

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH 

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL • No. 138 September 18, 1981 25¢

GENERAL

STRIKE!

TO BRING DOWN REAGAN

Interview with Filipino Militant

The Fourth International is the Workers Party

Alor C. is a militant of the Lupon, the Filipino Committee of the Fourth International, who has recently come to the United States. He was recruited to the Fourth International while in Spain studying as a student, formerly he was a militant of the Spanish Communist Party. Truth interviewed Alor about the situation in the Phillipines and his experiences in coming to the Fourth International.

Q. Could you explain to us what the political situation is in the Phillipines?

A. The revolutionary party has never existed in the Phillipines. The Lupon is the first revolutionary party that has tried to give the Filipino workers a leadership.

Recently in the Phillipines, elections have taken place that were fraudulent and that only benefited the dictator. The main objective of such elections was to try to give a certain legitimacy to the dictatorship, which is nothing else but an agent of U.S. imperialism.

Our position during the elections was to boycott the elections but through a

general strike organized by workers committees. This is the main difference that we have with the bourgeois opposition; unlike the bourgeois opposition, we try to organize the boycott through a general strike, and through the revolution. The Communist Party, the Stalinists, in the Phillipines try to create an alliance with the bourgeois opposition. And to create an illusion among Filipino workers that reforms can take place in the Phillipines. We completely oppose any alliance with the bourgeois opposition.

We fight for the independence of the Filipino workers. Our political line is the line of independence — the less links the Filipino workers have with the bourgeois, the better, the more independent they are, the better.

Q. What led you to join the Fourth International?

A. The Fourth International is the only and truly legitimate inheritor of Marxism, of the First, Second and Third internationals. It is the only Marxist-Leninist party.

Q. How old were you when you first

began to struggle in the working class?

A. I started to become interested in Marxism-Leninism at the age of fourteen. Before joining the party I went through a series of tendencies — Maoist, Young Communist, Socialist, Anarchist, and for one year I was a member of the Spanish Communist Party, which claimed to be "Euro-Communist." And I joined the "Euro-Communists" because I thought that it was a response to Stalinism, that it was an alternative to the Stalinist way. But then through my militancy inside the Spanish Communist Party, I found out that they were purely reformists, that they did not have any real differences with the Kremlin. They defended peaceful coexistence. They led the working class through illusions.

Q. As a young militant, could you explain to us what it was like inside the Spanish Communist Party?

A. It was very discouraging. The bureaucrats of the Communist Party did not worry about forming its militants, did everything possible to immobilize the working class.

Q. How did you find out about the Fourth International after leaving the Communist Party?

A. I really found the Fourth International in the streets.

Q. The newspaper?

A. The newspaper and by talking with militants. I found the Fourth International because I was looking for a party. I did my best to find the revolutionary party.

Q. Now that you are here in the United States, how do you think that you can build the Lupon?

A. Well the United States has certain advantages over Spain. There are a lot of organizations and militants who are politicized . . . One of our main tasks would obviously be to try to integrate the fight of the Filipino workers with the American workers, and to concentrate the American workers against the chauvinistic propaganda of U.S. imperialism that immigrants are enemies of the American working class.

Expand Truth!

One of the major lessons of the campaign for the Workers Candidate has been the decisive importance of *Truth*, the organ of our party. And not just in the basic sense of getting out the word, of the necessary propaganda. No, more importantly, it has become crystal clear to us that every expansion of our political influence — recruitment, support, etc. — is directly linked to the expansion of *Truth* — subscriptions, sales and, as well, to its physical expansion.

Thus, following the campaign for the Workers Candidate, we must grasp all the lessons and advances of this fight in a struggle to *expand Truth!*

For the summer, *Truth* was on a tri-weekly schedule. Eight pages of a small tabloid, even published every two weeks, does not respond to the demands that the political situation places on us. So, while we return to bi-weekly publication, we cannot regard this as going back to business at the same old stand. It can only be a point of departure for a new advance.

First and foremost, we want to *expand* its distribution. We want more sales of *Truth*, we want more subscriptions (we have more now than at any other time, but still not enough), we want it sold in more cities. If you find that this paper speaks to your political needs, *subscribe!* Order bundles and sell the copies, get it into bookstores frequented by thinking workers and youth.

In addition, correspond with us. Tell us what you are doing, what the political situation for the workers is. Tell us what you find helpful in the paper. Tell us what bothers you. In that way, we

can strengthen our fight and our paper together.

The second thing we want to do is to expand *Truth* physically. We cannot now project weekly publication, but we can lay the groundwork for expansion to twelve pages. We propose to do this, not just on the basis of a political advance for the party — which is key — but also on the basis of an *organizational* advance. In particular, this means a fight to expand the production staff of *Truth*, to bring in professionally-trained people and to make the paper stronger and better.

We have already taken certain steps in this direction, but much more remains to be done. Here, too, let us know how you can help.

In particular, we aim to expand *Truth* very soon to a larger-format tabloid, improving not only its appearance, but also its space and flexibility.

This fight is the kind that requires your support, not just moral or political, but also financial. Support *Truth* with your financial aid, in the form of sales, of subscriptions — and direct contributions.

All these questions hinge on the expansion of the workers press in the deepest political sense. On this page, we are publishing a picture of Trotsky reading *The Militant*, when this paper was the organ of the section of the Fourth International in the United States. Our goal is to rebuild that U.S. section, and this fight is inseparable from the fight to make our paper the kind of paper *The Militant* was at its peak — and even better, in fact.

Many of you are reading *Truth* for the first time, having gotten it at "Solidarity Day." The ideas expressed in it



Trotsky reading early *Militant*.

may well be new to you. But we think that they speak directly to the reasons you came to that demonstration in the first place: a desire to fight the Reagan regime, a desire to organize the power of the workers, a desire to take the road of the Polish workers.

