

Now is the time to act —
In the unions, among the youth,
in the streets . . .

Organize the General Strike!



Blacks demonstrate on Martin Luther King Day in Washington before Reagan's inauguration.

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"Solidarity Day" and the General Strike

The union federation which represents the great bulk of the organized workers in the U.S., the AFL-CIO (including the newly reaffiliated UAW), is calling for a mass demonstration in Washington, DC, on Saturday, September 19. This demonstration, officially labeled "Solidarity Day," is against the attacks being organized on the working class, the poor and the oppressed by the Reagan administration. It has already been endorsed by the NAACP, the major black organization in the U.S. today.

We think that this unprecedented action — the AFL-CIO as a whole has never called for such a mass demonstration — raises all the political questions that confront the workers and youth today, raises all the questions, in fact, of the preparation of the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

We call for support to "Solidarity Day" in action. We are against leaving it in the hands of the bureaucrats, against "supporting" it by leaving the initiative and control in their hands. Experience has shown that when workers and youth begin to become active around such a demonstration the bureaucrats retreat and begin to sabotage the movement. This is what happened on April 26, 1975, with a demonstration for jobs called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO when it became clear that it was going to be "too" successful (all of a sudden, buses became unavailable). Even so, this demonstration of 50,000 saw the booping down of liberal Democrat Hubert Humphrey and the rushing of the platform by working class youth.

We believe that local coalitions, trade union committees and so on to prepare "Solidarity Day" can actually organize the most active militants and become the core of a mass movement in the unions.

The bureaucrats will want to confine this demonstration to opposition to the "budget cuts" by Reagan, to the "increase" in the military budget. They will be supported in this by the black liberals of the NAACP, by the Democratic Party "friends of labor" (now hard to find), by the Stalinists, Social Democrats and centrists. But the prospect of going back to a Jimmy Carter budget has no appeal to the masses of youth, blacks and workers. They see the enemy — Reagan — and they want to know how to get rid of him.

The very name, "Solidarity Day," evokes the image of the Polish Revolution. The Polish workers have made their great breakthrough with independent class action, with the organization and implementation of the General Strike.

"Solidarity Day" can bring out the best fighters among the oppressed and the exploited. It can engage them in a direct fight, not against the "budget cuts" by themselves, but in a direct confrontation with the forces of counterrevolution. They can go up against the organizers of military intervention in Central America. They can go up against the instigators of the "Chrysler syndrome," of the drive for "concessions," centered in Detroit today. They can go up against the yahoos of the "Moral Majority," the "backwoods booboisie" of the right wing of the Republican Party, that are seeking to put women back on the level of domestic slaves. They can go up against the racists who would like to roll back history and bring back Jim Crow.

The preparation of "Solidarity Day" is an immediate way to bring the fight for the General Strike directly into the unions, to involve them with the movement already going on among the youth. It can mark a breakthrough for the revolution in the U.S.

TRUTH

Workers Tribunal Against the Slanders

Testimony: On the Spartacist League

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

(In 1972, at the proposal of Pierre Lambert of the French OCI, the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International was dissolved. The League of Revolutionary Socialists of Hungary (LRSH) opposed its dissolution and organized a Faction for the Maintenance of the International Committee. Faced with the liquidation of the International Committee, the organizations adhering to the Faction formed the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International (LIRQI). Its struggle finally culminated in the rebuilding of the Fourth International in January 1976.

The response of Lambert to the formation of the LIRQI was a campaign of Stalinist slander against Michel Varga, a leader of the LRSH and the IC, as an "agent of the CIA and the KGB," as well as a campaign of physical attacks aimed at silencing the LIRQI and preventing the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Truth is organizing a Workers Tribunal to expose those in the workers movement who continue these slanders. Our aim is to support the publication of *The White Paper* which contains the work of the Commission of Inquiry into the slanders initiated against Varga and the Fourth International.)

We begin the work of the Workers Tribunal by taking testimony from Barbara Putnam, a militant of the Trotskyist Organization/USA.

On the occasion of the Arnulfo Ramos rally in Detroit for El Salvador, at which the TO intervened to put forward a proposal to organize a boycott of the El Salvadoran junta, ten members of the U.S. Spartacist League (SL), in their customary fashion, surrounded Comrade Putnam and Sue F., a member of International Young Guard/USA.

"The SL'ers asked us why didn't we ever answer about Michel Varga's allegedly taking money from the State Dept.

"The Mojahedin, an organization of Iranian Islamic leftists, intervened to say that what the SL was doing was apolitical and divisive.

"The SL attacked the Mojahedin and said that they (the SL) had defended us from the attacks of the OCI!

"Present were members of the Mojahedin, some militants of the Socialist Workers Party and militants of 'Spark.' We explained to them how the SL had 'defended' us when some of our French comrades were attacked by the OCI's 'Service d'Ordre' (goon squad). The French Spartacist supporters were finally found after the attack in the Paris Metro (subway) — hiding with their heads down.

"I then asked for the names of the militants of the SL who had slandered Varga, and told them that we wanted these slanders to come before a Workers Tribunal. They refused to give us their names.

"One SL'er then noticed that I had some scratch paper with the heading of

the Detroit Bank and Trust on it. I had at one time worked as a temporary secretary there.

"Incredibly, one of the SL'ers then said, 'Oh, Detroit Bank and Trust — is that who you're working with now?' implying that I had some illicit relation to a bank!"

The role of the Spartacist League has been that of the junior apprentice of the OCI and its campaign of Stalinist slander. From beginning to end, the SL has revealed itself as an organization without principles, as one that thrives on slander and gossip.

When the campaign of Stalinist slander was first launched by the OCI, the Spartacist League applied to the OCI for negotiations. The SL needed only the campaign of slander to know which side it wanted to be on — the side of Lambert and of the liquidation of the International Committee of the Fourth International, of course. So the SL accepted the slanders.

Being rebuffed by the OCI, the SL then informed the LIRQI that it had always been for a Commission of Inquiry of "distinguished personalities" of the "International Trotskyist Movement." However, because of its relative youthfulness, so said the SL, it could not participate in such a Commission.

