

TRUTH



For a workers government from Santiago to Havana to Washington, Madrid, and Moscow --

Build the World Party of Socialist Revolution!
Read, discuss, distribute
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Public Meeting -- Sunday -- June 27
5PM -- Headquarters of the TO/USSFI
3310 Junction, Detroit, Michigan

In the fight for the workers government, the world party of the socialist revolution is the indispensable weapon of the working class and oppressed masses throughout the Americas!

And in the fight to rebuild this party throughout the Americas, it is FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the organ of the international Executive Committee of the world party, which is the indispensable weapon! Especially for the working class militants of the Revolutionary Youth International in the US, and indeed for all the class-conscious youth, workers, and militants.

More and more youth and workers in the Americas are drawing the conclusion, in the course of their struggles against unemployment, high prices, and repression, in the factories, the schools, and the streets, that in order to finish with all this it is necessary to finish with imperialism, with capitalism, to destroy the capitalist state, its army, its courts, its police, and establish a workers government. So many in Europe in the last years have drawn this conclusion that rallies for the Socialist United States of Europe -- for a workers government from Lisbon, to Madrid, to Paris, Berlin, and Moscow -- have drawn thousands of youth from across this continent.

That this will never happen spontaneously -- the youth, the workers, the militants have not become sufficiently aware of. But the imperialists and their lackeys in the trade unions, the Stalinists, and the centrist leaders -- those who support Stalinism while claiming to speak for the world party, like Hansen, Lambert, and Mandel or Barnes and Camejo -- do know this.

A battle against all of them above all against the centrists, to develop the distribution, discussion, and correspondence with FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, to overcome the problem of spontaneism in the struggle to build the world party and rebuild it throughout the Americas beginning with its US Section, must be engaged. The working class militants of the SWP and YSA, the militants of the RYI in the US, the youth, workers, and militants at Rouge and Torrence who do or want to read, discuss, correspond with, and distribute FOURTH INTERNATIONAL must meet the combined opposition of the imperialists, their lackeys in the unions, the Stalinists, and these centrist leaders -- who have indeed taken the lead by slandering and attacking and/or condoning slanders and attacks on the distributors of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL in the factories and at public meetings -- with their own offensive. This is the objective of the Trotskyist Organization in the organization of this public meeting.

It is the critical means through
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200 YEARS AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The tasks before the American working class

by JON COHEN

On the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution the US working class senses that it is at a turning point. While the US ruling class is going ahead with its preparations for a gala "celebration," the US working class and its youth know that this is not their celebration. 200 years later, US capitalism exists in its death agony -- UNEMPLOYMENT, REPRESSION, and WAR is what capitalism means for the US working class. The real plans of the US ruling class do not lie in the parades, the speeches, the fireworks. Their plans are those of more and more attacks on the working class here and throughout the world -- to crush the revolutions in Spain, Portugal and Europe, to aid the Kremlin in the oppression of the working class in Eastern Europe and the USSR, to aid the fascists and military butchers in Latin America. To do this they must crush the US workers as well in the factories and in the streets. It is no accident that the US Senate is discussing passage of the S.1 Bill, the most repressive piece of legislation in US history on the eve of its bi-centennial -- this is the essence of their "celebration."

In order to do this the US bourgeoisie must try to make the US working class believe that at the same time it is the defender of "democracy." The US workers, especially their youth, totally mistrust the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties (2/3 of the "registered voters in the US did not vote in the recent primary elections). The US working class still has illusions that somehow the capitalist state in the US can be reformed, that there is still a section of the US bourgeoisie committed to "democracy." These are the illusions that the US trade union bureaucracy, with the aid of the Stalinist apparatus and the US Socialist Workers Party seek to maintain in order to prevent the US workers from drawing the revolutionary conclusions of their struggles today and in the past, constructing their own party to lead the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the US and around the world.

This is the decisive task before the US

working class movement today. To break with all illusions of reform of the capitalist state, to break with the liberal "defenders" of democracy and their allies in the workers' movement and to join in the preparation of the world socialist revolution, through the unification with the working class and oppressed throughout the world under the banner of the world party, the Fourth International. The Fourth International is being rebuilt in the US in the fight against all those who wish to maintain the illusions in the "democratic" ruling class, the "democratic" cover for the imperialists' preparation of the counterrevolution, in order to resolve the crisis of leadership of the working class. This is the basis for the crisis that exists today in the US Socialist Workers Party, whose leadership, while speaking in the name of the Fourth International seeks more and more to cover up and deny the fundamental tasks facing the US working class today. Because its leadership based on the middle class is tied to the "liberal" bourgeoisie and its illusions, every step forward of the US and international working class and its party strikes a blow against the stranglehold it wishes to maintain over the US workers and its own militants who are fighting to mobilize the US workers for the revolutionary conclusions in front of it.

