

Organize the General Strike . . .

Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit!



Minnesota state employees in strike rally.

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Agee, Cuban Publications and the Voorhis Act

On June 29, the Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. State Department had "constitutionally" revoked the passport of Philip Agee, an ex-CIA agent known for exposing the counterrevolutionary activities of his former employer.

The Court ruled that the revocation was justified on grounds of "national security."

Likewise, the U.S. Customs Service began in May to seize all Cuban newspapers and magazines sent to the United States.

A clear pattern is being established by the ruling class — a pattern of attempting to isolate American workers and revolutionaries from the whole world struggle against imperialism.

If Philip Agee's passport can be taken away on "national security" grounds (that is, the security of the terrorist state of U.S. imperialism), then any opponent of the U.S. government can be kept from traveling abroad.

If Cuban publications can be seized "legally," because they are in violation of the economic embargo of Cuba if sent to the U.S., then why not Iranian publications, publications of the "communist-controlled" rebels in El Salvador, and so on?

Our party, the Fourth International, has a great deal at stake in this situation. The very basis of the world party is the centralization of the struggles and lessons of the proletariat of all countries. At the same time, because of the existence of the Voorhis Act, whose provisions make it literally impossible for an American group to formally belong to an international body, the "legal" and "constitutional" justifications are already at hand for a direct attack on the right of American workers and youth to belong to the Fourth International, to actively stop them.

The Socialist Workers Party, which says that the "United Secretariat" to

which it adheres represents the Fourth International, is studiously refusing to draw out the implications of the government's actions in terms of the Voorhis Act.

In the same way, during its trial against the government, the SWP never once challenged the Voorhis Act. Instead, it went out of its way to prove that it never violated this anti-worker law.

It is not possible to fight these plans of U.S. imperialism by giving in to them, or by pretending that Workers Democracy can be reconciled with the Constitution and bourgeois democracy (the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie), as SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes did in his concluding testimony in this trial.

We have called before, and we call again, for a common struggle against the Voorhis Act. That is the road to defeating U.S. imperialism's attacks.
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The Fight for a Workers Candidate

By BARBARA PUTNAM

An important breakthrough has been made in the fight for a working class alternative to Mayor Coleman Young's plan to "save Detroit" through attacks on the living standards of the working class in the form of layoffs, tax increases, wage concessions and work without pay. The Trotskyist Organization USA and International Young Guard USA together have gotten over 1,200 signatures on nominating petitions for a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit.

It is not the candidate himself, but the struggle that is important. This is what we explained to those signing our nominating petitions. It is more than a fight for our candidate, David Heffelfinger, of the Trotskyist Organization USA, it is a struggle to arrive at a common candidate of the working class, a fight against the attacks on the living standards of the workers and oppressed.

Not all those who signed our petitions were for our whole fight. A minority signed because they felt we had a "democratic right to be on the ballot." But most of those who signed our petitions did so because they wanted to get a Workers Candidate on the ballot and could see that this was a weapon to politically organize the workers and oppressed around a platform of no concessions, no layoffs, for the organization of the General Strike starting with the city workers.

One youth, who was not even old enough to vote, asked if this fight was against Coleman Young and Reagan too. If it met those conditions, then he said, he was all for it. Yes, this combat and platform is a struggle against Coleman Young and Reagan. Because a class question, not a racial issue, is at stake.

Coleman Young has utilized racial demagoguery in his campaign to save his position, but fundamentally he and Reagan are the same thing. They both say the workers are the problem, that their wages are causing all the economic and social problems. The vast majority of those who signed and who have made it possible for a Workers Candidate to be on the ballot have been blacks, which is not saying much for Coleman Young.

Other sectors of the working class also support this combat, but could not even sign the petitions because they are not citizens — Arab workers, Latin workers. Then, too, as we were collecting the signatures, a good many youth asked us about the struggle. Youth who are kept out of political life in elections because of their age. We reassured these supporters that their rightful place was in the combat for a common candidate of the working class and the preparation of the General Strike.

Some youth who were attracted to this fight in the petitioning have been won to taking part in preparing and organizing the next issue of *International Young Guard*, the newspaper of International Young Guard USA, which will show how youth can take part in the fight for a working class alternative: a Workers Candidate and the preparation of the General Strike.

Also important to this fight was the combat we made among city workers during the ratification vote by AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) workers in their union locals on the proposals of their

leadership to accept Coleman Young's plan. We distributed an open letter calling on AFSCME workers (who had already voted down wage concessions once and were being asked to vote on this a second time following Coleman Young's issuance of 600 layoff notices) to go beyond saying "no" to concessions and put forward a Workers Candidate as a way to take class action against Coleman Young, a fight which could mark the beginning of a movement that can bring down Reagan. One AFSCME local alone, we argued, could be decisive in launching an open discussion in the unions over what to do. We offered to withdraw our candidate if the workers organizations, the unions, nominated another candidate in a common combat against Young and Reagan, and to throw all our support to this candidate in the elections.

We also approached other organizations in the workers movement to put forward a common candidate: the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Workers League. The only question was how to best represent the independent workers mobilization.

We think our fight for the General

Strike, as the Polish workers have shown, is the road to take. To do as the Polish workers did when faced with attacks on their gains — undertake an independent mobilization of the workers. They organized a General Strike against the bureaucracy of Poland and built their free trade union, "Solidarity." American workers can also follow the example of the French workers who elected a workers candidate for president.

Going beyond the fight for signatures, the next stage of the campaign for a Workers Candidate is to organize the support and activity of the unions for the endorsement of a Workers Candidate and the platform we have put forward: no concessions and no layoffs, the organization of the General Strike.

