TRUTH

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA/FRATERNAL SECTION/FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
FOR A TROTSKYIST CONGRESS REBUILDING THE U.S. SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Fight to Build a Labor Party!

"If a workers party is formed in the US, it will be in the course of great class struggles. The workers party should be an organization uniting the struggles of the workers and the oppressed in action. The RWL and the TO will fight for a workers party to be a party of mass mobilization and direct action . . ."

— Declaration of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Workers League, page one

NO.214 NOVEMBER, 1986 50¢

TRUTH o No. 214 o November, 1986

Organ of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA,
Fraternal Section of the Fourth International,
For a Trotskyist Congress Rebuilding the U.S. Section of the Fourth International

P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, Michigan 48232

Contents:

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Supporting (12 issues of each) — $20

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Build an Alliance for a Labor Party!

Revolutionary Workers League
Trotskyist Organization

1. The Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Trotskyist Organization (TO) will collaborate in a campaign to build an Alliance for a Labor Party (ALP).

2. The ALP which the RWL and the TO seek to build would consist of organizations and individual militants who agree on the need for an American workers' (or labor) party based on the unions and other mass organizations of the working class.

3. If a workers' party is formed in the US, it will be in the course of great class struggles. The workers' party should be an organization uniting the struggles of the workers and the oppressed in action. The RWL and the TO will fight for the workers' party to be a party of mass mobilization and direct action. This will require a fight against the reformist bureaucrats who want to limit the party to elections.

4. The RWL and the TO will campaign for an Alliance for a Labor Party in propaganda and agitation in our newspapers and other publications, in unions and other workers' organizations, in the solidarity movements, and at gatherings of working-class political organizations. This in no way limits the freedom of each organization to criticize whatever it perceives as the failings of the other organization.

David Mark
National Secretary, Trotskyist Organization

Peter Johnson
National Secretary, Revolutionary Workeres League

Below is a statement of support for the candidacy of Barbara Putnam, an independent candidate for Congress in the 1986 elections. Two thousand copies of this statement were circulated at three key Detroit factories and Wayne State University as part of the Trotskyist Organization's election brochure in the last week before the election.

Build An Alliance for a Labor Party!
Vote Barbara Putnam for Congress!

A Statement of Support by the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Workers League

22 October 1986

Barbara Putnam is a candidate for the US House of Representatives in Detroit's 13th Congressional District, the area around Wayne State University where she works. Putnam has been a political activist and union militant since the early 1960s. She is a supporter of the Trotskyist Organization (TO), a member of UAW Local 2071, the clerical union at WSU, and a working mother.

The Revolutionary Workers League joins the TO in supporting Putnam's candidacy and urging workers to vote for her. Putnam's campaign focuses on four key issues facing the working class: the fight against concessions and for workers' control of industry, the fight against racism and for equality, the fight against US imperialism and for national liberation worldwide, and the fight against the Democrats and Republicans and for a workers' party.

Putnam's opponents in the 13th Congressional District are Democratic George Crockett and Republican Mary Griffin. Neither Crockett nor Griffin fights for the black majority of the 13th District or for the working class as a whole.

Crockett, the incumbent and likely winner in the election, claims to be "for the people." He also has a political history which has won him a certain reputation as a progressive. He was a leftwing lawyer for the UAW in the 1940s and for the civil rights movement in the 1950s and was redbaited and blacklisted. As a judge in the Detroit rebellion in 1967, he released

many people rounded up by the racist cops. But Crockett uses his reputation to tie black workers to the Democratic Party. He cannot and does not represent the interests of black and white workers.

Working people, especially black working people, need an independent political party based on the unions and other mass organizations of the working class, a party which will really fight for their interests. Putnam, the TO and the RWL support the formation of an Alliance for a Labor Party to fight for a workers' party.

Against concessions! For workers' control of industry!

Summer 1986 saw a wave of strikes against concessions, including strikes in telephone, aluminum and steel, city government, and education. Right in the 13th District, Detroit city workers struck in July, Michigan Bell workers struck in August, and WSU and Detroit school clericals struck in September.

Some of the strikes have been very militant. City workers in Detroit and Philadelphia followed the Hormel meatpacking workers in rejecting settlements proposed by their union bureaucrats, organizing mass picketing to stop scabs, and defying the cops and courts.