Later, however (after the formation of a Commission of Inquiry initiated by the LIRQI), the SL managed to overcome

its modesty and became the main mouthpiece in a pseudo-Commission formed principally to find a basis of continuing the campaign of Stalinist slander of the OCI.

As we can see from the testimony of Comrade Putnam, the slanders are neither logical nor precise; rather they have an increasingly diffuse character.

But this is not accidental. Because going from the slanders of the OCI that Michel Varga was an agent of the "KGB and CIA," to the notion that Varga (and, by implication, everything about the FI) is "highly dubious," is the method through which the SL has perpetuated the Stalinist slanders of the OCI.

This method tries to place a cloud of suspicion over the Fourth International and Trotskyism. The more diffuse the slanders, the SL hopes, the harder it will be to answer them, and the more acceptable such a method of struggle will become.

But there is only one answer to such methods. There is a class line separating these methods of slander from those of political struggle. In fact, the fight for the foundation of the Fourth International and the whole fight of Trotsky were waged against the slanders and physical attacks of Stalinism.

These methods are "apolitical and divisive," as the Mojahedin have said, but they are more than that. They are

the methods of the class enemy in our movement. They are not merely a consequence of an incorrect policy. They are methods which have no place in any discussion, and those who use them should be exposed and expelled from the workers movement as Stalinist slanderers.

These slanders, with their lack of principles and apparent lack of logic, come without the SL's ever once having taken a principled stand against the slanders and physical attacks on the Fourth International. This is how it "defends the Fourth International"!

For six years, the SL has maintained this slanderous campaign against the Fourth International and has been unable to muster even one political argument against our fight.

The publication of *The White Paper* in English, which begins from the principle that slander has no place in our movement and which shows that the campaign of slander by the OCI represented nothing less than an attempt to liquidate the Fourth International and all of its gains, will be an important step forward in combatting the methods of the Spartacist League.

Truth calls on organizations and militants to support this work through subscribing to the publication of *The White Paper* and supporting the work of the Workers Tribunal in *Truth*.

Build the New Workers Leadership!

Truth will hold an open discussion and debate in its Conference (see ad) over an objective for all workers and youth to fight for. Their own candidate, a *Workers Candidate*, in the elections for Mayor of Detroit. The fight for a Workers Candidate is the same as the fight to bring down Reagan — a goal that is shared by a vast section of the youth and the working class today.

As a mother of one of the Atlanta children said in an interview in the Wayne State University paper, *The South End*, the fight against the government is a "class issue." We think this applies in the Detroit elections as well.

The road for blacks and all of the working class in Detroit is not behind Coleman Young, but behind their own candidate, a

candidate of the unions. The city workers, the majority of whom are black workers, are the ones who stood up to Young's tax plan.

Truth has fought to make the revolution that is going on in Poland, in Central America, come alive in the U.S. And we think the fight for a Workers Candidate can help achieve this goal.

To make the revolution come alive, we need to build a new workers leadership that won't compromise with our class enemies.

Join us in building this Conference. If we succeed only in sparking a debate over how to organize an independent working class fight in the elections, we will consider the Conference an important success. Detroit Local Committee

Truth Conference
Saturday, July 25

Topic: A Workers
Candidate
in the Detroit
Elections!

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A Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit!

Declaration of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Workers of Detroit!

To fight the concessions demanded by Mayor Coleman Young and his capitalist bosses from the city workers' unions, it is necessary to go beyond just saying, "No Concessions!"

The unions, especially the city workers' unions, have to take the offensive against Young, they have to carry the fight to him!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls for a candidate of the unions to oppose Young, a *Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit!*

Class Against Class!

Because they lack such an offensive point of view, the leaders of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) Council 25, which represents the bulk of the city workers, have already gone back on their opposition to the concessions. Following the victory of Young's tax increase in the June 23 election, they have caved in and provisionally agreed to a two-year wage freeze in return for a one-year moratorium on layoffs.

The results of the elections do not speak for accepting Young's demands, but for intensifying the fight against them. Young got his victory by portraying the fight as one between the poor and black and their gains, on one side, and Reagan and the bigots and right wing "tax-cutters" and budget-slashers, on the other side. Voting for a tax increase, Young claimed, was a vote against the attacks on rights, on social programs, being made by Reagan.

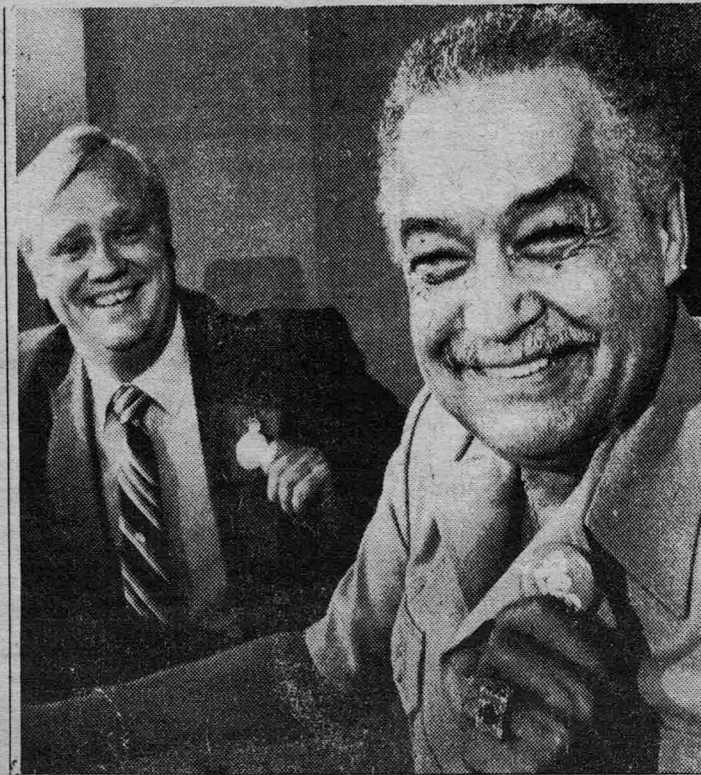
The fact is that Young's proposal, especially in its demand for concessions, its threats of layoffs, its orchestration of city cutbacks, was a specific example in action of what Reagan has been calling for.

