

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

# TRUTH



Organ of the Trotskyist Organization USA  
Section (sympathizing) of the  
Fourth International  
World Party of Socialist Revolution

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## Democratic Party in crisis

# REVOLUTION NOT REFORM



Miners throughout West Virginia are continuing to strike, demanding the owners pay for the workers' health care. They've organized pickets, shut down mines across the state, organized brigades to go to Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois to do the same. They've defied countless court injunctions and their own reactionary leadership, Arnold Miller and the rest of the "liberal" heads of the UMW.

This struggle crystallizes the nature of the current mobilization of the working class, of the autoworkers who struck Chrysler in Trenton, Michigan, of the striking steelworkers, the telephone workers. For while the workers with their demands and their actions, (continued health care, illegal walkouts, pickets, brigades, etc.) threaten the decaying capitalist system -- the capitalists' rule of the factories, their repressive apparatus charged with enforcing their rule, their "Democratic" Party now in power, their lackeys in the unions -- the workers are not fully conscious of this, decided on a clear alternative, and organized to realize it.

Such a revolutionary mobilization of the working class demands the construction of the working class party to lead the confrontation of the masses with the capitalists' state, with the capitalists' leadership, the "Democratic" Party; to transform the unions into instruments of revolution and oust the reactionary bureaucrats.

These are the first tasks in the preparation of the socialist revolution, the only alternative, yet 1,000 of these same striking miners marched in Washington, some carrying signs

reading "Medical Care is a Human Right" as if Carter and the Democratic Party truly carrying out their "human rights" program would resolve things; as if the government belonged to the workers not the mine owners. While some workers think capitalism is reformable, others consider themselves revolutionary, but want nothing to do with political parties. Still others are hostile, thanks to the Stalinists, to socialist revolution.

DANGER

Now the bourgeoisie, with the indispensable aid of the Stalinists and centrists is trying to deepen the confusion within the working class, to block the development of its class consciousness and organization, to gain time so it can resolve its crisis by crushing the working class.

A few weeks ago Meany came out and denounced Carter. After that, Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, a civil rights organization did. Now the CP/USA is organizing demonstrations together with the "liberal" Democrat, Conyers, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and Coretta King, asking the government for full employment on labor day.

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# "Liberal-labor-black alliance" of Democratic Party...

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

As the working class increasingly comes into conflict with this capitalist system, government and party in power without being fully conscious of this, the Marxist understanding of the nature of these things is indispensable. This is especially true now that the masses of workers and oppressed are consciously rejecting Jimmy Carter without consciously rejecting the system, the government and the Democratic Party he leads; now that the trade union bureaucrats, Stalinists and centrists are working overtime to insure it.

Neither the tremendous mobilization of our class nor the rapidly increasing hatred towards Carter will lead spontaneously to the socialist consciousness and revolutionary organization necessary for victory. When the working class isn't clear on what its aims are and what it wants, some old charlatans always manage to dress up the real object of our hatred and pass it off as something new. With a clear understanding, a policy based on it, and a vigorous combat to realize it, this problem can be avoided.

## CLASS AGAINST CLASS

Marxists have long agreed and acted on the understanding that the interests of the working class are incompatible with capitalism. The working class cannot reform capitalism, even the richest most democratic capitalism in the world, US capitalism. Nor can it reform the state, which, while it may appear neutral, is really the central apparatus of the capitalists to defend themselves.

Thus, Marxists have fought to build a working class party in the United States to defend its interests, everywhere, including in the trade unions, to lead and organize the destruction of the capitalist state, the formation of the workers government, and the construction of the socialist society.

We have refused to subordinate this struggle to any other. We've refused to collaborate in any way with the organization of any other government or party. We've remained utterly hostile to all those who've participated in building the capitalist governments and parties, from the reactionaries to the liberal, labor and black leaders of the so-called Democratic Party.

The experience of the working class has proven this correct.

Some workers have the impression that life for the working class is better when the Democratic Party is in power, that these liberal, labor and black leaders are more responsive.

It only appears this way. In reality it has always been the independent mobilization and organization of the workers and oppressed masses that has improved their own situation. At each point that this mobilization has begun to be too powerful, too class conscious, too revolutionary, the bourgeoisie refurbishes the Democratic Party liberal, labor, black alliance -- with Roosevelt and Truman-- the New Deal and the Square Deal, with Kennedy and Johnson-- the New Frontier and the Great Society, with Carter-- why not the best-- Human Rights -- puts them in power with the help of the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists, and grants a few concessions.

Many workers rely on the Democrats. Others, disgusted, search for an alternative and can't find it. The working class becomes confused, disorganized, demobilized. The Republicans come in and finish off the job.

So it appears that the Democratic Party brings "good" things to the workers. In 1934 autoworkers in Toledo, Teamsters in Minneapolis and workers throughout San Francisco led pitched battles with the companies and the police that paved the way for the organization of the CIO. Then Roosevelt came in, saw the writing on the wall, said join a union, and took credit himself. Similarly, masses of black youth, workers and revolutionary militants forced the racist government and business to respect their demands then Kennedy and Johnson came in and took the credit.

