

TRUTH



Weekly Organ of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION
US Supporter of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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Down with the Voorhis Act!

15¢

NO 29 JUNE 14, 1976

Free Mustafa Dzhemilev! Join the International Committee to Free the Political Prisoners!

by JON COHEN

Mustafa Dzhemilev is a young Crimean Tartar, imprisoned in Siberia by the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union because of his struggle against Stalinist repression. The campaign for his freedom, as part of the struggle of the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE must be taken up by working class militants in the United States. Militants of the SWP/YSA have a central role to play in building this fight in the United States because what is at stake is the confrontation with Stalinism, a confrontation which their leadership avoids. The fight against Stalinist repression will be a weapon of the proletarian faction of the SWP and YSA!

The fight against Stalinist repression has a special importance today for US working class militants. The US ruling class and its lackeys, from Carter to Reagan, are waging a tremendous campaign against the "Red menace" of the USSR, seeking to mobilize the US workers for the counterrevolutionary plots of imperialism. The Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR and around the world serve imperialism by their crimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe -- the prison camps, the "special" hospitals, the "trials" of communist militants. They attempt to disarm the young workers in the US who want to fight for revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat by allowing the US bourgeoisie to identify the crimes of Stalinism with the October Revolution of 1917. The Stalinist bureaucrats must not be allowed to repress the working class in the name of "communism": It will only be the working class and its world party, the Fourth International that will destroy Stalinism, and it will only be the working class and its party that will defend the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism. The international working class must come to the aid of working class militants in the USSR and Eastern Europe who are in jail because of their struggle against Stalinist repression -- only the mobilization of the international working class can free them.

The International Committee has already begun its work. A mass meeting was held in Paris on June 11th to build the campaign to free Mustafa Dzhemilev and develop the work of the Committee. A BULLETIN of the Committee has been published which will be distributed in the United States this week. It contains a Call of militants of the French Communist Party calling upon militants of the Communist Parties through the world to join the Committee. It contains an Open Letter from a Soviet railroad worker to workers in the US, calling upon US workers to take up the struggle against Stalinist repression.

The public meeting will make plans for developing the work of the Committee in the US -- the distribution of the BULLETIN, plans for demonstrations. It is open to all militants of the workers movement who want to wage the fight -- in the factories, the unions, the schools, and inside all organizations which claim to speak in

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5:00 Sunday, June 20

**1st Public Meeting
of the US Committee**

3310 Junction, Detroit

SWP leadership supports the Stalinist apparatus against the workers and their party

by KEVIN FITZPATRICK

We have constantly warned about Stalinism's partnership in the international conspiracy of reaction. From Spain and Portugal to the US, its policy of betrayal seeks to help world imperialism smash the revolutionary upsurge of the working class. But Stalinism's work would be impossible without the centrists, those who claim the name of the Fourth International in order to defeat its goals. The US Socialist Workers Party is the centerpiece of international centrism and of its support to Stalinism. Defeating the SWP leadership, smashing its policy of support to Stalinism in the East and the West, is the key element in the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International. And the key to this is the crystallization of the proletarian wing of the SWP into a Proletarian Faction on the basis of the policy of the Fourth International.

GENERAL AGREEMENT

Imperialism, Stalinism and centrism are all agreed on one thing about Stalinism; it is the heir of the October Revolution the continuity of Bolshevism; Stalinism is Communism.

Imperialism tells the workers that the "red menace" may be voted into office in Italy, that it nearly "took over" Portugal last summer. And the Stalinists, from a different angle, say the same; with the centrists bringing up the rear by confusing the government of the workers and peasants with the government of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. And so Communism and Stalinism are made one, for the purpose both of confusing the workers who want it into thinking elections can get it, and of confirming the backward elements and middle classes in their identification of revolution with bureaucratic dictatorship.