The "Bill of Rights for working people" -- for protection from high prices, unemployment, wars, racism and oppression of women" proposed by the leadership of the US SWP reinforces the illusions in a "liberal" bourgeoisie and reform of the capitalist state. It is the logical consequence of the abandonment of the International by the SWP leadership and the fight for a world party. Once this fundamental struggle is denied the SWP leadership can only offer the US working class a national solution, "national" support to the liberal bourgeoisie and peaceful reform of the capitalist state.

The struggle of the US working class is reduced in the "Bill of Rights" to a struggle for more democratic rights, precisely the illusion that the US bourgeoisie wants workers to believe -- that the only problem with capitalism is not enough "de-

mocracy." And who is going to "protect" the working class from high prices, unemployment, etc.? The working class does not want "protection" from the capitalist state from liberal politicians. It wants its own government, based on the mass, independent mobilization of the working class in the factories. Federal troops to Boston, instead of armed self defense by black and white workers is the "protection" that the "Bill of Rights" is based on -- the protection of the capitalist butchers.

Thus, the "call" for a "workers government" is not the policy of the proletariat, elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and fought for by the Fourth International today. It is a government of "reform", like the attempts of the Communist Parties today in Western Europe to "reform" the governments in Italy, Spain, etc. It is not the policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on factory committees, Workers Councils, to smash the bourgeois state and all of its institutions of repression, the army, the police, and the courts. Instead this "workers government" will "pass" "into the hands the hands of the majority" -- by electoral reform! This "workers government" will guarantee democracy and implement a new bill of rights for working people. As if the working class would have any need of something like a "bill of rights" -- bourgeois democracy -- under its own revolutionary state!

It is thus very logical, that from a policy of democratic reform and reliance on the liberal bourgeoisie, the party for the working class that the leadership of the SWP proposes cannot be the world party of the socialist revolution, but a national, electoral and reformist party. This as well is the logical consequence of the Barnes - Hansen leadership's break from the International -- to deny the fundamental international unity of the world proletariat, and to thus capitulate to the bourgeoisie and the Kremlin apparatus who are organized on an international basis in order to crush the world proletariat.

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Oust the bureaucrats! Youth take the leadership!

Vote for the platform and candidates of the Trotskyist Organization and Revolutionary Worker Youth in UAW Local 551!

by FRED VITALE

We call upon all workers at Ford Torrence in Chicago and all working class organizations to support the candidacy of Fred Vitale, for President of UAW Local 551, running on the Platform presented by the Trotskyist Organization, US Supporter of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International. The elections will be held on Thursday, June 24th.

Fred Vitale, the candidate of the TO/RWY is running on the following Platform:

Fred Vitale, the candidate of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth is running on the following platform:

1. THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS THROUGH THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION -- IMPOSE A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS AND WAGES -- Stop the overtime and bring back all the young workers by dividing up all the available work among all workers able to work with no loss in pay.
- FACTORY COMMITTEES -- elected

by the workers to control the line speed, regulate working conditions and stop company harassment. STOP ALL DISCIPLINARY LAYOFFS!

2. STOP ALL ORDERS TO FASCIST SPAIN -- for the unification of the struggles of the workers around the world against the "protectionism" of the UAW bureaucrats.

3. ORGANIZE UNION DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE FASCISTS -- stop the mobilization of the Nazis in South Chicago!

4. DRIVE THE BUREAUCRATS OUT OF THE UNION -- wage the fight for trade union democracy -- for open union elections in Local 551!

5. FOR ONE, CENTRAL, UNITED UNION OF ALL THE WORKERS -- end the division of the workers -- unite the struggles of all the workers in the US!

6. FOR THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE CAPITALIST STATE -- No support to the Democratic and Republican Parties -- trade union leaders off all government boards designed to attack the US workers.