That is the reason why we urge you to clip the subscription blank on page 8 and send it in. It will be the best investment you ever made, because it will be an investment in the power and in the future of your class.

TRUTH

TRUTH
Bi-Weekly Organ of the
Trotskyist Organization/USA

Editorial Board: Kevin FitzPatrick, Editor; Margaret Guttschall, David Heffelfinger, Barbara Putnam.

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Now Is the Time for the General Strike!

Declaration of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Now is the time to organize the General Strike!

Workers and youth!

A great crisis stands before us. Not a crisis to be feared, not a crisis of despair. No, a crisis that marks one of those turning points in history.

Us Against Them

Around the world, the masses of the exploited and the oppressed, the poor and the downtrodden, the workers and peasants and youth are turning inexorably toward the revolution. Iran, Nicaragua, Poland, El Salvador — these are signposts of this turn.

Against these masses the masters of the world, the imperialist ruling classes of the West, and the Stalinist bureaucratic castes of the East, are organizing an all-out attempt at *counterrevolution*.

Counterrevolution! Indeed, that is what the Reagan regime represents above all. Lane Kirkland fearfully calls Reagan's attacks on the gains of workers over the last five decades by this name. But do you think that this is confined just to ending some liberal concessions, do you think that this is confined to just the United States?

Reagan is out to crush the revolution in Central America, imperialism's "back yard," lest the fire spread to master's house. Do you think it is accidental that both the peasants of El Salvador and the air traffic controllers of the United States have felt the full weight of Reagan's attacks?

"Solidarity Day" is a massive protest against the Reagan regime. It shows how much opposition there is to these attacks, it shows how isolated Reagan and his gang really are.

But the trade union bureaucrats — Kirkland, Fraser, Wurf, Winpisinger and so on — want to use this massive power of the working class and the oppressed only to "put pressure" on Reagan, only to try to help refurbish the routed Democratic Party, a party that itself prepared and supports the bulk of the Reagan program. In other words, the bureaucrats want to channel and to divert the stream of our opposition into the stagnant backwaters of capitalist politics.

Never! We have learned many things recently and now we must find a way to express in action what we have learned.

"Solidarity Day," the large Labor Day rallies that prepared it, the new stirring of the black movement, the fight of the youth against Reagan's attempt to rearm imperialism — all these show that our country, too, is already feeling the first waves of what is going on all over the world. We are becoming part of what is going on in Iran, in Poland, in Central America. We are becoming part of the world revolution.

To the General Strike!

One thing stands out with shining clarity from the events of recent times and its wave of revolutions. Every time the masses have gone into motion, one single weapon has become theirs, one method has consistently organized their fight.

What event preceded the fall of the Shah? The General Strike! What laid the basis for the down-

fall of Somoza? The General Strike! What built, extended and defends the mass movement of the Polish workers, the Polish Revolution? The General Strike!

The General Strike brings to bear all the power of the workers. It brings out all the courage, devotion, knowledge and experience of the masses. It organizes the power of the workers through their own special bodies — factory assemblies, strike committees, workers councils. It brings to the fore the leaders who best represent the masses. It transforms the political situation; with a single blow it sweeps aside the stacked deck of the old order and makes everything a whole new game.

Organizing the General Strike is the goal that lies before us. We cannot, do not want to avoid this task. Already, there have been a number of hints even from trade union bureaucrats about the General Strike. In particular, in regard to the defense of the air traffic controllers and PATCO, there have been calls for a one-day work stoppage (most sharply by the Virginia and Idaho state federations of the AFL-CIO, who have demanded it unless the PATCO members are rehired). And these calls have in turn found a response.

So there is no question of the General Strike's being some "unrealistic" idea. It is already on the minds and lips of many. And this reflects the fact that the actual situation demands it.

But the General Strike will not just "happen." No, it has to be organized! It has to be organized because the present leaders of the unions, however much they may talk — they talk well, act not at all — are deathly afraid of what the General Strike is: the preparation in action of the revolution.

Can we confine the General Strike to a "protest" on behalf of PATCO? No, because such a protest flows from the same goal as the bureaucrats' conception of "Solidarity Day," to "put pressure" on Reagan, to show that the "system works."

The "system works," alright — for those whose system it is! The "system" is union-busting, the "system" is El Salvador, the "system" is the fact that the standard of living of American workers has now fallen below the level of 1965, and is being driven constantly farther down.

One-Day Strike? Absolutely!

A one-day work stoppage? Of course! "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step."

But let us make sure that it is not a false start. The very people who say they are for a one-day work stoppage have not lifted one finger to actually defend PATCO in the simplest way — by not crossing picket lines. Their fearful reason is that it would be illegal. Will a one-day work stoppage be any less illegal?

Let us prepare a real blow to Reagan right now. *Don't cross the picket lines!* The machinists and pilots and flight attendants and teamsters and so on can strangle the airlines and crush Reagan's

plots. Then we can have a work stoppage that will demonstrate our power in action.

And from this we can come to the basic question. We need to deal with the source of the attacks. They are being organized right out of the White House and Reagan and his thugs are at the center of them.

Not a General Strike for "protest," not a General Strike for "pressure," but a General Strike with a clear political goal — *the General Strike to bring down Reagan!*

Bring down Reagan! We can do what we fell short of with Nixon, we can defeat our enemy in open combat and we can advance our cause with giant steps.

The fall of Reagan will change the whole political situation in the U.S. For the first time, the working class will have entered the arena of politics under its own banner. The road will be open to the formation of a mass working class party. The concrete preparation of the American Revolution will already be underway. Nothing will ever be the same again, in this country or throughout the world.

