

# TRUTH

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!**

ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## El Salvador Is the Beginning of the American Revolution

**Boycott the Junta!**

**Victory to the Rebels!**



These rebel fighters are on the march against U.S. imperialism. We want them to win.

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### How the Miners Can Win

At midnight on March 27, the bituminous coal contract of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) expires.

Given the situation in the U.S., in which the workers and youth are heading toward confrontation with imperialism and the Reagan administration is seeking to rearm this same imperialism, the strike of the coal miners can be the focus for the opening up of a whole new period of political struggle. It can be the starting point and core of the General Strike to bring down the Reagan government.

On March 9 and 10, the UMWA leadership of Sam Church has called for a two-day strike in the coalfields (under the contractual provision for "memorial days") and a March 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C., to protest the

Reagan administration's attack on "black lung" benefits in its budget cut proposals.

Church would like to have this remain at the level of "pressure" — both on Reagan and on the coal operators. But in fact it is part of something much bigger.

Church became UMWA president because of the total discrediting of the old "reform" leadership of Arnold Miller following its attempts to betray the 1977-78 upsurge of the miners. On this basis, Church and other conservatives hoped to turn back the tide of miner militancy. That is why Church earlier was making noises about violating the miners' tradition of "no contract, no work."

In late January and early February

West Virginia miners wildcatted over a company provocation *and won!* The miners have shown they want to defeat the companies. And they want to defeat Reagan, too.

Is it possible to accomplish this on the basis of a "contract fight" or a fight to "restore the cuts"? Both the coal operators' drive for concessions and Reagan's attacks are part of the same plan. They must be seen as one and fought that way.

General Strike against the Reagan administration and the policy of concessions and attacks it is out to impose! General Strike to defeat the imperialist corporations, in coal, in auto, all over!

TRUTH

**TRUTH**

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**Lambert — Apprentice of Vichinsky**

In 1972, at the proposal of Pierre Lambert of the French OCI, the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International was dissolved. The League of Revolutionary Socialists of Hungary (LRSH) opposed its dissolution and organized a Faction for the Maintenance of the International Committee and its struggle to rebuild the FI, the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International (LIRQI).

The response of Lambert was a campaign of Stalinist slander against Michel Varga, a leader of the LRSH and the IC, as an "agent of the CIA and the KGB."

*La Aurora*, press of the Spanish section of the FI, the PORE, has published a series of articles entitled "Pierre Lambert, apprentice of Vichinsky." (Vichinsky was the Stalinist prosecutor in the notorious Moscow Trials.)

The latest article of the series (*La Aurora*, January 8, 1981) makes a forceful argument for continuing the struggle against the slanders to the end — to drive the slanders and the slanderers out of the workers movement. For American workers and militants we summarize its main elements here.

It begins from a question asked of Leon Trotsky after the verdict of the Dewey Commission, which condemned the infamous Moscow Trials as a "frame-up."

"Q: Do not pessimistic conclusions in regard to socialism flow from the Moscow Trials and from the verdict of the Commission?"

Trotsky answered: "No, I do not see any basis for pessimism. It is necessary to take history as it is. Humanity moves forward as did some pilgrims: two steps ahead, one step back. During the time of the backward movement, all seems lost to skeptics and pessimists . . . Humanity has developed from the ape to the Comintern. It will advance from the Comintern to actual socialism."

We are asked the same questions about the slanders of Lambert. Don't they, by their very corrupt nature, discredit the struggle of the Fourth International?

Militants of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have asked the same question that youth of the OCI have asked our party, "Why talk about the slanders. Let's discuss policy."

It is precisely this question, asked in this way, that shows the importance of the struggle against the slanders.

To accept that the political struggle itself would unmask the slanders and the slanderers would be to retreat on principles. To accept that the slanders were merely a logical consequence of an opportunist policy would be to admit that the slanders themselves were a justified method of struggle. No! There is a class line here.

Trotsky showed that the Moscow Trials were a product of Stalinism's need to establish political terrorism as well as a product of its international diplomacy. Thus, Trotsky and Leon Sedov went from being labeled "agents of the Gestapo" to being "spies for British imperialism" according to the intentions of the Kremlin to ally alternately with democratic imperialism or with Hitler.

The slanders of Lambert have developed in the same way. Varga "an agent of the KGB" when it was necessary to liquidate the Trotskyist organizations in Eastern Europe. Varga "an agent of the CIA" when it was necessary to adapt to the "Union of the Left" in France. And now the latest turn, "Varga a racist, anti-Semite, cynical, etc." in order to give the slanders a diffuse and muddled character and to package the slander campaign for his own militants.

This latest turn is in response to our struggle. In the next issue of *Truth*, we begin

anew the task of unraveling bit by bit, as the series in *La Aurora* has, and beginning, with the formation of the Commission of Inquiry and the publication of its conclusions in the *White Paper* has, the various manifestations of the slanders in the U.S. With this struggle we hope to be able to financially support the publication of the *White Paper* in English and to arm workers and militants with the weapons of the truth.

We begin where the article in *La Aurora* ends: "The truth is always revolutionary."

DAVID HEFFELFINGER

"The French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste leads a campaign of slander against Michel Varga and the Fourth International."

**THE WHITE PAPER**  
of the Commission of Inquiry's Work

— Translated from the French Edition —  
Preface and Postface of the Fourth International

A TRUTH PUBLICATION

**Poletown Belongs To The Working Class**

Dodge Main, a central stronghold of autoworkers, is now nothing more than a pile of rubble. One area near it called "Poletown" looks like a war zone of rubbish, vacated homes and buildings, a veritable "desolation row."

It is a war zone. One of the latest casualties of the imperialists' "reindustrialization" program.

The main feature of "reindustrialization" is graphically illustrated in Poletown. The point is to disrupt working class centers, close factories and as a final blow to destroy working class neighborhoods in order to prevent massive working class struggle such as in Poland.