In reality only the working class gets for the working class, while the Democratic Party softens it up so the Republicans can move in for the kill. It works on the basis of the same principle as the nice cop/nasty cop teams on TV.



WALTER REUTHER WITH BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

But this time the mobilization is too powerful, the concessions too pitiful. The Democratic Party from the beginning has had to carry through the most vicious aspects of the bourgeoisie's attack. While Carter has fit right into it, some of the others, Conyers, Democratic Party Senator from Michigan, the AFL-CIO, Vernon Jordan, are having difficulty adjusting. They're used to having someone else take care of the very dirty work.

With some thought this should come as no surprise. If the interests of the working class are incompatible with capitalism, with the capitalist state, why should any capitalist party -- Democrat or Republican -- or any liberal, labor or black capitalist politician be better for the working class?

This is why the Trotskyist Organization in its struggle to complete the rebuilding of the true leadership in the current revolutionary mobilization of the working class, the determining factor in the outcome of the workers mobilization, is fighting for the construction of the Workers Party, as US Section of the world party of the socialist revolution, to destroy the capitalist state, organize a workers government, and construct a socialist society.

## OBSCURANTISTS

Thus, the Socialist Workers Party, which broke with the continuity of our party over ten years ago yet still falsely claims to represent it, does. In so doing it obscures the inevitability of the violent conflict between them and the burning necessity of the party to lead the workers to victory. It blocks the development of the class consciousness and organization of the American working class.

In drawing a balance sheet of the first six months of Carter's rule, David Frankel of the SWP complains that Carter has proven to be a president of the "rich", "against any social or economic change." As if the problem was simply Carter, and not the capitalist system, government and Democratic Party he heads. And they cite other members of Carter's cabinet in the Democratic Party who've denounced him without comment, as if they were fundamentally different from Carter, as if their presence in this government and party constituted some proof that the government and the Democratic Party were reformable, as if this was the way workers should spend their time, not overthrowing it.

The SWP never discusses the fundamental nature of the capitalist system, of the state, the Democratic Party in particular the way in which it develops its influence through the trade unions, the Urban League, the NAACP and NOW.

It is not an accident, while the SWP criticizes its previous allies, "the black leaders" for being "wedded to the strategy of collaboration with the liberal Democratic and Republican Party"; "friends of black folk" to win concessions and favors, the SWP itself is wedded to a strategy of "militant marches,

## ...against working class

pickets, rallies, and other forms of direct action" to win ... concessions and favors-- like some jobs, some higher pay, some preferential hiring, some desegregation, etc, etc.. This is exactly what the most liberal, labor and black of the Democratic Party liberal, labor, black alliance together with the Stalinists have done when workers were pounding down the door demanding the heads of the capitalists and their politicians.

To carry this out the SWP candidates running for office across the country are calling for the formation of a labor party and a black party and a series of coalitions with just about anyone for direct action on these issues. It's really perfect. They want a liberal, labor and black alliance without the liberals or at least with the liberals backstage. This constitutes dressing up the object of the workers hatred and trying to pass it off as something better. Like the call for a Communist Party Socialist Party Government without bourgeois ministers in Europe, or a Popular Front without the bourgeoisie. It has nothing to do with the construction of the Workers Party.

On a daily level this obscurantist obstructionism is translated into the policy of reforming the Democratic Party liberal, labor, black alliance within the trade unions, that is the trade union bureaucracy, a policy of support against the masses of workers who, however politically unsophisticated they may seem to the SWP, seek to destroy it.

### STALINISM

The SWP is strengthening Stalinism, strengthening the CP/USA--the granddaddy of obscuring the irreconcilability of the interests of the working class and capitalism, the architects of peaceful coexistence with the most bloodthirsty bourgeoisie in the world. It was remarkable to note the similarity between the CP and the SWP's balance sheet of Carter's six months. Yet, from the SWP you would never learn that there are Stalinists in the workers movement. In fact, you can find them in the front ranks of this latest attempt to refurbish the liberal, labor, black alliance and in the union meetings they are quite often sitting or standing with the SWP.

### DANGER

In a situation of tumultuous class struggle where the working class in its action goes further and faster than its consciousness, the obscurantism of the SWP can only confuse and thus disorganize and disarm the working class.

The state of the SWP's own members is proof of this. Having thrown themselves into organizing coalitions with Democratic Party politicians for civil liberties, busing, the ERA, then being abandoned for a whole year while their former allies campaigned for Carter, then getting kicked in the teeth at the NOW convention, they haven't really been confident about what to do. The Sadlowski campaign didn't do the trick.

This political activity and crisis is the logical consequence of their split from the International. Class consciousness and organization can only be developed by the International. The working classes' International.

