses to fight Stalinism. There is only one way to build the fight to lead the workers to power and that is to build the Fourth International, but this is left for documents and speeches in the SWP and is not part of the day-to-day struggle.

This is expressed in the method of "party building" as taught by the SWP leadership. One internal document says that the "new" branches should search for cases of police brutality, etc. against people in the neighborhoods and build campaigns around them in order to recruit. This is not the method of Trotsky. It is not a question of defending individual cases of repression, after it is too late. A party must seek to mobilize the entire working class to fight unemployment, repression at every step of the struggles that the workers face and to build the party through a mass mobilization. The SWP recruits for recruitment's sake, not to build the struggles of the workers en masse, but rather to isolate them.

In this way the policy of the SWP leadership is opportunist towards the treacherous leaders of the working class and sectarian towards the workers. Some of my first suspicions of the

leadership were raised in their opportunist approach to the leadership of the NAACP, which virtually no militant black workers respect. It comes up again now with Sadlowski. While he takes tough "stands" against the no-strike pledge, etc., he controls 38,000 workers. If he is against the no-strike pledge, why doesn't he call a strike? Is he afraid the workers won't support a strike? Meanwhile, the steel workers in Chicago are working a four-day week and there are layoffs in Pittsburgh and Gary. Will Sadlowski give back-pay checks to the young workers laid off from now until the election next year? Above all, what is the policy of the SWP for the steelworkers? It is no different from Sadlowski's except that they should vote for Camejo and Reid. And as far as the young black and women workers being laid off right now, there is no difference between Sadlowski, Abel, and the SWP.

The SWP leadership refuses to confront the political arguments raised by the TO and the Fourth International. It refuses to denounce the attacks of the OCI leadership against the FI, and now it excludes militants of the TO from public meetings spreading slanders about them, in private, of course. The leadership is afraid of open political confrontation.

Inside the SWP, I know that there is much discontent. Many militants don't know where to direct it and many are afraid to raise political differences. They know that any disagreement over

fundamental policy could lead to their expulsion. There are local leaders, just like Hansen-Barnes, who, paid with the money of the militants of the Party treat the militants and the workers with contempt.

The one main thing that I've learned in the common struggle with the TO is that leadership is decisive. Militants! Direct your fire at the leaders and demand that they take a stand! Join me in the construction of a Proletarian Faction of the SWP, to free the imprisoned Polish strikes, to defend the political prisoners in South America, to mobilize the workers against the Carter/Woodcock regime. Rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International! Down with Hansen-Barnes-Novack! LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

I have decided not to issue my name publically at this time, because I have no confidence in the "democracy" of the Hansen-Barnes regime, although I consider myself a loyal militant of the SWP, loyal to the traditions and program on which the SWP was founded. Only by joining with me and building a strong Faction can we hope to defeat Hansen-Barnes openly inside the Party and in front of the working class. Join in the common struggles that the TO and RWY has proposed to you. Contact me through TRUTH and help organize this fight now.

November 16, 1976

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD YOUNG GUARD USA

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RETURN TO THE PARTY OF CANNON

THE ROAD FORWARD FOR PROLETARIAN MILITANTS

By JON COHEN

In our struggle to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International we have continuously addressed ourselves to the militants of the US Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). Many young workers have asked us why, saying "Why do you attach so much importance to the SWP?" Many militants of the SWP or YSA have asked the same question, wondering why we are "bothering" with them, or if we have differences with their leadership, "why don't we just ignore them?" Or as a militant of the SWP who wrote a letter to us said, "the SWP is unfortunately not a household word to most industrial workers." Why talk to the workers at Rouge about the SWP?

It is because we believe that the crisis of leadership of the American working class, the task of regrouping the advanced workers into a mass, independent party is the most decisive question facing the working class movement today that we insist that the fight of the working class to select its leadership is an affair of the entire working class. The working class wants a revolutionary leadership, it wants to unify its ranks in a common struggle against US capitalism. Yet when it attempts to find this leadership it sees many different groups claiming to be revolutionary, and especially

its crisis of leadership, to regroup a new vanguard, to construct a mass party of the US working class, and, to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

WHAT IS THE TRADITION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY?

The US Socialist Workers Party was once the bastion of the Fourth International. Founded by a small group of militants in the American Communist Party, led by James P. Cannon, the SWP had its origins, its very reason for existence in the international struggle of the Left Opposition led by Trotsky which was later to found the Fourth International against Stalinist betrayal of the Russian Revolution. Its entire history, with all of its problems, from 1929 to 1963, was a history of struggle inside the American working class, to fight for the revolutionary traditions of the American working class, for the Bolshevik tradition in the US against the betrayals of Stalinism and Social Democracy. And always, while implanting itself and leading the struggles of the American working class, it based itself on the fight of the entire international working class movement, to defend and build the Fourth International against Stalinism. Of all the parties in the American

mass, revolutionary party in the US as part of the international tradition of Bolshevism. If nothing else, the ability of Cannon and the SWP to translate Bolshevism on American soil, to make the workers' own party a living struggle, will rest as its greatest contribution to the US and world workers' movement. And it was always a fight to make internationalism a reality in the American workers movement and never to shut the American working class in a national framework, or to pretend that its struggles could be isolated from the workers in the rest of the world. Cannon and his comrades went to jail rather than give up one inch of their internationalism to the US bourgeoisie, sailor militants of the SWP died in the high seas off the coast of Russia attempting to bring the propaganda of the Fourth International to their comrades in Russia, rather than give up one inch of their internationalism to the Stalinist bureaucracy. The US working class remembers this tradition and we defend it and claim it for our own.

WHERE DOES THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE SWP STAND IN RELATION TO THIS TRADITION?

