

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!**

# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## WHY TROTSKYISTS ARE FOR A WORKERS PARTY

The disgust of workers and youth with Carter's government and his Democratic Party has never been greater.

Statistically, the opinion polls and the election turnout for last year's Congressional elections prove this.

The continuing strikes and the daily hatred of the youth for this system of unemployment, repression and war say it even louder.

But mere disgust never changed anything. Abstention from the political scene is not enough. In fact, it often plays into the hands of our enemies.

It gives the bourgeoisie breathing room and time to prepare even greater attacks on the workers and youth. It allows them to divide the workers ranks. While the unemployment, inflation and social decay continues.

What is necessary is not just a simple rejection of this system. What is necessary is ANOTHER ROAD.

The Trotskyists, organized today in the Trotskyist Organization/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, believe that there is another road. That there is a way to

pass from a rejection of this system to an offensive against it.

This is why we want you to join us in building a movement to found a WORKERS PARTY. A party that can offer a real alternative to the masses of workers, youth and oppressed in this country.

This movement is not just for Trotskyists but for every youth, worker, every individual oppressed by this capitalist society and is seeking a way forward. It is your party.

Why a WORKERS PARTY? -- A WORKERS PARTY because all the other parties are bankrupt and above all, capitalist. The Democratic Party is a party of the rich which has claimed to speak in the name of the workers in order to betray all of their struggles. It is the party of the trade union bureaucrats who betray you daily.

There is no mass party which speaks for the workers in this country.

-- A WORKERS PARTY because a PARTY is necessary. The lesson of all the struggles of the 60's and 70's is that the working class cannot win by leaving its battles isolated on the level of

the factories, the schools, the streets. The working class must take up politics and must confront the other parties head-on with its own organization, its own party.

-- A WORKERS PARTY because a WORKERS PROGRAM is necessary. Not a party to get some people elected or to pass some laws in Congress. But a party to IMPOSE the demands of the workers and oppressed.

Workers control of production. A sliding scale of wages to deal with inflation. A sliding scale of working hours to end unemployment. A program for the liberation of blacks and the end to racism. A program for the unification of the American working class with its brothers and sisters around the world.

-- A WORKERS PARTY because it is the workers THEMSELVES who will build this party. Not the Democratic Party liberals. Not the trade union bureaucrats. Not Doug Fraser and his "Progressive Alliance" or any other group of traitors opposed to a workers program.

It will be built in the mobilization of workers and youth for their rights--in the factories and schools-- for their

independent organizations. Anyone who stands in the way of this mobilization is an enemy of this party.

-- A WORKERS PARTY because WORKERS POWER is needed in this country. A party must be built to take power away from the capitalist class. Built not to "stand up and fight" in Congress but to destroy this reactionary institution and all the other instruments of reaction in order to replace it with the democratic rule of the workers, with WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

-- A WORKERS PARTY because it is a mobilization for today. Because the formation of a movement for this party is the IMMEDIATE TASK in front of the American working class, in front of every mobilization.

We are for building this movement in every action of the working class-- in every union, factory and school-- as a means to centralize all our struggles into an offensive. We are for taking all the necessary steps to found this party of the basis of this mobilization.

These are our reasons. Now we ask you to build this movement with us.

February 8, 1979 TRUTH

**RESOLUTION OF THE IEC**

**OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (Page 2)**

**INSIDE**



**POLAND (Pages 4-5)**

**ONE YEAR AFTER THE MINERS STRIKE**

**(Page 3)**

# JANUARY MEETING

# Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

The world political situation continues to be characterized by the renewed efforts of the proletariat and working masses to independently confront the bourgeoisie and the parasitic bureaucracies.

In Spain-- which remains the advance point of the revolution; where all the problems of the revolution which confront the workers are the most crucial-- the working masses delivered a blow to the Sacred Union by defeating the monarchy's referendum. In France, after the failure of the Union of the Left the preparation of the National Union by the apparatuses has run up against the working class-- localized, but violent confrontations which have opposed important sectors of the working class to the bourgeois state.

The steelworkers strike in Germany and the strike wave in Great Britain have put into question the Social Democracy's policy of "social consensus."

The demonstrations and workers strikes in Poland.

All of these elements in the development of the European revolution impulse and simultaneously serve as a basis of support for the entry into struggle of new sectors and countries in the rest of the world (the appearance on the political scene of the working masses in China, the revolutionary process in Iran).

At the same time, as the expression of the contradictory character of the development of the class struggle, signs appear

which prove that there is a danger hanging over the working class initiative. The independent affirmation of the proletariat is in danger because the workers are hesitating in face of the difficulties of assimilating the problems of the revolutionary preparation because they feel that they are insufficiently armed for the confrontation with the bourgeois state supported by the Sacred Union of the apparatuses and the dictatorships of the parasitic bureaucracies.

The workers are ready to reject the Sacred Union of the apparatuses but they do not feel ready enough to advance into revolutionary struggle.

The result of the referendum in Spain is the most flagrant example of this tendency among the workers, a tendency existing in every country.

The workers rejected the referendum by abstention-- they proved that they were withdrawing their confidence in the opportunist apparatuses-- but the working class did not affirm itself on the political terrain as a class by engaging the struggle towards a solution which would be its own; a working class solution, independent and revolutionary.

The hesitation of workers to pass from rejection of the apparatuses to an independent political offensive can only be overcome by the independent struggle of the revolutionary party. In fact, the independence of the proletariat is above all the independence of

its international party, of the INTERNATIONAL CENTER-- the Fourth International in the face of Stalinism and its Sacred Union and in face of the pseudo-Trotskyists of the OCRFI of Lambert-Just and the USec of Mandel-Hansen whose "re-unification" maneuvers are above all attempting to prevent them from passing from abstention to a political offensive.

The independence of the party signifies being in the forefront, opening up the revolutionary perspective, fighting for it among the masses, including against an attitude of the masses themselves which says that strikes can replace the engagement of the proletariat on the political terrain.

The most important element of class independence is the independence of the revolutionary party through the struggle against the capitulation of the centrists to Stalinism in the name of the Fourth International. Workers must break with the illusions that the centrists reinforce in order to be able to draw a balance sheet of Stalinism to its conclusion-- by engaging with the Fourth International in renewing the leadership of the workers movement. This struggle must flow from the problems that the working class confronts. It is the Fourth International which determines the tasks of the proletariat and the combat to realize them at each stage.

(Continued to Page 10 )

# TRUTH

P.O. BOX 07066  
DETROIT, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen  
Editorial Board  
Kevin FitzPatrick, Ann Nelson  
Rich Tetrault

Published bi-weekly in Detroit, MI  
by TRUTH, INC.

— Subscription rates —  
— US, Canada, Mexico —  
\$5 for one year; \$2 for six month  
introductory.  
— Airmail to —  
Latin America or Europe  
\$10 for one year  
Inquire for other rates.



## TRUTH is your weapon! SUBSCRIBE!

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: TRUTH-PO Box 07066  
Detroit, Mi.



### BECOME A TRUTH DISTRIBUTOR!!



Write  
TRUTH

Bundles-- 10 for \$1

The results for TRUTH #87 were:

|                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Ford River Rouge .....         | 5   |
| GM Cadillac.....               | 9   |
| GM Chevy Gear & Axle .....     | 14  |
| GM Chevy Warren .....          | 11  |
| Chrysler Dodge Main .....      | 3   |
| Chrysler Warren Stamping ..... | 4   |
| Chrysler Lynch Assembly.....   | 3   |
| Detroit High Schools.....      | 17  |
| Wayne St.University.....       | 9   |
| DETROIT (Total).....           | 83  |
| GM Hydro-matic(Ypsilanti)....  | 17  |
| OTHER .....                    | 15  |
| TOTAL .....                    | 115 |

# ONE YEAR AFTER THE MINERS STRIKE

## REGAIN THE INITIATIVE!

By JON COHEN

At this time last year 180,000 coal miners were on strike. It was the longest strike in UMW history.

But it was more than a long strike. It signalled a new level of combativity in the working class, a maturation of its consciousness expressed in its attempt to break the stranglehold of the Democratic Party and its trade union apparatus. It was a step forward in the fight of the working class for its class independence.

Throughout the strike the miners fought to break out of the limitations imposed by the UMW bureaucracy. They built their own organizations to win their demands and protect their strike.

Roving picket squads shut down scab mines. Mass caravans of cars stopped scab coal from being moved. Strike committees and armed self-defense squads met company and police violence with armed resistance.

All this was carried out in violent opposition to the UMW bureaucracy led by Arnold Miller.

The first contract Miller signed was even rejected by his Executive Board who feared for their lives if that contract was taken into the coalfields! The second contract was rejected by a 2-1 margin. The final contract was only passed through starvation-- the miners were denied the millions of dollars of relief money collected by the Miller bureaucracy.

Finally, the miners confronted the government of Jimmy "human rights" Carter. In the middle of the strike Carter invoked the reactionary Taft-Hartley back-to-work order.