CENTRISM AND THE SWP

Pabloism developed within the Fourth International like a cancer capitulating to Stalinism in its essence; destroying the reason for the necessity and existence of the Fourth International. The US Socialist Workers Party, which once fought Pabloism, capitulated to it in 1963 and is today the only thing which gives it life and strength. The fight of the Proletarian Faction thus means assuming the historic role of the SWP in the fight against Pabloism and Stalinism; by destroying that leadership and by rebuilding the US Section.

This capitulation of the SWP is developed on every page of THE MILITANT. Its recent series of articles on the Steelworkers, the purpose of which is to support Sadlowski, the CP's favorite candidate for "peaceful change" from the Abel regime, denies the very existence of

Stalinism as a force in the US. The CP as the betrayer of the mass upsurge of the CIO simply does not appear in their history, "Labor and the CIO". Similarly, in the guise of following the "important discussion" in the Maoist GUARDIAN, it covers up the fact that the criticisms of Mao's foreign policy actually mark the growing integration of these Maoists back into the CP, back into the international apparatus of the Kremlin.

And this is the meaning of its election campaign as well. While waging no campaign of exposure of the real policy of imperialism and Stalinism over the "red menace," it supports in practice a major component of the conspiracy -- the idea that the elections will decide, that "communism" (or "socialism," or a "bill of rights") can be obtained through the ballot. Its campaign is a left shadow of the "independent" campaign of the CP, which is itself only the left shadow of open support to the imperialist parties and their electoral machinations.

The central focus of the international conspiracy is smashing the European Revolution. The role of Stalinism is obvious in this in Western Europe. But it is in Eastern Europe, in the countries of the socialist conquests, that it becomes the leading, and not merely a supporting, player.

The division of the Eastern and Western European workers is the basis for the preservation of the status quo in Europe. It means, on the one hand, the preservation of capitalism in the West and, on the other hand, the deformation of the socialist conquests in the East.

This division is the result of the policy of Stalinism. Overcoming it means smashing Stalinism, smashing the bureaucracy. The attacks on the IDEA of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the Western CPs, loudly attacked by the Kremlin bureaucracy itself, are matched in Eastern Europe by attacks of the real gains of the workers, on the already limited social content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Beneath the deliberate demagoguery of the "debate," there lies the unity of this attack.

This attack finds its particular expression in the USSR and Eastern Europe in the attacks on communist militants, in their trials, imprisonment and torture. The bureaucracy attacks these militants because what they seek, the development and extension of the socialist conquests, can only be satisfied by the overthrow of the bureaucracy, by the unity of the social and political revolutions in the European Revolution, for the Socialist United States of Europe.

The objective for these communist militants is thus the same as that which the Fourth International points out to the whole working class. The struggle for their liberation, for the ending of the re-

pressive apparatus of the bureaucracy, is thus a major component part of the struggle of the Fourth International. It is this particular struggle that the International Workers Committee for the Immediate Liberation of the Political Prisoners in the USSR and the Eastern European Countries, the other national committees, especially that in the US, and the Proletarian Faction of the SWP in its fight to rebuild the US Section, must and do take up.

The Proletarian Faction must not only join the US Committee itself, it must incessantly demand that the SWP leadership explain why it will not associate itself to that fight, thereby strengthening both the Committee in its work and developing the break of more and more SWP militants from the leadership into the Proletarian Faction.

CENTRISM ON EASTERN EUROPE

The centrists' acceptance of the legitimacy of Stalinism becomes even more clear in Eastern Europe. Here it finds its sharpest expression in the refusal of the Pabloites to build sections -- because that means posing the fight of party against party, of the overthrow of the bureaucracy -- and in the attempt of the French OCI to destroy the sections of the Fourth International through slander and physical attacks (as with the accusations against Michel Varga and the Hungarian section, developed into a campaign against the whole Fourth International, and now taken up by all the centrists in their "Counter-Commission of Inquiry"). This is actual support to the bureaucratic dictatorship.

