

TRUTH

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL No. 143 January 29, 1982 25¢

No Concessions! Workers Party! General Strike!

The Fraser leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) union is going ahead in its attempts to sell the autoworkers, and everything they have fought for and won, down the river.

"Concessions"?

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is not really interested in arguing with anyone who thinks that giving up what has been won will protect it, who thinks that GM will lower car prices, etc.

If you believe that, then we know where

you can get a really good deal on the Brooklyn bridge.

What we are interested in, above all, is discussing how to organize the fight against "concessions" (which is the polite word for attacks), against the Fraser bureaucracy and against the Reagan regime, which is responsible for these attacks. A lot is at stake in this fight. It is not just a question of the autoworkers. A recent headline in *The New York Times* summed it up: "4.5 Million Unionists Face Bid for Concessions" (this year).

Already, the criminal (in every sense of the word) Teamster bureaucrats have signed a contract — that can be rejected only by a *two thirds* majority of the members! — which includes a *wage freeze*, as well as cuts in "cost-of-living."

And what about the workers who don't even have a union? If the organized workers give up what they have won, what are the capitalists going to impose on these workers?

The significance of the autoworkers, of the UAW, lies in the fact that they have the strongest position, the most militant traditions and the best framework in which to fight.

The autoworkers can cut off the profits of a key sector of the capitalist class. If the auto barons don't like low sales, how would they like *no* sales?

The autoworkers are in the union that was built in ferocious class battles, that had nothing given to it. (Read the article on page four about the Flint sitdown.)

And the autoworkers, despite Fraser, still have the most amount of union democracy, of the ability to organize and reject the "concessions" — and to go on from there.

Fraser knows this last point as well as we do. That's why he has been engaging in all the double-talk about new contract/old contract, reopening/not reopening, interim contract/one-year contract, and so

on and so forth.

An important article appeared in the December 15, 1981 issue of *The Wall Street Journal* (the paper that most directly represents the views of the capitalist class).

This article lays out the whole course of Fraser's attempts to get the members of the UAW to accept "concessions."

"As early as last summer," goes the article, "some UAW leaders say that they concluded that the union needed to renegotiate its contracts." That is, their position from the beginning was to save the companies and sacrifice the workers.

But there was a problem: "... union members wouldn't ratify such concessions at the time." The paper quotes one expert: "If (Fraser) had just walked in and said we have to make concessions, they would have lynched him."

And then the article speaks in the naked class struggle terms that the ordinary papers hid: "The layoffs and threats of plant closings gave a stick to the UAW president, Douglas A. Fraser."

To us, to the workers, the layoffs and plant shutdowns are attacks on all our gains. To Fraser and the capitalists they are a "stick" with which to beat us into line.

Can anyone wonder now why the UAW leadership never did anything about those attacks?

Our Response

The secret negotiations with GM, the "sudden" decision of the UAW International Executive Board to "allow" the GM and Ford Councils to "consider" reopening the contract, the hurried convening of the bargaining councils, right down to the latest attempt to make the sell-out right away, all exist in the framework of Fraser's use of the "stick."

We are absolutely opposed to any "concessions." The fact that even local bureaucrats have formed an organization, UAW Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC), shows that there is no rank-and-file demand for "concessions" to "save jobs." In fact, LOC seems to be strongest in the centers of greatest unemployment, Pontiac and Flint, Michigan.

"No concessions" is absolutely correct. But by itself, it is only a negative and defensive slogan. We have to take the offensive!

We think that the only answer, the only way to crush this attack on our gains, to unite *all* workers and unemployed behind the autoworkers, is preparing, organizing and unleashing the General Strike!

The General Strike will preserve our gains and make new ones for us. It can defeat the auto barons, it can defeat Reagan. And it can open up a whole new political situation in this country for the workers.

LOC will never organize the General Strike. It will not happen by itself. In every step of the battle against "concessions" we have to build the leadership, the Workers Party, that can lead it to victory.

That is the perspective that we offer to workers who are ready to fight.

TRUTH



Youth build
a barricade
in Gdansk.

Freedom for Poland!

American workers and youth, what lies are they telling you about Poland now?

One of the best ways to lie is by omission, by not saying what the truth is.

The capitalist newspapers, the capitalist radio and TV, the labor bureaucrats and the people who claim to be revolutionaries are all lying in this way about Poland.

It has faded from the headlines, it has disappeared from the speeches. And so you are supposed to think that nothing is happening.

Could it be that they want you to forget about Poland, that they want to isolate you from your class brothers and sisters, from the things they have to teach you?

But in Poland, in the factories and the schools, in the jails and in the prison camps, the working class is preparing a new offensive.

General Jaruzelski announces that he is negotiating with members of "Solidarity." These people are his stooges, but if you have "crushed all resistance," why do you need to negotiate?

Some of the key leaders are uncaptured, and they are now able to communicate with the workers through a network of couriers that all the secret police cannot stop.

In the factories, the cops watch and watch, but nothing gets produced.

Hundreds of intellectuals and artists openly issue a declaration calling for the end of martial law.

And the word has gone out to prepare in secret for the general strike that will bring down the Stalinist military dictatorship.

One leaflet declared: "Remember, they have only tanks, rifles and batons. We have Solidarity, which is more powerful than all the dictatorships. You haven't won the war yet, Mr. General!"

Why haven't you heard this news? Reagan and Haig, your enemies and the enemies of the Polish workers, say that Russia should leave Poland alone because the problems are "internal Polish affairs."

But the problem is that the Polish workers had to face the Stalinists — Polish and Russian — *alone*. Reagan has cut off food aid to Poland; who

does that help? He is trying to cut you off from "internal Polish affairs." Who does that help?

Our party, the Fourth International, is fighting in Poland, in the U.S. and around the world to break the isolation that the Kremlin and Reagan are trying to impose.

We unconditionally defend the slogan: Freedom for Poland! We will take part in any action in order to advance the defense of the Polish workers and their revolution. Let American labor bureaucrats and Reagan organize a "National Day of Solidarity with Poland." We will be there, fighting for the Polish workers.

The Fourth International has called for the youth of all countries to actively help to break the isolation of Poland. Read more about this on page twelve of this paper.

In addition, we are fighting for a U.S. tour by Solidarity and the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, to bring this struggle right into the U.S.

Freedom for Poland! Because it lays the groundwork for our own!

TRUTH

Special 12-Page Issue

Eighth World Congress Held!

The Party and Its Paper

Our readers can see that, beginning with our last issue, we have made some changes in *Truth*.

First of all, we have increased its dimensions to those of a full tabloid, which we had been planning for some time. Secondly, beginning with this issue, we are changing the way we use our front page. With future issues, we will be making helpful improvements in our typeface and other elements of the way the paper looks.

These changes are important, but they are by themselves only a means to an end: making our paper the organizer of the struggles of the workers and youth in this country.

Fundamentally, this is not a technical question but a political one. It depends on the ability of the party to develop, and of the paper to present, the policy that the struggles require for victory.

The paper, however, cannot just reflect, in a passive or abstract way, this policy. It has to actually carry it into the working class. It has to be, as well, the means through which the policy finds an echo and a response.

In other words, it has to be the chief way through which the party finds a road to the workers and the youth for its policy, through which the party is built among them.

There are no easy answers to solving this problem. Everyone is for the same empty helpful hints: easier words, shorter articles, more "popular" presentation. If that were really the solution, then *Spark* would be a workers newspaper instead of the joke and the insult that it is.

In the last year and more, *Truth* has increasingly found a response and an echo among workers and young people. We are taking steps now, and will take more in the immediate future, to link this advance concretely and organizationally to our paper, so as to make new steps forward.

One key question of being a workers paper, one key political question, concerns the very simple — on the surface — question of the frequency with which the paper comes out.

Tax Breaks for Racists

Only last September the Justice Department proclaimed its undying devotion to "the Federal government's commitment to the eradication of racial discrimination in education manifested both in the Constitution and many Federal statutes and the national policy prohibiting public subsidy of racially discriminatory education institutions, whether public or private."

On January 8 of this year, the Justice Department lifted the 11-year-old ban on tax exemptions for racist institutions, followed by an announcement by Reagan that he had changed his mind again, and that Congress should pass a law denying the racist schools tax exemptions.

It's not that Reagan talks first and thinks later (as the Democrats say), it's that he's driven by forces much larger than his own erratic thoughts and actions. Even the Democrats admit that the so-called "Reagan Revolution" has "really amounted to a counterrevolution" (although they qualify this) "against the established Democratic (and traditional Republican) order." (*Detroit Free Press*, January 20, 1982).

The force driving Reagan is the counterrevolution — against blacks, the poor, and the working class — against all gains, concessions and liberties. We can't conclude that "Reaganomics" is the exception to the rule, it is the rule.

Nor can we conclude that the return of the Democrats, and a lower-paced reduction of the living standard of the working class, is the best blacks and workers can hope for. Those days are



Trotsky reading *The Militant* when it was a revolutionary paper.

In the revolutionary situation, the paper *has* to be a daily, no less. In the pre-revolutionary crisis, it *has* to be a weekly, at least. How else can the paper arm the workers? How else can it build the party in the specific situation?

We believe that in today's situation, the paper has to be at least a bi-weekly. But in recent months *Truth* — for financial and technical reasons — has been published not every two weeks, but every three — and, in practice, even less often.

So this is one immediate battle — to regularize the appearance of the paper, to increase its frequency.

This is not a question just for the members of the Trotskyist Organization/USA. If these questions concern you, then you as a reader can help our *mutual* paper. For instance, you can subscribe. And, after taking this step to make *Truth* a regular part of your struggle,

you can write to — for — the paper, you can make your struggle part of its.

At the Eighth World Congress, we decided that the Trotskyist Organization/USA would be responsible for regularly publishing the English-language paper of the world party, *The Fourth International*.

This is going to be a major step forward for us in the U.S., and for the party wherever English is read.

The first issue of *The Fourth International* will contain, at least, the resolutions and manifesto of the Eighth World Congress itself. It is obvious that this is a question of great importance for all our readers and supporters.

A national paper, an international organ: the American workers and youth need them to give full dimension to their struggle.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

over. Even Reagan admits "the times have changed."

Today, the class struggle has intensified, as shown by the events in Poland, producing a deep crisis in the imperialist regime. Reagan's "coup-like" quality (not dissimilar to the military coup in Poland) in slashing the budget, attacking blacks and the working class can be attributed to the rise of the class struggle and the struggle of the black masses for their rights.

Reagan's face is not red from embarrassment, as his Democratic Party and "left" critics imagine. It's red from intense hatred for blacks and workers. In fact, Reagan himself accepts the outlook of the racist institutions that he gave a tax break to who say racism and segregation is "God's will." (And not just in the U.S., either. Ian Paisley, reactionary Protestant leader in Northern Ireland, is an "honorary graduate" of Bob Jones University, one of the racist schools involved.) But propriety and expediency has made Reagan reverse him-

self under some mumbo-jumbo about changing his decision for tax breaks by leaving it up to Congress. But until when?

Lifting the tax ban for racist schools is no "mistake" — it is entirely consistent with the counterrevolutionary policies of the Reagan administration. The motivation in the first place for the tax ban came about under the Nixon administration as an appeasement to blacks. Now, Reagan sees no reason to go through that kind of peregrinations. The order of the day is the frontal assault.

Our task is not to hope for and help organize the return of the Democratic Party as any kind of solution. "The Lord Giveth and the Lord Taketh Away." The only *lasting* gains will be won in revolutionary combat against the state and its parties, to build the workers party, the party of the working class and oppressed masses for complete liberation from imperialism.

B.P.

Message from PATCO

We are reprinting below a letter we received from a PATCO leader whom we met at the All People's Congress in Detroit.

We are also reprinting part of the statement referred to in the letter. The statement as a whole and its occasion — a candle-light vigil at the White House — reflect the defensive posture the flight controllers have been put in by the betrayals of the union bureaucrats. Nonetheless, the letter and the part of the statement that we selected to reprint show that there has been a very sharp political development among these militants.

Turning the situation around in auto can open the door wide for them.

We note, in passing, that these strikers are from Washington National Airport, where the recent major crash occurred. Reagan has made flying safe, right?

TRUTH

12/15/81

Barbara:

Sorry it has taken so long to answer your letter, but I'm sure you are aware that the "government" has been putting a lot of pressure on us through the court system as of late. Three of the people from the local area were sentenced to ten days in jail Friday and fined from \$500 to \$3000 for exercising their Constitutional right — freedom of speech. They were transferred in chains and leg irons.

We have not given up and thank you very much for your support.

We passed the *Truth* out to the people who attended the cluster (group of locals — *Truth*) meetings . . . the people were impressed with the coverage. After reading some of the so-called "major" news reports it was nice to see fair coverage.

12/19/81

The courts are proceeding with "equal justice for all" . . . we found out that three PATCO people in Dallas, Texas, were sentenced to ninety days in jail, eighteen months probation and \$750 in fines.

Enclosed is a statement we read in front of the White House, Wednesday, December 16, during our candle-light vigil.

Thank you all very much for the support you have given us.