The TO and RWY are fighting today to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist

revolution. We believe that the task of the US workers is to join us in rebuilding our party, to wage the fight for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS; WORKERS GOVERNMENTS, as the only answer to the problems the working class as a whole faces. But it calls upon all workers at Ford Torrence who do not yet agree with us about this to join us in a common struggle for this Platform -- to drive Woodcock and Co. out of the UAW and for the youth to take the leadership of the unions. We are convinced that in the course of this struggle the workers at Torrence will be won fully to the program of the Fourth International.

We call upon all workers at Torrence to join us in a Rally on Thursday to organize support for the campaign. We call on all working class organizations, in particular the SWP and YSA and the October League whose militants are present at Torrence to organize with us a defense guard to protect the Rally against the bureaucrats of Local #551 who have repeatedly attacked militants of the TO and RWY and other organizations of the workers movement at Torrence.

All out for the Conference of the Two Americas rebuilding the International in the Americas! Paris, July 17. All out for the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization to rebuild the US section! Detroit, July 10

which to bring the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the United Socialist Republic of the Americas -- a workers government from Santiago, to Buenos Aires, to Havana, Washington and Ottawa -- to the workers throughout the Americas, a struggle which these centrist leaders oppose. Their opposition to the unification and independent mobilization and organization of the workers throughout the world in this struggle is clearly expressed in their opposition to the production and distribution of one central organ. They put out several, most notably INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS and IMPRECOR, each with its own commentary -- and indeed only commentary, not agitation, propaganda, and organization -- on world events!

ONE WORLD PARTY! ONE WORLD PRESS! THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! ALL OUT FOR THE PUBLIC MEETING!

The price of admission is the price of an introductory subscription to FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -- \$2.

The meeting will discuss the problems which have been encountered and map out the campaign to develop the distribution of, discussion of, correspondence with, and funds for the FI.

It will be followed by a special meeting of the Revolutionary Worker Youth to advance the organization of a united campaign in defense of Fitzpatrick and Putnam, arrested at the Rouge for distribution FI. Be there!

CONTINUED FROM FRONT, SECOND COLUMN

The "labor party" of the SWP leadership is thus the policy of national isolation of the US proletariat, and reliance on the middle class, not the international proletariat. This "labor party" is not a "tactic", it has nothing in common with the struggle for a labor party proposed by Trotsky in 1938. It is a maneuver against the US working class, it is the policy of the Popular Front in the United States.

The SWP leadership offers the "labor party" as an "American solution" as if the break of the US working class with the capitalists can be solved on a national level alone. By isolating the American workers from their allies throughout the Americas and throughout the world, this "labor party" can only be a pressure group on the liberal bourgeoisie, as a cover for the maneuvers of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats. And thus, its program cannot be the program of the international proletariat, but that of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The "labor party" of Hansen and Barnes is most particularly an attack on the most oppressed workers in the US -- the youth, the blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. It especially denies the decisive role of the most oppressed layers of the working class in the coming revolution throughout the Americas by denying that these interests express the fundamental interests of the working class as a whole. Thus, the SWP leadership can not only propose a "labor party", but a "black party", a "Chicano Party."

This denies the fundamental unity of the working class and oppressed masses in the US, again, only a logical consequence of the SWP leaderships' denial of the fundamental unity between the working class and oppressed masses in the US and the international proletariat.

A close reading of "Prospects for Socialism in America" makes it clear that the SWP has no intention of organizing either a labor party, a Black party, a Chicano party. These "parties" are merely propaganda, propaganda for the liberal bourgeoisie who wishes to divide the US workers and a trap for the most advanced workers, especially the young blacks, to prevent them from playing their leadership role in the revolutionary unification of the entire US working class. In the name of the Fourth International, the SWP is using these "parties" to block its own militants and revolutionary workers from the struggle for the world party, to rebuild its US Section which can only mean the destruction of the Barnes-Hansen leadership.

It is in this framework that it is necessary to warn the US workers and militants of the SWP that the "turn to the working class" proposed by the Barnes leadership has been and is a maneuver against the working class wing of the SWP/YSA, against the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International, against the international mobilization of the youth under the Revolutionary Youth Inter-

Rebuilding the International in the Americas -- a forum

The Trotskyist Organization calls on all the working class militants who claim to stand with the Fourth International, above all those of the SWP and YSA, to take a clear stand in relation to the struggle of the International to resolve the crisis of leadership of the working class in the struggle against centrism throughout the world, but above all in the Americas, and especially in the US.