Detroit Mayor Young, with a straight face, argues that the proposed GM plant to be built to replace Cadillac and Fleetwood, which employ over 6,000 workers, will mean more jobs. But the GM plant is to only employ 4,000; not to mention the loss of Dodge Main's jobs. This doesn't even make nonsense.

There is no peaceful resolution to the problem of the plant closure and the dislocation of Poletown. The Socialist Workers Party is directing workers to the courts for a solution — but this is not a legal problem; it is a problem of how the workers can stop these attacks through working class struggle.

Workers in the area who talked with the Trotskyist Organization and International Young Guard and who have grown up in this integrated neighborhood have a cer-

tain consciousness that prepared them to understand and respond positively to the formation of a UAW committee, embracing the unemployed, laid-off workers, the youth and employed autoworkers, for a Special Convention of the UAW to prepare a General Strike.

They see this as an alternative to having "reindustrialization" imposed on them.

It was young black workers like these youth, of Dodge Main and Poletown who built DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement), a challenge that began a whole struggle against the bureaucracy of the UAW, that opened up a new level of struggle of American workers. It was in this neighborhood and factory that Polish workers and black workers fought side by side for a better life. This is why Poletown, and Dodge Main were singled out for extinction.

These struggles and their lessons must not be lost for American workers. The old struggles that formed the UAW, the struggle of black workers and the struggle of autoworkers today for *no concessions* must reach fruition in the formation of the autoworkers as leaders of their class. The workers of Poletown, this vanguard, must not be dispersed. Instead, it must be reassembled in the struggle for the General Strike.

Workers of Poletown, take up the example set by the workers of Poland and fight! Poletown belongs to the working class!  
BARBARA PUTNAM

# El Salvador — Our Revolution Is Beginning

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Our revolution, the American Revolution, is no longer something for the indefinite future. No, *today*, with the massive explosion of revolutionary struggle throughout Central America, with the revolution in El Salvador that Reagan is out to crush, it has already begun.

On this political basis, not for reasons of some vague and empty "solidarity," we can organize to defeat Reagan and U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and Central America.

## THE "BACK YARD"

Reagan and Haig and their supporters repeat over and over again that they will not permit "outside interference" in the "back yard" of the U.S.

In saying this, they are expressing the fact that the world revolution has manifested itself in an area which is directly related to their continued rule in the U.S. itself.

Central America and the Caribbean have been precisely the areas in which American imperialism first grew strong, areas on which it could always rely for the greatest imperialist super-profits.

As for "outside interference," the imperialist rulers of the United States are the original masters of this activity.

The late U.S. Marine Corps General Smedley Butler spelled it out: "... I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and the bankers. In short I was a racketeer for capitalism.

"Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for the American oil interest in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for the American fruit companies in 1903."

Can anyone doubt that U.S. imperialism is pursuing exactly the same objectives today, while condemning "outside interference"? Can anyone doubt that U.S. "advisers" are nothing but "racketeers for capitalism"?

And specifically in regard to El Salvador, the record of U.S. imperialism is exactly the same.

El Salvador was ruled for *fifty years* by military dictatorships, "puppet dictatorships" in the strictest sense of the word; for if the imperialist puppet master dropped the strings, these governments crumpled to the ground in a heap.

That is precisely what happened in October 1979 in El Salvador when, after the fall of its puppet Somoza in Nicaragua, U.S. imperialism tried to forestall revolution there by simply dumping the old dictator, Garcia Romero, and installing a new, "human rights" junta. It im-



Most of the fighters in El Salvador are from 15 to 18-years-old.

plemented "human rights" so well that it has killed 13,000 workers and peasants and youth (and even some priests and nuns) since it came to power.

That is the truth about U.S. imperialism's opposition to "outside interference" in its own "back yard."

## "ANOTHER VIETNAM"?

The fundamental thing that ties the revolutionary masses of Central America and El Salvador to the workers, youth and oppressed of the United States emerges from this picture.

It is not just a question of geography, not just a question of exploitation in general. No, it is the *political* fact that the direct enemy, the one they face every day, of all the workers, all the youth, all the oppressed of the Americas, is U.S. imperialism!

A young black in the U.S. who sees Reagan's war on the poor can see that it extends to El Salvador as well. Auto-workers who have seen the imperialist state orchestrate the Chrysler "concessions" know what it wants in El Salvador. Youth who are fighting the draft know where it is Reagan wants to be able to send them.

But Reagan *cannot* intervene directly in El Salvador today. That is the fruit of all the experiences of the last fifteen years in the U.S. and the world. Reagan, the liberal bourgeoisie and all those who depend on them sum this up in one word: *Vietnam*.

That is why Reagan has to insist: "I certainly don't see any likelihood of us going in with fighting forces."

Reagan and Company fear, and rightly, what they call the "Vietnam syndrome" that has tied their hands in Africa, in Iran and especially in their

"back yard." Their objective is to destroy the gains in consciousness of American workers — the "syndrome" — around El Salvador, around what Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger openly calls "rearming America."

That is why reactionary columnist William Safire (ex-Nixon speechwriter and White House intimate today) can write: "First, we must break the Communist winning streak . . . second, El Salvador is a place where we can win." (Imperialism feels better about pushing around 5 million in El Salvador than the 50 million in Vietnam.)

Let him go on: "What is 'winning'? Is it supporting a military junta that kills the opposition but by its repressive nature produces more opposition that becomes necessary to kill? If need be, yes." (*New York Times*; February 26, 1981).

There is the real face of "democracy" and "human rights." There lies the real danger of U.S. intervention.

And a "victory" for U.S. imperialism in this sense is also a victory for it in terms of defeating the American working class. They want a "victory," they want to "win one" in El Salvador in order to crush us later. So when liberals, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyist centrists like those of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wail about "another Vietnam" they are hiding the real meaning of Reagan's policy. They are hiding the road to victory of the American Revolution.