G.
 " . . . The United States is known as a world leader and the recent events in Poland are proof. Our government set out to break PATCO, and now the Polish government, after reviewing the U.S. Government's tactics, is attempting to break Solidarity. Jail the leaders, try to intimidate the rank and file by enforcing unjust laws. Mr. Reagan, your understudy in Poland has been a very good student. He did go one step beyond your actions of bringing in the military . . . he also brought in tanks."

TRUTH: 3-Month Introductory Subscription: \$1

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Fill out this form and send it with \$1 to:
 TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

TRUTH Bi-Weekly Organ of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

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

Subscription Rates: U.S., Canada,
 Mexico: \$1 introductory — six
 issues; \$3 six months; \$6 one year.
 Inquire for all other rates.

Workers Party to Organize General Strike

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

As never before the American working class is looking for an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. The two-party system has trapped the working class in a framework of class collaboration. That is why, only three months after almost four hundred thousand workers and unionists marched on Washington, DC, the trade unions are busy negotiating concessions.

The Bureaucracy

This shows forcefully that the construction of the workers party cannot be achieved by simply following after the movement of the working class. The movement has a leadership, the trade union bureaucracy. It is a badly broken and fractured leadership, yielding now and then to the pressure of the workers for radical solutions, but it is still in place.

Shortly before Solidarity Day, Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO was asked by reporters if the march on Washington wouldn't bring out communists and socialists, and wouldn't this disrupt the march? Kirkland replied that of course Solidarity Day would attract the support of radical tendencies in the working class and that the AFL-CIO had no problem with that.

Such a response should not be surprising. The trade union bureaucracy finds itself between the counterrevolution and the revolution. Finding no middle ground in the present situation, it consciously seeks to blunt the search of the workers for a new leadership by compromising the radical tendencies in the working class, on the one hand, and supporting the blows of the capitalist class and the Reagan government against the workers, on the other.

There is not a tendency in the working class, including the reformist wing of the trade union bureaucracy, that is not calling for a workers party. But the workers party is an explosive question. Because it is through the party, the most advanced and conscious elements of the working class, that the revolution can become a reality in the United States, and not just a problem of Europe or Central America. Every step toward the organization of the class consciousness of the American proletariat is a step toward the organization of the revolution.

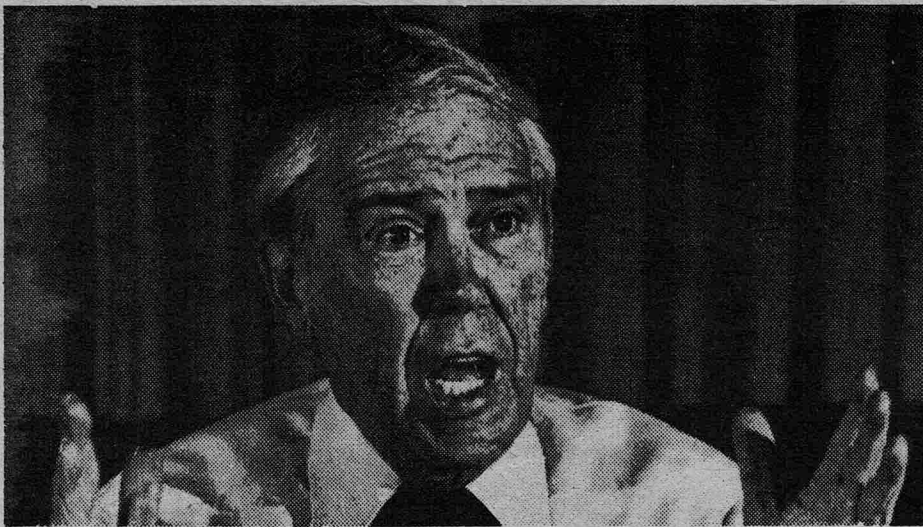
There is a vast difference between calling for a workers party and building it. The actual building of the party is starkly counterposed to the calls for a reformist labor party. The so-called left wing of the trade union bureaucracy that calls for a labor party, the Communist Party (CP/USA), that calls for a third party alternative for the workers, are actually busy building something else — resurrecting the most battered, broken and compromised party around, the Democratic Party.

The nature of the workers party cannot be separated from its objectives. For the bureaucrats and the CP/USA, the objective is the maintenance of present framework of class collaborationist trade unions and imperialism itself. For revolutionaries and radical workers the objective must be the General Strike.

General Strike

The means to open up the revolutionary crisis of U.S. imperialism is the General Strike. For some workers this demand may have the content of a mass action to pressure the Reagan government to moderate its attacks on the working class, for others it is a means to open up the revolution in America, like in Poland.

Irrespective of the demands that the workers raise, the General Strike goes beyond the limits of the "normal" relations between the workers and the bourgeoisie. It openly questions the rule of the capitalist class and transforms the



Douglas Fraser, UAW president, an example of the leadership that needs to be replaced.

potential power of the working class into a moving force. It has been, and it is, the classical beginning of the revolution.

The General Strike has rapidly begun to enter the vocabulary of the American working class. All tendencies in the working class that claim to represent the revolutionary interests of the American proletariat and that want to construct a workers party will, more and more, be forced to orient themselves and swerve to the task of the organization of the General Strike.

In this sense, the perspective of the organization of the General Strike is a weapon against all those currents who present the building of the workers party as a passive, gradual and strictly ideological task.

In the years from 1976 to 1980, the proletariat and the Fourth International had to face, in fact, a vast wave of ideological reaction — from the "Euro-Communist" wing of the Stalinist Communist Parties to the pro-Castroist, pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat of Mandel and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

These years coincided with the exhaustion of the original revolutionary forces that were unleashed among the generation of the working class and youth from 1968. The Fourth International succeeded in maintaining a revolutionary perspective and program against the anti-Leninism and illusions in bourgeois democracy sown by the Stalinists and centrists.

The upsurge of the class struggle in 1979-1980, marked above all by the beginning of the Polish Revolution, placed the battleground for ideological differences in the heart of the class struggle itself. The clarification of the nature and the program of the party for the large mass of workers who have entered into struggle necessarily becomes identical to the imperative necessity to organize the revolution.

The workers party will be built in the course of organizing the confrontations and battles of the working class. These confrontations are not going to wait until the "contract round" in September, 1982, they are here right now. They are present in the attacks of Reagan against radicals, the whole anti-terrorist hysteria. They are present in the concessions which are being organized in every major industry right now.

The splits and fractures in Reagan's own government offer absolutely nothing positive for the working class, for even they are but expressions of the fact that the bourgeoisie is committed to a direct confrontation with the American working class.

Leninism

To the American working class as a whole, *Leninism* is a foreign term, as foreign as the experience of a mass workers party. But even if the mass of workers have not gone through the experience of a workers party, they have

the experiences of their daily struggle to draw on. Unfortunately, even these experiences are insufficient — in the midst of the gigantic class confrontations that are coming the working class will need the experiences of the international workers movement, it will need Leninism.

The trade unions, as presently constituted, are a bad school for the working class. The conditions in the large industrial trade unions nearly resemble those of a dictatorship. The official regime is separated from the workers and functions like a political clique. The adherence to union democracy is formal only, and in some cases not even formal. The recent National Master Freight Agreement that was negotiated by the Teamster bureaucracy needs only 33% of the vote of the union membership in order to pass. In the UAW, where retired members cast a vote equal to that of any worker, the vote of the living is outnumbered by the vote of the dead or near-dead.

Nevertheless, the trade unions are the only *mass* school for the American working class at the present time. It is only natural, therefore, that the struggle to build the workers party take place in the unions, in order for the American working class to bypass this framework of class collaboration that is strangling them.

Such a contradiction — between the tasks with which the unions are confronted and the present framework of class collaboration that the unions are trapped in — cannot be overcome by a sterile presentation of the revolutionary program.

At a recent public meeting of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, a working class tendency, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), insisted on the importance of the transitional program, in order to bridge the gap between the present consciousness of the workers and the revolutionary tasks which the workers are faced with. A young worker gave a very eloquent response to this tendency:

"It's very nice to have the right program and to be raising the demands that the workers need, but how are they going to get them, how are they going to confront the power of the capitalist government with words. We need the General Strike to win these demands."

In order to bypass the trade union framework, it is necessary that the working class forces in the unions be liberated from the "normal" capitalist procedures of collective bargaining, labor-management cooperation, etc. The normal forms of the class struggle, even isolated strikes, are insufficient for abnormal times and class confrontations on the scale that presently exists.

The Workers Party

The fear of breaking from the acceptable and the normal is what Lenin adroitly labeled "tailism."

If the trade unions are a bad school for the workers, then the working class tendencies that trail after the workers are even worse, for they constitute an obstacle to those workers who are beginning to search for radical solutions.

That is why the workers party can be a good school for the workers only if the program and organization of the party correspond to the necessary objectives that can advance the liberation of the working class. In the sphere of organization, too, we can see the "tailism" that Lenin spoke of.

As we said, it is absolutely necessary that the workers party be constructed in the trade unions; obviously this implies the presence of revolutionaries in the unions. But the "tailists" fetishize the form of the trade unions as the form of the construction of the party. Thus the trade union formations of caucuses and fronts become an end in themselves, which seek only to keep the class struggle within the boundaries that it already knows too well — the normal framework of the unions.

The organization of the party must correspond to the organization of the working class, as a class. The trade unions do not, and will not by themselves, undertake this task.

It is for this reason that Lenin insisted on the proper organization of the party. That the party be both democratic, which the trade unions are not, and that it be centralized through its leadership so that it is prepared to engage in actual combat.

In the trade union formations there is neither workers democracy, through which the workers are capable of influencing the direction of the party, from which they are formally separated, nor is there centralization beyond the local trade union scale.

The workers party is based on factory cells, working units that direct and influence the local and partial struggles of the workers, while organizing as a part of the whole party to prepare the class-wide battles which are necessary and imminent. The cells provide the experiences through which the party and every worker in it are educated, and the means through which the program and tactics of the party are tested. The organization of the workers party brings the problems of the working class and its mobilization into the party itself, as elements of preparing the working class for the necessary tasks.

The confrontations between millions of workers, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants in the trade unions, the bureaucrats, on the other, will fracture all the organs and parties of the working class and set loose the working class tendencies that are searching for the means and methods of organizing the revolution.

Whether these regroupments and splits become merely elements of decomposition of the apparatuses of the Stalinist Communist Parties and the centrist currents which live in its shadow, or become positive elements of the construction of a new revolutionary leadership, depends on the ability of the Fourth International to affirm in its program, its tactics and its organization the revolutionary and the class character of the workers party.

The very fact that the American working class has not gone through the experience of a mass party will make the struggle for the construction of the party even more explosive. For the construction of the workers party in America must answer to the attacks that are underway against the most powerful working class in the world, the one which holds in its hands the final destiny of the world revolution.

The Flint Sitdown Strike

Forty-five years ago workers in Flint, Michigan, won a victory that is largely responsible for the existence of the UAW today. The organization and history of the strike stands on its own as one of the most important battles of the American working class. But there are also important lessons for today in the Flint sitdown.

Lessons

First, a word of caution. Many workers have the notion that militant actions like the Flint sitdown spring from out of nowhere. Someone shouts, "shut 'em down," workers throw down their tools, and the strike is on.

But that is simply not the case. The Flint sitdown was just the opposite of such *spontaneism*, it was a model of organization and careful preparation, as you will see.

The Flint strike was the high point of a great struggle of the American working class, but the question of what happened before and what happened after is even more important.

On February 11, 1937, victory was theirs. The strikers of General Motors Corporation's key Flint plant, Fisher Body No. 1, emerged from the plant greeted by thousands of on lookers and supports — workers from as far away as Cleveland. The strikers' wives, who had played such an active role in the strike, all were there to savor this moment of triumph. Waves and waves of workers poured into the lines of the strikers as they marched past Fisher Body No. 2 and on to Fisher No. 4, the taking of which had finally broken the back of General Motors. This army had not only defeated one of the largest corporations in the world, it had also defeated the most conservative leaders of American unionism, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) who, up to the bitter end, had shamelessly collaborated with General Motors, the State of Michigan, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt to break the strike.

And this is where the roots of the Flint strike and the huge movement of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) were sunk. It was a movement born of disgust with the American Federation of Labor and craft unionism — the organization of workers by trades rather than by industries and factories, based mainly on the skilled trades workers. The movement for industrial unionism, of which the Flint strike was perhaps the highest expression, began in a moment of grave danger for the American working class. In 1933-34, it seemed that the American trade union movement was about to die.

In that period, the auto workers gathered together for purposes quite different than those of the victorious celebration in Flint that we have described. Disgusted with the treacherous leaders of the AFL who went along with the attacks on workers rights and living standards, much as the UAW leaders of today do, the workers built great bonfires out of their AFL union cards. It was a moment that we call a "turning point" in history.

In that historical period, the men and women who saw that the unions could be something different than the servile institutions of capitalism that the AFL was, were only a small fraction of the millions of workers that would later swell the ranks of the CIO. And they were communists.

Revolutionaries

It may seem surprising to many workers today, but the movement for industrial unionism, a colossus swelling up of the American working class, never would have been there if not for the Communists and left-wing Socialists including the Trotskyists. The biographer of John L. Lewis, Saul Alinsky, who

was no great friend of communism, wrote that: "... when the AFL smashed the spirit of unionism, it was the left-wingers who zealously worked day and night picking up the pieces ... and putting them together ..."