Instead, the centrists seek to advise and counsel a section of the bureaucracy itself. The SWP engages in a friendly "discussion" with the Russian, Medvedev, who openly opposes the overthrow of the bureaucracy. The OCI says this section of the bureaucracy will actually carry out the tasks of the Fourth International -- in which case why is the Fourth International needed?

As a logical consequence, the centrists' policy on the liberation of the political prisoners also supports Stalinism. First, the systematic character of the repression, and thus its political significance, are denied. There are only "hot news" items about Plyusch, Dzhemilev, etc. Second, the response to these attacks is posed, not as a mobilization of the workers, but as a question of pressure, of big names, etc. Finally, as with the OCI, the specific fight for the liberation of the prisoners is dissolved into a general "fight" against "repression East and West" -- thus turning the mobilization for the European Revolution into the harmless paths of civil liberties, man's inhumanity to man and the good works of Amnesty International.

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FIGHT FOR THE PLATFORM AND CANDIDATES OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION

Resolution of the public meeting of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION - June 13, 1976 Detroit

The TO met and launched its proletarian platform and candidates for President and Vice-President, Barbara Putnam and Fred Vitale, for the national elections. The platform is a guide to action for the US working class and youth, and all militants of the workers movement to rebuild the the US Section of the Fourth International; to engage the broadest layers of the oppressed masses in the fight for power for the Workers Government.

A Political Resolution was drafted on the basis of the discussion concluding that the TO must place the rebuilding of the US Section of the party in the forefront of every sphere of its activity and that this task can not be accomplished without the young proletarian militants of the SWP and YSA who at this moment seek the program of the Fourth In-

ternational; the program that organizes the working class independently for the seizure of power; the program of Trotsky, which is the essence of the proletarian platform. It is on the basis of this program that the proletarian militants will form a faction to defeat the centrist leadership of the SWP, whose policies conceal the danger of Stalinism to the working class revolution, policies laid bare in the pages of TRUTH and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the principal weapons in the fight against centrism.

Following the Public Meeting of the TO, the responsables of the RWY met to discuss the resolution and to lay plans for taking up the fight to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International. In order to differentiate the Revolutionary

Worker Youth as the arm of the RYI in the US, it is necessary to make it clear that the RYI is the only independent international organization of the fighting youth whose goals are identical with the goals of the Fourth International.

The RWY is holding a meeting Wednesday night at 8:00 at its new office at 3310 Junction in Detroit to go over the balance sheet of its work to date with the young workers from Rouge and to organize the production and distribution of its press, YOUNG GUARD and INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD and to decide how to reach the young comrades of the YSA and SWP to fight with them in rebuilding the US Section of the world party of socialist revolution.

**All out for the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization
Rebuilding the US section of the 4th International - Detroit July 10**

CAMPAIGN: SUPPORT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



The campaign for THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL has begun to be felt in the factories and among the militants of the SWP/YSA in the United States. These results have been primarily expressed through the fight to distribute TRUTH, the newspaper of the US Supporter of the Fourth International -- the decisive advance still must be made through the distribution, subscriptions, correspondence and financial support to THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL itself, the central weapon of the world party.

Aside from sales outside of the factory by militants of the TO, in the last several weeks over 55 copies of TRUTH have been distributed by young workers INSIDE Rouge. The fight for the distribution of TRUTH by the young workers at Rouge has been a direct blow against the counterrevolutionary attempts of Ford Motor Company to prohibit the distribution of communist literature inside the factories. It has been a fight for democratic rights -- the bosses want to deny even the most basic right of free speech inside the plants -- this in the year of the "Bicentennial"! But above all it has been a fight FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE and to build the world party of the working class inside the factories. The centrists say, "wait for a test case and we'll win a legal suit." The Fourth International affirms that the DEFENSE OF THE RIGHT TO DISTRIBUTE COMMUNIST LITERATURE is a fight for the mass mobilization of the workers in the factories -- only the independent organization of the workers can insure the defense of their rights.