This is the political struggle we think is necessary in order to cohere the unions, the youth and the oppressed in the weeks leading up to the elections, to open up and deepen the debate, discussion and mobilization in the working class for these objectives.

At the *Truth* Conference held July 25 to centralize this combat, we discussed how important it could be if even one union

local discussed the nomination of a Workers Candidate and the battle it entails, even though it is now too late to enter a new candidate. This could inspire the independent mobilization of workers; for example, by forming committees in the unions to support the Workers Candidate and organize the General Strike.

We also discussed how *Truth* could be a central weapon in this fight. During the petition drive, we sold six new subscriptions to our paper and sold over thirty single copies of the paper. But these results have just begun to tap the response of workers we have talked to and, going by the kind of responses — that they see this as their kind of fight — we have gotten from postal workers, city workers and workers from the UAW, we can massively distribute *Truth* and win subscribers in the same way we were able to get 1,200 signatures.

We call on all workers organizations, above all the unions, to take part in an open debate on the platform and candidate with which to fight Coleman Young and the imperialist ruling class that he serves.

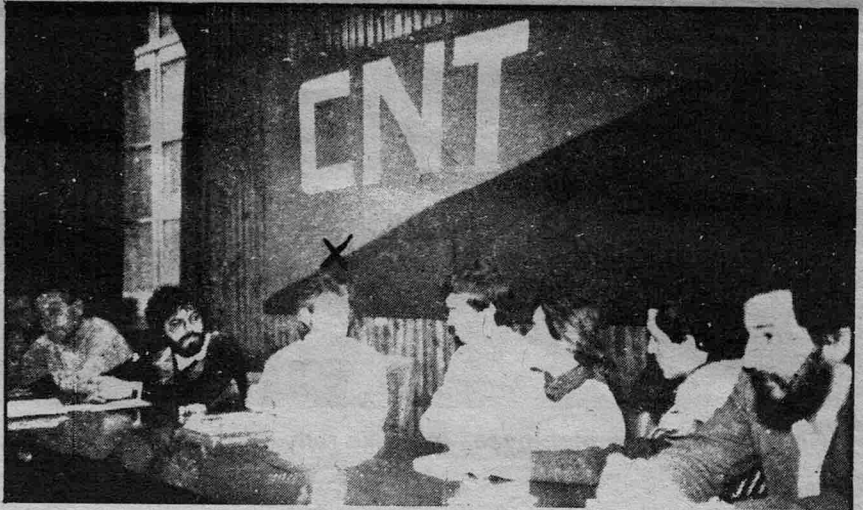
Where Does the SWP Stand on SMOT?

There is a free trade union movement in the USSR, too, just as in Poland. But this movement, the Free Inter-professional Association of Workers, better known by its initials as SMOT, is still small and persecuted, just as the Polish movement was a little over a year ago.

The potential of SMOT for the fight for Workers Democracy in the Soviet Union, for the defense of the Polish workers and for building unity between the workers of the East and West is inestimable.

Viktor Fainberg, the Western representative of SMOT, and Vladimir Borisov, its leader who was forcibly deported from the USSR by the KGB last year, are touring different countries, bringing word of the fight of the Soviet workers. So far, they have been to France, to Sweden and (twice) to Spain.

This activity is being organized by the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International. But it is not our private property. In all three countries, the tour of Fainberg and Borisov (who likewise are not affiliated to our party) has been supported by a wide range of workers organizations, including the anarcho-syndicalist CNT labor federation in Spain.



Borisov (marked by x) at meeting of CNT labor federation in Spain.

We want to bring this tour to the United States. It seems to us that the advantages and benefits would be obvious. In the course of this fight, we have repeatedly approached the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), with proposals for com-

mon activity to build this tour.

We have received no response at all.

The SWP has sometimes mentioned SMOT in its publications. But we wonder, where does it stand on its fight and on carrying that fight to the U.S.? K.F.

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To the Comrades of the SWP

Truth reprints below two letters to the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the interest of showing the seriousness with which we take the proposals we have made for common struggle around the organization and preparation of an offensive of the American working class against Reagan and his policies.

To the first letter, written in April, we have received no response from the leadership of the SWP. As we state in this letter, we believe it is a mistake to wait for the American working class to "catch up" on its own to the level of struggle of the Polish workers and those of Europe, the Middle East and Latin America, for that matter.

Rather, the lessons of the upsurge in the world revolution should be brought to the American working class now in common action and open debate over the tasks of the preparation of the American Revolution.

The General Strike, the classical beginning of the revolution, is the means through which the workers of Poland, Iran and Latin America have placed their stamp on history. Already, as we have printed before in *Truth*, the trade union bureaucracy has been forced to raise the possibility of preparing the General Strike. So, for the Trotskyist Organization/USA, and we hope also for the SWP, it is urgent to begin the organization of the American working class independently of the class-collaborationist aristocracy of labor.

We reassert our willingness to meet and discuss the concrete elements of a plan of joint collaboration.

Secretariat of the TO/USA

General Strike to Bring Down Reagan

April 13, 1981
National Committee
Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrades,

In an editorial in *The Militant* (April 10, 1981), entitled "Lessons of Poland," we read, "The potential unity and power of the American workers is no less than that of our Polish brothers and sisters." We agree with this statement wholeheartedly.

Furthermore, in the present situation, where the Reagan government, trying to reassert itself as policeman of the world, encounters resistance to its policies from every sector of the working class and youth, the organizing of a class-wide offensive like the Polish workers would open up the revolutionary crisis of U.S. imperialism and the Reagan administration, already shaken.

We propose to the SWP a common struggle to prepare and organize the General Strike to bring down Reagan. While it is true there is a strong resistance

to Reagan's policies, nevertheless the movement of workers and youth still has a dispersed and disorganized character and lacks an objective and combat which can unite their struggles. Lacking a clear alternative on the road of struggle, the entire "potential unity and power of American workers" has not been tapped.

