

TRUTH



WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!

No. 60. November 4, 1977. 25¢.

ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA - SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

60 years ago

the Russian working class and its party took power...

WORKERS RIGHTS! NOT 'HUMAN RIGHTS'!

November 7th marks the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Our Revolution. Sixty years ago today the Russian working class, led by its party, the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, made the dream of the socialist revolution a reality and forever changed the course of man's history. It was a giant step towards the liberation of humanity from the chains of exploitation and oppression.

Nothing in the last sixty years has changed this fact. Not the lies, the slander, persecution and terror that the international bourgeoisie has launched since then to prevent the working class from repeating what it did in 1917. Not Stalinist betrayal which turned the first workers state into a regime of police terror led by a parasitical bureaucracy which has become the chief agent of the counter-revolution throughout the world.

But most important is the fact that the international working class and its youth have not lost one degree of combativity in the last sixty years. The international socialist revolution, the liberation of all of humanity remains the goal of all their struggles today.

American workers-- this is YOUR revolution. When the US ruling class and its lackeys try to tell you something different they are only trying to deceive you. They try to "explain" the Russian Revolution by saying that it happened in a backward country ruled by a Czar who refused to allow even the most basic rights.

The ruling class says that conditions are different here in the United States. "We have democracy here," they say, "we are an advanced industrial nation, no one is starving here," they say, "if there are problems, they can be changed within the system," they say. And finally they say: "And look at Russia, Eastern Europe, China-- a police dictatorship is what you will get if you try to make a revolution, 'democracy' and 'revolution' don't go together."

Lies. Designed to hide the fact that bourgeois democracy, the kind of 'democracy' that we have here, is today a rotting, stinking corpse. Designed to hide the fact that Stalinism, far from being the enemy of the bourgeoisie, is its greatest friend, and that the police

regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe have nothing to do with the dictatorship of the proletariat organized by the Bolshevik Party in 1917.

American workers-- there is an alternative to this rotten, stinking corpse of bourgeois democracy, this sickening hypocrisy of "human rights," the "will of the people," slung in the face of the working class every day by that Baptist preacher, Jimmy Carter. There is an alternative to the police dictatorship of the Stalinists other than the restoration of capitalism.

Workers Democracy! Democracy is OUR fight. It belongs to the working class and its party, the Fourth International and no one else to lead this fight and organize the highest expression of Workers Democracy-- the Workers Government.

This is the lesson of the Russian Revolution. This is why we say, "Return to Lenin!" The Russian Revolution proved that it was only the working class that could win the fight for democracy.

"Peace, Land and Bread" were the slogans of the Bolshevik Party in 1917, the only party which would fight for the most elementary democratic demands of the working class and peasantry and propose the only way to implement them-- ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS! We INSIST-- the Russian workers state, until its power was politically lost to the Stalinist bureaucracy, was the most democratic state that has ever existed-- in the midst of a civil war and invasion by 14 imperialist armies!

Down with this sham and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy-- freedom for the rich and exploitation and repression for the poor. Down with "human rights!" WORKERS RIGHTS, OUR democracy is what the people who built this country, who produce all the wealth, who give their sweat and blood for the profits of the 1% want.

"Popular will," "majority rule," "free elections?" Name ONE representative in all the legislative or governing bodies in the US who speaks for the working class and oppressed-- the MAJORITY of the population! Name ONE reform passed by these governments controlled by the capitalist Democratic and Republican Parties that has signifi-



cantly improved the living conditions of the masses of workers in this country!

Meanwhile US bourgeois democracy forbids the working class to belong to an international organization, legalizes the wiretapping and harassment of working class organizations, jails striking miners and auto workers, cuts back unemployment benefits, denies medical aid to poor women in need of abortions -- this is what "human rights" really means.

Make no mistake! This is not an error, not a wrong policy! This IS bourgeois democracy-- a trap made to save the bourgeoisie's neck, to hide the greedy 1% who own all the wealth in the swamp of the "popular will." As long as these greedy few have control of their banks, their factories, there will be no democracy for the working class.

The same thing holds true for the trade unions-- the mass organizations built by the working class, now controlled by a bureaucracy who are the enforcers for bourgeois democracy in the unions. Make some speeches about "human rights," how "communism is no good," preach the glories of the Democratic Party "of the working man" and find out how fast you'll get a good job in the bureaucracy.

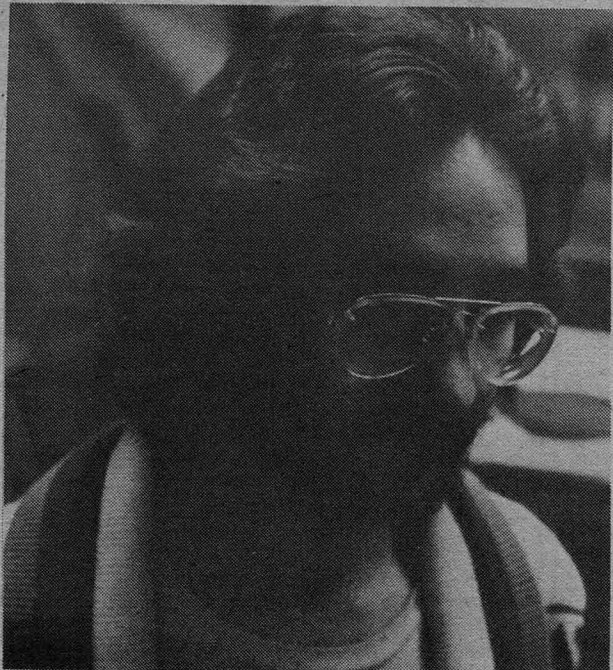
But try talking about workers rights in the Teamsters Union and see how fast Fitzsimmons sends his goons after you. Try saying that the workers should run the factories as the Mack Avenue Stamping workers in Detroit did in 1973 and see how fast Doug Fraser sends 1,000 goons out again.

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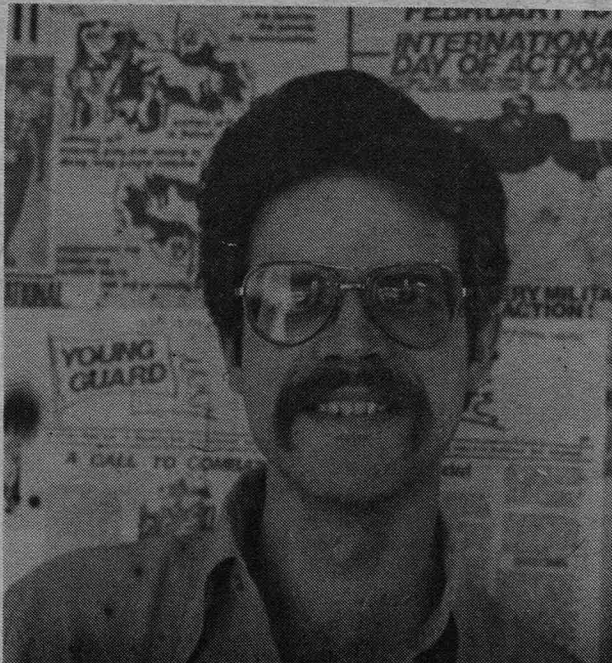
1917 - 1977 RETURN TO LENIN

WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UAW UAW FOR THE WORKING CLASS

Interview on the Revolutionary Workers Factions' fight



DAVID HEFFELFINGER



FRED VITALE

The following interview between Fred Vitale, a member of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth and a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW and David Heffelfinger, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Worker Youth -- US Supporters of the Revolutionary Youth International, takes up some of the most important questions facing the auto workers today. It is a means for every auto worker to initiate a discussion over the problems and gains of the workers mobilization in the last months and the place of the auto workers in ridding the whole working class of capitalist exploitation. In preparation of the public meetings of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, "A Year of the Auto Contract and a Year of Carter--What now?," TRUTH calls on all auto workers to discuss the questions raised in this interview.

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David Heffelfinger: As a leader of the RWF-UAW, as one who participated in the strike in 1976, what are the particular characteristics of the mobilization of the workers in the US, especially the auto workers and what are the specific preparations that you see against this mobilization by the Carter government?

