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# TRUTH



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## Resolution of Meeting, September 13, 1980:

# Emergency National Convention of the UAW!

On September 13, 1980 the Detroit Local Committee of the Trotskyist Organization/USA held a meeting to organize the fight for a candidate of the unions in the UAW, to reject the endorsement of Carter through an Emergency National Convention of the UAW.

Workers from Fisher Body Livonia (Local 174) and youth of the Revolutionary Youth International were present. The first response of the workers was discussed and decisions taken on the next stage of the fight.

A UAW Committee for a Workers Candidate was organized. In particular, the workers decided to utilize the legal framework of the UAW constitution which says that 15 locals from 5 different states representing at least 20% of the membership can demand a union-wide vote for a Special Convention of the UAW.

To this end, the first stage of our fight is to win two key locals in Detroit -- the Ford Rouge local 600 and Fisher Body (Livonia) local 174 (also called the "Westside local").

The Revolutionary Youth International put forward a resolution calling for a mobilization in the UAW for Victory Fainberg's initiative (representative of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT) for an International Trade Union Commission to defend the free Unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe. This resolution passed unanimously. Below are excerpts of the main resolution (which passed unanimously) outlining its major points.  
TRUTH

...For 4 years the autoworkers have been fighting the bosses' politics of "national unity" and "sacrifice," and their representative, Jimmy Carter -- the FLEETWOOD STRIKE, INDIANAPOLIS, TRENTON, DODGE MAIN, BUDD, and refused to give support to any of their candidates in the primary elections. That's why the Kennedy campaign failed.

The movement of the autoworkers and the UAW leadership are on a collision course. Indeed, the UAW leadership has just come out and endorsed Jimmy Carter. We cannot accept this

decision. The workers must have their own candidate in these elections. We demand an Emergency National Convention of the UAW to nominate one.

...This is one of the most democratic countries in the world, yet the concrete rights of the workers, especially black and immigrant workers -- freedom of the press, assembly, association, right to strike, picket, demonstrate -- are all being destroyed by the demands of the bosses and the Democratic and Republican parties' policies of "national unity," "sacrifice," with the full collaboration of the union officials. Remember the miners strike, Miami, the Detroit city workers strike.

...Workers Democracy, that is, the independent organization and mobilization of the working class in its unions, youth organizations, its own self-defense guards, in meetings, demonstrations, strikes, is the only way to defend workers rights.

The working class has to put forward its own candidate to build its own democracy in these elections, to confront, expose and begin to destroy the democracy of the rich.

Some people say its too late to put forward their own candidate. They don't understand that putting forward our own candidate means an active opposition to this corrupt democracy and a fight for Workers Democracy...

Others say we don't even

have a union or "they're gonna do what they're gonna do."

This isn't true. The workers have a union. The problem is the politics of the union leadership which have taken it out of the hands of the workers.

If other attempts to take control of the unions have failed it's not because "they're gonna do what they're gonna do" -- it's because militants have not had a working class political orientation to oppose to the officials.

A Workers Candidate to fight for Workers Democracy is that orientation.

...From one end of the globe to the other workers are rising up against the domination of U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin...

By putting forward a Workers Candidate to fight for Workers Democracy the unions can separate themselves and actively oppose this nation's oppression of other nations.

...We support the candidate of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, Fred Vitale, from Local 174, and call on all our brothers and sisters to do the same.

We have decided to form a UAW Committee for a Workers Candidate to lead this fight in the UAW. We call on our brothers and sisters in Locals 174 and 600, in particular, to join us in forming a large delegation to our next union meeting to wage this fight.  
September 13, 1980

TRUTH

## JOIN THE BATTLE! CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORKERS FUND!

The Workers Fund of the Fourth International is the financial means for the building of our party in line with the needs of the workers socialist revolution. It finances the ammunition and the weapons of our army -- the workers press our international congresses and the daily political struggle.

The Trotskyist Organization-USA is fighting to make TRUTH a key part of the struggle of the American working class. We have set the goal of raising \$5,000.00 for the expansion and improvement of TRUTH. Without such a press, the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections and the fight for a WORKERS PARTY would be compromised.

# The "Heisler Affair," the SWP, and Workers Democracy

By JON COHEN

In the midst of the Presidential election campaign workers and youth must not only confront Carter, Reagan and Anderson. They must also confront those candidates who falsely claim to be part of the workers movement.

This must be done because the struggle for a Workers Candidate and a Workers Party is a fight to separate workers and youth from all false programs and leaderships by defining a fundamental orientation for the American working class -- the struggle for Workers Democracy.

The struggle to define the boundaries of the workers movement, its methods and leadership, is the central question involved in confronting the petty bourgeois program and policies of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which is running its candidate, Andrew Pulley, for President.

This organization has nothing to do with Trotskyism or the Fourth International, its disguise of "Trotskyism" is only a mask to trap revolutionary-minded workers and youth.

The latest revelations concerning the FBI infiltration of its party -- a longtime member of its national leadership, Ed Heisler, has just revealed himself an FBI agent -- and the response of the SWP leadership to this revelation, illustrate the vast distance between the SWP and the workers movement. It illustrates the necessity of separating the vanguard of the working class from this political tendency in the same battle to separate the working class from the candidates of the bourgeoisie in these elections.