Organize Now!

But how will the General Strike be organized? We have touched already on this in the question of the one-day work stoppage. Every single initiative can be consciously directed toward this goal. The PATCO strike can be turned into a victory that will put Reagan on the run. Elections can be used, as the Trotskyist Organization/USA fought for in Detroit, to organize the independent power of the workers. Organizing the General Strike means a hundred battles aimed at the same goal: building and centralizing the strength and consciousness of the workers, youth and oppressed for a decisive confrontation with Reagan.

There are those who call for a Congress of Labor to organize this fight, to build a working class party. But the experience of Poland, above all, shows that they are putting the cart before the horse. We are completely for a centralization of the power of the workers movement, and this can indeed take the form of a Congress of Labor. But "Solidarnosc" was not built, the Polish Revolution did not develop, on the basis of constitutional gatherings called by the official leaders of the workers movement. The recent Congress of "Solidarnosc" is the *result* of mass initiatives from below: of local and partial strikes, of battles with the cops, of workers demands fought for on a hundred fronts, and first and foremost, of the organization of the workers in their own independent fighting bodies — such as the "inter-factory strike committees."

This is the example and the model that we must take back with us from "Solidarity Day." That is the road to follow.

General Strike to bring down Reagan!

Eighth Congress of the Fourth International

Build the New Workers Leadership

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on American workers and youth to join in the building of the Eighth Congress of the Fourth International — as the means to build a new workers leadership.

The conclusion drawn by the Fourth International more than a year ago, that the revolution is imminent and the European Revolution is on the agenda, has been proved correct by the course of events.

The Polish Revolution has ignited a fire throughout Europe, throwing the agreements which divided Europe East and West — between imperialism and Stalinism — into disarray. The Madrid Conference on European Cooperation and Security, which had the task of putting together this crumbling world order, failed miserably and was finally dissolved. While the inauguration of Reagan has represented a new and deeper attack on the world working class, this attempt, too, has had no definitive conclusion. The Kremlin is both accommodating to the direct attacks of imperialism and trying to prepare the conditions for an intervention in Poland.

The only definite alternative to the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism lies in the socialist revolution, and the key to the revolution is the construction of the new workers leadership.

Today in Poland the key to preparing the confrontation with the Kremlin tanks lies in the fight of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, section of the Fourth International, to build the party of the Polish Revolution.

The election of a workers candidate in France showed the deep movement of French workers against capitalism. But, at the same time, the electoral landslide of the Socialist Party is already being used as a means to tie the working class to the bourgeoisie through the policy of the bonapartist Fifth Republic — counterposed to the struggle for the Workers Government. Again, the key to the situation lies in the struggle of the Revolutionary Workers League of France to build the Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Workers Party.

The new stage of the class struggle has demanded a new orientation of the Fourth International — a turn in activity toward the battles of the working class and the open regroupment of the revolutionary forces. It has required that the construction of the party itself become a real and practical task for the party and the working class. It is the revolutionary party that constitutes the proletariat as a revolutionary class.

This new period of struggle was prepared by the rebuilding of the Fourth International in 1976, as a world party based on democratic centralism. The preceding period was marked by a struggle against opportunism in all its forms as a means to select the cadres of the revolution. This struggle must continue, but the new stage of the class struggle has demanded that the party achieve a selection of cadres in the concrete organization of the revolution — above all by organizing and building the revolutionary party.

What does this mean for American workers?

The United States is not an island in

the world. The revolution has touched the American working class as well. The large demonstrations which have taken place against Reagan's imperialist intervention in El Salvador and his attacks on the workers and oppressed in the U.S. are the expression of the revolutionary process which is going on in Europe and Central America.

The decisions which were taken at the Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA — to turn the party toward the organization of the revolution and the building of its leadership — have been confirmed in the actual results and activity of the TO/USA, and in the first new militants who have been won to International Young Guard/USA.

Through the fight in the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), both in its National Conference and in one of its most important chapters, Detroit CARD, the party and the youth have created a delimitation against opportunism and bureaucratism. In a manner disproportionate to our own numbers, we have succeeded in forging links with several chapters of CARD on concrete questions, as well as with militants of the YSA and other tendencies among the youth.

This fight, together with the campaign for a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit, has marked a real turn in the activity of the party — toward a selection of a vanguard in common activity and actions — and in the direct construction of International Young Guard/USA.

Especially through the fight for a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit, the party has become a real material force in the working class and among the youth. From a class delimitation, the Workers Vote, the party has succeeded to open up a deeper political delimitation in the unions, in other workers organizations, particularly the Socialist Workers Party, and among the youth. In this struggle the party paid particular attention to the sphere of organization to use every opportunity at its disposal to intervene in a massive way before the workers and youth.

The immediate objective we set for the American working class in our Sixth National Conference — organize the General Strike to bring down Reagan — has gained wider recognition than any of the passive tendencies and policies we encounter in Detroit. In fact, we have opened up a whole new range of possibilities for the construction of the workers party.

This fight has also confirmed, in the working class itself, the prior period of the struggle of the Fourth International against opportunism. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was once the pillar of the Fourth International, has been compelled in the struggle in CARD and in the fight for the Workers Candidate to reveal itself to a large number of workers, youth and militants as an organization which is clearly opportunist towards the apparatuses and isolated from the workers struggles. This has been positive because the Trotskyist Organization/USA set a concrete and material example in the workers movement, and not merely because we have the "right ideas."



Nicaraguan Revolution is part of new upsurge in the world revolution.

Thus the road to the rebuilding of the U.S. section of the Fourth International, necessary because of the SWP's abandonment of a proletarian policy and its retreat from the Fourth International in 1963, has been opened up as a practical task for the vanguard of the American working class.