Fred Vitale: The first thing to say about the mobilization of the US working class is that IT is the determining factor in the crisis of the government. Because it is a drive to establish its own independence, the break with the Democratic Party and the formation of its own party it has an incredibly militant character. But what has prevented the workers from reaching goal has been the collaboration of the bureaucrats, the leadership of the unions, with the capitalists and their government.

This attempt to constant tie the workers to the government, to a policy of reforming the capitalist state, from passing laws, to putting pressure on it is just a stepping-stone or a way-station to the preparation of the open counter-revolution, the wheels of which have already begun to turn. In other words, class collaboration prepares the class by misleading and disarming it in the face of the attacks of the government for the crushing of the working class--the open counter-revolution.

DH: You said that this class collaboration forms the main part of the attack

of the ruling class against the auto workers. What is the other part of the attack?

FV: Behind this class collaboration to disarm the workers there are the weapons of the open counter-revolution and the elements have already come into play very quickly. You have laws pending in Congress, S.1437, which is the old S.1 bill rewritten, which would outlaw wildcats, which is now happening all over the place in auto and the mines. It would outlaw a variety of union activities, make it impossible for unions to really exist or organize.

Today the number of workers in unions is the lowest since there have been unions in this country. This is a very dangerous situation caused by the cowardly, conservative bureaucrats. The incredible attacks against the mine workers by the coal bosses. The situation with JP Stevens, the attacks on Mexicans in this country. All of this shows the vicious character of the preparations of the ruling class. This is the other side that class collaboration tries to hide and give time for.

DH: Can you give us a specific example in auto?

FV: The best example right now is the case of the Trenton Seven. Seven workers who were part of organizing heat walkouts last summer, and they are on trial and have been convicted of contempt of court charges by a Democratic judge who was supported by the UAW bureaucracy. And they have been fired from their jobs. On October 14th a worker was suspended for passing out a leaflet in defense of the Trenton workers.

DH: What do you think was the importance of the RWF/UAW and what contributions did it make to the workers mobilization?

FV: When push came to shove at the ratification meetings last fall, it was the the RWF/UAW that stood against all the other organizations who said that the only thing possible was to vote NO, in this way reinforcing illusions that these bureaucrats IN ANY WAY could get a decent contract. We said that it was necessary to throw these traitors OUT in order to win anything. We became known as the only organization in the UAW that fought for a new, revolutionary leadership for the union in every struggle.

The living proof of this came at Torrence, where because of the way balloting was organized, many workers were able to vote NO six times, ten times, and they still were stuck with the same leadership that negotiated the contract.

The Revolutionary Workers Faction waged a fight for the workers to organize themselves independently in the face of the bureaucracy and the prostration of the so-called "rank and file" groups, especially the "Time to Unite" group at Ford River Rouge. We said elect strike committees to lead your own strike and set up militant picket lines to shut down all Three. And we shooed how Carter's election represented a direct attack on the auto workers through his henchmen in the UAW bureaucracy.

DH: How is this struggle in auto important to the struggle to build the party in the United States?

FV: On the picket line last fall one worker said to me: "It doesn't make any difference what we do in this strike, all the big questions are being decided in the Great Debates." The debates between Carter and Ford. What could have been clearer than that in the middle of the strike Henry Ford and Leonard Woodcock BOTH endorsed Carter! This picture appeared in all the papers in the country. Carter in the middle, Woodcock supposedly representing the workers on one side, and Henry Ford on the other. And they both have their arms wrapped around Jimmy Carter, who today is at the head of the offensive against the American workers.

And the fact that this support by Woodcock was decisive for the victory of Carter and was decisive for the defeat of the auto strike proves that a mass party of the working class against the Democratic Party cannot be built except through the struggle in the unions to throw out these traitors.

It is impossible to seriously take up making a revolution in the US by avoiding the trade unions. They are the only mass organizations that the US workers have, and as such, composed of 13 million workers, the working class has to fight to win control of those unions. Unfortunately, for many workers the unions appear along with the rest of their enemies -- teachers, foremen, the police, and its just one more headache, taking away dues from their checks, harrassing them. But this bureaucracy must be defeated, you cannot hope to win anything by going around them. The unions are decisive for winning the majority of the working class to the Workers Party.

DH: Here's a question that workers ask all the time in relation to building the party. Why can't all these organizations get together? How would the RWF/UAW answer this question? Why can't all these oppositions in the unions--shop floor newsletters, the thirty for forty groups, caucuses for democracy, etc. all get together and throw out the bureaucracy of the UAW?

FV: The RWF/UAW fights to unite all the workers, the question is on what basis can we unite all the workers. Can we unite them by putting pressure on the bureaucrats and putting pressure on the government? I myself was attacked by the bureaucrats' goons. Am I supposed to pressure THEM to stop this? It would be ridiculous. Unity--on what basis?

I'll talk about what happened at the recent elections at Ford Torrence in Chicago. There was a so-called opposition called "New Minds For New Tomorrows" and when the bureaucrats refused to let them speak or refused to put their proposals on the floor--they did nothing. They refused to make a fight even against the un-democratic rules that the bureaucrats laid down, This is called begging the bureaucracy.

The other organizations--the Maoists of the October League and of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which runs the "Time to Unite" group at the Rouge--actually participated in this "New Minds" group and ran on their platform of minor gripes. When they lost the elections this group disappeared--what we said all along. So after the elections there was no fight led by these opportunists. This is what putting pressure on the bureaucracy leads to and we refuse to "unite" on this basis.

At Ford River Rouge, during the confrontations between the Local 600 bureaucracy and the workers over the unit contract in Stamping, the Maoists ("Time to Unite") openly allied themselves with the bureaucracy against the RWF and went around slandering Stamping workers who supported us.

DH: What are the permanent gains of the RWF/UAW?

FV: I think that we have taken our place in the fight for leadership of the unions because hundreds of workers in this country have supported or taken part in our fight. I received 150 votes at Ford Torrence, 7% of the vote for convention delegate and at the UAW Convention four delegates supported our fight, which represents at a minimum, 2500 workers. In addition, our comrades at the Rouge plant fought for this same policy and hundreds of Stamping workers were involved in this struggle. These gains will allow us to re-launch our fight in the UAW.

DH: How can the RWF/UAW lead the fight in auto now?

FV: For example, at the UAW Convention we fought on the basis of the mobilization of the wildcat strikes and led a struggle against the contract that was negotiated last year. The fact that these strikes continue over a year after the contract shows that it has never been accepted by the auto workers. This contract must be thrown out!

The key is in continuing the struggle against the bureaucracy. We are now raising the slogan of WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UAW, THE UAW FOR THE WORKING CLASS. The bureaucrats are scared to death of the workers mobilization and know that the auto workers won't accept more layoffs like those in Chrysler and AMC which have already begun. So they talk about a "shorter work week" and finding a "contractual" solution to the problem of heat.

While the Trenton auto workers are being sentenced by the Democratic Party judge they appeal to the Democratic Party to do something about unemployment, what a joke! A revolutionary leadership in the UAW, the independent organization in strike committees, the fight for workers control of production, a sliding scale of working hours and wages, the defense of the Trenton Seven, a campaign against the S. 1437 Bill-- these are means to advance and mobilize auto workers.

DH: The Revolutionary Youth International is building the World Conference of Metalworkers for the Socialist United States of Europe. It is very important that there be delegates elected from the US to this Conference. American imperialism is at the center of the counter-revolution around the world. What can the RWF/UAW do on its own terrain to contribute to the success of this Conference?

FV: The main weapon that imperialism has come up with is this campaign for "human rights." It tries to make US imperialism look like the one who guarantees the rights of the working class. Almost every organization in the US that claims to be revolutionary, excepting the TO and RWY which I belong to, gives into this "human rights" as if there is some kind of "rights" divorced from the fight for power of the working class.

In the unions this question of rights has been connected by the opportunists' campaigns to try to "reform" the UAW bureaucracy. The workers in the UAW will have no control over their union as long as the UAW is tied to a government responsible for the organization of counter-revolution all over the world.

The RWF/UAW will help to build this Conference by ending this collaboration in the unions through a fight for revolutionary leadership. Young workers will come to understand how this is an international fight. It will be a blow to US imperialism around the world when we throw its agents out of the workers movement and our unions.
November 1, 1977

One Year of the Auto Contract & Carter What now?

