

Defend PATCO and the Unions . . .
No Concessions . . .
Organize the General Strike to . . .

Bring Down Reagan!



Judith Clark (left) and Kathy Boudin being arraigned. The workers movement must defend these militants against the terrorist state.

PATCO, the "Weathermen" and the Terrorist State

The terrorist state of U.S. imperialism is out to crush the workers movement at home and abroad. Its methods and the proof of this objective can be seen in the attack on PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union, and in the frame-up unleashed against the "Weather Underground" and organizations supposedly connected with it.

In both cases, U.S. imperialism's cops, courts and armed forces have adopted the old motto of British imperialism: "Divide and rule."

Both PATCO and the "Weathermen" were isolated organizations, and the "Weather Underground" was not only small, as PATCO was in a relative sense,

it was very small. These two groups were isolated not only numerically but politically.

PATCO had never acted in support of other strikers in the airline industry; its members thought they were a cut above ordinary workers. In addition, it had supported Reagan in the last election.

The "Weather Underground," too, was politically isolated. It was an organization that had explicitly never counted on the mass power of the working class. In addition, its bad politics had made it extremely unpopular with other radical and working class organizations. And, finally, its advocacy of "underground" existence served to further isolate it.

In other words, both groups were easy pickings.

Second, the imperialist state used the question of "illegality" to cover its attacks. The "Weather Underground" was composed, it said, just of "terrorists" and "criminals." PATCO had "broken the law."

And immediately following the attacks on these two organizations, the attacks began to be extended to others. From the "Weather Underground," links were made to the black nationalist Republic of New Africa and to the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. From PATCO, the whole legal apparatus of fines, firings, jailings and blacklists was set in motion for

use against other unions. The government unions (Philadelphia teachers) have already felt this attack, and it lies at the root of the new wave of demands for "concessions" set in motion by the biggest corporations.

The whole handiwork of entrapment, provocation, chainings and beatings that have been used in these two cases are a preparation for even greater attacks.

In this situation, it is not enough to demand "civil liberties" or "trade union rights" without linking them to the slogan: *Down with the terrorist state!*

TRUTH

The Fight to Defend PATCO

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The strike of the air traffic controllers lifted the whole American working class to a new level of combat against the Reagan regime. It could represent the beginning of a massive mobilization of the working class for the General Strike. Solidarity Day, the huge demonstration of over 350,000 workers and their allies, was a direct result of the strike.

Bureaucrats

But across the board, the trade union officials have given way to the attacks of the Reagan regime against the unions. They have stood aside and allowed PATCO (the air traffic controllers' union) to be decertified and at the same time have accepted more and more "concessions," especially in the Ford factories.

The retreat of the trade union bureaucracy leaves the workers in a disorganized state and offers the Reagan regime an open freeway into the heart of the unions. Since they have stood aside and allowed Reagan to cut deeply into the PATCO strike, the bureaucrats' intentions with regard to the UAW and the auto plants is abundantly clear.

No union took any immediate, practical steps to support and defend PATCO. The bureaucrats simply went through the motions, a few bucks, a few speeches and a little token picketing. A rally in Detroit of 150 bureaucrats was intentionally designed to exclude workers, and even it came only after Reagan decertified PATCO. The AFL-CIO officials in Detroit, headed by Pontius Pilate-Tom Turner, wanted only to publicly wash their hands of any responsibility for PATCO.

This "rally," which they called "Metro Solidarity Day to defend PATCO," was a total farce. We went there in order to oppose it, and to counterpose the active and massive struggle of the ranks of the unions to this tokenism. Mass picketing at the airports, every union must honor the lines; this is what we said has to be done.

Our Fight

We have been carrying out this struggle at the Ford River Rouge plant in Dearborn, where there is one of the largest union locals in the world, Local 600 of the UAW. We began this fight by getting signatures from the workers to demand that their local organize mass picketing at the airport and call for the honoring of the picket lines by the IAM (International Association of Machinists), which has been crossing the lines since the beginning of the strike, and all other unions.

Solidarity means mass picketing at the airports, solidarity means not crossing the picket lines, solidarity means that the ranks of the unions must be politically organized to confront Reagan's attacks on the unions, on the right to strike, on the right to have a union at all.

We got well over 100 signatures in a few days at the River Rouge. This is a step in the direction of winning the majority of workers for the active organization of a union meeting where they

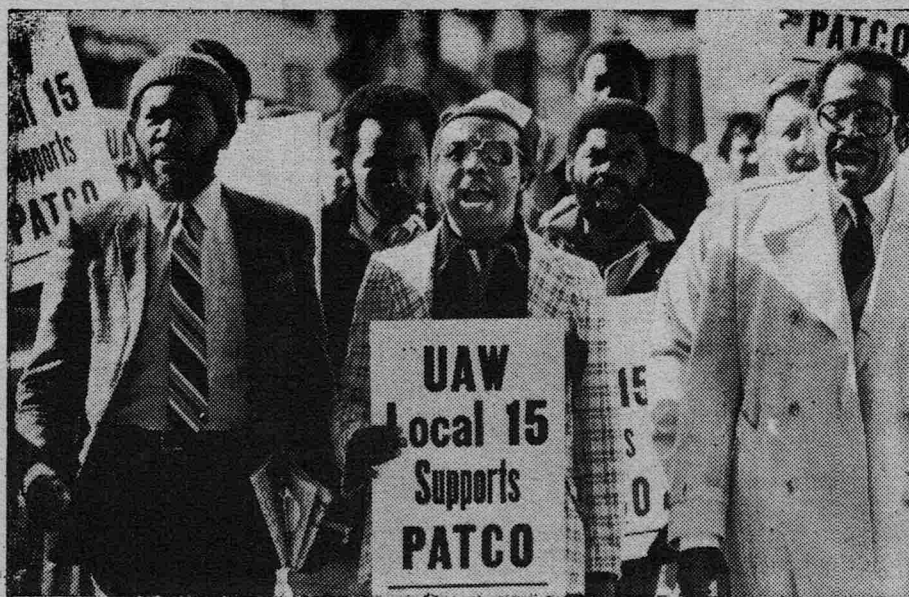
can decide on mass picketing, a step in the direction of the self-organization of the union ranks.

The response of the workers has been very open and favorable. We are continuing to get signatures toward a first goal of 500, and from there we will organize resolutions in the various units (how Local 600 is organized) endorsing a meeting of the entire local to decide on the organization of mass picketing at the airports and the honoring of the picket lines. This is the way the workers can begin to take the union under their

against the unions.

The trade union bureaucrats are spreading the lie that the workers are responsible for the decertification of PATCO, that the workers are getting "more conservative." They are supported by centrist groups like "Spark," whose militant outside the River Rouge said that the problem is that "the workers are on their butts."

No, the bureaucrats are getting more conservative and the workers are beginning to break with them. With the image of Solidarity Day fresh in their



Bureaucrats' phony demonstration in Detroit.

control.

Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW stated publicly (*New York Times*; November 12, 1981): "For all practical purposes the PATCO strike has been lost. The union has been destroyed." The AFL-CIO at its national convention in New York turned down a motion to support the strike in favor of purely verbal support for rehiring the air traffic controllers. This is the position of the leaderships of the unions. But the workers see just the opposite, that the strike is *not over* and that *nothing is settled*. They see that the problem all along has been the trade union bureaucrats and their acceptance of Reagan's attacks.

Organization

Even if the workers see all this, it still does not mean that the situation will somehow be resolved spontaneously (or peacefully) in favor of PATCO, and thus all workers. What it does mean is that the ranks of the unions must themselves be organized to defend PATCO and to confront Reagan's offensive

minds, workers can and must turn the situation around through their own political struggle.

Every leadership in the working class is being put to the test. Will they or can they organize the workers?

We have written to all the working

Results

Bus Terminal.....	2
Rouge.....	5
PATCO Fund Raiser.....	5
PATCO Support	
"demonstration".....	4
Demonstration in support of	
Ireland.....	2
Other.....	5
Total	23
New Subscriptions.....	8

class organizations present at the River Rouge. None has so far responded to organizing mass picketing at the airports because they too basically accept the framework set up by Reagan and the trade union officials.

When we went to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has members who work at the River Rouge, its only response was, "Good luck." This is what the union bureaucrats have said to PATCO. Other organizations, such as the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), have not said anything at all, although individual RWL members have signed our petitions for mass picketing. Some have told us it is a "good idea," but they don't really see it as a means to rally the workers and to consolidate a leadership among them that will lay the basis for the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

We are carrying on the fight with those workers who signed the petitions and plan to launch a factory bulletin at the River Rouge that will be a lever of organization for the workers who strongly support PATCO and oppose "concessions." We invite all workers and organizations to participate in the fight to win a majority of River Rouge workers for mass picketing. In this way, we can begin to draw all the unions into this kind of struggle.

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Defend the Unions — Take the Offensive!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Reagan has decertified PATCO. His capitalist masters, especially in auto, are demanding more and still more "concessions" from workers. A major fight is shaping up for the fate of the unions.

"Reaganomics"

There is a lot of talk now about "Reaganomics," that is, the economic policy of the Reagan administration. "Reaganomics stinks," the union bureaucrats say. "Reaganomics has failed," the liberals say.

Well, it certainly stinks; although that isn't saying much. And the Reagan recession has dispelled all the illusions in "Reaganomics," but this does not at all mean that it has failed. Quite the contrary.

The fact that the 8% unemployment rate "anticipated" for January arrived in October, the fact that Murray Weidenbaum, Chairman of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, now blandly "anticipates" an unemployment rate of 9% — the highest rate since World War II — for next year, the fact that all other statistics indicate the "economy is bad" do not mean Reaganomics has failed.

The publication, in the December issue of *The Atlantic* magazine, of the doubts and hesitations of Reagan's Director of the Office of Management and the Budget, David Stockman, the well-known budget-slasher, reveals more than meets the eye.

The remarks that "Reaganomics" was only "a Trojan horse for the rich," that it represented only "traditional Republican 'trickle-down' economics," are misleading. Such statements imply that this is a period of stability in which all that is at stake is the relative amount of the greedy rich are going to siphon off. Stockman — "The hogs were really feeding. The greed level, the level of opportunism, just got out of control" — may really believe this, but Stockman is not a Marxist.

In a recent issue of the liberal magazine, *The Nation*, two radical scholars pointed out the actual meaning of Reagan's budget cuts. Most criticisms — there was really no budget cutting, it all went to the military; etc. — do not speak to the reality. In recent years, the working class, including its marginal elements, had been able to gain certain concessions — food stamps, extended unemployment benefits, welfare, etc., etc., — which have enabled it to resist the pressure to take any job at any wage. This is what the Reaganites, by which we mean the most ruthless advocates of the imperialist ruling class, are out to destroy. That is why these same people are after the minimum wage and all other programs that enable the working class to resist.

In this sense, increased unemployment is not a sign of the failure of "Reaganomics," it is one of its goals — precisely because such high unemployment, with nothing to fall back on, means increased competition for a job; any job at any wage.

The situation is illustrated by the recent statistics issued by the Census Bureau. One representative of the Census Bureau stated that the figures showed "the largest decline in real income in the post-World War II period and one of the largest increases in

poverty since we started compiling statistics in the early 1960's."

These figures coincided with an increase in major welfare programs. But that was *last year*. *This year*, with poverty growing even faster, with welfare programs cut, what will these people do? They will join the "reserve army of labor," increasingly ready to take any job at any wage.

Such facts, by the way, also illustrate at least part of the attack waged by Reagan on the rights and gains of blacks and other minorities. It is not so much a question of racism in the abstract, or of personal racism, as it is of making blacks once again a suitable pool of unemployed labor, a specter with which to frighten employed white workers.

The Crisis

So "Reaganomics" has not failed, any more than "Thatcherism" has in Britain. But, more importantly, it has not succeeded either. Because, as we pointed out in the last issue of *Truth*, the fact that there is a recession shows not only that the capitalists are on the offensive, but that the workers are resisting. That is the *real* crisis, of the economy and of the Reagan administration.

"Crisis" is sometimes used loosely to imply a really bad situation. But it actually means a decisive or crucial stage. That is how W.E.B. DuBois and Thomas Paine used the word: "Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

When we look at the situation today, we can see that the framework of the resistance by the workers to Reagan (the mobilization around Solidarity Day) is the unions. If "Reaganomics" is to succeed, the unions have to be broken.

And this is the stage on which the recent events have been acted out. The attempt to smash PATCO, the increased and renewed demands for "concessions," are not ordinary or routine events. Many people have said that if PATCO fails, that is only the beginning. But very few see that this process is already underway, that the imperialists are not waiting for one stage to be ended before they move on to the next. The class struggle is not so neat.

"Concessions" are being demanded from all kinds of unions, including even the huge International Brotherhood of Teamsters (in regard to the upcoming negotiations on the National Master Freight Agreement), but the focus is on auto, more exactly, on the United Automobile Workers (UAW).

The "concessions" ball got rolling with the "save Chrysler" fraud, in which UAW president Douglas Fraser and his bureaucratic leadership sold thousands of workers down the river. Now the "Chrysler syndrome" threatens to become an epidemic.

In recent weeks, Ford Motor Company (where the attack is centered), has obtained "concessions" on work rules and so on at plants in Livonia and Sterl-

ing Heights in Michigan (earlier it obtained wage cuts from steel workers at the River Rouge plant in Dearborn). Now it is seeking similar work rule "concessions" at the Brook Park complex in Cleveland, Ohio.

Even more important, however, is the attack made at the Ford plant in Sheffield, Alabama. There the company demanded actual changes in the *national* UAW contract (not just local agreements, as with the plants above), under threat of closing the plant. The UAW leadership, as well as the workers, refused to consider the proposal.