Militant strikes at individual workplaces are important. But no group of workers at any workplace is strong enough to beat the whole capitalist class and its government.

Strikes need to be spread industrywide and nationwide to make fundamental changes. They need to be run by the union membership organized in democratically elected strike committees, not by the union bureaucracy. They need to be carried out by all the unions, together with a workers' party that could mobilize the entire working class for victory.

Winning strikes need winning demands directed not just against concessions but against the capitalist system:

— No concessions, no protectionism!
— Share the work with no loss in pay! 30 hours work for 40 hours pay!
— Nationalize industry with no compensation to the capitalists!
— Workers' control of production and distribution!

Against racism! For full equality for blacks and other minorities!

The bosses and their government are concentrating their fire on the most oppressed layers of the working class: blacks, Latinos, other minorities, women, and youth. They see these layers as more vulnerable to their attacks. They also want to divide and weaken the working class through racism, sexism and other prejudices.

Blacks, Latinos, and other minorities suffer from high unemployment, low wages, cutbacks in needed social services, increasing poverty, lack of affirmative action, and racist violence. Racist immigration laws add to the pressure on Latinos and other national minorities.

Single mothers are forced into poverty when they have to raise children on wages much lower than those of men. All women are threatened with losing abortion and other reproductive rights. Youth see no future in a society whose government identifies drugs, not unemployment or war, as its number one problem.

Blacks, Latinos, other minorities, women and youth will be in the vanguard of the working-class fight against capitalism, including the fight for a workers' party. They will demand a militant program for the workers' party which answers their special needs as well as the needs of the working class as a whole:

— Equal access to jobs! Equal pay for equal work!
— Equal, integrated, quality housing and education!
— Mass mobilization against the Nazis and the Klan!
— Open borders and full democratic rights for foreign-born workers!
— Free, quality childcare! Free abortions and birth control on demand!
— Relevant education, well-paid jobs, economic independence, and personal freedom for youth!

Against US imperialism! For national liberation worldwide!

Workers, peasants and youth are fighting and dying every day in South Africa, Palestine, and Nicaragua to win their freedom. In every case, the US is on the wrong side.

In South Africa the US backs the apartheid regime completely, despite attempts by the government and corporations to distance themselves from it through symbolic sanctions and divestments. In Palestine the US backs Zionist Israel completely, despite occasional lip service to Palestinian national rights. And in Nicaragua the US openly finances, arms and trains the contras.

Crockett claims to be on the side of the oppressed in each of these conflicts. But he refuses to take real action to end US support for the oppressors or to provide real aid to the oppressed.

Crockett refuses to use his congressional position to expose the policies of US imperialism and put forward real alternatives. He does not propose a blockade of South Africa, an end to US support for Israel, or economic aid for Nicaragua. He does not propose arms and other assistance for the African National Congress (ANC), the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the other national liberation groups, and the Nicaraguan government.

Crockett refuses to turn to the unions and other mass organizations of the working class to carry out an anti-imperialist policy.

The oppressed peoples fighting and dying for their freedom around the world need the support of workers and youth in this country.

— Stop the imperialist war drive!
— End US intervention in Central America and the Middle East!
— Victory to the black South African, Central American, and Palestinian people against their dictators and oppressors and against imperialism!
— For international labor demonstrations, industrial boycotts, and other solidarity actions to aid these struggles!
— Organize working-class financial support, arms and volunteers for the liberation struggles!

Against the Democrats and Republicans! For a workers' party!

The struggles against concessions, racism, and US imperialism and for workers' control of industry, racial equality, and national liberation can mobilize millions of workers and young people in this country. But mass struggles over these issues will require mass organization on a scale that not even the unions can provide.

The solution is a workers' party based on the unions and other mass organizations of the working class. A workers' party will be formed in the course of great class battles. It will be an organization uniting the struggles of the workers and the oppressed in action.

While a workers' party will be built by the mass organizations of the working class, the fight for a workers' party can begin now. Organizations and individuals who support a workers' party should join together in an Alliance for a Labor Party.