Only 30 miners out of 180,000 returned to work. It was an open defiance of U.S. imperialism in its heartland. Expressed by this resolution of the 16,000 member UMW District 6 which declared:

"As miners we are disappointed that the Carter administration resorted to the use of this law. We believe it's a disgrace for him to use this law and at the same time piously claim to the world that he and his administration believe in human rights."

This is why miners won the vast sympathy of the rest of the working class. Because their strike was a defiance of this reactionary government. A rejection of the rotten trade union bureaucracy and its Democratic Party.

It was also clear that the Carter government was on the defensive in the face of this strike. Carter's popularity sunk to an all-time low.

The miners had the initiative and this was a signal for the

rest of the working class. The months following the miners strike saw a strike wave in the U.S. equal only to 1974 which itself was the largest strike wave since World War II.

All sectors took part, especially public workers. And this Fall the railroad workers gave a repeat performance. 5,000 workers shut down the entire rail system. They defied Carter's back-to-work order. In fact, the strike DOUBLED the day after Carter ordered them to go back!

This mobilization is continuing today, expressed by the extremely important strike of 17,000 USW shipyard workers for union recognition in Newport News, Virginia. This is the first major attempt to organize the South in many years.

The working class remains mobilized. But every thinking worker also feels that the situation isn't the same as last year, during the miners strike. That too many battles, including the Newport News strike, are being fought from a defensive posture. A certain amount of initiative has been lost, there exists a hesitation in the mobilization of the working class concerning how to go forward, how to regain the initiative.

The hesitation is POLITICAL. Both on the level of the combat in the unions and in the fight for workers rights in society as a whole.

In the unions, where the power of the working class lies, workers are hesitating to go forward on the basis of the only possible conclusion gained from the miners strike-- A NEW LEADERSHIP is needed for the unions.

No matter how deep the disgust that the majority of workers feel towards the trade union bureaucrats, no matter how many times the workers try to get around these traitors, the workers initiative will be blocked again and again until these traitors are THROWN OUT.

Rejection of these traitors is not enough. Young workers must win back their unions by building a new leadership.

The same hesitation of the most militant young workers to pass from rejection of the trade union bureaucrats to an offensive to build a new leadership is also expressed in the difficulties in developing an open political confrontation with the Carter regime.

The level of hostility towards this government has never been greater. According to the polls, Nixon was more popular! The alienation of the youth from the Democratic Party has also never been greater.

Last year also saw the lowest turnout for Congressional elec-



Miner burns his contract, 1978.

tions in recent history. Less than 35% of voting-age Americans bothered to vote in the November elections.

It is this deep disgust and rejection of the Democratic Party which has precipitated a crisis in both the Democratic Party and the Carter regime.

But abstention will get rid of neither the Democratic Party nor Jimmy Carter. The reverse is true. At the same time that this rejection has precipitated a crisis of Carter's government, it has also given it a basis for continued survival, a basis to deepen the attack on the working class--Carter's budget, inflation, etc.

As long as the working class is largely absent from the political terrain, absent as a class acting in its own name and for its own interests, the Carter government will be able to pass from crisis to crisis, with each crisis deepening the attack of the bourgeoisie on the working class and preparing the way for open repression.

And as long as the working class fails to build its own independent political alternative the Doug Frasers and their "Progressive Alliance" will continue to present themselves as "left" alternatives to Carter. They will continue to lead a section of the working class into the dead-end that is the Democratic Party.

The greatest danger for the mobilization of the working class and its future is not that strikes won't continue. It is not that more and more workers will come to hate their union leaders. Or that the disgust with Carter and his Democratic Party won't deepen.

The danger is that the work-

ing class and especially its youth will not take advantage of this historic opportunity, given the political situation both here and around the world, to take the historic step forward for the American working class -- the realization of its political independence from the U.S. capitalist class and its parties-- the construction of a WORKERS PARTY.

The greatest danger is that militant workers and youth will continue to believe that "politics is none of my business" and that "the bureaucrats can have their union" all the while thinking that strikes or demonstrations alone can lead to victory. Illusions that are consciously reinforced everyday by the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA believes that politics IS the business of the working class and ESPECIALLY the youth. That the bureaucrats CAN'T have the unions--they belong to US.

And that it is a political struggle that is the key to regaining the initiative begun by the miners last year by taking the offensive against the Carter government to a new and higher level.

A political struggle to channel the hatred and disgust for this government and its Democratic Party into a vast and powerful movement of workers, youth and unemployed to construct their own independent, political alternative--a WORKERS PARTY.

A movement open to any fighting worker or youth who wants to continue the offensive of the American working class and build an alternative to this society in decay.

February 7, 1979

# POLAND :

## Defend the Socialist Conquests, Power to the Workers Councils !

We are reprinting below the translation of an Editorial from WALKA KLAS (Class Struggle), the journal of our Polish Section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland. This Editorial appeared in its December 1978 issue.

The translation is from the January 1979 French Edition of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. TRUTH

proletariusze wszystkich krajów łączcie się!

# walka klas



The newspaper of the Polish Section  
of the Fourth International

The situation in the country is pre-revolutionary. The massive and independent combat of the working class in December, in June (1) and in countless strikes has brought into motion the other oppressed sectors (the peasant masses, the university and high school youth, the intelligentsia) and has placed the Stalinist apparatus of Gierek in front of a political crisis of unprecedented depth, which is being deepened daily. Neither the bloody repression, the constant arrests and trials, nor the false promises and appeals by the government have succeeded in strangling the working class resistance and imposing the anti-working class economic policy of the Gierek-Jaroszewicz government. On the contrary. After the general strike of June 1976 the struggle of the working class has been reinforced and in the last few months has passed to the stage of the creation of independent working class organizations.

The appearance, in Katowice, in Gdansk and in other industrial centers of Free Trade Union Committees constitutes an element of fundamental importance for the combat of the workers against Stalinism. This initiative places at the center the question of the political and organizational independence of the working class in face of the usurper regime, supposedly working class, which for 30 years has taken away the political power belonging to the working class.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (Section of the Fourth International) openly and unconditionally supports the Free Trade Union Committees along with all working class initiatives which go in the direction of the independent organization of the working class. The December and June movements proved that only the working class was able to block the catastrophic economic and social policy of Gomulka (2) and his successor, Gierek. And that the only solution to the crisis is a working class solution (along with the other oppressed sectors) by organizing around an alternative program and perspective for the realization of all the

demands and aspirations of the workers. Everything depends on the working class, from how we organize ourselves in the factories, to around what political objectives and with the aid of what means and methods. In other words, how to build this class independence which has today become the most urgent task and which the Free Trade Union Committees are its embryos.

We, the Polish Trotskyists, say that true and total independence for the working class can only be conquered if the proletariat in the factories takes central political power over the state, the economy, the material and cultural wealth into its own hands and places their production and distribution in the service of the workers and oppressed. There is no other road. All other roads lead, in one way or another, to keeping power in the hands of Stalinism. Workers have rich experiences of past struggles. It is necessary to draw the correct conclusions. In October 1956 (3) the independent movement of the workers, the youth and the socialist intelligentsia won the abolition of censorship, freedom of the press, organizations of the youth and free trade unions, and above all independent Workers Councils, created at the initiative of the auto workers of the Zeran factory. But these conquests were quickly destroyed, because at the time people still thought that the apparatus "renovated" by Gomulka could become, under the pressure of the masses, power for the working class. The illusions about the possibility of "democratizing" the Stalinist apparatus in power led to defeat (the workers realized this 14 years later, in December) which was also confirmed by the experience of the working class in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Free trade unions, real and lasting, the full and lasting realization of any kind of political freedom, are incompatible with the maintenance of Stalinism in power. The Gierek regime is a usurper regime, supposedly "working class" and "socialist," based on the police and the army. It cannot tolerate ANY INDEPENDENCE and in particular the independence of the working class itself. It is necessary to overthrow it by force! This is why the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland calls on the Polish workers and fighting youth to concentrate all their forces in the struggle for the INDEPENDENT POWER OF THE WORKERS COUNCILS, in alliance with the peasant masses, the university youth and the socialist intelligentsia.