"When the autoworkers, filled with disgust, built bonfires with their AFL membership cards, it was the left-wingers mainly who kept fighting against the disillusionment and cynicism that swept the workers. It was they who kept organizing and organizing.

"Every place where new industrial unions were being formed, young and middle-aged Communists were working tirelessly ..."

But let the facts speak for themselves as we enter into one of the most exciting periods of the class struggle in the United States.

The tactic of the sitdown or plant occupation was not a product of America.

It is probably impossible to say exactly when and where the first sitdown occurred but there were many such strikes in Europe after World War I, and in America, that preceded the Flint sitdown strike. One of the most important was the Akron rubber workers sitdown in 1936. Joel Seidman, in his book *Sit-Down*, wrote that the Akron sitdown strike possibly had direct influence on the sitdown strike of Polish workers in the Seperit rubber works in Cracow on March 22, 1936. Like the Polish revolution of today, the sitdown strikes that swept the United States in the late thirties had an international significance.

And they had a very profound political significance. In *The Transitional Program*, Trotsky wrote:

"Sit-down strikes, the latest expression of this kind of initiative [of the masses, D.H.], go beyond the limits of 'normal' capitalist procedure. Independently of the demands of the strikers, the temporary seizure of factories deals a blow to the idol, capitalist property. Every sitdown strike poses in a practical manner the question of who is boss of the factory: the capitalist or the worker."

And, there were, of course, obvious tactical advantages to the sitdown. Scabs were automatically out of the picture, the workers did not have to maintain constant picket lines outside the plant since they held the factory from the inside. The sitdown was bolder and more spectacular and therefore commanded greater respect not only from the workers, but also from their enemies. The workers were really in control of their destiny, the very fact that the sitdown required the active 24-hour participation of the workers all in one location put practically all decisions in their hands — not in the hands of the often bureaucratic apparatus of the union. And lastly, the precious machinery of the capitalists was in the hands of the strikers. This proved to be an enormous advantage in the final days of the Flint strike. But even these tactical advantages derived from the fact that the workers had finally crossed the boundaries of institutionalized trade unionism — and we all know what that is today.

Story

The story of the Flint sitdown wouldn't be complete without its cast of characters:

Wyndham Mortimer: a militant trade unionist and Communist Party member who helped organize and led the UAW local at Cleveland's White Motor Company. He undertook the initial work at Flint. Later he was removed by Homer Martin, president of the UAW.

Homer Martin: a compromise candidate elected president of the UAW by the influence of the AFL. Martin was a former Baptist minister and a Kansas City Chevy worker.

Robert Travis: succeeded Mortimer and actually led the Flint sitdown. Mortimer, over the objections of the more conservative leaders of the UAW like Martin, succeeded in obtaining Travis, who was also a CP member, as his replacement.

Genora Johnson: at the time of the Flint strike a member of the Socialist Party's left wing, she organized the Women's Emergency Brigade, a major force in the Flint strike. She later became well-known as a Trotskyist.

Frank Murphy: Democratic governor of Michigan, he was elected, like Roosevelt, as a progressive and "friend" of the workers, and he was supported by the Communist Party (which was then openly beginning to support capitalist politicians).

Twenty thousand Flint autoworkers: those who fought tirelessly many of whom shed their blood, and some of whom died, to organize the UAW.

When Mortimer first began organizing in the summer of 1936 there were less than 100 members of the union in Flint, all the rest having quit in disgust with the AFL. Mortimer succeeded, against GM's elaborate system of spies, in organizing workers door-to-door. It was then that Martin fired him and Travis arrived to continue the work.

Actually GM *wanted* a strike. But it wanted one early before the growing union at Fisher Body was strong and prepared. GM tried to provoke a national strike early beginning in Kansas City, a union weak spot. Later the strike in Kansas City was found to have been started by a Pinkerton detective in the pay of GM. Travis held firm and refused to commit his forces early.

Two weeks after the Kansas City strike, the first actions took place in Cleveland, and two days later at Fisher Body No. 1 in Flint. At the same time the smaller Fisher Body No. 2 went out. The sitdown was on!

Organization inside the plants was strict and effective. Cleanliness and the condition of the plant was the order of the day — each man had to take a "shower a day." The highest authority of the workers was the Supreme Body of 1,200 workers which held two daily meetings. Below this was a five-man strike strategy committee and seventeen Shop Stewards who were responsible for committees: Food, Information, Safety, and a Post Office; an Education Department, which gave labor classes; Athletics and a "Kangaroo Court"; and a "Special Patrol" of sixty-five of the most trusted workers who were on duty twenty-four hours a day.

As production decreased for GM the company made a first attempt to eject the strikers by obtaining an injunction from Genesee County Judge Edward L. Black. The workers wouldn't budge, and later information was given to the press by the union which showed that Black owned \$219,000 worth of GM stock. This was a bombshell.

After this GM organized a vigilante squad of goons called the "Flint Alliance," which was supposedly composed of "loyal workers." The Flint Alliance tried to terrorize the workers and their families.

On the afternoon of January 11, a small group of cops (bulls) intentionally barricaded themselves in the ladies room of Fisher Body No. 2. Within minutes Flint cops and goons from the Flint Alliance arrived to "liberate" the barricaded cops. The Battle of Bulls Run had begun — and in the end the bulls ran. Assaulted with fire hoses and 2-pound door hinges from the workers in the plant, the cops were driven back, but not before fourteen workers were shot, one critically. The wives of the strikers, upon hearing of the attack, ran to the plant to defend their husbands and the Women's Emergency Brigade

was born, led by Genora Johnson.

How Victory Was Won

January 13, Governor Murphy arranged a meeting between GM and the UAW that led to an agreement for the workers to evacuate the plant in return for the beginning of collective bargaining. The workers and the leaders in Flint didn't like it, but they prepared to honor the agreement when on January 17, one day before the evacuation was to take place, GM announced that it would bargain with the Flint Alliance. When the proposal was made to remain inside Fisher No. 1, a great cheer went up. The strike was still on.

GM began organizing beatings by vigilante squads — the Flint Alliance was whipped up to a frenzy and attacked union officials. Finally GM managed to reopen several of its plants in other parts of the country. The strike was in a desperate moment, a counter-offensive had to begin.

Travis organized it. The capture of Chevy No. 4 is one of the most stirring moments of the Flint strike. Half the GM workers in Flint worked in the Chevy No. 4 plant. It was supposedly "impregnable." By a daring plan and military organization, Travis and the Flint workers organized a decoy action at Chevy No. 9, which proved to be a bloody battle in itself. While GM moved all its forces over to Chevy No. 9, a small group of strikers captured Chevy No. 4.

GM tried everything to get them out. Governor Murphy proclaimed martial law and called in the National Guard, threatening to attack at whatever cost.

On February 11, 1937, GM gave up. The workers had threatened to dismantle all of GM's precious machinery and "fight to the death." It was too much for the auto giant.

The effects of unionization at Flint were far-reaching. Less than two weeks after the Flint strike, United Press International estimated that nearly 30,000 workers were sitting down across the country. By March 3 there had been forty-seven victorious sitdown strikes in Detroit.

The Party

The Flint strike was a victory, but there remains the question of what happened afterward, how could this movement be stopped from going "all the way" and uprooting the very foundations of capitalist power, organizing the conquest of state power by the workers.

The answer is that despite the fact that the Communist Party played an important role in organizing the CIO, the CP as a whole was thoroughly Stalinized. Stalin's policy of seeking an alliance with the imperialists against Hitler — the popular front — was mirrored in the USA by the CP's support to the Democratic Party and Roosevelt, as well as in supporting bosses' candidates like Governor Murphy. All of this in the name of a progressive alliance. There is nothing "progressive" about crossing the class line.

Because of this, the American working class was deprived of the one thing that could have continued the massive upsurge of the CIO and the Flint strike — a Workers Party.

The trade unions today remind us only of the class-collaborationist AFL that the workers left in droves in the thirties. But the problem today is not to build another union, the problem is to build the party, the workers party, that can organize the break of the trade unions from the bosses' grip and win workers power. It is certain that the sitdown strike will be a weapon in this struggle once again.
D.H.

Why the SWP Won't Defend Poland

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK.

"To all nations and people of good will who value the cause of democracy, freedom and workers rights:

At the risk of their lives and personal freedom, despite the Draconian orders of martial law, despite the attempts to fetter us with fear, hundreds of thousands of Polish workers and patriots went on strike, voicing the following demands:

— that the declaration of a state of war be revoked;

— that all those arrested be freed;

— that all democratic and union rights won by the nation in August be restored.

We appeal to you:

Support us in our struggle with mass protests. Support us with moral aid. Do not stand idly by while democracy in the heart of Europe is in danger of being stifled at birth. Be with us in these difficult moments. Solidarity with Solidarity. Poland has not yet perished."

So reads the appeal issued by the strike committee in the port and shipyard of Szczecin (Stettin), Poland, on December 14, 1981, the day after the Stalinist coup d'etat.

It would seem that this was very simple and straightforward. Any worker or young person who had any spirit would want to respond to this appeal.

Defend Poland!

But one organization in the United States, an organization that claims to be Trotskyist and to be on the side of the Polish workers, has gone out of its way not only to refuse to do anything that the appeal asks, but to urge others not to do anything either.

This organization that is standing idly by is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). It has given a whole series of reasons for its refusal to defend the Polish workers in action, but these in reality are not reasons, but rationalizations. They are excuses for a policy that, despite all the SWP's claims, is counterposed to defending the Polish workers and their revolution.

The SWP's position is that the cause of Poland has been seized upon by the imperialists for an "anti-communist binge." Further, that demonstrations that have occurred have had reactionary and pro-American slogans. And, finally, that the activities engaged in by the trade union bureaucrats in defense of Solidarity really reflect their character as a pro-imperialist layer.

These are excuses, and transparent ones at that.

When the Hungarian Revolution was crushed by the Kremlin, when Czechoslovakia was invaded, imperialism was no less eager to take advantage of it. Demonstrations that the SWP supported and participated in had their quota of reactionary elements. But that did not stop the SWP — then.

And as for the sudden discovery that the trade union bureaucrats are pro-imperialist, this illuminates very clearly the SWP's evasions on the defense of Poland. It didn't draw attention to this characteristic when it told the American workers these same bureaucrats could build a "labor party," when it called strikers who opposed them "ultraleft."

This point is made even clearer by an almost unbelievable remark made in the SWP's paper, *The Militant* (January 1, 1982). In an article entitled "Rightists Flood AFL-CIO Poland rally," writer Suzanne Haig concludes by noting: "Among the various capitalist politicians speaking were Senator Daniel Moynihan and Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein."

Well, shame and fie upon them! Imagine that, says the SWP, a supposedly pro-worker rally with capitalist politicians present! It seems like a dream — was it? — that the SWP, the very same SWP, has for years and years and years eagerly sought out capitalist politicians to speak at

anti-war rallies, in defense of all kinds of good causes.

Isn't Ramsey Clark a capitalist politician? But the SWP worked with him to "defend the Iranian Revolution." Wasn't Vance Hartke a capitalist politician? But the SWP physically defended him during the anti-war movement from attacks by "ultralefts."

It would seem that this question of "capitalist politicians" is a very conditional one. It would seem that if the cause is a good one, you can work with them. And if it isn't a good one, then you condemn their presence.

Real Position

What the SWP is really saying, behind all the evasions and the suddenly discovered principles, is that the defense of the Polish workers is a bad cause.

This position of the SWP marks a new stage in its crisis. At the recent convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), its youth group (see article on page eleven), part of the oppositions that have been produced by this crisis denounced the leadership's position, saying that: "The SWP/YSA is rejecting the idea of doing anything at all besides selling the press" in order to defend Poland.

As we have seen, this press isn't doing much "defense," either.

The official position of the SWP leadership is to refuse to participate in any active defense of Poland, counterposing to this "getting out the truth," by which it means opposing Reagan's so-called "hypocrisy" and making speeches in SWP forums (to which nobody comes) about the "lessons" of the Polish revolution.

This purely passive and evasive policy reflects the contradiction which the SWP is in. It claims to be a Trotskyist party, but in reality it is increasingly subordinated to Stalinism.

The particular focus of this subordination is Castro. Everyone knows that Castro supports the coup in Poland, but you'd never know it from reading *The Militant*. This paper always reprints Fidel's latest thought, but the latest issue reaches back into the archives for a 1962 declaration on "peaceful coexistence."

Likewise, the SWP claims the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua has built a "workers and farmers government." But the SWP never mentions that *Barricada*, the paper of this "revolutionary proletarian leadership," hailed martial law as the "salvation" of Poland. Of course, it was under orders to stress "positive aspects like the re-establishment of stability, tranquility and calm."

This real subordination to Stalinism, this support of those whom it supports, are what really make the SWP unable to achieve a position of class independence from imperialism.

We have dealt in *Truth* in our last two issues with the hue and cry raised by the SWP about the threat of U.S. invasion of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, etc. We said that this was a function of the negotiations going on between Stalinism (through Castro) and imperialism over the fate of the revolution in Central America. We said that the SWP was trying to use the American working class and youth as a bargaining chip in its deal with imperialism.

But we should have added that this hue and cry, these negotiations, were also part of the preparation for the coup d'etat in Poland, a global *quid pro quo*.