Only through our struggle to clarify the true policy of the International in the workers mobilization and rebuild the leadership, the section of the International, in which the workers can have confidence, and politically destroy the SWP, is it possible to organize the Workers Party and destroy the Democratic Party, organize the revolution, and destroy capitalism. And only our party can claim to do this.

August 16, 1977

## Socialist revolution

### "Outer Space" says SWP

By FRED VITALE

"Socialist Revolution? Come down from outer space." So spoke Robin Mace, for the SWP at the Militant Forum on "Prospects For Autoworkers" in Detroit.

This remark, made in response to the intervention of the Trotskyist Organization-- for avenging the murder of the autoworkers worked to death in the heat by building a Workers Party and a revolutionary leadership in the unions to organize the socialist revolution-- crystallized the nature and objective of this Forum.

Held in the midst of massive walkouts in auto, on the heels of a bitter confrontation between militants of the TO, revolutionary young workers and UAW bureaucrats and their 40-man goon squad at Local #600 in Detroit, the SWP sought, with this Forum, to confuse the workers, to organize a bloc with liberal bureaucrat, Hank Wilson, the featured speaker, against the revolutionary organization of the workers. Wilson's failure to show up negates none of the perniciousness of this effort.

The SWP attacked the socialist revolution by saying it is a far and distant goal for the workers that has nothing to do with the struggles of the workers today. "Return to earth." Mace said.

What kind of party is the SWP building on such a split between theory and practice, on earth, while the socialist revolution spins above them? Mace continues: "We need a party ACTIVE in the workers struggles 365 days a year. The workers need a labor party based on the unions, but until then we ask you to vote for our candidates as the only independent alternative."

Now the Communist Party is active in the workers struggles 365 days a year, sabotaging them, preventing the workers from a revolutionary break with the Democratic Party and the capitalist state. The CP candidates too, are billed as the "independent ones."

The "independent alternative" is NOT independent from the capitalist parties and their state unless it is FOR revolution, and fights every step of the way to organize the workers for their revolution. There is no in between.

The SWP proposes instead a party of reform and thus of reformers, or more precisely, bureaucrats. Mace tells us as much. "Why does the SWP work with all these evil bureaucrats? Because we want to build a movement." "Building a movement" means building one against the revolutionary party.

Robin Maisel, a leader of the SWP said exactly what they think of the Fourth International and the Program of Trotsky, the Transitional Program. He said "Our program does not fit into one leaflet or even one book (the Transitional Program is a small pamphlet --TRUTH). Sadlowski of the steelworkers had part of it, the SWP has all of it." The Transitional Program precisely denounces bureaucrats of the "left" variety, like Sadlowski. If Sadlowski has PART of the SWP's program, the workers don't need ANY of it!

Al Duncan, an SWP supporter working at Ford River Rouge, made the practical implications of the policy quite clear. While a month ago he opposed the struggle led in the union to organize a strike in the Stamping plant beginning with the election of a strike committee and ousting the treacherous bureaucrats, because, in his words, "the majority of workers aren't for it," at this Forum he denounced workers walking out who were in a majority, saying they would accomplish nothing, that they had to make a "fight in the union." Any position to block the independent mobilization of the working class. Principles they are not long on.

As we left the Forum, we asked a militant of the SWP: "Why did you invite Hank Wilson and not our candidate, who was the only candidate to run against Fraser for President of the UAW?" He replied: "Hank Wilson can do more for the workers than you can ever do. We want to build a movement."

Hank Wilson stood outside the factory during the heat walkouts and fought with the workers to go back in so they could die.

Who should "return to earth," Robin?  
August 16, 1977

# TO BUILD PARTY OF CLASS INDEPENDENCE II

## "Experience", "real movement"

By JON COHEN

In West Virginia, 75,000 miners continue to be out on a seven-week old wildcat strike in defiance of the coal companies, the courts and their union leadership. This is not just an isolated action but is the expression of a rebellion that has been taking place in the coalfields for the last several months. There have been repeated wildcat strikes, armed pickets and confrontations with scabs and police as the miners are fighting for their right to survive against the offensive of the coal companies.

The attempts of the UMW leadership and the Democratic Party to stop or derail this movement have failed. After organizing a march in Washington, D.C. last week of some three thousand miners to pressure the Carter regime to come to the aid of the miners, the miners are even more committed to continuing their strike. THE NEW YORK TIMES reports: "District officials said that last week's miner's march in Washington had deepened the strikers' resolve to combat back-to-work movements in other parts of the state. The marcher's hopes that some action would follow their meeting with Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and Senator Jennings Randolph, Democrat of West Virginia, have so far proved unfounded."

The miners are not alone. In response to the heat-wave this July, wildcat strikes took place throughout the auto industry. Newark, Delaware, Linden, Mahwah, New Jersey, Chrysler's Dodge Truck, Lynch Road, Dodge Main, Jefferson, Trenton Engine, Warren, Mack Avenue Stamping in Michigan and Ford River Rouge Specialty Foundry and Stamping plants all walked out in response to the heat. Strikes continue to break out as workers are defending strikers who have been victimized by the auto companies for participating in the walkouts.

