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# **VANGUARD newsletter**

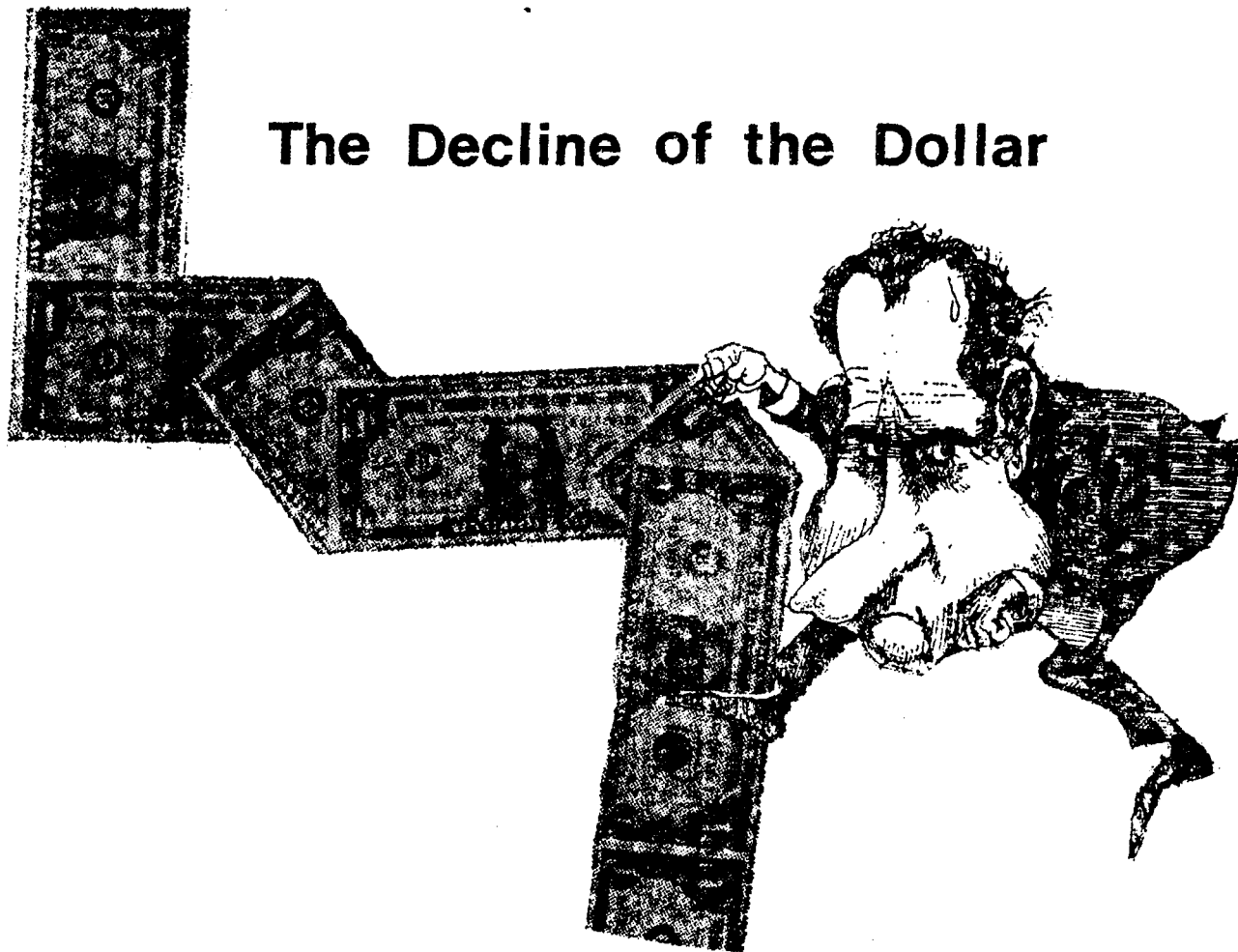
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## **The Decline of the Dollar**



**Trotskyism vs. Revisionism in Germany**

**The Attack Against the Working Class**

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THE DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR by Harry Turner

As the continuing world monetary crisis continues to demonstrate, international capitalism can only find jury-rigged and increasingly short-lived "solutions" to the increasingly sharp contradictions which now threaten to rip it apart.

For a quarter of a century, US imperialism reigned supreme among the world capitalist powers. The overvalued dollar, as "good as gold," the world's "reserve" currency, was the battering ram in the post-war period with which it knocked down national barriers to the penetration of its capital and commodities.

For a quarter of a century, US capitalist hegemony in the world market, based on the unquestioned superiority of its productive plant, was the axis on which world capitalism turned and on which its stability depended.

Now the dollar stands besieged in the world's foreign exchange markets with monetary crises following on the heels of one another.

In 1971, the US suffered its first negative balance of world trade in this century, a \$2 billion deficit. In December 1971, the first devaluation of the dollar in more than a quarter of a century was negotiated by the representatives of world imperialism in the International Monetary Fund assembled at the Smithsonian Institute. The dollar previously valued at \$35 a gold ounce was "technically" pegged at \$38. (Nixon had declared the previous August that the dollar would no longer be convertible into gold). "Strong" currencies such as the German mark and Japanese yen were revalued upward, giving the US an effective devaluation of 10-11%.

Fourteen months later in the aftermath of 1972 US negative balance of world trade more than three times as large, \$6.4 billion, the Smithsonian agreement which Nixon had heralded as, "the most significant monetary achievement in the history of the world," was in shreds and a second devaluation of the dollar had been ordered.

The decline of the dollar reflects the relative decline of US imperialism and the rise of powerful imper-

ialist rivals as an expression of the dialectical law of uneven development in society, in nature and in thought. The continuing monetary crisis reflects the new relationship of productive forces in existence today, and also that the still growing productive forces are rapidly reaching the limits of the capitalist world market. These limits can be stretched to only a small degree by increased trade with the degenerated and deformed workers' states. These developments portend not only that the possibilities for abating monetary crises are diminishing but also that the system of world capitalism is moving toward a catastrophic explosion, financially, industrially--and eventually, militarily as well.

It is the growing recognition of the insolubility of the increasingly sharp contradictions of capitalism which is reflected on that barometer of capitalist confidence, the Dow-Jones average for "blue chip" industrial stocks. Having penetrated the mystical barrier of 1000 on the wings of improved US leading industrial indicators and the anticipation of a new if short-lived period of "prosperity," the Dow-Jones index has again receded into the mid-900's.

The sagging confidence displayed in a key market indicator is expressed in a different fashion in the aggressive posture of Nixon, who has announced the determination of the US ruling class to retain its world power and preeminence in finance and trade against the "new-comers" who threaten its preserves and its resolution to solve the growing capitalist contradictions at their expense.