Today, imperialism is indeed trying to use Stalinism's difficulty in Poland for its own purposes. It is continually trying to force the Stalinists into new capitulations.

In the Americas, this means that Castro — and those who depend on him — will be put under pressure to yield even more in their bargaining over El Salvador.

In fact, the capitulations of Castro and Co., which the SWP is covering up for,



Scene of confrontation between Polish workers and police.

will actually help imperialism to actually mount an eventual military intervention in Central America.

The best way to cripple Stalinism in these capitulations, and thus the best way to deprive imperialism of any gains, is precisely to take up the active defense of the Polish workers. That is the road to class independence, not sectarian-appearing retreat and refusal to fight.

Why No Defense

The oppositions that have emerged in the SWP/USA have as their best-known leaders the long-time SWP National Committee member Nat Weinstein and party leader George Breitman. These people's very abstract and purely formal opposition to the SWP's *unconcealed* subordination to Stalinism naturally takes shape clearly around the question of Poland.

In reply to part of the opposition, *Intercontinental Press* co-editor Steve Clark makes the following revealing statement in the SWP discussion bulletin: "We do not believe that the Cubans' position on Poland is the acid test of its revolutionary fiber (sic — K.F.) . . . The NC (National Committee) resolution approaches the leadership of the Solidarity movement in the same way. We don't hold up its position on Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, or elsewhere in the colonial revolution as the acid test of its qualities."

So Castro doesn't defend Poland? Well, Solidarity doesn't defend Cuba either. So, Castro really is no worse than Solidarity.

Suzanne Haig, whom we have already quoted, chimes in: "While exaggerating the significance of Cuba's weakness on Poland, they (the oppositions — K.F.) have nothing to say about the Polish Solidarity leaders' weakness on Cuba . . . Should we conduct a . . . campaign around Solidarity's weakness on the nature of bourgeois democracy and imperialism?"

Two things are clear from this. First, that the SWP leadership has long had a different internal line on Poland than the one it peddled to workers. Second, that it is now indeed "conducting a campaign around Solidarity's weakness on the nature of bourgeois democracy and imperialism." This campaign is called "getting out the truth" and it takes the form of denouncing, sabotaging and boycotting any defense of the Polish workers.

The photograph on this page, of SWP opposition leader Nat Weinstein marching in a pro-Poland demonstration in which

reactionary signs are visible, was reproduced by the Kremlin-stooge "Spartacist League" youth in a leaflet for the YSA Convention.

Weinstein, you see, before formal discipline was imposed apparently, took part in the "anti-communist binge." So, "Spartacist" says, the SWP is being inconsistent. It recognizes that the defense of Poland is "anti-communist" (in action), but it won't come out and denounce "Solidarnosc counterrevolution" and support the Stalinist coup.

This "inconsistency" is a reflection of the SWP's crisis, of its past in conflict with its present. This is what has produced the oppositions. "Spartacist" has no contradiction, no oppositions, no past and no future.

If troubled SWP/YSA members want to really solve the problem of their leadership's position on Poland, to get to its political roots, they are going themselves to have to do two things: actively take up the defense of the Polish workers, including the preparation of the Hamburg Rally in the U.S., and study the history of the fight for the Fourth International.

The SWP broke with this fight in 1963, once and for all. The fruits of this are obvious today around Poland.

"Poland has not yet perished," but what about the honest militants in the SWP/YSA?

Now Available!

The Truth About Castroism

**A Centrist Apology
for Stalinism**

Send 50¢ for each copy to:

TRUTH
PO Box 07066
Detroit, MI 48207

Report from the Eighth World Congress

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

In January the Fourth International held its Eighth World Congress in France, just two weeks after the revolutionary confrontation between the Polish workers and Jaruzelski broke out.

Nature of the Congress

This Congress was prepared by conferences of sections in the U.S., Spain, France and Sweden which discussed the Theses preparing the Congress and elected delegates. The Polish section also held a conference in Warsaw, just two weeks before the coup d'état, which discussed the Theses and elected its delegates.

Delegates were present from the U.S., Spain, France, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and Finland and the International Committee of the Fourth International. Delegates from Poland who were unable to reach the Congress because of the coup were elected as honorary members of the Presidium. Guests came from Bolivia, Peru and Poland.

The militants from Bolivia and Peru addressed the Congress and asked that the groups they represented be recognized as sections of the Fourth International. A former member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in the U.S. sent greetings to the Congress expressing his support for the Fourth International. And Victor Fainberg, leader of SMOT, the free trade union in the Soviet Union, addressed the Congress.

Fainberg said he thought the Fourth International was different from any other party he had had contact with, because it had dealt honestly with the militants of the free trade unions from the USSR, while the other had tried to exploit them. And he said that while he had differences with the Fourth International, that at this point what we have in common — a desire to defend the Polish Revolution against the Kremlin — is more important.

This growth of the Fourth International, particularly in Eastern Europe and Latin America, is the result of the turn undertaken by the Seventh Congress, toward the masses, toward the formation of the new, revolutionary leadership of the working class in a large and open struggle against imperialism and Stalinism.

The Congress affirmed the correctness of this struggle, above all in face of the new situation opened up by the revolutionary confrontations in Poland.

The Congress declared — in opposition to all the others who are already writing obituaries for the Polish Revolution — that the confrontation in Poland is not the end. It is the beginning.

"It is the first great and decisive battle of the European Revolution," said Gerard Laffont, reporter for the Commission on the Central Resolution.

Build the Party

The Congress determined that now more than ever the outcome of this con-

frontation depends on the construction of the new, revolutionary leadership of the working class on an international level.

This was not simply a ritualistic affirmation of the Trotskyist "line." Delegates demonstrated how this was an immediate question. Comrades from the U.S. spoke of how mobilizations in defense of Poland had been blocked by the Socialist Workers Party and others like them who said they were "afraid" of being identified with Reagan's "anti-communist propaganda binge." Comrades from Spain and Poland spoke of the crisis of the Communist Parties and how winning the working class wings of these parties can mean the destruction of the Stalinist apparatus and thus the defeat of the Kremlin's tanks. Comrades from France spoke of pseudo-Trotskyist parties like the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) whose members wore their Solidarnosc buttons under their coats when they went to a Stalinist-led demonstration.

Thus the Congress resolved to build this new leadership, to make this the objective of every working class and youth mobilization, in opposition to the Stalinist apparatus, as the only way to defend Poland, to make sure that Poland won't be another Czechoslovakia, that this time the tanks won't pass.

"We have to make the construction of the party an immediate practical question for the workers in their mobilization," said Ernesto Boada, also a member of the Commission on the Central Resolution.

And the Congress also resolved to combat all the tendencies within the International which remain an obstacle to this struggle, above all what it defined as a *sectarian* tendency.

In saying that the International must make the construction of the new workers' leadership the objective of every mobilization, delegates rejected a certain two-stage theory of the construction of the party. According to this scenario, which is very common in working class organizations, the party initiates a large struggle around some question and then by virtue of the authority that it gains through this struggle, or with the help of propaganda and "contact work," recruits to its ranks. Fortunately, or unfortunately, in reality this does not happen. Many delegates who intervened termed this a *spontaneist* conception of the construction of the party.

What Is the Struggle?

In discussing the problem of sectarianism, delegates defined it in a way that is accurate, but in a way that will be new for many militants. Sectarianism is not simply refusing to be involved in the struggles of the masses of youth, workers and militants whose organizations are in

crisis. Sectarianism is refusing to build the party in these mobilizations. Sectarianism is refusing to make the construction of the party an immediate conclusion of the concerns of these people. Sectarianism is making the party something not for the workers, but something just for its own membership.

The entirety of the Congress was an effort to clarify and concretize these understandings. This developed in different ways over different questions.

The Congress began with a debate over the nature of the situation in Poland and the tasks of the International. Some comrades thought that our task was to "reconstruct the committees of Solidarnosc." But the majority of delegates rejected this position.

In the first place, because the problems of Poland cannot be resolved within the borders of Poland itself. They require an international struggle. Second, because such a position is too defensive. Solidarnosc has not been crushed. Jaruzelski's coup has failed. The real enemy is the Kremlin. And thirdly, because the *reorganization* of Solidarnosc, not reconstruction of Solidarnosc, requires the construction of the new leadership on an international scale and in Poland, the Revolutionary Workers Party of Poland. The Congress decided that this must be our immediate objective.

There was also a debate about whether to put forward the slogan "Freedom for Poland" or the slogan "Freedom for the Polish Workers."

Some delegates opposed "Freedom for Poland" because they thought that this might allow the party's struggle to be identified with imperialism. Most comrades argued that this was false.

They argued that imperialism is not for freedom for Poland, that Reagan's measures are designed to isolate Poland from American workers and reinforce imperialism's struggle against the revolution in Central America. Many delegates characterized this position as defensive vis-a-vis the Stalinist apparatus and sectarian vis-a-vis the millions of youth and workers who want national independence for Poland. This will be all the more important as the failure of Jaruzelski's military coup means that the Kremlin will have to send its tanks into Poland.

Discussion

A very interesting and difficult debate took place over exactly what action the International should develop to centralize its struggle to build a new leadership.

Two different actions were proposed: a march on Poland for Freedom for Poland and a rally in Berlin for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Advocates of the first argued that with such a march we could involve the greatest number of forces and then in the course of this mobilization build the Revolutionary Youth International.

Advocates of the second argued that in order to build the Revolutionary Youth International it is necessary to convince youth that to get Freedom for Poland you need the Socialist United States of Europe.

Some people said that the two weren't counterposed and proposed to have first the march and then the rally.

In the end the Congress rejected all three positions. Delegates argued that the new leadership couldn't be constructed spontaneously as the advocates of the march envisioned it. The problem with the second proposal was that it wouldn't really permit the party to enter into the movements for freedom for Poland and deal with their concerns and the crises of the organizations present within them. The third proposal simply combined the two, envisioning the construction of the leadership taking place spontaneously in a



Polish workers overturn a police van

second stage of the mobilization.

Thus the Congress decided to launch a political struggle for Freedom for Poland for the Socialist United States of Europe for the construction of the new revolutionary leadership of the working class as the only means to realize these aims.

It decided to centralize this struggle in a March on Gdansk which brings together all those who want to build the new leadership and confront the Stalinist apparatus with a Rally in Hamburg, Germany, as the first stage of the march.

This we envision as the massive basis for the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International and its next Congress.

The Congress also decided to launch a struggle for a Trotskyist Congress to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International. This was put forward by the American delegation as the best means to intervene in the crisis of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. and to make a great step forward in the construction of the Workers Party.

The Road Forward

In the discussion on Organization, the Commission on the Organizational Resolution insisted that the party had to turn toward the masses, to open the doors of the party to the workers and make the International into a real workers organization. It was decided to make *The Fourth International*, the organ of the International Executive Committee, into a bi-weekly published in English, Spanish, French and Polish. A resolution was also passed insisting that the publication of each section must be at least monthly. Here again the real meaning of the struggle against sectarianism was brought to the fore, for some comrades in taking up this struggle thought that this meant getting involved in all sorts of initiative putting the publication and distribution of revolutionary propaganda into a secondary place. The Congress rejected this position and insisted on the reverse.

The Congress concluded with the discussion and adoption of a Manifesto that expressed the decisions and aims of the Congress in a popular form, and with the election of a new leadership to carry out the decisions of the Congress.

Like the conflict in Poland, the Eighth World Congress constitutes not an end but a beginning. It defined the fundamental task of the working class and

JUST PUBLISHED!

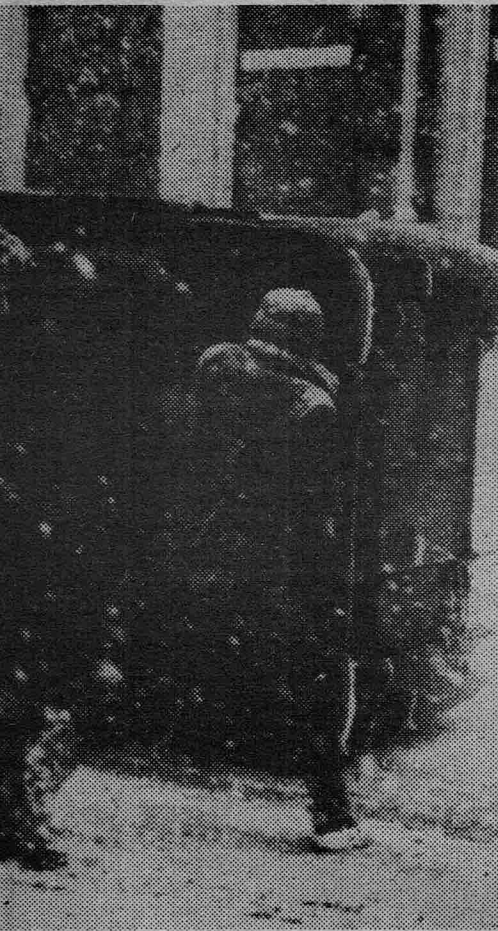
**What does the RYI Want? What is the RYI?
A World Army of the Socialist Revolution!**

**Order your copy of this new pamphlet on the
Revolutionary Youth International and its fight.**

Send \$1.00 (75¢ plus postage and handling) to:

**International Young Guard/USA
P.O. Box 07066
Detroit, MI 48207**

A Polish Worker Speaks



burning it.

party: the construction of the new revolutionary leadership of the working class in the mobilization of the working class. It advanced initial ways to accomplish this, the political struggle to show that the outcome of the struggle for freedom for Poland depends on building this new leadership, and an action to centralize this struggle, the March on Gdansk and the Rally in Hamburg.