When is this potential more capable of being turned into reality than now when the political revolution has come alive, when in the USA the miners have rejected their contract and when the revolution in El Salvador finds strong support among American youth and workers?

We propose that common action begin now to organize the General Strike. We can begin, of course, through opening up the discussion in the unions, winning the support of locals, while at the same time, by propositions for the formation of workers committees of preparation, we begin to develop the independent organization of the General Strike by the ranks of the unions. By basing ourselves on Workers Democracy and the ranks of the unions, we can make it clear that we accept the discipline of the unions and the right of the workers to decide their fate. Thus, we prepare the organizing and leadership of the General Strike as a means to impulse the movement for the independence of the unions.

Such a struggle could begin in the major industrial unions — auto, steel, coal — but it is the miners' strike which is of the most immediate importance. The miners, as we have seen from 1977, can be the launching point of a General Strike.

In auto, several initiatives have already been taken by locals which offer a point of departure for a campaign to organize a General Strike. At UAW Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan, 1,100 autoworkers signed a petition demanding a Special Convention of the UAW to organize a policy of *no concessions*. The UAW local of the Fisher Body Fleetwood plant in Detroit, passed a resolution also demanding their union follow a policy of *no concessions*.

We propose a meeting of representatives of the national leaderships of the SWP and TO/USA at the earliest opportunity to work out a plan of collaboration. As a first proposal, we would suggest a meeting could take place in Washington, DC, around the time of the May 3 anti-draft demonstration. We are, of course, open to other proposals and await your reply.

Communist greetings,
David Heffelfinger,
for the Secretariat of the
Trotskyist Organization/USA

Workers Candidate in Detroit Elections

Executive Committee
Detroit Branch, Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrades,

The stand that city workers have taken by voting down the first proposed wage-freeze is an example for all Detroit workers to follow. But to fight the concessions demanded by Mayor Coleman Young and



Detroit city workers on strike last summer.

his capitalist bosses, it is necessary for the unions to go beyond just saying, "No Concessions!"

Now the unions, especially the city workers' unions, have to take the offensive against Young, they have to carry the fight to him! How? By nominating a candidate of the unions to run for Mayor of Detroit. We have noted in your campaign for Mayor of Detroit that the SWP is also calling for a candidate of labor. Good! Let us take this fight into the unions, especially the city workers' unions.

Such a campaign could be the basis for an open debate in the unions over how to fight Young's plan. The Trotskyist Organization is running a candidate in the elections. Our platform will be:

No wage freeze! No layoffs!
Organize a General Strike of city workers!

But on the basis of an open discussion in the unions over the platform and candidate for Mayor, we would respect the decision of the majority of the ranks and withdraw our candidate in order to support another candidate nominated by any union or union local. We think that this is the best way to make clear that our campaign's goal is really to develop an independent working class alternative to Young in the elections. And we see the platform for the organization of a General Strike as a means to further emphasize that the means are at hand for Detroit workers to take matters into their own hands and win their demands.

For the unions to win, they must take the road of class action. That is what the Polish workers did when they were faced with demands to give up their gains. That is what French workers have just done, in electing a workers candidate for president. These are the examples and the model the unions and workers in the U.S. can and must follow. A candidate of the unions against Young can mark the beginning of a

fight that can bring down Reagan.

Young got his victory by portraying the fight as one between the poor and blacks and their gains, on one side, and Reagan and the bigots and right wing "tax cutters" and budget slashers, on the other side. But the fact is that Young's proposal, especially in its demand for concessions, its threat of layoffs, its orchestration of city cutbacks, was a specific example in action of what Reagan has been calling for.

So the issue is class against class. That is why we want to take every possible step toward organizing a workers vote in the Mayoral elections. A class vote for a workers candidate.

We know from our experiences in obtaining signatures so far that there is a lot of support for a candidate of the unions, and a lot of candidates running. So we would like to make a further proposal toward organizing a class vote in the elections.

Let us put forward a common candidate in the elections and a common platform. For us the question must be: which candidate and what platform can go the farthest in organizing an independent working class alternative in the elections? We are ready to meet with representatives of the Detroit branch to hammer out such a joint campaign. Even more important, however, would be an open debate in the working class and among workers organizations over how to build an independent working class campaign for Mayor of Detroit.

We await your reply and look forward to the possibilities in the present situation to really organize a workers vote in the elections, as a means to organize independent working class action against the Young plan.

Communist greetings,
David Heffelfinger,
for the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Britain, Ireland — And Here

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

"A specter is haunting the Reagan Administration: Thatcherism."

So wrote Leonard Silk, economics editor of the leading capitalist newspaper in the United States, *The New York Times* (July 8, 1981).

This attempt at an imitation of the famous opening line of *The Communist Manifesto* ("A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism.") shows the fear with which the liberal bourgeoisie in the United States regards the recent events in Britain, above all because of what they imply for the U.S.

Situation

Silk's statement was made immediately after the outbreak of rioting in Liverpool. The fact that these riots extended from city to city in England, leaving virtually no industrial center untouched from London to Manchester, shows even more clearly the nature of the "specter" that Silk fears.

Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Party prime minister of Britain, came to power in May 1979 as the "Tory solution" — a direct attack on the working class and its gains and rights by the most reactionary sector of the capitalist class, leading behind it the petty bourgeoisie.

This was Reagan's policy, too. This was the "new beginning" that Reagan promised American capitalism. Thatcher's policy of planned unemployment, of rolling back the social gains of the British working class (the so-called "welfare state"), was the model for Reagan's "budget-cutting" and demands for "concessions."