— Support Barbara Putnam for Congress!
— Build an Alliance for a Labor Party!
— Break with the Democrats and Republicans!
— Run workers' candidates against the candidates of the bosses!
— Build a workers' party based on the unions and other organizations of the working class!

Declaration of the International Secretariat on the Amnesty in Poland

The Fourth International, which is among the forces who are waging a constant fight in the workers movement for the liberation of the Solidarnosc prisoners, warmly greets the 225 leaders and militants of the banned union who have been released from Jaruzelski's prisons. The amnesty, this act of phony "clemency" by the Stalinist generals in Warsaw, while being the undeniable result of the long and tenacious working class resistance, above all constitutes a very dangerous political maneuver negotiated in the back rooms between the Jaruzelski regime, the Catholic Church and the imperialist governments of the West.

Against what all these pseudo-"democrats" and their hireling journalists want to pretend, the decision for a nearly general amnesty is in no way "a first step toward the liberalization" of the military dictatorship, but a spectacular attempt to drive the most conciliationist sectors of the opposition into negotiating *a political pact* with the regime, providing it with a semblance of "legitimacy" and a certain stabilization it so cruelly lacks. In the final analysis, this maneuver is aimed at breaking up underground Solidarnosc and at dissolving its leadership structures, especially the TKK [the provisional national leadership — trans.]

No one should believe that this amnesty will settle the problem of rights in Poland, or even that it opens the road to such a settlement *negotiated* with the regime. The prisons are going to inevitably fill up once again. Moreover, they are not even completely empty. Scores of militants, among them young workers accused of "terrorism." soldiers who refused to recognize the military alliances with the Kremlin [that is, they refused to take the army oath of allegiance, which includes a reference to supporting the Warsaw Pact controlled by the Kremlin — trans.] and policemen who helped Solidarnosc are still serving out their sentences. The trade union Solidarnosc is still illegal, as are all rights to expression and independent organization. And while the imperialist government and their International Monetary Fund have demanded the liberation of the prisoners as a condition for the renewal of trade relations and the granting of new credits, this is not due to a sudden love for trade union rights that they sneer at in their own countries, but because they know that Jaruzelski cannot maintain himself by his own forces, even with Gorbachev's support, and that only a pact negotiated with a part of the opposition can open the road to a "normalization," which all these governments have wished for since the December 1981 coup d'etat.

Only the independent struggle and orgnization of the working people can defend working class and trade union rights, while gaining others. And in the first place in Poland today: the freedom of political and trade union organizations. That is why the Fourth International, which always puts itself in the camp of the oppressed in their struggle for rights and freedoms, supports all those leaders and militants of Solidarnosc, and those currents of the opposition, who, like Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the TKK, oppose the dissolution of underground Solidarnosc, denounce the suicidal illusions in an accord negotiated with Jaruzelski on the basis of this booby-trapped amnesty, and call for continuing the independent struggle for the freedom for Solidarnosc.

The Fourth International, through its section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), calls for a united front of all the workers, underground union structures, all the currents of the opposition, including with the rank and file workers of the Stalinist party [the Polish United Workers Party, officially — trans.] and the "official" unions who mistrust Jaruzelski, for winning the freedom of political organizations and the unions, and to erect a barricade to this attempt at a negotiated accord that is aimed at strangling precisely these freedoms.

Forum on the 1986 Elections and the Labor Party

By FRED MICHAELS

The Trotskyist Organization sponsored a public debate and discussion on the 1986 Elections and the Fight for a Labor Party at Wayne State University in Detroit on October 11. Twenty militants attended and heard Barbara Putnam, independent candidate for the US House from Michigan's 13th Congressional District and Peter Johnson, of the Revolutionary Workers League.

Barbara, a member of the Trotskyist Organization, opened her speech with a call to all present to build an Alliance for a Labor Party. "The road to the Labor Party is through establishing a working center — to build it, to popularize it. We call it an Alliance for a Labor Party. And we ask you to join with us to build it, not only in these elections but from now on."

But, "the 1986 elections are before us now." Barbara called on all working class militants and organizations to support her candidacy and that of all other working class candidates on the ballot as an act of class solidarity. She said, "the issue in these elections is to separate the workers' interests from the bosses' interests."