This working class upsurge which is now taking place is not a new development. Nor is it simply a defensive response to the provocations and attacks of the companies and the Carter regime. It is part of the offensive of the American working class to reaffirm and win its rights in the face of a system that is in crisis and decay.

### "CARTER WON, WHY CAN'T WE!"

This offensive is an expression of the anger and mistrust of the working class towards the Carter regime and the union bureaucracy which supports it. The Carter regime is already in crisis as the liberals of the Democratic Party, aided by the American CP are desperately trying to give some credibility to the discredited Democratic Party.

But the mobilization of the workers has a contradictory character. Its progress is not always linear and there remains a great confusion among the most advanced workers as to the goals and the means to advance this mobilization.

When just three days after Carter's election, Chrysler workers in Detroit, wildcatting against the national contract signed by the bureaucracy came out of the plants with hand-made signs saying, "Carter Won, Why Can't We!" they were posing a fundamental question for the American working class.

Why, after the victory of Carter and the Democratic Party which claims to be the "friends" of the working class in this country are the demands and aspirations of the working class not satisfied? And why have the tremendous struggles, the militancy of the workers in the last years failed to satisfy the workers' most basic demands? Why can't the working class feel that it is winning its battles?

### VS. SPONTANEISM

There are those, like the Stalinists and the centrists who don't even ask these questions. For them the movement of the working class is just a still photograph, never fundamentally changing. For them, the reason the working class has not advanced sufficiently enough is that the workers are not "experienced" enough, not "militant" enough, or have not yet built a "real movement." Someday, they tell the workers, spontaneously, this still picture they have of the working class will change overnight and everything will magically be resolved.

But for the Fourth International the central lesson of this mobilization is that precisely because of the dynamic, not static, and explosive character of the American working class, it cannot advance spontaneously. Militancy, hatred, outrage against this system in and of itself will not advance the American working class. Hostility towards the Democrats, towards the bureaucrats is not positive in and of itself. "Experience," "mass movements" by themselves will not advance the workers. For the historic goal of the American working class is not more "experience," but the seizure of power from the bourgeoisie, an action that must be consciously organized and prepared and will not just happen.

This mobilization can only advance, the American revolution can be prepared only in a political fight to oppose the development of the Marxist consciousness of the American working class to all spontaneist conceptions of the preparation of the revolution. This is a fight not only against the bourgeoisie, but against the worst enemies of the workers; the Stalinists and the centrists like the Socialist Workers Party who in their own fashion aid the bourgeoisie in attacking the consciousness of the American workers, in reinforcing the spontaneist illusions of the most advanced workers.

### THE PARTY

The most serious illusion that exists today in the American working class and most importantly among its vanguard is that the



STEARNS STRIKING MINERS CONFRONTATION

mobilization of the working class can't go forward without the independent party of the working class, a revolutionary party to lead the workers struggles to victory. This is the first step in the fight to forge the Marxist consciousness of the working class.

Many workers think it is enough simply to hate Carter and the Democratic Party; that being done it is possible to organize a movement of the workers, undertake strikes, throw out local bureaucrats and ignore the Democratic Party. This is a dangerous illusion. The movement of the workers cannot progress any further without a DIRECT CONFRONTATION in EVERY mobilization, in every movement of the workers with the Democratic Party and its agents. The Democratic Party is an expression of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class, this rule must be smashed and destroyed if the workers struggle is to advance. And the workers own party must be built to lead this confrontation.

The conscious understanding of the need for a revolutionary party in the US, a party not designed to coexist with or ignore the Democratic Party, but to confront it and destroy it is the first step in being able to advance the workers mobilization qualitatively. This is the first thing that Lenin had to say to the American working class movement, it was the first thing Trotsky had to say: "you need your own mass party to lead your struggle for power."

The fact that this has not yet been accomplished, the fact that many of the best

# U.S. A COMBAT AGAINST SPONTANEISM

## "of centrists are illusions



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young workers are even hostile towards the idea of a party is due to the treachery of the American Communist Party and the centrists, above all the centrist Socialist Workers Party which once represented the Fourth International in this country and today uses the name "Trotskyist" to confuse the working class.

### THE STALINISTS

The American CP directly supports the Democratic Party inside the workers movement through their support of the trade union bureaucracy. They are the mouthpieces for the left wing of the Democratic Party inside the workers movement.

When John Conyers (liberal Democrat from Michigan) blows his nose, it is on the front page of the DAILY WORLD. When Vernon Jordan (head of the Urban League) coughs it is on the front page. But when workers in Houston occupy their factory the CP lies about it, when the miners go on strike, when the auto-workers walkout, you don't find a word about it in their paper. It is no wonder that they do not dare face the working class in their own name inside the plants.