Reagan and the U.S. bourgeoisie already know that these plans are being resisted. In the events in Britain, even more directly than in Ireland, France, Poland, they see the shadow of their own future — they see precisely, "the spectre of Communism."

Night after night, as the outbreaks went on in England, the lies spread about them by the capitalist press and TV became more and more obvious.

They were not "race riots." They were not (except in the case of one direct provocation by the neo-fascist National Front) cases of blacks or Asians fighting whites. Instead, these upsurges were characterized by whites and blacks together — especially the youth — fighting the police as representatives of Thatcher's racist, reactionary and anti-working class policies.

It was clear from the statements of those involved in these actions that it was opposition to all aspects of "Thatcherism," the policy of British imperialism today, that brought them into motion. The youth will not accept, the workers will not accept, the highest unemployment rates since the Depression. They will not accept the imposition of a police state. They will not accept the attempt to divide and conquer their class along racial lines.

The response of the British ruling class has been clear. The Labour Party can shout "you stupid woman" at Thatcher in Parliament, but the Conservatives have their

one-note answer: arm the police in Britain, bring in water cannon and plastic bullets, convene special courts that restrict civil liberties, blame everything not on its policy but on "criminal hooliganism."

Meaning

In other words, bring "Northern Ireland" to England, "bring the war home." British imperialism will now begin to use the whole array of counterrevolutionary techniques it has refined against the Irish into action against its own workers, youth and oppressed.

In Ireland itself, Joe McDonnell and Martin Hurson have died on hunger strike. Kieran Doherty and Kevin Lynch are on the verge of death. Doherty's death will mean a new escalation in the political crisis in the "Irish Republic" in the South because he was one of the political prisoners elected to the Dail (parliament) on June 11. Not only may this spell the downfall of the new government, but it will also feed the flames of the mobilization in the South, flames already licking at the structures of imperialism.

This was highpointed by the July 18 march of 17,000 on the British Embassy in Dublin, which resulted in massive clashes with the police of the capitalist Irish state. Remembering that in 1972 a similar crowd burnt down the same Embassy, it is not hard to guess that the 17,000 had more in the back of their minds than presenting a petition.

Already, a march has begun in the North to Dublin in the South that can attract massive support. Remembering, also, that these same events in 1972 likewise saw the unleashing of a General Strike in the "Republic," it is clear that a political showdown is approaching.

In Ireland, in Britain itself, the face of the enemy is becoming clearer. The ugly face of "Thatcherism" is the face of British imperialism, the common enemy of the workers and oppressed of both islands.

In every struggle, the necessity for the unity of these revolutions becomes clearer. That is the meaning of the Socialist United States of Europe for Ireland and Britain. That is the framework in which at last what Bobby Sands (and James Connolly) died for — a united socialist republic of Ireland — will become real.

The "specter of Thatcherism" that is haunting Ronald Reagan is the specter of the European Revolution. And this is not something distant from us or from our concerns.

The liberal bourgeoisie says it, the conservative bourgeoisie knows it — anyone who thinks that these events can be confined to Europe is living in a dream world.

The fight against Reagan's attempt to rearm imperialism, the fight against "Reaganomics," already show the outlines of the battles that lie ahead. The events abroad show us that the revolution is coming. Our task now is to prepare it by organizing the General Strike.



Kieran Doherty



Joe McDonnell



Martin Hurson

"Life springs from death; and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations."

— Padraic Pearse

Why the Socialist United States of Europe?

What is the Socialist United States of Europe and what does it mean to you?

The Russian Revolution emerged out of the chaos of World War I, a chaos that showed the complete incompatibility of the national capitalist states with the further development of human society, and gave the answer to that chaos.

To extend the Russian Revolution throughout the world, the Third (Communist) International was founded. As part of its struggle for the world revolution, the Third International brought the slogan for the Socialist United States of Europe to the forefront. On this point, too, the Fourth International alone continues the work of the Third.

Against the "New Order" of the Nazis, against the "Common Market" and "European Parliament" of the democratic imperialists,

against the aping of these maneuvers by the Stalinist "Comecon," we say that the economic and political unification of Europe can be achieved only through the European Revolution, a decisive step toward the triumph of the world revolution.

When the European Revolution triumphs, when the political revolution against Stalinist rule unites with the social revolution against imperialism, a great weight will be lifted from the shoulders of the oppressed and exploited everywhere.

The end of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the end of the greatest imperialist powers outside the U.S., will decisively open the road for the victory of the American Revolution, the final blow that will set the human race free.

That is our struggle.

One Year of the Polish Revolution

It was barely a year ago that the mass strikes broke out in Poland, with their high point in the occupation of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, and began the Polish Revolution.

What has the Polish Revolution shown? Where does it stand today? What is its significance for the struggles of the workers, youth and oppressed worldwide?

First, the Polish Revolution marked the definitive emergence of the revolution on the European continent, center of both imperialist and Stalinist rule. This is where the fundamental questions of power will be decided.

It is no accident that in the year since the revolution began, the upsurges in Britain and Ireland, the defeat of Giscard in France, the political crises in Spain and

the international working class, as the heir of Marxism and Leninism, is in reality the bitter and irreconcilable foe of the proletariat.

The political revolution is going on right now in Poland; the workers are struggling to defend every gain they have made in the fight against imperialism by seeking to take political power back from the bureaucracy, to take the state into their own hands.

Today, after a full year, after a whole series of counterrevolutionary maneuvers by imperialism and Stalinism, this revolution is reaching a turning point.

No normal methods of breaking the mobilization have succeeded. Every time the Stalinist and imperialist press announce "peace," a new wave of battles

The Fourth International is struggling to build this conscious preparation, not only by building its section in Poland, the Revolutionary Workers League, as the party of the political revolution, not only through the tour of the Soviet free trade unionists, Fainberg and Borisov, but in an even more fundamental way.