This petty bourgeois orientation, foreign to the workers movement and methods, is clearly illustrated in an article in the September 12 MILITANT by Larry Seigle, SWP Political Committee member. Entitled "A New Stage in the Battle Against Washington's Secret Police," the article recounts the history of the SWP's now seven-year-old lawsuit against the FBI and discusses their latest "victory" -- the exposure of an FBI agent on their National Committee, the central leader of their trade union work in the past decade. Committee, the central leader

of their trade union work in the past decade.

What characterizes the SWP's suit against the FBI and the Heisler affair is the opposition of the SWP leadership to the struggle for the working class to take the fight against the capitalist state and its police into its own hands. It illustrates how deeply the SWP has tied its fate in the last four years to the "human rights" policies of Jimmy Carter.

The SWP's seven-year-old suit (which has not yet come to trial) has provided a political basis for the constant capitulations of the SWP to Carter's "human rights" policy in the U.S., centered around the illusion that the bourgeois state can be reformed.

We are not opposed to suing the FBI as a method of exposure and to win damages. But what the SWP tries to present as a "tactic" has been a series of unprincipled capitulations. In the course of the last seven years the SWP has used this suit to:

- Renounce all ties to the Fourth International (Jack Barnes' deposition, 1976).
- Denounce its own comrades and former comrades as "terrorists" (turning over to a federal judge in 1974 a list of the expelled members of the "Internationalist Tendency").
- Used FBI and CIA harassment during the 50's as an excuse for abandoning the Fourth International ("they wouldn't give us any passports") (See Novack's obituary of Joseph Hansen in the MILITANT, February 2, 1979).
- Proposed a "settlement" to the government to "legalize" the SWP -- TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHERS!

These are just a few examples of an entire policy tied to maneuvers in the bourgeois courts and in the shadows of "human rights."

The SWP has NEVER ONCE called for a fight in the working class to ABOLISH the FBI and CIA, to take the matter of police provocation into the hands of the workers movement. This isn't an abstract matter. They have REFUSED to take up an open struggle in the working class against S.1722 and its predecessors, the anti-working class and counterrevolutionary "reform" of the federal

criminal code; against the various "reforms" of the FBI and CIA which are attempting to institutionalize these organizations. They have refused to openly confront the Voorhis Act, which makes membership in an international organization a crime.

The SWP's "historic battle" has been a battle OUTSIDE and OPPOSED to the struggle of the workers movement as a whole for its rights. Expressed in their proposed "settlement," which despite Seigle's rhetoric is a proposal stating that the SWP is: "entitled to equal protection of the laws with the Democratic and Republican and other RECOGNIZED political parties." (MILITANT, April 6, 1979, our emphasis). Meaning that the SWP proposes to be "legal" to the EXCLUSION OF OTHERS! and in particular the Fourth International.

The isolation of the SWP from the workers movement is clear in the "Heisler affair." It is not the SWP's fault that the FBI placed an agent in its party or even that he succeeded in reaching the national leadership. But what is the SWP's fault is its refusal to make this an affair of the entire workers movement; instead it has treated it as just between the SWP and the courts.

The Heisler affair is an ATTACK ON THE ENTIRE WORKERS MOVEMENT, on everyone who came into contact with Heisler, inside or outside the SWP.

The workers movement must carry out its own investigation. Not only has the SWP refused to initiate this investigation, refused to inform all working class tendencies of its information on Heisler, but has begun a policy of blocking this investigation which the workers movement must carry out.

Seigle claims that the only damage Heisler did in almost 20 years was to spread some disquiet concerning the prohibition of drugs in the SWP! We don't accept this incredible fiction and in any case, the workers movement has a RIGHT to discover for itself.

Seigle dares to make an analogy with Malinovsky, a spy in the Bolshevik Party. Never mind the fact that the SWP has nothing to do with the party of Lenin. But he leaves out the fact that upon discovery, Malinovsky was SHOT by the

Bolsheviks for his crimes. This isn't Czarist RUSSIA. But ALL of Heisler's crimes must be uncovered and the workers movement must see that he is punished for his treachery.

From its founding the Fourth International has waged a fight against police provocation. This fight is expressed today in our fight to unmask the Stalinist slanders of Lambert and Co. against Michel Varga and the Fourth International, to expel all Stalinist slanderers from the workers movement.

While the SWP was mired in the bourgeois courts seeking bourgeois "justice," it was at the same time blocking the fight for workers justice, trying to "reunify" with the slanderer, Lambert, carrying out a whispering campaign against the FI in the U.S.

While claiming to fight the police they refused to expel police methods from the workers movement when this fight got in the way of their opportunist policies.

This is why the Heisler affair is not ended. As long as the SWP leadership continues to foster illusions in bourgeois democracy, as long as it wages a constant battle against workers democracy, Stalinist and imperialist police provocation in the workers movement will continue.

Opposed to this policy the Trotskyist Organization/USA demands: A WORKERS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY to investigate the Heisler affair, open to all working class tendencies and organizations. Part of our fight in this COMMISSION will be to make the SWP take a position against the KGB slanders against Michel Varga and the FI, for the leadership of the SWP to repudiate and EXPEL all those in the SWP who continue this slander campaign. The COMMISSION must also deal with the slander campaign of the Workers League against the SWP, a campaign which must be placed outside the workers movement.