Coleman Young is Reagan's hatchetman in Detroit, and he wants the poor and black, the workers and youth, to cut off their own heads!

We must reject any collaboration in our own exploitation. Instead, we have to use our weapons against the enemy — Reagan, Young and the whole system of American imperialism.

Young's attacks are centered on the unions. All the attacks being organized nationwide by Reagan in the form of the so-called "Chrysler syndrome" are being organized against the unions. Against the unions — because they are the means through which the workers have won and defended every gain. Destroy the unions as class organizations, turn them into tools of exploitation, and you have scored a major victory against all the workers and oppressed, inside and outside the unions.

For the unions to win, they must take the road of class action. That is what the Polish workers did when they were faced with demands to give up their gains. That is what the French workers have just done, in electing a workers



Coleman Young and police "union" head.

candidate for president and a workers majority in the parliament, a victory that has already scored new gains for the workers.

These are the examples and the model the unions and workers in the U.S. can and must follow. A candidate of the unions against Young, a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit, can mark the beginning of the fight in the U.S., a fight that can bring down the source of all the attacks on us, the Reagan regime.

Organize the Fight

Young won an election, but we can turn that into just an incident on the road to our victory. AFSCME Council 25 and the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, which also supported it, have a massive power that they can organize in terms of a fight against Young, against concessions, in a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit. Behind these unions can be organized the members of other unions, the unemployed, the youth, every active element in the city that is fed up with Young's lies, demagoguery and attacks.

For a fight that is only beginning, the odds are excellent. What is necessary is to begin the fight. A fight in which we have absolutely nothing to lose and everything to gain.

In a number of cities — Cleveland, New York, San Francisco — in which attacks on city workers have been made, the unions have raised the possibility of a General Strike. We are for that in Detroit; we are for organizing it here as part of a struggle to prepare the General Strike to bring down the source of the attacks, the Reagan regime.

We see the preparation of the General Strike as political, as involving the mobilization of the workers, youth and oppres-

sed, taking the unions into the workers' hands. And so we see the fight in the elections, the fight to defeat Young with a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit, as an excellent way to prepare the General Strike, an excellent way to turn the plans of the bankers, of the real bigots, into dust.

Because the union leadership has already retreated, the fight for a Workers Candidate also means a fight in the unions to confront these leaders, not to beg and plead and pressure them to "do something." In such a fight, we can also confront the leaders of the UAW, who have shamefully supported Young's proposals as part of the same "Chrysler syndrome" that they helped start.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA feels that the best way to actually make this fight real, to give it a concrete character, is for it to run its own candidate for Mayor — *as the candidate who is fighting for a candidate of the unions* — in the September "non-partisan" primary election.

This fight is entirely possible. Young himself, full of arrogance, has not even bothered yet to formally announce his own candidacy.

We need to get a minimum of 927 signatures on nominating petitions and have them in to the Election Commission by 4:00 PM on July 28. This is a real fight that workers and youth can take up with us.

We are not running "our" candidate for some narrow reason. Our objective is to spark the selection of a union candidate. At any time, we are willing to take up a practical agreement with working class forces that will enable the workers and oppressed of this city to cast a class vote in the election.

Our platform for this fight is clear and simple: a candidate of the unions against Young; no concessions; open the books of the city, the banks, etc., prepare the General Strike.

No Victory for Workers

"It's no solution." This is the sentiment most commonly expressed by black workers in Detroit in response to Mayor Coleman Young's proposal to "save" Detroit by raising taxes and negotiating wage and other concessions from the 31 city workers' unions in Detroit.

These same workers are likely saying now, after the elections, "This is no victory."

Mayor Young has been in the lime-light following the elections, celebrating his "triumph." But the common sentiment of workers, that tax increases and making concessions will *not* save Detroit, found no clear expression on election day. By and large, the working class did not vote.

Only 44% of eligible voters voted at all. Of those voting, 160,350 voted "yes" for tax increases, and 91,135 voted "no." What a "stunning victory"!

In spite of political pressure against the unions, in particular the unions of city workers, above all Council 25 of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) and the withholding of services such as bus routes, garbage pickup, bookmobiles, etc., just prior to the election, the turnout was as sparse as in the national presidential elections which meant the victory of Reagan.

Based on the 160,350 "yes" votes, Young hopes to stay in office. But if the results of our intervention in this election mean anything, Young is in trouble.

By fighting for a "no" vote on the tax increase and for no concessions, by fighting to build a movement for a general strike to organize the power of the working class, we found that Detroit workers were interested in an independent solution to the problem of unemployment, rising prices and the attacks of the Reagan government, whose transmission belt in Detroit is Mayor Young.

We won new subscribers to our paper and the promise of building a solid working class struggle against Mayor Young. Don't take it for granted you will win, Mayor Young, your defeat may be our victory in the Mayoral election.

All those who stayed home or voted "no" must have their own candidate, a candidate who will stand on the cause of the unions, like AFSCME, and fight for the preparation of a general strike based in the unions. This is what was lacking in the elections, the working class alternative.

Mayor Young's tax increase is as the workers say "no solution." Then we must bring about a solution that places itself in the fight going on in the unions against the concessions. We cannot afford to wait until next fall to make our struggle, but go now into the unions and, with all our strength, organize the General Strike!
B.P.

The SMOT Tour and Poland

New threats are being made against the Polish Revolution every day. From the Kremlin directly (the visit of Gromyko, most recently) and from the other satellite bureaucracies (East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary). Now there is news of Russian troop mobilizations on the Polish border. All this follows on the meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers and the Comecon economic bloc (the Kremlin's response to the Common Market) and is particularly aimed at preventing the imminent (July 14) Congress of the Polish Stalinist party, the PUWP, or at forestalling the coming Congress of "Solidarity" (August).

The critical moment is at hand.

What can American workers do to express in action their support for the struggle of their Polish brothers and sisters? Is the situation in Poland something "over there," or does it have a direct meaning to us?

In organizing a tour of the U.S. by Vladimir Borisov and Viktor Fainberg, leaders of the Soviet free trade union SMOT (Russian initials for "Free Inter-professional Association of Workers"), the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA are presenting a response to these questions.