To ask this question, to state this tradition, is already an answer. The Hansen-Barnes leadership of today's SWP has nothing in common with this tradition. What does this tradition have in common with a leadership which denies before the bourgeois courts that it has anything to do with an International, that claims it is not "revolutionary" and turns over membership lists of "expelled terrorists" (the Internationalist Tendency) in order to prove before the bourgeoisie that it is not "revolutionary"? What would Cannon have to say about a "revolutionary leadership" that denounced young workers in Washington, D. C. who shouted down Hubert Humphrey and other Democrats as "anti-democratic" or denounced striking young miners who burned their contract in disgust as "ultra-leftists"?

What would Cannon, who even in the midst of massive defeats defended the revolutionary spirit of the US working class say about a leadership which thumbs its noses at the workers, calling them "cynical and apathetic"? And what would Cannon, who spent his life fighting to construct a party in the US say about a leadership which now calls itself a "party" with a small "p" in order to prove its "non-sectarian" character to liberals who would never join anything as terrible, as "Bolshevik" as a party with a "P"!

It is not a question of these leaders being "bad" people. We leave this up to psychologists. Rather, the abandonment of this tradition by the Hansen-Barnes leadership is a logical consequence of their abandonment of the Fourth International by "unifying" with the Pabloites in 1963. Cannon developed and grew as a leader as a part of the Fourth International. Hansen-Barnes developed their leadership by abandoning the Fourth International. By adapting to the pressures of Stalinism and US imperialism, by giving up the struggle in the US for the world party they were forced to give up everything the Fourth International once stood for on the terrain of the class struggle in the US.

Thus, in the '60s it was the students and not the American working class that was the revolutionary force, not a revolutionary party for the US workers but a "labor party", not a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions, but support to "progressives" in the Democratic Party like Sadlowski and the Stalinists who cover for them, not to prepare the defense of the European revolution in the US but to pretend that it doesn't exist. And not to construct a revolutionary International but to engage in a series of cynical maneuvers with the Lamberts, Mandels, Morenos,

behind the backs of their own militants. What would Cannon or Trotsky have to say about three "sections" of the Fourth International in one country? What would Cannon's fight with Pablo in 1952 be about? Or did it ever exist for Hansen-Barnes?

HOW TO FIGHT THIS LEADERSHIP

For the proletarian militants of the SWP this is not necessarily a difficult question. It concerns not an international struggle alone, but a struggle inside the working class. Are your experiences in the working class movement, with the young workers, in agreement with what Hansen-Barnes say about the working class? Are the young militants in West Virginia really "ultra-left"? Are the young workers in auto and steel really "cynical and apathetic"? Is Sadlowski the leadership that the young workers in the US today really desire?

In an interview in ROUGE, the paper of the French LCR, Peter Camejo allowed himself to say some things which probably would never say to you of the American working class. Discussing the mood of the American working class, Camejo says, "the discontent with capitalist parties has been expressed until now, essentially by anti-political cynicism... and 'The Watergate affair is responsible for much of this cynicism and apathy. Also, it is difficult to predict what will happen in the next years,' and further... at the beginning of the economic crisis we have seen the same phenomenon (as in the late 20's), a wave of demoralization, individualism, and cynicism" (ROUGE, November 2, 1976).

Why does Peter Camejo, your Presidential candidate, blame the US working class for the failure of his party to respond to their aspirations and demands? Why can't the SWP change the "cynicism and apathy" of the American workers? Why is it left to Sadlowski, the most important element to face this change of consciousness is the Sadlowski campaign. (ROUGE)? Why is it not the SWP, but a REFORMIST party that Camejo offers the workers? "the American workers do not have a mass party, even reformist party." Is it any wonder that these young workers are "cynical and apathetic" not towards their revolution, but towards the leadership of the SWP which offers the young workers the old and treacherous apparatuses of Stalinist trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

You can fight this leadership because you know that the American workers are not "cynical and apathetic," that is only an excuse to cover for their failure to mobilize the American working class. It was the mobilization of the US working class which forced the bourgeoisie to get out of Nixon, not the mobilization of the bourgeoisie to make the US workers as cynical as Camejo claims. Nor do the US working class react with "demoralization" during the economic recession. On the contrary, since the US working class has taken part in the largest strike wave since World War II, with hundreds of examples of militant struggles. This is part of your experience as well, Hansen and Barnes cannot hide it.

Cynicism and apathy is not what really worries Hansen-Barnes either. It is the real revolutionary mobilization of the US working class which threatens to sweep away all their pretensions for peace and quiet that really bothers them. In Barnes' PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA he writes "It is important to note that the ultra-left mood that arose in the late 60s was world wide. It has not yet run its course." This so-called "ultra-left mood" just happens to be the movement against the war in the US, the Black Panther movement, the revolutionary union movement in auto, May-June General Strike in France, the uprising in Czechoslovakia, the revolutionary mobilization of the workers in Spain, Portugal, Latin

TO MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE SWP/YSA

From a Militant of the SWP

I address this CALL to all the militants of the SWP to join with me in the construction of a PROLETARIAN FACTION of the SWP against the Hansen-Barnes leadership to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International to lead the working class to establish a Workers Government.

I first joined the struggle of the Fourth International in the mobilization of the Revolutionary Youth International for the World Workers Conference which was held in Barcelona, Spain in July and which

I attended and gave the greetings of the workers and youth in the US as a delegate of the Revolutionary Worker Youth/USA. This was a Conference open to all fighters against imperialism and "peaceful coexistence", for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. Present were delegates from Spain, France, Eastern Europe, North Africa. For the first time I began to see what the possibilities for a real world party were, an open struggle in front of the working class and not the back-room maneuvers of Hansen and Barnes.