As reported in the last issue of TRUTH, this week we will engage a massive campaign for the distribution of the SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL: "Centrism and the Fourth International in Spain" 40 copies to be sold at Rouge, 50 to be distributed inside, 5 subscriptions, and 1 correspondent; 20 copies to be sold at Ford Torrence, 30 distributed inside, 3 subscriptions and 1 correspondent.

We have already received two subscriptions from young workers at Rouge. We received a letter in response to from a militant of the SWP in Houston, Texas which will be printed in the next issue of TRUTH. TRUTH and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL have already begun to have an impact on the SWP and YSA. An issue of TRUTH is posted on the Bulletin Board of the Cleveland office of the SWP! THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL must become a weapon for the militants of the SWP/YSA in the construction of their faction as well -- the leadership, like in Cleveland must be forced to respond to it as well: 20 copies of the #1 2 subscriptions, and 1 correspondent from the SWP/YSA in Detroit this week, 10 copies, 1 subscription and 1 correspondent from the SWP in Chicago. Bring your subscriptions to the literature tables of the TO at Rouge and Torrence on Thursday -- on Saturday at the SWP/YSA offices in Detroit and Chicago!

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the name of the working class -- against Stalinist repression, to free the political prisoners in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Militants of the SWP/YSA -- your leadership "talks" about repression in general. To end the repression it is necessary to mobilize the working class directly against Stalinist repression. Join the US Workers Committee! Free Mustafa Dzhemilev! FREE MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR! PUT AN END TO THE SPECIAL CAMPS AND HOSPITALS! SOVIET TROOPS OUT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA!

RALLY -- ROUGE, TORRENCE, FRIDAY JUNE 18th!

PETER CAMEJO IN SPAIN

The treachery of the SWP leadership and the fight for the proletarian faction

by DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The principal danger to the victory of the Spanish and Portuguese revolution today is centrism, represented primarily by the Hansen leadership of the United Secretariat, which blocks the building of the World Party of socialist revolution, which seeks to isolate the Spanish and Portuguese proletariat from the rest of Europe and the Americas. Centrism which denies the irreconcilable struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class; the necessity of the seizure of power by the proletariat or the barbaric tyranny of reaction. Centrism which speaks today in the name of the Fourth International, placing itself between the proletariat and its treacherous leaderships as a shield to their destruction.

In line with their policy of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, the Stalinists together with Hansen have sought to maintain the fiction of a democratic stage in Spain. Even as the Spanish proletariat prepared to deal with the fascist regime which murdered its militants in Vitoria, the Spanish Communist Party and the Socialist Party were forming the "Democratic Coordination." This coalition which brought together the Stalinists, Social Democrats, and the bourgeois opposition parties (Monarchists, Christian Democrats) was formed in order to tie the "leaderships" of the Spanish proletariat even closer to the Juan Carlos regime, in the name of "democracy."

The recent May Day demonstration in Spain showed the intent of this "democratic coordination." The Stalinists, building the international working class holiday as a day of "peaceful protest" built small isolated actions in various parts of Spain, but in Madrid 30,000 showed up for a small picnic called by the Stalinists. The fascist police charged the dutifully "peaceful" protest of the Stalinists with their rifle butts.

Since the events of Vitoria, which signaled not only a new wave of militancy of the Spanish proletariat, but also a new, more savage response on the part of the fascist regime, the working class of Spain has been drawing the conclusions about the Stalinists' and reformists' treachery. The Spanish proletariat is seeking a leadership, a world party to lead it to power and to extend its revolution throughout Europe.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España, (PORE), Spanish section of the Fourth International is engaged in a fight to the death with the Stalinists and fas-

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The work of the International Workers Committee (IWC) heads precisely in the opposite direction. The bulletin of the IWC, published monthly in three languages (French, Spanish, English), will concretely expose the extent and nature of the persecution and organize the working class to stop it. Thus, one of the central tasks of the Proletarian Faction is the distribution of this Bulletin. And not only in the SWP and its periphery. While the SWP leadership advises Gus Hall to follow the lead of the Western European CPs and take his distance from the bureaucracy on the repression (all the better to support Stalinism), the US Committee and the Proletarian Faction will actually mobilize young militants of the CP and YWLL* to fight the Stalinist repression, thus taking up the fight to win them from the apparatus -- another element of assuming the continuity in the US.