In face of the SWP's "settlement," we propose an open fight for WORKERS RIGHTS and their imposition in a daily combat for Workers Democracy. Not the courts, but an organized workers movement and party will defeat police repression. -- FOR A WORKERS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE "HEISLER AFFAIR." September 15, 1980

# FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE OF THE UNIONS!

## Carter and the Unions

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Fact. One year ago Jimmy Carter was at the bottom of the polls, lower than Nixon, without one single labor leader in the country to support him. Doug Fraser, president of the UAW, had resigned from Carter's labor-management board and formed the "Progressive Alliance." The re-election of Carter was unthinkable.

Today, after Carter's nomination by the Democratic Party, almost every major union leadership is praising the virtues of Jimmy Carter. What is the source of Carter's rebound, if indeed it is a rebound instead of a prelude to another fatal relapse? Is it the "fighting character" attributed to Carter by the media? Why have all the union bureaucrats turned around to support Carter? Is it because they have "seen the light" and become reborn Democrats?

No. There is only one reason for the about face of our labor misleaders. They are scared to death. If anyone's job depends on the well-being of U.S. capitalism and the maintenance of the bosses government, it is the labor aristocracy. They are scared to death because they see that the revolutionary battles and conquests of workers from Latin America to Poland are coming home to the United States. The U.S. working class is in motion, searching for new alternatives to the two party system, which means new alternatives to the class collaboration of the union bureaucrats.

There is nothing new about Carter's proposal for a "re-industrialization" of American capitalism. It is a program which basically depends on one proposal -- forcing the American working class and the workers of the world to retreat. But first of all, U.S. imperialism must get its own house in order. This is the meaning of Carter's rewording of basically the same policy of sacrifices.

There is however, one new element present in the situation that wasn't as strong a year ago. That is the offensive

of the working class and oppressed, and with this offensive a new retreat is in the air for the misleaders in the workers movement.

While sacrifices for an individual worker may mean pennies squandered, or even permanent joblessness, this isn't the kind of sacrifice that Carter, or for that matter Reagan, is after.

They are after the political independence of the unions. They are after new guarantees from the labor aristocracy against the mobilization of U.S. workers.

This is the real truth behind the support of the unions to Carter, and the "new partnership" which the AFL-CIO Executive Committee extended to the Carter administration on Labor Day. Doug Fraser, Lane Kirkland, all of them have openly embraced Carter's plan.

It's not money that the bureaucrats are bargaining away, at least not THEIR money, and its not THEIR jobs. Actually, the labor misleaders have more or less accepted the plans of the American bourgeoisie, even if as in the case of Fraser and imports the bureaucrats are a little more loud about it. What they are bargaining away is the unions, and in a sense the freedom of the unions. Above all, they are agreed that the unions should be more closely tied to the state, that is, the Carter government.

The common thread in this new agreement of the bosses and bureaucrats is an all-out attack on Workers Democracy. An attack, or rather a deeper attack on the independence of the working class and their organizations through the unions.

In his Labor Day message Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, said, "Corporations live and do business under various forms of dictatorships, some even thrive. But unions can no more live without democracy than a fish without water." (AFL-CIO NEWS, August 30, 1980)

Actually, the reverse is true. As long as the unions LIVE WITH democracy, that is, the bosses democracy, they become more and more like dictatorships under the petty bureaucrats who run them. As the saying goes, "what you see is what you get," and what we've got -- complete with mass unemployment, police repression, and the two party straightjacket -- is bourgeois democracy.

The fight for workers to impose their own solutions and their own rights, the struggle for the unions to break from the two party system, is the fight for Workers Democracy. It is not based on "legal" rights, or "parliamentary procedure," but rather on a revolutionary struggle beginning from the fight of the whole working class to win back the unions.

This fight begins today in building a movement to REJECT THE ENDORSEMENT OF CARTER by the bureaucrats and by building a fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and a WORKERS PARTY. It is the central means by which the American working class can confront the bourgeoisie and their candidates in the elections.

This is the key question which faces the entire union movement and from which all the bureaucrats retreat.

Even William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), and reputed to be a "left wing" bureaucrat, dodges any direct intervention in the elections of the unions -- that is, for the unions to put forward their own candidate.

At its recent convention, the IAM showed their extreme bravado towards the Democrats by endorsing -- no one -- for the 1980 elections. Abstention, that is about as militant as a bureaucrat can get toward the two party system. It is an empty gun in the face of the support of the rest of

the union bureaucrats for Carter and Winpisinger knows it. At the same time that Winpisinger complained about the "arm twisting tactics" used by Carterites at the Democratic Party convention, he did a little arm twisting of his own at HIS convention and watered down a resolution calling for a workers party, to a pledge of "support for any grass roots efforts" toward creation of a reformist workers party. At the same time, the IAM Executive Committee insisted on a provision to continue to support Democratic congressional candidates.