This road, too, is an open one and travels through the terrain of common activity and struggle for the objectives of the party, firstly the General Strike.

The importance of the rebuilding of the U.S. section of the Fourth International goes beyond the borders of the party, or even the geographical borders of the United States. This task also is an answer to the working class, especially to the proletariat of Central and South America, who have suffered greatly because of the

liquidation of precious cadres of the Fourth International.

Therefore, the rebuilding of the Fourth International in the United States can truly be said to be a task of the workers themselves — and an international task.

Conscious of this, the Trotskyist Organization/USA takes up the preparation of the Eighth World Congress by building the workers party in the U.S. and realizing a necessary stage in the construction of the party — rebuilding the U.S. section of the Fourth International.

This struggle, as well, is an open one and will be realized to the extent to which the party is able to become the chief factor in the maturation of the revolution in the USA.

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.

Fainberg-Borisov Tour

"We Are All Polish Workers!"

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The revolution in Poland is reaching a turning point in political organization. The Polish workers, through their free trade union "Solidarity," continue to fight for their independence inside Poland and at the same time are advancing their struggle into the USSR and other Eastern European countries controlled by Stalinist bureaucracies. The message the Polish workers hurl to the workers of the world is a call to action, to support and develop their struggle, to *fight like the Polish workers*.

From the first national Congress of "Solidarity," which the Stalinist authorities did their best to disrupt, the Polish workers sent a direct message to the workers of the Soviet Union:

As the first independent union of Eastern Europe we deeply feel a sense of community and, contrary to the slander spread in your country, we are the authentic representatives of the working class in Poland.

We support those of you who have decided to enter the difficult road of struggle for free and independent unions. We trust that our representatives can meet soon to exchange experiences.

How better to confront the bureaucrats at home and the tanks of the Kremlin than the active support to and development of the strikes and actions of the workers of the USSR who demand to set up free unions?

Inside Poland, the workers develop their ability to act independently, by political means, to advance their struggle for political power. At the Congress just held, they decided to demand a referendum on the workers' right to control the factories, a referendum not stage-managed by the Communist Party-dominated parliament. They advised parliament that if these demands for a referendum and the right to control production were not realized, they would take this task in hand through the union and its factory organizations.

The iron workers of the Katowice iron and steel factory are testing in action this proposition. They held a referendum of their own to decide on whether to get rid of a certain factory manager who had shut down the press of a local workers publication.

The workers do not believe their demands will be met. They are planning to implement workers control of the factories, to deprive the Stalinists of political and economic power.

It is these efforts for self-organization and the spread of the revolution to other countries that must be defended, extended and developed.

The call of the Polish workers is also a call to workers in the imperialist countries. The same kind of methods can be utilized by American workers to overturn Reagan. The lessons of the developments in Poland must be brought to American workers; we must respond to their advance in an immediate sense.

One way to do this is to actively organize the U.S. tour of two Soviet workers, Vladimir Borisov and Viktor Fainberg, leaders of the free trade union SMOT, in order to draw a balance sheet of the fight for free unions, to focus attention on the

events in Poland and to bring this struggle into the United States to win the workers here to fight like the Polish workers.

In this manner, all the problems of the revolution can be opened up, a debate and discussion begun over what methods to confront Reagan, what methods and means to overcome the isolation of the Polish workers from the workers in the imperialist countries.

It must be clarified that the enemies of the Polish workers and the American workers are the same. This can take place in a mobilization for the tour of Fainberg and Borisov. It is a means to organize the support of American workers for the Polish workers' struggle.

This can lead towards the understanding of the fight of the Fourth International to unite the workers of the East and the West for the Socialist United States of Europe. It can give a special significance to the efforts of our party in organizing the fight for the party of the Polish Revolution, such as the Conference of the Militants of Eastern Europe for the Return to Lenin.

Any worker or youth can immediately join this fight for the U.S. tour of militants of the free trade union struggle, Borisov and Fainberg. There are no pre-conditions to this fight; it is not necessary that you believe in the entire program of our party. Its purpose is to bring the lessons of the Polish workers' fight into the United States, lessons that can be weapons in the forging of the revolutionary party of the American workers, to use in the fight for the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The backdrop of this fight is clearer every day. Today as U.S. Secretary of State was speaking in West Germany, hoping to gain support for Reagan, crowds of workers and youth by the thousands demonstrated in the streets. In the U.S. itself, the workers through their union organizations are planning a massive demonstration in Washington against Reagan on Solidarity Day.

In the campaign for the speaking tour of Fainberg and Borisov, the problem of the leaderships that dominate even the Polish workers struggle, frustrating it from its goal of power, can be brought out in the open.

To defend the Polish workers, to give life to their call to the workers of Eastern Europe, to organize the Americans, help build the tour of Fainberg and Borisov.

I want to work on the campaign to bring Fainberg and Borisov to the United States.