(CONTINUED TO PAGE 3, COLUMN 1)

claiming to be part of the Fourth International, which represents the only unstained banner in front of the working class today, the only party which has never betrayed the US or world working class.

We don't attempt to hide this problem from the young workers, they would know that we were liars anyway if we did. We believe that the US working class must select its leadership, it must sort out its friends from its enemies and in particular it must unmask CENTRISM, those leaders who cynically use the banner of the Fourth International to mislead the young workers and their own militants, to block their revolutionary fight and to tie them to the Stalinists and the trade union bureaucracy.

We believe that the present leadership of the SWP is using the unstained, revolutionary tradition of the Fourth International in the US to confuse and disorient its own militants and to confuse the US working class. The fight against this leadership is an affair of the entire US working class, it is part of its fight to select its leadership, to assume the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism in this country and to prepare the American revolution. We are also sure that there are militants today in the SWP/YSA who are fighting to defend this tradition, who are fighting to construct the world party and who will be part of the new leadership for the US working class. A new leadership cannot be constructed without a fight to salvage the revolutionary traditions of the past, to defeat those who betray this past and to define the road forward. This is why the struggle of the proletarian militants of the SWP to reclaim this tradition is the struggle of the American working class to resolve

working class movement it alone kept the revolutionary traditions of the US working class; of the IWW, the early Socialist and Communist Parties and sought to build the first, mass, revolutionary party of the US working class. It was this which enabled the SWP to lead the Minneapolis General Strike in 1934, to play a major role in the struggles of the workers in Akron and Toledo, to implant itself as the revolutionary wing of the autoworkers union, the maritime and other unions in opposition to the Stalinist supporters of Roosevelt.

It was this which enabled the SWP to be the only party in the US which opposed US imperialism and World War II, the only party to suffer prosecution by the US government during the war, the only party which opposed the "no-strike pledge" of the Stalinists during World War II. And during World War II it was the party which kept the Fourth International alive, as the parties in Europe were forced underground and were assassinated by the Nazis and the Stalinists. After World War II it was the only party which was able to see through the defeats the working class had suffered and to prepare the workers for the new post-war upsurge, the only party in the US which defended the 1952 uprising of the workers in East Germany, the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, and which kept the revolutionary tradition and fight during the days of the McCarthy reaction.

And through the SWP, under the leadership of Cannon, the US working class took a major step forward in resolving one of the most important questions in its history; the struggle to overcome the spontaneism of the American working class, to consciously take up the concrete tasks of building

IN THE SWP/YSA

America and throughout the world. It is the young miners who denounce the Miller leadership, who chase the bureaucrats out of assemblies in auto. No, "it has not yet run its course" despite the best efforts of all the old, treacherous apparatuses of the workers movement to control it, and until it does Hansen-Barnes will not have a moment of peace, because they have decided long ago to abandon this movement and to control it.

You can fight this leadership by basing yourselves on this international mobilization of the oppressed masses, you have this on your side, against the desires for peace and quiet of a small group of "leaders" who, as Trotsky once said, are like a swimmer who never wants to jump into the water for fear of getting wet. The time for revolution will never come for these "gentlemen". It will always be "too cold."

SADLOWSKI OR A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP?

"The logic of the Sadlowski campaign points towards the transformation of the labor movement into a social and political movement fighting for the interests of all workers and all the oppressed... This is why it is the most important political event taking place in this country at this time." (from THE MILITANT, Nov. 12, Page 4). What is behind this total support on the part of the SWP leadership for the Sadlowski campaign in steel? What are the questions it raises for the US working class movement? Leaving aside the fact that it is based on the analysis which says the American working class is non-revolutionary, leaving aside the fact that it ignores everything else going on in the American working class today, what is its significance?

It is clear that many workers in steel support the Sadlowski campaign as an alternative to the Abel machine, it is clear that many militants of the SWP wish to respond to the desires of the steelworkers to throw out the Abel bureaucracy. We too think that a victory for the Abel machine would be a defeat for the steelworkers. We also think that a victory for Sadlowski would be a step forward for the workers in steel. And our militants in the steelworkers would vote for Sadlowski. But it is here that any agreement with the leadership of the SWP ends.

Unlike the leadership of the SWP we give no political support whatsoever to Sadlowski. Rather than being "the most important political event taking place in this country at this time" Sadlowski and his "campaign" is an attempt to channel, derail and block "the most important political event taking place in this country," which is the revolutionary mobilization of the American workers to throw out the trade union bureaucrats, whether they be "conservative" or "progressive," to fight against Stalinist treachery in the trade unions, to reject all collaboration with the Democratic Party, and to construct a mass, independent party of the working class.

Sadlowski is only a pawn in a powerful movement on the part of the bourgeoisie, the Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists to contain the mobilization of the US workers, to give a "progressive" face to the Democratic Party, to turn a movement for revolution into a movement for reform. No wonder the workers are "apathetic and cynical" about the SWP's election campaign when they openly and uncritically support a candidate for office in steel who openly supports the Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter which the workers distrust, who still refuses to publicly denounce the "no-strike pledge" in steel. (Promising a "referendum" in 1980! instead). No wonder the young workers are "apathetic and



WORKERS BATTLE THE POLICE TO WIN 1934 MINNEAPOLIS GENERAL STRIKE LED BY THE SWP

cynical" about the SWP which calls for the election of a Stalinist in steel (Balanoff) without ever mentioning the role of Stalinism in the trade unions in the US (read the history of the CIO series that appeared in the MILITANT this spring which didn't mention Stalinism once).