In their different ways, the endorsement of Carter by the union officialdom and the attempts of bureaucrats like Winpisinger to water down the movement in the unions for a WORKERS PARTY reflect the tremendous amount of sentiment in the U.S. working class for a break with the two party system and the construction of their own party. And this is indeed the means for the American working class to link up with the process of the world revolution.

At the same time, the clearest expression of the complete bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy, even of its supposed "left wing," is their betrayal of the American working class in the 1980 elections -- neither support for Carter, nor abstention, represents a workers policy, or for that matter any advance at all. What does this policy of militant abstention really amount to? Continued support of the unions for the Democratic Party.

That is why the fight for the unions to be won to the side of the workers revolution begins TODAY with the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections, and continues with the fight to build a WORKERS PARTY.

September 17, 1980

# Time for a Workers Party

You may have seen it on TV. The Reagan commercial that ends with the praise of Ronald Reagan's integrity by a California labor leader. Who was that labor leader? John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO. So what? Read on.

John Henning is one of the latest in a long line of bureaucrats stretching from Harry Patrick of the UMW to Ed Sadowski of the USW to be quoted at length in the pages of THE MILITANT and the DAILY WORLD, newspapers of the Socialist Workers Party (pseudo-Trotskyist) and the Communist Party/USA (Stalinist). (We added the parentheses to make the names more honest). Henning was "for" a labor party.

Or to be more exact, he was for a labor party at some point in the future when it would be possible, taking all things into consideration, to form one. Or to be more exact, (again quoting from THE MILITANT) "in stressing the need for an open discussion on the labor party proposal, Henning said that he is not in favor of launching a labor party now. The labor party discussion, he said, 'is only in an evolutionary stage of development, and does not deal with the here and now.'" Blah, blah, blah. The here and now is doing Reagan commercials.

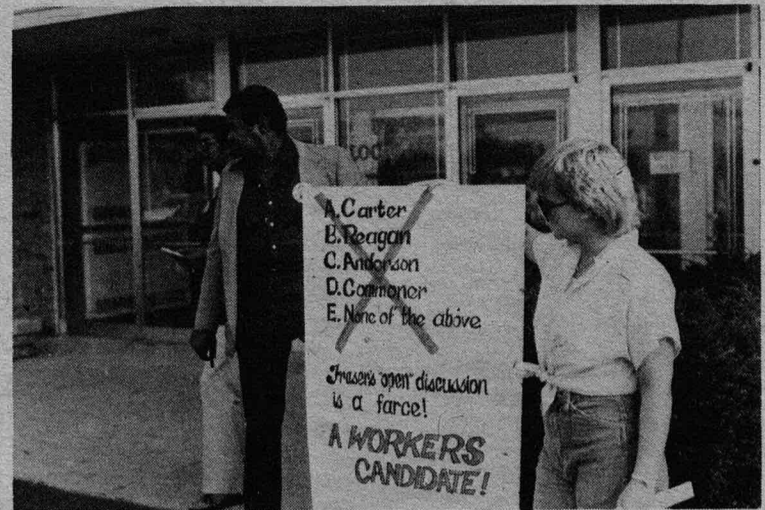
Probably, Henning really isn't for Reagan, probably there was just some kind of mistake where he was quoted out of context -- right on

national TV. But then certainly, Henning isn't for a labor party either. Though he is for a "discussion."

In front of the 1980 elections, where all the bureaucrats have lined up behind the Democratic Party and Carter once again, one thing is becoming very clear. Neither the union bureaucrats, nor the centrists and Stalinists who print their boring, dishonest speeches in their papers, will ever construct a workers party if it is left up to them.

The CP/USA isn't going to do it, no matter how many "Dear brother Fraser" letters they write to Dougy. They couldn't even get Fraser to put them on the UAW referendum "ballot." And the SWP isn't going to do it, no matter how many "speeches by Castro" and "official transcripts" of union officials who are for a discussion of the labor party, that they print.

The Stalinists and centrists can only hurt the movement for a workers party by their complete enslavement to the treacherous apparatuses -- the union bureaucrats and petty bourgeois liberals. Their own election campaigns reflect this clearly. Their fight in the 1980 elections is outside the unions, outside of a fight for a working class alternative in the elections -- a candidate of the unions, a



RYI FIGHTS FOR WORKERS CANDIDATE

WORKERS CANDIDATE. Instead the Stalinists and centrists see the elections and their campaigns merely as propaganda devices.

Consciously they avoid the actual fight for the WORKERS PARTY because this fight means a direct confrontation with the apparatuses in the workers movement from Fraser and Castro. Thus, they subordinate the fight to empty speeches and resolutions, and the maneuvers of the "official" workers movement.

But the key question of the fight to construct the WORKERS PARTY is CLASS INDEPENDENCE. Every worker must insist that the fight for a party of rupture

with the two party system be based on an open fight to define a program and a leadership for the workers revolution. In this fight we do not exclude the bureaucrats, to the contrary, we demand they do more than make empty speeches, we demand that they pay account of themselves and their treacherous support to the Democratic Party and betrayal of the struggles of the American working class.

The fight for the construction of the WORKERS PARTY is a struggle to draw a balance sheet of all the failed leaderships who have claimed to lead the U.S. working class. Which side are you on?