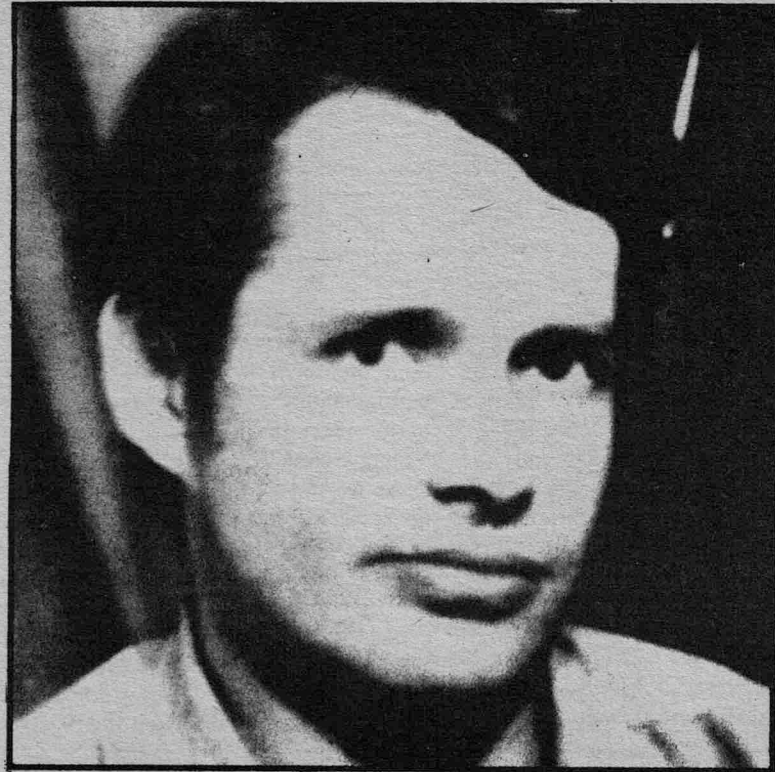
P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____



Vladimir Borisov, exiled leader of SMOT.

Contribute to Your Party

We are all Polish Workers! The defense of the Polish Revolution and also the extension of that revolution to the U.S. is a vital struggle the workers must be engaged in. The movement towards the revolution is spreading rapidly throughout the world — we must take the offensive and go even further. The International Workers Fund is part of that offensive. Your pledge, no matter how big or small, will help the continuing struggle of the working class.

We want to involve people in the rapidly growing revolution in Eastern Europe — this means the production of

literature, buttons, posters, etc. This also means a great deal of money. By financing the International Workers Fund, the lessons of the Polish Revolution and the steadily growing movement in Eastern Europe can be brought to the workers of the United States and implemented in the day to day struggle.

By making a weekly or monthly pledge to the International Workers Fund, you can become involved in this struggle. Your dollars will make a difference. Donate today!

SUE FROSCHHEISER

Order your Buttons now!

All buttons \$1.00 each.

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- Todos Somos Obreros Polacos
- Poland Won't Be A Czechoslovakia
- Solidarnosc
- monthly pledge _____
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Our Fight for the Workers Candidate

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

As this article is written, we are still several days from the primary election. We do not know yet what the final results of our campaign for the Workers Candidate, for the Workers Vote, will be in actual vote totals. But we do already know a lot about what this campaign has represented for us and for the working class and youth.

Workers Candidate

When we began the campaign for a Workers Candidate for Mayor, it was in response to Coleman Young's attack on the city workers in the form of his tax increase/wage concession "package." We were only a few weeks from the deadline for getting on the primary ballot. The Trotskyist Organization/USA threw itself into a fight for a Workers Candidate for Mayor.

But, from the very beginning, this fight was not one to get "our" candidate on the ballot in a narrow sense, but a way to make as clear and concrete as possible the necessity for the unions to take up their responsibilities, to carry into the political sphere the healthy opposition they had raised to Young's plan.

The fact that a "small" group like ours could, in two weeks, collect over 1,200 signatures and get David M. Heffelfinger on the ballot shows the deep response that such a campaign evoked from the workers — especially from the black workers, so casually written off as Young supporters.

The success of the party in carrying out this battle showed how easy it would have been for the unions to take up such a fight.

There are key questions involved in this fight. How can we make the unions into our organizations again? Are "good ideas" or pressure enough to move the present bureaucratic leadership?

As we know, the unions did not run a candidate. The reason for this is that the

building of an alternative leadership to the present one, building the party in the most concrete terms, is the condition for any advances in the unions today.

This means, in the bluntest terms, that the Trotskyist Organization/USA, in good measure because of the lateness of the decision to enter the elections, did not sufficiently expand its influence in organizational terms during the first phase of the campaign. While sales of *Truth* grew, while we succeeded in getting 1,200 signatures, this did not take concrete form in terms of greatly expanded subscriptions and in terms of major recruitment to the International Young Guard/USA and to the party.

As we stated, the campaign for us has never been a narrow, sectarian question, but one of organizing a class response. On the basis of the results achieved in the first phase of the campaign, it became even clearer to us that what was involved in the elections, what we had been trying to get in fighting for a union candidate, was to organize the Workers Vote.

The Workers Vote? Yes, a way for the workers of the city to consciously intervene in the elections as a class, to express their political opposition to Young and Reagan.

This campaign was the first fight in bourgeois elections that we have actually participated in. Thus, we learned a great many new things. We also made some mistakes. But the major thing we learned was that when we intervene in the working class to organize and direct its fight, all things are possible.

Results

In this fight, the Trotskyist Organization/USA distributed over 2,000 brochures and put up over 750 posters calling for the Workers Vote. Three issues of *Truth* appeared during the campaign. The work of International Young Guard/USA took a new leap with the regular publication of its

DAVID HEFFELFINGER, 30, an assembly line worker at GM's Livonia Fisher Body plant, is a socialist who believes Young's bail-out plan favors the banks and large corporations.

"We felt the initial response of the city unions to reject (a wage freeze) was a good one," Heffelfinger said. "But we felt that their fight needed to become political. Coleman Young is working for the other side. His attacks on city workers fit in quite well with Reagan's program, despite his anti-Reagan rhetoric."

Heffelfinger, a member of the Trotskyist Organization U.S.A., a small left-wing party, says he would have solved the city's fiscal crisis by "calling for a general strike against the banks and corporations."



Heffelfinger:
Anti-capitalism

Clipping of coverage on Workers Candidate in September 8 *Detroit Free Press*.

organ. Of these two publications, we have sold almost 200 copies. We have gained half a dozen new subscriptions, and re-subscriptions continue to come in.