But the direction is clear. The next contract will be signed in 1982, a little less than a year from now, but the companies are already trying to settle the fate of the autoworkers in advance.

American Motors (AMC) has asked for 10% of *current* wage and benefit increases to be channeled into an "Employee Investment Plan." Delco-Remy (a General Motors subsidiary) in Anderson, Indiana, has begun local bargaining. And General Motors itself has increasingly begun to "outsource" its components, strangling its own parts production employees.

What is the response of Fraser and Co.? At best, passivity; at worst, eager cooperation. The AMC proposal, for instance, was actively shaped by UAW secretary-treasurer Ray Majerus. The bargaining councils for both Ford and GM have already been elected, and we can be sure that this was not done to avoid the last-minute rush.

The bureaucrats are ready and willing to take what even one financial analyst calls "just one step along a long road."

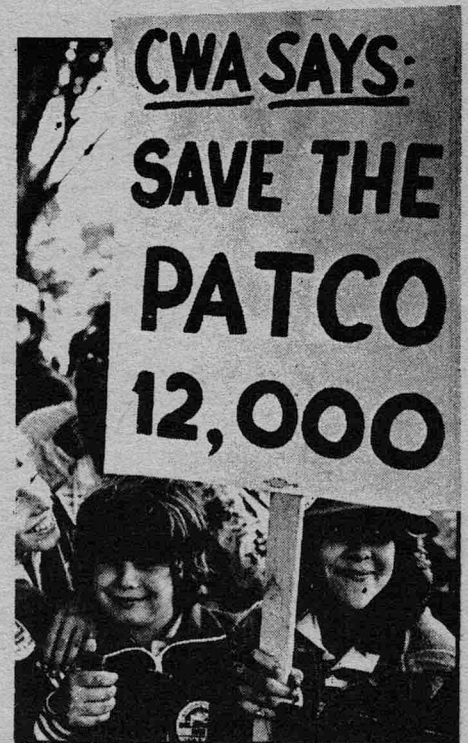
Defending the Unions

In regard to PATCO, the situation is even clearer. Under pressure from the ranks, the bureaucrats had to exclude Reagan from the Labor Day rallies and from speaking at the recent AFL-CIO convention. But, on December 2, a number of these same bureaucrats will go to visit Reagan at the White House. Chief among them will be Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, and Douglas Fraser. And these two, in particular, have been in the forefront of the drive to sweep the busting of PATCO under the rug.

Kirkland greeted the decertification of PATCO with the remark that now that all the legal stuff was over, Reagan could be generous and rehire the individual strikers. Fraser went farther, announcing that the "war is over," merely asking for generous terms of surrender.

The political point is not rehiring air traffic controllers, but stopping union-busting. And that is what Fraser and Kirkland refuse to do. This was graphically shown at the recent AFL-CIO convention, when a proposal for a one-day work stoppage was referred to a committee, from which emerged only the plea for Reagan to be kind.

The bureaucrats, especially the UAW bureaucrats, are living in a dream world. A meaningless concession by



Widespread support for PATCO.

Reagan — rehiring — which would only show how "reasonable" he is, would fit perfectly into a larger plan — to attack all the unions to the end, with the UAW marked down as the first to go.

This winter, into the spring and summer of next year, the battle is going to be fought in auto. Nobody, least of all the auto barons and Reagan, is going to wait for "negotiations" to take their normal, leisurely pace. The war, Douglas Fraser, is not over, it is just beginning.

A few years ago, this same Fraser accused "big business" of waging a "one-sided class war." Such unusual language (classes?) concealed the fact that, to the extent that it was one-sided, the class war was being betrayed on our side by enemy agents, by Benedict Arnolds like Fraser.

Today, "big business" is even bigger — we are seeing today an unprecedented wave of mergers and purchases the concentration and centralization of capital on an unparalleled scale — and far more earnestly engaged in the class war, which goes by the name of "Reaganomics."

The Trotskyist Organization/USA has taken up the fight to defend PATCO in this context, to develop our side of the class war — to defend the unions as gains of the workers by taking the offensive.

We haven't concentrated our fight at the River Rouge plant because there are a lot of workers there, but because the UAW and autoworkers, especially those at Ford, are the key to the coming period.

The revolutionary party, the leadership that our side needs in the class war, its general staff, will not "emerge" from the "situation," it will not be built by propaganda. It will be built only by those who take up leadership today. That is the challenge that faces every militant of the workers movement.

The Fourth International Prepares the

The Fourth International is preparing its Eighth Congress by fighting to organize the revolution in the East and the West, in this way building the party that the revolution needs.

Polish Revolution

In the forefront of this struggle is the battle for the victory of the Polish Revolution. Our party alone has anticipated and prepared for this revolution. And the deep significance of the Polish Revolution for all the struggles in Europe, in the East and the West, is at the center of the struggle that our party is waging there today.

The Fourth International alone has fought to link the struggle of the Polish workers, organized in the free trade union "Solidarnosc" ("Solidarity"), to the struggle for free trade unions throughout Eastern Europe. In this sense, to say the least, the appeal of the recent Congress of "Solidarnosc" to the workers of the countries of the socialist conquests is the result of the work of the Fourth International.

Its section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, is actually organizing today inside the country. In fact, its organ, *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle"), is actually being published inside Poland today — in thousands of copies.

This is a result of the development of the fight we have waged inside the Polish Revolution, for its victory, against its enemies. One example of the way in which *Walka Klas* has grown is shown by an incident that occurred earlier this year. A factory of 5,000 workers, having read our organ, voted to reproduce it in 5,000 copies, treating it as its own publication.

The enemies of the Polish Revolution and its false friends have had to react to these facts. For the Stalinist bureaucracy, it is easy; it simply labels us, in the good old Kremlin way, "agents of imperialism."

But the pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" have to take a different tack. When its European organ, *Imprecor*, published an issue in Polish (consisting of observers' analyses of the revolution), these Pabloites had to state: "One must not confuse *Imprecor* with *Walka Klas*, the newspaper of a sect," etc. But if our publication is so unimportant, then why do the Pabloites feel that their ever so important publication could be confused with it?

In addition, the Pabloites stated that "*Walka Klas* is published in Paris." As we have stated, this is not true. There is a sinister aspect to such a statement. The Fourth International has opened up a fight for the return to Poland of two of the editors of *Walka Klas*, Stefan Bekier and Jozef Goldberg. These comrades were forced to leave Poland by the anti-Semitic campaign organized against the student movement of 1968. To blame them for having lived — and politically fought — in Paris up to now implies a cover-up of the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in exiling them.

The fight of the Fourth International to build its section, to fight for the united front for a government responsible to the workers councils, for the national independence of Poland, for workers control of the economy and society, is the decisive factor for the victory of the Polish Revolution.

Return to Lenin

But the fight of the International is above all to insure that the Polish Revolution does not remain isolated. That is why it has been for the support to all the free trade union movements in the East. And that is why it is organizing the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin, which can be the means for the extension of the Fourth International not only into all the countries of Eastern Europe, but into the USSR itself.