September 16, 1980

## Platform of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

### FOR A WORKERS PARTY!

- Break all support to the Democratic Party.
- An all-trade union conference to launch a Workers Party based on a Workers Program.
- Build a leadership for the workers revolution.

### WIN BACK OUR UNIONS!

- Oust the bureaucrats, unions under the control of the ranks.
- Full trade union democracy, strike down the "red clause".
- Unions to champion the cause of the whole working class and the oppressed.

### FOR TRADE UNIONS INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE -- INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!

- Defend free trade unions of workers of Poland and the USSR.
- Active boycott of the military dictator-

ships in Latin America.

- Strike down Taft-Hartley.

### DEFEND WORKERS RIGHTS!

- Down with the Voorhis Act which prevents the legalization of the Fourth International in the U.S.
- Down with the proposed revision of the federal criminal code, S-1722, an attack on workers rights to organization, assembly, free speech and international association.
- Defend the rights of immigrants, Iranians, Latin Americans.
- Unions organize the defense of the rights of blacks and minorities against terrorist "justice".
- The right to a job, a living wage, an education.

### UNITY OF OUR STRUGGLES!

- United front of the unions against

"austerity" plans.

- Open the books of the capitalists for workers inspection.
- For a sliding scale of working hours and wages, jobs for all!
- Unity of trade unions and strikes through independent organization of strike committees, central strike committees, uniting all unions, mass picketing.

### A FUTURE FOR THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH!

- For a program of education and public works for the youth under workers control.
- Down with the draft, No! to the imperialist army of intervention.
- For a workers army, workers defense guards against the fascist and racist provocations.

### FOR A COMMON WORKERS CANDIDATE OF THE UNIONS IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS!

# Our Unions and the Polish Example

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Despite all the best hopes of the imperialists and Stalinists, the situation in Poland is far from being "settled."

The offensive continues. Not only are new strikes constantly taking place, a sure sign that the most previously inactive layers are being drawn into the struggle, but the movement of the masses into the free trade unions is assuming a massive character. Already, the crisis of the bureaucracy has found expression in the removal of Gierek, who suddenly came down with "heart trouble."

This growing struggle is a blow to the whole world order of imperialism, based on the Holy Alliance it has made with Stalinism. Gierek, after all, was right in the center of the preparation of the Madrid "Security" Conference that seeks to rearm this Holy Alliance. His loss is keenly felt by imperialism and the Kremlin, but the workers had eliminated his usefulness.

In order to try to mend this widening crack in their system, both the Kremlin and Jimmy "human rights" Carter are busily engaged in sending all kinds of "aid" to the Polish bureaucracy. Such collaboration in support of "stability" in Poland is a graphic example of their collaboration on the world scale against the workers and oppressed.

This collaboration extends to another area, too. It extends to loud denunciation of the very limited financial aid -- the AFL-CIO's fund consists of \$25,000, a few months' salary for a bureaucrat! -- that the American trade unions have sent to the Polish workers.

The Kremlin, of course, is outraged. It is screaming loudly about "anti-socialist elements" (it takes one to know one).

But the Kremlin is not alone. The "human rights" administration of Jimmy Carter, which is supposedly so hostile to the Kremlin, is also very upset by these donations.

It is so upset that Secretary of State Edmund Muskie on September 3 informed the Soviet embassy of the contributions, going out of his way to disavow U.S. support!

For Muskie to become a Kremlin stool-pigeon, imperialism must be very afraid. But it is not afraid of what the pal-

try sums the union bureaucracy are sending can do, nor is it really afraid of the bureaucrats' objectives.

It is quite clear that Lane Kirkland and Douglas Fraser and the rest, who had nothing to offer the Polish workers BEFORE their victory, are trying to use these funds to corrupt the new free trade unions, to turn them into parodies of the American unions and thereby to "stabilize" the situation.

No, what Muskie fears is that international collaboration BETWEEN THE WORKERS could catch on. He fears the contagious example of the Polish workers.

The Fourth International regards this prospect without fear. It is seeking to organize an INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE UNION BRANCHES to defend the free trade unions. And it is striving to direct this Commission against the Madrid Conference.

The U.S. trade union bureaucrats want to avoid this struggle, want to defeat it by pretending to "help" the Polish workers with chicken feed.

And that is no accident. Here is a description of the leaders of the Stalinist "unions" in Poland: "...middle-aged men of ample girth, dressed in well-cut suits, with ornate cuff-links showing at their wrists." These birds are of a feather with the hacks that run the U.S. unions.

Again, it is no accident that one USSR "union" bureaucrat remarked: "We have no quarrel with management." Shades of Doug Fraser!

As we said, the Polish workers revolt is a break from the world order of imperialism, especially from the "leaders" that it imposes on the workers movement. This is the example that Muskie fears is catching.

Because in the U.S., this means a break with the Democratic Party of Carter and Muskie, eagerly supported by Fraser, Kirkland and the rest of the trade union bureaucrats.

It means a fight for the WORKERS PARTY, organized concretely in these elections in a fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE, a candidate of the unions, against the imperialist parties and their hangers-on.

All these hacks who are AGAINST this perspective try to fight it by saying, "it can't be done," "there's

less than two months left," etc.