At the *Truth* Conference, six unaffiliated militants were present, a figure that surpasses what you can see at meetings of any other Detroit group. In addition, six young fighters have become active in International Young Guard/USA.

What was the basis for these successes? They came about because of the fight for the Workers Vote. For instance, a large number of sales have been to members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has refused to join us in organizing the Workers Vote through a common candidate of our organizations for Mayor (see article this page). As a result, this campaign has helped us become in the last few weeks more of a decisive element in the crisis of the SWP than ever before.

Besides the SWP's candidate for City Council, Elizabeth Ziers, we are calling for workers to vote for Glen Janken, City Council candidate of the Communist Workers Party (whose members were

killed by fascists in Greensboro). This has had an impact on both organizations, and offers further possibilities for building the party.

At the same time, we have opposed a vote for the candidates of the Spartacist League (Andrews-Weekley), because this grouping's sole purpose is to pump Stalinist slander into the working class, going against the very meaning of the Workers Vote. Drive the slanderers out of the workers movement!

Our campaign has enabled us to intervene with a working class fight in the plans of the bureaucracy for "Solidarity Day," openly marching in its Detroit Labor Day parade of 2,500 under the banner of the General Strike.

Nor was it possible for the bourgeois press and media to ignore our fight. Besides the material from *The Detroit Free Press* reprinted on this page, our fight also appeared in *The Detroit News* and on the talk show of the reactionary Kevin Joyce on WXYZ, a major Detroit radio station.

We do not yet know the vote totals, true. But we do know that we are now on the road of building the party and organizing the General Strike.

The SWP and the Detroit Elections

Militants of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have some fundamental questions to think about in terms of their party's attitude toward the fight for the Workers Candidate in the Detroit mayoral elections.

In the June 26 issue of *The Militant*, the newspaper of the SWP, its candidate for Mayor of Detroit, Phil Shannon, stated that the unions should run a candidate: "They could win the election. In the absence of such a candidate, my campaign offers the only real alternative."

On the basis of this call — even though vague — for a union candidate, we wrote a letter to the Executive Committee of the Detroit branch (*Truth* #136) noting 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." We stated our willingness to withdraw our candidate in favor of one nominated by a union. And we posed as the best way to accomplish this a simple proposal to the SWP: "Let us put forward a common candidate in the elections and a common platform."

There was no response to this call. Nor did the SWP branch carry out any practical activity in the city workers' unions.

It thus became clear to us that the real question for the SWP was "its own" candidate. But even this raised even more sharply the necessity for a common candidate of the only two working class organizations on the mayoral ballot, the SWP and us.

Let us restate our position. We believe that given the crisis of imperialism, expressed in sharp fashion in Detroit by the consolidation of the whole bourgeoisie around Young — only crank candidates from the petty bourgeoisie were also running — a single workers candidate would be a powerful pole of attraction. And it could, on the basis of a class fight, come in second in the primary and face Young in the November election.

And let's be blunt: there is virtually no question that the common candidate would have been Phil Shannon, given the existing relationship of forces. Even in the narrowest sense, the SWP had nothing to "lose."

We sent a second letter to the SWP, raising these points clearly. (see *Truth* #137). Again, no answer. Then we sent a representative to the Detroit branch to try to get some kind of response.

Bill Arth, Detroit branch Organizer, stated that the SWP was against a common candidate, that instead we should run our candidate and they theirs. The reason for this was clear: the SWP was against a campaign for the Workers Vote, against using the elections to mobilize workers for political independence. Arth was quite open about the fact that, just as we had feared, the SWP was running a socialist propaganda campaign.

As if to emphasize this, Phil Shannon was quoted in *The Detroit Free Press* article on mayoral candidates to the same effect.

Well, this is not 1958. The revolution is breaking out all over the world. How can we prepare our victory in this growing clash?

Over and over again, we have pointed out that the General Strike is the method that centralizes and develops our fight. On that basis, we have posed to the

SWP a united front for the General Strike. This is not an agreement to both call loudly for something highly desirable, it is a policy for common action to politically organize the power of the workers. That was the point behind our desire for a common candidate in Detroit. In rejecting that, in rejecting the united front, the SWP actually rejects the General Strike, preferring to pretend that this is some static period. And that refusal to face reality is at the center of the SWP's own crisis.

Whatever vote total we and the SWP get, the question is not one of adding up numbers to arrive at what we could have done. Anyone in politics knows that a real fight acquires a dynamic of its own, that the political whole is far greater than the sum of its organizational parts. We believe that a great opportunity has been renounced by the SWP leadership's policy in Detroit. It is time to draw a balance sheet of that; it is time to stand for common action to organize advances for our class, to organize the General Strike.

K.F.

Nazis Defeated by Detroit Mobilization

By FRED VITALE

On August 22, members of the Nazi group, the "SS Action Group," were driven from the stage at Kennedy Square in downtown Detroit by several hundred workers and youth. Their attempted rally was then called off by the police because, as the captain in charge explained, "We cannot insure your safety."

This was a victory in Detroit against the Nazis and the liberal and "friend of labor" Mayor, Democrat Coleman Young, and the City Council, which voted *unanimously* to grant the Nazis a permit to rally.

A conscious attempt by these forces, by the press and TV, to suppress news of this permit fell apart only a few days before the date, thus helping to limit the time to organize.

This victory took place without the only mass working class organizations, the unions, acting at all. Such abstention, like an ostrich burying its head in the sand, cannot continue. The union leadership must be condemned for its failure to even protest the permission given by the Mayor and the City Council, and a mobilization in the unions must be begun, organizing defense guards of thousands of workers as the only answer to the increased use of terrorist gangs by the Reagan regime and its ruling class.