DEBATE & DISCUSSION SPONSORED BY RYW/USA

DETROIT -- November 13, Wayne State Student Center, Rm. 261-A, 1:00 pm

CHICAGO -- November 20, time and place to be announced

RYW/USA - DEFENSE OF POLISH WORKERS IS OUR FIGHT

By JON COHEN

On October 30th, the RYW/USA held a meeting as part of the International Day of Action organized by the Revolutionary Youth International in defense of the Polish workers victimized by Stalinist repression and for the entry of the International Commission of Inquiry Into the Stalinist Repression in Poland. The meeting heard speakers from the Revolutionary Worker Youth/USA and the Trotskyist Organization and adopted the Resolution which is printed below.

The question before us now is how to advance this struggle in the United States, a struggle which has not yet taken the importance that it should have in the struggle of the Revolutionary Worker Youth. It is necessary to understand the meaning that this struggle has for the US working class and above all its youth; that of a revolutionary confrontation with Stalinism and imperialism. Young workers must be convinced that this struggle is not just a matter of international "solidarity," but has a real importance for the fight in the US to construct the world party of the socialist revolution.

Briefly, the Commission of Inquiry had its origins with the initiative of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International which proposed that the international workers movement respond to the events that took place in Poland in June of 1976. At the time the Polish working class launched a general strike against the attempt of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland, headed by Gierek, to raise the food prices, which are already exorbitant.

This mobilization forced the bureaucracy to back down on the price increases, but at the same time they launched a fierce police repression. Hundreds of workers were arrested, beaten and tortured and given jail sentences without real trials. Even more workers were arbitrarily fired from their jobs.

Because it concerned the revolutionary mobilization of the working class in Eastern Europe to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and begin the political revolution. Because the international workers movement could not tolerate the fact that brutal police repression was being committed in the name of "socialism," the Fourth International immediately launched a campaign to free the imprisoned workers, to have an international Commission enter into Poland in order to investigate the repression and demand the punishment of those responsible and founded the Commission of Inquiry in Paris on June 24, 1977.

AMNESTY?

A few months ago the Gierek regime declared an amnesty, freeing those workers who were arrested as well as militants of a committee formed inside Poland to defend these workers. Is this a victory for the Polish workers, is the repression finished for the time being in Poland? This is what the centrists claim, especially the French OCI and LCR.

No. The repression is not finished. In fact the amnesty was ordered only in order to cover up for continuing repression. Just a few weeks ago the Polish miners went on strike, of course "illegally" and were brutally suppressed by the government. And more important-- the same bureaucrats who were responsible for the massacre of the workers on the Baltic in 1970, the same bureaucrats responsible for the tortures in 1976, the same bureaucrats responsible for the murder of the student, Stanislaw Pyjas a few months ago-- remain in power, unpunished.

No, against the centrists and their "Euro-Communist" friends we say that the fight against Stalinist repression must continue. It must continue until the police apparatus of the bureaucracy is dismantled, it must continue until Stalinism is destroyed once and for all.

The reason that this fight to defend the Polish workers is a central campaign of the Revolutionary Youth International is that in being the motor force of the construction of the Fourth International, the RYI fights to prepare the world revolution. And most importantly it is preparing the first stage of this revolution--in Europe, a revolution which must be the

result of the revolutionary unity of the workers dominated by the Kremlin bureaucracy in Eastern Europe and the workers dominated by capitalism in Western Europe.

It is a fight to destroy Stalinism which is the chief CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

Resolution of October 30th meeting

FREE ENTRY OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT INTO POLAND!

ENLARGE THE COMMISSION WITH THE ELECTION OF WORKERS DELEGATES FROM THE UNIONS!

Workers and militants gathered here today, including representatives from SSEIU Local 79, UAW Local 869, Chrysler, Wayne State, the Revolutionary Worker Youth and the Trotskyist Organization, at the call of the the Revolutionary Youth International and the International Workers Committee against the Repression in Eastern Europe and the USSR take up the campaign to obtain free entry of the Commission of Inquiry of the International workers movement into Poland in order to find out the truth behind the brutal repression launched against the Polish workers after their general strike of June 1976 by the Gierek regime. We take up this campaign in order to:

- (1) Win the immediate liberation of all those imprisoned by Gierek and his secret police,
- (2) Demand the recall of all workers who were fired for participating in the uprising,
- (3) Punish those responsible for the massacre and imprisonment of the leaders of the general strike, including the young student Stanislaw Pyjas, assassinated for his struggle against the repression in Poland.

We condemn the so-called "amnesty" proclaimed by Gierek which has left the real criminals, the rapacious bureaucracy and their police, intact. And we reject the pious hypocrisy of Carter and his campaign for "human rights" which attempts to conceal the real support of the American government to dictatorships and repressive regimes around the world and attempts to destroy the conquests of the workers in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Further, we demand that the question of enlarging this Commission with the election of workers delegates be put on the agenda of UAW Local 600 Stamping Unit's next meeting and that the unions represented here today, the Wayne State Staff Association, Local 79 of the Service Employees International Union, as well put the election of workers delegates on the floor of their next meetings. We call on all workers, militants and organizations to enlarge this campaign through the election of workers delegates to the Commission and the building of demonstrations at the Polish consulates to demand the visas for the members of the Commission.

Shachtmanism and how to fight it

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

In recent issues of THE MILITANT the Socialist Workers Party has proudly announced and discussed its "fusion" with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee. It claims the RMC is a revolutionary tendency which has broken from opportunism and sectarianism; that the SWP's fusion with it is an important contribution to the construction of the party, internationally and in the US.

The SWP leadership dismisses the RMC's confessed indifference to the class conflict between the Soviet State and the US imperialist state and claims the RMC will loyally build the SWP on the basis of the defense of the proletarian character of this state against imperialism. This fusion is supposed to show that "everybody" ought to get together; in this way the party will be built.

None of this is true. This fusion with what is a Shachtmanite, anti-working class, and anti-Trotskyist tendency is an attack on the Fourth International, especially its American section. And their aim is further attacks. To carry out this fusion, the leadership has covered up the entire history of our party's struggle against Shachtmanism without which our party would have been destroyed. It has falsified the history of this particular tendency, to keep workers and youth in the SWP off guard.

The RMC will never loyally build any party which fights for the conquests of the October Revolution. And the party of the October Revolution can only be built in a firm struggle against them.

We think the anniversary of the Russian Revolution is an appropriate time to renew our fight against Shachtmanism, to bring out the political history of this struggle, expose the SWP, and arm workers and youth for this combat. And we think we are the appropriate ones to do this for, unlike the current leadership of the SWP, we were formed in the battle FOR TROTSKYISM against this petty-bourgeois tendency.

THE PROLETARIAN PROGRAM AND PARTY AGAINST THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

Our International has waged a systematic struggle against petty-bourgeois tendencies and elements who, thinking they were revolutionaries, joined the workers' movement, then opened up an attack on its program and party, at the first moment they encountered any serious difficulties, any serious pressures from imperialism and Stalinism. This has been an especially important struggle in America because of the sheer weight and thus political influence of the middle class in this heartland of world imperialism.

These elements have always been especially "hard" on the Russian Revolution, and its party. In 1917, when it all didn't match up to the expectations of petty-bourgeois radicals and anarchists, they decided to disassociate themselves from it. In the 1920's and 30's, when the Revolution and the Bolsheviks were confronted with the Stalinist betrayal, scores of petty-bourgeois socialists in America who had earlier defended the revolution, decided all was lost, and began to attack it. The "League of Abandoned Hopes," our party called them.

The International reached a qualitative turning point in this struggle in its fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition which arose within the Socialist Workers Party on the eve of World War II. Every step forward of the international since then has been based in

this struggle.

The fight first broke out when the party was trying to prepare itself politically for the war, when Stalin made a pact with Hitler and invaded Finland, impulsing the occupation of factories and the seizure of estates. "Democratic" imperialists in the United States, who hadn't shed a tear over Stalin's pact with their counterparts in Spain, when they crushed the Spanish revolution and organized the torture and assassination of hundreds of workers' leaders, shed rivers over poor little Finland.

Two leaders of the SWP, James Burnham and Max Shachtman, followed suit. They demanded the party take a neutral position in the conflict between Soviet troops under Stalin's leadership and Finnish capitalist government troops; adopt Burnham's bureaucratic collectivist or Shachtman's agnostic position on the class nature of the USSR and change the "bureaucratic conservative regime" led by James Cannon which refused to respond to this new situation. They acquired the support of Martin Abern and his clique who agreed with them about none of the political questions only about the "regime."