Likewise, the US Committee and the Proletarian Faction will seek to win the existing organizations in the US that claim to be against Stalinist repression to the fight of the IWC, thus winning the best militants to the Fourth International and breaking up the symbiotic relationship with the SWP that serves to cover its actual prostration to Stalinism.

This fight will and can only be waged on the basis of the independent mobilization of the working class, especially the young workers. Here again, the work of the Proletarian Faction in the fight of the IWC links up with assuming the continuity of the Fourth International in this country, of developing its policy in the fight to rebuild the US Section against the leadership of the SWP.

*Young Workers Liberation League, the youth organization of the Communist Party/USA

cists. In the face of repression, and the attacks of the Stalinists, which have increased with the formation of the "democratic coordination," the militants of the PORE are fighting openly in the assemblies and meetings of the workers for the overthrow of the Francoist monarchy and the Workers Government. The PORE has conquered a decisive place for the Fourth International among Spanish workers and youth.

But the Spanish revolution is not a matter of the overthrow of the fascists alone. All of European capital, together with the Stalinist bureaucracies know that the revolution in Spain numbers the days of survival of European capitalism and the bureaucracy. US imperialism realizes well the stake it has in Spain -- it has just donated \$1.2 billion in military credits to Juan Carlos

The Fourth International is engaged in a world wide fight against this conspiracy which wants to strangle the Spanish revolution. In Spain, the fascist police have arrested and tortured six militants of the PORE in the last weeks. In Portugal, the imperialists are financing the preparation of a coup by Spínola, recently expelled from Switzerland for his activities. Even in the United States, the militants of the Trotskyist Organization have been arrested for organizing to support the Spanish revolution at Ford's River Rouge plant.

The lines are clearly drawn by the Spanish revolution. Either stand with the proletariat for the building of the World Party against the Stalinists, for the seizure of power, for the extension of the revolution to all of Europe, or fall at the hands of the counterrevolution being organized by the imperialists in collaboration with the Stalinists and reformists.

It is this fight of the Trotskyist Organization and the whole of the Fourth International, together with the crisis of the Stalinist apparatus appearing ever more treacherous to the Spanish masses, which after months of silence over Spain has brought the Hansen leadership of the Socialist Workers Party out in the open. While the militants of the PORE are being tortured in the fascist prisons, the regime of Juan Carlos graciously allows Peter Camejo, candidate for the SWP for president of the US, and Ernest Mandel, friend of Pablo, to speak openly in Spain -- and as "supporters of the Fourth International." In the first place, this maneuver is intended to block the building of the World Party in support of the European revolution. It is part of a "left" face being put on by the liquidationist Hansen leadership in the service of Stalinism. Camejo who met with Marcelino Camacho, a Stalinist leader of the Workers Commissions, is Hansen's emissary to the Stalinists. While in the United States, the hacks of Hansen have physically prevented militants of the TO from obtaining support to the Inter-Workers Committee for the release of political prisoners in Eastern Europe and the USSR, intimidating militants of the Cleveland branch to keep them from signing a petition, in Spain, Camejo "championed the cause of dissidents struggling for democratic rights." While in the United States the SWP leadership calls for federal troops against the working class to enforce busing, in Spain Camejo spoke of the "need for the working class and its parties to remain independent from bourgeois parties and programs."