The direct and immediate enemy of the Polish workers and their revolution is the Kremlin bureaucracy itself, the ruling caste in the Soviet Union. And the direct and immediate enemy of this caste, and therefore the best ally of the Polish workers, is the oppressed and politically expropriated working class of the Soviet Union.

SMOT represents the fight of this working class, a fight that the capitalist press in the West constantly hides, a fight that the bureaucracy knows well and fears deeply.

Last summer in the Soviet Union, just before the eruption of the Polish Revolution, over 200,000 autoworkers went on strike in Gorki and Togliattigrad. Did you hear about that?

But the reason Borisov is now in the West is that the KGB literally grabbed him off the street, put him on a plane to Vienna and forcibly expelled him from the Soviet Union. The Stalinists know the importance of SMOT, especially in terms of organizing opposition to their threats against Poland. That is why these bureaucrats are unleashing a vast wave of repression against SMOT, against other free trade union movements (SLOMR in Rumania, the movement in Bulgaria).

By taking part in the organization of the Fainberg-Borisov tour, you can actively come to the aid of the Soviet workers movement and thus develop a political weapon that can directly help the Polish workers.

At the same time, the SMOT tour can bring to U.S. workers the lessons of the struggle in Eastern Europe, the defense of the workers conquests in action, a struggle that confronts us so clearly today.

K.F.

French Elections and U.S. Workers

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

"Things are not going well in Europe." These are the words of reactionary columnist and Reagan supporter, William F. Buckley, written in regard to the recent French elections. Buckley and Reagan and Häig have plenty to worry about, and not just in Europe.

An Offensive

On May 10, Socialist Party (PS) leader Francois Mitterand was elected president of France, defeating conservative incumbent Valery Giscard D'Estaing and ending twenty years of right wing rule. This was greeted with joy by the workers and youth, and with dismay by the capitalists.

In elections to the French parliament, held on June 14 and June 21 (the two rounds are a process of elimination), the French workers consolidated and followed up on their victory. The PS gained an absolute majority in the National Assembly (parliament), winning 269 out of 491 seats, up from 117 in the last parliament.

In a contradictory development, the other major working class party, the Stalinist Communist Party of France (PCF) won 44 seats, a decline from its previous 86. While this meant that the working class parties comprised almost two-thirds of the new parliament, its chief significance was that it showed the continued repudiation of the PCF by the French workers because of its attempt up to the last minute, at the bidding of its Kremlin master, to sabotage the fight against Giscard.

This crisis of Stalinism reflected in the PCF's vote was deepened by the conditions imposed by Mitterand for giving four minor cabinet posts (out of forty-four): open rejection of the Kremlin's line on Poland, Afghanistan, etc. PCF leader Georges Marchais could not have made this agreement without Moscow's permission, and in turn Moscow thus sets him up for future removal, for having a "Browder" done on him.

When the French workers, youth and minorities voted in the presidential and parliamentary elections, they were saying one thing: "We want change, and we want it now!" By linking the PCF to his new government, Mitterand wants to give an appearance of working class unity to his attempt to tame the workers, particularly in the unions where the PCF has much more influence than the PS.

This is the classic objective of popular-front type governments, in which the workers parties come to power or take part in a coalition on the basis of the working class offensive, and in which they are used to contain and end this offensive.

Mitterand has made it clear that this is his goal. Not only by the pro-imperialist character of the positions he imposed on the PCF, but also by openly stating his reasons for inviting in the PCF at all.

When U.S. Vice-President George Bush expressed Reagan's worry about PCF participation — really, about the workers and their mobilization — Mitterand's Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson replied: "In a business the boy who runs errands does not know about management strategy. Everyone does what

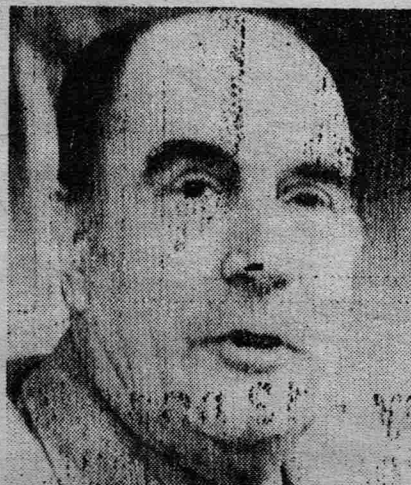
he is supposed to do."

The fear of the capitalist class is real. The offensive of the workers that it fears is real. And this offensive has already produced results, even beyond the election results themselves in France.

An Example

Only a few days after Mitterand formally replaced Giscard, his new cabinet announced a number of measures that are in sharp contrast to those being implemented in the U.S. by Reagan.

It increased the minimum wage by 10%, raised Social Security (in France, this means all "social programs") be-



Francois Mitterand

nefits, and proposed to finance this by increasing taxes, not on the workers and poor, but on the banks, the oil companies and the rich.

It likewise announced the abolition of the State Security Court, which tries suspected "spies" and "terrorists" in secret without right of appeal. In addition, the new government declared that a nuclear reactor at Plogoff in Brittany, a major target of the French anti-nuke movement and of the Breton national minority, would not be completed. And it promised an amnesty program and the end of capital punishment.

On the international sphere, even Mit-

Why the Socialist United States of Europe?

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

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

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

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

terand himself, despite his broad support for imperialist goals, has had to speak out against the U.S. role in El Salvador and Central America.

What assessment do we make of these measures? Do they prove that you can vote "socialism" into office? Do they show the road to a "peaceful" alternative to Reagan and his vicious policies?

We have already pointed out the real nature of Mitterand's policies, as well as his objectives in seeking to use the PCF to tame the workers. But the fundamental difference between this government and any other bourgeois government is that this one depends on the workers movement, that its very existence is based on the fact of the workers mobilization.

Mitterand would like to betray this mobilization, but in the meanwhile he must make concessions to it, concessions which show to American workers — even in their limited extent — the tremendous possibilities that exist on the basis of an independent class mobilization.

The Fourth International and its French section, the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (LOR/Revolutionary Workers League), base themselves precisely on this independent mobilization, seeking to lead it to the revolutionary conclusion that it must find. Our slogans in this fight are: No confidence in Mitterand! Prepare the General Strike! Workers and Peasants Government!