This is particularly important in view of the ongoing struggle of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, in defense of the Polish Revolution, through the tours of different countries which the International has taken the responsibility of organizing.

A recent confirmation of this importance comes from within the USSR itself. In the spring of 1980 massive strikes broke out among the autoworkers of Togliattigrad and Gorki. But the response of the Stalinists and their supporters was to deny everything. But *now*, eighteen months later, officials at Gorki have had to admit a little. Their story now is that sixty workers had an "unauthorized meeting" to discuss pensions. The bureaucrats have admitted, no doubt because of the existence of the example of the Polish Revolution, that there was a little smoke. So we know that there was a fire — and that it has not gone out, or

the bureaucrats would have been only too glad to forget the whole thing.

The Soviet workers, now entering into struggle openly against the bureaucracy, are the best prevention measure against the Kremlin's tanks. The Fourth International is out to organize this struggle.

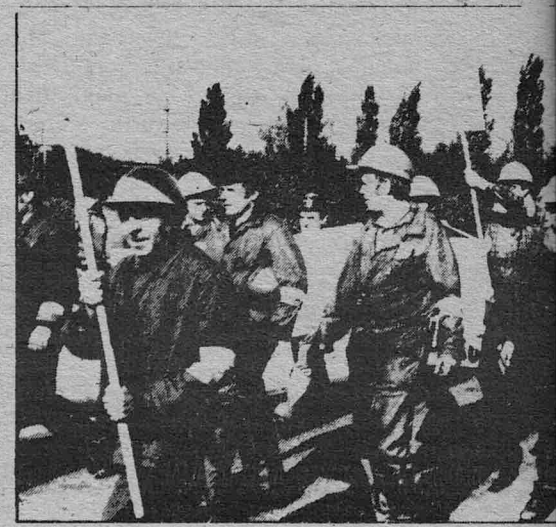
Against Imperialism

But the fate of the Eastern European workers does not depend on them alone.

The workers and youth of Western Europe are increasingly seeking the road of the revolution. This was demonstrated last May by Mitterand's victory in France and it was shown more recently by the victory of Andreas Papandreou's Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (known as PASOK) in the Greek elections.

The PASOK victory, in spite of Papandreou's probable real intentions, is directly linked to the growing movement in Western Europe against the rearmament of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. This movement has two connected focuses. First, against the existence of current and the introduction of new U.S. nuclear weapons into Western Europe. And, second, against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the imperialist military alliance dominated by the U.S. whose forces are stationed in many Western European countries.

After the mindless bluster of Haig and



Polish workers are on the march.

Reagan about tossing around a few missiles in Western Europe, especially in Germany, this movement has acquired new dimensions. Throughout Western Europe in recent weeks there has been a wave of major demonstrations against NATO, nuclear weapons and U.S. imperialism.

Hundreds of thousands marched in the streets during Haig's visit to Germany. Major actions took place in France, the Netherlands and Britain. And most recently on November 15 in Madrid, Spain, hundreds of thousands marched to protest the Fran-

For Their Freedom and Ours

PLEDGE FOR THE POLISH WORKERS!
PLEDGE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the rest of the Fourth International are building the International in order to defend the Polish workers' revolution, in order to lead the workers in their confrontations with the Kremlin and imperialism to victory.

We ask all who support this struggle to make a monthly pledge to the Workers Fund for the International.

The victory of the Polish Revolution is tremendously important for American workers. If the Polish workers win, it will inspire workers throughout America who want to bring down Reagan. It will prove that the workers can rule, that they need not accept the domination of the bosses or the bureaucrats, of Reagan or Brezhnev. Poland will be a fortress for the working class, from which it can organize its assault on all the regimes which exploit and oppress it. If the Polish workers are crushed, this will be used by all reactionaries and cynics to keep the workers down.

Victory requires organization, *international* organization. And international organization requires money.

We realize that making a monthly pledge to the Workers Fund for the International means a sacrifice and a commitment. It means reorienting priorities and reorganizing the workers movement.

Nobody has much money and nobody wants to part with his money, especially on a regular basis. But if workers are willing to make that sacrifice, that commitment, *for the construction of the Workers International*, then it will be possible for the masses of workers in Poland, the U.S. and all countries to free themselves. If each person tries to just make it on his own or contributes just once in awhile, the workers' situation will only get worse.

We need \$2000 in November, December and January to help finance the work. Half will go to the International, in particular to help finance the Eighth World Congress, and half will go the Trotskyist Organization/USA. We have already raised 10% of this sum. Teams are going to shopping centers and neighborhoods every Saturday to win pledges. You can help by making a pledge today.
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.

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Revolution in the East and the West



States, have a stake in this struggle, just as we have in the victory of the Polish Revolution.

Reagan would like to compel Brezhnev to new capitulations to imperialism, but this Western European movement forces him to trim his sails, to try to maneuver with public opinion, to try to base himself on purely pacifist sentiments, in order to achieve these same ends.

In this situation, the fight of the Fourth International in this movement, against the reformist and pacifist leaderships with which it is presently saddled, is the key to making this movement into one of class independence, not to be utilized for the maneuvers of Reagan or Brezhnev, a movement in fact toward the revolution.

Our perspective here is clear: "With the Polish Workers, For the Socialist United States of Europe!" Against the reformist governments and leaderships we take up the slogan of Karl Liebknecht: "If you want peace, prepare the revolution!"

In particular, we draw the attention of the workers and youth to Germany, where the postwar division of Europe — on which imperialist "stabilization" based itself — finds its most graphic expression in the division of the country itself. There we call for the withdrawal of all occupation troops

from Germany, for bringing down the Berlin Wall, and for the reunification of Germany through the power of the workers councils.

American Workers

As we have already said, the struggle against imperialist rearmament in Europe is at one with our own struggle against Reagan. Already, American youth have fought the policy of imperialist rearmament in the anti-draft movement, in the movement against intervention in Central America, and, increasingly, in opposition to nuclear weapons. But here, too, these movements remain under the domination of opportunist and pacifist leaderships, and remain as separate "movements," without being able to find their way to unity in a single struggle against American imperialism.

In an article first appearing in *La Aurora*, newspaper of the PORE, Spanish section of the Fourth International, and translated in *La Verite*, organ of the LOR, its French section, Anibal Ramos, a leader of the International, has taken up the question of the fight of the American workers.

The article was written just after Solidarity Day, when the opposition of the Amer-

ican working class to Reagan first appeared in the open. Citing the world-wide opposition to Reagan's imperialist rearmament, Comrade Anibal states: "But, *above all*, the American workers have already shattered the 'honeymoon' of President Reagan. This is a decisive event for the workers of every part of the globe."