US imperialism, cries Nixon, will insist on a "fairer shake" in world trade, e.g., securing its spheres of influence, insuring that its capital will no longer meet with "unfair" resistance from European

and especially Japanese finance capital and also that the commodities of its rivals will not "unfairly" compete with those of US capitalists at home or abroad. He has demanded "tough" trade legislation --tariffs which "go up" as well as "down"--and is enlisting the US "labor lieutenants of capital" led by George Meany of the AFL-CIO in the holy crusade to protect US capitalism's profits and also "American jobs" through these measures. Although they have given Nixon a "sympathetic" hearing, the AFL-CIO misleaders prefer the "protectionist" Burke-Hartke bill and have united behind it with that section of US capitalists who find difficulty in meeting the competition from abroad in a campaign to keep competitive imports out and US capital at home. The misleaders are also finding attractive Nixon's invitation to them to "come into the government" as Brennan, Nixon's new Secretary of Labor has done.

Expressing the interests of US monopolistic finance capital first and foremost, Nixon has requested that US controls on the export of capital abroad be "phased out" by 1974, even though this export worsens the negative balance of payments. Bank loans to "foreign" capitalists and direct investment by US corporations abroad were restricted in 1963 because European finance capitalists were becoming increasingly resistant to the penetration of US capital in the form of overvalued US dollars. Although the US balance of trade was "positive" until 1971, dollar value of exports exceeding imports, its balance of payments has been "negative" for the most part, resulting in the outflow of many billions of dollars, so-called Eurodollars. The 1972 balance of payments is expected to be approximately \$11 billion in deficit on an official settlements basis. An estimated \$70 billion Eurodollars now reside in the vaults of foreign central banks and \$100 billion in "private" hands.

Having achieved a restabilization of world capitalism in the aftermath of Stalinist betrayals and international working class defeats during

and after the second World War, US imperialism assumed the role of world capitalist gendarme. It established hundreds of bases throughout the world, creating a system of "security" pacts, NATO in Europe, SEATO in Southeast Asia and CENTO in the Middle East in a new attempt at a "cordon sanitaire" of the degenerated and deformed workers' states and in preparation for a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and China with the outbreak of the "Cold War" in 1948. The heavy costs of its world gendarme role--costs which became even heavier with the escalation of US imperialist intervention in Indochina in 1965--has been the main cause for the negative balance of payments over the years.

US imperialism emerged from the war with not only an unscathed but also a greatly enlarged productive plant. It provided European capitalism with the necessary capital in the form of Marshall Plan "aid" to enable it to repair the ravages to its war-torn industry--and also to keep it economically dependent on the "almighty" dollar. In this period, US capitalism amassed vast profits and the lion's share of the world's gold.

The 1944 Bretton Woods conference of the International Monetary Fund accepted the dollar at the \$35 price set by the US in 1934 when it went off the gold exchange standard and pegged all other currencies to it as the capitalist world's "reserve" currency. International monetary "reserves" were thereby "enlarged," i.e., credit was expanded. Credit enables capitalists to expand production by using the capitals of others and to more readily exchange their products in the market. As Rosa Luxemburg points out in Social Reform or Revolution, credit transforms:

"All exchange into an extremely complex and artificial mechanism that having a minimum of metallic money as a real base is easily disarranged at the slightest occasion."

World capitalism was able to achieve a period of economic expansion but the bill is now being pre-

sented in the form of increasingly acute monetary crises, five since 1968, which increasingly threaten the entire system.

The recurrent crises serve to reaffirm that gold is not, as the US capitalist maintain, a relic of barbarism which compels a fetishistic allegiance in world commerce, but rather value incarnate and the basic measure of value of all other commodities. US capitalism, having lost most of its horde at Fort Knox, is now, like the fox that lost its tail, trying to convince the other "foxes" to do likewise. As the last two devaluations have shown, at least a fifth of the value of the billions of Eurodollars, the "liquid capital" inundating the foreign exchange markets of the world was entirely fictitious.

The international monetary system has been increasingly under seige since 1967. At that time, in an effort to increase "liquidity," to put off the day of reckoning by a new extension of credit, "paper gold," Special Drawing Rights (SDR) were created by the International Monetary Fund, each SDR equal to \$1. To date, \$10.1 billion SDR's have been issued.

In 1968, in response to the "gold rush" which drove the price of gold on the money markets far above its official price of \$35 an ounce and in order to maintain the value of the dollar, a "two-tier" system was instituted. Gold would continue to be priced at \$35 an ounce in official transactions between governments while also allowing it to seek its own price level in the "free market." The governments also pledged themselves not to buy or sell gold in the "free market." At this writing, the "private" gold is selling at more than \$83 an ounce after having reached a height of \$95 during the frenzied gold buying shortly after the second devaluation.

On August 15, 1971, in response to the "attacks" of "speculators" on the dollar--banks, multinational corporations, "private" investors, etc; Nixon placed Europe and Japan "under the gun" in the form of a 10% import surcharge on their commo-

ditities, a "Buy American" tax credit on capital equipment and by declaring that the little more than \$10 billion gold horde left would no longer be exchanged for dollars.

The Smithsonian agreement which binds participants to maintain the parity agreed on within set upper and lower limits showed signs of unravelling last June when Great Britain allowed its pound to "float" downward, to react to supply and demand forces in the foreign exchange markets rather than to continue in a fixed relationship to the dollar. It began to come apart in early February when, in a flight from the weak Italian lira, "speculators" bought Swiss francs. In response, the Swiss allowed their franc to "float" upward.

Aware of the much worsened US balance of trade and also of a large German trade surplus, the "speculators" began to unload the overvalued and unwanted Eurodollars for German marks. To hold the value of the dollar to the agreed upon level and keep the mark from a de facto upward revaluation, the West German government was forced to print marks to buy Eurodollars, thereby worsening its already acute inflation. Between February 1 and 10, \$6.1 billion poured into Germany and \$1 billion into Japan faced with a similar dilemma.

The West German government has opposed a unilateral upward revaluation of the mark against other European currencies because its most bitter competitor for the European market, Japan, would have been the big beneficiary of the increase in cost of German exports. West German exporters have bewailed the lowered profit margins resulting from the last upward revaluation.

Japan is, in fact, the principle target of the dollar devaluation. \$4.1 billion of the 1972 US trade deficit was with Japan. The "Kissinger" of the Treasury Department, Undersecretary Paul A. Volcker, hastily dispatched abroad to shore up the international monetary system, achieved the "cooperation" of the capitalists in the European Common Market at the expense of the Japan-

ese. Japan has balked at an official upward revaluation of the yen until an international monetary conference produces a new alignment of national currencies. It did agree, however, to a "controlled" upward "float" of the yen and thus, an effective devaluation of the dollar compared to the yen in excess of 10%. It is thus placed at a disadvantage vis a vis its European competitors.