But these plugs are merely thrown in for the pages of the MILITANT, a shallow attempt to block the proletarian wing of the SWP from exposing the treacherous Hansen leadership. In reality, in Spain as in the US, the Hansen leadership supports the Stalinists and reformist leaderships against the Fourth International. This is why Camejo could meet with Marcelino Camacho, while the militants of the PORE are attacked by Stalinist goons in the workers assemblies. This is why Camejo can hold interviews with the bourgeois and fascist press in Barcelona and Madrid, while the same press are reporting on the arrest and torture of six militants of the PORE.

Camejo, Mandel, and Hansen do not seek the DESTRUCTION of the treacherous leaders of the Spanish workers, they merely wish to appear to the "left" of them. The MILITANT reports on Camejo's speech, "The audience rocked with laughter at his reference ("junta") to the

deals the Spanish reformist parties are trying to establish through a 'junta' with the bourgeoisie." The militants of Hansen's group in Spain will find Camejo's humor very bad when the 'junta' decides it doesn't need the "good Trotskyists" any longer and attempts to annihilate them as it did to the "good Trotskyists" of the POUM in 1936.

The "program" of the United Secretariat in Spain is only a "left" cover for the treachery being prepared by the Stalinists and reformists. The "good Trotskyists" are no longer demanding the seizure of power by the proletariat. No longer is the proletariat locked in combat with the bourgeoisie for survival. The Hansen group in Spain is calling for a "Workers Government" which is "a provisional government" whose purpose is not the expropriation of the property and power of the bourgeoisie but to "guarantee the convocation of a constituent assembly and make the necessary concessions to the needs of the masses." Ernest Mandel speaking in Madrid as a "Trotskyist" reassured the fascist butchers that he would "... protect democratic rights of all political currents -- even bourgeois ones -- in a workers state." (IP May 24th). But these are the same demands of the Juan Carlos regime itself and the Stalinists. A "provisional government" to give time to the counterrevolution to prepare a coup. A "constituent assembly" as in Portugal, while the real power remains in the hands of the fascist Monarchy, and the "right" of the bourgeoisie to organize the crushing of the working class through the fascists.

But these traitors have no intention of building anything, it is the liquidation of the Fourth International that they prepare, even of their own militants in Spain. They seek only to give a "left" cover to their treachery and to be the left alternative for those militants who are breaking with Stalinism in Spain looking for the world party. They wish to reinforce the illusions of the Spanish proletariat, and of the militants of the SWP in Stalinism, reformism, and bourgeois democracy.

This treachery is nothing new, it is the logical result of more than 20 years of trying to liquidate the Fourth International. When the Stalinist apparatus was in the process of consolidating its domination over Eastern Europe, and crushing the uprising of the German proletariat, Ernest Mandel with Pablo, broke from the Fourth International liquidating the Pabloite sections into the Stalinist apparatus. When the Fourth International began to grow and attract the youth to its banner in the early '60's, the Hansen leadership broke from the Fourth International to "unite" with the Pabloites. Now when the definitive confrontation with the Stalinist apparatus is at hand, when the Fourth International is organizing the Spanish proletariat to finish with fascism, Hansen "rescues" the United Secretariat of the "good Trotskyists" International in order to block the building of the World Party, the Fourth International in support of the Spanish revolution, and its extension throughout Europe and the Americas.

The construction of the proletarian faction to destroy the Hansen leadership and its maneuvers against the Fourth International is the most urgent task facing the Fourth International. Every day the need for a clear banner against the Stalinists in Spain becomes more pressing every day US imperialism can breathe that the SWP leadership is given to confuse and disorient the workers and youth of the Americas is a day more for US imperialism to prepare the counterrevolution against the Spanish and European revolution.

The tasks of this faction in defense of the Portuguese, and support of the Spanish and European revolution is to draw the balance sheet of the centrist and liquidationist Hansen leadership, and the history of the United Secretariat in blocking the construction of the World Party for the Socialist United States of Europe, to expose the support of the Hansen leadership to the Stalinist policy of "peaceful co-existence" and the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity of the seizure of power. These are the central questions before the workers and youth in the United States and throughout the world, and before the militants of the SWP.

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