Citing the will to defend PATCO, the large turnouts at the Labor Day demonstrations as well as Solidarity Day itself, he continues: "The break has begun. As we launch an offensive against the entry of Spain into NATO, we have to greet with real enthusiasm this response of the American proletariat, which will bring Reagan to his knees if the conservative bureaucrats of the trade union leadership do not stop them."

The article's sub-title is "The American Workers to Our Aid." Let's take up the struggle to "bring Reagan to his knees," let's organize against the trade union bureaucracy and its attempts to save him. This is how the Trotskyist Organization/USA is preparing the Eighth Congress of its party, the Fourth International.

K.F.

ican monarchy's plans to join NATO and against U.S. bases in Spain. The protestors demanded that the government organize a referendum on this question, instead of trying to arrange it over the heads of the people. But the reactionary "democratic" Spanish government knows full well that any real democratic voice on the plan to join NATO would completely reject it.

So we, workers and youth in the United

Prepare the Eighth World Congress!

Resolution of the Pre-Congress Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

1. Workers, Youth! The Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International is *your* Congress as well: a Congress to prepare the imminent confrontations with imperialism and Stalinism. From Poland to America, the period of peaceful collaboration between workers and bosses, between bureaucrats and workers, is past and gone.

Each day Reagan's government, claiming bourgeois democracy as its banner, grows more terrorist. The collaboration of the bureaucrats and workers' leaders, sown in years of retreat before our exploiters, is being reaped today to prepare the frontal assault on the conquests of the working class.

The breaking of the PATCO strike is the signal for the entire working class that class confrontation, not collaboration, is on the order of the day. The major industrial strongholds of the working class will be next. Already the process is well under way in auto.

With the attacks on the major conquests of the working class, the unions, come the witchhunt against militants and the attack on the right of the working class to organize. The arrest of Boudin, Clark and other militants, the uncovering of grandiose "plots" against the government — even having "radical literature" is now a "terrorist" act — is a warning to every party, and every militant, who oppose Reagan's reactionary government.

Workers and youth! This *is* bourgeois democracy, stripped of all pretenses. This is real terrorism — the organized terror of

the imperialist ruling class and its state.

2. The spontaneous struggle of the working class against its oppressors is rapidly being exhausted. Over 350,000 workers in Washington, DC, on Solidarity Day did not stop Reagan from carrying through his attacks on PATCO. The voice of hundreds of thousands of workers never found an answer in the mouths of their leaders, who to the very end refused even to honor PATCO's picket lines.

The construction of a new leadership must be at the center of our struggle. The construction of the workers party, a party of combat, a party which defends the interests of the entire working class. Reagan is the enemy, the union bureaucrats his agents, and the target is the unions, the rights and the freedoms which were considered "sacred" in the past period.

A new leadership! To organize the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

3. The American working class has never had its own party. But the Fourth International has taken a decisive place in the most important struggles of the American working class. Today the Fourth International must be rebuilt in the United States. This is not an internal affair of Trotskyists. It concerns the construction of a workers party to organize the conquest of power by the working class. The initiatives of the workers have been heroic, but we do not have time to recapitulate all over again all the lessons of the international workers movement in

our own struggles. The struggle for the workers party must find its link to Bolshevism, to the party of Lenin.

That is why the Eighth World Congress is a workers congress.

That is why the Eighth World Congress is a workers congress.

That is why the Eighth World Congress is an open Congress — open to the tendencies and fractions of the working class breaking from those defunct leaderships whose feet are planted in the past period of "peaceful coexistence."

4. The rebuilding of the American section of the Fourth International; the construction of the workers party, is based entirely on the formation and mobilization of the new generation of working class youth. The Trotskyist Organization/USA launches the fight for the preparation of the International Rally of the Youth for the Return to Lenin (for the summer of 1982) placing at the center of its fight an open campaign against the *terrorist state*.

It prepares the next stage of its struggle through the unfolding of this campaign on the different terrains of struggle against Reagan and his terrorist government. Against his plans of colonial intervention, for the right of the working class to political parties and political organization, the defense of the unions and the elementary rights of workers — and for the defense and extension of the Polish Revolution.

This fight is the basis of the Fourth National Congress of International Young Guard/USA which must be a Congress of the Youth for the Return to Lenin. A

Congress open to the tendencies and groups in the youth movement who are opposed to imperialism and Stalinism.

With this goal in mind the Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes common actions with the militants of the Young Socialist Alliance to *defend Clark, Boudin*, and the other six militants charged with robbery and murder, as the first step in a campaign of common struggle against the terrorist state. This campaign is the answer to the attack on the anti-draft youth who are being prosecuted for their refusal to register, it is the road forward to defeating the reactionary Voorhis Act.

5. To support the preparation of the Eighth World Congress our Conference sets the following goals.

— the linking of groups and tendencies, as well as individual militants, to the fight for the Eighth World Congress by the massive distribution of its preparatory Theses.

— fifty sales of the RYI pamphlet, *What is the RYI? What Does It Want?*, at the convention of the YSA.

— the sale of 300 copies of Truth

6. In order to gather the material resources for the holding of the Eighth World Congress and the completion of its work — the building of the workers International — the Trotskyist Organization/USA resolves to finish its goal for the Workers Fund for the International by raising \$500 in pledges from the working class.

"Weathermen" Frame-Up Unravels

The whole frame-up against the so-called "Weather Underground" ("Weathermen") has begun to fall apart.

On November 5, Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston), who had been arrested by the FBI in a massive raid on an unarmed Mississippi farmhouse belonging to the black nationalist Republic of New Africa (RNA), was freed.

Ali, who had been charged with being involved in the Nyack, New York, Brink's truck robbery that the cops blame on the "Weather Underground," was a leading figure in the RNA. Through arresting her, the cops hoped to involve the RNA, which the FBI has publicly labeled a "terrorist organization," and the militant black organizations generally in its "anti-terrorist" witch hunt.

But the cops blew it. They had an "identification" of Ali as someone seen entering a supposed "safe house" in Mount Vernon, New York, following the Nyack robbery. However, Ali had documentary and physical evidence that she was having her car repaired in New Orleans, Louisiana, on the date of the supposed "identification."

This raises an interesting question. If Ali was not in Mount Vernon, then how was the FBI's witness able to "identify" her? In fact, the witness was shown a photograph of Ali, which he then obligingly "identified." In other words, the cops already had photos and names of militants they wanted to get. Do we need to ask: how long before the Brink's robbery?

The evidence in the case as a whole is on the same level as that against Ali. And the fact that she was nonetheless called to appear before a November 16 Federal grand jury, the fact that her lawyer, also an

RNA leader, was deprived of his ability to represent her on the basis of the FBI's accusations of "terrorism," only reveal the frame-up nature of these charges more clearly.

The FBI agent in charge of the case asserted as much when he stated that the FBI "would continue to look into possible links" between the robbery and "what he called a 'plethora' of radical or terrorist organizations." And the U.S. Attorney in charge of the case stated blatantly: "Whether these groups are associated in law or in fact with the robbery, we do not know yet." (*New York Times*; November 7, 1981).