These positions were only expressions of the petty-bourgeois nature of the opposition and its abandonment of the entire struggle of the proletariat and its party. Trotsky, Cannon, and the rest of the leadership of the International fought to bring this fundamental question to the fore. They demonstrated this with a fight for Marxism, for dialectical materialism, the method of the proletariat which affirms the scientific truth of its struggle for power. This forced Burnham to openly express his petty bourgeois hostility to historical materialism, which he characterized as "religion;" Shachtman, his complete disregard for principle for he was willing to bloc with Burnham on the "concrete" question of Finland while claiming to disagree with him on fundamentals; Abern, his interest only in replacing the regime, for he disagreed with the minority on all things but this.

In this way Trotsky and Cannon formed the proletarian wing of the party and waged a fight for it to break, theoretically, politically, and practically from the petty-bourgeois sceptics. They thought this was absolutely necessary even when these people comprised almost half the party. The lessons of this struggle are contained in Trotsky's IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM and Cannon's THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PROLETARIAN PARTY. For its part, the minority refused to discuss the fundamental questions. To do so would expose the nature of their bloc. They confined themselves to the "concrete," "practical" questions, finally split from the International, and stole its press.

THE TEST

On the basis of this struggle the Fourth International and the SWP went forward during the war, formed a cadre, recruited among the masses of young workers, especially black workers in the heart of industry and politically prepared the uprisings which came at the end of the war. They continued this fight in 1953 when a similar opposition, this time led by Michel Pablo, arose claiming there would be years of Stalinist dominated workers states, nothing could be done, the International should be liquidated. This tendency, called the Cochranites, not surprisingly, had very friendly relations with the Shachtmanites.

Shachtman, on the other hand, who'd

been abandoned by Burnham, founded the "Workers Party," then the Independent Socialists, then liquidated altogether into the Socialist Party. He and his cothinkers finally became part of the right wing of the Democratic Party, advisors to George Meany, the State Department and the CIA, and hawks during the Vietnam War. A small group led by Hal Draper remained outside the Socialist Party but retained all its hostility to the Fourth International. This grouping formed the International Socialists, who today are found at the side of every liberal bureaucrat and not so liberal bureaucrat, trying to block the workers struggle in the unions.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The International Committee of the Fourth International, of which the SWP was part of, renewed its fight against Shachtmanism in the late 50's, and on the basis of this fight for the program and party of the proletariat, formed the Young Socialist Alliance in the midst of the offensive of the proletariat and the crisis of the Stalinist apparatus around the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

It's not an accident that a young Shachtmanite militant won to Trotskyism in this fight, who himself played a key role in this fight within the Shachtmanite youth organization -- Tim Wohlforth -- went on and continued a struggle for Trotskyism when the SWP leadership abandoned it and reunited with the Pabloites in 1953.

In Trotsky's battle against Shachtmanism were raised all the fundamental questions of proletarian revolution and its party. It's a good school, one which helped Wohlforth in joining the International Committee in this fight, one against the current leadership of the SWP, Hansen, Barnes, Shepperd, et. al.

In 1973, this fight was once again renewed by the International League -- Rebuilder of the Fourth International. It fought with us for the program of the International while we were attending an international conference of Shachtmanites and their European counterparts.

Under its influence we opened up a fight within the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) for the defense of the conquests of the socialist revolution in Russia, for the program of the proletariat, in defense of the struggle of the International Committee. We characterized the leadership of the RSL as centrist and the wing represented by Bruce Landau, Shelley Kramer, and Eric Olsen, as "unregenerate Shachtmanites." They became hysterical and all the while claiming that the Russian Question, Shachtmanism, and the International, had nothing to do with it, opened up a "political" discussion on "correct functioning," an incredible campaign of slander, and expelled each of us one by one on a whole series of charges.

We continued that fight and have earned the hatred of both the current leadership of the SWP and the RMC for it.

Is further proof necessary that the struggle for the program and party of the world proletariat is incompatible with Shachtmanism, be it in the early (RMC), middle (IS), or late (Shachtman and Co.), stages of its degeneration, with every form of petty-bourgeois scepticism? Far from being so anti-Stalinist, more revolutionary than Trotsky as it claims, the Shachtmanites and their counterparts

are found side by side with the Stalinists and other centrists supporting the agents of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy within the workers movement in the US, the of imperialism in every country. Friends of the Shachtmanites have ways been those who hate the Fourth International the most -- the POUM in Spain, Lutte Ouvriere in France. I never heard of any in Eastern Europe or the USSR.

SWP FALSIFIES

So true is this, indeed so obvious is this upon the slightest examination that the leadership of the SWP has

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to try to cover up the struggle of the Fourth International against Shachtmanism, its meaning, and falsify the role of the RMC in presenting its fusion to workers and youth.

In its article in the September MILITANT, the leadership discusses opportunism of the IS and its position on the Russian Question and never mentions that the IS is Shachtmanite. It tries to reduce the opposition between Trotskyism and the IS to a little difference on the Russian Question.

It claims the RMC'ers rebelled against the opportunism of the IS. In fact the Los Angeles wing and a good part of the Detroit wing of the RMC didn't break with the IS. They were all dragged out, kicking and screaming. Landau and Kramer didn't even give up Shachtman's "theory" of bureaucratic collectivism, which says the working class in Russia is no longer a working class, but slaves and that the only class revolution is off the agenda for hundreds of years.

Speaking of the conflict within the RSL, the SWP says: "Shortly after the RSL was formed, it too, went through a couple of splits." How delicate! all the SWP wants to hide the relationship of the leadership of the RMC to the fight we led for Trotskyism. In fact the Landau, Kramer, Olson group first coalesced in reaction to the seriousness with which we were continuing Trotsky's program. They did not want the Communist Tendency which defended the conquests of the revolution in Russia in the RSL. They thought we were "stuffy" and "uncomradely" and not laughing at a play put on by their counterparts in New York in which Cannon and Shachtman were presented as tweedledum and tweedledee and Cannon as a stupid old drunk.

Landau, Kramer, and Olson (the leaders of today's RMC) took the lead in the attack on the Soviet Defensist and Trotskyist Tendencies as they began to form in the RSL. They were willing to say what the others were not that Trotsky's position on the Russian Question was centrist, that it led to the destruction of the Fourth International and the defeat of the movement, that the Fourth International had been completely destroyed, that the International Committee which the SWP had formed in 1953 then abandoned in 1963, had been as rotten as Pablo's "International."

And needless to say they took the lead in a campaign of slander and intimidation. The Olson "democrats" in L.A. even broke into a comrade's house to steal personal letters. We know something as well about the so-called concern of the RMC for "democracy"--the "democracy" of bureaucrats and goons. Having passed over this little event in the life of the RMC, the SWP goes on to claim that the RMC led a fight against the abstentionist sectarianism of the RSL, that this was the basis of the formation of their tendency. This is a simple lie. Their tendency was finally

formed on the basis of the necessity to write, read, study, discuss and distribute, long documents in the internal bulletin, long articles in the press. This they called the "ISKRA period." A plan of action entirely consistent with their assessment of the state of the struggle of the proletariat and its party. A plan entirely consistent with their class nature--petty bourgeois.

Finally the SWP claims that the long odyssey of this "dedicated" group of revolutionaries ended when they realized the SWP's position on democratic rights was correct and decided they would build the party on this basis and put their differences aside. This too is a simple lie. Read their documents. While youth and workers in the SWP may think taking up these democratic struggles is a way of preparing the revolution and building the party, and we think this is false, the RMC thinks neither. This is all just a way of occupying their time. Revolution, they think neither the working class nor its leadership is capable of!

"Objectively, the international proletariat today stands in the best position for carrying through the overthrow of capitalism that it has ever stood in its history. In contrast, however, its political incapacity to immediately shoulder that task is apparent.

... The task facing us today is help rescue the Fourth Internationalist movement from its present crisis of political disorientation and organizational fragmentation..." (RMC Papers #11)

And in what does the salvation of our movement lie? Joining the RMC in recognizing all the conquests of the Russian Revolution have been destroyed, that there's nothing left to de-

collaboration with Stalinism and Social Democracy in support of imperialism.