Peter Johnson from the Revolutionary Workers League announced that his organization "wants to join together with the Trotskyist Organization to build an Alliance for a Labor Party" and "would like very much to support Barbara's candidacy."

He said that the RWL could not at this point support Barbara's candidacy because of programmatic differences namely, over the emphasis given to racism. (Editor: As we go to press, the RWL and the TO have issued a joint statement on the 1986 elections published on page 1 of this issue.)

A lively debate and discussion ensued with militants from the floor offering their understanding of the political situation in general, their experiences with the other political tendencies in the elections (the Workers League and the Socialist Workers Party), and their concern over program in the elections.

While several important issues were discussed, one major issue immediately relevant to the elections did emerge from the discussion and from the summaries of the speakers:

Is there a relationship between the fight for a Labor Party and a working class policy in the elections?

Finally, it was agreed that even if we could not reach agreement over supporting the working class candidates in this election, both organizations were committed to further discussions and common action around the fight for a Labor Party in the unions.

Policy

Let us take up the question of the Labor Party and the elections. It is necessary for working class organizations to take a position on bourgeois elections because it is a question of finding a road to the masses — a fundamental axiom of Marxism particularly since the success of the Russian Revolution. In this context, the RWL's position — that "left" groups running in the elections do not advance the Labor Party fight — is wrong. It is necessary to participate in the elections. Ignoring elections is not acceptable. The fact that ignoring elections is acceptable among working class organizations in the United States is only a further sign of the crisis of Trotskyism.

It is obvious to any one that American workers as a class believe in bourgeois democracy. Furthermore, even among the vanguard there is a great deal of confusion over what can and cannot be accomplished in bourgeois elections in the United States — witness the consistent support to left-wing Democrats by anti-intervention groups.

At the same time, American workers are by and large mistrustful of bourgeois politicians. Most working class organizations refuse to support bourgeois politicians outright in the elections.

How can we advance towards a Labor Party in this situation?

To Trotskyists, there is no question about what our policy is. We participate in the elections. Exactly what form this takes can vary, but we have decided that tactically our fight is best advanced by running our own candidate, advocatinga united slate of working class candidates, and failing this, we call for a vote for all working class candidates on the ballot.

Lenin formulated the question in this manner: "Parliament is a product of historical development, and we cannot eliminate it until we are strong enough to disperse the bourgeois parliament. It is only as a member of the bourgeois parliament that one can, in the given historical conditions, wage a struggle against bourgeois society and parliamentarism. You cannot assert that this is not the case, and if you want to challenge it, you will have thereby to erase the experience of all revolutionary developments in the world. . . . This idea [that parliament represents the workers and peasants interests] must be combatted by work within parliament and by citing the facts, so as to show the masses the truth. Theory will have no effect on the backward masses: they need practical experience . " (Speech on Parliamentarism to the Second Congress of the Comintern, Collected Works, vol. 31).

At our meeting there was, and among working class organizations in general there is counterposed to Lenin's position — an abstentionist position.

The proof that the RWL had such a position on the elections was evident in their plans. They placed conditions on supporting Barbara, and have refused to support any other working class candidates. If they agree with Lenin and the Comintern, what has stopped them from running their own candidates? Several of their supporters occupy positions of leadership in the unions.

For the Trotskyist Organization, it is a critical question to support the working class candidates in the elections because what is counterposed to it is not another tactic to accomplish the same goal (such as a boycott of the elections) but abstentionism. And what characterizes this abstentionism of working class organizations who refuse to even formally confront the bourgeoisie in these elections? They are sectarian toward the masses and opportunist toward the left-wing Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats.

We call on all working class organizations and militants to support Barbara's candidacy and that of all working class candidates on the ballot in the US.

Fight for Alliance Finds Response Among Demonstrators

By FRED MICHAELS

A demonstration against apartheid in South Africa and US intervention in Central America, sponsored by a coalition of organizations, was held in Chicago on October 25.

In spite of the pouring rain and strong winds, a spirited group of 1200 marched past the South African consulate to a rally at Federal Plaza. The march consisted primarily of militants of working class organizations and supporters of solidarity organizations from Milwaukee, St. Louis, Detroit and other cities besides Chicago. There was also a substantial number of students from colleges and universities.