Vietnam was a "quagmire," a "tragedy," a "mistake" for the liberal imperialists because they lost! For us, for the workers and youth of the U.S. and of the whole world, Vietnam was a *great victory*. We have nothing to fear from "another Vietnam" if we are pre-

pared to meet it and turn it to our advantage. By crying and moaning about "another Vietnam," the liberals, Stalinists and centrists want to hide the truth about imperialism. They want to pretend that it is possible to continue to exist under imperialism *without* "Vietnams," that the nature of the beast has not remained the same and that it is not necessary to *destroy* it.

We are not in accord. We look at the black masses, at the anti-draft youth and the rebelling workers and we say, the Fourth International says, "Come and try us! We will be only glad to supply you with an even bigger and better defeat than 'Vietnam' ever represented."

## THE BOYCOTT AND THE STRIKE

The fight for the defeat of Reagan and U.S. imperialism is a fight for the class independence of the American workers and youth, for their entry onto the political stage in their own name.

It *does not* mean one ounce of political support to the rebel leadership in El Salvador, the leadership responsible for the failure of the recent offensive. This leadership, the FDR and the FFMLN, is dominated by Stalinists, Castroites, open bourgeois elements, sections of the Catholic Church. Its political perspective, made *explicit* in recent days, is to seek a deal with U.S. imperialism. And Reagan, equally explicit, tells them to go talk to the junta.

Independence from the Stalinist, bourgeois and clerical agents of U.S. imperialism is a question of the activity that is organized against imperialism.

This class independence means the revolutionary unity of the workers of the Two Americas. Revolutionary unity is based, not on empty moralizing (what the centrists try to pass off as "solidarity") or economic problems (runaway plants, low wages, etc.), but on the fact that the struggles in different countries are dominated by the fight to defeat and utterly destroy American imperialism.

In El Salvador, in Central America and all Latin America, it means a fight to put the proletariat in the leadership of the revolution, to organize all the other social layers in rebellion around it in *popular assemblies*, to centralize the preparation of the general strike.

In the U.S., it means the fight for the active boycott of the junta in El Salvador, *not* appeals to Reagan and his gang to "stop aid." It likewise means giving a revolutionary objective to the anti-draft movement in the building of its May 9 national demonstrations — the objective of a youth strike, supported by the unions and other organizations, against registration and the draft.

With this perspective, we can advance toward the general strike in the U.S. itself, the opening up of the struggle for power right here!

# Rearm the Workers Movement • Pre

## Are Conditions Ripe for Polish Revolution in America?

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Since the outbreak of the Polish Revolution, the Fourth International has fought not only to defend it, but also to extend it throughout Europe and America.

One would think that organizations claiming to fight for revolution would be the first to join this struggle.

Not so.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA waged a fight at the anti-draft conference for revolutionary action against draft registration like the Polish workers, and in the autoworkers movement for a general strike against plant closings like the Polish workers.

Many youth and workers previously unassociated with political struggle have responded very positively to this. But the more or less official line of organizations claiming to be revolutionary, in particular the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), has been: "Conditions in America aren't ripe for that kind of struggle. It's taken Polish workers 30 years to get to where they are today."

Evidently we are to assume that in 30 years we'll arrive at the same point. In the meantime? Well, just keep on doing whatever you've been doing.

First, it is necessary to say that this statement expresses a thoroughly objectivist and spontaneist conception of working class struggle. It denies the decisive role of consciousness, of leadership, in the preparation of the revolution. It suggests that the working class just evolves toward revolutionary goals spontaneously.

Against this conception, Lenin wrote a whole book, called *What Is To Be Done?*, which was instrumental in the construction of the Third International.

The program of the Fourth International begins with a discussion of the objective prerequisites for socialist revolution and says:

"All talk that the historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard."

Second, the SWP's position also expresses a totally false understanding of the development of the situation in Poland.

The outbreak of the revolution in Poland is not a product of 30 years of evolution, but a product of a political struggle. Political struggle between tendencies in the working class that rely on the working class itself to fight for its rights against Stalinism and tendencies that look to "liberal" imperialists and "reformed" Stalinists to do this.

The first tendency has been building independent organizations of the Polish working class in the last years. The second has been trying to enforce the Hel-

sinki "human rights" Accord.

The outbreak of the revolution in Poland represents an initial victory of this working class tendency over the second, petty bourgeois, tendency which continues to maintain and develop the same perspective.

To return to the original question—"Are conditions ripe for Polish Revolution in America?"—the answer is yes!

Not only are conditions ripe for Polish Revolution in America, the first steps in this direction have already been taken with the revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador and the movement, in the U.S. itself, against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism. The problem is that this revolution has not yet gone as far as the Polish Revolution, really affirmed its working class character by building independent mass organizations of the working class. Nor is it fully conscious of itself, of its working class and revolutionary character.

This is the task of revolutionaries—to lead the revolution beginning in America in the direction of the Polish Revolution, to render it conscious of itself and to construct its leadership so that it can conclude in victory, in the complete overthrow of imperialism and the establishment of a United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