That has not stopped the cops, the bourgeois press and the rest of the apparatus of the terrorist state from creating an impression that there exists a vast "terrorist underground." It has not stopped them from arresting, shooting and beating known black militants. It has not stopped them from pulling in other "Weather Underground" figures on empty charges. It has not stopped them from attempting to connect the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to this "underground."

And it has not stopped liberals, radicals and even some so-called "Trotskyists" from yielding to this witch hunt.

The Nation, a left liberal magazine, had a front-page editorial denouncing such supposed "crimes." Ex-New Leftist Sheldon Wolin compared the "Weathermen" to the Mafia, the Mafia came off better, in the respectable pages of *The New York Times*. And the *Times*' own house left liberal, Tom Wicker, announced: "The violent re-emergence of the Weather Underground . . . is amply scary to justify

the intense follow-up investigation launched by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

"Innocent until proven guilty" went out the window.

In contrast to this, the RNA (which has never claimed to be a Marxist or socialist organization and which is, in terms of the tasks of the American Revolution, actually quite conservative), has adopted a principled position.

In her November 6 press conference, Fulani Sunni Ali brought the RNA's "warmest revolutionary greetings," expressed sympathy for those arrested, denounced the frame-up and announced that she would not cooperate with the grand jury.

Similarly, her attorney and fellow-RNA leader, Chokwe Lumumba, announced in regard to the Black Liberation Army (another group linked by the cops to "terrorism"): "The (RNA) recognizes the right of all oppressed people to advance armed struggle for their freedom. For political reasons, the Black Liberation Army has chosen to advance such a struggle. For political and security reasons, the Provisional Government (of the RNA) has not."

Unfortunately, the SWP, which does claim to be Marxist and socialist, which claims to represent the Fourth International in this country, has not done so well.

First of all, it has avoided the political implications of this attack, attempting to "forget" the embarrassing "Weathermen," presenting the attacks as being directed only against black organizations. That is why, after denouncing the attempt to link it to Judith Clark, one of the arrested militants, even after trying to fol-



Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston)

low up the origin of this charge, the SWP has forgotten this whole aspect of the case. It has forgotten it because it does not want to confront the terrorist state over the Voorhis Act, the law that tries to make the Fourth International illegal in the U.S.

Shamefully, it has also denounced the "Weathermen" in the same terms as the liberals and radicals quoted before. This can only remind us of the labor bureaucrats' attacks on PATCO when its strike began, attacks which were a means to refuse to defend it, just as the SWP has refused to defend those being, as Fulani Sunni Ali has said, *persecuted* today. K.F.

The Iranian Revolution and the SWP Opposition

By FRED VITALE

The Iranian Revolution of 1978 was a decisive defeat for U.S. imperialism. One of the largest armies in the world — trained and equipped by the U.S. — fell to the revolutionary mobilization of millions of workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities. Today, as the Khomeini regime enters into open rapprochement with U.S. imperialism, the question of how the Iranian Revolution can advance is posed very sharply.

The Iranian working class, allied with the peasantry and determined to grant self-determination to all oppressed nationalities, must establish its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. To carry out this task the Iranian working class needs a revolutionary party, in a word, the Fourth International.

This is the only perspective for the victory of the Iranian Revolution. But this perspective for Iran — a Leninist perspective embodied in the program of the Fourth International (the Transitional Program) is *not* the basis for the debate opened up in the pages of *Intercontinental Press* of November 16, 1981, and *The Militant* of November 20, 1981, between David Keil, a leader of a tendency in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and the SWP leadership, which publishes this magazine and paper.

First, it must be said that David Keil's letter, criticizing the line of *The Militant* on Iran, speaks to a real political concern of every working class militant. The SWP, and its co-thinking organizations in Iran, the HKE and HKV, have developed a campaign of slander against the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (P.M.O.I.).

The SWP has continually defended the Khomeini regime, whose action in Iran — oppressing national minorities (as did the Shah), outlawing and attacking striking workers, disbanding the shoras (workers committees), etc. — have placed a sizeable section of the Iranian workers and peasants in *opposition to Khomeini* because his regime attacks the revolution. This section — whose struggle is expressed by the Mojahedin and the Fedayeen — is called "counterrevolutionary" by the SWP.

Keil correctly defends the Mojahedin and correctly labels the Khomeini government as "pro-imperialist." But the fundamental question — what road forward? — is answered the same by both Keil and the SWP leadership — a "struggle" for bourgeois democracy (like the United States!), divorced from the socialist revolution, a struggle against the Fourth International.

"As against the present set-up, *The Militant* should present the necessity for separation of church and state, elections in which all parties are recognized, a government responsible to a constituent assembly, and authoritative constituent assemblies for each oppressed nationality. That will add some content to *The Militant's* call for a workers' and farmers' government."

This perspective is pro-Stalinist — Pabloite — and is simply another way of saying "socialism in one country," because it denies the socialist revolution as the only road forward for any country — proven positively by the Russian Revolution, and negatively by nearly every revolution in the ex-colonies since then.

But this pro-Stalinist framework for this debate is the common one that binds together the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." This is the international grouping around Ernest Mandel in Europe and the SWP leadership in the Americas, which has nothing to do with the Fourth International. It is this framework which Keil, an inveterate oppositionist in the SWP, establishes for resolving the political conflict in the SWP.

The SWP leadership wants to keep the debate in this framework. It has printed in

the same issue of *Intercontinental Press*, and in past issues, articles from *Socialist Challenge*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group in Britain, a Mandel grouping. These articles have presented the basic points of Keil's letter. The message to SWP militants is clear: we can all "disagree" on Iran and stay within the "United Secretariat."

But militants of the SWP, looking for the Fourth International cannot accept this pro-Stalinist framework for discussion.

In a political fight, as is now going on in the SWP, every move by the opposition leadership against the Barnes leadership will be met with enthusiasm by members of the tendency, and become the basis for deep and intensive debate and discussion. But with such a political position, the ranks must not even accept the framework being defined for the discussion. Otherwise, they will never find the road to the Fourth International.

In discussing the characteristics of a Bolshevik against the Stalinized partyman, Trotsky said that "independent thinking" is above all what characterizes Bolsheviks. In the case of such a poisonous Pabloite framework, it is the only antidote.

SWP Cuba Defense Campaign

A Total Diversion From the Revolution

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has just announced that a U.S. attack on Central America and/or countries in the Caribbean is imminent. It has called for protests to prevent this — *The Militant*, November 20, 1981.

Defense of Cuba?

The SWP does not say exactly what it expects to happen, but it implies that Cuba will be invaded.

"There has been an escalation of hostility that brings to mind the U.S. government's behavior when the invasion of (Cuba) in April 1961 was already imminent . . ." says the SWP, quoting Castro.

The SWP's "alert" and call for protests is not a serious defense of the revolution. It is a total diversion initiated by the Kremlin, through Castro.