As Nixon has recognized in demanding punitive trade legislation, the devaluation is only a "temporary" and entirely inadequate solution to the problems of US capitalism. Its rivals continue to maneuver to thwart new monetary arrangements intended to bolster the market position of US commodities and capital. The liberal Senator Javits voiced the concern of the US ruling class of the increasing "danger of a world depression" brought on by "protectionist" tariff walls erected by competing capitalist nation-states in demanding a "clean float" of the yen.

In lowering the prices of commodities exported and raising those imported, devaluation improves the competitive position of the capitalists of that country at the direct cost to the living standards of its workers. For the US working class, the additional 10% devaluation following upon a soaring wholesale price index will mean an increase in the price of its daily necessities, e.g., food, oil, gasoline and electricity and not only in the "luxury" imports, foreign cars, wines, liquor, etc.

Inflation, the cancer of capitalist economy, is now attacking all capitalist countries. The commercial paper and paper currencies of all countries has been expanded by their capitalist rulers to achieve the "liquidity" needed for capitalist "business," in an effort at maintaining or achieving "prosperity." Although they continue to place the blame for inflation on the "exorbitant" wages of the working class, it is the debasement of the money supply which is its cause.

US inflation is at a lesser rate than Europe's only because it has been exporting its inflation abroad

for two decades in the form of Eurodollars. Additional European and Japanese paper money had to be issued, thereby decreasing the "minimum of metallic money" of their own currencies in order to absorb US currency without even a "minimum of metallic money."

The alternatives for world capitalism are indeed grim. A refusal to continue to take in Eurodollars would result in the collapse of the world monetary system, the disruption of world trade and an immediate world-wide depression. A "flexible" monetary system of "floating" currencies no longer pegged to the dollar will accelerate the rapidly developing trade war and also leads to a world-wide depression. "A joint float" of European currencies against the dollar which requires countries with stronger currencies to bolster those with a weaker currency can only be an extremely temporary expedient. The joint European "float" must rapidly become a float of competing currencies as each capitalist country responds to the internal and external pressures on its currency and as it seeks to promote the national interests of its own capitalists against the foreign. The sharpening national rivalries lead inexorably to a new world war.

In these circumstances, the capital assets of multinational corporations will become hostage to the national states among which they are distributed and subject to expropriation, perhaps "exchanged" for the billions of unredeemable Eurodollars, Kautsky's pipe dream of world peace through "ultra-imperialism," which the apologists for the multinational corporations have been peddling, notwithstanding.

The struggle for the world market propels every ruling class into an offensive against its working class. In the US, this offensive, beginning with "Phase 1," the wage-"price" freeze, "Phase 2," mandatory wage-"price" controls and now "Phase 3," "voluntary" controls, is a vital part of US capitalism's drive to reverse its worsening competitive posi-

tion in world trade. Inflation in the US, which drives up the prices of its commodities on the world market and hampers its struggle against its rivals, is to be resolved at the cost of the real wages and working conditions of the US working class.

As has already been observed, "Phase 3" is "voluntary" in the same way that income taxes are voluntary. In this epoch, again reasserting itself as the "epoch of imperialist decay," as Trotsky stated in his unfinished article now entitled, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay:"

"Monopoly capitalism...demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy...that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

This demand is now being voiced--ever so politely--by Nixon. As he has reassured the capitalist rulers, should the labor "leaders" prove recalcitrant, he will reach into his "closet" for the "very big stick" which he holds in reserve. The concern of the ruling class, however, is that the workers will not permit their bureaucrats to "voluntarily" surrender their wages and working conditions and that the "big stick" should be taken out of the "closet" beforehand in the form of stringent and mandatory wage "controls."

Nixon has responded to Meany's call for 7.5 to 8% wage "guidelines" to allow for the worsening of inflation, by retaining them at 5.5%. As a sop to Meany, however, the "guidelines" will, on occasion, be applied "flexibly."

As Trotsky also points out in his article, the trade unions:

"...can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers...or...become

the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

As "organs of the proletarian revolution," the Transitional Program "in its fundamental features" is also "the program for the activity of the trade unions."

It is this understanding that VANGUARD NEWSLETTER has sought to bring to the workers in calling for the independence of the trade unions from the state, for the unity of workers in the struggle against special oppression and super-exploitation and for a network of caucuses to achieve an alternative leadership in the trade unions and of the oppressed masses in general, first for the defense of their living standards and then for a revolutionary offensive. It is this understanding that guides its call for a workers party, a labor party based on the rank-and-file of the trade unions.

It is to form the nucleus of a Leninist and Trotskyist working class vanguard party, a US section of the world party of Trotskyism, which alone is capable of providing the leadership for a victorious socialist revolution, that VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE are uniting their organizations.

The wages, working conditions and the right to a job of workers in the US cannot be defended through class collaboration with the US imperialists for "American jobs." Workers' interests can only be defended and advanced in the epoch of "imperialist decay," of international financial, commercial and industrial crises and wars of extermination by proletarian internationalism based on the perspective of the international socialist revolution and the organization of the international working class for this perspective in the course of struggle to defend and advance the interests of the international working class.

#### THE ATTACK AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

[The following leaflet was distributed to a demonstration of working mothers and teachers in the Federal

Building in San Francisco by the Oakland-Berkeley local of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER.]

To Nixon the price of gold on the international monetary market is more important than whether you have a job or your child has a decent school or day-care center to go to.

There will be no unemployment insurance for the hundreds of teachers and paraprofessionals now losing their jobs. There will be no unemployment insurance for the thousands of mothers forced to give up their jobs because they have no childcare. (HRD will refuse unemployment because "they are not available for the labor market.")

Thousands more will be forced on welfare, where they can be used as scapegoats, accused of being "shiftless" and "not wanting to work." Nixon and Reagan and the capitalists behind them have a plan (the Talmadge Act) to utilize welfare recipients for slave labor in compulsory work programs paying them no wages. The first step is already taking place with the compulsory registration with the Dept. of Human Resources of all welfare recipients on AFDC with children over the age of 6. Thus welfare recipients will be available to be used as scabs or to keep the wages of the rest of the workers low.

The American ruling class is fighting for every market, source of raw material and investment opportunity they can. The ruling class does not know from day to day the value of the dollar. All they know is their dollar is under attack, their empire is crumbling, and they'll do anything to you and your kid to make a profit and squeeze more out of workers, automate and throw us

out of jobs.

Sections of the working class, one by one, are being singled out for attack: the auto workers at Lordstown, the longshoremen who struck for 134 days in 1972, the printing workers locked out of their jobs by the Independent Journal newspaper in San Rafael. The whole working class, black and white, worker or welfare recipient, is being attacked by the capitalist politicians both Democratic and Republican.