The SWP is aligning itself with Carter's "human rights". Hugo Blanco said it openly in Detroit: "If Carter called a conference for "human rights," the SWP would be the first to come." The SWP, together with the Eurostalinites, envision a democratic and peaceful transition of the capitalist states (the US, Spain, France) and the Stalinist regimes (Poland, the USSR). Bolshevik revolution and Bolshevik parties, inevitably lead to totalitarianism. So says Carillo. So says Plyusch. And so says the document for the 11th World Congress of the U.Sec., all pseudo Leninist and Trotskyist verbiage aside.

The SWP wants to get everyone together who agrees with them on this. They want a united front against the FI. In such a situation "fusion" with a Shachtmanite tendency like the RMC--whose entire history and current being shouts out that the struggle of the proletariat and its party is worse than hopeless, that all that can be done is to rely on liberal bourgeois and Stalinist to stem the rising tide of fascism, while "Revolutionary Marxists" (interestingly enough the same thing the early Shachtmanites called themselves) write long articles and clarify things-- is not only permissible, but desirable.

Indeed, "the fusion and the discussion it will generate will also cause some people to take a new look at the SWP." So says the SWP. We agree. But what people? Liberal bourgeois and demoralized radicals. That's who. Only a few more doses of the RMC will be necessary to remove whatever taint of Trotskyism may remain to bother them.

We are an obstacle to all this. That is why we are so hated by the leadership a fact which the militants have been made aware of by now if they weren't already. Hasn't the RMC already started the "gossip" which brings us to the second reason the SWP leadership fused. They want to use the RMC against the Trotskyist Organization. They think they can get some dirt on us from the RMC. Or

committees. We urge militants of the SWP to ask them for the documents of this struggle. If they won't give them to you, we will.

Let there be no doubt. The leadership of the SWP will stop at nothing to organize this front against the International. They and the leadership of the RMC are preparing a provocation. They are preparing to Americanize on a full scale, the French OCI's campaign of slander. The only question is how and when.

THE BATTLE AHEAD

A resolute struggle against this regroupment is necessary on every plane. It's a theoretical struggle: for Marxism against petty bourgeois scepticism and eclecticism. It's a political struggle: for workers democracy, workers government, unity of workers in the West and the East; for the independent world party of the proletariat, against all coalitions with liberal bourgeois and Stalinists, even coalitions for "labor parties. It's a practical struggle to build the International Conference of Young Metalworkers for the Socialist United States of Europe, to build the Revolutionary Youth International.

The Trotskyist Organization is leading this struggle. Our rebellion against Shachtmanism was not limited to our studies. We fought in the UAW. We fought in the Teamsters. We didn't break with Shachtmanism and claim to be Trotskyist for the sole purpose of better attacking Trotsky. Despite the intimidation, we learned the truth, we fought for it, and we joined the Fourth International. That and that alone gives us the right to call ourselves the US Section of the Fourth International in the process of being rebuilt.

We suggest workers and youth in the SWP compare this one statement, made mid-way in our fight, with all the gibberish of the leadership of the SWP and RMC: "We are confident that in the course of our work, we will meet with the best elements from the present organizations and with the growing number of proletarian militants; and that with them we will join in the reconstruction of the Fourth International and see a WORLD October." (TRUTH #1, Sept. 1974)

That's what we did and that's what we're doing now. But we can't do this without the workers and youth in the SWP.

It's already clear that they've reacted against this miserable fusion. But, the SWP leadership is trying to trick them saying the basis of the SWP/RMC fusion is agreement on revolution in America, by attacking the CP for collaborating with imperialism and for not defending the USSR. This was their response to the CP's attack on the fusion, an attack whose objective as always was to force even more concessions to Stalinism than the SWP has already granted. And once again they have not been disappointed. In its reply the SWP hastens to reassure the CP that it is really for the defense of the USSR, but the SWP mentions every means of doing this but overthrowing Stalinism. "A struggle against Stalinism. Overthrow the tyranny of Stalinism." but never overthrow Stalinism. This is no more an oversight than Shachtman's or Landau's position on the USSR. No, there can be no doubt.

A fundamental political battle on the part of workers and youth in the SWP, for Marxism, for the proletarian program and party, for the International, for the youth, against this fusion, which benefits only imperialism and Stalinism, and the policy it represents, is necessary. It will be an inspiration to workers and youth within the United Secretariat, but suspicious of the preparation of the 11th Congress.

With such a fundamental political battle, the Fourth International will be built. This is what Lenin, Trotsky, and Cannon all meant when they say a workers party is built on principles. Unprincipled regroupments, swamps, only destroy principles. This was the lesson of the fight in 1940 and is the lesson in the fight today. Join us. November 2, 1977

SEPTEMBER 15, 1974

Victory last winter.
The military has opened up possibilities for a new administration offensive. The Swedish strike by 4,400 nurses in San Francisco forced the passage of a law covering hospitals under the provisions of the NLR. Strikes of public employees, primarily black and women, in Ohio, Baltimore, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, have provided an impetus for their organizing efforts as well as the defense of their rights to strike.

The issues of the strike were very clear: the right to a decent life and the defense of women's organizations.

RIGHT TO LIVE

"Cost of Living? What's Living?"
This issue is the most immediate issue of the strike -- wage increases and fight over cost of living provisions. The cost of living is up 9% a year, which has resulted in a decline over the last two years of workers' real weekly earnings by 3.9% a year. In 1973, the real purchasing power of workers took its largest dive since World War II. American real labor costs rose less than any other major industrial country over the last several years. This was due to another wage gain than anywhere else. Along with rising unemployment, the American working class, and especially its most oppressed sections, has seen the most vicious attack on its living standards in 10 years. The strike wave has been a basic defensive response to this rapid decline in the standard of living. The fight over the cost-of-living has produced a numbers response from the bosses. The Canadian rubber workers have been on strike for over 100 days against Fineman and Goodyear for a cost-of-living clause in their contract. The rubber workers defeated a CIA clause in the 1970 US Rubber contract. A Canadian victory would have an explosive impact on the 100,000 US rubber workers. For rank-and-file workers the cost-of-living is one of the most important issues and demands.

**VE
ENSIVE**

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!**

**THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL**

central organ of the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
REBUILDER of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**The YOUTH Against
the WORLD CRISIS!**

TRUTH Joins with the LIRQI!
Proclamation of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION
of the USA!

**Report on the Struggle of
the International League
in PORTUGAL and SPAIN I**

Issued by the International League Executive Committee, English edition
10 P. March 1974 price: \$1.00

were going to build a labor party, which Kramer glowingly reported in THE MILITANT.

Why does the SWP deny the struggle of the Fourth International, of which it was once a part, against Shachtmanism? Why does it lie about the RMC?

Because in the face of the mobilization of the proletariat and the continuation of the struggle of the International, especially in America, by the Trotskyist Organization, the SWP has deepened its

at least that it will help them make up some. And even if this doesn't pan out, they can be sure the leadership of the RMC will be utterly dependable soldiers in the struggle against the TO. Fourth International haters, par excellence, these people are.

The struggle Landau and Kramer waged against the founders of the Trotskyist Organization was their ticket to New York. We were the references that gave them jobs on the SWP's leading

france: the key to the european revolution



LOR of France Leads Demonstration.

By JON COHEN

All the decisive questions of the preparation of the revolution in Europe are today being fought in France. The situation in France is important for every working class militant and revolutionary to understand because the fate of the European revolution, the first stage in the world revolution, will be determined by the class struggle in France in the coming months.

For imperialism, above all US imperialism, and for the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin, the 5th Republic in France is a fundamental element of the maintenance of the old order in Europe. Not only is the French bourgeoisie responsible for holding back its working class -- the working class of the Paris Commune of 1881, the working class of the May-June General Strike of 1968 which brought in a new stage of the international class struggle -- but it plays a direct role in holding back the revolution throughout Europe.

It was the French bourgeoisie which directly set up the Soares regime in Portugal to turn back the upsurge of the proletariat. It is the French bourgeoisie which is at the center of all the efforts to "stabilize" the Suarez government in Spain with the aid of the Communist and Socialist Parties. It is above all the French bourgeoisie which negotiates with the Stalinist rulers in Eastern Europe -- the Gierks, the Titos, the Brezhnevs, to give them international credibility as "statesmen." The fall of the 5th Republic would unleash an overturn of the old order throughout Europe.