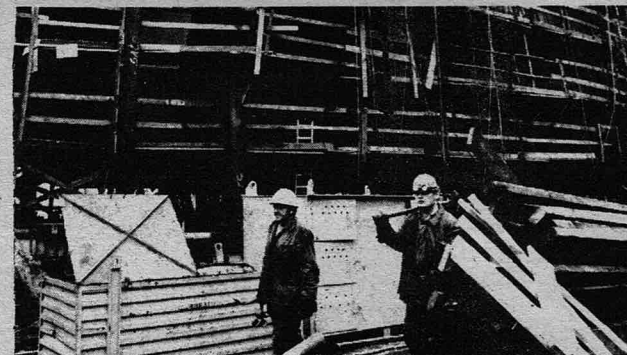
**BUILD THE ALLIANCE WITH THE WORKERS OF THE USSR.**

The present movement of workers in struggle around the question of free trade unions, the entire search for a workers platform guaranteeing independence vis-a-vis Stalinism and the realization of the demands of the workers already constitutes a first conclusion concerning the previous attempts to "democratize" the apparatus in power, dearly paid for. It is necessary to go further, all the way, and transform this movement into a movement for the power of the Workers Councils. Councils which in

October 1956 did not succeed in going beyond the doors of the factories, victims of Gomulka's swindling. Committee and Workers Commissions of the Baltic (4) which occupied the dockyards and the entire city of Szczecin, but who had to give way to Gierek's blackmail about the danger of the armed intervention of the Kremlin because they did not yet have a program of struggle for workers power.

It is a serious undertaking. The stakes are colossal. The greatest degree of clarity concerning the necessary political means for victory is indispensable. Every worker realizes that it can no longer be a question of partial solutions when it concerns winning the complete independence of the working class. Still more when we all can remember the military intervention of Khrushchev in Hungary in 1956 which crushed the workers in Budapest who were armed and organized in Councils and also the intervention of Brezhnev and the Warsaw Pact troops against the Czech masses.

The following conclusion flows from this-- the overthrow of Stalinism in Poland and the seizure of power by the working class are inconceivable without the fight of the USSR workers for the overthrow of the Kremlin apparatus itself, which Gierek is a part of. The road to victory passes through the common organization of the Polish workers with the workers of the Soviet Union. Presently in the USSR there is developing a movement similar to the one in Poland for



Gdansk shipyards

free trade unions, launched by the miner from the Donbas region, Vladimir Klebanov, and several hundred workers from different industrial centers. It is necessary to begin to unite and develop this common combat, beyond frontiers, for the overthrow of the entire international apparatus of the Kremlin. Without this any struggle for no matter what kind of demand and certainly the struggle for the power of the Councils is from the beginning condemned to new defeats.

**FOR THE "MODERATE" OPPOSITION THE COMBAT OF THE WORKING CLASS IS A "CATASTROPHE."**

But what do certain regroupments and oppositional currents which appeared after the June '76 strikes under the impact of the general strike and the growing resistance of the oppressed sectors propose? They neither call for the overthrow of Stalinism nor for the combat for workers power. In the case of the Committee for Workers Defense (KSS/



BUDAPEST, 1956

KOR) and the Movement in Defense of Human and Citizen Rights (ROPCIO) it concerns the contrary. In the name of "responsibility" and "realism" they propose the necessity for "those in power to negotiate with society" because "if not there will be a catastrophe." What scares them so much? The very idea of the possibility (in fact very probable and close) that the workers will again take to the streets. For them a workers revolution is a "catastrophe." It is "anarchy"! Let us quote Jacek Kuron, one of the principal representatives of the KSS/KOR and the "democratic opposition":

"The greatest danger to Polish society at the present time is the state of anarchy provoked by a total paralysis of the power of the state. To this is linked the danger of the greatest social explosion in 30 years... There is only one way to surmount this economic, social and political crisis: beginning negotiations with society.... If the state authorities wish to begin such negotiations the opposition's duty would be to support them in this direction. Also in respect to the limits of the discussion that would have to be defined... (The Soviet authorities) could be forced to intervene because of troubles, but not by a moderate reform, which in the long run constitutes the only way to avoid grave social troubles." (5)

In a word, Jacek Kuron proposes an enthusiastic perspective for workers-- whether it be a "moderate reform" of the Stalinist apparatus in power, which, it goes without saying, demands the limitation of "excessive" working class demands and aspirations-- or whether it be the intervention of the Kremlin's troops, in case the workers do not conduct themselves in a "moderate" fashion. In 1956 Gomulka said the same thing by using the threat of the intervention in Hungary. He did this only so that the Polish workers would not take to the streets, would not centralize their Councils, would not overthrow Gomulka himself. In January 1971 Gierek said the same thing to the shipyard workers by asking them for "a loan of confidence." And today, when the large majority of Polish workers are seeking the means to "not let ourselves be fooled again" (as the workers at the "Warski" shipyards have said) by the illusory mirages of "moderate reforms;" when in Rumania, in Czechoslovakia, in East Germany, in Bulgaria and in the USSR itself a larger and larger movement is developing in the factories, this is what Jacek Kuron proposes to block the road and to attempt,

despite everything, to "arrange things" with Gierek within limits acceptable to Brezhnev. Why doesn't Kuron say what "limits" he is thinking about? What demands must the workers abandon? The threat of armed intervention serves one goal-- the workers must not put into question Stalinist domination and must not seek the political and organizational means to allow for the definitive overthrow of the Kremlin apparatus, the liberation of the working class and other oppressed sectors by the seizure of power by independent Workers Councils.

But Kuron says: power will not reform itself alone, it is necessary to "force them." How? "By organizing the social movements at the highest level...in the first place the workers of large industry." (6) In other words, for Kuron, the present movement for independent trade unions and for free organizations of the working class must be subordinated to a goal: "to force" the Stalinists to transform themselves into democratic lambs and to realize what the workers want. It is truly a singular conception of class independence. However, the experiences of the revolutionary movements in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland have taught us that the struggle of the working class signifies the confrontation with the entire Stalinist apparatus, and in the first place with the Kremlin apparatus. Kuron wants to "organize movements" by depriving them of their meaning as a struggle for power, by taking away from them at the very beginning any instrument to be able to face Stalinist terror and the armed intervention of the Kremlin, which has always been the result of illusory attempts at "democratization" and "pressure." How easily Kuron throws out that phrase-- that if one does not arrive at "imposing negotiations on those in power" then "in the worst case" (discreet allusion to armed intervention) these social movements organized by Kuron "will keep to a minimum the depth of the catastrophe." (7) To follow the propositions of Kuron today is to find oneself tomorrow in the situation of the Budapest and Prague workers--with empty hands, that is, to lose!

For Kuron, the "catastrophe" is the fact that the Stalinist dictatorship is paralyzed by the resolute struggle of the workers. Kuron's dilemma is how to heal this paralysis of Gierek and not how to free the working class from Stalinist cancer. But the only medicine for Stalinism is the attempt to calm the workers. For the workers such medicine is poison.

For the Fourth International, as for

the workers who are struggling, the problem is how to win and not which aspirations to abandon; how to be free of the barbaric terror of Gierek and the Kremlin and not how to "reduce the catastrophe."

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland insists on the urgent necessity of preparing the conditions for the seizure of power by independent Workers Councils. We must concentrate the discussions which are presently taking place in the factories and in workers circles around the dangerous consequences of propositions for a "democratization" of Stalinism-- whether they be "self-reform" or "imposed reforms" versions. The principal problem in the present stage of the movement is to unite the workers in a vast clarification of how to conquer power and to clearly characterize and reject the many propositions and programs which, in one way or another, tie workers to Stalinism. In today's struggle the most important thing is clarity; a clear program for the conquest of working class independence.

TO PREPARE THE POWER OF COUNCILS IT IS NECESSARY TO DEFEND THE SOCIALIST CONQUESTS

Certain political currents and regroupments who today operate inside the working class, including those who put forward the construction of Workers Councils, sow a great deal of confusion. We are in particular thinking about the journal, THE HORNET, which circulates above all in the Baltic ports, edited by the former president of the Strike Committee of the "Adolph Warski" dockworkers of Szczecin-- Edmund Baluka. The 13-point program of THE HORNET not only does not propose to organize the struggle for the independent power of the Councils, but affirms that the election of Councils on the factory level will suffice. According to this program, some fundamental (and correct) demands such as the evacuation of the Kremlin's troops, the dissolution of repressive forces or independent unions can be won without the revolutionary overthrow of the Kremlin apparatus. The program of THE HORNET disarms the workers. It also disarms them when the articles in THE HORNET are filled with an incredible primitive and reactionary anti-Russian chauvinism. By reading THE HORNET any worker could draw the conclusions that everything can be won without taking power and above all within the borders of Poland itself, in the struggle "against the Russians." However, we have seen that the construction of the militant alliance of the proletariat of Poland with the proletariat of the USSR is a fundamental and immediate question. Edmund Baluka disarms the Polish workers and his own comrades in the shipyards as well when he addresses the KSS/KOR of Kuron (which is seeking "democratic" and "reasonable" Stalinists inside Gierek's party), or ROPCIO and the Polish Alliance for Independence--PPN (which openly call for the return of capitalism and are linked to the anti-working class parties before World War II) with these words: "Poland's freedom, this is our platform for common action." (8) and proposes to workers and youth to accept such a "common" platform.