This demonstration was part of a nationally coordinated group of regional demonstrations sponsored by the Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice in response to the vote by Democrats and Republicans for contra aid earlier this year.

The capture of Eugene Hasenfus, the American caught transporting guns for the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), is a critical new development and played a role in the consciousness of the demonstrators.

Hasenfus' capture has begun the unraveling of the story of the CIA's sponsorship of the war against Nicaragua. In the course of finding out who Hasenfus is and what he was doing flying in an airplane dropping supplies to the contras, the role of the US government and Reagan in illegaly aiding the contras has been uncovered, pointing all the way to the White House.

George Bush, Reagan's vice-president and former director of the CIA, has been directly linked to Hasenfus. Bush was responsible for the appointment of Max Gomez, a CIA agent who goes back to the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, as coordinator of flights out of Ilopango airbase in El Salvador. Hasenfus worked for Gomez at the base, as he confessed, "flying into Honduras to an air base called Aguacate, and there we would load up small guns and ammunitions, and we would fly them into Nicaragua. These were dropped to the contras."

The Reagan government has denied any involvement saying that Hasenfus was a "brave man" and part of a "private" effort of support to the contras. But the men in charge of the "private" effort are all retired military men who employ "ex-" military men for their dirty work!

These "private" efforts are a result of a congressional ban in 1983 on CIA support to the contras. The US government organized support for the contras with these military men with the knowledge of anyone who wanted to know in Congress or in the country. Now that the US government has been caught red-handed in Nicaragua, some of the more liberal Democrats are demanding "investigations" into the possible violation of the congressional ban.

Among solidarity organizations and working class political organizations and in the working class as a whole the lessons of this incident must not be lost.

First, these organizations must stop supporting left-wing Democrats every election. The Democrats will continue to follow the same policy: pass resolutions that are incapable of stopping the plans of the US government against Nicaragua.

Second, it is necessary to use the elections to expose precisely this role of congress. Not by ignoring the elections but by supporting working class candidates on the ballot across the country. Finally, by joining together in an Alliance for a Labor Party to continue this fight on a permanent basis in the trade unions.

The demonstrators, especially the young people, responded very favorably to this struggle because of the exposure of Hasenfus. Fourteen issues of Truth were sold as well as

copies of Fourth International and our Bolivian committee's publication, *Insurrecion*.

One young person said in response to our fight in the elections: "in other words, you want us to withdraw support from these left-wing Democrats and in so doing we will strengthen the right wing temporarily. Now that might be OK, but that's what we will be doing."

But the question is not about "right wing" or "left wing" but about classes. The ruling class is committed to destroying Nicaragua. Only the working class can stop it. Yes, Republicans may get more seats in congress if the struggle for a Labor Party wins trade union support.

But, the point is, the ruling class would have been dealt a blow. The working class would be immeasurably strengthened. If we do not fight for a Labor Party, the ruling class will be be able to carry out its policy and the working class and the oppressed will be weaker. If we fight for a Labor Party, we can defeat the policy of imperialism in Nicaragua and win demands of the working class and the oppressed. That goal, strengthening the struggle of the working class and the oppressed, can never be accomplished by supporting the Democrats.

For an International Workers Tribunal Against Healy's Slanders!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

After months of virtual silence, the Workers League is again trying to develop Healy's slander campaign against the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) inside the workers' movement.

"Griesa's award amounts to a political payoff to the group of agents who carried out this pro-government operation, the mysterious group of 12 exstudents from Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, who were infiltrated into the organization in the early 1960s and who occupy every leading post." (*Bulletin*, September 6, 1986, p.2).

"There is an important aspect of the SWP's political intervention in the Hormel strike which it is vital for every P-9er to understand — that is, the penetration and takeover of the SWP leadership by agents of the US government ...

"We urge every Hormel worker to study the documents produced by the Trotskyist movement on Security and the Fourth International in order to understand the forces which are making use of the SWP inside the trade unions." (*Bulletin*, October 10, 1986, p. 13).

This is, to say the least, a monstrous lie. The SWP is a working class organization, albeit an opportunist one, and its policy has been determined by its origins, struggle, weaknesses, national isolation, and finally by its break with the Fourth International, but not by FBI or KGB agents.