But this struggle is by its very nature an ongoing one. Thus, the Eighth World Congress opened up an opportunity and a challenge to all working class organizations and militants — to make the construction of the new leadership, of the party, an immediate practical question in every mobilization.

Jaruzelski's coup d'etat in Poland has demonstrated in a brutal way that it is not possible for the working class to maintain and develop its rights and freedoms under the systems of imperialism and its Stalinist agent.

The working class has to establish its own power.

At the same time this coup d'etat has demonstrated that the working class cannot develop and establish its power in a gradual fashion, with a loose, heterogeneous leadership.

Where is the Walesa leadership today? Where is the KOR?

No. A centralized party is necessary to meet the centralized power of the state — be it the imperialist state or the Stalinist, bureaucratic state.

The same lesson is being brought home in the auto industry today.

Doug Fraser fears a confrontation with Reagan, the banks and the Big Three. He hopes against hope that it will be possible to avoid a confrontation. In the interests of avoiding a confrontation, he makes concession after concession to the exploiters and tries to channel the energies of the workers into electing Democratic politicians, with whom he thinks he can work out a peaceful solution.

This orientation will only place the

We are printing below an interview with Stefan Palka, a member of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), section of the Fourth International, and a leader of Solidarnosc in the coal-mining region of Silesia.

The interview speaks for itself, but in this introduction we would like to bring out clearly the question of the party, of the Fourth International.

Some militants and organizations see the struggle of the RLRP and recognize that it *alone* has put forward a Trotskyist program for the Polish Revolution. In this interview, they can see the caliber of the militants who make up our party and the fight that this reflects.

So they are very interested in the RLRP and in our positions on Poland.

In the same way, in 1974-75, at the time of the end of Francoism, many militants were interested in the PORE (Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Espana/Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain), our section there.

But they were then, and are now, missing the point.

For these militants and organizations, the existence of a national party with a revolutionary policy appears in a total vacuum. They cannot draw the conclusions for their own activity.

Do they think that somehow we incurable "Vargaites" hooked up by sheer luck with some "good people" in one or another country?

After all, the Trotskyist Organization/USA is, to say the least, a little "unrealistic"; it doesn't understand the "American question."

What is the reality?

The PORE (which remains illegal today in Spain, because it alone of all the groups claiming to be Trotskyist would not adapt its statutes to the demands of the Francoist monarchy), the RLRP and the TO/USA have one fundamental characteristic in common.

They were built as sections of the International, not as independent national parties which have some sort of mutual non-aggression pact.

workers in the worst possible position when such a confrontation does come. And such a confrontation is inevitable in auto, just as it was in Poland, because the interests of the exploited and the exploiters, of the oppressed and the oppressors, are diametrically opposed.

Once again in auto, just as in Poland, a centralized party is necessary to meet a centralized power — Reagan, the banks, the "Big Three."

The Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International decided to deepen its struggle to build this party on the international level and in every country.

And once again this requires money, and lots of it. Thus the Congress decided to make an ongoing struggle to make all sympathizers of the party into contributors to the Workers Fund for the International.

There are many readers of *Truth* and sympathizers of the Fourth International in the U.S. who have not yet made a pledge to the Workers Fund for the International.

Is this because they think on one level or another that the party is going to build itself, that it doesn't need their active support and participation?

Nothing could be farther from the truth. As one delegate after another

The Fourth International was rebuilt as an international center, as a leadership that develops its national policy on the basis of its global policy.

Two years before the Polish Revolution began, French members of the Pabloite United Secretariat said that calling for the party of the political revolution in Poland was "magical incantations." But that was our perspective. Who was "unrealistic"?

We have said that the perspective for the United States is the General Strike. Please don't come around some months from now and tell us our policy — for the U.S. — really interests you.

TRUTH

Q. What would you tell American workers to do about the situation in Poland?

A. We have to fight against the official declarations of Reagan about "help" to Poland (that is, cutting off food aid, etc.), because if we adapt to this, only the working class will suffer, not the junta and not the Communist Party.

Q. What were your political views before August 1980?

A. I was a non-political worker. I felt only immense ties with my class and the necessity of changing its situation. I formed my political opinions in confrontations with the Stalinist bureaucrats before August, and afterwards I found the real picture of communism, of the necessary changes and of what Stalinism did to our conditions for decades.

Q. How did you come into contact with our party; why did you join?

A. During my political evolution, I came across the Fourth International in a meeting in Silesia. And with political struggle with these comrades, it provoked in my mind a development toward the Fourth International. Especially important to me were its close ties to the workers' protest, its clear position that power was the goal, and that the Polish Revolution would develop as part of and as a key to the world-wide proletarian revolution.

Q. What was your role in Solidarnosc?

A. I have already answered this in the short biography we prepared.

(We reprint this biography in this

space.)

Born January 15, 1951, into a working class family. After finishing school, began in 1970 as a miner in the mine "Manifest Cipcowy" in the city of Jastrzebie in the Silesia region; it had nine thousand miners.

In August 1980, led strike of miners, winning the majority of mines and factories to the strike. Elected vice-president and then president of the MKR (inter-factory workers committee of Solidarnosc). Tried to unite the workers movement of all of Silesia.

After the unification of regional inter-factory committees, was elected president of this body for all of Silesia.

As a result of political maturation, becomes sympathizer and then member of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), section of the Fourth International.

In summer of 1981, elected delegate to general assembly of workers' representatives in Silesia, preparing the first Congress of Solidarnosc.

The Stalinist coup occurred while he was in France, preventing him from returning to Poland.

He feels that he needs more experience in and direct observation of the world workers movement, so as not to make the same mistakes in the future as were made in Poland.

Q. What is the specific situation in your mine?

A. Before I left the country, I developed a fight around the question of the party. We had many sympathizers.

Today, all we know from unofficial sources is that my mine was on strike for two weeks after the coup. We don't know who the leader was, but we know they fought.

We don't know the exact methods the Stalinists used at my mine, but we do know that at one nearby mine, they flooded the shaft, forcing the miners up. Then they shot the leaders as they came out. They also shot the soldiers who wouldn't shoot the workers.

Jaruzelski's Coup and the Workers Fund for the International

fought to clarify in the Eighth World Congress, the construction of the party does not take place, spontaneously, in the mobilization.

We ask all readers of *Truth*, all sympathizers of the Fourth International in the U.S. to make a pledge to the International Workers Fund now.

This is not a question of doing the "right thing" for "the cause," of sharing

the burden, or any other such moral considerations. Making a pledge to the Workers Fund is a conscious, political act, a decision to help build the international party of the revolution.

A centralized party to meet a centralized power!

Pledge to the Workers Fund for the International!
M.G.

I want to make a regular pledge to the International Workers Fund, in order to build the party of the Polish Revolution. My pledge is for \$ _ on a monthly, weekly basis.

I want to contribute to the IWF by buying the button(s) checked below. All buttons \$1.00 each.

- Solidarnosc
 We Are All Polish Workers
 Poland Won't Be A Czechoslovakia
 Todos Somos Obreros Polacos
 General Strike!

Name _____
 Address _____ City/State/Zip _____
 Pay/Send To: Truth; PO Box 07066; Detroit, MI 48207

"Spartacist," Poland and Slander

Everyone knows that the "Spartacist League" has cheered on Jaruzelski's coup d'etat in Poland, announcing that the "counterrevolution" had been spiked. "Spartacist" advances a whole series of what it presents as political arguments to justify its support to the repression of a workers movement, to the jailing and killing of workers leaders.

Slanders

But these arguments are not political at all. They are *slanders* pure and simple. And anyone who writes such lies knows they are lies. These lies are part of the whole barrage of lies and slanders and "disinformation" that forms the arsenal — outside the tanks — of the Kremlin, the chief agency of imperialism in the workers movement.

"Counterrevolution" says "Spartacist." But in reality, the Polish workers were fighting to take the socialist conquests under their own control, to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucrats. They were heading toward the victory of the political revolution, which people like "Spartacist" — which for its own reasons claims to be Trotskyist — are supposed to be for.

"Pilsudskiite anti-Semitism," accuses "Spartacist." It says the Polish nationalist KPN (quoting as its source *The Wall Street Journal!*), is "tainted with a history of anti-Semitism." It is even conceivable that "Spartacist" is unaware of who the real anti-Semites are in Poland? Is it unaware that General Moczar, on behalf of the Stalinist party, organized a pogrom against "Zionist-Trotskyists" after the student movement of 1968? Is it unaware that the KPN's "history" is that Leszek Moczulski, its leader, was associated with Moczar before forming the KPN? Is it unaware of the existence of the Grunwald Forum, which sprang into being last year to accuse Solidarnosc of being run by Jews? Is it unaware that Stefan Olzowski, another Moczarite, is at Jaruzelski's right hand today? Is it unaware of the anti-Semitic propaganda being unleashed by the junta in Poland today in order to try to divide the workers' resistance?

Of course it is not unaware! It is peddling the big lie; it is spreading *disinformation*.

"Solidarnosc: Company Union for CIA and Bankers," lies the pamphlet of "Spartacist." Can it possibly be that it doesn't know that it has been the bureaucrats it supports who have put Poland in hock to the imperialist banks to the tune of 28 billion dollars? Can it possibly be that it doesn't know that it was the Polish bureaucrats — with the support of the Kremlin — that applied for membership in the imperialist-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF)? Can it possibly be that it doesn't know that both Hungary and Rumania (also both in debt to the banks) have applied for membership in this same IMF — without any help from Solidarnosc? It hasn't mentioned these unpleasant facts.

Of course it knows all this. But when you're out to do the Kremlin's work, the last thing you're concerned with is the truth.

Political Revolution

"Spartacist" is an aide-de-camp of the Kremlin in attempting to slander, isolate and crush the growing political revolution in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Anyone who can see can recognize this fact. And this fact can shed light on another one.

"Spartacist," as we have said, claims to be Trotskyist, to stand for the political revolution. In particular, it claims that it supports the Hungarian Revolu-

tion of 1956, counterposing it to the Polish Revolution of today.

Let's examine this claim. The first problem is that in 1956 the same forces — imperialism, the Catholic Church, the Stalinists, reactionary emigres, Workers World — presented Hungary as a pro-imperialist counterrevolution! Then as now, Michael Harrington was calling for "democracy" — Western-style.

The only one who's changed his "position" is "Spartacist" leader James Robertson.

Just a fluke of history? We don't think so. We think that "Spartacist" has been in practice opposed to the Hungarian Revolution for many years.

Our readers know that beginning in 1972, in order to try to destroy the Fourth International, the French OCI of Pierre Lambert embarked on a slander campaign against our comrade Michel Varga, accusing him of being a "KGB-CIA agent." In particular this campaign was aimed at destroying the Eastern European sections that the Trotskyists

Lambert-Moreno Split

"Another one bites the dust." Another unprincipled regroupment has been torn apart.

In this case, it is the "Fourth International (International Committee)" — and the quotation marks are not ours but those of its creators, as if they were conscious that the whole thing could only be regarded ironically — centered around the French OCI of Pierre Lambert and the Latin American groups dominated by the Argentine figure, Nahuel Moreno.

The origin of this particular cabal lay in the crisis of the pseudo-Trotskyist so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International (U Sec.). Lambert, who had deserted the fight for the Fourth International, turning to slander against it, was engaged in an attempt to "reunify" with the USec. Instead of "unity," however, Moreno's forces split, taking with them virtually all the Latin American militants of the USec.

The two formed a Parity Committee, called for the rebuilding of the Fourth International against what — incredibly — they labeled the "new Castroite leadership of the SWP" (the American Socialist Workers Party, in which the Barnes leadership is neither new, nor newly Castroite).

The "Parity Committee" called for an "open world Conference" to accomplish this task. As time went by, this Conference became less "open," eventually being restricted to Lambertist and Morenoite forces. From this combination emerged the previously mentioned "Fourth International (International Committee)."

What above all revealed the nature of this unprincipled regroupment was not just the disparate political positions of Lambert and Moreno, it was not just Moreno's checkered past (ex-"Trotskyist" Peronist, ex-"Trotskyist" Castroist, etc.), it was their complicity in slander against the Fourth International, their complicity in slander as a method.

Since 1972, Lambert had carried on a slander campaign against our comrade Michel Varga, aimed at preventing the rebuilding of the Fourth International. That attempt's failure only led Lambert into deeper waters, to the point that (in his previous regroupment, the Organizing Committee) he accused the Argentine organization *Politica Obrera* (connected with the Bolivian pseudo-Trotskyist Guillermo Lora) of being "provocateur guard dogs of fascism" in Argentina. In turn, Lambert expelled his intimate collaborator and fellow-slanderer, Charles Berg, from the OCI

had begun to build.

Our readers know that "Spartacist" enthusiastically took up these slanders. Even after the OCI's lies were exposed, "Spartacist" alone has persisted in labeling Michel Varga "a dubious figure."