The only evidence that the SWP offers for its assessment is second-hand and circumstantial. It cites Haig's denunciations of Cuba for allegedly sending guns and troops to El Salvador, his threat to get to the "source" of the problem in Central America — Cuba — and his request for an investigation into various possible military attacks.

" . . . The military was asked to study a show of airpower, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces," says the SWP, quoting *The New York Times*.

It also cites Castro's letters and speeches declaring that there is an "impending threat against the sovereignty" of his country, and a counterrevolutionary Cuban publication, the *Semanal Extra*, which says: "Cuban Invasion Plan Ready!"

To maintain that this adds up to an imminent invasion of Cuba, one must main-

tain that Cuba is an ever-present and imminent threat to U.S. imperialism whose existence cannot be tolerated.

However, Cuba is no more the "source" of Reagan's problems in this hemisphere, no matter what Haig says, than the Soviet Union is the "source" of Reagan's problems on an international scale.

Since the Cuban Revolution, the Cuban working class' struggle has been severely restrained by the Stalinist bureaucracy, just as that of the Russian working class has been.

Reality

What then is the real meaning of Reagan's threats, which are real, and Castro's response?

The revolution in Central America is gaining ground. Reagan's policy has failed. He aimed to crush the revolution outright and has been unable to do so.

Reagan and Haig were forced to admit this when they termed the situation in El Salvador a "stalemate." One State Department official even told *The New York Times* that if the situation continued the junta would fall.

Reagan's failure in El Salvador has led to a crisis in the regime and open debate in imperialist and junta circles over their future plans.

The U.S. Senate recently decided to demand that the junta respect certain "human rights," as a condition for future aid, despite Reagan's and the junta's active opposition to these terms.

"The message of the vote is clear," said one Senate aide. "We're saying it's the internal conditions in El Salvador that we care about, not Moscow's and Havana's conspiracy." (*The Nation*, October 17, 1981).

Mexico and France decided to recognize the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) saying that they must be party to a "political solution" to the conflict in El Salvador.

The junta is considering asking the dictatorships in the "Southern Cone" for assistance.

Instead of taking advantage of this situation — the advance of the guerillas and the crisis of Reagan and his supporters — in order to lead the working class to victory, the Kremlin, Castro and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas have repeatedly pressed the FDR/FMLN to begin negotiations with the junta!

This fall they finally succeeded. Christopher Dodd, Democratic Senator from Connecticut, recently returned from El Salvador and reported that "both sides" are "ready to talk."

The FDR/FMLN authorized Daniel Ortega, a leader of the Sandinistas, to take a proposal to the United Nations for a "dialogue of peace." (see *Truth* #140). This dialogue would consist of talks without preconditions between the opposition

and the junta. They would be held in the presence of neutral parties and would "seek to define a 'new political, economic and judicial order' and 'restructure the armed forces' by integrating opposition and junta-controlled troops into one force." (*The Nation*, October 31, 1981).

Betrayal

This betrayal of the revolution, which the SWP called "a fresh diplomatic initiative," is a signal to Reagan. He knows that the Kremlin and Castro and Co. are willing to negotiate. Now he's trying to force them to directly collaborate with him in *maintaining the junta*.

Reagan's threats are *not* aimed at preparing an invasion of Cuba. They are aimed at forcing Castro and the Sandinistas to cut off all arms to revolutionaries in El Salvador and at pressuring the FDR/FMLN to lay down their arms and participate in the fraudulent elections planned for next year.

Castro's response — his letter to *The Washington Post*, his letter to Kurt Waldheim, U.N. Secretary General, the letter from Cuban youth to the SWP, the speeches and the pseudo-mobilization in Cuba — is not aimed at defending the revolution in Central America or in the Caribbean.

Castro completely accepts Reagan's prohibition of armed assistance to the Salvadoran revolutionaries, dishonestly claiming that Cuba does not have the means. How did Cuba manage to help Angola? The SWP tries to cover up this fact by citing Castro's verbal solidarity: "Fidel Castro emphasized in an October 24 speech that it is both 'just' and 'moral' to aid other peoples fighting for the liberation." Then why doesn't he do it?

Castro charges Reagan with planning an attack on Cuba and calls for a mobilization against it for these reasons: to secure better terms from Reagan, and to cover his *de facto* negotiations with Reagan over the future of the Salvadoran revolution in a cloud of pseudo-revolutionary smoke.

In short, Reagan and Castro are both willing to make a deal over El Salvador. Now they are just haggling over the terms. This is the real meaning of the current war of words and military maneuvers.

This is not the first time that negotiations between American imperialism and the Kremlin, through Castro, have been masked by denunciations and counter-denunciations. Nor is it the first time that the Socialist Workers Party has joined the American Communist Party in being chief advertisers for this scam. On October 12, 1979, *The Militant* came out with the banner headline: "Stop U.S. War Moves Against Cuba." Andrew Pulley made a statement denouncing these alleged war moves and called for protests against them.

Deals

It has since been revealed that the Carter administration and Castro had been in negotiations during this entire period! A



Fidel Castro

recent *Detroit Free Press* article said: "While publicly maintaining an icy silence, top-level Carter administration officials met secretly with Cuban counterparts over a three-year period in an effort to normalize relations between the two countries."

The SWP's repeated attempts to make the American working class into an appendage of Kremlin-Castro diplomacy have been the biggest obstacle to the revolution in this hemisphere, from the first days of the Cuban Revolution when it said American workers task was simply to defend Cuba, not to make the revolution in the U.S. (when the SWP split from the Fourth International) until today — and this latest episode.

What happened to the PATCO strike? Evidently it doesn't matter anymore. The SWP devotes virtually its entire issue to Castro's machinations. When Castro calls, the SWP jumps.

But the working class must pursue an independent course, not only with respect to the struggle in the U.S., but also with respect to the struggle in Central America and the Caribbean. This means organizing a union boycott of all aid to the Salvadoran junta and to other dictatorships in Latin America, as part of the organization of general strikes to bring down Reagan and his friends.

A union boycott of all aid to the junta will assure the downfall of the junta and open the road to the formation of the United Socialist States of Central America and the Caribbean.

This, and not covering for Stalinism, is the struggle of the Fourth International.

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TRUTH

IYG/USA Builds Fourth National Congress

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Malcolm X Circle of International Young Guard/USA, in a meeting held at Wayne State University on November 15, adopted a plan of action for building the Fourth National Congress of IYG/USA. The plan has a goal — to build an organization of fifty young Leninists — a goal which was discussed at the meeting.

Mayoral Election

The plan for the Fourth National Congress was the concluding point of the meeting which first began with a discussion of what lessons could be learned from the struggle of the Malcolm X Circle in the Detroit elections, a struggle developed around the demand for *jobs now* and a *program of public works*.

David Heffelfinger, who was the candidate in the Detroit elections who fought for a *Workers Candidate*, and who is a member of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, began the meeting and the discussion with a presentation: "Why there are no jobs, and how we can fight for a program of public works."