Other major working class organizations, particularly the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was running candidates for Mayor and City Council, did not even issue a press release condemning this action by the City Council, let alone participate in the working class response.

The loud-mouthed slanderers of the Spartacist League likewise found other — and safer — things to do.

Like all victories, this one depended on the relationship of forces, that is, the size, militancy and above all *political organization* of the working class versus the strength of the bourgeois forces, that is, the police and Nazis. And it was in political organization that the working class needs to advance if we are to go forward against the Nazis and even more importantly against who stands behind them, the Reagan government, U.S. imperialism.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA took part in the August 22nd Coalition Against Klan-Nazi Terror, initiated by the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), including as well the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), and the Communist Workers Party (CWP). The Coalition distributed leaflets throughout Detroit calling on workers and youth to join them in demonstrating against the Nazis and to join with us in fighting to win the unions and masses of working people to stop the Nazis.

About sixty militants marched with the Coalition. Other political organizations present refused to have a united working class effort — the Progressive Labor Party-led International Committee Against Racism (INCAR) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

But the political agreement that bound the Coalition, and therefore its authority at the demonstration, was not sufficient

for it to be the focus for organizing the workers and youth against the Nazis and police. For example, there was no mention of Reagan in the Coalition leaflet, that is, no mention of what the Nazis are politically. Secondly, some members of the Coalition, the RSL in particular, have a policy of attempting to stop the Nazis by themselves — denying the political necessity for a mass working class response.

If the Coalition could have had deeper agreement, the entire battle could have been more favorable. The police could have been forced to free those arrested; afterwards a meeting could have been held to develop plans for future activity among all the new people present. For example, at one moment, 30 people surrounded one cop and the militant he was trying to arrest; only because more police came over, and demonstrators did not, was that militant arrested.

Near the end of the battle, 50 young blacks came by on their bicycles, their fists waving. Obviously, they had just learned of the demonstration and had come to fight.

Steve, a young militant from Wayne State University, drew this conclusion: "We need an army." That's right. We need a working class army which can

really organize and lead the force of the working class for the whole battle.

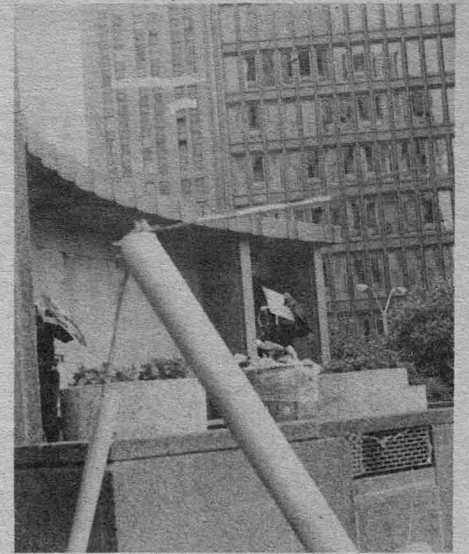
This is what the International Young Guard/USA, U.S. section of the Revolutionary Youth International, which Steve is a member of, is building. An army; world army of the socialist revolution. An army to lead the battle against the Nazis and against the force behind the Nazis — the force that provides them with their money, their inspiration, their rights — U.S. imperialism and the Reagan government. Build an army of the youth to stop the Nazis and bring down Reagan!

Join the International Young Guard/USA!

Nine militants were arrested and others injured in the victory over the Nazis and the Detroit city government on August 22.

Six of these fighters, members of the UAW and of the *Local 600 Organizer* at the Ford River Rouge Plant, as well as members of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), are being defended by the August 22nd Coalition members.

These militants were arrested by the



NAZIS RUN. Fascists cower and flee under hail of objects.

police in *their attacks* on the demonstration.

We demand that all charges be dropped; that these militants be freed.

Funds for defense and letters of support from individuals, organizations and unions are needed. Send them to:

CMDUAW

P.O. Box 1092

Detroit, MI 48231

Send a copy to *Truth*.

The Fight of International Young Guard/USA

Across the world, the youth are active everywhere. The youth and workers are the motor force of the revolution in Poland, Iran and Nicaragua. They lead the struggle in Ireland, France, Spain, the USSR and throughout the Americas.

In all of these struggles for class independence against the ruling class, the Revolutionary Youth International fights for a working class leadership, a revolutionary leadership.

In the USA, heartland of imperialism, the entire Revolutionary Youth International fights through its section, International Young Guard/USA. It is the construction of the American section of the RYI that is crucial to the development of the world revolution. This conclusion is reinforced when one looks to the revolution in Central America.

Yes, we play a critical role throughout the Americas. IYG/USA began organizing a workers boycott of the Bolivian dictatorship, calling on the trade unions to lead the fight to block all support to military dictatorships in Central and South America.

With the development of the revolution in El Salvador, the boycott of the dictatorships took on more urgency and this fight was taken into the meetings of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) in order to engage the anti-draft forces in this work.

It is within CARD that IYG/USA has focused much of its energy, fighting to win youth to the anti-draft movement, fighting for a revolutionary leadership against imperialism — the only direction for this movement to take. Not a movement of compromise or of pressuring U.S. imperialism, but a revolutionary movement where the youth are at the front, fighting for leadership and

their own independent organization.

This has been IYG/USA's perspective in the anti-draft movement. We were one of the few organizations that stood by and fought for the decisions of the CARD Conference last February. We were the only tendency opposed to the restrictive conditions of the CARD Steering Committee meeting last June, on the basis that the conditions for participation isolated entire sectors of the youth and placed obstacles to advancing and building the anti-draft movement nationally and to forging international links.