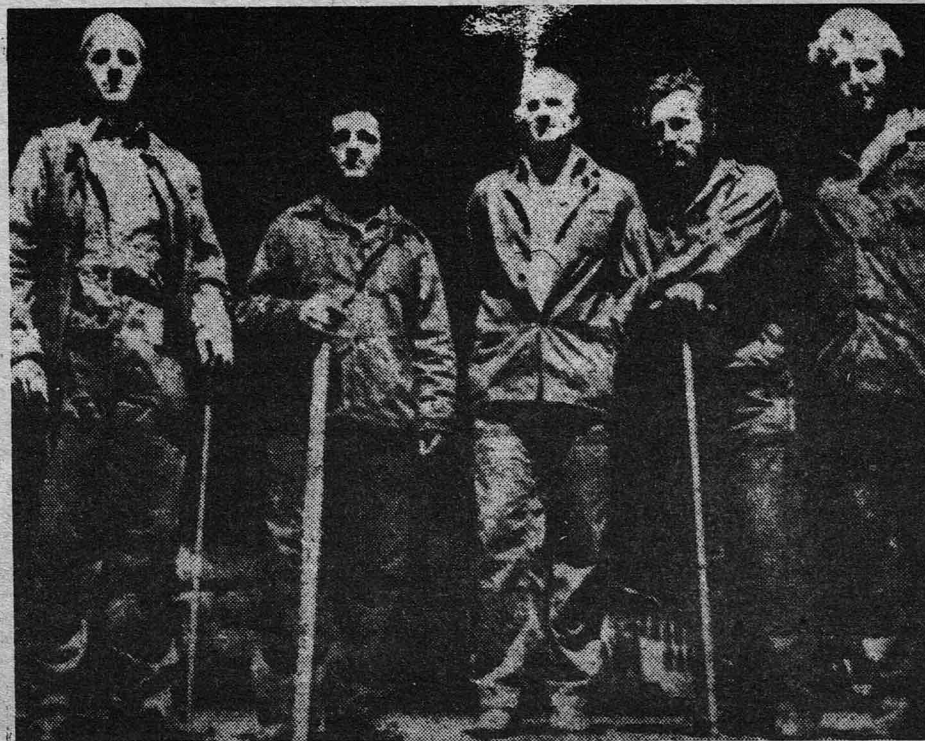
This is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA are fighting in the movements of the American working class for a boycott of the Reagan-Brezhnev "Security Conference" in Madrid and for a World Workers Conference to prepare the revolution.

To convince youth and workers that their demands against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism can be realized only by organizing themselves independently, by consciously preparing the revolution; to convince them there is nothing to be gained by trying to pressure imperialism or the Kremlin or by pretending they don't exist. To regroup those who in the course of the struggle decide they want to follow this road, the road of independent mass organization, conscious preparation of the revolution.

It is this international regroupment that will determine the fate of the Polish Revolution and every other struggle in every country.

In saying that the conditions aren't ripe for Polish Revolution in America, the Socialist Workers Party not only washes its hands of these tasks of revolutionaries, but also tries to hide the fact that it was and is opposed to the turn in the class struggle toward independent mass organization and revolutionary confrontation expressed in and advanced by the Polish Revolution, that it is thus completely outside the mainstream of the workers movement along with the Stalinist apparatus, not only in Poland where the SWP supports the KOR, but also in America.

This was evident at the anti-draft con-



Polish strikers. Their cause is yours!

ference when an SWP leader rose to attack the Trotskyist Organization/USA for defending a motion in support of armed struggle in Namibia. This motion had been passed by the conference, but the Stalinist chair was trying to overturn it because some pacifists had sent him a message saying they didn't like it.

The SWP leader accused the Trotskyist Organization/USA of misusing the name of Trotsky and of the Polish workers. "There's been all this talk about the Polish workers at this conference, but the Polish workers would not want this conference to do anything that would exclude the pacifists," he said.

What could possibly be more wrong? Indeed this is precisely the meaning of the Polish Revolution— independent mass organization, revolutionary confrontation— an orientation which necessarily excludes pacifists.

One thing is sure. The Polish workers, organized in independent factory committees, in many cases with their own armed defense guards, and threatened with a Stalinist invasion, would not be happy to hear that the SWP used their name to try to maintain Stalinist domination of the youth movement in the U.S.

The SWP acted at the anti-draft conference to oppose this turn just as it did in Poland and Nicaragua, a position which led almost all the organizations in Latin America that had been associated with it to split.

Many other organizations have criticized the SWP for its practical opposition to the independent mass organization of the working class in the direction of the revolution and for its support to the Stalinist apparatus and its henchman Castro, in particular the Parity Committee led by the French OCI and Nahuel Moreno, former SWP associate.

But they accept the terrain of the

SWP. With the outbreak of the revolution in Poland the Parity Committee declared: "The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatuses." And they continue to put forward the conception that the Polish Revolution will evolve spontaneously toward the establishment of a workers democracy and the destruction of the Stalinist apparatus, hiding the National Union of the Catholic Church, the Stalinists and Walesa which attempts to block this struggle, the vicious repression of working class militants that continues in Poland, as well as the Kremlin tanks on the border.

At the most recent conference of the Parity Committee, at which it decided to declare itself the "Fourth International (International Committee)," this organization took up the crisis of leadership of the working class, in particular the SWP's support of Stalinism. But, instead of taking up the struggle for an independent policy in the working class and the formation of a new leadership based in the masses of youth and revolutionary tendencies that want to carry forward the revolution in America and Poland, it proposed a discussion—with the SWP and with the KOR in Poland.

But the construction of a new leadership against the Stalinist apparatus isn't a discussion, it's a political struggle.

We call on every youth, worker and revolutionary and on their organizations, on all those who want to take the road of Polish Revolution, to join us in boycotting the Reagan-Brezhnev "Security Conference," in building a World Workers Conference to prepare the revolution.

This is the way to create every "condition" we need for victory, the new revolutionary leadership.

# Prepare the World Workers Conference

## Why Local 42 of the OPEIU should support Fainberg and Borisov

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The February 26 meeting of Local 42 of the OPEIU (UAW Legal Services) was presented with a proposal by Barbara Heffelfinger to support and send greetings to the formation of the International Trade Union Commission for the Defense of Free Trade Unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe (ITUC), and help sponsor a tour by Victor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov in the U.S. Fainberg and Borisov are leaders of SMOT, the free trade union movement in the Soviet Union.

The meeting discussed the proposal but decided to take it up again after all members had the opportunity to find out more about it. Three workers from the UAW Legal Services Plan, which is organized by the OPEIU, decided to form a committee to work further on organizing the tour and support for the ITUC.

*Truth* prints on this page portions of a press conference which was held in Paris in order to win support for the ITUC.

However, several important questions were raised at the meeting which we think are important to answer.

One member asked if it wasn't true that the AFL-CIO was already doing something for the free trade union movement and the struggle of Polish workers.