We have opened up this forum to allow the working class militants to put forward their views to allow us to respond to them in a systematic fashion, and in this way to advance decisively in the resolution of the crisis, in the construction of these proletarian factions. Send us your letters. Engage yourselves in political discussion with the militants of the TO and the RWY. Join us in this struggle.

A LETTER FROM A MILITANT OF THE SWP

Dear TRUTH,

Truth is stranger than fiction. I have been an industrial worker for 14 years and a member of the SWP for nine. In that time I have learned at least one thing. That is, don't write anybody off who wants to be a revolutionary, no matter how unlikely it seems that they will ever straighten out. With that in mind I would like to make a few comments.

1. Leaving aside political differences for the moment, your newsletter seems totally inappropriate to distribution at Gate #4, Rouge, or the plant where I work, either.

Being generous, I count 5 of 7 articles as relating primarily to the internal concerns of your group. In addition, the other two are heavily weighted with your concerns about the SWP, which is unfortunately not a household word to most industrial workers.

2. Trotsky was in favor of a Labor Party. He knew it would be lead, initially, by bureaucrats. So what? The AFL-CIO is lead by union bureaucrats -- does that mean you're opposed to the AFL-CIO?

3. Five Rouge workers signed a statement about the "slanders of the OCI." 32,000 Texas workers signed a petition to put the SWP on the ballot. I personally talked to hundreds of them, and gave each one an introduction to socialism and a copy of our campaign platform. You are going to tell me what you did was more fruitful?

4. Our party has 48 years of experience in the labor movement. What we are doing today is consistent with our entire past. We learned how to function

as socialists in and out of the labor movement from revolutionary workers like Jim Cannon, Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs, Fred Halstead and many more.

Our party, unlike any other party in history, was founded by workers, built by workers, and lead forward by workers. Even the Bolshevik party didn't do this.

What do you have that is so much better?

5. Any serious revolutionary belongs in our party. Don't tell me how undemocratic we are. Name one other organization that has a pre-convention discussion like ours. 3 months of oral discussion, and a written bulletin open to everybody. Anything.

There's no excuse for not being in the SWP if you're serious.

6. What are the basic problems facing working people right now? Jobs, inflation, racism. Right?

What is the fundamental political problem facing the working class? Breaking from capitalist politics. Right?

Your paper doesn't say anything about either.

Read a little history. You don't want to turn out like one of those pathetic little groups of petty-bourgeois radicals like the Workers Opposition in 1921 that harassed the Bolsheviks, but couldn't contribute any help to the solution of real problems. Don't delude yourselves. You're setting on the sidelines.

Fraternally,
DAVID R.
HOUSTON, TEXAS

The Trotskyist Organization Responds...

Dear Comrade:

We want to take up the central question raised in your letter. Where do you stand in relation to the world party of the working class, the Fourth International, and its struggle?

In your letter you say: "Our party has 48 years of experience in the labor movement. What we are doing today is consistent with our entire past... this party unlike ANY other party was founded by workers, built by workers and lead forward by workers." And then you ask: "What do you have that is so much better?"

There have been many parties that have been founded by workers, built by workers, and lead "forward" by workers; the international apparatus of the Stalinist parties directed by the Kremlin for example. There are more workers in the leaderships of these parties than in the SWP.

But a true proletarian party can only be a world party, based on the program of the world proletariat, rooted amongst the YOUTH in the bastions of the proletariat.

Only such a party can wage the fight to maintain and develop the class independence of the working class in the Americas, especially in the US in the face of Stalinism and imperialism. And indeed, in this way, from the First International the struggle for the class independence of the proletariat, in the face of all the treacherous, nationalist, class-collaborationist leaderships, has been continued.

But your leadership broke with the International and abandoned this struggle. We've discussed this in the FI and TRUTH. You should also read the discussions of the questions of the International, the youth, centrism, Pabloism, and liquidationism and the orientation of leaders of the SWP toward the milieu of middle-class second-rate Stalinists written by Cannon and Wohlforth before they capitulated.

What the Trotskyist Organization first as the section of the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International and then as the Section of the Fourth International rebuilt, has done, which is so much better, is taken up this struggle. But this fight against centrism, to rebuild the International in the Americas, that is fully assume the continuity of the Fourth International cannot be realized without the working class militants of the SWP and YSA.