But workers must know and discuss what to do. What goals are we fighting for? The words, "freedom," "democracy," "human rights," are nice words and noble goals. Entire generations have fought to win them and are still fighting in Poland and throughout the world. However, the Movement for the Defense of Human and Citizen Rights (ROPCIO) addresses itself to the President of the United States, Carter, so that the latter will defend human rights in Poland, by using the decisions of the

( Continued to Page 9 )

## A NEW STEP BY THE SWP LEADERSHIP:

# The Defense of Trotskyism

By JON COHEN

Who says that all history is dull?

Not when it concerns those making a living by deceiving and betraying the working class. For these people, history is not a series of dry facts, but a creative art. Constantly being revised in order to hide their opportunism.

The international apparatus of the Kremlin is the most well-known practitioner of this "art." Its HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USSR is a classic example. Every year there is a new edition. Names, dates and entire events appear and disappear. The only constant is Stalinist betrayal.

We can now witness this same "art" being applied by the servants of Stalinism who masquerade as Trotskyist. Who try to steal the banner of the Fourth International in order to lead workers and youth back into the jaws of Stalinism.

These pseudo-Trotskyists are busily engaged in a constant revision of the history of the Fourth International. A revision designed to attack those who defend its real history.

In 1952-53 a crisis broke out in the Fourth International. A crisis caused by the development of a pro-Stalinist, liquidationist faction inside our party led by Michel Pablo.

The forces throughout the world which resisted this attempt to destroy the Fourth International broke with Pablo's faction in 1953 and formed the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International. The International Committee defended and maintained the continuity of world Trotskyism.

The International Committee was led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the British SLL (now WRP) and the French OCI. In 1963 the SWP abandoned the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International and rejoined the Pabloite "United Secretariat."

The SWP was once proud of its history. Because until 1963 it was a history of revolutionary combat for Trotskyism in the U.S. Now its leadership is composed of people who never belonged to the SWP when it was revolutionary. Who can't even claim, as the Joseph Hansens could have, to have EVER been Trotskyists.

This is why the present Barnes leadership of the SWP has always been strikingly silent about the period of the SWP's history covered by the years 1953-63, a period when the SWP was still part of the Fourth International through the struggle of the International Committee. Aside from a collection of "documents" they have written nothing.

Unlike today's silence, the SWP leadership's position in 1953 was very clear. Here's what James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, had to say about the formation of the International Committee:

"The present split is different from 1940 in that it is more definitive. There is not a single member of this plenum who contemplates any later relations with the strikebreakers of the Pablo-Cochran gang . . . The essence of Pabloite revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part -- the conception of the crisis of mankind as the crisis of leadership of the labor movement summed up in the question of the party." (SPEECHES TO THE PARTY, Nov. 1953).

And to make it clear that this was not just Cannon's personal opinion, this is what the "Open Letter" adopted by the SWP's National Committee in Nov. 1953 concluded by saying: "The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revision-

ism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally."

This is the real version of what happened in 1953. From now on we enter into the realm of "creative" history.

After 16 years of silence, the Jack Barnes leadership of the SWP has come up with its "version" of the fight of the International Committee. The occasion was provided by the recent death of Joseph Hansen. It forced them to finally say something about the International Committee.

George Novack started the ball rolling with his obituary of Hansen in THE MILITANT of Feb. 2, 1979:

"In late 1953, when the party leadership decided to send Joe to the upcoming World Congress in Europe as the person best able to explain the opportunist and liquidationist character of the Cochran faction in the SWP and our differences with the Pablo grouping internationally, the American political police directly intervened to deepen the split in the Fourth International.

Joe's application for a passport was rejected on political grounds by the State Department. No central leader of our party was able to travel abroad to directly discuss our political views with our co-thinkers in the Fourth International until Farrell Dobbs received a passport in the late 1950's."

But Novack, who was always slow in getting the "line," is only half-way there. Notice how even this revisionist version becomes revised a week later in a memorial speech given by National Secretary Jack Barnes reprinted in THE MILITANT of Feb. 9, 1979:

"Joe was closely involved in the fight in the 1950's that led to a split in the Fourth International. The stakes in that fight were very high -- both politically and organizationally -- for the world movement.

"But Joe was convinced, along with most other SWP leaders of that time, that the split was not necessary. Here, the political police of U.S. imperialism -- the FBI and CIA -- intervened directly into the fight. They did it by their control over the border and over international travel.

At the climax of the fight, the SWP leadership believed that if a central party leader could get over to Europe to talk to comrades there, they would convince many people, slow down the drive toward a split, and probably prevent it.

But neither Joe, nor any other central leader of the party was able to get a passport."

Who were these "most other SWP leaders of that time," who were "convinced" that "the split was not necessary"? The entire National Committee of the SWP whose "Open Letter" PROCLAIMED and ORGANIZED the split? Cannon, who declared "there is not a single member of this plenum . . .?"

Barnes is consciously lying. But it is even worse because there is a method behind all this.

Barnes presents the most sniveling, petty bourgeois explanation ever given for the SWP's abandonment of the combat for the International Committee. It is not simply that "the split was not necessary," a lie to begin with.

BUT IT WAS ALL THE FAULT OF THE FBI-CIA! If only the political police of U.S. imperialism had handed out a few passports! Then, not only would this "unnecessary" split have been avoid-

ed, but if U.S. imperialism had given its permission, the SWP would have taken up a struggle for the Fourth International!

Of course there was political repression in the U.S. in the 50's. But can you imagine any revolutionary now, and throughout the history of the revolutionary movement of the working class, blaming the failure of a political struggle on the police?

The Bolshevik Party, whose entire history was spent underground, in the face of brutal repression? Whose central leader, Lenin, was in exile for most of this period, in hiding until the day the revolution broke out? Or Trotsky, who organized the forces of the International Left Opposition, including the first Trotskyists in the United States, from a small island off the coast of Turkey? Who spent the last 13 years of his life with neither a passport nor a country, but who somehow managed to found the Fourth International?

It is too ridiculous to even continue along this line. Because there is more to all this than the customary crawling of the Barnes leadership in front of U.S. imperialism and its political police.

There are other reasons why Barnes tries to lay the blame for the split in 1953 on the FBI-CIA. First of all it deals with Cannon. If "only" Cannon had known then what the SWP leadership "knows" now about "FBI-CIA harassment" he wouldn't have been so "sectarian" in 1953.

Cannon was therefore a victim of an FBI-CIA provocation. The International Committee was the unknowing victim of an FBI-CIA provocation. The entire struggle to defend Trotskyism and maintain the continuity of the Fourth International between 1953-63 was victim to an FBI-CIA provocation. If the FBI-CIA had handed out a few passports all of this would "probably have been prevented."

So far this is all in the realm of "history." But all "creative" history has a contemporary purpose. Jack Barnes is no exception. He is preparing the way for the real purpose of this "history."

That all those who TODAY are fighting to continue the struggle of the International Committee are also victims of a provocation. That those who defend Trotskyism today are victims of a provocation. That anyone today who opposes "unity," above all the "unity" of pseudo-Trotskyists taking place today between Barnes' United Secretariat and the OCRFI of Lambert-Just is "probably" doing the work of the FBI-CIA.

That today's Fourth International, which will have no part in this "unity" is "probably" the result of a provocation.

And who "possibly" are nothing but provocateurs.

Why do we draw all these conclusions from these remarks? Because Trotskyists have HEARD ALL THIS BEFORE.

It is nothing but a cleaned-up version of the same Stalinist slanders against Trotskyism from the beginning. That Trotskyists are either "victims" of police provocation, "unconscious" agents of imperialism or else are actual provocateurs themselves. The Stalinists have never been able to say ANYTHING ELSE against Trotskyism because slander is the only weapon they have against the Fourth International.

And slander is the only weapon these pseudo-Trotskyists today have against the Fourth International.

This new step of the Barnes leadership of the

# is a "CIA-FBI" Provocation

SWP towards open Stalinist slander against those who built the International Committee, against those who fought to continue its struggle and against the Fourth International today, is a logical consequence of their present unprincipled "reunification" maneuvers with the slanderers, Lambert-Just of the French OCI who have already been branded by the international workers movement as Stalinist slanderers.

In 1972 Lambert called those who wanted to construct the Fourth International in Eastern Europe "provocateurs." He labeled the struggle to continue the International Committee a "provocation." He called a leader of this struggle, Michel Varga, a "GPU-CIA agent."

In 1979 Lambert has broken up his Organizing Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International (OCRFI) by labelling those who, in a deformed and confused way, want to continue what they see as the struggle of the International Committee against Pabloism: "provocateur guard-dogs of fascism."

This is why we know where Barnes is heading with his "it was all the fault of the FBI-CIA" version of the struggle of the International Committee. Because he is heading into the same organization with Lambert-Just who have labeled any political opposition to them in the last seven years a "provocation."

The terrain for this "reunification" has to be cleared in the United States. Those in the United States -- inside the SWP and above all the Trotskyist Organization/USA who oppose this "reunification" must be slandered as well -- we are "victims" of an FBI-CIA provocation.