There is nothing inevitable about Reagan's attacks on the workers, about his "war on the poor," about his budget cuts and attempts to rearm imperialism militarily. The French workers have set us a good example of how to defeat such schemes. When we orient our mobilization — which already exists! — toward the question of politics, of who will rule; when we organize independently of the capitalist parties; when we defend ourselves and organize ourselves through the General Strike — then we can bring down Reagan as the French workers did Giscard! Then we can open the road to revolution!

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

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

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

That is our struggle.

What Is at Stake in Ireland?

The hunger strikes for political prisoner status have been at the center of the recent upsurge in Ireland, North and South.

In the North, eight men are now involved in this protest, with Joe McDonnell near death. In the South, it has now become clear that the government of the Fianna Fail party (the traditional party of the "national" bourgeoisie) has fallen, in large measure because of the issue of the prisoners. At the same time, the prospect of the death of an elected representative of the Irish people (Kieran Doherty, one of the two prisoners elected to the new parliament, is also on hunger strike) in an English prison hangs menacingly over the heads of the new government.

What is at stake in this upsurge? There are two different perspectives on this. One is the perspective of revolution, which flows from the actual situation and which the Fourth International stands for. The other is the perspective of reform, of pressure on imperialism, of "human rights," which is in contradiction to the actual situation and which is put forward by the bloc between Bernadette Devlin, the IRA and the pseudo-Trotskyists in the leadership of the H-Block/Armagh Committee.

This second perspective has consistently been presented in the writings of Gerry Foley, the Irish expert of the pseudo-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in its "international" publication, *Intercontinental Press*.

In a passage that we can read today only with bitterness, after the abortive end of the first hunger strike, Foley wrote (December 29, 1980): "The fifty-three day hunger strike . . . has scored the biggest political victory won by the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland since the Northern Ireland civil rights movement of 1968-72."

How was it possible to make such a statement? If you see the question of the prisoners, as the Fourth International does, as a fight against imperialism's attempt to present revolutionaries as "terrorists" and against the policy the British government officially calls "Criminalisation," it would be obvious that vague and purely verbal "concessions" by this government would have one goal only — stopping the mobilization in its tracks, all the better to continue the original policy.

But if you think that the perspective of revolution is "ultraleft," that therefore the goal should be to extract "human rights" from an imperialism which is subject to democratic pressure, then you can freely announce "victory" at the dropping of a few empty words.

Foley had to confront reality only a few weeks after this famous "victory." The titles of his two articles in one issue (January 26, 1981) tell the story: "British Government Waffles on Prisoners" and "Assassins Strike at Bernadette Devlin McAliskey." In plain English, the British had reneged on their "concessions" and were seeking to destroy the movement by killing off its leadership.

Once it became clear that "victory" had evaporated, Foley had to try to politically explain the situation (March 16, 1981):

The second hunger strike is beginning on a

desperate note . . . The hunger strike campaign was the only movement going on, and once it was demobilized the British government was relaxed. Moreover, once such a movement is stopped, it is not easy to get it going again.

All very true. But Foley forgets to mention that it was the "victory" announcement by the bloc (and Foley) that "demobilized" the movement!

In response to the deaths of the first four hunger strikers, the masses — especially the youth — went into the streets against the British Army and their "Northern Ireland" stooges. Devlin and the rest of the bloc condemned these youth! Foley expresses their views (May 18, 1981):

In the North, all the authority of the H-Block movement and the republican movement . . . is being brought to bear to prevent any outbreak of violence that would impede the growth and broadening of the mass protests . . .

The extent of the demonstration on May 7 shows how widespread the anger was . . . But this anger is being contained.

More exactly, the bloc is seeking once again to reduce the masses to a means of pressure on imperialism. It is in practice seeking to once again "de-

We Are All Polish Workers

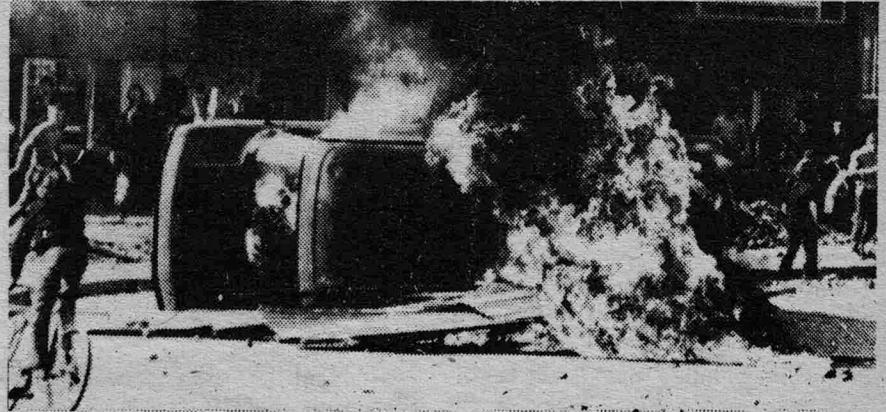
We all Polish workers. This is no empty phrase, no play on words, it is the *truth*. Every battle we undertake requires our unique methods and means of struggle — like the Polish workers who try, *independently*, to take in hand all the economic, political and social problems.

The purpose of the International Workers Fund begun by the Fourth International is the means for all workers, whether in Poland, the U.S. or Central America, to *finance* class in dependence, to carry forward the fight undertaken by the Polish workers and extend it across the world, to *build* the party of the Polish Revolution.

In the United States we must go much farther. The campaign the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA have begun to enlist the support and contribution of the American working class to the construction of the leadership of working class revolution must become manifest.

We have asked all our readers and supporters to contribute to the International Workers Fund, to buy buttons that express their strong sentiments in favor of the struggle of the Polish workers' struggle. These buttons that say "Solidarnosc" (the name of the Polish workers union), "We Are All Polish Workers," "Poland Won't Be A Czechoslovakia," and "Todos Somos Obreros Polacos" are a manifestation of the living struggle to bring the lessons of the Polish Revolution to the United States. They show where the American workers stand in relation to the Polish workers struggle; they must be seen at every picket line, in the factories, in the schools and demonstrations of the youth.