Michel Varga is the party name of Balazs Nagy, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution. It is no accident that "Spartacist" has tried to slander him and, by extension, the leadership of the Hungarian Revolution, the Fourth International and — in fact — the whole program of the political revolution.

"Spartacist" is the organization that, after all, while attacking the fight of the Soviet workers for free trade unions (a plot by the CIA and Radio Free Europe, says "Spartacist"), put forward the perspective of "judiciously exposing the excesses of the bureaucracy."

Such judiciousness toward Stalinism can only provoke an outbreak of slander against those — Michel Varga, the Polish workers — who are so injudicious as to try to overthrow the rule of the



Jaruzelski: "Spartacist" hero.

bureaucracy.

Everyone who defends the Polish Revolution now has a direct stake in fighting the slanders against Michel Varga, in driving "Spartacist" out of the workers movement.

K.F.

as an "embezzler."

On March 7, 1980, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International sent an open letter to the Parity Committee (*Truth* #124). In this letter it stated:

The Parity Committee doesn't want to and isn't able to reorganize the Fourth International, on the contrary, it wants to reorganize the USec. . . .

This new maneuver, the foundation of the Parity Committee . . . shows that the road traveled since 1972 is a road that leads to capitulation after capitulation to the USec, to Stalinism.

It is through slander that the OCI seeks to prevent any balance sheet, by militants who want to remain faithful to their class, of its capitulation in 1972 and of the opportunist maneuvers of today which are its consequences . . .

All organizations and militants that wish

to clarify the problems of the crisis of the revolutionary leadership can do so only by taking hold of the methods of workers democracy. They must, therefore, differentiate themselves from and condemn the slanders of the OCI leadership against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

The Parity Committee naturally rejected this approach. The result is that today, after having dared to criticize Lambert's support to the Mitterrand government in France, Moreno finds himself denounced as "an agent of the Argentine military junta"!

Moreno may be surprised — but we are not. He has gotten nothing more than the inevitable fruits of his own silence on the slanders, on the question of workers democracy.

Let others profit from his example.

K.F.

From the Source

On this page we have seen some of the political fruits of slander: the American "Spartacist League" and its counterrevolutionary policy, the French OCI and its unprincipled regroupments.

Slander as a political method — more exactly, an anti-political method — was brought into the workers movement by Stalinism. It is the means it uses to attack the consciousness of the workers, to isolate the revolutionary militants and to set them up for persecution. In other words, it is a *counterrevolutionary* method.

And the source of this method, the international apparatus of the Kremlin, has not lagged behind its assistants, "Spartacist" and the OCI, in spreading slander.

Oh, no! The source of the "position" of "Spartacist" on Poland is the Kremlin itself. Don't waste your time reading *Workers Vanguard*, get the straight dope (or the dope straight) from *Pravda*.

In recent weeks, the Hungarian and Polish Stalinist bureaucracies have advanced some new slanders, slanders that illustrate the importance of the Fourth International in their eyes and the connection that exists between this slander and that spread by "Spartacist" and the French OCI.

The Hungarian bureaucracy, which is still headed by the traitor Janos Kadar — who deserted and went over to the Russians, who has on his hands the

blood of the Hungarian workers — has just published a new book. In this work it asserts that Balazs Nagy (our comrade Michel Varga) and Imre Nagy (then head of the revolutionary government, later executed by Kadar) were responsible for calling the tanks into Hungary!

This is really what you call the big lie. But is it accidental that it was spread on the eve of martial law in Poland?

In the same way, after the coup d'etat in Poland, the government radio specifically attacked our section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, as well as the editors of its organ, *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle"), Stefan Bekier and Jozef Goldberg, *by name*. In this case, the slander is that we are among the "extremists" — and "anti-socialist elements" that "provoked" the Stalinists into the coup. On top of this, the dictatorship asserts that we are known especially for supporting Gierke!

Once again, the big lie. Once again, disinformation. Once again, the attempt to identify the Trotskyists with the crimes of the Stalinists.

The Kremlin knows who its enemy is. That is why it attacks the Fourth International on its own and through its stooges. The next time you hear a Spart say something about Michel Varga, you will know it is Brezhnev's words you are hearing.

K.F.

Reagan Renews Draft Registration

By SUSAN FROSCHHEISER

It comes as no surprise — Reagan's announcement of continuing draft registration for eighteen-year-old men. One reason, as Reagan points out, is to show the Soviet Union that the U.S. is not a weak country and is ready at all times for any intervention that may arise.

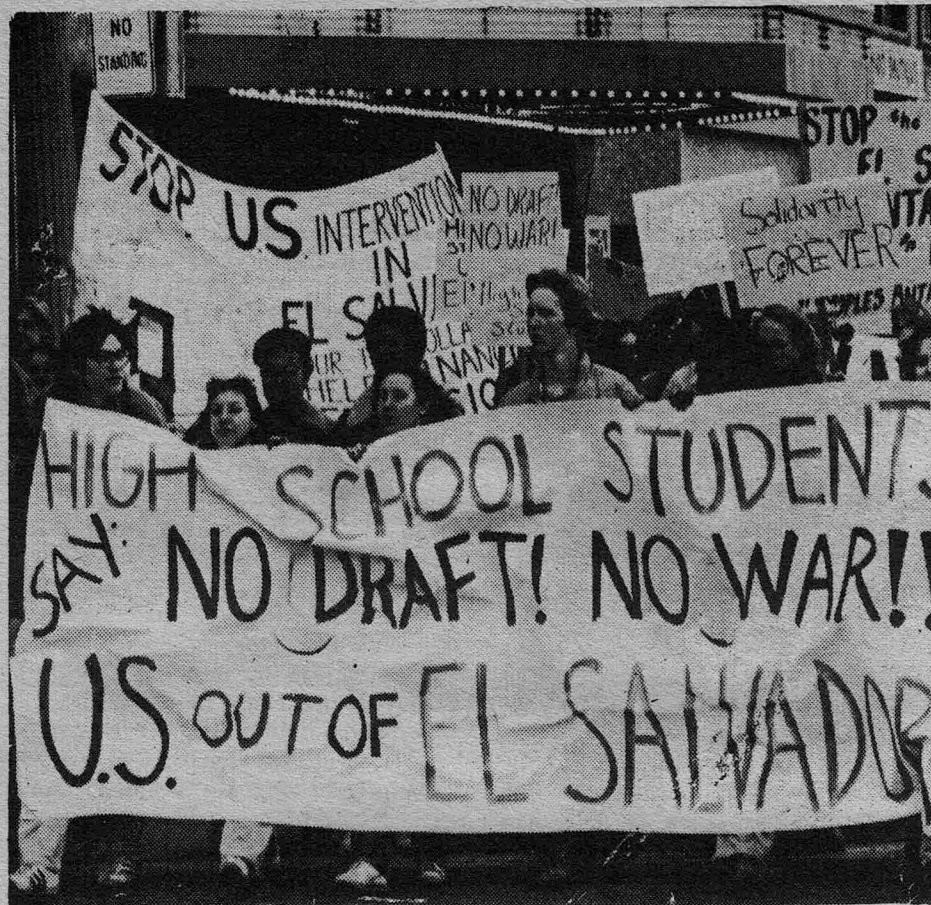
Lies and Reality

Another way he explained it is, "We live in a dangerous world. In the event of future threat to national safety, registration could save the United States as much as six weeks in mobilizing emergency manpower." The bad thing about this last statement is people believe it to be true, when in fact what draft registration represents is an outright attack on young people's rights. Why should these young men be forced to fight in a war, which draft registration inevitably prepares, that they had nothing to do with? Why should they be forced to fight in a war that Reagan and his imperialist agents had everything to do with?

Dan Rutt, a twenty-year-old student at Hope College in Holland, Michigan, has come out openly opposing the draft. He willingly broke the law two years ago by refusing to register. As Rutt stated in a newspaper interview: "I can see no purpose in registering, the logical step after registration is a draft and then a war."

Rutt was one of 200 men notified by the Selective Service concerning prosecution if they fail to register within a grace period, now announced as ending February 28. There are at least 800,000 other men who have also failed or refused to register and who also face prosecution, if and when they are identified. Tom Turnage, director of Selective Service, said much of the non-registration may be due to "mixed signals, unawareness" of registration rules. We believe this statement to be highly false and unrealistic, when in fact, over the past two years since draft registration was reinstated, and as the threat of prosecution grows closer and closer, the number of non-registrants grows larger and larger.

There have already been confirmed reports of FBI visits, to seek out non-registrants by any means, in over ten states. This means that Reagan's imperialist agents, the police, FBI, CIA, have the so-called right to question and



Youth in action against imperialist rearmament.

harass young men suspected of being resisters. When a young man refuses to register is he really committing a crime? No! He is refusing, in action, to support Reagan's program of imperialist rearmament.

Registration is not the only form of attack being forced on young people today. The lack of jobs places a number of young people in a situation where they feel the only alternative is to join the armed forces. In some cases it's a choice between jail or the armed forces — a choice of punishment for the outcasts or trouble makers in society.

A Movement in Motion

On May 3, 1981, a march in Washington, DC, against draft registration and U.S. intervention in Central America took place. The demonstration, 75,000 strong, showed a movement on the rise. The strong upheaval of working class youth who were not going to be cowed by imperialism and its terrorist attacks. The May 3 demonstration

began as backroom negotiations by PAM (Peoples Anti-War Mobilization), and Workers World Party. International Young Guard/USA fought against this policy of backroom negotiations — to openly organize, using revolutionary methods, to bring the anti-draft movement together as a force in the working class, working together with the unions and other working class organizations to build a demonstration that would be the start of putting an end to imperialism and Reagan.

CARD — the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, held a national conference in Detroit a year ago to organize the forces of the anti-draft movement. International Young Guard/USA fought at this conference for a policy of revolutionary action. One young resister stood up and said, "We need action to end draft registration." We spoke to this demand by putting forward a proposal: *Boycott Of The Dictatorships! We were told by the leadership that we were out of order and would not*

be able to continue to speak. But we did continue to speak with the young people there who did want to do something about registration and got the same response, we need action.

We need action like the Polish workers. We need to bring the lessons of the Polish Revolution — of actively taking the situation into our own hands and fighting for the conquest of the working class — into our movement. There will never be a peaceful movement, as CARD wants to believe; there must be a confrontation, to put an end to the already existing war — the class war.

Join the Ranks of IYG

Imperialism has shown us that it will go to any extreme to suppress and crush the working class. We must show imperialism that we will not be suppressed or crushed. The revolution is on the agenda around the world, it must be organized. Organized inside the unions, in the high schools and in the neighborhoods. In Poland we can see that not even martial law can suppress the workers and youth. Here in the United States we must not let Reagan and his terrorist tactics stop us from openly organizing against the policy of imperialism. The youth of Europe and the youth of the United States must work together and join forces against the collaboration of imperialism and Stalinism. The political rights and freedoms of the working class and youth are being taken away.

Refusing to register and leaving it at that will do nothing. The revolution must be organized. Only by joining revolutionary forces will the extension of the Polish Revolution become a reality in the United States.

The struggle for the future of the anti-draft movement, of all the movements of the youth, depends on building a revolutionary leadership. That can unite the youth with the workers, black with white, Americans with those from other countries.

The fight starts by your taking an active part in the movement to organize other workers and youth. The masses of non-registrants must organize the fight against the draft in an open, revolutionary method. Only then will the conquest of the working class reign.

No Draft! No War!

U.S. Out of El Salvador!

Down With the Terrorist State!

The Party in Latin America

At the Eighth World Congress, we were able to meet and discuss with Latin American militants of the Fourth International, and to get a clearer picture of our advances and difficulties in this critical area of the world, one that is especially important to U.S. workers and youth.

The initiative of the Fourth International, concretized in sending a militant of the Spanish section to Latin America, resulted in the regroupment of militants in Bolivia and Peru.

The Bolivian group, which was established on the eve of the military seizure of power, in large measure on the basis of our intervention against the pseudo-Trotskyist leader Guillermo Lora at the Telemayo Miners' Congress was recognized by the Eighth World Congress as its Bolivian Committee. Its task is to rebuild the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), the historic Trotskyist organization in Bolivia (led in the past and now misled by Lora), as the section of the

Fourth International.

The importance of this fight is shown by the recent general strike of the miners of the Huanuni region, which marks the beginning of the end for the dictatorship, but which was restricted by the Stalinist Communist Party.

In Peru, the fight of the Fourth International takes shape against the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Hugo Blanco, which is connected closely with the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in particular, Blanco is responsible for dispersing the revolutionary upsurge in Peru into a "democratic" dead end. Today, his party is quite small and, despite having three parliamentary deputies (a residue of his lost influence) who get paid approximately \$4900 a month, is incapable of publishing a paper.

Two years ago or so, Hugo Blanco was the SWP's answer to everything on Latin America. Now it never mentions him. As a Bolivian comrade said: "He's



like John Travolta. Two years ago he was on the cover of everything, now you never hear of him."

The need for a Trotskyist party in Peru is sharply expressed by the growing crisis of the supposedly "democratic" regime, a crisis that has led it to pass an "anti-terrorist" law that has led to the jailing of perhaps 500 militants (not counting the "disappeared"), martial law in the mountains against an "insurrectional situation" and the *crucifixion* of at least five peasants.