And if we are not yet being openly called "provocateurs" by the SWP leadership (which is still only being whispered) it is because the Fourth International has waged a struggle throughout the world and in the U.S. to expose these slanders, a struggle which has placed the Barnes leadership on the defensive.

Because there are militants of the SWP who have publicly declared that they would "defend Michel Varga to the death against Stalinist slanders." Above all because there are young workers in the United States who have repeatedly heard the SWP leadership in the last years label their struggles and combats "provocations."

The young miners who in 1974 were denounced as "ultraleft" for burning their contracts in disgust. The thousands of black youth who were denounced as "un-democratic" for shouting down Hubert Humphrey at a jobs march in Washington,

D.C. The miners and autoworkers today who do not want to "read and study" Doug Fraser's statements calling for the reform of the Democratic Party.

That's why we're not worried at all. Not worried because the Fourth International has existed and fought under all conditions against Stalinist slander. To call the fight for Trotskyism a "provocation" is simply to place you where you belong -- in the camp of Stalinism. And this is indeed where Jack Barnes belongs.

And because no young American worker will stay very long in an organization whose leadership is waiting for the FBI-CIA to grant it "permission" to make a world revolution and whose leadership slanders those who won't capitulate.

Nor is the battle over or its outcome predetermined. Barnes & Co. have taken a new step, but only a step. Militants of the SWP/YSA who want to save the SWP for the revolution, who want to save and organize those healthy forces inside the SWP and who want to fight for Trotskyism can still do so. They can do this by organizing a combat inside the SWP to throw out the Barnes leadership and to take up a struggle alongside the Trotskyist Organization/USA for the rebuilding of the U.S. Section of the Fourth International.

A struggle to defend and continue Trotskyism in the U.S. A struggle which requires neither the permission nor the passports of the FBI-CIA.

Simply some backbone and principles.  
February 7, 1979

## A NEW FRIEND OF "HUMAN RIGHTS"

From the time Carter came into office, his "human rights" campaign has been directed towards saving the brutally reactionary regimes installed by U.S. imperialism.

This is especially true in Latin America. "Plebiscite" in Nicaragua, "constituent assembly" in Peru, "boycott" (a fraud from the beginning) of Chile -- these are the attempts to "democratically" detour the mass upsurge and crush it.

All the forces of the counterrevolution rally to this banner. The visit of the Pope to the third Latin American Bishops Conference (CELAM III) in Mexico shows that among the most important of these forces is the Roman Catholic Church.

"Human rights" -- from those wonderful folks who brought you the Spanish Inquisition!

The Catholic Church is not just one more religion, one more gang of dope pushers. For nearly a thousand years it has been a bulwark against human freedom. Not only is it a prop for the old order, it is itself a component of the system of finance capital.

The international working class offensive has thrown all the forces of reaction into crisis. This is expressed within the Catholic Church -- especially in Latin America -- by the division between the openly reactionary elements and those who advocate the so-called "theology of liberation."

Despite the claims of the supporters of this "theology" to stand on the side of the workers and oppressed against the dictatorships -- even to support "Marxism" -- they do not and cannot break fundamentally with the reactionaries.

For, together with the Pope, together with the reactionaries, they continue to base themselves on "the teachings of the Church on social justice."

These "teachings" are the ones that inspired Franco's fascist "unions" that the Spanish workers have had their fill of. This "social justice" is what the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship in Portugal practiced on the workers until 1974.

All religions, including the Catholic Church, stand for accepting exploitation and

oppression on earth and praying for, as Joe Hill put it, "pie in the sky when you die." All the talk about "social justice" is only a cover for this acceptance, a way to make it easier to swallow.

If the advocates of "liberation theology" hissed the Pope when he praised the "simple joys of the poor," it was only because he was too blatant. There were no hisses when he announced "solidarity with your cause -- the cause of the humble people, the poor." The "liberation theology" of the "left" Catholics, the "personalism" of the Pope, are both encompassed by the counterrevolutionary "human rights" campaign.

Before he left the Vatican, the Pope had a long audience with Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Kremlin bureaucracy. In flight, over the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, he checked in with Carter. When he arrived in Mexico, he shared a warm embrace with the "anti-clerical" President Lopez Portillo -- and asked no embarrassing questions about those whom the Mexican government has politically imprisoned or "disappeared."

On this basis, we can see the nature of the "Christian-Marxist dialogue" that the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (see "Marxism Against Religion" in TRUTH #86) want in on so badly.

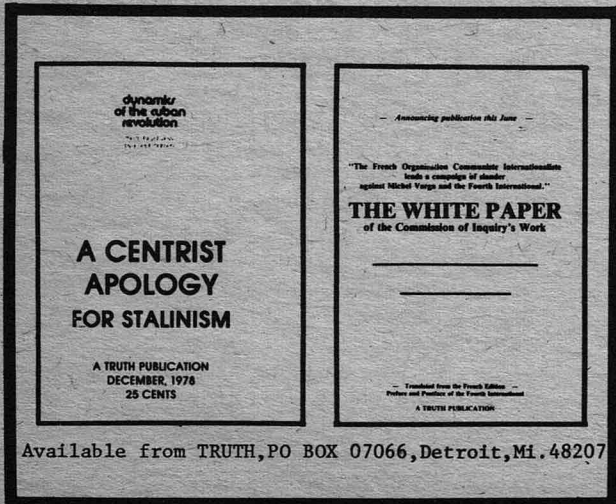
It is a "dialogue" with STALINISM on how best to betray the revolution in Latin America. The same Stalinism with which the Pope has conspired from Poland to the Vatican. The same Stalinism, represented by Castro, that has long collaborated with "liberation theology" to lead the masses to slaughter.

Against the imperialist "human rights" scheme, against those who want a "dialogue" on how to help it, the Fourth International leads a struggle to unite the workers throughout the Americas in a battle to defeat their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and build the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

And for THIS liberation, no "theology" will be required.

February 4, 1979

K.F.



# Mandel Hides the Real Crisis

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Every thinking worker and young person is deeply concerned by the prospect of a coming recession. They want to know what it will mean for them and, above all, they want to know how to fight it.

Ernest Mandel is a leader of the Pabloite "United Secretariat," the pseudo-Trotskyist center which falsely claims the name of the Fourth International. It is no accident that Mandel also claims to advocate "Marxist economic theory." As we pointed out in the last issue of TRUTH ("Socialism or Barbarism!"), one of the chief ways in which the centrists attack the consciousness of the working class is through an "economics" which hides the real questions.

## ARTICLE

The most recent example of this attack is Mandel's article, "Outlook for the World Capitalist Economy in 1979-80," in the January 22, 1979, issue of INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS.

First, this article places itself outside the real concerns of the working class. Instead, it fits neatly within the framework of purely bourgeois prognosticians on the "economy" in the next "biennial period" that are common in the capitalist press this time of year. Mandel's "Marxist economic theory" has nothing to do with our Marxism which is, in Engels' words, "not a dogma, but a guide to action."

"A new recession," Mandel informs us, "is inevitable." This is one of the "three main conclusions that emerge from this examination of the world economic situation." Again, we note that this "world economic situation" is completely divorced from the "world situation" of the relationship between the classes. And this latter "situation" is the only one in which a recession can be seen as something for action, not as an excuse for fatalism.

The second conclusion announces that "the decade ahead of us will be a long period of slow growth, or even stagnation, interspersed with grave recessions and hesitant upturns." So, really, there's nothing to get excited about -- just more of the same.

But then we come to the third conclusion, and the REAL point. "This situation could be changed qualitatively only if crushing defeats were suffered by the workers... Such defeats are impossible in the context of the present relationship of forces. This relationship cannot be altered decisively without a great many limited battles and skirmishes... So, we must prepare for a long period of hard-fought

major class battles."

What an exciting prospect! The working class must prepare for a bitter defensive struggle just to maintain the PRESENT relationship of forces, just to keep the decade ahead from being any worse than the one it has just lived through!

When we say that the Pabloites are out to attack the consciousness of the working class, out to disarm it before its enemies, we are not exaggerating in the least.

## REAL CRISIS

**Mandel wants the working class to believe that it is helpless in the grip of 'inherent' and 'inevitable' 'economic factors.'**

As we said last issue, the REAL crisis of imperialism is not "economic," but is caused by the struggle of the working class to smash this old order and to build its own new world. This was also a central point in the RYW class held February 4, which developed the Text of Formation #1 as well as the material in our last issue.

This point is totally absent from Mandel's long article. Instead he tries to lose us among the trees in order to keep us from seeing the forest. Instead of the ways in which the struggle between the working class and the imperialists expresses itself, instead of a clear policy flowing from this, we get empty speculations on a possible "synchronization" or "desynchronization." We get "structural changes taking place in the world market," by which Mandel means a jumble of everything he could think of, none of which are related to each other, let alone to the real question.