We propose to you to take up a fight in your organization. Today the government is waging a campaign against the "Trotskyist Terrorist International," with the collaboration of the Stalinists. We propose to you to fight for your organization to take up a united campaign with the TO to defend ourselves, against the Voorhis Act, for the right to adhere to the International, to mobilize the youth in the factories with this objective. To date your leadership has refused.

We think you will see in the course of this struggle that we are correct in our assessment and policy: that for the same reason that your leadership has condoned, indeed collaborated with the Lambert leadership of the OCI in the slanders and attacks on the militants of the countries of the socialist conquests, including a leader of the Hungarian Revolution, in the attempt to destroy our sections in Eastern Europe, it has refused to take up this unitary campaign with the TO in the US -- that is, it is collaborating with imperialism and Stalinism against the working class, something which is consistent not with its entire history, but only with its history since its break with the fight of the International.

Where do you stand in this struggle? With the 5 young workers at Rouge, that is with the world working class and its party, or with the legions of traitors, acting in the interests of a vicious minority in its death agony? We await your response.

The Secretariat of the TO/USFI

MAKE FORD MOTOR DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST FITZPATRICK AND PUTNAM! ORGANIZE INDEPENDENTLY!

Special meeting of the RWY/USS/RWI to advance the united campaign to defend the militants of the TO and the right to distribute communist literature at the Rouge! SUNDAY, June 27th, 8PM at 3310 Junction, Detroit, Michigan.

SEE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT OF TRUTH FOR RESULTS OF THE HEARING!

national.

The middle class policy and program of the SWP leadership remains intact -- reliance on the Democratic Party around the fight for the ERA for women, reliance on the NAACP for "integration", reliance on the left wing bureaucrats, the Sadlowskis in the trade unions. But Barnes and Hansen must give a left cover to this policy in the face of the "ultraleftism" of the young workers and militants of the SWP who are seeking a true proletarian policy. Barnes says this almost straightforwardly in "Prospects for Socialism." It is important to note that the ultraleft mood that arose in the late 1960's was world wide. It has not yet run its course.

"Ultraleft mood"!!! This is what the Barnes leadership calls the revolutionary mass mobilization of the international working class and its youth since 1968 -- the May-June French General Strike of 1968, Prague Spring in 1968, the US anti-war movement, the upsurge of the Spanish and Portuguese working class, the Polish workers, etc.

It was this "ultraleft mood" which shook to the core the treacherous international apparatuses of the Kremlin and Social Democracy and the centrists. Here, the middle class fear of the working class and the youth on the part of the

Barnes leadership is shown the clearest. Above all they fear this revolutionary mobilization of the working class youth -- it marks their doom and they must maneuver and propose "turns" to confuse and block this mobilization.

This is also clearly shown by their "turn" towards Chicanos and Puerto Rican workers in the US. Instead of fighting for the revolutionary unification of the working class and oppressed masses throughout the 2 Americas, instead of placing at the forefront of the struggles of the Latin and US workers the slogan: UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS, the leadership of the SWP "turns" to Latin workers by isolating their struggles; isolating them from the US proletariat as a whole by reducing their struggle to one for democratic rights; and isolating them from a revolutionary fight with their class brothers and sisters through the Two Americas, to bring the decisive aid of the North American working class to the working class and oppressed masses in Latin America. It is above all a turn, not against the middle class elements and apparatus of the SWP/YSA, but against the proletarian militants and especially those of the most oppressed in the SWP/YSA -- in order to fight "ultraleftism" (revolution) by blocking the militants

from drawing the true balance sheet and conclusions of their leadership's treachery.

Proletarian militants of the SWP/YSA! This leadership cannot be reformed. It has only taken the logical conclusion of its break from the International 13 years ago and will only deepen its centrist policy. Your task is once again to fight to fully assume the continuity of the Fourth International in the US by rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International. This is the purpose of the Congress of the TO -- to rebuild the world party in the US and the Conference of the Two Americas -- to rebuild the Fourth International throughout the Americas. The formation of your faction in the SWP to destroy this leadership which confuses the US working class in the name of the Fourth International is your obligation to the workers in the US, throughout the Americas, who are seeking to resolve the crisis of leadership of the proletariat by constructing their world party. The Congress of the TO and the Conference of the Two Americas cannot be held without your fight. The nationalism of your leadership and its reliance on the liberal bourgeoisie cannot be ended without your fight, the Fourth International cannot be rebuilt in the US without your fight!