What is more, as in many frame-ups, the crime never occurred. Imperialist and Stalinist police have long attempted to infiltrate working class organizations. But never in the history of the workers movement have they ever *taken over* a leading working class party and *fundamentally altered* the class character of its leadership or the party as a whole. The dialectic of the class struggle simply does not work this way. Even Lynn Marcus's National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) was reduced to a handful of nuts long before it became a center of police provocations.

Further, *Bolsheviks* have never centered their *political* struggle against opportunist tendencies in the workers movement in charges of police penetration. On the contrary, Bolsheviks have always drawn a sharp distinction between characterizing certain tendencies (such as the trade union bureaucracy or the Stalinist bureaucracy) as *political* agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement and characterizing them as *police* agents. The first is principled, the latter is not.

In fact, the entire history of Bolshevism and Trotskyism is a history of a struggle against such methods, from the Social Democrats and their slanders and attacks to the Stalinists and theirs — "Lenin took Kaiser gold," "Trotskyists were Nazi spies," "the East German, Hungarian and Polish uprisings were organized by CIA agents," etc., etc., ad nauseum. Not to mention the struggle against their extension — physical assaults on and assassinations of leading revolutionaries (Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebnicht, assassinated by the German Social Democrats; Leon Sedov and Leon Trotsky, assassinated by the Stalinists, to name only a few).

Healy and the Workers League have evidently forgotten all this. The Workers League has even gone so far as to take the SWP to court and sue it for expelling Alan Gelfand because he charged an SWP leader, Joseph Hansen, with working for the FBI. The real agents of the bourgeoisie are having a field day with this one — two working class organizations fighting it out with each other in a bourgeois court. And if the SWP had been taken over by police agents (as we said, a monstrous lie), what is the Workers League doing taking them to court? Aren't courts part of the capitalist state? Don't we read day-in and day-out in the Workers League's press that the P-9 leadership and the SWP betrayed the Hormel workers struggle by

taking the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) to court and by turning to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to decertify the UFCW and organize a new union election? So who's opening the workers movement to bourgeois state persecution and creating illusions in the state to boot? The P-9 leadership may not know better, but the Workers League certainly should.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on all working class organizations to join us in building an International Workers Tribunal to expose this slander campaign and mobilize the working class against it and others like it. All working class organizations must join in a common struggle against these methods.

Why are we so concerned about this? As many of our readers know, the Trotskyist Organization was founded as part of the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, and particularly its U.S. Section, in opposition to the Socialist Workers Party leadership and other revisionists. Wouldn't it be best to overlook this?

Absolutely not. Healy's slanders of the SWP: 1) undermine the solidarity of the working class against the bourgeoisie; 2) undermine *serious* political struggle against opportunism within the working class; 3) discredit Marxists in general and descendents of the International Committee in particular; 4) corrupt the Workers League, which once played an important role in the continuity of the Fourth International.

A united front of the workers against the bosses is necessary on many levels — from the extension of strikes to the formation of an Alliance for a Labor Party. But how is such a united front possible if opportunist tendencies, or even just differing tendencies, are seen as police agents? In fact, police agents have often been the quickest to shout "provocateur" in an effort to sow mistrust in the workers movement and prevent its unity against the bosses. No matter what its intentions might be, the Workers League is doing the same thing. It's no wonder that it makes *no* struggle, on any level, for the united front.

Similarly, how is serious political struggle between different tendencies in the workers movement possible, if the distinction between political characterizations (opportunist, adaptation to the bourgeoisie or Stalinism) and police slanders (agents of the CIA, FBI, KGB, etc.) is dissolved? This not only divides the working class before the bourgeoisie, for principled political struggle is a fundamental part of the process of the unification of the working class. It also plays into the hands of opportunists who always attempt to avoid *political* struggle by demagogically characterizing it as slander ("You say I'm working for the bosses, that's a lie, etc.). The Workers League admits that Healy abandoned political struggle against the SWP in favor of his "security campaign." Now the Workers League is making the situation worse; it is trying to *combine* political struggle and slander.