Meanwhile, Nixon has increased the military budget by \$4.2 billion. More than 21 billion dollars is going to be paid to the banks and insurance companies only to pay the interest on the National Debt. The interests of the banks in this country come before the interests of your children!

But longshoremen, just denied a 30 cent an hour increase by the "Cost of Living Council" are preparing to strike July 1st. Auto workers are preparing to strike the middle of September. How do we fight back? We need a GENERAL STRIKE uniting all workers to stop the attack against the working class, to stop the closing of child-care centers, to stop the attack against welfare recipients. We need a political arm: a WORKERS PARTY to fight for our class needs just as the rich and powerful have the Democrats and Republicans to fight for their class needs.

#### PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONISTS UNDER ATTACK

✓ We have received the following leaflet, translated by Earl Owens, from the POMR's Political Bureau.

✓ International proletarian solidarity requires that everything possible be done to mobilize working class support internationally in defense of Cde. Napuri.

✓ As our readers are aware, we have profound disagreement with the line of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and the POMR which is in solidarity with it of

a "United Anti-Imperialist Front." We consider this line, first applied in Bolivia and then extended to other Latin American countries, to be a "popular front" with the left petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists. As Bolivia illustrates, this line can only result in defeat for the workers and peasants.

✓ SINAMOS is the body of goons formed by the junta to curb the trade unions. CGTP stands for General Workers Confederation of Peru. 7



DOWN WITH THE PERSECUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY FREE COMRADE RICARDO NAPURI

FELLOW WORKERS:

The government of Velasco Alvarado has just abducted comrade Ricardo Napuri, leader of the MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (POMR).

This is a new attempt against DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES by a false "democratic" government. In effect there is only one reason why the government has abducted comrade Napuri. BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS A DEATHLY FEAR OF THE PROLETARIAN MARXIST LINE OF OUR PARTY, THE POLITICAL LINE THAT EXPRESSES CONSCIOUSLY THE TREND OF THE EXPLOITED TOWARDS THEIR EMANCIPATION. This is the reason.

For this reason the government has robbed our paper (that appeared legally, with name of the printer, address, etc.) from the kiosks and bookstores. They fear "proletarian Revolution," the newspaper of conscious workers that has raised the banner of A GENERAL RAISE IN WAGES, CONFISCATION OF IMPERIALISM AND LARGE CAPITALISTS, REJECTION OF SINAMOS AND THE CTRP INTERVENTIONISTS, A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BASED ON A PEOPLE IN ARMS TO DEMOCRATIZE THE

NATION, THE UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT LED BY THE WORKING CLASS, AND THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT; the newspaper of the revolutionary party that raised the regroupment of the working class movement around the formation of a CONFERENCE OF ANTI-COLLABORATIONIST UNIONS and a CONGRESS OF THE RANK AND FILE OF THE CGTP in order to raise a PLAN OF NATIONAL STRUGGLE that guarantees the political independence of the workers.

This frightens the government, strong as it may seem on the outside, weak in its class essence.

The POMR calls upon the proletariat to declare themselves against the abduction of comrade Napuri, for the repatriation of Hugo Blanco, Rolando Brena; freedom for all those imprisoned for their political ideas, and all trials for that reason.

Lima, Feb. 20th, 1973

ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE'S ANSWER TO THE SL by Harry Turner

At a convention to be held April 20-22, the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE (CSL) and VANGUARD NEWSLETTER (VNL) will unite their organizations, thereby laying the foundation for a US section of the world party of Trotskyism.

The democracy on which the firm unity in action of a Leninist organization is based is now being demonstrated in the pre-convention discussion now taking place. Members of the CSL and VNL are now contributing their views on the areas of difference as well as agreement, thus ensuring a completely democratic convention and the full rights of tendencies adhering to the Leninist and Trotskyist perspective and program.

It is this program, as Cde. Philip Stein of the CSL has shown in his reply to the Spartacist League's (SL) attacks printed in our January-February issue, which is the basis for the fusion of the CSL and VNL.

The remaining differences--and these are narrowing--are tactical.

As Cde. Stein has shown, differences still exist between the CSL and VNL on the correct strategy to be followed by the fused organization in trade union work (trade union strategy is a tactical question for the Leninist organization) as well as over whether the Fourth International should be reconstructed or a Fifth constructed.

As Cde. Stein points out, we see the rank-and-file caucus as a united front. The trade union is also a form of the united front to achieve the best conditions for the sale of labor power. We see the rank-and-file caucus which is formed to defend and advance the interests of the workers--perhaps even on one concrete demand, e.g., the fight against wage controls--when linked

to other caucuses industrially, regionally and nationally, as embryonic factory committees and workers councils, i.e., Soviets, the highest form of the united front. The network of caucuses links together, not only the organized workers but also the unorganized and unemployed workers and all the oppressed. To our knowledge, no other socialist formation has been able to develop a clear strategy for work in the class.

VNL and CSL are agreed that the "Transitional Program" cannot be raised ultimatistically, as a barrier to uniting with workers in the struggle for immediate demands, as does the SL. As Cde. Stein has stated, the CSL expects "such activity to be the norm" for its caucus work. However, it also requires its members to "propose that the caucus adopt the full set of transitional demands" (PS emphasis). In addition, the CSL is opposed to the organization of a national network of caucuses at this time as artificial, such rank-and-file caucuses not now being in existence.

As the CSL comrades have themselves recognized, the proposal of a "full set of transitional demands" as the basis for a caucus, given the present level of consciousness of the workers, will not be supported by them. And then? The CSL comrades proceed exactly as do the VNL, on the basis of the objective conditions and not their subjective desires to build the "bridge," to use Trotsky's word, to raise the present consciousness of the workers (an objective factor to the revolutionary Marxists) to the level of the objective tasks before them.

But should not Marxists, "scientific socialists," be able to assess this level of consciousness and put forth, as a basis for caucuses, demands around which workers can be mobilized, while also making clear that our "name is the Fourth International" and laying the basis for winning them in the process of struggle for the "full set of transitional demands?"

As to the network of caucuses, in putting this as yet essentially propagandistic slogan in the con-

crete form of CRFC, we did not subordinate the program of transitional demands, but demonstrated how this program can be applied in a transitional manner which takes into account the particular conditions of the struggle at this point in time, conditions which vary by industry and by region.

What VNL, with small resources could accomplish within the united front of CRFC--we did succeed in winning trade union militants for the concept of a network of rank-and-file caucuses, in differentiating ourselves from left-centrists and student-oriented formations such as the SL and in winning serious revolutionists to our organization --is only a minute indication of the possibilities for a larger national organization with a firm working class base in forming and working within already established caucuses. The concept of a network of caucuses provides an invaluable theoretical guide to practice, in illuminating the road ahead to the seizure of power by the working class and has already demonstrated its power of attraction to worker militants.