Frankly, not really. All the AFL-CIO has done for the Polish workers is to send money. According to an article in *The New York Times* (January 7) the AFL-CIO fund for "Solidarity" (union

of Polish workers) was at about \$160,000 which was "used by the Paris office of the American labor federation to purchase office supplies and equipment . . ." There are *ten million* workers in "Solidarity" — that works out to about one and a half cents per worker.

But really, what the free trade union movement needs isn't money. As is stated in the communique of SMOT, the International Labor Organization, on which the AFL-CIO is represented, has never even recognized the free trade unions. The ILO and the AFL-CIO recognize only the official state-run Soviet unions.

The most important question posed was whether Local 42 of the OPEIU has the authority to take an independent stand in this matter? The very fact that workers have to ask such questions shows how the AFL-CIO and the trade unions in general are not in the hands of the workers. If the workers in a union do not have the authority to make a decision, who does?

And, precisely, this shows the importance of the proposal of Fainberg and Borisov and of the struggle of Polish workers who more than anything else are fighting for *Workers Democracy*.

We believe that the support of Local 42 of the OPEIU would be paid back a hundred times over by the links that would be made with the workers of Poland and the USSR who are fighting for independent unions and by the lessons that would be learned by all.

## Who are SMOT's leaders?

*From a statement of SMOT issued to the press in Paris, spring of 1980.*

Presently the Council of Delegates of SMOT is composed of:

Borisov, Vladimir \*E.: Born in Leningrad July 7, 1943. Electrical worker. Arrested on several occasions for his activity in defense of human rights, he has already spent 10 years in special psychiatric hospitals.

Fainberg, Victor I.: Former skilled worker in Leningrad, sole foreign representative of SMOT. He has served, for his political convictions, several years in the special psychiatric hospitals, in particular for having taken a public position, during a demonstration in August of 1968, against the 1968 invasion of Prague by Soviet troops.

Yakoreva, Albina: Born in 1958, an engraver of wood. She has a little girl, born in 1978. Her husband, Mark Morosov, is a member of SMOT.

Nikolaiev, Yevgeny B.: Zoologist,

born in 1939. Imprisoned on several occasions in the special psychiatric hospitals because of his activities in defense of human rights. A former member of Klebanov's union, the ASL.

Novodvorskaia, Valeria I.: Librarian. Has given courses in literature, history and the history of art to a group of workers, members of SMOT. She has served more than three years in psychiatric hospitals.

Skvirski, Vladimir I.: Born in 1930, a geologist. Sentenced on May 16, 1979, to 5 years of exile (he is living in Kazakhstan) for alleged theft of books from a state library worth 246 rubles. (\$25.00 — *TRUTH*). He collected songs of "free" artists in the USSR.

Volokhonski, Lev I.: Born May 16, 1945. Geologist. Sentenced for "diffusion of lying propaganda defaming the Soviet government" on June 12, 1979, to 2 years in a work camp.

## What is SMOT?

*Published below is a communique of SMOT issued in the spring of 1980.*

SMOT (Free Interprofessional Association of Workers) was founded on October 28, 1978. It is the second independent union to appear in the Soviet Union. The first, created in November 1977, and known under the name of the Association of Free Unions (ASL), was completely dismantled by the KGB (Kremlin secret police — *Truth*) and existed until February 1979.

Its founder, Vladimir Klebanov, a former miner, has been held in the psychiatric prison of Dniepropetrovsk since May 1978.

SMOT could be considered to have continued Klebanov's union — it integrated the groups which constituted it — but with the difference that while it concentrated its activity on the defense of the rights of professionals and workers, SMOT is dedicated to the defense of all rights violated by the authorities: the defense of their professional, social, economic, cultural, religious and political rights.

SMOT considers that the guarantee of each of these rights is an indispensable condition of the utilization of all the others. . .

SMOT is a legal organization and exists in the framework of the Soviet Constitution and international law.

Its structure is determined by the exceptional conditions prevailing in the USSR. Autonomous groups of workers elect their delegates to its leadership, the Council of Delegates, on the basis of a delegate from each group.

The members of the Council hold all the responsibility for the work of SMOT, their names and addresses are made public. Each of them can replace another delegate in case of arrest.

SMOT is composed today of ten groups in Moscow and Leningrad, having 200 members, whose names are not made public for security reasons.

In the course of the October press conference, the Council of Delegates addressed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) as well as the World Confederation of Trade Unions (WCTU) and raised the possibility of affiliating to them. It also addressed the International Labor Organization (ILO) and demanded that it insure our protection.

We have not obtained any official response.

## No "Truce" in Poland

The Fourth International is organizing the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin. This Conference is the key to solving the problem of the leadership of the revolution against Stalinism in Eastern Europe and the USSR, in particular to building a leadership in Poland.

The current leadership in Poland, the leadership identified with Lech Walesa and the "dissident" oppositionists of the KOR, especially around the so-called "90-day truce" proposed by Polish Stalinist premier (and general!) Jaruzelski on February 12, has shown its complete prostration before the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Jaruzelski proposed this "truce" because he knows as well as we do that a revolution which stops going forward begins to go backward.

What was the response of the Walesa leadership to this transparently counter-revolutionary maneuver?

Lech Walesa himself told a group of striking students from Lodz that "Solidarity" would not support them: "You've got to give this new government a chance; they're our last salvation."

And KOR member and "Solidarity" adviser Karol Modzelewski stated: "I think the new government, its personnel changes and principles create a real opportunity to turn back the dangerous course of events."

What Walesa seeks "salvation" from and Modzelewski sees as "dangerous" is *the revolution*.

The fruits of such a policy were not long in coming. On March 4, the Polish and Kremlin bureaucrats agreed on the need for "urgent" action against the revolution. On March 5, the police detained KOR leader Jacek Kuron. On the same day, the prosecutor indicted Leszek Moczulski and three other members of the nationalist oppositionist KPN. And on March 6, the police tried but failed to arrest KOR militant Adam Michnik.

Fortunately, the Polish workers have not accepted their leaders' policy. Michnik has been placed under the protection of a *workers guard*. No "truce" there!