But less than two months ago the Polish workers COULDN'T strike, COULDN'T have free trade unions, COULDN'T buck the government and the law. That was less than two months ago and now everything is changed!

The question is not of what is "possible," EVERYTHING IS POSSIBLE! The question is of the policy to be followed, the fight to be carried out.

Does anyone seriously deny that if the American trade un-

ions were mobilized to demand a WORKERS CANDIDATE in these elections, the Carter government would have to give in on all the phony legal questions?

That is the fight to take up, a fight to mobilize those unions in the interests of the whole working class and the oppressed.

That is the best way to strike a blow against the world order that is scheming against the Polish workers, the best way to come to their aid. September 14, 1980

## The Kremlin's Mouthpiece

The "Spartacist League," an American pseudo-Trotskyist grouping, has become in recent years the most obvious mouthpiece for the endless slander coming from the Kremlin against the revolution and the revolutionaries.

This is the organization that has labeled the Iranian Revolution as nothing but "mullah madness."

But its chief dirty work has been directed against the struggle for the political revolution, for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

That is why it has been the central and critical defender of the slander campaign of the French OCI against the Hungarian revolutionary Michel Varga and our party, the Fourth International, a slander campaign which seeks to label us as "CIA agents."

It is likewise this organization which greeted the vicious and anti-Semitic frame-up of the Soviet oppositionist, Anatoly Shcharansky, with the banner headline on its newspaper: "Shcharansky Guilty as Hell!"

So, in response to the revolutionary upsurge in Poland, this grouping has, in the very transparent guise of "defending" the Polish workers, embarked on a new and even more depraved mouthing of the worst Kremlin slanders.

Let these "Spartacists" speak for themselves:

1) The Polish "strikers are demanding the biggest free lunch in history."

2) "The particular slogan of 'free trade unions,' pushed for years by the CIA-backed Radio Free Europe and the Catholic church, has acquired a definite anti-Communist and pro-Western connotation. Remember the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny's call for 'free Soviets' -- free from Communists, that is!"

(All quotations from WORKERS VANGUARD, the "Spartacist" paper, #263.)

This last quotation is the most openly Stalinist of all, deliberately seeking to say that the Communists of 1921, led by Lenin and Trotsky, are the same as the "Communists" of today, the heirs of Stalin.

And this prepares the way for the political conclusion: "Poland stands somewhere between Hungary in 1956 and Afghanistan." The policy of the "Spartacists" on Afghanistan is well-known -- "Hail the Red Army!" This is an open statement of support to any Kremlin intervention in Poland.

These Kremlin mouthpieces and their Stalinist slander sheet must be exposed and driven out of the workers movement. Any supporters they have in the unions must be called upon to state their position on these vicious anti-working class slanders. If they persist in these attacks on the workers movement and defend these slanders, they should be expelled in disgrace from all workers organizations. TRUTH September 13, 1980

# Down with Fascist Coup in Bolivia!

## The Obstacle is Political

TRUTH September 19, 1980 PAGE 7

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The fascist coup in Bolivia shows the crisis, not the strength of imperialism.

The generals are afraid of the workers mobilization in Bolivia, Chile, Brazil and throughout the Americas.

Their regime is incapable of solving any of the problems that have plagued Bolivia -- national independence, the distribution of the land, the miserable conditions of the workers.

Their coup comes at the beginning, not the end, of an international revolutionary wave.

Thus the American working class can overturn this coup. The only obstacle is political.

Where did this coup come from? American democracy prepared this coup!

Sure the fascist generals are the ones who moved the tanks, the troops, fired the shots. But this never would have been possible without American democracy and its leading spokesman Jimmy "human rights" Carter.

A half a decade ago, workers of Latin America began to recuperate from the last round of fascist coups (Bolivia, 1971; Chile, 1973; Argentina, 1975) and began independent mobilizations which threatened the power of the U.S. puppet dictatorships (miners strike in Bolivia, general strike in Peru).

This frightened American imperialism. Unprepared for a direct confrontation with the Latin American masses, Jimmy Carter promised to "democratize" the situation, to organize a series of referenda and elections in which everyone would have the "human right" to vote for the government of his choice.

In Bolivia this resulted in a series of referenda and elections organized by the military and the so-called democratic national bourgeoisie. These elections were marked by government fraud and constant threats of another fascist coup should the results of the elections not suit the generals.

The most recent of these farces took place June 29.

The masses of Bolivia never placed any real confidence in Carter's promises. They never really believed that the democratic process was any protection against fascism. Their general strike against the coup last fall and their fierce resistance to the coup of July 17 proves this.

But the leaderships of the Bolivian workers did place their confidence in Carter.

Beginning with Fidel Castro, one after another saluted his democracy, his "human rights" program, and committed himself to support it.

Ten days before the coup a spokesman for the United Secre-

tariat said: "The coup in inevitable. But its victory is not...there are many powerful factors working against the adventure." And among them: "...the opposition of various bourgeois-democratic governments, and even of the U.S. State Department itself which hope to prevent another Nicaragua."

In April the Bolshevik Faction of the "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International" (composed of Moreno's and Lambert's groups) had this to say about Carter's plan and the elections in Bolivia:

"...while it tries to stop democratic demands from going outside the bourgeois framework, it simultaneously provides an opening that the worker and popular movement can use to impose through their struggles democratic solutions."