The "Sadlowski campaign" represents the completion of a turn on the part of the SWP leadership away from the construction of the revolutionary party in the US, the abandonment of any fight in the unions for an independent, revolutionary policy. Why are militants of the SWP in steel referred to as "Sadlowski activists?" What would Cannon say, who spent his entire life fighting Stalinism in the unions, about an organization which is afraid, like the Stalinists, to appear under its own banner in the unions? In fact, in spite of all the small "p's" for "Party" the SWP leadership is more and more turning into a sect, abandoning any struggle for a mass, independent party of the working class. The SWP is becoming more and more for the "enlightened" propagandists of the middle class alone. The working class and the working class militants of the SWP can only be "Sadlowski activists," "Balanoff activists," "ERA activists," "busing activists" and never revolutionary militants or militants of the Fourth International. "Revolution" is for discussion groups, the working class only deserves Sadlowski, the Democratic Party and Stalinism.

We propose a common struggle with the working class militants of the SWP/YSA in steel and the young workers in order to prove that we are right, in order to prove that the SWP leadership wants to subordinate your struggles to the Democratic Party and the Stalinists. We will help Sadlowski get elected if you think that it would be a victory for the workers in steel. But we propose an independent struggle, on the basis of a revolutionary policy, to offer the steelworkers a real alternative to Abel. We propose a joint candidate and a fight for the Sadlowski campaign to adopt a platform of class independence; NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES, STOP ALL GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AND BINDING ARBITRATION, END THE "NO STRIKE" PLEDGE NOW! FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS! EQUAL PAY FOR NEW HIRES! EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK! Further de-

mands could be elaborated in the course of the fight. We are convinced that in the course of a struggle to wage an independent fight in the trade unions, to return to the party that Cannon built, you will be forced to wage a fight against the Hansen-Barnes leadership, which wishes to block this independent fight.

A WORLD PARTY

Finally, we think that you will be convinced, as Cannon and the founders of the SWP were, that the fight for the class independence of the US working class can only take place as a part of the fight for the world party. Not a world party of maneuvers and hypocrisy but a combat party, based on a common agreement, basing itself on the young generation of the proletariat throughout the world. The policy that the Hansen-Barnes leadership pursues around the world, in Eastern Europe, in Spain and Portugal, in South Africa, in Latin America is based on combatting this "ultraleft mood" throughout the world, of offering the US working class support to the Stalinist apparatus and the "progressive bourgeoisie" under the name of "internationalism." Your experiences are part of the experience of the international working class and once again you will find that you have more in common with the young fighters of the working class throughout the world than you do with Hansen and Barnes.

A PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

We are convinced that on the basis of the experiences, the balance sheet and the struggle of the militants of the SWP as part of the US working class movement that they will see the necessity for the construction of a PROLETARIAN FACTION of the SWP/YSA on the basis of the Program of the Fourth International, to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International against their centrist leadership, to return to the party of Cannon, to take up the preparation of the American revolution as a part of the world revolution. We propose a common struggle with the militants of the SWP to draw a balance sheet of the Hansen-Barnes leadership, to develop a Platform that responds to the decisive questions facing the US and world working class, to engage in a struggle in the US to mobilize the working class for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, for the Congress

of the Trotskyist Organization.

Once again, it is not an isolated, internal struggle that we propose, but a struggle in front of the working class, as a part of the vanguard of the US proletariat, to respond to the questions in front of the working class movement. Hansen-Barnes are masters of the "internal factional fight," divorced from the working class movement. We propose a faction fight that they will be unable to win, one that will make them answer to the entire US working class. And we are confident that the proletarian militants of the SWP will respond, as the SWP of Cannon once responded to the demands of the class struggle in the US and will insure the success of this struggle. What Cannon wrote in THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM about the early struggles of the Trotskyists applies to your struggle today:

The exceptions are the Marxists who remain Marxists. The basic ideas of Marxism, upon which alone a revolutionary party can be constructed, are continuous in their application and have been for a hundred years. The ideas of Marxism which create revolutionary parties are stronger than the parties they create, and never fail to survive their downfall. They never fail to find representatives in the old organization to lead the work of rebuilding.

These are the continuators of the tradition, the defenders of the orthodox doctrine. The task of the uncorrupted revolutionists, obliged by circumstances to start the work of organizational rebuilding, has never been to proclaim a new revelation -- there has been no lack of such Messiahs, and they have all been lost in the shuffle -- but to reinstate the old program and bring it up to date.

They have never sought to destroy and cast out the positive values and achievements of the old organizations, but to conserve them and build upon them. They have never addressed their first appeals to the void and sought to recruit a non-descript army out of people unidentified and unknown. On the contrary, they have always sought -- and found -- the initiating cadres of the new organization in the old." (Pages 29-30).

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Text of Preparation for the Congress of the TO

The Last Stand Of Centrism: Slanders And Attacks Against The 4TH International

By David Heffelfinger

Unknown to most of the militants of the Socialist Workers Party, the leadership of the SWP is participating in the work of a so-called "objective" Commission of Inquiry called together by the Spartacist League and supported by several organizations claiming to Trotskyism. This commission which meets behind closed doors includes the League Communiste revolutionnaire of France, and the SWP and SL of the United States. Were it not for the Trotskyist Organization and the Fourth International, the existence of this Commission and the motive behind it would have remained obscure save for the well-initiated in the SWP. But on the eve of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International -- which the leadership of the SWP would also hope to keep hidden -- and with the proliferation of slander campaigns, exclusions, and physical attacks which have become all too common in the workers movement, it is essential to clarify the roots of these methods and to expose those who use them.

The mere fact that the SWP has remained silent on its participation in this Commission while having devoted substantial resources to insure its success would raise questions. Much to the dismay of Hansen and Barnes, however, the TO refuses to allow the record of the SWP's participation in the campaign of slander propagated by Pierre Lambert of the French OCI (Organization Communiste Revolutionnaire) against the Fourth International to remain hidden or questionable. Nor do we intend to give up our struggle to expose this leadership for its OWN exclusions and slanders against the Trotskyist Organization. Most importantly, however, we wish to make clear to the militants of the SWP what is behind the use of such methods.