Needless to say, this can only discredit all who claim to be Marxists. What will P-9 workers think of Marxists, or Trotskyists, if those who claim most loudly to be so, *charge fellow workers with being police agents*, and the rest of us remain silent? Trotskyists must be in the forefront of the struggle to steel the workers against these methods.

And, last but not least, an implacable struggle against these slanders and the Workers League's suit is the only way to save the Workers League cadre from complete and total degeneration.

Both the British Socialist Labor League (SLL, today the Workers Revolutionary Party or WRP) and the American Workers League played an important role in the continuity of the Fourth International at a certain point, particularly in their struggle against the Socialist Workers Party leadership's abandonment of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Fourth International in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Yet they never really understood the origins of the crisis of the Fourth International in the difficulties of the Fourth International during World War II, the break-up of its international leadership, and the difficulties in rebuilding it.

In 1971, faced with the tasks posed by the 1968 revolutionary upsurge and the growth of the International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (ICRFI), they abandoned the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International as a world democratic centralist party and broke with the ICRFI. The British and the Americans tried to cover for this national retreat by denouncing everyone else associated with the ICRFI (the Bolivian POR, the French OCI, and others) and by calling themselves the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). But even the name they selected showed that they were abandoning the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International.

Healy initiated his slander campaigns — first against Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields (Workers League leaders), then against Alan Thornet (WRP leader), and finally against Joseph Hansen, Jacks Barnes and others — not simply as an unprincipled way to discredit political opponents, but especially as a way to maintain the fraud that the WRP in general and Healy in particular, and consequently the ICFI, represent the continuity of Trotskyism and the Fourth International. If outside Healy and a portion of the WRP there was little but "betrayers" (the Bolivian POR), "opportunist renegades" (the French OCI), and "police agents" (the SWP), *all the way back to 1940*, then Healy and the WRP were the continuity of Trotskyism, the Fourth International. There was no basis for and no reason to rebuild the Fourth International.

The Workers League continues the slanders today for the same reason. They wish to maintain the fraud that the ICFI represents the continuity of Trotskyism, the Fourth International, and particularly the International Committee, only this time around the American Workers League. To admit that Healy's "Security Campaign" was nothing but slanders, is to admit that the ICFI was not the continuity of the International Committee. It means facing the crisis of the vanguard and developing a policy for overcoming it. And this the Workers League seeks to avoid.

There is a certain parallel between the evolution of the struggle in the ICFI and the evolution of the struggle in the ICRFI. When Lambert abandoned the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, established the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) and began to adapt to the Stalinists' Union of the Left in France, he initiated a slander campaign against Michel Varga, other comrades of the International Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee (later the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International [ILRFI], then the Fourth International rebuilt), and the East European sections as a whole. He began with slanders, continued with physical assaults that resulted in no small number of broken bones, and sent couriers to Eastern Europe to disorganize and destroy the sections that functioned clandestinely. For Lambert, Michel Varga, the ILRFI, and the East European sections were an obstacle to his abandonment of the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International and adaptation to Stalinism and Pabloism. For Healy, the idea of Trotskyist forces outside himself and the WRP was an obstacle to his nationalist retreat. Thus each tried to destroy the obstacles in his way. And, of course, each refuses to admit this.

While saying this, we do not mean to say in any sense that this was *inevitable*, that adopting an opportunist policy inevitably leads to slanders or physical assaults. On the contrary, there are many opportunists who have not become slanderers or gangsters. And both Healy and Lambert could have stopped at any point had their allegiance to the working class been stronger than their concern for their own personal fates. We are simply saying what has occurred.

But the struggle is not yet over. The WRP leadership's repudiation of the campaign provides *everyone* involved with the opportunity to reassert their principles and summon up the political courage to say stop. Unfortunately, the Workers League has not chosen to do so. Whether it every will or not, the struggle itself will decide.

In any event, we refuse to accept, to ignore or even to simply criticize this campaign and its insidious influence in the working class, undermining solidarity against the bosses,

principled political struggle, and the authority of Trotskyists. We call on all working class organizations to join us in a common fight against Healy's slander campaign, to form an International Workers Tribunal against this campaign and others like it, to drive these methods out of the workers movement.

Solidarity against the bosses, for principled political struggle!
Down with Healy's slander campaign!
Build an International Workers Tribunal!