Even when Mandel gives a nod in passing to Marxism, this is done only to distort reality all the more. Marxism does not at all, for instance, deny the existence of the business cycle. When Mandel, however, says that the "cause of the downturn... is inherent in the cyclical movement of the capitalist economy" and, moreover, that "the economic policy of bourgeois governments... can dampen or accelerate these tendencies," he is engaging in a conscious attempt

to create a feeling of helplessness and prostration in the working class.

As we pointed out last issue, there is an insuperable contradiction between the productive forces which unceasingly seek to expand and the existing outmoded relations of production which hold them back. This contradiction takes form in the struggle of the greatest of these productive forces, the working class, against imperialist rule, the sum of the old relations.

Only in this context can we understand the business cycle

and its significance. The business cycle, like all the "crises" that flow from the real crisis, EXPRESSES the contradiction between the working class and imperialist rule, EXPRESSES the struggle between the classes.

Concretely, the business cycle today shows us that imperialist capitalism cannot develop the productive forces. It shows us that in fact it can only attack them. When, every few years, capitalism cannot even sustain the present "development" of the productive forces, but has to throw millions of workers into unemployment, has to physically destroy the accumulated wealth of society, has to attack the social conquests of the masses, WE do not see a "cause of the downturn," but the ground of battle.

And this is what Mandel, with his "inevitable recession," is out to hide.

## DETERMINING FACTOR

Mandel wants the working class to believe that it is helpless in the grip of "inherent" and "inevitable" "economic factors." And more, he wants to create the impression that the imperialists alone can act. This is the meaning of the ability of "the economic policy of bourgeois governments" to "dampen or accelerate" the coming of the recession. This is the meaning, despite all the chatter about "constraints" of various types (which you can

read about any day in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL), of the statement that Carter "wants to provoke a moderate recession in 1979, which could be limited both in its depth and its duration." Now we see more clearly why Mandel sees the coming decade so unchanged -- Carter has it all figured.

We say again that this is all a lie. We say again that the one DETERMINING FACTOR of the crisis of imperialism, of all its expressions and manifestations, is the mobilization of the working class.

The objective of imperialism, of its Stalinist agents, of their centrist assistants, is to hide this fact in order to DE-mobilize the working class.

The reasons for the survival of imperialism today are not "economic." They are above all POLITICAL. Mandel and the rest of the centrist "Marxist economists" announced that the reason why capitalism survived World War II and even stabilized itself for a certain period lay in "economic factors." Capitalism was "born again" as "neo-capitalism" and the revolution was as outdated as Lenin's IMPERIALISM. In fact, the revolutionary upsurge following the war was BETRAYED by Stalinism. On that basis, on the backs of the workers and oppressed of the imperialist countries, of the countries of the socialist conquests, of the backward countries, imperialism was able to achieve the "economic revival" whose fruits we so enjoy today.

The new revolutionary offensive that began in 1968 is the cause of the development of the crisis of imperialism on a new and broader scale. Today imperialism and its allies seek to derail this offensive in order to crush it. Carter is ORGANIZING a recession in order to wage this attack. All those who, like Mandel, announce the "inevitable" and "inherent" character of the plans of U.S. imperialism are out to disarm the workers in the face of this attack. They are out to help imperialism once again "overcome" its crisis on the back of the international working class.

These pseudo-Trotskyists try to present the struggle as one to maintain the present relationship of forces. The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International fight against Carter's organized recession, to organize the mobilization of the working class against the whole imperialist system and for the decisive change in the relationship of forces -- the revolution.

February 3, 1979



Helsinki Conference and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But for Carter, the word "freedom" means the freedom to exploit the American workers, the maintenance of several million unemployed black workers, the interventions of the police and army against the American miners on strike for months; the financing of the bloody military dictatorships in Latin America and, recently, the open and calculated aid to the Shah of Iran against the revolution in that country. For Carter and for all the Western "democrats" human rights in Poland and the USSR means the right of Western capital to regain control over the markets of our countries which have been opened up to capitalism, the right to the restoration of capitalism, the right to restore unemployment in the name of "competition" and profit.

Why do ROPCIO and KSS/KOR hide the real situation and struggle of the West European workers from them, presenting the latter as an oasis of "democracy" and "freedom"? Why does Jacek Kuron, in writing his letter to Enrico Berlinguer, leader of the Italian "Communist" Party, to ask him for help, hide the fundamental fact that the Italian CP, in the name of "democracy" and the "struggle against terrorism" (which the bourgeoisie labels the revolutionaries and combatative workers) has become a true "working class" police force in the factories in common with the largest trade union, the CGIL which it controls? They oppose all the attempts of the combative Italian workers to organize a radical struggle against the Christian Democratic government which, thanks to the Italian CP, has imposed Draconian price increases, wage freezes and organized new battalions of unemployed. Is this the kind of "freedom" that the KSS/KOR, Kuron and Baluka want for Polish workers? . . .

Polish workers must know these facts, must not be fooled and must know that their comrades in the capitalist countries have a completely different opinion of this "freedom" and "democracy" sung by Kuron. There is more. Their comrades, the workers in Spain, France and Italy, have less and less confidence in these "communists" of the Carrillo and Berlinguer type, who just yesterday, enthralled by Stalin, supported the crushing of millions of workers, peasants and communists in the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia and today, supposedly "de-Stalinized," defend the bourgeoisie and oppose every movement, every strike. Already the majority of working class youth reject these parties with disgust and seek ways to radically change the situation, the road to the socialist revolution. It is these workers who are the allies of the Polish workers and not Carter, Carrillo or Berlinguer.

Against Stalinism and against those who, under the cover of "human rights," push the workers into the hands of the "Free World" the central slogan of the struggle of the Workers Councils must be that of the DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST CONQUESTS of the working class. It is necessary to draw the conclusions of what the workers of Budapest said in 1956, accused by Khrushchev of "plotting with imperialism," as well as 14 years later, what the shipyard workers in Szczecin said: "These factories, these schools, this state belongs to us; we did not chase out the capitalists and the nobles so that a new nobility will govern us now, new exploiters." These socialist conquests have their roots in the October Revolution, in the first power of the Workers Councils which expropriated the exploiters, abolished the capitalist system in Russia and opened up the epoch of the socialist revolution throughout the entire world.

But these socialist conquests have been deeply destroyed and pitifully deformed by the Stalinism which, in the 1920's and 30's, became the principal force of the counter-revolution in the first workers state and destroyed the Workers Councils and hundreds of thousands of the best Bolshevik cadres. These socialist conquests, already in their deformed form under the Stalinist vise, were transplanted on the terrain of Poland after the Second World War. But, despite the dictatorship the Stalinist party built over the cadaver of the Bolshevik Party, the socialist conquests became the property of the working masses of our country, the basis for the social transformations of a revolutionary, socialist character. Private ownership of the means of production was abolished, land passed into the hands of the peasants, unemployment disappeared, a massive access was opened up to social services, to health, culture, education, etc.

However, these elementary conquests of the working class have not been able to and cannot develop without its essential political condition being realized: the seizure of power by the workers themselves. A revolution which does not advance inevitably retreats. Today we are seeing all the consequences of the domination of Stalinism over the socialist conquests: Gierek is opening up the economy to imperialist capital, the prices leap and wages decline because the Polish economy is profoundly dependent on the conditions imposed by Western capitalists that Gierek has negotiated with. To such a degree that the official weekly, POLITYKA, has already begun to argue about the necessity of bringing back unemployment, which the "socialist managers" and bureaucrats in power are openly talking about.

And the so-called "democratic" opposition wants us to believe things can be arranged with Gierek, proposing at the same time the so-called "alternative" of joining the West in the name of "freedom." What kind of alternative is this if Gierek and Brezhnev are precisely on the best terms with Carter and the capitalist bosses and play the role of transmission belt for imperialism in our countries of socialist conquests? In Italy and Spain, Berlinguer and Carrillo want to force the workers to "arrange things" and accept the reactionary Christian Democracy and the Francoist monarchy with their police and army. The "democratic" Polish opposition wants to convince the workers in Poland to "arrange things" as well. Here is the greatest danger for the present struggle of the Polish workers. We say: Down with Stalinism, down with imperialism -- Socialism! Power to the Workers Councils! Defend the socialist conquests!

That the struggle for free trade unions, for the independent organization of the workers, as well as the discussions that are developing in the factories be concentrated around these central questions. That all the oppositionist currents define themselves clearly in relation to these slogans and essential objectives for the working class. Particularly journals and currents like THE HORNET, ON THE LEFT and WORKER (9).

It is necessary to prepare the conditions for the victory over Stalinism. To prepare, means in the first place, to discuss and organize around the objectives mentioned. But in order to win a political organization is necessary, an organization with an international character. An organization is necessary in which the workers of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest of Eastern Europe will struggle along with the workers in Italy, Spain, France, the USA and all the capitalist countries . . . The Fourth International

-- its Polish Section -- calls you to join the ranks of the Revolutionary Youth International . . . which was founded at the end of 1975 in Berlin in front of the shameful Berlin Wall which symbolizes the reactionary "iron curtain" separating the workers of the USSR and the other countries of socialist conquests from the workers of the capitalist countries . . .