### THE CENTRISTS

Unlike the Communist Party, the SWP occasionally makes reference to the need for a revolution. They often get the attention of young workers and militants who are looking for an alternative to the class collaboration of the Stalinists.

The SWP even talks about how bad the Democratic Party is. But this does not mean they are Marxists or revolutionaries. The task is not to criticize, but to confront the Democratic Party and the SWP has instead consistently submerged itself and the working class in "mass movements" in alliance with the Democratic Party. These so-called "non-sectarian" mass movements have only been ways to subordinate the revolutionary mobilization of the working class to the Democratic Party.

The "anti-war," "ERA", "busing," "abortion," "gay rights," etc. "mass movements" and their complete lack of results in terms of advancing the class interests of the US working class are proof positive to the working class that these "real movements" and "experience" in and of itself will lead nowhere, only divert the working class from its fundamental tasks. Instead of all these "movements" magically coming together in a revolutionary mobilization they have only come together under the domination of the Democratic Party and the only victor has been the Democratic Party.

Is it any wonder that because of this experience young workers are hostile to the question of the workers own party? While claiming that through the "experiences" the workers gain from the "movements" of the centrists would inevitably lead the workers to a party, the centrists have only taught the workers confusion and demoralization

It is through the same logic that the workers have seen the "labor party" as a fiction created by those who capitulate to spontaneism. The "labor party" of the SWP has nothing to do with Marxism or with revolution. It says that after the workers go through the "experience" of a labor party run by the bureaucrats they will understand the need for a revolutionary party. The only problem is-- meanwhile what do the workers do? Now we move away from fiction to reality. "Subordinate your movement to the Democratic Party," says the SWP.

Before the workers get their "labor party," the Democratic Party will suffice, says the SWP. Thus, how to lead and organize the workers mobilization is not really a big problem for the SWP. Today the workers aren't ready. "We'll worry about it later," say the centrists. A march in San Francisco led by the Democratic Party for the rights of homosexuals is front page news in THE MILITANT, while the heat walkouts in auto aren't mentioned and the death of a worker at the Rouge is described at an SWP forum as "just some worker kicking the bucket." Poor worker. He wasn't part of "the mass movement."

### LEFT OF THE SWP

In this situation it is not surprising to see many young workers reject the SWP also. Presently in the factories an important role is played by the Maoists, who

while not differing in any fundamental way from the policy of the Stalinists or the SWP, do pay more attention to the immediate struggles of the workers and do claim to try to lead them.

But the Maoists as well glorify spontaneism. They never talk about the confrontation with the Democratic Party, they refuse to construct an independent party of the working class in the workers mobilization. Instead, they are now calling for a "National Workers Organization," an organization based on various "rank and file caucuses" around the country. This is a tremendous confusion, not only as to the purpose of this organization -- "to centralize existing struggles," but its opportunist avoidance of the central problem of the American working class-- the construction of its PARTY, to lead the workers to power.

It was almost humorous to watch the various Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyists during the latest walkouts in auto arguing over whether the workers should walk out when it is "90°", "95°" or whether there should just be "better ventilation." Humorous, except for the fact that all these groups, along with the Stalinists and CP are attempting to confuse the working class, attempting to reinforce its illusions and hide its revolutionary objectives.

During the heat walkouts, not one organization spoke of the need for WORKERS CONTROL of the factories, not one organization spoke in its own name, not one argued for the need for a revolutionary party to continue and develop these struggles.

### CLASS INDEPENDENCE

Only the Trotskyist Organization of the US spoke of these things because the struggle for the independence of the working class, the fight to forge the Marxist consciousness of the working class in the mobilizations of the workers is the axis of our policy, it is the meaning of our existence. Our task is to prepare the American working class for power which is the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International as a stage in the construction of the Workers Party, USA, the US Section of the Fourth International.

In 1933, just before Hitler seized power, the leadership of the Stalinist German Communist party said: "After Hitler, us.", thinking that the militancy and size of the German working class would be enough to take care of Hitler. They were wrong. In 1977, the centrists, not daring to say this, tell the workers that building a "real movement" with the Democratic Party is part of an inevitable progression towards socialism. They are just as wrong.

The fight to build the Fourth International in the US today is a theoretical, political and practical struggle to prepare the American workers for their revolution, a struggle that begins with the opposition of Marxist consciousness to spontaneism. A struggle that begins with the perspective of victory and not defeat.

August 16, 1977

# Spartacist School of Falsification - Slanders unite Stalinists, centrists against Fourth International

By JON COHEN

The Fourth International was founded in 1938 for one reason: to lead the world working class to power in a fight to the finish against Stalinism, the chief obstacle to the workers revolution. Party against party: the historic interests of the world working class against the Kremlin apparatus and its betrayals has been the constant fight of the Fourth International since its foundation.