The expression of this conscious preparation is summed up in the Return to Lenin. The Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin is the confirmation and the key to the victory of the Polish Revolution.

K.F.

Help Support Your Party

The first results in the campaign for a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit show the possibilities for organizing a broad network of support for the construction of the workers party. The 1,200 signatures to get the candidate of the Trotskyist Organization/USA on the ballot can and must be transformed into the material and organizational means to build the party of the Polish Revolution; that is, to bring the revolution alive in the USA.

This means not only the construction of the section of the Fourth International in Spain, the only party there that has seen the meaning to its fight of the opening of the political revolution in Poland against the Stalinist bureaucracy. No, not only there, because the Polish Revolution and the whole preceding period have opened up a new stage in the *world* revolution.

The key to this new stage is the construction of the party, the workers party, the international party, the party of no compromise with imperialism and Stalinism. But this demands that all thinking militants and serious workers turn their attention to the imminence of the revolution and to the necessity to consciously organize it.

Organize the revolution! Through an open combat and common action, yes. But, above all, it is the party itself which must appear as a material and well organized force in the center of the workers struggles.

The International Workers Fund is the way for every worker and militant who

wants to help build this party to contribute to its construction.

But that is only one side of the coin. As the campaign of the Trotskyist Organization/USA for a Workers Candidate in the Detroit elections has shown, it is also the way for the party to build a mobilization among workers and youth who have come in contact with the Fourth International and its fight for the first time.

So we have decided to lay out a campaign with objectives and goals, just like the campaign for signatures, to organize the material support for the construction of the party.

The first and most important element of this mobilization will be obtaining pledges on a weekly or monthly basis to the International Workers Fund. This method already is an advance over simply soliciting donations, because it puts up front the necessity to construct the party through systematic organization, and because it requires that the party root itself in the working class. This is the kind of party that the revolution needs.

As part of the pledge campaign, supporters will be sent political buttons now ready for distribution (see box below for types). In this way, our regular sympathizers and supporters can extend the fight to build the party of the Polish Revolution, even in this seemingly minimal fashion, by selling buttons to help finance their pledges.

D.H.



Workers defense guard at Lenin shipyard in Gdansk last year.

Italy have emerged or taken on an unprecedentedly deep character. The Polish Revolution marks the beginning of the European Revolution.

This fact is likewise at the center of the crisis of the international apparatus of the Kremlin, of Stalinism, which has in the last year undergone a qualitative development.

At the same time, the Polish Revolution has shown the massive power of working class struggle to the oppressed and exploited of the world, not just in Europe, but in the Americas, especially in the U.S., as well.

This is true, above all, because it has shown everyone that Marxism is not a dead theory but a living reality. The working class is a revolutionary class, the only truly revolutionary class. Its methods of struggle — the strike, the workers councils, the general strike — have once again come alive before the eyes of a new generation. After this, nothing will ever be the same again.

The Polish Revolution has verified Marxism in another way as well. It has shown that Stalinism is not communism, that the bureaucracy which has tried to present itself as the rightful leadership of

breaks out. This revolution will conquer or it will be crushed. There is no third way.

There are two problems that concern the fate of this revolution. The first is the question of the currently existing leadership of the Polish Revolution. The Polish workers have not yet won, that is true. But that is in no way due to any lack of willingness to fight, to sacrifice, any lack of understanding of who their enemies are.

No, time and time again, this spirit of revolutionary struggle has been diverted, held back, contained, by the Walesa leadership of the free trade union "Solidarity."

If the revolution has not yet triumphed, this is because it has not yet found a leadership to match its demands.

At the same time, the second problem — the isolation of Poland — is directly related to this first problem. Only the fight for the conscious preparation of the European Revolution, for the Socialist United States of Europe which expresses this fight, can break the isolation of the revolution by extending it throughout the continent, above all to the Soviet Union.

That is the meaning of the fight that the Fourth International has taken up — in the World Workers Conference, first of all.

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Haig, Marcos and Our Party

The Reagan regime is continuing to pursue its policy of counterrevolution in every area of the world. In mid-June, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander ("I am in control") Haig made a tour of Asia that was intended to carry out that policy.

On June 16, in Peking, China, Haig announced that the U.S. was going to sell arms to the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy headed by Deng Xiaoping in order to strengthen its threat to the Vietnamese Revolution. The next day, as Haig arrived in the Philippines, news broke that the U.S. and China are operating a missile-tracking station in China's far northwest Xinjiang (Sinkiang) province to spy on the Soviet Union.

Haig's visit and the seal of approval it brought from Reagan also helped to consolidate the position of Deng in China. After this visit, Deng went ahead with a meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which sealed his control over the apparatus and the government. Deng's policy of opening China to penetration by imperialism — economically and politically — is expressed by the deal struck with Reagan. It is also expressed by the continued suppression and persecution of left wing oppositionists.

Haig's presence in the Philippines at the Manila conference of the pro-imperialist Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was two-fold.

First, there was the continuation of the attack on the Vietnamese Revolution, represented by the call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and the imposition of a United Nations "peacekeeping force" which would "supervise" elections.

The Fourth International does not equate the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia with the counterrevolutionary invasions of Vietnam by China or Afghanistan by the USSR. At the same time, as in the case of Afghanistan, it says that any such "withdrawal" would mean opening the gates to imperialism and giving it a position from which to launch further attacks.

The second purpose of Haig's Manila trip was to congratulate dictator Ferdinand Marcos on his June 16 "re-election" as "president" of the Republic of the Philippines.



Organ of the

Filipino

Committee of the Fourth International

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Detroit, MI 48207

Marcos declared martial law in 1972, one year before his second and last term in office legally expired. Since then he has ruled through open terror and enriched himself and his gang through naked corruption.