The Lodz students continued their strike and won a victory. Now, in the same city, the workers are threatening a general strike. Students are on the offensive in Warsaw. Other strikes are in the offing in Skarzysko-Kamienna and Siedlce.

The blatant contradiction between the capitulation of the leadership and the determination of the workers must be resolved. The fight to build a revolutionary leadership based on the experiences of the world proletariat, to build the Fourth International in Poland, is the goal of the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin.

K.F.

# "Anti-Import Campaign Means Concessions

This "anti-import" campaign has really shown its fangs now.

On February 20 in Detroit, Reagan's Secretary of Transportation, Drew Lewis, announced what support for import controls would mean for the UAW and autoworkers. In one word, *concessions*.

One of Lewis' aides referred to the report of former Transportation Secretary Neil Goldschmidt (Carter's man) which announced that: "Labor should agree to a wage strategy designed to close the differential with Japan. To regain the U.S. competitive advantage in the world auto industry, labor must contribute substantial wage restraint."

In other words, for the sake of "cutting imports," which the UAW bureaucrats present as the cause of layoffs, workers should accept more "sacrifices." "Sacrifices" which, as in the case of the "saving" of Chrysler, are to be dictated by the capitalist state.

For months and months now, the Fraser bureaucratic leadership of the UAW has been engaged in an "anti-import" campaign. It has organized the picketing of foreign-car dealerships. It has closed the parking lot at Solidarity House (UAW headquarters) to "foreign" cars. And it has spent a load of UAW members' money in an advertising campaign designed to blame "imports" for unemployment in auto.

This is the same UAW bureaucracy which has done exactly nothing to fight layoffs made by very *American* companies. In fact, the "anti-import" campaign has been an essential part of the attempt to make autoworkers accept the Chrysler "concessions," the closing of

Dodge Main, the "sacrifices" incessantly demanded by the corporations. It has been an essential part of the campaign to convince U.S. workers that the enemy is overseas, when he is really at home!

"Anti-import" is so much a fraud that it even sometimes falls apart in action. Thus, American Motors, which gave away American flags to those buying an American car (an American *Motors* car) on the Fourth of July, is in fact financially under the control of the nationalized French concern, Renault! And Chrysler itself, the original "buy American" crybaby, is now including Chryslers made in Japan by Mitsubishi in its rebate program!

"Anti-import" was and is nothing but a fraud aimed at convincing American workers to accept the concessions demanded by U.S. imperialism. Now the time has come when the imperialists and their agents in the UAW, Fraser and Co., have to actually connect the two openly — in return for stopping imports, you make concessions.

The timing is directly related to the attempt to move on from Chrysler to the other auto companies and their workers. First of all, this means Ford.

Ford has just announced another record loss, for public consumption. See, it's in trouble. Time for "concessions."

The fight on this question is already underway. At UAW Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan 1,100 Ford workers signed petitions calling for *no concessions* and a *Special Convention* of the UAW.

On Ford's part, it has announced that unless steelworkers in its Dearborn Specialty Foundry (River Rouge plant) accept wage cuts, 3,200 of them will be laid off by midyear.



A float in a West German parade shows a Japanese car about to "devour" German auto companies. West German workers (whose imports are attacked in the U.S.) get the same "rap" from their ruling class as U.S. workers. Do you have to guess what Japanese workers hear?

And the UAW bureaucrats, while announcing that they will trade pay cuts to save jobs (like at Chrysler?!), are now embarking on a new ad campaign — to prove that autoworkers are not overpaid (not at Chrysler, for sure!). The real purpose of this campaign, now that "anti-import" is revealed for what it is, is to present the UAW bureaucracy as the friend of the workers, even in foreign countries, but with a program that does not

answer their needs, a program of reliance on liberalism and reform.

We are for the fight for *no concessions*, above all organized through the fight for the *Special Convention*, a convention to prepare the General Strike as the answer to the real needs of autoworkers, the General Strike to impose the workers demands and to impose them by bringing down the Reagan government.

K.F.

## Keep Lynch Road Open!

By FRED VITALE

Several hundred Lynch Road autoworkers foiled their union leadership's efforts for a low turnout by filling a union hall 13 miles from their plant. A union meeting which the UAW leadership and Chrysler hope is the *last* meeting of these workers. These hundreds came because they were angry about the plant closing and wanted to stop it.

These workers were not sufficiently organized or prepared with a *different* policy than the UAW leaders.

The policy of the UAW is basically one of accepting the plant closings, lower wages, etc., as evil but necessary in order to get the corporations and the economy "healthy" again.

A policy which has not worked.

Nearly a year-and-a-half after their policy of concessions started there are fewer jobs at Chrysler, fewer jobs in Michigan and high unemployment across the country. Even more important, their policy is repudiated by a policy which does work — the revolution-

ary actions of the Polish workers, whose actions stopped a policy of concessions; of the British miners, whose strikes kept mines from closing. The old policy has failed; a new policy, a revolutionary policy, is necessary.

After discussing this question and becoming convinced to fight for the same actions in the U.S., several workers agreed to join with the Trotskyist Organization/USA to build an Action Committee to Keep Lynch Road Open — a committee to prepare a sit-down strike.

The workers who want an Action Committee can begin the fight now for a sit-down strike by convincing the rest of the workers of a policy of revolutionary action like the Polish workers against the concessions policy of the UAW. This is the way to build a sit-down strike, the first step on the road to keeping the workers' jobs.

This fight should center on winning a special union meeting for March 22nd to discuss preparing the sit-down strike

and on electing a workers committee to lead it.

By taking up this fight the workers can learn that their desire to keep their jobs can be successful only through revolutionary action like the Polish workers.

This struggle at Lynch Road can be the turning point in the struggle that has gone on in the UAW over the past years.

The Trotskyist Organization takes up this fight without any conditions. But for the struggle not to be isolated at Lynch Road, it should link up with the movement for a Special Convention of the UAW to stop the concessions, which 1,100 Ford workers from Michigan Truck have developed.