Our opposition to Stalinism remains irreconcilable as well as our opposition to all those who today use the unstained banner of the Fourth International to cover up this gulf between Bolshevism and Stalinism, who pretend that there remains something in common between the Fourth International and Stalinism, and who claim that those who use the methods of Stalinism can continue to be called "Trotskyists."

The defense of the Fourth International against Stalinism is the purpose of the WHITE PAPER of the Commission of Inquiry Into the Slanders of the OCI Against Michel Varga and the Fourth International which is being published this month. It details the fight of the Fourth International against the slanders and the physical provocations unleashed by the leadership of the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) against Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and a leader of the Fourth International and other militants of the FI who broke politically with the centrist policy of the OCI and led the fight to rebuild the Fourth International against the attempts of the OCI leadership to liquidate it.

From the very beginning we said that the fight against these slanders had nothing to do with a "defense" pure and simple of Michel Varga (there never being a shred of proof offered for these accusations) but had to do with this fight of the Fourth International to maintain its unstained banner in the face of Stalinism and all those who, like the leadership of the OCI, use the methods of Stalinism. Our goal from the start was to unmask these slanders, to expose the political roots of these slanders as not being due to some sort of "accident," but directly linked to the capitulation of the leadership of the OCI in front of Stalinism. We said that these slanders could be characterized as nothing less than Stalinist in method and in origin. Slander and physical provocation has been THE response, THE method of Stalinism against the Fourth International from the very beginning.

## THE ROLE OF THE CENTRISTS

Not one single organization in the world outside of the French OCI (and the Hungarian version of the KGB which immediately after the slanders were published wrote a 300 page book attacking the FI and Michel Varga) has defended these slanders. In fact, they have never even been defended by any of the organizations which are together with the OCI in the Organizational Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International, such as Politica Obrera of Argentina, or the POR of Bolivia.

When the slanders first became known, many organizations of the workers movement, including those who claim to be Trotskyist, denounced these accusations as slanders (documented in the WHITE PAPER). These organizations included the LCR, Lutte Ouvriere in France, the Workers Revolutionary Party and Workers Socialist League in Britain, the Revolutionary Party and Workers Socialist League in Britain, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the former Class Struggle League, and Tim Wohlforth, former leaders of the Workers League in the United States. The only organization in the world which publically came close to supporting the slanders of the OCI and the KGB was the American Spartacist League, which in 1975 used the stolen, forged, and mistranslated documents of the OCI to declare that Michel Varga was a "highly dubious figure" and they have repeated this accusation in a July 8, 1977 issue of WORKERS VANGUARD entitled, "OCI Slanders,

But Varga Still Dubious Figure."

But even though the majority of these centrist organizations saw the accusations as slanders, they would have nothing in common with the fight of the Fourth International to expose these slanders as Stalinist in method and origin. For them, the actions of Lambert and Just, the leaders of the OCI were just "mistakes." These are the same people who today gratefully accept the apologies of Stalinists like Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish CP who say that the assassination of Trotsky, the assassination of Andreas Nin were "mistakes."

## A PSEUDO COMMISSION FOR PSEUDO REVOLUTIONARIES-- THE SWP WINS

In particular, the international centrist amalgam called the "United Secretariat" led by the US Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Ligue Communiste Revolutionaire (LCR) of France had an interest in seeing that the slanders of Lambert and Just weren't exposed for what they were, because this would be a threat to the process of unprincipled regroupment which is now taking place between the "United Secretariat" and the OCI. The SWP is in the leadership of this reunification and in the past, it had been the LCR which had used the OCI's slanders and physical attacks as an excuse to keep the OCI out.

The goal of the SWP vis a vis the slanders was clear -- placate their own militants and the militants of the LCR in France who are disgusted with the slanders and violence of the OCI, label the actions of the OCI as simple "bad mistakes" and block the road to the Fourth International by leaving some "doubt" concerning the FI and Michel Varga. And it was part and parcel of the SWP leadership's cynical whispering campaign of slanders in the US to keep its militants away from the Trotskyist Organization of the US.

The SWP did not do this openly. It has never publically said one word about these slanders in its press. Nor are any of its back-door international maneuvers done in public. Once again, as they have historically done in the past, they used the American Spartacist League and its so-called "International Spartacist Tendency" to do its dirty work against the Fourth International.

The Spartacist League was used by the SWP leadership in 1963 to block the fight of the International Committee in the US. In 1966 they gave the SWP more slanders to block the fight of the International Committee to rebuild the Fourth International. And in 1975 the SWP once again turned to the SL to block the fight to rebuild the Fourth International.

So the Spartacists, a group characterized by the Transitional Program as among those "who live off the crumbs of the Fourth International," hoped to make a name for itself once again by using slanders against Trotskyism. Under the pretext that the Commission we initiated and formed was not "impartial," the SL joined the SWP, the LCR and Lutte Ouvriere in forming an "impartial" Commission to "Try" Michel Varga.