As Cde. Stein has made clear, the "world party of Trotskyism" will have the same essence whether it calls itself the Fourth or Fifth International because it will be based on the revolutionary program on which the Fourth International was founded.

We do not believe that "the Fourth International rejected the revolutionary program on which it was based...." The Fourth International was destroyed during the Second World War. It disintegrated into national parties which, in one or another degree, adapted to social patriotic pressures. The so-called "Second Congress" did not succeed in "reconstituting" the "Fourth International" in 1948 under Michel Pablo's leadership. On the contrary, with the slaughter of the leading cadre of the Fourth International during the war and the enormous theoretical confusion then existing, only a pallid imitation was "reconstituted" which, moreover, was not democratic-centralist but federated

after the fashion of the Second International.

We will be able to carry the banner of the Fourth International with honor and to distinguish it in the eyes of the workers from the several counterfeits now in existence.

The charge of "accommodationism" originated with Robertson. Its real content is that VNL refuses to accommodate to the Robertson student-oriented personality cult, and, instead of resting content in "splendid" isolation, attempted to win cadre for a working class vanguard party through "discussion, debate and a principled unity in action." In this process, we have been attacked as too "hard" and as "purists" as often as too "soft."

Although we had a number of differences with the document of the CSL (at that time the Leninist Faction of the SWP), "Marxism versus the SWP"--differences which had to be thoroughly explored and clarified--we immediately recognized it as the statement of genuine revolutionary Marxists with whom we should seek to unite. It is understandable that the CSL comrades, at that time in unity negotiations with the SL, should have responded with a certain

caution to our forthright and insistent call for fusion and to our readiness as democratic-centralists to accept a minority status on outstanding differences in the fused organization.

As Cde. Stein has pointed out, we have never subordinated our politics to organizational considerations. As we have shown, the SL has made such accommodations to its student milieu and appetites including to Stalinism in Vietnam.

The February issue of "Workers Vanguard" carried its judgement that the "ceasefire...could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South," even though "this gamble is based on the strategy of betrayal...." Under the slogan, "NLF take Hanoi," it has attempted to sow or reap benefits from the Pabloist illusion that under the propulsion of objective conditions--what else?--the NLF might yet "take Hanoi!"

The SL will continue to villify the fusion of the CSL and VNL because it realizes that from this beginning will develop a serious party of Trotskyism which will destroy its pretensions and that of all other fraudulent "Trotskyist" formations.

### THE SPARTACIST SCHOOL OF SLANDER AND CHARACTER ASSASSINATION Part III

Conclusion by Henry A. Platsky

It has been some time since we took up our typewriters against the unrivaled slander of our organization that appeared in the September, 1972, issue of "Workers Vanguard." Cde. di Tullio admirably attempted to answer some main points but the difficulty in answering the article in its entirety is that, unlike a serious polemic, the article is so replete with half-truths and outright distortions that one must approach it the way that James P. Cannon once described in referring to a polemic by Shachtman. One must "dig with a shovel" to remove the dirt and get at the real political points. Our dilemma is that, unlike the SL, we simply don't have the space on paper to deal with the nonsense that appeared in "Work-

ers Vanguard."

After all, in such an endeavor, one would have to respond to the numerous SL "fables" like this one:

"After leaving the SL, Turner cast about looking for something to join. His first impulse was to re-unite with the Ellens group. But knowing that Turner would never give up his comfortable life situation to enter a factory, Ellens rejected his overtures. Furious he responded with an 'open letter'..."

ad nauseam. The problem here is that the naive reader of "Workers Vanguard" might, not knowing the particulars, actually believe that Ellens somehow "knew" that Cde.

after the fashion of the Second International.

We will be able to carry the banner of the Fourth International with honor and to distinguish it in the eyes of the workers from the several counterfeits now in existence.

The charge of "accommodationism" originated with Robertson. Its real content is that VNL refuses to accommodate to the Robertson student-oriented personality cult, and, instead of resting content in "splendid" isolation, attempted to win cadre for a working class vanguard party through "discussion, debate and a principled unity in action." In this process, we have been attacked as too "hard" and as "purists" as often as too "soft."

Although we had a number of differences with the document of the CSL (at that time the Leninist Faction of the SWP), "Marxism versus the SWP"--differences which had to be thoroughly explored and clarified--we immediately recognized it as the statement of genuine revolutionary Marxists with whom we should seek to unite. It is understandable that the CSL comrades, at that time in unity negotiations with the SL, should have responded with a certain

caution to our forthright and insistent call for fusion and to our readiness as democratic-centralists to accept a minority status on outstanding differences in the fused organization.

As Cde. Stein has pointed out, we have never subordinated our politics to organizational considerations. As we have shown, the SL has made such accommodations to its student milieu and appetites including to Stalinism in Vietnam.

The February issue of "Workers Vanguard" carried its judgement that the "ceasefire...could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South," even though "this gamble is based on the strategy of betrayal...." Under the slogan, "NLF take Hanoi," it has attempted to sow or reap benefits from the Pabloist illusion that under the propulsion of objective conditions--what else?-- the NLF might yet "take Hanoi!"

The SL will continue to villify the fusion of the CSL and VNL because it realizes that from this beginning will develop a serious party of Trotskyism which will destroy its pretensions and that of all other fraudulent "Trotskyist" formations.

### THE SPARTACIST SCHOOL OF SLANDER AND CHARACTER ASSASSINATION Part III

Conclusion by Henry A. Platsky

It has been some time since we took up our typewriters against the unrivaled slander of our organization that appeared in the September, 1972, issue of "Workers Vanguard." Cde. di Tullio admirably attempted to answer some main points but the difficulty in answering the article in its entirety is that, unlike a serious polemic, the article is so replete with half-truths and outright distortions that one must approach it the way that James P. Cannon once described in referring to a polemic by Shachtman. One must "dig with a shovel" to remove the dirt and get at the real political points. Our dilemma is that, unlike the SL, we simply don't have the space on paper to deal with the nonsense that appeared in "Work-

ers Vanguard."

After all, in such an endeavor, one would have to respond to the numerous SL "fables" like this one:

"After leaving the SL, Turner cast about looking for something to join. His first impulse was to re-unite with the Ellens group. But knowing that Turner would never give up his comfortable life situation to enter a factory, Ellens rejected his overtures. Furious he responded with an 'open letter'..."

ad nauseam. The problem here is that the naive reader of "Workers Vanguard" might, not knowing the particulars, actually believe that Ellens somehow "knew" that Cde.

Turner would never "enter a factory" or that this was even a factor in the situation. The only facts in the above statement are that Turner did write to Ellens' group, once exploring differences and the second "open letter." But the SL takes this fact plus Ellens' real workerism, adds them up and gets--Turner couldn't join Ellens' because he wouldn't work in a factory (1+1=4)!!