It is clear from the limited contributions and sales of buttons that the cam-



Protest in Ireland against "Criminalisation."

mobilize" the movement, by denying its revolutionary goal and the methods that flow from that.

The latest news reports indicate that the IRA has issued a "conciliatory" statement on the question of political status. The question of the prisoners cannot be settled by a deal with British imperialism. The prisoners exist because they are fighting to drive the British out. Any concessions made by the British on this specific question depend for their reality and duration on the victory of the mass movement. Anything that slows down, that "demobilizes," this movement will soon enable the British to go

ahead with "Criminalisation" once again.

But that is precisely the role being played by the bloc and being apologized for by Foley.

Foley writes cynically (May 25, 1981): "The sudden influx of large numbers of young teenagers . . . represents a major advance for the campaign. But it has also created certain immediate problems."

For Foley and the bloc, the revolutionary youth and their struggle are "problems." For the Fourth International, they are the road to victory. K.F.

paign must become more focused and clearly planned out to achieve massive contributions from the American workers.

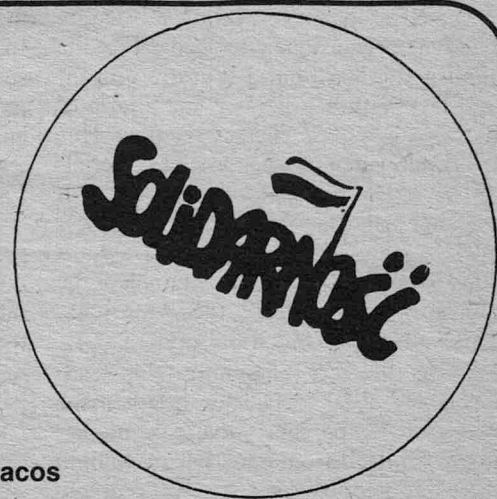
This campaign will be centralized in the *Truth* Conference planned for July 25. But workers and youth should build the International Workers Fund now by making contributions and by buying and selling the buttons of the Polish Revolution.

If the American working class is to have the advantage of inviting to our country militants who built the fight for free unions in the USSR, Fainberg and Borisov, and organizing their speaking

tour, which will in turn organize the fight for class independence in the United States, contributions must flow in, buttons must be sold — everyone who takes seriously the cause of the working class must make his or her contribution.

We will continue to print on this page a blank for your pledge. Single buttons, or bulk orders for buttons can be made by writing to *Truth*. The buttons cost \$1 each. Help make the turn from sympathy to active struggle, make your pledge to the International Workers Fund. B.P.

Order your Buttons now!



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

All buttons \$1.00 each.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Order from: PO Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

The Nicaraguan Revolution Today

July 19 marks the second anniversary of the victory of the Nicaraguan Revolution. This gives us an opportunity to make an evaluation of its significance, of what it means today.

International

For us, for the Fourth International, the fundamental significance of the Nicaraguan Revolution is that it, together with the Iranian Revolution, marked the beginning of the present political period on the world scale, the period in which the masses have made a clear turn toward the revolution.

An evaluation of it today starts from this perspective.

It is clear today, in the light of the revolution in El Salvador, of the upsurge in Guatemala and the rest of Central America, that the Nicaraguan Revolution was not an event by itself, but a beginning.

It marked the beginning of the revolution in Central America and, because of the critical political and economic role of the region plays, of the American Revolution in the broadest sense (the revolution in the Americas) and in the most specific sense (the overthrow of U.S. imperialism).

That is why the defense of this revolution has not been some acts of vague "solidarity," but has been part of — the most active part of — the revolutionary mobilization in the U.S.

Particularly beginning with the Reagan administration's attempts to rearm U.S. imperialism militarily and politically — by scoring a quick victory in El Salvador, in particular — this movement has acquired an increasingly massive and radical character among the youth, including among young workers and union members. So, when we look at the Nicaraguan Revolution today, we also have to politically deal with this mobilization.

If Nicaragua marked the beginning of the American Revolution, if we can already see this in the movement in the U.S., then an obvious question is how to unite these struggles, how to extend the revolution — which is its defense in action.

The Nicaraguan Revolution was led by a petty bourgeois guerrilla leadership, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Petty bourgeois is not a term of abuse, it is a class characterization. This leadership is not independent of imperialism or of the national capitalist class. It does not stand for the conquest of power by the working class in Nicaragua and it is blind to the necessity of the triumph of the revolution throughout the Americas, above all in the United States.

From the very beginning, this leadership has tried to balance between the masses and imperialism, to use the masses to protect itself from imperialism, to limit the mass mobilization so as not to offend imperialism, to use the threats of imperialism to control the masses.

And thus, from the very beginning, it has come into political and actual conflict with the masses. This was sharply expressed by one of the Sandinista leaders, Humberto Ortega, in discussing the insurrection whose anniversary we are marking: "We had thought that the masses would support the guerrillas in taking power. But that's not how it happened. Instead the

guerrillas ended up supporting the mass insurrection that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship" (*Intercontinental Press*; February 18, 1980).

The masses had made their own revolution, but the Sandinistas — who had viewed the masses as auxiliaries to their struggle — took the power.

Conflict

This laid the basis for continual conflicts between the masses and the FSLN, surfacing first around the question of the right to strike and independent unions.

Increasingly, however, this has taken on an international and political aspect. There is a vast contradiction between the objective needs of the revolution and the masses who made it and the desires for compromise with imperialism of the FSLN. And this is expressed most clearly in regard to the extension of that revolution, particularly in El Salvador.

FSLN leader Tomas Borge, Minister of the Interior and last surviving founder of the FSLN, has made this very clear: "We have promised in all seriousness not to send arms or troops to help the Salvadorans, and we have kept our promise. Mr. Carter can rest assured that we are keeping our promise" (*Intercontinental Press*; March 16, 1981). This speech was made in October 1980, but the FSLN has also fervently insisted to Reagan that it has kept its "promise."

But this has not done any good. Because Reagan is not interested in just isolating El Salvador, he is interested in defeating the revolution. And that means in Nicaragua, too.