Marcos' government directly participates — through allowing the U.S. to have its two largest military bases in Asia, Clark Airbase and the Subic Naval Base, on Filipino territory — in U.S. attacks on the revolution in Asia. Thus, Marcos is one of the key figures in ASEAN.

Despite torture and repression, there is large-scale opposition to Marcos. When Marcos "lifted" martial law last January and called the new elections, meanwhile keeping in effect all the provisions of his police-state National Security Code, virtually all elements of the opposition supported a boycott of the election fraud.

Despite threats by Marcos to jail any non-voters, even he claims only an 85% turnout, while the opposition, organized in PEOPLE (People's Opposition to the Plebiscite and Elections), estimates only a 58.6% turnout in Manila itself.

The obvious failure of Marcos' election did not in the least prevent Haig from bringing Reagan's blessing, stating his intention to "shore up those who are under threat and danger and in the front lines." Likewise, at Marcos' June 30 inauguration, U.S. Vice-President George Bush blandly announced: "We love your adherence to democratic principles and to the democratic processes."

Marcos and Reagan's plans for Asia are "under threat and danger" even more than they know.

Because in January 1980 the Fourth International organized its Filipino Committee, whose task is to prepare the overthrow of Marcos and strike a blow for the revolution and against U.S. imperialism in this critical country.

The Filipino Committee, which carries on its work among the large Filipino emigration, supported the election boycott, at the same time calling for the preparation of the General Strike as the key to bringing down Marcos.

It publishes a journal, *Manggagawa* ("Worker"), which appears in Tagalog, the major national language of the Philippines.

The U.S. has probably the largest number of Filipino emigrants, including not only political exiles but also ordinary workers and students. At the same time, opposition by American workers and youth to Marcos would be decisive in aiding the revolution in the Philippines.

We are now going to begin to organize both among Filipino emigrants and Americans (using both *Manggagawa* and *Truth*) to prepare the Filipino Revolution through building the Filipino section of the Fourth International.

We are ready to take up a common fight, with no pre-conditions, alongside Filipino groups or individuals and their U.S. supporters against Marcos and U.S. support to him.

K.F.

The Truth About Cuba

A new edition of the *Truth* publication, *A Centrist Apology for Stalinism*, is now out. The pamphlet (first published in December 1978) represents a serious critique of the position that Castroism represents a revolutionary current.

This belief, expressed in a book by Joseph Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party who died recently, is rigorously defeated in our pamphlet. At the same time, the burning importance of the Cuban question for the fight to maintain and rebuild the Fourth International is laid bare; that is, the Big Lie that tries to hide the place of Castroism in the international apparatus of Stalinism.

More than another sterile analysis of Cuba, more than a review of Hansen's book, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, this pamphlet is an important weapon for anyone who wants to understand the bitter struggle against Pabloism — a pro-Stalinist faction in the Fourth International — for anyone who wants to understand the conscious distortions of the history of the Cuban Revolution necessitated by the defense of Castroism.

With clarity and foresight, the pamphlet predicted the new stage of the class struggle which has opened up in Latin America. Militants who are questioning today the positions Castro has taken on the Polish Revolution and the invasion of Afghanistan — supporting the Stalinist bureaucracy 100% — will find answers to these ques-

tions with no sugar coating in the new edition of the *Truth* pamphlet, *A Centrist Apology for Stalinism*.

D.H.

dynamics
of the cuban
revolution

the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen

A CENTRIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

A TRUTH PUBLICATION
SECOND EDITION
AUGUST 1981
50 CENTS



Filipino election boycott rally; Marcos pictured as U.S. stooge.

Black Liberation Today

Democracy and the Voting Rights Act

By FRED VITALE

The 1965 Voting Rights Act is up for renewal this year by the U.S. Congress. The Act, as it now stands, has an enforcement provision according to which all states and areas which in 1965 had less than 50% of their eligible voters registered have been forced to clear all changes in election laws, districting, etc., with the U.S. Department of Justice. This placed nine southern states and three boroughs of New York City under this provision. The right wing backers of Reagan, especially the southern ones, want either to gut this act by diluting it ("extending" it to all fifty states with only fifteen people to enforce it) or by killing it outright. Reagan supports these efforts by remaining "undecided."

The Voting Rights Act should be extended with full force. Indeed all black legal rights should be defended and extended. But, as blacks have begun mobilizing to defend their gains, they find that all the central political questions of the struggle of the working class for victory over the bourgeoisie — the class struggle — are posed in their mobilization.

Ever since the Civil War ended slavery in the U.S., blacks have been systematically denied equality with whites.

Blacks have fought since then to end this inequality and win full democratic rights.

But their victory has not been fully real-

ized. Even after the powerful movement of the '60's, today attacks on black voting rights continue in the South. After the passage of this Act, Mississippi redistricted its Congressional districts so that blacks, who comprised 36% of the population, did not have a majority in any district in the state. As recently as 1978, the Jackson, Mississippi, election commission moved voting machines out of black districts the night before the elections to deny blacks the actual practice of the "right" to vote. Such practices as filing phony absentee ballots and denying jobs to blacks who run for office continue.

Tens of thousands of black people demonstrated in Washington DC, even before Reagan was inaugurated, not just to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a holiday, but even more to protest the growing efforts to return blacks to their previous Jim Crow position of semi-slavery, such as these efforts to rescind the Voting Rights Act, the attacks by the KKK and Nazis, etc.

The black leaders and union leaders are all demanding that Congress and Reagan extend the Voting Rights Act. Of course! But this is hardly sufficient. Nor is it sufficient to "strengthen" it by adding more observers, more lawyers, etc., all under the control of U.S. imperialism, of the Reagan regime.