Let's look at this pseudo-Commission. It included the LCR and LO who had already labelled the accusations as slanders, the Spartacists, who were so "impartial," that, two years before the Commission reached its conclusions, denounced Michel Varga as a "highly dubious figure" and the "impartial" SWP, who while saying nothing in print, had a member of its National Committee, John Hawkins, tell us in March 1976, "We've got the goods on Varga."

What happened with this farce? After two years of maneuvers, meetings behind closed doors, no public meetings, no public records of its meetings, this pseudo-Commission, this Dewey Commission of rats, has "concluded" its work, in a shambles. One organization, Lutte Ouvriere, has denounced the Commission, the members of the "United Secretariat," the SWP and the LCR are agreed that the accusations are "unproven" and the violence "must stop." The Spartacist



BOOTS ARE ALL THAT REMAIN OF STATUE OF STALIN  
TOPPLED BY HUNGARIAN WORKERS IN 1956

League, in a typically unprincipled fashion, signed the statement of the SWP and LCR with an asterik (\*) disagreeing with the conclusions, stating that the accusations are "slanders" and Varga is a "suspicious and highly dubious individual." Hopefully, the Spartacist League will remain an \* in history.

What we said from the very beginning has been proven true. These centrists, these pseudo-revolutionaries are utterly incapable and unwilling to defend the Fourth International against Stalinism. And even more, they aid the Stalinists in their attacks on our party. It is certain, that one of the results of this pseudo-Commission will be that the slanders of the OCI and the physical attacks will continue. The SWP, as the leader of this pseudo-Commission holds the major responsibility for this.

#### DEFEND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

This farce of the centrists is their own business. It only becomes the business of the American workers as far as they try to peddle this farce as having anything to do with the Fourth International, which is the party of the vanguard of the American working class and not the party of centrists, slanderers and petty gossips.

But there is just one more thing about the slanders of the Spartacist League. They can only aid the American bourgeois-

ie and its Stalinist allies in making the American workers believe that a revolutionary opposition to Stalinism is impossible or that Bolshevism inevitably leads to Stalinism. Part of the reason for the extreme viciousness of the SL's attack on Michel Varga and the cynicism of this attack is the hysteria of the American petty bourgeoisie towards the approaching revolution, expressed in a doubled hysteria towards anyone who has come close, much less led a proletarian revolution.

The SL declares in its article that Michel Varga has failed to clarify his past. This is a conscious lie. In fact, Michel Varga's past is clearer and more known to the world workers movement than anyone in that pseudo-Commission. Michel Varga (Balasz Nagy) was one of the organizers and leaders of the Hungarian Revolution of the Workers Councils of 1956. As former National Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Youth, he was one of the three Secretaries of the Petofi Circle which was the political and organizational center of the opposition to the Stalinist regime, which organized and issued the call to the mass insurrection on October 23, 1956 which began the political revolution. During the revolution he was one of the leaders of the Council of Revolutionary Intellectuals and after the defeat he was one of the leaders of the first attempt to set up a new party in Hungary.

After the Hungarian revolution, Michel Varga, through a process of political clarification with the International Committee which had maintained the continuity of the Fourth International formed the first section of the Fourth International in Eastern Europe since World War II, the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary. This is a "past" known to tens of thousands of workers in Hungary and throughout the world.

That the Spartacist League could dare call this "dubious and suspicious" only shows their deep hatred of the coming revolution and the Fourth International. When they write, pompously in the fashion of true petty bourgeois dilettantes: "For us as Trotskyists, it is essential to verify the total break from any illusions that the Stalinist bureaucracy will reform itself, as well as from Stalinophobia, on the part of militants like Varga, who come out of the degenerated and deformed workers states, before accepting them as members," they can be only laying the basis for all those who say that the Hungarian revolution was a "counter-revolution" and for all those who are ready to send tanks to crush the next political revolution.

When they use forgeries, stolen letters and false translations to charge that the leader of the first political revolution against Stalinism is an "anti-Semite" or "racist" they only join Carter in reinforcing anti-Communist prejudices of American workers, that Bolshevism equals Stalinism. Talk to any petty bourgeois philistine on any campus in the US and they will tell you how Marx and Lenin were "anti-Semites" and "racists". Or talk to the leadership of the Spartacist League.

We will be publishing in TRUTH excerpts from the WHITE PAPER in the coming weeks (the full book is at this time only available in French.) This WHITE PAPER will be a weapon in the hands of all American workers and militants of the workers movement who want to build the Fourth International against Stalinism in order to lead the workers to victory.  
August 14, 1977

#### CONTINUED FROM BACK

Lenin's dream of a Socialist United States of Europe a living reality, the first stage of the world conquest of power by the working class.

On the basis of the fight we have made to advance the political consciousness of the workers by advancing our press among them in order to prepare revolutionary activity, we are planning a Conference of TRUTH readers in September, to deepen the role of TRUTH as the organizer and unifier of all revolutionary activity-- developing its distribution, correspondence, and at the same time deepening the circulation and discussion of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Our aim is to arrive at this Conference equipped to expand and develop TRUTH on a much larger scale as a national paper, a true voice of the American workers, read and studied by the workers, the tribune of their struggle and the central organizer, a paper that not only leads the struggle but reflects the lives, thoughts and feelings of the American working class.