It became clear during the Congress that while we had achieved a certain regroupment in Peru, the organization was insufficiently homogeneous and too sharply separated from the policy of the International (in a sectarian direction) to be recognized as a Committee. Instead, the Congress voted to make it a sympathizing group and to pursue the battle for it to fully take up the tasks that it faced in Peru and on the world scale.

K.F.

Why You Should See *Reds*

By BARBARA PUTNAM

John Reed was a hero of the kind that the youth of today can respect. As a revolutionary and journalist, he made the 1917 October Revolution led by the Russian Bolsheviks live in America. *Reds* is a movie about John Reed, a story of the formation and education of a young man who deliberately placed himself in the vortex of working class revolution in order to bring to millions the struggle and victories of the workers of a backward country.

Contrary to what the critics of *Reds* say, John Reed never abandoned his belief in the revolution nor gave up his fight in the face of the most trying obstacles. In life and in this movie, he remained faithful to the end to his conviction that the working class would win.

The movie, starring Warren Beatty, is an approximation of the real events of October and their repercussions in America. It begins with Reed meeting Louise Bryant, another journalist, who interviews him about Russia. They fall in love, but due to his commitment to politics he is forced to spend more time writing and travelling than with her. This creates a conflict between them, because Bryant never fully understands why he is so fully committed to the cause of the workers.

This part of the movie tends to drag along at certain moments, making the viewer wish for more action, more insight and understanding of the events unfolding in Russia and Reed's place in it, but nevertheless it's a good movie — there are not too many these days.

John Reed finds himself entering the struggle of parties and classes in America through his journalistic and intellectual involvement in the revolution unfolding in Russia. He joins the Socialist Party (SP) and becomes a revolutionary leader who opposes the reformist leaders



The real John Reed.

of the SP and plays a leading role in the split of this organization and the establishment of the Communist Labor Party, one of the two then-existing Communist Parties in the U.S.

Here the movie takes on an exacting quality as Reed and the leaders of the Communist opposition attempt to reorient the Socialist Party towards realizing the fight of the Bolsheviks on American soil.

The split that takes place in the SP is handled in a sensitive way, which elucidates the struggle of the true revolutionaries against the betrayal and cowardice of the reformist leadership of the Socialist Party. It also portrays the differences between Reed and those like him, and the members of the foreign-language federations who want to also establish a separate Communist Party.

But those militants, unlike Reed, have no desire to reach the American working class.

In one earlier scene, at a meeting between Reed and workers being organized by the American IWW (Industrial Workers of the World, a revolutionary union), the cops and goons bust up the meeting. Reed comes forward and they ask him what he does. Reed says, "I write." Then one of the goons says, "No, you wrong," and they proceed to attack the meeting with clubs and guns.

This is what Reed is up against in America. The organized attack on the working class leadership and the subtler betrayals by the reformists of the struggle of the working class for power.

This movie opens up for the youth a glimpse into the life of a revolutionary. The meetings look like meetings, the splits look like splits.

Artistically, the movie attempts to portray John Reed's life as a struggle with the contradictions involved in a combat to change the basis of the life most people take for granted. Once seen, a vision of the future of mankind is a great force of liberation that acted on John Reed and changed him.

At one point in the movie, he meets in Russia with Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who has fallen into despair and tells him that all she sees in the revolution is the arrests of anarchists, which to her means the crushing of the spirit of freedom. John Reed, without equivocation, tells her the truth; that the revolution is in its infant stages; did she expect, after all, that it would flow perfectly and evenly without contradictions and without delays and problems? He

says that it is only the beginning and that most assuredly there will be problems, but that the great task of liberating mankind from the fetters of class slavery could not progress without delays and problems.

She is giving up on the revolution. He is making a decision to stay in it to the finish. "It's not happening the way we wanted it to happen, but its happening," are his words.

Changing the old order is not merely an intellectual task, but a practical task involving hundreds and millions. This was touched on in the movie with scenes of the Russian workers struggling to overthrow the Czar, marching down the streets, singing *The Internationale*, the song of the international workers movement.

Even Reed is shaken by the impoverishment and the grimness of the isolated Russian Revolution. But he tears up a letter of resignation he had written to the Communist (Third) International, because of his political differences, and decides to continue to fight alongside the Bolsheviks.

In the end he dies of typhus in a Russian hospital.

Reds is a moving drama, but at the same time carries the message that the revolution is worth fighting for, worth risking one's life over. It is the heritage of the Fourth International, and the Fourth International alone, which has carried on the struggle that John Reed engaged in and that offers to today's youth the opportunity to commit themselves fully to the cause of proletarian revolution.

"Grand Things Are Ahead"

"Grand things are ahead — worth living and dying for — he always said that." (A quotation from a witness, interviewed in the movie *Reds*, who actually knew John Reed.)

From a radical American journalist, John Reed was transformed into a revolutionary leader through writing about the revolution unfolding in Russia and bringing it to America. As he grappled with the problems of the revolution, he became a revolutionary leader who fought for Bolshevism in the United States.

But John Reed isn't just an historical figure whose courageous struggle and dedication to the cause of the working class fills us with hope for a moment, but is then left to the distant past. John Reed lives today.

Since the movie came out, thousands of copies of John Reed's book (*Ten Days That Shook the World*) about the Bolshevik seizure of power and the storming of the Winter Palace in Russia have been reprinted and sold. Lenin's dream is coming true. He said in his preface to the book: "Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The millions who are seeing *Reds* and for perhaps the first time becoming acquainted with the life of a revolutionary and the meaning of the Russian Revolution are asking questions about "what really is the Proletarian Revolution" and how it can be achieved. These questions beg to be answered.

"Sure, John Reed was a hero and true to the end to his convictions, and

yes, the struggle of the Russian workers was heroic, but didn't they only end up with totalitarianism?" This is one question on people's minds.

The Polish workers struggle begins to answer this question. Like the Russian workers before them, they continue the fight for class independence and the reassertion of the political power of the workers, groping for such a leadership as the Bolsheviks. The setbacks and delays over the last sixty odd years are explained as the real form the class struggle has taken. The Polish workers struggle brings to the forefront the problems and crisis of the leadership of the proletariat.

Stalinism, rather than proving that John Reed's struggle was only an idealistic dream, was erected to block the real advance of the revolution in the countries of the East and of the West.

Today the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, has been rebuilt, signalling the end of Stalinism and its "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

We agree with John Reed who, arguing against the anarchist Emma Goldman who despaired over the course of the Russian Revolution, said: "What did you think, that this was going to be a revolution by consensus where everything is settled over a cup of coffee — It's a war, you have to fight it with discipline!"

The Fourth International, like John Reed, never gave up. Today we organize the party of the Polish Revolution, we construct parties of the Fourth International to lead the great class battles unfolding in Latin America, Europe and the United States. Those who took inspiration from John Reed's story belong in its ranks.

"Grand things are ahead."
B.P.

Daily World Conference

The Trotskyist Organization/USA intervened in the Second Annual *Daily World* Readers Conference in Detroit, January 16-17. *The Daily World* is the daily newspaper of the Communist Party/USA. About 200 militants, the overwhelming majority members of the CPUSA or the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the CP, attended.

The delegation went to the Conference to open up a fight to win the working class elements of the CPUSA, a party that is shattering under the blows of the Polish Revolution, to the Fourth International. This struggle began with our proposal for common action to organize the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The crisis of the CPUSA around Poland has been evident in *The Daily World*. While it supports the coup d'etat in Poland, it has been very defensive about the growth of Solidarnosc and even of the coup d'etat.

In order to try to control its crisis, the CP has embarked on a campaign:

"An emergency crisis requires emergency action. We don't just want an immediate increase in circulation. We need to build a new national network. Less than that does not measure up to the moment."

And the policy for the coming period? Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP said: "We need a total mobilization of the people . . . to impeach Reagan." (!) An All-People's Anti-Reagan Front in the 1982 elections is the principal campaign of the CP.

The defensive posture of the CP continued in the workshops of the Confer-

ence. We attended the one on Electoral Politics. The crusty old Stalinist giving the presentation said, after spelling out their perspective, "Does this mean we abandon our fight for independent political action? By no means . . . Does this mean we abandon running Communist candidates? By no means."

The militants of the TO/USA intervened to say that the anti-Reagan front could not lead to working class victory and cited the plans of the Carter regime to destroy PATCO which were implemented by Reagan. A General Strike to bring down Reagan is necessary and possible. This is why American workers wore Solidarnosc buttons on Solidarity Day — they want to do like the Polish workers.

Several militants were nodding their heads during our intervention. The first to speak afterwards was Mary F., a young black woman from Philadelphia, who said, "I agree with the last speaker. If Carter had been re-elected, we would have 'Carternomics' now. We have to watch letting a Democrat in the back door." We later talked with a young militant of the YWLL from Milwaukee who said: "It was really b.s.; I can't believe they plan to support Democrats." And further: "The YWLL hasn't really done much in Milwaukee recently, except to involve itself in the Lacey case." (case of police killing of a black youth).

This first effort shows the great possibilities for winning the working class militants of the CP and the YWLL to the Fourth International. This is a fight that must be deepened and elaborated. F.V.

Crisis of YSA Deepens Over Poland

By FRED VITALE

International Young Guard/USA sent a delegation to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Convention in Philadelphia, December 31 through January 3. The delegation went to win this organization to the Revolutionary Youth International's fight to build a new world working class leadership to organize the revolution.

IYG/USA decided to advance this mobilization with a proposal for common action to defend the Nyack Militants — the militants framed-up by the Reagan regime around the Brink's truck "robbery" in Nyack, New York, last October.

The lack of any fight to free the Nyack Militants on the part of the YSA disturbed militants we spoke to. One said, "I want to defend Judith Clark. What is your policy for developing the revolution?" Another said, "I strongly disagree with their abstaining from defending the Nyack Militants."

One militant, more honest than the leadership defended its line by saying, "Terrorism in the United States is counterrevolutionary." Yet another, "Just look at some of the people you are calling on us to defend. We can't defend them."

The line the Socialist Workers Party, (SWP) parent organization of the YSA, and the YSA leadership are developing — condemning "terrorism," refusing to defend Judith Clark but disavowing her membership in the SWP — is expressed by these militants as what it really means. "These people are all agent-provocateurs, cops. Let them hang."

But the "counterrevolution" is the frame-up of these militants by the Reagan regime!

This refusal to fight imperialism on a front "unpopular" with petty-bourgeois radicals and intellectuals is a reflection of the profound crisis of the YSA/SWP.

Why is the SWP/YSA in crisis? It is not just because there are tendencies which oppose the leadership; or even, in a narrow sense, because of its failure to grow. No, it is because of the break-up

of the international apparatus of the Kremlin under the blows of the Polish Revolution and the repercussions of this breakup in the SWP/YSA. These organizations have a pro-Stalinist policy, expressed most sharply in their break with the Fourth International in 1963, their support to Castro, and now their refusal to defend the Polish Revolution.

The dishonest article by Harry Ring on the YSA Convention in the latest *Militant* (January 22, 1982) does not mention the existence of the political tendency opposed to the leadership's refusal to defend the Polish Revolution.

Secondly, Ring implies that the YSA has grown. If it has, he does not explain the loss of last year's recruits. The YSA has become a revolving door for young militants disappointed by what they found after they joined.

This policy — which is a policy of opportunism toward the trade union and Stalinist apparatuses and sectarianism towards the youth — is what has driven many militants from the YSA. As one ex-militant said, "Its [the YSA's — F.V.] theory sounds so good, but in practice it doesn't do anything." Another remarked, "It's abstentionist from many struggles and sectarian towards other left organizations. It's passive."

Towards IYG/USA this anti-working class policy had its sharpest expression.

As soon as we arrived at the Philadelphia Centre Hotel, we began distributing literature to people appearing to be convention-goers. Hotel security demanded we take down our literature table because guests complained of "harassment." We complied.

As soon as the cops left, the YSA Convention security force came out, and told us that they had been told the same thing the day before and that they had stood by their legal right to distribute.

A few minutes later hotel security reappeared, this time demanding that we stop distributing in front of the hotel altogether. We refused. The police came. They said, "This is the second



SWP oppositionist Nat Weinstein in photo reprinted by "Spartacist" to pressure SWP.

time we've been here, yesterday and now today. If I get one more complaint about you anywhere in this town, I'll run you in."

We approached the leadership of the YSA Convention — Lisa Hickler and Kathryn Crowder — to issue a joint public statement (there was a press conference that day) condemning the denial of democratic rights by the police and a joint letter of protest to the hotel. They refused. It then became clear that the YSA had taken down its table previously, and was not defending anyone's rights.

IYG/USA's observer status at the Convention was revoked for "violations" — all of which (having a literature room, posting notice of its existence) were done by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL, youth of the "Spartacist League") at the YSA Convention in Indianapolis last year without reprisal.

This year the SYL was invited (!) and

the observer status of both the IYG/USA and the SYL's was revoked at the same time to connect the IYG/USA with this Kremlin stooge group.

Furthermore, the SYL and the Workers League distributed their literature in the hotel. No hotel security, no police.

The pattern is clear. The YSA, with no political defense for its policies of breaking with the Fourth International, support to Castroism, refusal to defend Poland and refusal to battle imperialism with the defense of the Nyack Militants, resorted to using the police to silence the IYG/USA.