The conclusion was reached that only the working class was capable of fighting for such a demand or for any of the rights

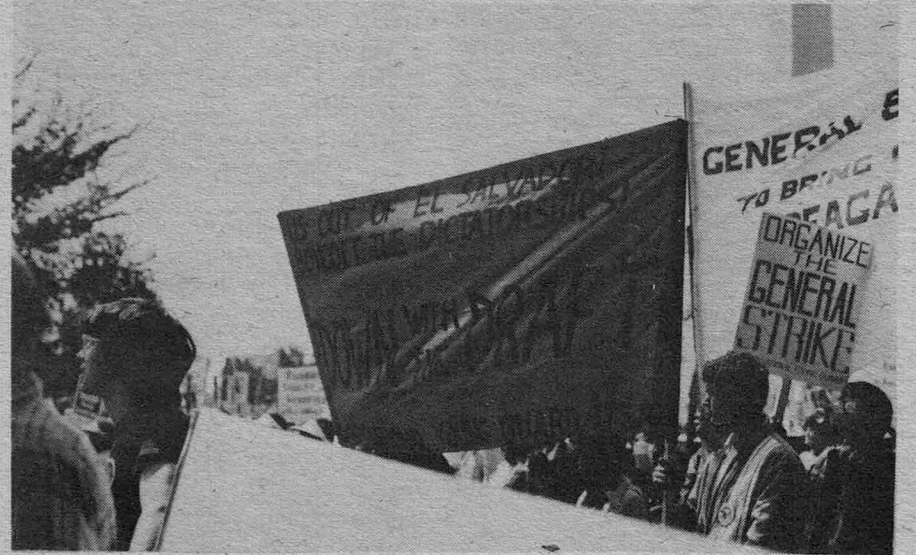
that are currently under attack by Reagan's government. Heffelfinger explained how this government, the capitalist state, is not a neutral arbitrator between the two classes, but rather that its only purpose is to organize systematic terror against the working class. And also, that unemployment was not only an objective consequence of the last dying state of capitalism — imperialism — but also a conscious drive of the capitalist class to impoverish the working class and attack all of its fundamental conquests.

But the main conclusion was that the working class, as the motive force of history, needs a revolutionary leadership and that the new generation of working class youth is the spark for building and renewing the workers leadership.

Election Day Demonstration

The discussion then turned to analyzing the successes and weaknesses of IYG/USA's demonstration on election day in Detroit. A lesson of this action was the importance of organization and action in confronting the capitalist parties and their terrorist government.

A young worker at the meeting, Chris,



IYG/USA at Solidarity Day.

said: "If we had succeeded in organizing a delegation of youth to confront Young and Koslowski about a program of public works and jobs, we couldn't depend on the media to report on our fight. We need our own press to make our fight known."

The Circle agreed that the main weapon of building the Fourth National Congress is the paper, *International Young Guard*, and that the newspaper must become more of an organizing tool.

What Is the RYI and What Does It Want

The first element of the plan for the Fourth National Congress is the production and distribution of the pamphlet of the RYI, *What Is the RYI? What Does It Want?* The pamphlet has been produced in French and Spanish and IYG/USA has the task of producing the English edition.

This pamphlet will be used with the production of *International Young Guard* as the calling card and organizer of the Fourth National Congress.

Lessons of Poland For American Youth

The plan for the Fourth National Congress proposes that IYG/USA build a joint meeting with the Trotskyist Organization/USA, commemorating twenty-five years of revolution, from the Hungarian uprising in 1956 to the Polish Revolution today, and drawing the lessons of this struggle for the fight of American youth. To build the public meeting a large distribution of *International Young Guard* is planned. The most important intervention will be at a youth concert or event on the weekend of the meeting, Saturday, December 5.

The Polish Revolution is a very concrete example of how the struggle for the rights and conquests of the working class is the launching point of the revolution today. The Polish workers began their struggle over the one demand of opposing a meat price increase by the Stalinist bureaucrats. In developing and defending this struggle,

they have come to fight for workers control of production and have organized "Solidarnosc" ("Solidarity"), a free trade union ten million strong.

YSA Convention

The last point of the plan, but in many ways the most important, was the proposal for the Malcolm X circle to build a delegation to the National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the Socialist Workers Party. Rich Tetrault of the National Bureau of IYG/USA explained that the YSA has been contacted about granting observer status to a delegation, but has not yet responded. "The RYI was founded as an international for the youth, so that they can take up the task of organizing the revolution and building its leadership with their own means and methods," explained Rich. "The foundation of the RYI represented the kind of youth organization that Lenin and Trotsky said the youth needed." He concluded: "We want to convince the YSA that it belongs in the world army of the socialist revolution, the RYI."

Palestinian Meeting

Ghada Thami, the director of the "United Holy Land" (a branch of the Palestinian Liberation Organization/PLO), spoke at Northern Illinois University on November 18. Throughout her speech she listed the ways by which the Zionist State of Israel, through its misleading propaganda, prevented the U.S. government from recognizing the PLO. In other words, the well-intentioned U.S. government is being "misled" and "pressured" by Israeli agents in Washington.

One of our comrades asked: "Why do you seek the support of U.S. imperialism? Zionism is the product of U.S. imperialism." Thami answered by saying: "I do not believe that all of the U.S. government is imperialist. Zionism is not the consequence of U.S. imperialism, but an historical fact."

Ghada Thami can be classified only as naive or opportunist; either way, she is a perfect example of the petty bourgeois leadership.

As always, it is the working class that would be sacrificed in a struggle that would conclude only in the creation of a Palestinian mini-state under U.S. imperialist protection. Like the FSLN in Nicaragua, the petty bourgeois Palestinian leadership is determined to lead the working class, with the use of "radical methods," to peaceful cooperation and friendship with Big Brother USA.

Ghada Thami, like a preacher of the "moral virtues of terrorism," accuses Israel of being more terrorist than the PLO. This is true, but we do not waste

our time determining the moral justification of certain actions. Our concern is their validity in advancing the revolution.

As revolutionaries, we are open to all methods of struggle, but we have a certain distrust of guerrilla and terrorist methods because they have tended to represent a petty-bourgeois program. Through such methods, the petty bourgeoisie have tried to make "their revolutions" independently of the masses, only in extreme cases seeking the intervention of the working class. On our side, we are for the mobilization of the workers for the General Strike and for the formation of workers councils.

Such is the grotesque nature of the petty bourgeoisie. While they call for "radical solutions" to the sufferings of the working class, in reality they fear the masses. It is easy to understand why their opportunist instinct would lead them to lower themselves to saying: "I do not believe that all of the U.S. government is imperialist."

Thami also said: "I believe in the idealism of the American youth and I want to win them over to the Palestinian cause." But Thami is too naive to realize that winning the American youth to the Palestinian cause would mean destroying her ideal dreams of friendship with the "not-all-imperialist-U.S.-government." Unless, of course, she meant the petty bourgeois Palestinian cause.

Long live the Palestinian people!
ALOR C.

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