Great numbers of youth have entered the terrain of the world revolution. This rupture with the old and decayed apparatuses shatters the chains which tie the youth and workers to the policies and methods of the bosses and bureaucrats. At the front of the fight for independent, working class struggle stands the Revolutionary Youth International, World Army of the Socialist Revolution.

This past summer in Detroit, IYG/USA was primarily involved in the campaign for a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit. This campaign represents yet another avenue for the American working class to intervene in the present situation in its own name, to express what is meant by independent, working class struggle. A candidate of the unions against Mayor Coleman Young, one of the most influential Democrats in this country and hatchet man *extraordinaire* for Ronald Reagan.

The youth and workers must take the situation into their own hands!

International Young Guard/USA engages young people in the schools, in the factories, in the streets and fights for

a real leadership to confront the bourgeois state and its police.

But, this fight must be prepared, must be organized. That is why International Young Guard/USA is preparing its Fourth National Congress with a real mobilization in the working class to win fifty young Leninists and by building circles of IYG/USA in Detroit. The masses of youth, who bear no responsibility for the past and have everything within their reach, above all must take the road of the revolution.

Return to Lenin!

Enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution!



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TRUTH

1,362 Votes for A Workers Candidate!

With the total vote unofficially calculated in the Detroit Mayoral primary, David M. Heffelfinger of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, running as a Workers Candidate for Mayor, got 1,362 votes.

That means that over a thousand workers and youth cast their ballot against the administration of Coleman Young, "black liberal" and "friend of labor," who is Ronald Reagan's hatchetman in Detroit. For us, for these workers, this is a victory.

This vote, which represents .87% of the total, also took place in an atmosphere of the deliberate discouragement of voting by all the forces of bourgeois propaganda. In fact, in the last (1977) primary approximately 44% of the registered voters participated, while this year the figure fell to

28.7%. And of this figure fully one-fifth (21.7%) were absentee ballots — organized political passivity by the ruling class.

The candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Phil Shannon, got 1,648 votes (1.06%). There is not a statistically valid difference between his vote and ours. And it also shows two things.

First, that had the SWP agreed to a single common candidate of our organizations (see page 6), even in the simplest numerical terms we would have been in the running. And, as we have pointed out, the real question is not one of arithmetic but of a political mobilization taken up and fought out to the finish. We repeat, a single workers candidate could have come in second, and the SWP has a heavy responsibility to bear for obstructing such a victory.

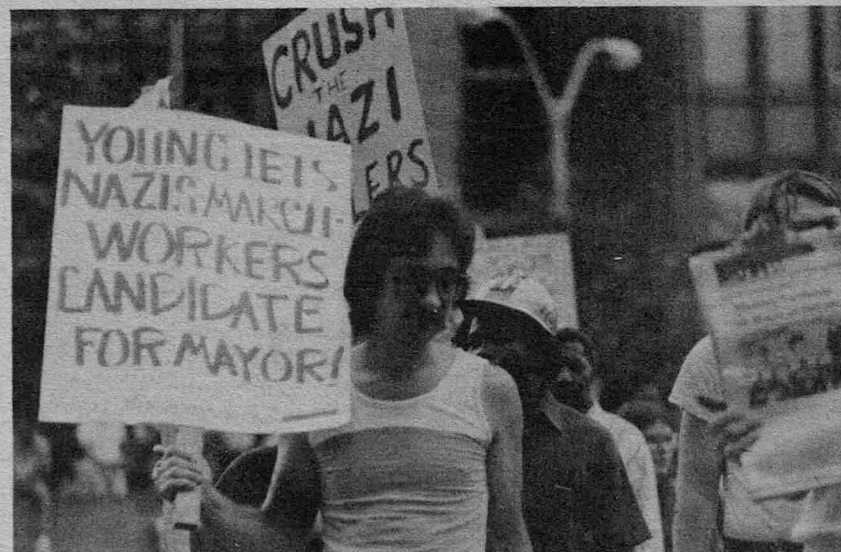
Second, the vote shows that the "big" SWP does not represent a larger force in this city than does the Trotskyist Organization/USA, which our political opponents go out of their way to denounce as "small." Moreover, a good portion of the SWP's vote comes from the tired radicals of Detroit. The SWP is, in a very direct sense, resting on the laurels it once earned as the U.S. section of the Fourth International.

These results show that the Trotskyist Organization/USA has seriously embarked, politically and practically, on the road of the rebuilding of the U.S. section.

We consider these 1,362 votes the basis for a continued advance, as potential recruits to the party. We will not permit these results to be dissipated.

In the general election on November 3, we must continue the fight for a working class political intervention, whether through a write-in or boycott.

TRUTH



WORKERS CANDIDATE. David M. Heffelfinger at August 22 anti-Nazi rally in Detroit.

*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

A Class Fight

Workers! Youth!

No Republicans! No Democrats! No capitalist politicians should speak at the rally on "Solidarity Day"!

The growing movement of the American workers against Reagan must develop its own banner, its own program, its own leaders. The capitalist politicians of the Democratic Party, being forced on us by the trade union leaders, should be driven from the platform with boos, chants, by every means that our forces allow. Such an effort by all workers and youth, and especially all organizations — above all the unions — as well as union caucuses, groups, etc., opposed to the Democrats & Republicans can be an important step in building the General Strike to bring down Reagan. Join us in this battle!

Detroit Election Results

Coleman A. Young	111,800	71.58%
Perry D Koslowski	14,782	9.3%
Patrick O'Hara	14,335	9.18%
Walter V. Espy	4,830	3.09%
Mary Rogers	2,848	1.82%
Phil Shannon	1,648	1.06%
William G. Tinsley	1,497	.96%
Sixto Rodriguez	1,460	.93%
David M. Heffelfinger	1,362	.87%
Wallace R. Serylo	965	.62%
John Savage II	672	.43%



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