Or how about the often retold SL myth about "Turner and the Labor Committee." According to the SL, Turner took an unprincipled position in the LC, first by "joining" it, in opposition to his working class strategy and then by covering up for the LC by abstaining on an SL motion to condemn Tony Papert of the LC for an anti-SDS article that appeared in the Socialist Party's "New America." Now for the facts--Cde. Turner attended LC meetings (at a time when it was an open forum, not yet an independent tendency, but part of SDS) as did the Workers League, SL and others! The article in "New America" on SDS was simply a political attack on the Weatherman-SDS wing and as such certainly did not deserve a blanket condemnation as the SL asserts (but does not bother to prove--hoping that its naive readers will simply take it for granted). The fact is that the SL was engaged in one of its infamous rip-offs and it was to Cde. Turner's credit that he abstained from an incorrect, factionally motivated attack! As for the SL though... well more on that.

"Turner denounced the SL position against the Chinese 'Cultural Revolution' reverting to his original support for the Maoist Red Guards. ..." Again an outright lie! We challenge the SL to find one piece of writing or recorded verbal statement wherein Cde. Turner gave "support for the Red Guards." We say such a statement does not exist. Cde. Turner did write a memorandum while in the SL on the "Spartacist" article, "Maoism Run Amok." The disputed passage in Cde. Turner's memorandum is reprinted in VANGUARD NEWSLETTER, Vol. No. 7, in an article entitled, "Nixon, China and

Indochina." Space limitations forbids the reprinting of the passage in its entirety, but I invite readers of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and "Workers Vanguard" to read the article itself, confident that they will find nothing approaching "critical support for the Red Guards."

For the truth on the SL internal struggle, readers are requested to turn to the pamphlet, Spartacist League Split, printed by the ex-SL minority which includes documents written by the minority, but suppressed by the SL leadership.

On the letter to Healy, readers are referred to Vol. 2, No. 9, Part II of the series, "Trotskyism Today," and also the article "The Workers League and the Negro Question" in VNL Vol. 3, No. 1, in which this letter is discussed in the context of the struggle by Cdes. Turner and Fredricks for revolutionary Marxist politics.

On the SL's attack on Sherwood, please turn to "Principled Politics Versus Petty Organizational Spite" in VNL Vol. 2, No. 2.

For our real position on the NYC police strike (which we did not support), read in VNL Vol. 3, No. 1, an article entitled "New York City Police Strike--Yesterday's 'Pigs,' Today's Workers?"

As for our role as "self-appointed attorney's" for the POR of Bolivia, read any of our articles on the subject.

Our position on the CRFC and the SL's phony "revolutionary" trade-unionism can be read in VNL Vol. 4 No. 6, in the article entitled "The Spartacist League: 'Revolutionary' Trade Union Posturing."

By reading our positions for themselves, revolutionists and workers will spare us the necessity of doing the immense amount of "shovel work" needed for a complete answer to the SL. Let it suffice to say that the differences between Robertson's and Wohlforth-Healy's method are tactical. That is, the SL only retains a verbal allegiance to "Truth, Justice and Honesty." The SL could perhaps take a few pointers from the WL-SLL school for their attempts to distort history will only rebound

in their disfavor.

A small example--the latest "Workers Vanguard," March 1973, has a front page picture of an SL anti-Zionist demonstration in NYC. The caption below reads in part, "The only group to respond in any force to the RCY's call was the National Caucus of Labor Committees." As every SL member who was present on that picket line knows, we also participated! The key words in the SL caption are "in force." The NCLC attended in numbers (how many exact-

ly is a mystery as they carried no placards identifying themselves). while three members of VNL attended with placards identifying ourselves and our politics.

Perhaps the SL thinks that with a little verbal trickery, a touch of untrue inference and a dash of outright lie, they will build a revolutionary party? History has dealt only too well with such attempts in the past. We are confident that the SL will not escape their fate in the near future.

### TROTSKYISM VS. REVISIONISM IN GERMANY by Henry A. Platsky

On February 9-11, delegates of SPARTACUS (Bolshevik-Leninist) met in Essen, West Germany for their second national conference. I was privileged to attend the conference in response to an invitation from SPARTACUS (B-L) to both VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE as representative of both organizations.

The conference was an important milestone for the SPARTACUS (B-L) in many ways. For one, it was able to approve the organization's "Declaration of Principles" and "Action Program." These two documents, plus the struggle which produced SPARTACUS (B-L), mark this tendency as one of the most, if not the most, serious Trotskyist tendencies in Europe. The group originated from a split in the International Communists of Germany-Communist Youth Organization (IKD-KJO). The IKD-KJO itself came out of the German section of the United Secretariat of the "Fourth International"--the International Marxist Group (GIM). The GIM, a loyal constituent of the United Secretariat school of politics holds all of the theories of neo-capitalism, "sectors of intervention" (orienting towards petty-bourgeois student, women and youth movements instead of the workers), adaptations to Stalinism in Vietnam, Cuba, etc. The IKD-KJO, although a break to the left was still heavily infected with the revisionist disease of Mandelism. They replaced the GIM orientation towards the petty-bourgeoisie as a whole with a special orientation to one section of the population: working-youth. Thus, the KJO was the main instrument of the IKD, but the KJO rather than being a youth

group of a communist organization was a mish-mash without any defined relationship to the IKD. A minority in the IKD began a struggle within the KJO to sweep it clean of revisionist, Mandelism politics. The minority succeeded--winning a majority at the December 1971 convention of the KJO of one vote. With this the pro-IKD minority walked out of the KJO thus splitting the group in two. The majority of the KJO (consisting of some 200-300 youth) renamed itself SPARTACUS (Bolshevik-Leninist).

At this point the Spartacist League in the US, which proports to be anti-Mandel and for a "revolutionary Trotskyist regroupment" took a neutral position towards the split despite the urgings of its German representatives Bill Moore and Judy Stuart. At this conference, a final accounting took place.

The "Action Program" of SPARTACUS (B-L) flows from the group's fundamental understanding of the epoch as one of imperialist decay. The program embodies demands which meet the immediate needs of the class. At the same time these demands are used to win the workers to more political demands--in other words the program attempts to win the workers from struggle for their immediate needs to the understanding

of the need to build a vanguard party to overthrow capitalism. While the conference was in session an announcement was made--the recently completed "Action Program" was accepted by the rank-and-file of a local printers union! An example of how this "Action Program" is concretely applied can be seen in SPARTACUS (B-L)'s intervention in the recent German elections.