That is why he has cut off all aid to Nicaragua, even food aid, in a blatant attempt at blackmail. Likewise, his government, the supposed opponent of "terrorism," has turned a blind eye to the training and arming of counterrevolutionary bands of Nicaraguans and others right in the swamps and glades of Florida.

In the face of these attacks, the Sandinistas do not move the revolution forward, they do not crush the capitalist class inside the country, they do not forcefully come to the aid of the revolution in El Salvador. Instead, they take purely defensive measures (the creation of a "militia" whose purpose is basically for public relations) and keep their "promise."

In fact, the policy in practice of the FSLN is to rebuild the bourgeois state, to effectively roll back the revolution. Imperialism puts the FSLN under pressure to do this at the same time that it seeks to dispense with the Sandinistas, along with the revolution.

The revolution has to be defended by being extended, both inside and outside Nicaragua. Inside the country, this means the formation and centralization of organs of workers democracy, workers councils, etc., their taking political power and their expropriation of the bourgeoisie. The Nicaraguan Revolution must now become a socialist revolution in order to triumph.

This is not possible on the basis of Nicaragua alone. The victory of the revolution in the rest of Central America is the spur that can set the masses into political motion once again in Nicaragua. The masses of El Salvador are themselves held back by a leadership like the FSLN, the



Young rebel fighter in El Salvador.

political bloc represented by the Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN).

Unity

No, the question is not of each people lifting itself up by its revolutionary bootstraps. The question and the perspective is of the unity of the revolution in the Americas. That, and not some nice piece of geographical schematism, is the meaning of the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

And for us in the U.S., this question becomes extremely practical. It is no longer a question of taking positions or of offering advice in regard to Central America. We have to develop our own revolutionary mobilization, the one that is already visible in the struggle against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism, into a struggle for the victory of the American Revolution, for the overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

In the U.S., in Central America, in nearly all the countries of the Americas, what is politically required is the building of workers parties, as the independent class leadership of the revolutionary masses. But this depends on taking up the struggle, not on waiting for these parties to materialize, least of all on posing them as an empty slogan whose non-realization becomes an excuse for passivity.

The General Strike is the perspective in which we can take up the revolutionary struggle. Yes, in El Salvador and Guate-

mala. To be sure, in Nicaragua. But above all in the U.S. — the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

This fight centralizes all the struggles of the workers, youth and oppressed in the U.S. at the same time that it enters into the struggle of the masses throughout the Americas.

The movement that already exists in the U.S., the movement that has already stayed the hand of Reagan and deepened the crisis of imperialism, has to link up with the power of the unions, of the organized forces of the working class. The energy of the youth, the power of the workers; these are the elements of the General Strike.

What are the keys to making this link, to connecting with the already developing struggle in the unions, with defending the revolution in Central America?

Now is the time to make the boycott of the Latin American dictatorships a practical fight in the movement and in the unions. Steps have already been taken in this direction; the task now is to expand and generalize them, to raise this fight in every struggle of the unions.

In this way, the General Strike can be organized in the only way that it can be: on the basis of independent political mobilization, on the basis of actions, demonstrations, strikes, rallies, meetings.

Taking up this fight is the way we think the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution should be celebrated.

K.F.

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These organs of the ruling class, of imperialism, are lying once again, just as they always have about the Iranian Revolution.

The truth is that the Iranian Revolution, the revolution that with the Nicaraguan Revolution began the period in which we are now fighting, is passing through a critical period.

The Iranian Revolution had the character of many of the mass, popular and national revolutions of the twentieth century. Virtually the whole population, outside a tiny, hated minority, was united in struggle against a single despotic figure who expressed imperialist domination of the country.

In the case of Iran, this was the Shah.

In the case of Russia in 1917, it was the Czar. The revolution of February 1917 overthrew this Czar and opened a "democratic" and "national" period in which the class contradictions in this broad unity began to emerge. In other words, which class would rule, bourgeoisie or proletariat?

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against counterrevolution, against open reaction, against betrayal of the revolution by its supposed leadership (Kerensky) and open reaction (Kornilov).

This struggle is the one that is going on today in Iran. The open reaction, the Islamic clergy of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), Khomeini, their armed goons in the so-called "Party of God" (the "Hezbollahi") have already dispensed with the services of Kerensky-Bani Sadr. Now they are out to openly crush the workers and revolutionary organizations.

The two largest revolutionary organizations in Iran, the "Marxist-Leninist" Fedayeen and the Islamic leftist Mojahedin, are under constant attack. Many of their militants, as well as other opponents of the reactionary mullahs, have been murdered, attacked, executed.

The clergy hope to wipe out the revolutionary organizations and then move on to the workers organizations, the factory committees ("shoras"), etc.

These revolutionary organizations, most clearly the Mojahedin (who have the most mass support), have apparently decided on armed resistance to the reaction. There can be no question: resistance to counterrevolution by any means is absolutely justified.

But armed resistance is not enough. Even more, by itself it is politically disorienting. Everyone from Khomeini to the bourgeois press in the West has said that the Mojahedin were responsible for the explosion that blew up 72 leaders of the IRP, including its leader, Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti. The Mojahedin have, at this date, not responded one



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In the 1971 convention discussion period, she became an important figure in the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (PO), an opposition of approximately 100 members which, as its name indicates, sought to turn the SWP toward the unions and the working class. The PO was an extremely disparate tendency, with all kinds of internal differences — and differences with the leadership, above all — plastered over with the label "proletarian orientation."

As a result, it could not effectively combat the leadership and, following its defeat at the 1971 SWP convention, it collapsed.

In the preparation of the 1973 convention, a portion of the PO (along with some new forces) revived as the Internationalist Tendency (IT). Hedda Garza was one of the important figures in the IT, which soon came to political agreement with the "majority" (the wing led by Magdel and Krivine) of the Pabloite "United Secretariat" to which the SWP adheres and in which it was then the "minority."

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CARD: A New Perspective

By BARBARA PUTNAM

It was abundantly clear at the June 29 meeting of Detroit CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) that the National Steering Committee of CARD held June 20 in Washington, DC, and its decisions are woefully inadequate to lead American youth who want to confront Reagan, the draft, the attacks on workers and blacks, and the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. This leadership must be overturned and a representative leadership built if the youth movement is to advance.