OCI SLANDERS

For more than two and a half years following the formation of the International League for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International, Lambert of the OCI has made assertions, even producing a separate pamphlet, that Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and of the Fourth International, was both an agent of

the CIA and the KGB. Without any substantiation whatsoever of these baseless slanders, Lambert proceeded on a campaign of intimidation and physical attacks against the militants of the LIRQI, many of whom had been members of the OCI. This slander and physical intimidation which has grown even more ferocious today is intended to cover up Lambert's deepening capitulation to the usurpers of the socialist conquests -- the Stalinists. Today, Lambert and the Stalinist Communist Party of France have joined together to prevent the workers in Eastern Europe from settling accounts with the bureaucrats, with Lambert's part of the bargain being the extermination of from settling accounts with the bureaucrats, with Lambert's part of the bargain being the extermination of the Fourth International.

Against the call of the LIRQI for a Commission of Inquiry into the slanders against Michel Varga, since constituted and which will publish its WHITE PAPER, the Spartacist League of the US pulled together a lynch court of centrist organizations already mentioned in order to insure the campaign of Lambert would be legitimized. Now, after 2 1/2 years of slander and the OCI having still failed to produce any "evidence," even the centrists have been compelled to admit to the baselessness of the slanders and the heinousness of the attacks of the OCI. So, Lutte Ouvriere states in a letter to

of Hansen and Lambert which look to the support of liberals and make their campaigns acceptable to the Stalinists leaders, that spurred on the OCI goons to attack the militants of the Fourth International.

Just as both Hansen and Lambert call on the Stalinists and reformists to form a popular front with the demand of a CP - SP Government, so they resort to slander and intimidation to keep out those who fight for a Workers Government based on the Workers Councils. So too, they slander a leader of the Hungarian Workers Councils, Michel Varga, in order to justify their capitulation to the Stalinist bureaucrats in Eastern Europe. The real content of this alliance between Hansen and Lambert is the antagonism of centrism to the Socialist Revolution and the Party which prepares it -- the Fourth International.

SLANDERS OF HEALY

What then are the slanders of Gerry Healy, of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Great Britain, to the effect that Hansen is an agent of the GPU? Indeed, to believe Healy the entirety of the history of the Fourth International from its foundation on is nothing but a series of adventures and police-inspired provocations. And isn't this just what the OCI and SL and by their silence, the SWP are saying today of the Fourth International?



THE SLANDERERS ATTACK THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1956, BUT HAVE NEVER BROUGHT THESE SLANDERS INTO HUNGARY--THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS HAVE TOO GOOD A MEMORY.

Michel Varga, "... the OCI's statements against you are founded on absolutely no element of truth." And all the members of the "objective" Commission of the centrists have been compelled to protest the recent assaults of OCI goons on militants of the French section of the Fourth International in which several militants were hospitalized (see TRUTH #39). All except the SWP leadership that is, which follows a practice of excluding members of the Trotskyist Organization from its public meetings and campaign rallies.

Does this end the matter then? Hardly, the centrists led by the Spartacist League, which says what the SWP prefers not to, merely try to support the slanders in a new form.

The SL blames the "adventurist" policy of the Fourth International for making its militants the subject of attacks. In Spain, the FI is "adventurist" for fighting to break out of clan destiny imposed on it by the fascist regime of Juan Carlos. In France, Michel Varga remains a very "dubious figure." In the United States the Spartacist League finds it necessary to defend "private" property against the militants of the Trotskyist Organization who insist on the "adventurist" right of workers' organizations to address union meetings. Revolution is sheer "adventurism" to these gossips!

It is appropriate to note here that the slanders against Michel Varga are not merely personal attacks. They are attacks against the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. It is the fight of the Fourth International to construct its sections in Eastern Europe that has evinced the campaign of the OCI, and the cover-up of the SWP and SL. It is the policy of the FI in basing itself on the mobilization of the workers of Eastern Europe against the campaigns

While it might seem that organizations which can draw such common conclusions as to the origins of the Fourth International ought to be together, in reality, it is their very rejection of the Fourth International which leads these centrists to such methods against each other. Healy is left out of the grand regroupment of the OCI and the SWP, naturally he must get his own game going against Hansen. Thusly, even in aiming at each other, these false claimants to Trotskyism aim at the Fourth International.

With Healy it is an attack on the very roots of the Fourth International, on its entire history, and incidentally against Hansen. With the OCI, supported by the SWP and the rest of the members of the "objective" Commission, it is a question of exterminating the Fourth International and the fight it leads today in the countries of the Socialist Conquest. Between them, though each for their separate reasons, they seek to liquidate the World Party and to keep their own militants in the dark.

But let's make the record clear! The Commission of Inquiry Into the Slanders Against Michel Varga has taken testimony and is now preparing its WHITE PAPER including documents, letters and the entire record of the OCI slander campaign. Why then doesn't the "objective" Commission of the SWP, the SL and others make its conclusions public?

Only two reasons come to mind as far as we are concerned. One is that the slanders of the OCI and its physical attacks are utterly indefensible. And two, is that the dropping of the slanders would force the leadership of the SWP to confront the Trotskyist Organization and the Fourth International politically.

It is this that distinguishes centrism today. Its complete lack of policy save the "policy" of support to the treacherous leaderships of the working class-- Stalinism and reformism. And in order to defend this "policy" of capitulation and keep its militants from drawing the appropriate conclusions, the use of Stalinist methods against the working class and its World Party.