The SPARTACUS (B-L) gave critical support to the German Communist Party (DKP). On every question SPARTACUS (B-L) counterposed class demands to the DKP's reformist demands. Where the DKP called for a 7 hour a day work week, SPARTACUS (B-L) called for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay with no pay cut. Where the DKP called for the nationalization of steel and coal, SPARTACUS (B-L) called for state-ownership under workers' control with no compensation to the bosses. Where the DKP called for per centage wage raises, SPARTACUS (B-L) called for linear wage raises, i.e., raises that would bring the lowest paid workers up to the standard of the highest paid workers. When the DKP called for re-training of fired workers, SPARTACUS (B-L) called for workers' control and a sliding scale of hours. The German Trotskyists also called for the defense of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) from imperialism, for the socialist revolution in West Germany and the political revolution in East Germany and a united Soviet Germany. With these and other demands, the SPARTACUS (B-L) was able to intervene into the DKP's campaign, winning to their organization a section of the DKP youth and also gaining sympathizers amongst the DKP's supporters and periphery.

Besides discussing the concrete programs and tactics to win the German working class to its banner, the SPARTACUS (B-L) conference gave particular attention to the international question. One important question taken up at this point was the differences between SPARTACUS (B-L) and the Spartacist League over the question of the nature of

the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Germany. The SPARTACUS (B-L) comrades call the SPD a bourgeois party "based in and dependent on the working class" (there is no precise English definition for the German term used). Thus the German comrades see Marxists applying such tactics as the united front, critical electoral support, or entry in order to break the working class base from the leadership. The SL, true to form, emphasized terminological differences, and insisted that SPARTACUS (B-L) call the SPD a "reformist workers party" despite the fact that the approach of the SPARTACUS (B-L) differs in no substantive way from the traditional approach of Leninists-Trotskyists towards the social-democratic movement. Rather than answer the arguments of the German comrades however, the SL spokesman preferred to read from a document, written in German by their ex-comrade Bill Moore, which was already in the hands of the delegates to the conference and which they were undoubtedly capable of reading for themselves. The paper was also written in response to the old position of the SPARTACUS (B-L) on the SPD which the German comrades had inherited from the IKD, which still holds the position that the SPD is simply a bourgeois-technocratic party, not qualitatively different than the Democratic Party in the US. Preferring not to be confused by facts, the SL continued to fume against the alleged sins of SPARTACUS (B-L) in not recognizing the SPD as a "working-class" party. Throwing in its own, quite original addition to the Leninist position on the social-democratic movement, the SL offered the slogan of "Brandt Out, SPD to Power!" as a viable approach to the social-democrats, sowing illusions in the party by implying that the only thing that blocks the SPD from taking power for the workers is the Brandt leadership. In fact the social-democratic movement has historically played and will continue to play the role of political agents for the bourgeoisie in the

workers' movement, and at the point when the vanguard party of the working class is prepared to take power, it will have to destroy the social-democratic movement if it holds power for the bourgeoisie.

From the discussion on the SPD the conference turned to a discussion of the SL itself. The SL's policies and history were raked over the coals (think back, dear readers of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER, and see if you can remember where, perhaps, you've heard these arguments before--you get one guess). The SL was attacked for its completely petty-bourgeois orientation which was exemplified, said the German comrades, by its so-called "re-groupment" strategy. The SL was attacked for not having a serious trade-union approach and for simply applying the Transitional Program abstractly without any concern for winning the workers to it and to the SL. The SL newspaper Workers Vanguard was seen by the German comrades as being replete with formally correct analyses, but without any articles directed towards winning the workers or posing concrete tasks for communists in this period. The SL was tongue-lashed for its bureaucratic practices, exemplified by the recent internal struggle within SL. The German comrades accused the SL of not producing a political response to the charges of its ex-members (the ex-members were also criticized for the shortcomings and lack of analysis in their writings on the SL). The criticism of the SL took in every aspect of its politics, including the inability of the SL to take a correct position on the IKD-SPARTACUS (B-L) split.

James Robertson, responded for the SL. He began by whining that he had been in Europe on two previous occasions on political tasks but that "he had never been beaten before" (to which a voice in the audience responded, "It could happen!"). In his long, rambling talk he called the SPARTACUS (B-L) position on democratic

centralism "Menshevik" because they accept Lenin's formula of "freedom of criticism, unity in action." He also accused the SPARTACUS (B-L) of forming a bloc with VANGUARD NEWSLETTER, the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE, and the Benjamin-Cunningham-Moore group. He lambasted the up-coming fusion of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER-CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE as an "August bloc" and that was about all that was really precise that I or anyone else could pick up out of a talk that must have lasted an hour (he spoke in English and was translated into German by a coterie of four (count 'em-four SL translators). The only positive response that he received from the audience occurred when he threatened to "be concrete" at which point the audience broke into applause! The threat, however, was never carried out.

The SPARTACUS (B-L) comrades seemed a bit more appreciative when I presented the positions of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE. In general, I analysed the growth of revisionism in the world Trotskyist movement from the Second World War to the Pabloist take-over at the Third World Congress of the "Fourth International." I pointed out that in the current period of capitalist crisis, the so-called Trotskyist tendencies are being put to the test, and are being exposed as centrist or left-centrist sects. Included in this category are the various Healyite and OCI coterie, the SL, and others. I hailed the SPARTACUS (B-L) for making a definitive break with revisionism and I called for intensive discussions between our organizations which would hopefully lead to an international tendency of revolutionary Trotskyists! The audience must have found our positions quite concrete for every major point received applause.

Following the conference, all of the international guests held discussions with representatives of the newly-elected central committee of SPARTACUS (B-L). The SL was reported to have come to their particular meeting with hat in hand, ap-



pealing to the "German sense of discipline" for an orderly meeting!? The SL pleaded with the German comrades to know what they had done to offend anyone, begged for sympathy and understanding, and asked for what, precisely, the German comrades wanted from them. The German comrades informed the SL representatives that what they wanted was a political response from the SL to the criticisms of its program and practice. While the German comrades awaited the response (patiently and in vain), the SL went off for discussions with the IKD!

In contrast, my meeting with the SPARTACUS (B-L) representatives involved an intensive political discussion of our trade union strategy and tactics (including the CRFC), a discussion of super-exploitation and work amongst oppressed racial and national minorities. The German comrades responded in a serious, concerned and self-critical manner when I pointed out to them the lack of any concrete demands in their program for the super-exploited foreign workers in Germany (Spanish, Yugoslavian, Italian, Arab, and others). Our discussion touched on various international questions, (the re-building of the Fourth International as opposed to the building of a new fifth international). In addition the comrades explained their basic "Declaration of Principles" and their "Action

Program" and the relationship between them.

The German comrades told me that they viewed the upcoming fusion of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE as a very important event for both the US and world Trotskyist movements. They look forward to the serious, united tendency that will emerge from the fusion and hope to begin a period of international discussion and joint work. I expressed the hope of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and THE CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE that they would be able to take full part in the discussion leading up to the convention and the convention itself. Our discussion ended on a firm note of comradeship and friendliness.