For black democratic rights to be won, it is necessary to win Workers Democracy in

the United States, a workers government.

Only with a government born of the results of the General Strike to bring down Reagan, of a movement in which the unions are won back for the workers, in which new mass organizations — central strike committees, factory committees, workers councils — are formed, a movement that centralizes the mobilization of blacks today to stop the attacks by Reagan and his racists: only with this goal of Workers Democracy can blacks insure their democratic rights.

Malcolm X called the Civil Rights Act of 1964 a "slap in the face" to black people because this democracy had to pass special laws to give blacks what it had claimed for years that "everybody" in the U.S. had. And he was and is correct. There can be no justice from U.S. imperialism — the only rights blacks have are those continually fought for with an independent mobilization — against this democracy.

The current black leaders and union leaders, intimately tied to the Democratic Party, see what is at stake for them in extending the Voting Rights Act. For working class militants, for blacks, extending the Act is only a means to an end — the liberation of black people.

For these leaders, however, it is precisely what Malcolm X was speaking of. They want to reinforce the illusions of blacks in this capitalist democracy. They want to

demobilize the black struggle today. They want to save U.S. imperialism.

Marc Stepp, Vice-President of the UAW, testifying before the House of Representatives, said: "What Congress does now with respect to extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 can contribute substantially to a restoration of faith in the democratic process."

The loss of "faith" in the democratic process (read: U.S. imperialist democracy) is the conclusion of millions of blacks after years of struggle using their "democratic process" to win their rights. This political conclusion scares these leaders who, more than anything else, support this democracy. They fear this conclusion because the mobilization of blacks today is toward a struggle for Workers Democracy, toward the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The AFL-CIO, the only labor federation in the country, with the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the largest black organization in the country, and others has called for a mass demonstration in Washington, DC, on September 19, to protest Reagan's attacks — a "Solidarity Day." Blacks should mobilize for this demonstration, but march in their own name and use this opportunity to organize for the General Strike to bring down Reagan. This is the way to win black liberation.

Imperialism and South Africa

Blacks in the United States look to the struggles in Africa with sympathy and enthusiasm. In the policy of the Reagan administration toward these struggles, they can see the nature of their enemy in a new way and draw valuable lessons for their own fight.

Southern Africa, with the white-ruled Republic of South Africa at its political center, is the most important area in the struggle today.

South Africa is itself an imperialist power whose wealth rests on the incredible exploitation and oppression of the huge black majority by the tiny white minority which is completely connected with world imperialism.

Every attempt at national liberation — Angola and Zimbabwe in the past, Namibia (what South Africa calls "South-West Africa" and rules as its own) today — runs up against the military might of South Africa. At the same time, the economic necessity for the development of the whole region requires political unity, an objective which is completely tied up with the destruction of South Africa as a racist and imperialist bastion.

Inside South Africa itself, the revolutionary tide is rising. Since the beginning of 1981, there have been over fifty strikes by black workers, the most important of which occurred in Port Elizabeth in which a strike by Firestone workers was sup-

ported by workers at Ford and GM.

On May 27, South Africa celebrated "Republic Day," the anniversary of its withdrawal from the British Commonwealth. A massive boycott of this event was organized. Significantly, there was participation by white youth in this boycott, including the tearing down of the South African flag. Andrew Boraine, the white leader of the National Union of South African Students, was among those arrested.

The South African ruling class has responded in the only way open to it — more repression. It has jailed over forty persons, including trade union leaders, returned leaders of the 1976 Soweto uprising and other student leaders.

Where does Reagan stand on all this? Of course, he supports it. Reagan and his pals, like Senator Strom Thurmond, defended Jim Crow in the U.S. every step of the way against the civil rights struggle. Naturally, they look on South Africa's system of "white supremacy" — *apartheid* (apart-hood, that is, racial segregation in the guise of "separate development") — with nostalgia for the good old days when America was "a white man's country" and blacks "knew their place."

But this white supremacy is not some moral flaw of the Afrikaaners (the descendants of Dutch settlers, the "Boers"), it is the means through which imperialism ex-



Young fighters in 1976 Soweto uprising.

ploits the workers of the country and enriches itself.

That is the real reason the Reagan administration is openly taking up the defense of South Africa. Thus, this includes not only seeking to end the "pariah" status of South Africa, increased military collaboration with it, expansion of trade not "dis-investment," etc., but also the defense of South Africa's occupation of

Namibia. Reagan seeks to make any settlement of the issue depend on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola! That is, an attempt at counterrevolutionary "stabilization" in the region.

— Bringing down Reagan through the General Strike is the key not only to black liberation in the U.S., but to the liberation of Africa as well.

K.F.

TRUTH

SWP and Slander

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is building a Workers Tribunal to investigate the latest manifestations in the U.S. of the slanders by the French OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

One important aspect of this fight involves revealing the complicity of the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party in these slanders. Militants of the SWP have a responsibility to the truth, to the workers movement and to themselves to do everything they can to help uncover this complicity.

We know that the SWP on January 9, 1976, sent a letter to the organizations comprising the pseudo-commission set up against the real Commission of Inquiry into the slanders. In this letter, signed by Barry Sheppard for the Political Committee, the SWP states that at the January 4 meeting of its National Committee (NC), the SWP had decided to join this pseudo-commission, assigning as its representatives John Benson, Ed Shaw and Gus Horowitz.

We know that one month after the the constitution of this "objective" pseudo-commission, John Hawkins, then a member of the same NC, declared in Detroit on April 16, 1976: "We've got the goods on Varga. He's a police agent. We'll announce it in a few days."