November 15, 1976

SUPPORT The International Workers Commission of Inquiry Against the Slanders on the Fourth International

Send for the brochure with the outline of the COMMISSION'S WHITE PAPER Report. Subscribe for the publication of the WHITE PAPER -- \$5

Signatures of Workers in the US

Message to Polish workers - workers in prisons - all workers: We have started a mobilization among the workers in our country and in the bastion of the US proletariat, the Ford plants, in answer to your own fight and demands:

1. FREE ALL THE IMPRISONED WORKERS!
2. CANCEL THE TRIALS AGAINST THE WORKERS!
3. CANCEL ALL PUNISHMENTS AND BRING BACK ALL FIRED WORKERS!

We fight for setting up an International Workers Commission of Inquiry composed of workers delegated from the factories and members of parties and unions to go to Poland. We prepare an international meeting in Paris on December 16th for this purpose. In our fight for socialism in the bastion of imperialism we don't tolerate anti-working class repression perpetuated in the name of socialism. The International Workers Committee for the Immediate Liberation of the Political Prisoners of the USSR and Eastern Europe which has initiated our fight defends the socialist conquests, the class character of the fight of the Polish workers. We want you to know we are undertaking this fight and this demonstration is a beginning. We collect money for the prisoners and their families and to organize and develop their fight.

We the undersigned support and defend this struggle: (all are Rouge workers)

DAVID H.	ROBERT T. - ASSEMBLY	JAMES C.
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Defend The Workers Imprisoned In Poland!

By Barbara Putnam

In spite of the massacre of hundreds of proletarian militants who led the uprising of the Polish workers in 1970-1971, in spite of imprisonment, torture and the truncheons of the Stalinist police against the working class leaders of the revolt against price hikes last July, and in spite of the confusion spread by the centrists; organizations and parties claiming the banner of the Fourth International to hide their capitulation and prostration before Stalinism, the struggle of the Polish working class continues and escalates against Stalinism awakening the international working class to the resolution of an entire epoch of working class struggle; Stalinism or Trotskyism, bureaucratic degeneration or the proletarian revolution and the Socialist United States of Europe.

Cowering in the shadow of the powerful mobilization of the Polish workers, the false "Trotskyists" of the French OCI and the United Secretariat, pillars of centrism, issue one call after another in their press protesting the violence and repression in the Eastern European countries. Only recently under the impact of the mobilization of the Polish workers did they have one word to say about the systematic repression being carried out against the working class. But whether it is scientists, students and other oppositionists or workers discussed in the pages of INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS of the United Secretariat one must strain ones eyes to find the slightest hint as to what to do in Poland to stop the repression and free the imprisoned workers. In the face of the open confrontation of the workers of Poland with Stalinism INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS wrings its hands and lamely says "In the course of this, worker's rights were blatantly violated."

The centrists make a separation between the struggle for workers rights and the proletarian revolution in which the struggle to maintain and conquer rights is an important part. They would have us believe that it is possible to fundamentally change the Stalinist regime without organizing the working class to politically overturn Stalinism, that the entire struggle of the workers in Poland is simply a struggle to make the bureaucracy more democratic. While calling themselves Fourth Internationalists they deny the construction of the Fourth International in Poland.

Bitter enemies of the Fourth International, the French OCI organized a group of mathematicians against repression East and West which was joined by the Stalinists of the French Communist Party completing the work of the OCI in befuddling the working class. This committee picked a sampling of prisoners to champion in Latin America, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere to hide the nature of Stalinist repression. It is only Stalinism that attempts to crush the working class in the name of "socialism", and can not be confused with Fascist repression or repression in the capitalist countries. It is Stalinism which collaborates with the heads of governments of the capitalist countries and has made the agreement known as "peaceful-coexistence" to insure the continuation of their "socialism." When they say "peaceful-coexistence" they mean war on the working class of Eastern Europe and the USSR. The Stalinists of the French Communist Party who joined the group of mathematicians against the repression East and West stand for crushing the working class in the name of socialism.

False "Trotskyists" in the US of the Spartacist League denounce the Trotskyist Organization as "anti-communist" for its fight against Stalinist repression. That is because the Spartacist League renounces any kind of fight against Stalinism, a denial of the basic principles on which the Fourth

International was proposed by Trotsky.

When the Stalinists known as the TIME-TO-UNITE group at Ford River Rouge attacked a militant of the Trotskyist Organization and attempted to prevent the TO from distributing leaflets to workers at the ratification meeting of the "contract" the members of the Spartacist League who knew of the attacks refused to sign a statement in protest of Stalinist methods and against exclusion of working class parties and organizations from union meetings. The workers of Rouge, however, and the workers of Ford Torrence took a stand with the TO opposing all efforts to prevent the TO from distributing literature and making proposals at the union meetings. Fifty workers at

ally by all supporters of workers' democratic rights."

(This is the same Tony Thomas who has consistently ignored the most elementary principles of workers democracy, denying the right of the Trotskyist Organization to speak or to make an announcement at the SWP forum where he gave a long-winded lecture on Angola.) This "expert" on "socialist democracy" (a watchword meaning reform the Stalinist bureaucracy) wants the workers and young proletarian militants to think that it is not necessary to build the Fourth International in Poland, that there is some other force inside Poland other than the workers and their party which will lead the fight of the workers. Tony

among the workers in factories in many countries in support of the Polish workers struggle was not in a gesture of simple protest of the repression but to strengthen the fight of the working class against Stalinism at its highest point and to deepen the struggle to construct the Revolutionary Youth International in the countries of socialist conquest in order to gather the masses of young fighters around the Fourth International in the construction of sections of the world party, to prepare the working class for the coming revolution spelling the end of Stalinism.