As we said in the last three issues of *Truth*, the CARD leadership established bureaucratic rules to dis-involve the youth in the leadership of their own movement. As we said, the National Steering Committee would be made up only of a self-appointed clique, without perspective or even any ideas as to how the youth can fight Reagan's draft. This was completely borne out in the results of the National Steering Committee.

The group pretending to be the leadership of the youth opposing the draft was elected by 33 (!) voting delegates and only 18 local anti-draft organizations. (Readers should bear in mind the 100,000 youth who demonstrated in Washington on May 3). This newly elected body is to be the highest body of CARD, making all political decisions. An Executive Committee was also elected to give "guidance to the CARD staff."

The main discussion and vote was around endorsing a CISPES (Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) "cultural event" celebrating the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. This body voted down (overwhelmingly) a proposal for a national anti-draft demonstration in the fall for two "reasons": that CARD is in debt and that this demonstration (the majority felt) "would not be successful," anyway.

With difficulty, the new Steering Committee took a position about PAM and its call for an All People's Congress. This organization (People's Anti-War Mobilization) is distinguished by its efforts to divide the anti-draft movement in May calling for a national demonstration May 3 instead of May 9, the May 9 date being that set by a national conference in Detroit in February of 1,200.

Summer Schedule

Beginning with this issue, we will be publishing on our summer schedule. Our paper will appear once every three weeks into September, when we will once again go biweekly.

The schedule is as follows:

#136 July 31, 1981

#137 August 21, 1981

#138 September 11, 1981

#139 September 25, 1981

The CARD Steering Committee voted against endorsing PAM's efforts, saying that it would have a "negative impact on CARD and create splits." This can only illustrate further how far removed the CARD leadership is from being a leadership in the youth movement, because it makes it appear that this is a



YIG/USA in anti-draft demonstration

question of PAM vs. CARD or, conversely, CARD vs. PAM, when in reality the real problem is an independent leadership and plan for the youth who oppose the draft.

A group that has set itself up as the central leadership, and then can only endorse a fund raising dance, that says that anything national cannot be successful in the face of May 3, deserves to be overturned — and in a hurry. There was some vague talk about "something in the spring" and waiting for another international event (like the invasion of El Salvador maybe?) to happen so that CARD can respond. The youth must not wait. In the shadows decisions are being made that drastically affect the whole movement, that tend to dissolve this movement in "local activities" (the whole Steering Committee was for "local activities" only).

This is an *emergency* situation in CARD that demands emergency measures if CARD is ever to re-take its position as a main leader in the youth movement. Under this present leadership CARD is dying; there have been no new recruits, the youth are not

mobilized. This leadership is more and more alien from the struggle of the youth and its inner dynamic which is in total conflict with the Reagan regime. This leadership is disintegrating and demobilizing the forces in and around CARD, which in the past have been extensive. It must be replaced.

No one should accept the results of the National Steering Committee, because these results reflect only the passivity and compromise, the political bankruptcy, of a handful of radicals that would rather have the youth sell raffle tickets than wage a consistent, winning political struggle.

All of the experience of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA with CARD says that it is still necessary to save CARD as an organization, for the youth to use it as a major vehicle to organize a winning combat against the imperialist rearmament undertaken by the Reagan regime.

It must be clear: not CARD vs. PAM, or CARD vs. any other organization; but *use* CARD and the place it took when the youth began to mobilize against the draft to wage a unified struggle against the Reagan regime. This is

Toward the Fifth World Congress of the RYI A Congress of Fifty Young Leninists

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting to build the Fourth National Congress of International Young Guard/USA, as a Congress of fifty young Leninist cadres.

With this fight we take up the call of the Revolutionary Youth International for the building of its Fifth World Congress as a sign of the construction of a mass, international army of the youth for the socialist revolution.

Fifty young Leninist cadres — at the moment when the entire movement of the youth and all of its organizations are experiencing the disorganization and dispersion of their forces at the hands of a class collaborationist and bureaucratic leadership.

Fifty young Leninist cadres — to answer the search of young militants for the struggle of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Comradés! This search is an active combat to *Organize the Revolution*, against imperialism and Stalinism.

The Fourth National Congress of International Young Guard/USA will be built on the basis of such a combat in all its forms.

Through the open regroupment of all the forces among the youth who oppose the attacks of U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin on the revolution. To draw the lessons of the Polish Revolution and make the revolution come alive in the heart of imperialism. To act on the basis of the gains of the world revolution by organizing all

the spirit of May 3, and we believe that in the ranks of CARD and its sympathizers this spirit still lives.

Beginning in the Detroit CARD chapter, which took the most active stand in the preparation of the February Conference in Detroit and around May 3, whole chapters can be won to building an *Emergency Conference of CARD*. This Conference needs an exacting plan of action and exact content. Most central to the preparation of this Conference is a fight to unite all the elements who expressed their combativity against the Reagan regime on May 3, under the theme: "Down with Reagan! Down with Reagan's Draft! U.S. Out of El Salvador!, Build the leadership of the youth movement."

There do not have to be any limits placed on this struggle; its axis is to bring down Reagan and to find the methods to do this. With such a plan, International Young Guard/USA and the Trotskyist Organization/USA are preparing to *organize* the long overdue Emergency CARD Conference, to orient the youth movement along the path of independent action which does not put pressure on the present power structure, but seeks to overturn it.

debate and discussion around an objective — the General Strike, the classical beginning of the revolution.

Through the fight to organize the forces of the youth who oppose imperialist rearmament around a working class combat, to demand the movement be placed in the hands of the tens of thousands who marched in Washington, DC.

For the total military and economic boycott of the Latin American dictatorships! For an Emergency Conference of the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) open to all militants and organizations who oppose the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Through the central campaign decided on by the World Workers Conference: the defense of independent trade unions in Eastern Europe and the USSR. A fight at the same time to organize the independence of the unions in the U.S. from the plans of Reagan and the bosses.

But, above all, the Fourth National Congress of International Young Guard/USA must be based on the construction of circles of youth around its newspaper *International Young Guard*, as the expression of the debate and struggle of the youth to Return to Lenin. A struggle to take up, as Lenin did, the means and methods of organizing the revolution and building its leadership.

D.H.