We know that the "few days" stretched into thirteen months, that "the goods" never appeared and that Jack Barnes himself promised a public repudiation of Hawkins' slander — which, like "the goods," never appeared.

We know that the report of the pseudo-commission, which dishonestly concluded that the OCI's accusations were "not proven," was signed for the SWP on May 26, 1977, by Gus Horowitz (who is further specified in the text as one who functioned in the pseudo-commission "on a regular basis").

We know all this, but militants of the SWP do not. Not one word about this whole business has ever appeared in the public press of the SWP, or even in internal bulletins accessible to rank-and-file members.

What's the big secret? What is there to hide? Why has nothing about this activity ever gotten beyond, at most, the NC?

Is it because the SWP's role in the pseudo-commission was intended "to clean up the leadership of the OCI" for the "reunification" that blew up over the Nicaraguan Revolution? Or is it because the SWP leadership is still using the slanders selectively to erect a barrier to the politics of the Fourth International?

Any SWP member or supporter who knows anything about these facts should contribute to the struggle for Workers Democracy by making this information available through the Workers Tribunal. The SWP leadership has to make public all the materials on the pseudo-commission. As Trotsky said: "The truth is always revolutionary."

TRUTH

Boycott the Draft, the Dictatorships

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The spirit of the May 3 demonstration of tens of thousands of youth in Washington, DC, still lives! The spirit of working class youth from unions and factories which showed that the Reagan government has no "mandate" among young workers. The spirit of student and high school youth who mobilized overnight against Reagan's intervention in El Salvador, disproving in one stroke the popular notion that the schools and universities have become passive and conservative.

More than anything else, May 3 showed that the potential power of the working class and the youth is far greater than that of Reagan's imperialist government. That is why Reagan and Haig were forced to put their policy of intervention in El Salvador on the back burner.

But this massive potential has yet to be completely tapped.

Those who have set themselves up as the supposed leaderships of this movement are paralyzed with the disease of class collaboration and compromise. And the danger is that they threaten to spread this disease to the whole movement, to paralyze the fighting spirit of the youth!

By now all the chapters of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) have heard the report of the June 20 National Steering Committee. (See *Truth* #135). As *Truth* predicted, this meeting — held on the basis of excluding any forces which did not subscribe to the class collaborationist policies of the Social Democrats of DSOC, the Stalinists of the Communist Party/USA or the pseudo-Trotskyist centrists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) — was unable to plan any mobilization at all.

As a result, many youth have left. Many in the Detroit chapter of CARD have told militants in the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA that they are sick of the bureaucratic methods of the mis-leaders of CARD. But they have also told us that they are not completely clear as to what the fight of International Young Guard/USA is.

In the first place the question is not CARD vs. PAM. To see it like this is to try to choose between Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

For the most part, the young workers and students who showed up for May 3 couldn't have cared less who set the date or where they marched, it was enough that we were there, in Washington, DC, the seat of government of U.S. imperialism, that we were 100,000 strong.

We wanted to take matters into our hands, to stop the draft and Reagan's intervention in El Salvador. But neither the DSOC-CP/USA-SWP leadership of CARD who with this National Steering Committee tried to overturn the open character of CARD decided on in its National Conference, nor the Workers World Party, which has tried through PAM to capture the youth leaving CARD (and PAM has never even had an open national conference), are interested in letting the mobi-



Scene from May 3 Washington DC, demonstration.

lization of the youth take the road of the revolution.

The issue is class collaboration vs. an independent mobilization of the working class and the youth. The issue is a policy of pressure on Reagan vs. unleashing the full potential of the working class to overturn Reagan and his policies.

So we think that the objective we fight for must be a *massive boycott by the working class and the youth of the draft and the dictatorships*.

This means large demonstrations and manifestations of our power — yes. But it means more.

The full power of the only revolutionary class — the working class — must be organized and unleashed to confront Reagan and his imperialist state.

An active boycott by all the transportation and communications unions, cutting off the lifeblood of the dictatorships — military and economic support by U.S. imperialism. And the political boycott, by all unions, of military rearmament and the draft. This is our class in action. The spirit of May 3 could have been, and should have been, directed toward building this kind of mobilization in the unions. They have the power to cut off all aid to the dictatorships, they have the power to circumvent all the decisions of the imperialists.

For students, it is not a question of support work, but rather of turning the universities and high schools into forums for the mobilization against Reagan. Here the tactic of the student strike and days of action could open up the schools and universities to unemployed and young workers as places for them to organize and discuss.

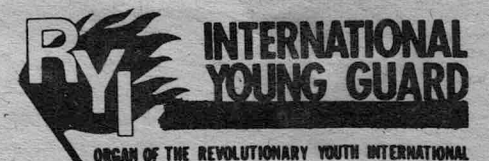
A mobilization of the working class and the youth is the requirement for making the movement open and democratic. The lion's share of youth's fight against the bureaucratic leaderships behind CARD and PAM has been directed against the attempts to take the movement out of the hands of those who built it.

But the policy of the opportunist leaderships that try to channel and compartmentalize the mobilization of the youth flows from the policy of class collaboration. Specifically, the opportunists would rather have the support of liberals and reformists, who *hate* the working class and the revolution, than that of the youth, who threaten the very foundations of the whole system. That is why they spend more time trying to disorganize the militant youth and revolutionary currents than they do anything else.

So a mobilization, an active boycott by the working class and the youth, an independent struggle without compromise or class collaboration, is the way to fight for an open, democratic movement which can attract the masses of youth who are turned off by bureaucratism and opportunism.

This is the content we want to give to the preparation of an Emergency Conference of CARD, which many members of CARD also agree is necessary. But for such a mobilization to succeed it must at least depart from a declaration of war on class collaboration and compromise!

"The youth is the flame of the proletarian revolution!"



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