By the side of the Fourth International, the International Workers Committee for the Immediate Liberation of the Working class militants in Eastern Europe and the USSR launched a fight to build an International Workers Commission of Inquiry to go into Poland to bring the truth to the workers around the world about the extent of the repression, the massacre workers names. The Commission is to convene on December 16th in Paris. The Commission will be made up of workers delegates from unions, factories and parties of many countries organized during the International Week of Action Nov. 2 - Nov. 7 which was built and organized by the Revolutionary Youth International as a continuation of the Hungarian Revolution of '56 and the Spanish Revolution of '36 on their anniversaries. During the revolt of July the RYI sent a delegation to leaflet factory workers in Poland and began the fight for a section of the RYI in Poland. Further plans are in the making and on the International scale the RYI continues to lead actions among young workers in the defense of the Polish workers struggle.

MEETINGS AT ROUGE

In the US 25 workers at Rouge signed the statement reprinted below to be sent with the Commission into Poland, but most importantly held meetings in the Rouge to gain the support of the other workers and contributed \$6.50 to finance the work of organizing the Commission.

Much remains to be done in the US to support the fight of the Polish workers to end Stalinism and to free the imprisoned workers. The effort to build up the support of the workers in Poland has been largely carried out by the RWY since 1975 but more and more the US Workers Committee, branch of the International Workers Committee to immediately free the working class militants in the USSR and Eastern Europe will be playing an independent role of its own, enlarging its membership through the distribution of the BULLETIN OF INFORMATION which concentrates entirely on freeing the worker militants.

Circles of YOUNG GUARD being organized at Rouge and Torrence will have the responsibility of organizing demonstrations and meetings to deepen these efforts as was decided at the 2nd Congress of the RWY; to make the defense of the Polish workers a major political focus of the work of the circles in preparation for the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization December 3.



1968 UPRISING OF WORKERS AND STUDENTS IN CZECHOSLAVAKIA

Rouge signed the statement and several held a meeting with the Revolutionary Worker Youth to discuss the formation of a Workers Commission of Inquiry into the attacks and exclusion. One worker took the floor at the union meeting under great pressure not to and defended the TO's right to speak.

As the TO and RWY distributed the statement and discussed the strike with the workers, TIME-TO-UNITE members jeered at the workers taking leaflets and told them not to take it or read it because "It's Communist crap." That is the way of the Stalinists to say they are communist or socialist when it is convenient and to deny it when it is inconvenient. They did a good job of confusing their own militants who hear revolutionary rhetoric at meetings but at the factory in the living struggle of the workers they hear red-baiting attacks from the "leaders" of "TIME-TO-UNITE."

"SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY"

Tony Thomas of the Socialist Workers Party, aligned with the United Secretariat, writes in the pages of INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS of a Committee formed in Poland to defend the worker militants called the Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression, condemning the Gierk regime of Poland for showing "complete contempt for the law" and calling on the Polish people to defend the workers against the regime. Having no proposals of his own for what the workers themselves must do, Thomas simply reports the activities of the Committee to work up political defense of the workers on trial and ends up saying "Their example will carry all the more weight if it is backed internation-

Thomas says to the workers and militants around the world that the founders of the Committee to Support Workers Victims of the Repression "not only signed their names, but added their addresses and telephone numbers so they could be contacted by supporters of the fight socialist democracy."

What workers know and Thomas seems not to understand is that the struggle inside Poland will not be settled by making a few phone calls, even if its to militants inside Poland. The Fourth International is the only party which has been able to penetrate the Eastern European countries with its international perspective and has already begun construction of its sections in Poland and the USSR to join the struggle of the workers against Stalinism to the revolutionary struggle of the workers of Spain, France and Portugal in the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe, first phase of the world revolution.

DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE

The reason the Fourth International initiated a fight on the world scale

(STATEMENT ON PG. 6)



ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF POLAND
POLISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

BUENOS AIRES TO OTTAWA... THE WORKERS OFFENSIVE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

By Margaret Guttshall

In the last six months the workers -- miners in Bolivia, autoworkers in Argentina, the United States and Canada -- have organized massive strikes in the major industries and cities from one end of this hemisphere to the other. Even the workers of Chile have begun to rise to their feet once again. It's the world revolution pounding at the walls in the bastion of imperialism.

It is this that the imperialists have in mind as they charge Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party with the reorganization of their government and the reinforcement of their military. They believe that because Carter and Co. have been more successful at wiping the blood of the Chilean workers from their hands than have been Nixon-Kissinger-Ford, that they can more effectively prosecute war against the working class.

Carter was quick to confirm this. In one of his first declarations following his "victory" in the elections, he warned the "enemies" of the United States government not to attempt to take advantage of the "US" in the period of transition, that there would be no fundamental changes from the "foreign policy" of Ford in the "foreign policy" of Carter. That includes "Detente" -- that is the solicitation of the collaboration of the Stalinist bureaucracy in this war against the working class in exchange for "economic favors" -- in this hemisphere, with Castro.

The imperialists can drop the word but they can't drop the policy. They need all the help that they can get in suppressing the offensive of the working class. They want their hands free to take on the powerful European working class.

THE FORMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

This powerful offensive of the workers from Buenos Aires to Ottawa is proof that the possibility of finishing with the imperialist scourge exists, not simply sometime in the future, but now, that all that is necessary is the formation of the revolutionary leadership necessary to direct, organize and lead the workers to power.

This is the objective of the Revolutionary Youth International and its section the Revolutionary Worker Youth of the USA in the campaign it has launched to unite the young workers of North and South America in the fight against imperialism, to stop all US support to Videla, Banzer, and Pinochet, to build the sections of the RYI throughout the Americas. It's the objective of the Fourth International, of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA, of the Latin American Organization, in the fight to regroup the most conscious and determined elements of the workers vanguard in the Congress of the TO and the Conference of the Two Americas to complete the rebuilding of the sections of the International throughout the Americas and lead the workers and oppressed masses in the fight for a United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas, for a Socialist United States of South America, for workers and Peasants Governments.