My impressions of the conference are that this is a most serious tendency. Through many informal discussions with members of SPARTACUS (B-L) I found the comrades to be quite articulate and able to defend their own positions without having to resort to cliches or empty-phrases (this, considering that they were speaking to me not in German, which I cannot speak, but in English!). With the seriousness that the German comrades displayed towards the goal of building an international revolutionary party based in the working class, I have every assurance that they will only meet with greater and greater success!

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE DEGENERATION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND OF THE CENTRISM OF THE SWP - For a Return to the Proletarian Road of Trotskyism  
- Part VI

The real position of the SWP during the war cannot be gauged just by its political line in relation to the USA. What is just as important is the position the SWP took in relation to the national question posed by the European sections and European Secretariat.

The national problem was not posed in the United States since the US was never in danger of being occupied. The war was a "foreign" war, and we had entered it to help the "good" guys against the "bad" guys. It is, therefore, instructive to look at the SWP's position on the European situation and what our

position might have been if occupation had been a question.

Point 13 of "the section on Europe from the Political Resolution of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party" begins:

"The aspiration of the masses of France and the other occupied

countries for national liberation has profound revolutionary implications. But, like the sentiment of antifascism, it can be perverted to the uses of imperialism. Such a perversion of the movement is inevitable if it proceeds under the slogans and leadership of bourgeois nationalism." (Fourth International, Oct., 1942, p. 319)

In other words, the struggle for national liberation by the French masses was a progressive struggle as long as it was not perverted by the slogans and leadership of the bourgeoisie. The idea that the struggle for national liberation in imperialist France was in-and-of-itself a bourgeois slogan was not even considered. The struggle for national liberation at the time of war could ultimately only tail-end the national liberation struggle being led by the national bourgeoisie. The problem of national liberation in the imperialist countries could not have been posed by Marxists until one imperialist power or another had won a definitive victory resulting in the political subjugation of all of Europe, thus imposing a de facto empire. After a certain period then, and only then, could Marxists have even considered, as Lenin pointed out, the possibility of the struggle for national liberation be considered as part and parcel of the struggle for socialism. But the SWP saw it differently. Continuing from the above quote:

"The task of the workers of the occupied countries is to put themselves at the head of the insurgent movement of the people and direct it toward the struggle for the socialist reorganization of Europe."

That is, the struggle for socialism flowed from the struggle for national liberation led by the working class, in the advanced countries just as in the under-developed countries. Here again we see, as in the European Secretariat's Theses, the theory of the permanent

revolution being applied to the imperialist countries of Europe.

The SWP did criticize the "Three Theses" of the German comrades in somewhat the same fashion as the European Secretariat, but has to our knowledge never mentioned the "nationalist deviation" of the French section. On the contrary, the SWP glorified the French section's role during the war as well as that of the European Secretariat. Point #29 of the European Secretariat's Theses of the 1944 European Conference (quoted above) was not reproduced in the March or May (1945) issues of the Fourth International along with the other parts of the Theses. In the "Editor's Note," an introduction to the Theses, one reads the following:

"The record of Trotskyism in Europe is an inspiring record of relentless, unyielding, heroic struggle in the face of overwhelming odds. For years our co-thinkers in Europe had to conduct their struggle under the Hitler dictatorship. This struggle for socialism is exemplified by the French Trotskyists who published illegally 73 issues...of their central organ La Verite in a period of 4 years beginning with August 1940."

In spite of point #29 of the Theses which criticized the French section for "a Social-patriotic deviation," the SWP's Fourth International states that "the French Trotskyists" "exemplified" "the struggle for socialism." The lengthy introduction is, for the most part, nothing more than a paraphrasing of a document we have already referred to several times above--the "Open Letter to the President of the Press Federation." This, it will be recalled, was the letter "written in defense of the PCI's demand that La Verite be allowed to appear legally" since it had been such a valiant campaigner "against fascism and the occupying imperialism."

The "Editor's Note" even repeats point #3 which we ourselves quoted above:

"From the first the French Trotskyists fought deportations, racism and anti-Semitism. They advanced the slogan of the right of all peoples, including those in the colonies, to self-determination."

For the French as well as for the SWP, the struggle for national liberation in the occupied imperialist countries was the first order of business. The idea that the French working class should be organized around a revolutionary defeatist position which should include as one of its major and most urgent tasks, the struggle for the right of the colonies to self-determination, is turned inside out. The struggle of the colonies for the right of self-determination is added as if it were only an afterthought, almost as if to say that the struggle of the colonies would be included once France had won her own right of self-determination.

That the SWP had essential agreement with the United Secretariat on the national question in Europe is seen in the last part of the "Editor's Note":

"Out of the European Conference come the theses, sections of which are published below for the information of our readers. It will be apparent to the readers of Fourth International that in the main essentials there is a solidarity of ideas between the theses of the European Conference and the programmatic documents adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at the November 1943 Plenum and November 1944 Convention (...)."

It should be obvious that the SWP as well as the European Secretariat was unwilling or unable to deal with the origins of the French Trotskyists' deviations on the national question, let alone the national question in general. Not completely, but partly due to this failure to deal with the national question, there developed another petty-bourgeois opposition in the SWP which was only a reflection of

similar tendencies in other sections not the least of which was the majority of the French section with its position of voting "yes" for the bourgeois constitution. It was no accident that the Goldman-Morrow faction made its way to the Shachtmanites. The Goldman-Morrow tendency should have been an ominous warning of the dangers that still existed in the International from the petty bourgeoisie adapting to the prevalent pressures of the moment.

While the tendency represented by the Goldman-Morrow faction was due essentially to the pressure generated during the war, another petty-bourgeois tendency began to take form after the war. This tendency was ideologically akin to Shachtmanism and resulted from almost the very same pressures that had produced the original bureaucratic-collectivist ideology of Shachtman. The tail-ending of the Stalinists by our European sections, the growing prospects of WW III spurred on by the cold war and the rape as well as suppression of the working class of Eastern Europe by the Stalinists, created pressures similar to those that were present on the eve of WW II; all of which acted as midwives to the new outburst of petty-bourgeois despair in the International. The state capitalists were represented in the SWP by the Johnson-Forest faction which after the war left Shachtman and re-entered the SWP bringing all their ideological baggage with them. This same tendency took form in France in August, 1946, during the preparation of the PCI's third party congress. Tony Cliff was sent to England by the International Secretariat to straighten out the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party) leadership who had been toying with the ideas of state capitalism. The RCP leadership, however, ended up rejecting state capitalism and Tony Cliff ended up becoming one of its foremost advocates and leader of the state-capitalist faction in Britain. The new Shachtmanite tendency was like adding fresh iridescent paint to the already obvious.

(to be continued)