In spite of this effort, the IYG/USA was able to distribute 250 leaflets, sell 29 Truth, 2 subscriptions and an assortment of other literature, as well as to make contact with a number of good militants.

Join with us in the fight to defend the Nyack Militants and organize a new world working class leadership!

The Nyack Frame-Up is Widened

In recent weeks, the "anti-terrorist" dragnet of the terrorist state has spread far and wide. Using the pretext of the alleged Brink's truck robbery and killings in Nyack, New York, on October 20 of last year, the cops (Federal, state and local) have been arresting a whole series of individuals whom they want to connect with a vast underground terrorist conspiracy.

As we have said before in *Truth*, we believe there is a conspiracy. But it is not composed of members of small radical organizations. It is composed of the "leaders of our country," of Reagan and his associates, in the interests of the imperialist ruling class of this country. It is a conspiracy against all the rights, all the gains, that American workers — and all the oppressed — have taken from this ruling class.

On December 18, the press announced the arrest of John Sherman (on the FBI's "ten-most-wanted" list). Sherman is supposed to be a member of the George Jackson Brigade (named after black militant prisoner and writer, George Jackson, who was assassinated by prison guards) and to have been involved in bank robbery.

On December 23, the New Jersey State Police claimed that one of its members had been killed by members of the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit. (Melville and Jackson were, respectively, a white radical killed in the Attica Uprising and George Jackson's brother, killed in an attempt to free his brother — an attempt in which the cops tried to implicate Angela Davis, a well known figure in the American Com-

munist Party/CPUSA.)

One of the persons named by the cops, Cameron D. Bishop (along with Thomas Manning and Raymond Levasseur), turned out to have been quietly living on a farm in Maine. Nonetheless, the ever vigilant forces of law and order wanted to check him out anyway.

The cops went from these groups, which even they admit they never heard of — "We don't know this group. It's a new group to us," said the head of the New Jersey State Police about the Melville-Jackson group — to their main objective: the Nyack frame-up.

On January 7, Philadelphia cops arrested Anthony LaBorde (picture on back page), allegedly a member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). He has been charged by the cops not only with involvement in the Nyack case, but with the killing of two cops that we cited in the last issue of *Truth* as part of the chronology of the frame-up.

As you can see in the photo, LaBorde was badly beaten "while resisting arrest." This also happened to Nat Burns, another indicted BLA member, while Samuel Smith was killed by the cops when they stopped him and Burns in New York City.

Really, all that is missing now is for a key figure to be "shot while trying to escape"!

On January 20, the FBI arrested Donald Weems, the eighth and (up to now) final person actually indicted in connection with the Nyack affair, in New York City. Weems is also said to be a BLA member.

At this point, we think it is important to make something clear. The cops are clearly out to settle old scores.

Nat Burns and Donald Weems were charged in the "Panther 21" case, a massive attempt a decade ago to frame members of the Black Panther Party. This particular attempt, with the exception of the conviction of Weems, failed completely.

Anthony LaBorde is accused also of helping to free Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), the leader of the BLA, whom the cops have not been able to recapture despite their best police-state efforts (dawn raids on a Harlem apartment building, picking up a young black woman because she "looked like" Assata Shakur, etc.).

And there is a more political aspect to the growing list of arrests. At the very beginning, the FBI stated that Judith Clark, an alleged member of the "Weather Underground," was a member of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Now, in raising the specter of George Jackson, the cops are making an attack — hesitant now — on the CPUSA in the person of Angela Davis.

Again and again, we have stated that it is not possible to ignore, evade or run away from the Nyack frame-up. It is not a question alone of the defense of unpopular, isolated radicals, it is a question of the defense of the workers movement. The SWP and the CPUSA think they are "respectable" and safe in democratic America. Really, they are next on the hit list.

In this context, we want to raise the arrest of Betty Jean Abramson. As some readers may recall, she is charged with the 1980 murder of Rosanne Goustin, a working class militant.

We said then and we say now that such an action is a real crime, directed not (however misguidedly) against imperialism, but against the consciousness and the organization of the oppressed.

But all of a sudden, after nearly two years of complete disinterest in the murder of Rosanne Goustin, the cops suddenly spring to life, tracking down Abramson from a photo found in an alleged "safe house" formerly occupied by Marilyn Jean Buck, the last Nyack inductee still at large, whom the cops always identify as the "only white member" of the BLA (get the sexual connotations?).

It is clear that the cops are engaged in a standard frame-up technique, the *amalgam*, linking the most different and disparate elements in a conscious attempt to involve all those charged in a vast cloud of guilt.

We have said before, and we say again, that if the Nyack robbery was an attempt to strike a blow against the imperialist state, we would unhesitatingly defend the militants involved. But we think that much more than that is involved. The imperialist state is seeking to wage an "anti-terrorist" campaign whose real objective is to attack our movement. In defeating that attack, we lay the groundwork for destroying the terrorist state.

K.F.

International Youth Rally for Poland

By RICHARD TETRAULT

The revolution is indeed the motor force of history, and history is rich with the struggle for working class leadership to lead the revolution to its conclusion — the conquest of power.

Today the situation in Poland concentrates the history of the revolution and marks the beginning of the European Revolution. But, as was the case in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Kremlin, in the service of U.S. imperialism, must inevitably intervene militarily in order to vanquish the struggle for workers power.

The Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) and the Fourth International alone recognized this, beginning with the strikes by Polish workers in August 1980. The International Executive Committee of the RYI issued a call the following month, which stated: "The European Revolution is announcing itself in Poland!" The call placed at its center the boycott of the Madrid "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," the preparation of the Open World Workers Conference and the defense and extension of the Polish Revolution. For the conclusion that all the history of workers struggle led to, that the workers need their own party — independent of the bourgeois state and of Stalinism — in order for the revolution to conquer. The RYI is building this re-

volutionary workers party, the Fourth International, which today represents the continuity of the October Revolution, of Bolshevism, of Leninism.

This is the time in which the great masses of youth around the globe will be organized as an army, as the advanced guard of the revolution. Only the RYI can lead these youth and it is for this reason that it is preparing a massive youth rally at Eastertime in Hamburg, Germany, as a means to prepare the active defense of the Polish Revolution, the March on Gdansk.

Under the banner, *Return to Lenin*, millions of youth in all countries can cast off the treacherous leaderships that try to delude them with the idea that the present situation can be resolved "peacefully," or that you can confront imperialism without confronting its servant — Stalinism. The centrists, in particular the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), choose these as the only solutions for American workers and youth. They have opted for "getting out the truth on Poland" in their newspapers and defending Stalinism in the Americas. Their main fear is of being seen as "pro-imperialist" if they defend the Polish Revolution actively. Trotsky said, "The truth is always revolutionary." We can plainly

see that the SWP/YSA are neither truthful or revolutionary, and that their defense of Castro and non-defense of Poland show more clearly where they stand.

The Hamburg Rally is a call to action for all youth who support the Polish Revolution and who want to deal a death blow to imperialism. Hamburg was chosen for a number of reasons. First of all Hamburg is a very strong working class center. It is an industrial hub in Germany and an international port, situated, like Gdansk, and other Polish centers, on the Baltic. Following the eruption of strikes from Gdansk in August, 1980, it was the German workers, both East and West, who shouted "Gdansk! Gdansk!" as the first to show their solidarity with the Polish workers struggle.

Secondly, the Socialist Reunification of Germany is a critical element in the development of the European Revolution. Here the collaboration between imperialism and Stalinism is most evident in the division of Europe's most powerful proletariat. It was at the foot of the Berlin Wall, that the RYI was founded in 1975 under the slogan: *Down With the Berlin Wall*.

The fate of the revolution rests on the shoulders of the Fourth International and it therefore takes responsibility for its construction in Germany. For this

reason, the RYI sets the immediate task of building its section in Germany.

Yes, it is the revolutionary workers party that the RYI is building, the Fourth International. The Polish workers have shown to the workers of the world the path that must be followed to defeat imperialism and Stalinism. The Polish workers are reorganizing their struggle at this very moment and drawing a balance sheet of their battles which can only serve to reinforce the place of the Fourth International in organizing them for the seizure of power.

It is this struggle — for a united and socialist Germany, for the defense of the Polish Revolution — that gives meaning to the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe and for the victory of the European Revolution. It is this fight which concentrates the struggle against imperialism and Stalinism and shows, contrary to the position of the centrists, that the American proletariat plays a key role in the preparation of the European Revolution and has everything to gain by insuring its victory. In this way the revolution in the Americas can assume its fullest potential, forging a leadership and linking up with the European Revolution.

*Defend the Polish Revolution!
March on Gdansk!
On to Hamburg!*

The Nyack Case and Workers Rights

In the last issue of *Truth* (#142), two articles dealt specifically with the arrests and frame-ups around the robbery and murder charges stemming from the October 20, 1981, Brink's truck robbery in Nyack, New York, and also drew analogies with the cases of other worker militants over the last hundred years who were victims of the police state. What characterizes the present situation is the advanced stage of the world revolution and the vicious attacks by the bourgeoisie on the rights, freedoms and gains of the working class. The arrests of several "Weathermen" and black militants are just the most recent and glaring example of the broader attack against the working class and its independent organization. We shall look at these attacks more closely.

Terrorism of the State

According to the Constitution of the United States, freedom of speech and the press are protected and guaranteed, as are the rights of the people to assemble and petition the government. As organizers of the socialist revolution, we have no illusions in the bourgeois state, but we must be prepared to defend our rights, to defend the very ability of the working class to organize itself independently and to speak in its own name.

The September 3-17, 1981, issue of *The Detroit Metro Times* carried an article, "Judge Shamo Throws The Book." Its writer states: "Activists who have taken their concerns about racism, increased militarism or big business to the streets of Detroit during the last six months have found themselves abruptly in the hands of the police and later churning through the process of Detroit's Traffic Court." The author adds: "The protestors . . . are most frequently charged with distributing circulars within 300 feet of a school or with disorderly conduct."

Later in the same article the author cites a number of examples in which individuals were arrested for activities

ranging from holding up a banner near a Detroit high school to opposition to the city's condemnation of the Poletown area. The overwhelming number of these arrests result in exorbitant fines, police and judicial harassment and the



A wounded Anthony Laborde, BLA militant.

confiscation of any literature or equipment.

On September 30, 1980, nearly one year before the article appeared in *The Detroit Metro Times*, two members of the Trotskyist Organization/USA were arrested while distributing *Truth* at Wayne County Community College in Detroit. The charge: disorderly conduct.

Even though these charges had to be dropped, a great amount of time and money had to be devoted to defending our simple "Constitutional rights." Meanwhile, the cops and courts lose nothing, and our rights are in practice denied.

In the past several years, in particular since the revolutions in Nicaragua and Iran, U.S. imperialism has moved more vigorously at home and abroad to rearm itself and deprive the working class of its role as the renewer of society. Repressive local ordinances and increased police activity are one result of this broader rearmament.

On November 9, 1981, the National Organization for Women (NOW) filed suit against the suburban Detroit Fairlane Town Center, because its members'

rights had been violated when mall officials prohibited them from collecting signatures on a petition calling on Reagan to support the Equal Rights Amendment. On December 2, a Wayne County circuit judge ruled in favor of NOW, granting a motion for a temporary injunction permitting NOW to circulate petitions in the mall. But even this "victory" is conditional. It applies to no one else, and the "right" to free speech is to be negotiated by the lawyers for NOW and Fairlane.

The following week the Detroit City Council (the same City Council that last August granted the Nazis a rally permit for downtown Detroit, claiming their rights to free speech) upheld Mayor Coleman Young's veto of a ban on police surveillance of citizens. Young said he is satisfied that "we are doing everything that can be done to prevent improper police surveillance."

Defend Workers Rights

Meanwhile, Coleman Young's cops are busy keeping Detroit "clean." Since last summer it has become evident that activity in the name of the working class would not be tolerated in public. The cops claim it is now unlawful to distribute literature, buttons, or engage in any such activity, in the downtown area. In addition Hart Plaza (a major downtown attraction) has been placed off-limits for political activity.

The thread that ties these cases, and the hundreds and thousands of similar cases around the country, together is the immediate and unconditional defense of workers rights — beginning with the defense of the Nyack Militants. What is necessary is a working class offensive against the terrorist state — its courts, cops, spy groups and agents in the workers movement.

This is what defense of the Nyack Militants means. Not agreeing with their politics or their methods, but standing with them against the bourgeoisie.

International Young Guard/USA, along with the Trotskyist Organization/USA, has taken the initiative in the defense campaign, including IYG/USA's proposal to the Young Socialist Alliance (see page 11) for common action. Every working class and radical organization has a great deal at stake in this fight.

Several contacts made at the YSA's recent convention, along with other militants around the country, are developing local and national actions to defend the Nyack Militants. In Detroit, the Local Committee of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, along with IYG/USA, is preparing a public forum at Wayne State University on February 13, 1982.

*Down With the Terrorist State!
Defend the Nyack Militants!
R.T.*

"Who Are The Real Terrorists?"

Open Forum to Defend the Nyack Militants

Wayne State University, Student Center Bldg. Rm. 277

Saturday, February 13, 8:00 PM