THE PRINCIPLE OBSTACLE

It is the international coalition of centrists organized in and around the



BOLIVIAN MINERS MARCH WITH DYNAMITE

United Secretariat and the Comité d' Organization under the leadership of Hansen and Lambert of the US Socialist Workers Party and the French OCI against the rebuilding of the Fourth International which is the central obstacle in this fight.

For these gentlemen it is not the formation of the revolutionary leadership which is decisive in the outcome of the workers offensive on this continent and in South America. Indeed, precisely in the face of this offensive they claim that the youth, that the workers in North America, and in South America, have no choice at present but to accept the leadership of the Democratic Party, that sometime in the future they might form a "Labor Party." To the youth, workers, militants, to the exiles, to the political prisoners throughout Latin America, they propose the organization of an "anti-imperialist front" to form "anti-imperialist governments, sometime in the future -- a "Federation of Socialist States of Latin America."

Precisely at the moment when large sectors of workers are drawing the conclusion that a united confrontation with US imperialism is necessary, that their goals will never be realized isolated in their "own" countries -- the proof of this is in the manifesto of the Bolivian miners issued in the course of their July strike and addressed to the workers organizations throughout the world -- the centrists propose this divisive policy, divisive "organization."

Similarly, as masses of workers draw the lessons of the setbacks in Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina and seek the means to organize themselves independently, a development expressed in the opposition of the militants of the Communist and Socialist Parties to the proposal of their Stalinist and reformist leaders to unite in an "anti-fascist front" with the Chilean bourgeois Christian Democracy, the centrists propose this "anti-imperial-

ist front," this policy of the organization of the workers and oppressed masses behind the bourgeois, Stalinist and reformist leaders.

Above all, they wish to hide that what the workers need is their own party, the world party of the workers revolution, the Fourth International.

This policy is most clearly expressed in their attempt to channel the fury of the workers over the fate of their comrades and leaders, many of whom have been imprisoned, tortured and murdered, into impotent campaigns of protest together with the "liberal" bourgeois, Stalinist and reformist leaders; in their attempt to channel the desire of the workers to draw the lessons of the struggles in Latin America, from Chile to Cuba, into the organization of discussion groups and the publication of discussion bulletins which by definition offer no perspective to the fighting youth, workers, and militants of this continent, always under the gun.

In this way the centrists seek to resolve the crisis of the treacherous leaderships, above all of the Stalinist bureaucracy, by identifying the Fourth International, its inveterate opponent, with this international coterie of lamenting liberals and "revolutionary" commentators.

MANDEL/HANSEN/LAMBERT-LORA

It's the Hansen/Barnes leadership of the Socialist Workers Party which carries out this policy in the United States. But it's Lambert and Lora of the Comité d'Organisation who have taken the lead in its elaboration in South America.

They attempt to use the place that the leadership of the

Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Bolivia once occupied in the class struggle to resolve the crisis of the centrists -- most clearly expressed in the disarray of the organizations and leaderships in the face of the repression and

(the leaderships of the majority of the sections are in exile; in the only country from which they have not been there is a 4-way split) -- and win against the growing opposition within the ranks herents to this policy of the "anti-imperialist front."

The leadership of the US SWP is not only grateful but actively supportive. They hope that this will relieve them of the responsibility of explaining how not only Mandel's policy of the liquidation of the party into the Castroist/Guevarist guerilla movement led to defeat, but also the Argentine PST's policy of the collaboration with the Stalinists and Peronists, touted by the leadership of the SWP as Orthodox Leninism-Trotskyism did.

But not even the fanciest pseudo-Trotskyist language from even one such as Lora can fill this void. Thus even this cynical partnership rests in every way as all others on the trafficking of slanders against the leadership of the Fourth International. The characterization of Michel Varga is as much a part of their "discussion" as is the Popular Front.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Only the Fourth International through the American commission, the Trotskyist Organization of the USA and the Latin American Organization has fought to unite the workers of the two continents against the world's most rapacious imperialist power, to organize them independently of the so-called liberal bourgeoisie, "progressive anti-imperialist" militarists, and treacherous Stalinist leaderships, to prepare the revolution in the Americas, to defend the revolution in Europe.

From the Manifesto of the Fourth International following its rebuilding last February, to the fight waged to regroup the vanguard of the working class in the Barcelona world workers conference against peaceful co-existence with imperialism in the weeks of the Bolivian miners strike, to the campaign waged by the Revolutionary Worker Youth of the USA to defend the leaders of the Argentine autoworkers strike in the course of the auto strike and the presidential elections in the US, the International has demonstrated this in the movement of the workers.

The regroupment of the most conscious and determined elements in the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization and the Conference of the Two Americas to draw a balance sheet of the struggle in the Americas and to elaborate our strategy to prepare and defend the revolution in this hemisphere, will deal a death blow to the international coalition of centrists and pave the way for the success of the 5th World Congress of the International.

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA calls on all the youth, workers and militants of the workers movement especially those of the SWP, the organizations of the United Secretariat, and those of the Comité d'Organisation to support this fight by immediately joining in the campaign of the RYI, organizing its sections, and in this fight forming factions of militants to rebuild the sections of the International throughout the Americas.

This is the continuity of the struggle led by the SWP years ago, by the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Bolivia, by the OMR, by all the young militants who have given their lives in the fight against imperialism!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!
REBUILD THE INTERNATIONAL IN
THE AMERICAS!

Detroit, November 14, 1976

JOIN IN THE PREPARATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS! TRUTH PO BOX 07066 - DETROIT 48207 - USA