This reliance on imperialist democracy and its Bolivian representatives was even more outstanding in Bolivia itself.

Juan Lechin, head of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), with the support of the Communist Party, called off the general strike against the Natusch coup last fall and formed a Committee for the Defense of Democracy with several bourgeois parties to prepare the elections.

He was even about to back the UDP in these elections, a bourgeois party, many of whose members collaborated in the Natusch coup. At the last moment, in order to block a real working class candidate, he put forward and then withdrew his own candidacy.

Neither the United Secretariat nor the Parity Committee disagreed. "The people know that only their own struggle can guarantee the democratic process...more than ever the COB will surely serve to centralize the struggle for democracy." (the United Secretariat) "The motor force of the explosion of the masses is formal democracy" (The Parity Committee).

Even when Lechin withdrew from the elections, the go-ahead signal to the fascists, they had nothing to say but "strengthen the COB."

In fact, what has been going on in Bolivia, hasn't been a process of democratization, lamentably interrupted by a coup. It's been a process of rupture with imperialist democracy by the masses on the one hand and an attempted institutionalization of a dictatorship and the reconciliation of their leaderships with this dictatorship on the other hand.

In the most recent elections

the workers resolutely sought a working class alternative, refused to support a bourgeois candidate and initially forced Lechin to put himself forward. The pseudo-Trotskyists and Stalinists supported Lechin, who in turn supported the bourgeois democratic candidates, who in turn supported the fascists.

While the Bolivian workers have waged a bitter struggle against this coup under the most difficult conditions, their democratic leadership has simply issued proclamations from afar calling on them to respect democracy.

The U.S. withdrew its ambassador from Bolivia, and cut off aid, but let Garcia Meza and Co. take over all the consulates and embassies in the U.S.

Siles Zuazo, candidate of the UDP supported by much of the COB leadership and the Stalinist party said: "We're looking for a solution that will cost the Bolivian people the least, to the extent possible a pacifist solution. The military has broken the rules of the game..."

Many of the trade union leaders have been imprisoned and murdered. As for the Stalinists and centrists, their happy-go-lucky pronouncements on the future of Bolivia have been replaced with obituaries. The last article in INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS was a reprint from a bourgeois London paper detailing fascist atrocities. We've heard nothing from the Parity Committee.

They are all reconciling themselves to the junta.

Thus the working class was left to fight the fascists alone, without its own perspective and without its own leadership.

The sharpest expression of this political problem was the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), the party which led the Bolivian workers in the foundation of the Popular Assembly and the initial resistance to the Banzer coup in 1971. In face of the prostration of the COB leadership to democracy, the prostration of all the bourgeois democratic candidates to the fascists, the POR simply called on the workers to vote for an empty space on the ballot, to turn in a blank ballot!

The Fourth International has been the only party to offer the Bolivian working class an independent perspective and fight for it. The combat for the COB to take the lead in the reconstruction of the Popular Assembly to confront the fascists and bourgeois democracy was an essential element of the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas.

At the Telamayu Congress of the COB, Emilio Roca, in the name of the Bolivian group for the rebuilding of the Bolivian section of the FI, said: "In Bolivia, all the organizations talk about the danger of a fascist coup. And certainly every worker knows that the counterrevolution is here and threatening. But what never appears clearly is that if the counterrevolution prepares a coup its because the revolution is here...this Congress must prepare the revolution...only the revolution can smash the counterrevolution...the COB must present its own candidate in the elections to organize the revolution..."

And on the basis of this struggle the Fourth International has been able to form a small group for the reconstruction of its section, which has already begun to publish its own bulletin.

The combat to overturn the coup is above all a combat to continue and deepen this struggle -- for class independence, for the conscious preparation of the revolution, against all reliance on democracy and abstentionism -- in the largest way possible. This is the purpose of the struggle initiated by the Fourth International on a continental scale, for a total boycott of the Bolivian junta and all Latin American dictatorships, for the rights of immigrant militants and workers fleeing these dictatorships and in Bolivia for the Popular Assembly.

This political struggle is the sole possible basis for rebuilding the sections of the Fourth International in the Americas, in particular the POR of Bolivia, as the axis of the construction of large workers parties.

These sections will never be rebuilt through a discussion among all those who "stand for the Fourth International" the policy of the Parity Committee summed up in its coming Open World Conference.

The reinforcement of the Fourth International on the basis of the struggle against this method and the dispersal and passivity of its advocates in particular the leadership of the Bolivian POR, proves this.

No, building the leadership that can lead the workers to victory against American democracy and its fascist puppets is not a discussion, still less a discussion protected by slanders.

It's a political combat!  
September 17, 1980

## The Meaning of a Political Murder

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

In early June, Rosanne Goustin, a young political activist, was shot and killed in Eureka, California, by two members of the "Wellsprings Communion," Wendi Sue Heaton and Betty Abramson, who have still not been caught. Her murder raises major questions for workers and youth to consider and act on.

Who are the friends of the workers, and who are their enemies? Where does the CLASS LINE that marks the boundaries of the workers movement lie?