The Fourth International calls you to the Revolutionary Youth International -- you -- initiators of the movement for free trade union, participants in the strikes of December and June, members of the Strike Committees and Workers Commissions of the Baltic, members of workers discussion circles, students fighting for free organizations and journals of the youth, initiators of the Student Solidarity Committees, the entire working class, college and high school youth. Build this political and organizational link with the workers of the USSR and the capitalist countries. Take the lead of the struggle for the INDEPENDENT POWER OF THE WORKERS COUNCILS, FOR THE DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST CONQUESTS . . .

To discuss and deepen this struggle, to clarify the political means which can lead to victory demands in the first place a massive distribution of the journal that you have in your hands, WALKA KLAS. This is the only journal in Poland which is talking about a clear revolutionary objective and poses the clarification of the essential means for its realization . . . WALKA KLAS must become the journal of combat, the organizer and open forum of the workers and youth building a new leadership. Prepare the power of the Workers Councils! Massively distribute and discuss WALKA KLAS in the factories!

## NOTES

(1) Popular form designating the insurrectional strikes of the workers of the Baltic ports in December 1970-February 1971 which led to Gomulka's fall and his replacement by Gierek, as well as the general strike of June 1976 against new price increases, which forced their hurried cancellation.

(2) Gomulka came to power in 1956 as a "reformer" in the middle of a revolutionary movement of the Councils, had wanted to raise the prices of necessities by 30 to 50% in December 1970.

(3) October 1956 designates the entire revolutionary process which began with the Poznan steelworkers strike and street confrontations whose culminating point was the election of Workers Councils in all the factories. At the same moment that the workers of Budapest and their Councils confronted the Kremlin's tanks, other divisions of the USSR Army stopped 2 kilometers from Warsaw.

(4) In December 1970 all the shipyard workers in the ports of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin elected their Strike Committees, often centralized, which were later transformed into Workers Commissions. Later, the repression of Gierek's police made them disappear.

(5) Jacek Kuron-- "Reflections on the program of action," November 1976, published in IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES, by the Polish emigre publishing house, KULTURA, pages 29-30.

(6) IBID, page 30.

(7) IBID, page 30.

(8) THE HORNET, #5, March 1978, page 48.

(9) The review, NA LEWO (On the Left) edited by a "Group of Polish Revolutionary-Marxists," unavowed journal of the United Secretariat of Mandel-Krivine. THE HORNET (Szerszen) is edited with the help of the OCI of Lambert-Just. The review, WORKER (Robotnik) is the journal of the KSS/KOR directed towards the factories.

# IEC RESOLUTION CONTINUED

The still too-weak regroupment of workers for the organization of the revolutionary solution, for the Workers Cortes in Spain, demonstrates the difficulties encountered by many comrades in being the organizers of this rupture and not being content with simply being its spokesman.

Because the boycott of the referendum of the Constitution of the monarchy did not mean adapting ourselves to the abstentionist attitude of the workers. It meant opposing to the Sacred Union another path-- the path of the proletarian revolution, that of the Workers Cortes.

The national elections that the working class in Spain will confront on March 1 will be used by our party to overcome this hesitation, to struggle for the independent working class alternative-- the Workers Cortes-- to fight the idea that abstention can constitute an alternative, even temporary.

The party will engage its intervention in these elections against all illusions that the workers who abstained during the referendum have concerning the possibility of avoiding the threat of a coup d'etat with a "working class" majority in the monarchy's Cortes. Only the Workers Cortes, the expression of the independently organized proletariat, can respond to and oppose all the attempts of the bourgeoisie to regain the initiative-- by taking up the struggle for the destruction of the Juan Carlos monarchy.

Certain positions have appeared in the party during our struggle for the boycott of the referendum through the organization of the Workers Cortes and in the continuation of this struggle in the upcoming elections-- either expressing a conciliatory position in face of the petty bourgeois leaderships who stand for the maintenance of the present situation in Spain or expressing a difficulty in breaking with the hesitations of the workers, with their difficulties in conquering their political independence.

The International Executive Committee emphasizes that positions opposed to the Fourth International taking the political initiative in face of the problems of the class struggle confronting the workers, or hesitations in doing this express the passive reflection of the political difficulties of the



Barcelona Rally for the Socialist United States of Europe, June 1977

rupture of the workers with the opportunist leaderships. They are not found just in the Spanish Section, but are found under different forms throughout the International.

In France, in face of the difficulties the workers are having in drawing a balance sheet of the failure of the Union of the Left, some comrades stop at the balance sheet that the workers draw themselves-- the rejection of the opportunist leaders, the rejection of rotating strikes-- and don't understand that workers must break with their present passive balance sheet of the Union of the Left and take up the struggle for the renewal of the leadership of the workers movement.

The clarification, homogenization and delimitation in the party can only be taken up flowing from the tasks of the proletariat that the international party determines. Not by being content with a critique of the positions of the centrists but by affirming the international center in the complex process of the revolutionary development in order for the Fourth International to become the organizer of the class struggle.

The content of our policy for the renewal of the leadership of the workers movement summed up in the slogan: RETURN TO LENIN! must be constantly developed by giving REVOLUTIONARY RESPONSES to the problems that the proletariat confronts-- the conquest of national independence, the struggle for rights, the struggle

against unemployment. It is by responding to the worries of the workers, by taking part in their struggle as the organizing element of their rupture with Stalinism that the Fourth International must outline the revolutionary solution: THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE of workers councils.

The massive regroupment of the youth in the RYI must take on the character of a LARGE MOVEMENT of the youth for the RETURN TO LENIN, for the revolutionary reunification of the youth.

The policy of an Alliance that the RYI proposes to the youth is the means for the Fourth International to deepen and lead the rupture of the youth with Stalinism and with the pseudo-Trotskyists in order to give to the revolt of the youth their revolutionary solution-- a large movement for the INTERNATIONAL PARTY. The battle of the Fourth International is the battle for the youth to take up their responsibilities in the class struggle, for them to take up the construction of the party.

The goal of the convocation of a plenum of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International is to reinforce and homogenize our party as an INTERNATIONAL CENTER. Because it is only as an international center that the Fourth International can affirm its political independence, by isolating, by defeating the reunification maneuvers of the centrists (in which the OCRFI of Lambert-Just is trying to clean up the image of the Pabloite

United Secretariat) in the ranks of the youth.

It is as an international center that the Fourth International must respond positively to the efforts of the workers to break with the opportunist leaders.

It is in this framework that the IEC will take up the preparation of an Eastern European Conference which will signify a political breakthrough of the Fourth International in the preparation of the political revolution and its unification with the social revolution, by developing the struggle for the Return to Lenin in the ranks of the opposition and against its leaders (supported by the centrists, in the first place by the OCI of Lambert-Just).

As well, the RYI can only find its place if the Fourth International regains its place in the front ranks of the workers by offering them a revolutionary, international perspective.

Regain its initiative in the class struggle-- it is in this fight that the Fourth International must clarify positions in its own ranks, which by refusing to take up their responsibilities in face of the problems of the class struggle adapt to the hesitation of the proletariat in face of the confrontation and attempt to renounce the only struggle which justifies the existence of the Fourth International-- to become the international party which leads the development of the class struggle.

The IEC convokes the IEC plenum for March...1979 with the following agenda: the report of the International Secretariat; the struggle of the Fourth International in France and Spain.

The crisis of centrism, in particular that of the OCRFI of Lambert-Just, offers an exceptional situation for destroying the Lambert-Just leadership and unmasking the "reunification" maneuvers between the USec and the OCRFI. The preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas is at this stage the essential lever; it allows us to pose the nature of the international center in EVERY COUNTRY in face of the failure of the OCRFI of Lambert-Just. It is in this sense that its preparation is the affair of the entire Fourth International, its success will be an important base of support for the construction of all the sections, particularly in France.

# FLINT WORKERS SNIP GM'S SPEED-UP BUTTON

On January 26 Chevrolet Truck workers in Flint, Michigan exposed GM's secret button for speeding-up their line. GM suspended and then transferred the supervisors involved after admitting it was "improper." Under the threat of a strike, GM agreed to pay 3,000 workers back pay for making 1,600 more trucks than they were supposed to.

This "button" comes as no surprise to assembly-line workers who see speed-up everyday. Who see their "contract" broken everyday by the auto barons. In face of all the lies about how "money makes money", it is clear that the only way capitalists make their profit is from labor.

It also certainly comes as no surprise that it took 18 months to find the button and cut it off. The workers had been calling their committeemen down 1,000 and one times when the line sped up. Every time, "nothing" could be done. Finally, the workers got so angry, so sure that the line speed was being secretly tampered with that an electrician

discovered the secret button!