This whole movement in the UAW — against the concessions, for a sit-down strike at Lynch Road, for a Special Convention of the UAW — should be the first developments of the response of the workers and oppressed to

the *anti-worker Reagan regime*, a regime of budget cuts, imperialist war plans and racism. This must be a *general strike* to stop Reagan's efforts, to open up the fight for a workers government based on workers democracy, in other words, for the socialist revolution. This is the only guarantee of the jobs and lives of the workers.

*Sit-down Strike at Lynch Road!*  
*Special Convention of the UAW to Prepare the General Strike!*  
*Keep Lynch Road Open!*

## Autoworker Teams

Because of the important struggle at Lynch Road, the teams of autoworkers building the fight for the Special Convention of the UAW, announced in the last issue of *Truth*, will be changed to: Lynch Road, *March 18*  
Ford Rouge (Steel), *March 25*

# "Sacred Union" Protects Spanish Fascists

In the aftermath of the attempted fascist *coup d'etat* in Spain on February 23-24, there has emerged a vast plot to conceal the political lessons of this attack on the working class and to protect the fascist conspirators, to help them prepare a new and successful coup.

The "Sacred Union" is the name of the alliance in Spain between the opportunist workers parties, the Stalinist Communist Party of Spain (PCE) led by Santiago Carrillo and the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE) led by Felipe Gonzales, and the forces of "democratized" Francoism, above all the monarchy around the king, Juan Carlos. It is responsible both for the preparation of this attempted coup and for the cover-up of the fascists and their collaborators.

From 1975-76 on, when the upsurge of the workers to destroy the fascist rule of the dictator Francisco Franco coincided with the death of this tyrant, the PCE (above all) and the PSOE have been engaged in an attempt to insure the continued rule of the bourgeoisie in Spain, to insure that the revolution would not occur.

The rationalization for this, the political motive for "Sacred Union," was that revolutionary struggle would "provoke" a fascist coup. Only the "democratic transition," the "democratization" of Francoism could prevent this "provocation" of the fascists.

On this basis, the "Sacred Union" tried to put the brake on the workers mobilizations. On this basis, Carrillo and the PCE advanced "Euro-Communism" to attack the revolutionary consciousness of the masses.

And at the same time, the "Sacred Union" meant that the core of the Francoist state, the fascist military officers, the Guardia Civil, remained intact! It meant that the oppressed nationalities in the Spanish state (Basques, Catalans, etc.) remained locked in the Francoist prison-house of nations.

That was and is the face of Spanish democracy!

For a half-dozen years now the "Sacred Union" has held the threat of fascist coup over the head of every mobilization. And for a half-dozen years now the fascists have used this immunity from the only thing they fear — the revolution! — to prepare their coup.

In fact, as is revealed in the March 4 *New York Times*, this attempted coup was planned with the full knowledge of the leaders of Spanish democracy, who did exactly nothing to stop it.

The January 29 resignation of the capitalist Prime Minister, Adolfo Suarez, was an international news item. But Suarez resigned because he knew of the existence of *two* plots and felt that he had lost the confidence of the king and the army! And he spoke not a word, not a single word, to oppose the fascists:

And the king, Juan Carlos the democrat, did he know nothing? The top generals implicated in the attempted coup, Milans del Bosch and Armada, are personal intimates of this hand-picked heir of Franco.

And when the forces loyal to the king and democracy (a contradiction in terms right there) finally entered the Cortes, they slapped their "prisoners" on the back, not even bothering to disarm them.

The coup failed because the bulk of the Spanish bourgeoisie feared the response of the Spanish workers, feared a repeat of the revolutionary upsurge of 1936 that followed Franco's revolt. They feared that the "Sacred Union" had not yet done its work.

Since the attempted coup, the whole role of this "Sacred Union" has been to hide the fact that the king and democracy are not the opposite of fascism but are what lay the basis for it. Santiago Carrillo has nauseatingly announced that: "In the long hours that some of us were kept incommunicado, we were all aware that the only person who could oppose this adventure was the head of state."

This "head of state," the king, is presently engaged in trying to prevent the army and Guardia Civil from falling victim to the masses' hostility to the fascists. And the "Sacred Union" is out to help him.

Our party in Spain, the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain) has consistently fought the "Sacred Union" and the Francoist monarchy. Its call for the overthrow of the Francoist state through the General Strike and the building of the Workers Cortes is the answer to the needs and mobilization of the Spanish working class.

The fact that Madrid, the city in which the World Workers Conference, boycotting the conference of the masters of the world, and the International Youth March will take place, was the

site of this attempted coup, shows the critical importance of our Conference, a Conference to Return to Lenin, that is, to prepare the revolution.  
TRUTH

## Free the Brazilian Labor Leaders!

On February 26, eleven leaders of the Brazilian trade union movement and the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores) were convicted by a military court for their involvement in the great strike of metalworkers in April and May of 1980. The eleven, including the best-known Brazilian workers leader, Luis Inacio da Silva (known familiarly as "Lula"), received sentences ranging from two to three-and-a-half years.

This trial reveals not the strength but the crisis of the Brazilian military dictatorship, which was installed in 1964 by a CIA-instigated coup.

Following the lead of Jimmy Carter and the "human rights" campaign of U.S. imperialism, the latest head of the dictatorship, General Joao Baptista de Figueiredo, announced a "democratic opening." This, like "human rights" throughout Latin America, was intended to legitimize and institutionalize the dictatorship.

But things didn't turn out that way.

A huge wave of strikes swept Brazil, culminating in the metalworkers' strike for which the eleven were convicted, a strike that involved 325,000 workers in the area around the city of Sao Paulo.

In order to defeat this strike, the military had to dispense with the hoped-for solution of "human rights" and rely once again on naked repression. Lula and 33 other leaders were jailed and removed from their union posts and barred from holding office in a union forever.

In the aftermath of the failure of this strike, because of the growing need of the workers for a political expression to their struggle against the dictatorship, there developed a great mass movement to build the Workers Party, which was established late last year.