These questions and more are posed every day in Poland, in Iran, in Latin America, in every fight by the workers and youth.

By taking up the struggle for the truth about Rosanne's death, for justice for her, a major blow can be struck to defend the workers movement, its integrity and all the gains it has made.

The murder of Rosanne Goustin was an attack on everything the working class has fought for and is fighting for, above all, WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

It is completely alien to the working class for revolutionary fighters, whatever their differences, to be singled out and killed by self-appointed "leaders" and their thugs.

These are the methods of the capitalists and of criminal gangs, brought into the workers movement by Stalinism in an attempt to destroy it.

The working class will openly decide itself which policies it will follow, which revolutionary leaders it will follow. These decisions ARE ITS OWN and are not to be made for it by any "condescending saviors," who use murder as their "arguments."

It is completely alien to the working class for revolutionary fighters to be killed in order to keep them from revealing the truth to the working class about the nature of groups that claim to be "revolutionary," "for the people," etc.

These methods are again those of the capitalist order and its Stalinist agents.

The working class must have the truth -- "the truth is always revolutionary" -- in order for it to be able to carry out its struggle.

Finally, this attack on Rosanne was an attack on the workers movement through a

DIRECT attack on its leadership, on the Fourth International.

Why is this? There is a saying: "The party is the memory of the working class."

What this means is that the consciousness of the working class, its gains and the lessons of all its past struggles come to life in the party, are concentrated and concretized there in order to lead the working class forward.

An attack on the party is an attack on the heart of the workers movement.

When Rosanne began to break with the "Wellsprings Communion," she asked for our program, THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM. Rosanne was not "dropping out," she was beginning to take up a fight for consciousness, for the party. And that is why she was killed.

The Fourth International will never allow youth who are turning to it to be killed, and then have that murder passed off as some "unfortunate incident, best forgotten." This is essential to the party's fight to preserve every gain, every advance, for the workers movement.

That this murder was in fact no "unfortunate incident" is revealed by the nature of the group, the "Wellsprings Communion," that carried it out.

This organization is typical of many that have been created out of the wreckage of the movement of the 1960's, being at one and the same time a place for the politically confused to try to continue a struggle and for the thoroughly corrupted to exploit such militants.

Such organizations, led by completely demoralized and declassed elements, are easily turned against the working class, despite the most high-sounding "revolutionary" rhetoric.

The "Wellsprings Communion," which developed from "The Tribal Thumb," was in particular not only objectively anti-working class, it was early marked by physical violence against other organizations.

In 1975, the murder of black prison-reform advocate "Popeye" Jackson was carried out by a member of this group. At his

trial, it was revealed that SEVEN FBI agents were active in this group, one of them -- an actual "special agent" of the FBI -- was its weapons instructor.

It is thus clear that this organization was the object of direct involvement by the terrorist bourgeois state. An organization which claimed to be "revolutionary" was actually acting in the interests of imperialism.

On this basis, it is possible to understand the reason for Rosanne's murder and for the complete inaction on the part of the police.

First, in leaving this group and moving toward the party, Rosanne threatened to make available to the workers movement through its leadership the truth about this group and its nature, about the terrorist state. The existing provocation against the workers movement was thus extended into one against its very leadership.

Second, if the police in the Bay Area are not themselves involved in this provocation, they are certainly not about to expose the FBI and the

terrorist state. Here police inaction joins hands with those who preach passivity to cover up an attack on the workers movement.

We propose a fight for the truth, for WORKERS DEMOCRACY. Not just as a response to this crime, but as a way for the working class to rid itself of all alien influence, to take up the fight for its rights and for its class independence.

This article puts forward a working hypothesis of the significance of Rosanne's murder, a hypothesis based on considerable effort and materials. A Workers Commission of Inquiry, composed of honest revolutionary militants, workers and youth, can assess this evidence, seek out more information and reach a decision.

It can arm the working class against all attempts to attack its nature. It can guide the workers movement in a fight against deals which are intended to aid imperialism in hiding its terrorist apparatus.

This is the fight that we propose as an immediate task. September 14, 1980

## TRUTH is Your Weapon!

We call on all readers of TRUTH to join in the fight to make TRUTH the weapon of the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the Presidential elections.

As readers may have noticed we have been forced to temporarily reduce the size of TRUTH from 12 pages to 8 pages. The economic situation in Detroit has not left us untouched.

But we don't intend to let things remain as they are. Just as we don't intend to let the bourgeoisie's economic policies pass, just as we don't intend to let the union leadership's endorsement of Carter pass, we don't intend to retreat in the combat to make TRUTH the weapon of class independence in the election campaign.

We are taking immediate steps not only to bring TRUTH

back to its former size, but to improve the technical quality and appearance of TRUTH, primarily through typesetting equipment.

Needless to say, we need your support. Not as "charity" but as part of the struggle to unleash an offensive of the working class and to turn these elections into a defeat for U.S. imperialism.

Carter, Reagan and Anderson have their millions, but don't have a penny of support in the working class. We have support and we call on you to make your support a reality. SUBSCRIBE to TRUTH. Help DISTRIBUTE it and join with your friends in making a regular CONTRIBUTION to it. It is your weapon. September 15, 1980  
TRUTH