The French Fifth Republic has been hanging by a thread since May-June 1968. The agony of the Fifth Republic has been prolonged since 1968 thanks to the support it has received from the French Communist and Socialist Parties. It was the French Communist Party which called off the General Strike in 1968, which ordered the workers back to work and through its counter-revolutionary "Grenoble Agreement" with DeGaulle saved the French bourgeoisie from the working class revolution.

Today, in the face of the development of the world class struggle since 1968, the Giscard government no longer corresponds to the relationship of forces between the classes in France. The divisions in the French bourgeoisie -- between Giscard who is seeking to remain in power by relying on the support of the Socialist Party against the Communist Party on the one hand, and Chirac -- whose "Movement for the Republic" expresses the wing of the French bourgeoisie that is openly preparing for civil war against the working class, demonstrate the sharpness of this crisis in the face of the increasing mobilization of the French workers and youth.

COMING LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

The coming legislative elections scheduled for March 1978 centralize the pre-revolutionary crisis in France. These legislative elections have a powerful place in the future of the revolution in France and in Europe, not as an election or because of the electoral results, but because the fight in these elections will confront the different tendencies, programs, parties and social forces of the revolution and counter-revolution. These elections will define the fundamental forces which will dominate Europe in the next years.

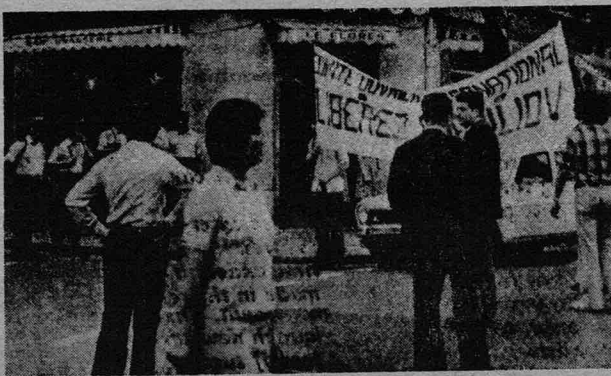
The "Union of the Left" and its crisis is at the center of the preparations of these elections. The "Union of the Left" was formed in 1972 by the Communist and Socialist Parties around the "Common Program" which was nothing but the modern version of the Popular Front, an attempt to save capitalism in France through a program of reform with the cooperation of the official leaders of the workers movement.

The "Union of the Left" has been a trap for the French working class and its youth. Time after time, the French Communist Party has held back the mobil-

ization of the workers with the excuse, "Wait until 1978, don't do anything to disturb things and we'll get what we want when we come to power in '78." Of course, the Communist Party never had any intention of coming to power and certainly not any intention of changing capitalism in France.

American workers, does this sound familiar? Doesn't sound a lot like the "Wait until the Democrats are elected and then everything will be better" line of the trade union bureaucracy? It is, except on the terrain of the class struggle in France, where the official leadership of the workers movement is dominated by the French Communist Party; this collaboration has to be expressed in more "socialist" phraseology.

And of course the centrists in France, especially the "friends" of the US Socialist Workers Party, the LCR of Krivine and the OCI of Lambert played a key role in deepening these illusions in the French working class concerning the "Union of the Left." Their entire policy in the last 5 years has been one of tailing the "Union of the Left," of demanding that these treacherous leaders, the leaders of the CP and SP, take power and form a "CP-SP Government without bourgeois ministers."



Never mind the fact that the Communist Party has openly renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat, the very possibility of a working class revolution in France, never mind that they have said that if in power they would keep Giscard as president, "respect" NATO, etc. etc. Never mind that the Communist Party has broken every major strike in the working class in the last five years. "The CP-SP should come to power," say the centrists, so the workers could "learn from experience."

Sound familiar again? Sounds like the centrists in the US who want the US workers to demand that the labor bureaucrats and left Democrats form a Labor Party that will try to reform capitalism. Once again, because the workers need to "experience" these traitors.

Unfortunately, for the Communist Party and the centrists, the French working class and its youth has had enough of this kind of "experience." The "Union of the Left" is in open crisis today. The Communist Party and Socialist Party have broken their agreements, and it is very probable that the "Left" will not win a majority in 1978. The centrists are in total disarray.

This crisis has been forced by the mobilization of the French working class and the deepening distrust on the part of the working masses and youth towards the "Union of the Left." Today, the Stalinists have no guarantee of being able to save the Fifth Republic through the means of the "Union of the Left." The French bourgeoisie no longer trusts the ability of the CP to control the working class. And the CP must do everything now to see that the bourgeoisie directly keeps its power.

Today, the centrists as the loyal allies of Stalinism, are concentrating all their efforts on trying to reconstitute the "Union of the Left" through the pressure of the workers, acting as the loyal opposition to the French CP. This total prostration is proof of what we have been saying for many years -- these centrists have no basis for existence outside of left support to the apparatuses -- without the apparatuses they are nothing. It's like trying to imagine what the SWP in the US would do without NOW, the NAACP, the union bureaucracy to pressure to take leadership of the workers mobilization.

Thus the French OCI, led by Lambert, once the continuity of the Fourth International in France, now after renouncing the fight to rebuild the Fourth International is reduced to the pitiful, yet fitting policy of organizing workers to send telegrams to the Communist and Socialist Parties demanding "unity." "25 Workers say: 'Profoundly upset by the division, demand unity of CP-SP' -- telegram to CP and SP" -- read a recent

headline in their paper, INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES. The French LCR pursues the same policy, without the telegrams, defining "workers unity" as the unity of the treacherous apparatuses, at the same time trying to say, "We don't want to act as marriage counselor for the CP-SP" while making their central demand, "CP-SP Government without bourgeois ministers."

FRENCH SECTION OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The only way to not act as "marriage counselor" is to organize the working class independently in these elections in the struggle for its own power, the Workers and Peasants Government, a result of the strike committees and factory councils, led by the revolutionary party. This is why the French section of the Fourth International, the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionaire of France (Revolutionary Workers League) is centralizing its forces around a revolutionary mobilization of the French working class around these elections through the fight for our candidates on the basis of our Platform.

The fight in the legislative elections will be the axis of the fight to prepare the revolution in France by assembling the vanguard of the working class in France around the foundation of the Revolutionary Workers Party of France in May 1978.

Whatever the results, whether the Union of the Left wins through disunity and in this way saves the Fifth Republic, or whether the majority remains the majority, what is at stake in this electoral campaign are the conditions which will determine the next battle of the classes -- for the revolution or the counter-revolution.

The intervention of our party has the opportunity to decisively change the conditions of this battle in favor of the working class. By being the only party to raise the banner of the socialist revolution in these elections, the only party to mobilize the French working class youth in the fight to renew the leadership of the working class and construct its party, the LOR of France can use these elections as a means to confront the bourgeoisie and Stalinism's treachery. It will make the fight to build a new leadership in these elections a decisive stage in the preparation of the revolution in France, and therefore throughout Europe.

OUR FIGHT TOO

France is not so far away. The American working class is preparing its own May-June and the American bourgeoisie is suffering its own crisis, a direct result of its failure to "stabilize" the situation in Europe. The deep crisis of the Schmidt regime in West Germany, which is one of the centers of the post-World War II attempts of US imperialism to "stabilize" Europe, and the crisis in France, Italy, Spain England deepens the crisis of the American bourgeoisie which is fighting to maintain its order around the world, at the same time its internal regime is being shaken by the working class.

The latest "dilemma" of the Carter regime -- whether to stay at home during the month of November and see that the "energy bill" (plan of austerity against the working class) is passed or travel abroad -- to Europe and Latin America to stabilize the bourgeoisie there -- expresses this crisis. "I can't do everything at once," says Carter.

The questions that are being fought out in the preparation of the French revolution are the questions of the American revolution -- the confrontation with the treacherous apparatuses, the fight against all illusions in "peaceful reform," the fight against the centrist illusions that "the workers will spontaneously learn through their own experiences," the need to organize and mobilize the working class youth in the bastions of the proletariat and to build the party through the Revolutionary Youth International; this is part of the combat of the American working class as well.