August 16, 1977

## The Press is Our Weapon!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The sales of our press have begun to reflect the important acquisitions of the TO in the struggle to realize the Rally of working class youth for the Socialist United States of Europe just held in Barcelona and the Second World Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International.

Chiefly, the TO has deepened the understanding that it is necessary to wage more of a political offensive among the workers and youth who buy TRUTH. This means discussion with the workers about the importance of the articles in our paper-- it is not enough to just sell or buy TRUTH, but to organize discussions around it with workers in order to clarify the important questions; the nature of the workers International we are building, the need for irreconcilable struggle against all forms of class collaboration and so forth.

Looking at the sales for the months of June and July it is clear that TRUTH sales lagged after Barcelona-- 105 were sold in June and only 76 in July. But this does not show there was a lag in sales of TRUTH at the beginning of July which gradually picked up once again with Issue #54 of TRUTH which carried the results of the Rally in Barcelona and the Second World Congress.

But the clearest expression of the application of the lessons learned in Barcelona is the increase in the sales of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. They went from 3 in June to 37 in July. This shows the understanding that our international press is a central weapon in advancing the party in its activity among the American workers.

And who is buying and reading our press? Young workers, especially in auto and steel. Our paper is deliberately sold and discussed with those workers most ready to build the revolutionary party-- the young workers, workers in the main industries, youth who are seeking a revolutionary perspective in the centrist Socialist Workers Party.

This too, is an acquisition of our fight for Barcelona-- that the party can and the entire workers movement can only be renovated by the youth-- the proof is the 500 young workers and militants who met in Barcelona and took the decision to wage war against the Stalinists and imperialists and their allies to make

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

### SALES-- JUNE-- JULY

	TRUTH	FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
Ford Rouge	123	29
Great Lakes Steel	30	0
SWP Forum	11	7
Elsewhere	$\frac{14}{181}$	$\frac{4}{40}$

## Subscribe to FI & TRUTH!

I want to subscribe to TRUTH and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Enclosed is \_\_\_\_\_ (\$2.00 for 3 months, \$5.00 for supporting subscription). Checks payable to the; Trotskyist Organization.

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## ATTENTION TRUTH READERS!

All workers, youth and branches of the SWP who got samples of TRUTH in the mobilization for the Rally in Barcelona and Second World Congress of the RYI should immediately order subscriptions to insure the continuity of getting TRUTH--this is the last issue you will receive without a subscription.

Help prepare the Conference of TRUTH Readers in September--Get your subscription today!

### CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

They're trying to pull together a group of similar elements to run candidates in New York with the same objective.

The liberal bourgeois, Stalinist and centrist leaders would all like this rag-tag collection to appear before the masses of workers as some kind of leadership with which they can reform the system, in particular, the Carter administration, the Democratic Party now increasingly hated by the workers. They hope the workers will follow them. So they characterize this split as one between the callous Carter, conservative Republicans and Democrats on the one hand and liberal, labor and black leaders interested in reforming society in the interests of the masses on the other.

Nothing could be further from the truth. They differ only on how to best suppress the workers mobilization. Carter wants to go full speed ahead with the cruise missile, the neutron bomb, the repressive laws against the workers movement and the Fourth International. The others, panicked by the mobilization, think it best to slow down, toss a few crumbs to the workers along the way, confuse them, contain their mobilization.

### NOW

Youth, the most class conscious workers and militants must take up the combat in defense of the workers struggle against this cheap maneuver. For revolution, not the reform of this decrepit government. For a workers party, not a warmed over version of the capitalists Democratic Party in every mobilization of the working class. For complete freedom for the workers movement and the workers International against the capitalists repressive laws.

The construction of the US Section of the Revolutionary Youth International, a massive organization of the youth who all want to organize the socialist revolution and its party, is the most urgent task in this fight, beginning with the preparation of the metal workers international day of action for the Socialist United States of Europe, first step in the socialist revolution, decided by the World Congress of the RYI in Barcelona.

The results of our campaign to write in our revolutionary candidate, against the array of bourgeois, union bureaucrat and Stalinist supporters of Coleman Young, against the centrist candidate, Trudy Hawkins of the Socialist Workers Party in the Detroit Mayoral elections will be an important measure of our progress.

This is the struggle of the Fourth International. And the TO is the only organization waging it. While the SWP claims to represent the Fourth International in the US, they are running candidates in municipal elections across the country on a reformist program for a labor party and a black party. They enthusiastically quoted Vernon Jordan and Co. in their press as if these liberal bourgeois Democratic Party members were what the Stalinists say they are; suitable leaders for the workers movement. NO! They aren't. And their policy has nothing to do with the Fourth International. Join us. **TRUTH**