It is the class-collaborationist UAW bureaucracy which repeatedly allows the speed-up. Which allowed the situation to develop in the auto plants where GM even had the nerve to install secret buttons, knowing that they could get away with it for a long time!

The UAW leadership is the lackey for the capitalists and their government in the unions. IT WAS THE UAW LEADERSHIP which the workers had to overcome in order to force the concessions they did win from GM.

The bureaucracy had the gall to settle for back pay after the criminal action by GM against the workers. Back pay! As if the button was legitimate and GM just "forgot" to pay the workers. And to protect the workers in the future, they're going to install a "conveyor line lock-out system" that would make it "extremely difficult to tamper with"!

First, they say that the contract protects your rights. But GM uses the contract books for

paperweights. Now to protect the workers from illegal speed-up they're going to lock-out the motor. But there is already a lockout box and GM by-passed that!

Autoworkers cannot trust control of their lives and work to someone else. They need WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION. Not merely to control the line speed, but the number of workers, the amount of work on each job, and how much they work. Workers patrols to inspect the line daily for tampering; to inspect the plant for safety and health hazards in order to shut down unsafe areas.

It was with their own independent mobilization against the company and the bureaucracy that the Flint workers won anything. In order to continue and extend this mobilization they need to build their own independent organization--FACTORY COMMITTEES elected by all the workers to carry out the program for workers control of production.

Doug Fraser has said that it's "too early to speak about

issues" for the 1979 contract. But it's not too early for him to support Carter's anti-inflation program and phony "wage insurance" designed to limit the wages and benefits of the auto-workers, to separate the organized workers from the unorganized ones. He has already said: "A strike is not inevitable. After all, we went from 1951-1967 without strikes."

There are issues. And the central issue is: HOW CAN THE WORKERS GET RID OF THE UAW LEADERSHIP IN ORDER TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT FOR ALL WORKERS AND OPPRESSED?

The Flint workers began a mobilization in this direction. It must be led and organized openly against Fraser. Against the phony "Progressive Alliance" that Fraser is organizing to "reform" the Democratic Party. Without this political struggle the most powerful struggle will not be victorious.  
February 5, 1979  
F.V.

## STUDENTS CONTINUED

scent of centrism was becoming stronger while the reasoning behind the half-measures was becoming clearer. The political influence of the YSA on the students and leadership of the SDL was obvious.

We now understood the explanation for the fruitless "pressure tactics" against the school board. We now understood why the mobilization of the students at Cass was "out of control" of its leadership. The centrists of the YSA had once again managed to foul-up the positive energy of the working class struggle with their bag of reformist tricks.

The first step towards becoming a good centrist is to petition your enemies until they recognize you and allow you to become part of their "democratic organization." Next, you convince your supporters to trust these same bandits on the school board who brought you cops, ID badges and free days off for opposing them to begin with.

Does this sound like a fight to win your rights? No it doesn't.

And fortunately most of the students at Cass avoided the impotence of the YSA's proposals for the SDL. These are the students that the RYW/USA is addressing. To those students who are becoming conscious of the treachery awaiting them behind the YSA's policy

for the SDL we say--join the RYW in building an independent mobilization of students to crush our enemies. The role of the YSA must be exposed. Students at Cass and Western must take up a struggle against these "pressure tactics" and against begging our oppressors on the school board for a few crumbs.

Only by building an organization which recognizes the enemy can students win victory. Only by waging a political combat to advance the struggle of the youth can real solutions be reached. The Revolutionary Young Workers calls for a mobilization of the youth to build student unions as their main weapon against this terrorist state and its school system.

The YSA member who is in the SDL is already a cynical centrist. He called the proposals of the Revolutionary Young Workers "building socialism in one school."

We call it a real fight for students rights, a fight to win, against all those who would rather crawl on their knees.

COPS OUT OF THE SCHOOLS!

NO ID BADGES!

NO EXCLUSIONS!

CITY-WIDE ACTION TO BUILD STUDENT UNIONS!

February 7, 1979

## MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FOR KLEBANOV

We received the following greetings for the January 26 meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers on the International Day of Action for the liberation of Klebanov and for independent trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe:

"Nosotros los Latino Americanos estamos concientes que los camaradas soviéticos nescitan el apoyo de todos nosotros para que su revolución sea la nuestra también y para que sus sindicato obrero se libre de la opresión gubernamental."

Juan, Chevrolet Gear & Axle, Detroit, Michigan.

\*\*\*\*\*

[We, Latin Americans, understand that the Soviet comrades need our support because their revolution is ours also and so that their workers union can be freed of the government's repression." ]

\*\*\*\*\*

# JANUARY MEETING

## Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

The world political situation continues to be characterized by the renewed efforts of the proletariat and working masses to independently confront the bourgeoisie and the parasitic bureaucracies.

In Spain-- which remains the advance point of the revolution; where all the problems of the revolution which confront the workers are the most crucial-- the working masses delivered a blow to the Sacred Union by defeating the monarchy's referendum. In France, after the failure of the Union of the Left the preparation of the National Union by the apparatuses has run up against the working class-- localized, but violent confrontations which have opposed important sectors of the working class to the bourgeois state.

The steelworkers strike in Germany and the strike wave in Great Britain have put into question the Social Democracy's policy of "social consensus."

The demonstrations and workers strikes in Poland.

All of these elements in the development of the European revolution impulse and simultaneously serve as a basis of support for the entry into struggle of new sectors and countries in the rest of the world (the appearance on the political scene of the working masses in China, the revolutionary process in Iran).

At the same time, as the expression of the contradictory character of the development of the class struggle, signs appear

which prove that there is a danger hanging over the working class initiative. The independent affirmation of the proletariat is in danger because the workers are hesitating in face of the difficulties of assimilating the problems of the revolutionary preparation because they feel that they are insufficiently armed for the confrontation with the bourgeois state supported by the Sacred Union of the apparatuses and the dictatorships of the parasitic bureaucracies.

The workers are ready to reject the Sacred Union of the apparatuses but they do not feel ready enough to advance into revolutionary struggle.

The result of the referendum in Spain is the most flagrant example of this tendency among the workers, a tendency existing in every country.

The workers rejected the referendum by abstention-- they proved that they were withdrawing their confidence in the opportunist apparatuses-- but the working class did not affirm itself on the political terrain as a class by engaging the struggle towards a solution which would be its own; a working class solution, independent and revolutionary.

The hesitation of workers to pass from rejection of the apparatuses to an independent political offensive can only be overcome by the independent struggle of the revolutionary party. In fact, the independence of the proletariat is above all the independence of

its international party, of the INTERNATIONAL CENTER-- the Fourth International in the face of Stalinism and its Sacred Union and in face of the pseudo-Trotskyists of the OCRFI of Lambert-Just and the USec of Mandel-Hansen whose "reunification" maneuvers are above all attempting to prevent them from passing from abstention to a political offensive.

The independence of the party signifies being in the forefront, opening up the revolutionary perspective, fighting for it among the masses, including against an attitude of the masses themselves which says that strikes can replace the engagement of the proletariat on the political terrain.

The most important element of class independence is the independence of the revolutionary party through the struggle against the capitulation of the centrists to Stalinism in the name of the Fourth International. Workers must break with the illusions that the centrists reinforce in order to be able to draw a balance sheet of Stalinism to its conclusion-- by engaging with the Fourth International in renewing the leadership of the workers movement. This struggle must flow from the problems that the working class confronts. It is the Fourth International which determines the tasks of the proletariat and the combat to realize them at each stage.

(Continued to Page 10 )

# TRUTH

P.O. BOX 07066  
DETROIT, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen  
Editorial Board  
Kevin FitzPatrick, Ann Nelson  
Rich Tetrault

Published bi-weekly in Detroit, MI  
by TRUTH, INC.

— Subscription rates —  
— US, Canada, Mexico —  
\$5 for one year; \$2 for six month  
introductory.  
— Airmail to —  
Latin America or Europe  
\$10 for one year  
Inquire for other rates.



The results for TRUTH #87 were:

|                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Ford River Rouge .....         | 5   |
| GM Cadillac.....               | 9   |
| GM Chevy Gear & Axle .....     | 14  |
| GM Chevy Warren .....          | 11  |
| Chrysler Dodge Main .....      | 3   |
| Chrysler Warren Stamping ..... | 4   |
| Chrysler Lynch Assembly.....   | 3   |
| Detroit High Schools.....      | 17  |
| Wayne St. University.....      | 9   |
| DETROIT (Total).....           | 83  |
| GM Hydro-matic(Ypsilanti)....  | 17  |
| OTHER .....                    | 15  |
| TOTAL .....                    | 115 |

## TRUTH is your weapon!

### SUBSCRIBE!

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: TRUTH-PO Box 07066  
Detroit, Mi.



### BECOME A TRUTH DISTRIBUTOR!!



Write  
TRUTH

Bundles-- 10 for \$1