The World Metalworkers Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe and the Third Congress

of the RYI will be held in France this December and next May respectively. This is not accidental. The preparation of the French revolution can proceed in no other way than as part of the preparation of the world revolution. The presence of young workers from the US in France will not only be a way of bringing the experience of the fight of the American working class to the aid of the French revolution, but also a means to forge this world unity that will determine the fate of the French and European revolutions. A fate which rests on the shoulders of the American working class. November 2, 1977

Workers rights

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

These bureaucrats are no accident or mistake either. This is also bourgeois democracy. There will be no democracy in the unions until there is a workers leadership, a revolutionary leadership.

To win Workers Democracy -- Take the offensive! The working class is tired of simply fighting to "defend" its democratic rights which are constantly under attack -- the rights of workers, of blacks and other minorities, of women, of youth. Everywhere we look, everytime we turn around, there is a new attack on our rights.

Take the offensive! Not simply to "defend" our rights, which will never be safe under capitalism, but to win and impose our democracy, Workers Democracy, and for the working class to take control of this society.

To organize this fight we have to confront another pack of liars besides the ruling class and its preachers. First of all the Stalinists -- the American Communist Party which says that the police dictatorship in the USSR is "workers democracy" -- a lie, pure and simple, and who now are down on their knees begging Carter to implement "human rights at home" and trying to make us believe that some good will come out of the Democratic Party in Congress.

Next are the centrists, represented above all by the Socialist Workers Party who go even further. They too, beg Carter to implement "human rights at home." But they go even further than the Stalinists in putting forward the theory that there is no such thing as Workers Democracy, that "consistent" bourgeois democracy will equal the socialist revolution.

This has led them into the left wing of American bourgeois democracy -- its most "consistent defender." It makes them obstacles to the real fight of the working class for its own democracy. They refuse to recognize that bourgeois democracy is only a mask to disguise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

Thus, as the left wing of bourgeois democracy the SWP opposes all working class solutions to the crisis of capitalism, to the attack on Workers Democracy. They oppose "preferential layoffs" to the fight for jobs for all, as if "consistent preferential layoffs" will solve the problem of black unemployment. They oppose "busing" to workers control of the schools, as if "consistent busing" will solve the problems of racism. Racism is not a mistake, but IS capitalism. They oppose "affirmative action" to free education for everyone, as if, for example, the lack of doctors, was some ACCIDENT on the part of capitalism and its bourgeois democracy.

Finally, these "best builders" of bourgeois democracy wind up demanding "free speech for fascists." It becomes clear now where "consistent" bourgeois democracy will lead you -- into the gas chambers!

As the "best builders" and "best defenders" of bourgeois democracy, the SWP is rapidly earning the contempt of the best militants of the working class, black and white, as it did in the 60's when it led the anti-war movement into the Democratic Party, trying to convince the youth that this war too, was just a "mistake."

Bury this stinking corpse of bourgeois democracy which is only allowed to remain around thanks to the support of the Stalinists and centrists! Expose the US government for what it really is -- the most vicious, anti-working class regime modern history has ever known -- its riches gained through indentured servitude, slavery, child labor, the most vicious strikebreaking the world has ever seen, and imperialist plunder. No, this is not our 'democracy.'

Workers Democracy is our fight. It is also the fight for its leadership -- the party of the working class prepared to lead this offensive to victory throughout the world -- the Fourth International.

This offensive against the Carter regime, against the bureaucrats who support it, against the Stalinists and centrists who stand as barriers to our mobilization, must become the rallying point for the offensive of the working class youth to build the Fourth International in the US. It must be our offensive in the unions, in the schools, in the streets to construct our democracy, to forge our rights, our freedom and to build our party to lead it.

Young workers -- it is under the banner of the Russian Revolution of 1917, under the banner of Workers Democracy, under the banner of the Fourth International that we are building the Revolutionary Youth International in the US. This is the banner of the preparation of the World Metalworkers Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe in the US -- as the response to your daily struggles and as the way to resolve them in victory.

On the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution we continue this fight by saying:
Down With the Ca. CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

For a Workers Government to Build the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas!
Long Live the Party of Lenin and Trotsky!
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

November 2, 1977

ON THE MURDER OF TOM HENEHAN Statement of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization

On October 15th, Tom Henehan, a member of the Political Committee of the Workers League was murdered in New York City. Another militant of the Workers League, Jacques Vielot was seriously wounded in this attack. According to the BULLETIN, the paper of the Workers League, the attack occurred while these militants were defending a dance organized by the Young Socialists. We condemn this brutal and cowardly attack and extend our condolences to the members of the Workers League and Young Socialists.

While we are in political disagreement with the policies of the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International which the Workers League is in political solidarity with, something we have always openly stated, we recognize in the murder of Tom Henehan the loss of a young, working class leader who clearly dedicated his life to the cause of the emancipation of the working class and died fighting for it. This murder was a blow against the entire working class movement in the US.

The working class must therefore avenge this murder. Those responsible for this murder -- those who fired the shots, as well as those who might be behind them, must be exposed and punished. A thorough investigation must be made as a way of developing before the entire working class the violent and brutal nature of the US government and especially its police apparatus as the source of all such brutality and vio-

lence in this society. We are willing to assist in whatever way possible in this investigation.

We reject any attempt to write off this murder as "just another senseless killing." This is what the US ruling class and its press constantly want everyone to believe. Every murder in this country makes sense -- as a clear indictment of US imperialism.

Especially when it concerns a leader of an organization which claims to represent the Fourth International, even though we disagree with this claim. This murder, for whatever reason, whoever committed it, is an attack on the Fourth International. It is an attempt to demoralize and block those who want to build the Fourth International in the US. The Workers League and the Young Socialists must be defended by all those who claim to represent it.

In this framework we condemn the silence to-date of the organizations which claim to represent the Fourth International in the US, in particular the Socialist Workers Party. The total silence of its leadership in the face of this attempt to terrorize the Fourth International in the US only shows the profound distance between it and Trotskyism.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE U. S. -- US SECTION (SUPPORTING) OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
November 1, 1977

Poland

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

obstacle to the revolution throughout the world. The Stalinists were the gravediggers of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and have betrayed every revolution since then. To fight to the finish against Stalinism was the reason that the Fourth International was founded.

THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, the Stalinist bureaucracy is the fundamental support to the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. The US working class would have destroyed this bureaucracy, would have destroyed the Democratic Party long ago if it wasn't for the support that the American CP, as well as the Kremlin bureaucracy gives them time and time again.

The Stalinists do US imperialism another favor. By totally discrediting in the eyes of the US working class the dictatorship of the proletariat, by presenting the regime of police terror in the USSR as "socialism" the bureaucrats of the Kremlin reinforce the idea that the US bourgeoisie is "more democratic." What young worker hasn't gotten sick reading the descriptions of the "glorious workers paradise" in the USSR, Poland, Hungary, etc. in the pages of THE DAILY WORLD, when everyone knows these are lies?

Thus, it is precisely the Stalinists who allow, who give the movie script to Jimmy Carter to preach his fraud of "human rights" concerning Eastern Europe. Jimmy Carter, like Ford before him, like Nixon and like every President of the US since 1917 has really been only concerned about one kind of "rights" in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The "rights" of capitalism to reverse the work of the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party which overthrew it and restore capitalism once again and destroy all the conquests of the first socialist revolution. They are willing to send us back to the Stone Age with their atom bombs in order to accomplish this.

BARBARISM WITH A LIBERAL FACE

But the Stalinist repression allows US imperialism to present this barbarism with a liberal face. It allows Jimmy Carter to present himself as the champion of democracy in Eastern Europe and the USSR while he is building his neutron bombs and attacks the US working class at home. It allows the UAW bureaucracy to send \$10,000 to help the workers in Poland while not giving a dime, not sending ONE lawyer, not sending one representative to the trial of the Trenton 7 auto-workers who were recently convicted of criminal contempt for their wildcat strike. These lackeys of capital present themselves as the defenders of the work-

ers rights in Poland only to futher beat down the American workers.

That Doug Fraser, who sent in a goon squad of 1,000 to crush striking workers in 1973 in Detroit, who is a police commissioner in Detroit, could dare pass himself off as a defender of the workers in Poland, begins to show us the importance of this campaign in the United States.