It was above all the creation of this party that drove the dictatorship to the

most recent trial.

Throughout the Two Americas, in the United States as well as in countries in Latin America with a large and vital workers movement (Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, for example), the workers — despite their explosive militancy — have been *politically* subordinated to imperialism and the local capitalist classes because they have never had their own *working class* party. Instead, they have been dominated through openly capitalist parties or parties with a nationalist or populist veneer that were essentially no different.

That is why the foundation of the Workers Party in Brazil was of such tremendous importance. The struggle is to arm this party with a revolutionary program, to arm it to become part of the world revolution which is rising everywhere, especially today (beginning in Central America) in the Two Americas.

The fight to free the Brazilian labor leaders, to come to the aid of the Brazilian workers in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its dictatorship, is part of the struggle to prepare the revolution in the U.S., to build the Workers Party.

This is the fight for the boycott of the Latin American dictatorships. William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), has once again condemned a Latin American dictatorship. Just as he endorsed the boycott of arms to the Salvadoran junta, so he has announced that if Lula and his associates are not freed "the international labor movement will have to consider taking serious concrete measures."

Really, it is time to see the big picture. Really, it is time to pass from words to action.

*Boycott the Latin American dictatorships!*  
K.F.

### "Anti-Carrillo" The Proletariat Against the "Sacred Union" By Anibal Ramos

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## Europe: The Revolution Knows No Borders

By RICH TETRAULT

The various centrist groupings, Stalinists and opportunists in the workers movement, in an attempt to discredit the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, have accused us of "seeing the revolution everywhere." We happily admit to the charge and say that not only do we see the revolution but organize and advance its preparation in every country. Along with the tremendous responsibility for this task, we carry on our backs the responsibility for destroying these parasites on the movement in open debate for revolutionary leadership.

This fight has reached its most advanced point in Europe and in particular in Poland. Militants are taking the initiative throughout Europe against the rearmament of the alliance between imperialism and Stalinism. From Spain and Portugal to France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy and Greece — from Rumania, Bulgaria, Norway and Sweden — workers and youth are following the example of their Polish brothers and sisters.

Most significant is that at the head of every mobilization of the working class around the world is a whole new generation of the youth — a new current for the workers movement to lead it against the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats.

Bonn — "European cities are being hit with more youth violence, which authorities are unable to halt.

"In Amsterdam, Zurich, Berlin and Hamburg, the picture is the same: young militants smashing glass fronts of shops, banks, insurance companies and hotels — all symbols of the bourgeois-capitalist system.

"Youth hurling rocks at policemen and setting fire to overturned squad cars have become nearly standard fare during evening television newscasts."

These paragraphs are from an article in the February 25, 1981, *Detroit Free Press* titled: "Europe is unable to halt spreading youth violence."

The question that is posed most sharply here is the independent organization of the youth on an international scale. An organization which bases itself not just on the hostilities of the youth toward the old order but on the desire of the youth to unite as a political force to confront the rearmament of imperialism and Stalinism.

The Revolutionary Youth International opens itself to all fighting youth who want to rearm the world proletariat against the alliance of Washington and Moscow.

Yes, the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International are leading this fight, but the masses of workers and youth must be won to it, must take the fight as their own.

On January 31, 1981, there was a massive demonstration of 20,000 people in Frankfurt, West Germany. The demonstrators marched under revolutionary slogans to support the revolution in El Salvador: "Stop U.S. Intervention", "For the Victory of the Revolution" and "Victory to the FFMLN/FDR".

On November 16, 1980, in Greece, youth and workers marched under the slogans: "Out of NATO Forever" and "Unite and Struggle to get rid of the Rightist Government". The march occurs annually to commemorate the 1973 uprising by Polytechnic students which led to the overthrow of the Greek military dictatorship.

Throughout Europe, there are demonstrations against a growing fascist movement and the increased austerity drive of the capitalists.

Does this sound at all like life in the "free and democratic" U.S.?

The youth in the U.S. face the imperialist draft. We need an anti-draft movement which will really respond to the revolutionary fight youth are making.

The World Workers Conference, which will be convened in Madrid April 18 and 19, is being prepared to embrace all revolutionary workers, fighting youth and their organizations to prepare the revolution against the rearmament of Washington and Moscow.

From El Salvador to Poland, from the USSR to the USA:

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

**DOWN WITH REAGAN!**

Join International Young Guard/USA, U.S. Section (sympathizing) of the Revolutionary Youth International, as the National Bureau of IYG/USA opens its meetings to construct the *General Staff* of the revolution, against imperialist rearmament — to confront the draft, Reagan's budget cuts and the attacks on the world revolution.

Join us March 21:

- the anti-draft movement — a movement for the revolution
- the World Workers Conference — a platform of combat against the rearmament of imperialism and Stalinism

**RYI Headquarters**  
Room 536, David Whitney Bldg.  
1553 Woodward  
Detroit, MI  
2:00 PM Saturday, March 21

## Join the Fight of the Youth

International Young Guard/USA, section of the RYI, has produced an American supplement to its journal, *International Young Guard*, which will be distributed starting March 6. The journal reflects many struggles of the RYI to build the mass mobilization of the youth. The journal takes up the question of the draft with a report on the CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) Conference which was held February 13-16 in Detroit.

The journal also contains excerpts from the Central Resolution of the Revolutionary Youth International's 11th IEC session. The World Workers Conference, boycotting the Conference on "Security and Cooperation" in Europe of the Stalinists and imperialists, will be held in Madrid, April 18 and 19. Stand

alongside the ranks of the RYI in an *International Youth March for the World Workers Conference*.

Read about the RYI in Poland. Also a letter to Victor Fainberg inviting him to come to the U.S. on his speaking tour concerning the defense of the free trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe in order to help build the International Trade Union Commission, here in the U.S.

Join the fight for Workers Democracy and the extension of the world revolution. International Young Guard/USA wages this battle among the youth here in the United States, to build the World Army of the Socialist Revolution.

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