ONLY OUR PARTY

Our fight in the US to defend the Polish workers is a fight to prove that it is only the working class and its world party that can fight Stalinism and can defend the workers victimized by Stalinist repression by preparing the world revolution, the overthrow of BOTH capitalism and Stalinism. We must TAKE AWAY from US imperialism the claim that it defends "democracy." We must unmask and confront this fraud of "human rights" which not only hides Carter's real intentions towards the working class in Eastern Europe, but hides his real intentions towards us -- the preparation of war and counter-revolution.

Our fight is also a fight to TAKE AWAY and confront the Stalinist claim that their dictatorship has anything to do with that of the working class. It will also be a way to take away and confront their claim that support to the left Democratic Party, the "liberal-labor-black alliance" has anything to do with the interests of the working class.

Armed with this policy we can see how to advance this fight in the US. Taking the fight for the Commission into the unions will be a way to confront the reactionary bureaucrats and explain to other workers how their "anti-communism" is an attack not only on the workers in Eastern Europe and the USSR but an attack on US. Laugh in their faces if they dare talk about "human rights" in the presence of the Revolutionary Worker Youth!

The same goes for the Stalinists in the US, the American CP. When they try to say that the USSR and Eastern Europe are "workers paradises," ask them, if that is really true, why does the US working class have to settle for the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill? If Brezhnev is such a great revolutionary leader, why do American workers have to settle for the American CP's "heroes" -- John Conyers and Coleman Young?

In the fight to defend the Polish workers the RWY will settle accounts with the bureaucrats in our own midst as well and begin turning the unions into weapons of the revolution. This fight got a new start at the October 30th meeting, the task now is to deepen the fight and make it a living weapon of our daily struggles.
November 2, 1977

After two years of silence...

SWP JOINS COUNTER-COMMISSION TO PROVE SLANDERS

By ANN NELSON

The WHITE PAPER OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY: "The French OCI leads a campaign of slander against Michel Varga and the Fourth International" is just out. This edition in French is over 250 pages of documents gathered against the slanders of the leadership of the OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste -- France) against Michel Varga and the Fourth International. The WHITE PAPER answers for workers and communist militants how, why and who benefited when the leaders of the OCI decided to accuse Michel Varga of being a "GPU (USSR secret police) and CIA agent." But for young workers and militants, and the whole international workers movement, the WHITE PAPER answers much more.

Our organization was formed in 1972, when the leaders of the OCI began the liquidation of the Fourth International and its program in favor of a loose confederation of organizations, each with its own policy. The rebuilding of the Fourth International was "postponed indefinitely." From this political act came the necessity to attempt to block workers from listening to our organization. This is the root of the slanders of the leadership of the OCI.

The WHITE PAPER is an important part in understanding the process through which the (then) International League did rebuild the Fourth International. Because above all, the WHITE PAPER shows the truth about our political policy and how it was set into action, as well as the truth about the policy of the OCI in particular and the centrist organizations which gave its slanders credence: the Spartacist League, the LCR of France, the Socialist Workers Party (USA), and Lutte Ouvriere of France (its "sister" group in the US is SPARK). The slanders of the OCI above all have aided Stalinism.

We print below two letters from the Second Part of the WHITE PAPER titled: "The Organizations Contacted Accepted... and then refuse the Inquiry." The first letter is the first word heard from the leadership of the SWP, TWO YEARS after the slanders began, accepting a place on the "Commission of Inquiry" initiated by the Spartacist League which from the beginning decided that these were not slanders but "statements requiring proof." The second letter is the reply of the Secretariat of the Commission of Inquiry.

For militants of the SWP, these letters are of particular importance not only because they document the SWP leaders' complicity in this farce, but because not ONE WORD has been printed in the MILITANT or any other public publication of the SWP. But it is obvious from the letter that they consider their support to the slanders no small matter. Why aren't the militants of the SWP informed as to the importance of this matter?

Because the SWP leaders would prefer to whisper in the dark: "We've got the goods on Varga" as John Hawkins, a member of the National Committee, whispered to one of the militants of the Trotskyist Organization during a political meeting. These slanders have been used as they were intended, to avoid political confrontation, to hide from the militants of the SWP the SWP's centrist policy as well as the revolutionary policy of the Trotskyist Organization.

We hope that the English Edition of the WHITE PAPER can be published as soon as possible. As soon as plans are concretized for its publication, TRUTH will accept orders from workers and militants. Until then, we will continue to print excerpts from the WHITE PAPER.

From: Socialist Workers Party (USA)

To: Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (France)
Workers Socialist League
Lutte Ouvriere

January 9, 1976

Dear Comrades,

The plenum of our National Committee on January 4th decided to participate in the Commission of Inquiry on the accusations of the leadership of the OCI against Michel Varga and the counter-accusations of the LIRQI against the leadership of the OCI.

We have asked John Benson, Gus Horowitz and Ed Shaw to be our representatives in this commission and to do everything possible to assemble, first of all, the documentation and the different opinions on this affair. They will be in contact with you next, to discuss the organization of the commission and the exchange of information which must be available for all the members of the commission of inquiry. We have also asked other members of our leadership to aid the commission in every possible way, during their stays in Europe.

Keep us up to date on all the preliminary conclusions.

Fraternal Greetings,

Barry Sheppard, for the Political Committee
Socialist Workers Party

Copies: USFI
OCI
LIRQI

(Note: This is the first position of the SWP since the beginning of the campaign of slanders of the leadership of the OCI. The SWP of the USA in solidarity with the same organization, the United Secretariat, as the French LCR. The editors)

From: The Secretariat of the
Commission of Inquiry

To: Socialist Workers Party

March 15, 1976

Comrades,

We are taken by surprise, with the copies of the letters that you have addressed to the LCR and the LO, that you have accepted participating in setting up a commission of inquiry at the invitation of the IST (International Spartacist Tendency), the LO and the LCR.

We are surprised for two reasons:

1) First, because, after having maintained silence for two years and not having given any response to the letters we have addressed to you, that now you have rallied to a project whose "objectivity" and "impartiality" is strongly doubtful. The International Spartacist Tendency has taken up the accusations without proof -- that is to say, the slanders -- of the leadership of the OCI, and the draft of the text for March 27th which says it is necessary to "verify if these accusations are founded or not" (!)

when except for the Spartacist League, all the participating organizations, the LCR and the LO, notably, have ALREADY characterized the documents made public by the OCI as slanders, and they refuse to characterize them as "proofs."

2) Secondly, this position on your part is even more surprising when you are the victims of slanders that are just as sinister by Healy, leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party of England; it is not obviously for us to "judge" your leaders, to see, if they were by chance, agents of the GPU, but to condemn and reject with the most firmness these slanders and to denounce their authors before the international workers movement.

There is enough time for you to return to a principled position by basing yourselves on the constitution of the Commission of Inquiry, constituted at the initiative of the Fourth International, reconstructed by the LIRQI. There is still time for you to break with those who take the side of the slanders of the leadership of the OCI, like the IST.

We call you to the first session which will be on the 18th of March, the second on May 4th at 8:30 pm at the indicated address.

Communist Greetings,

The Secretariat of the Commission of Inquiry

LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL & THE NATURE OF THE SLANDERS! SUPPORT THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE PAPER IN ENGLISH.

OUR PRESS IS OUR WEAPON!

By FRED VITALE

This issue of TRUTH, #60, on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution begins a new format. It represents an advance for our press in the US. With this format we have one and a half more space than in the previous format and its appearance is much more attractive, much more mobilizing.

This advance has been made on the basis of real gains in the distribution of TRUTH during the last year. So far in 1977 over 600 copies of TRUTH have been sold to autoworkers in Detroit and Chicago. About an equal, perhaps a little more, copies of the press of the Revolutionary Youth International has been sold as well.

We have set the goal of selling 250 more copies of TRUTH to auto and steel workers in the preparation of the World

Metalworkers Conference in December. We have also set the goal of selling 150 copies of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

The continued improvement of our format depends on the massive distribution and subscriptions to TRUTH. Readers of TRUTH may have noticed the problems we have had in developing a regular format for TRUTH -- it is both a financial problem and a problem of the militant resources of our party.

To build our party, to build the organization of the youth, is to build its press. The first task of any young worker who sympathizes with our fight, is interested in finding out more, is to buy a SUBSCRIPTION to TRUTH and help to distribute it massively.

Take up the fight for the New TRUTH! 250 copies by December 10th! November 3, 1977.

Read TRUTH!

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