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TRUTH



P.O. Box 07066
Detroit, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen
Editorial Board:
Kevin FitzPatrick,
Margaret Guttshall,
David Heffelfinger,
Ann Nelson, Rich Tetrault

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Reagan Regime — Anti-Working Class

Union Offensive, Like the Polish Workers!

Already the real meaning of Reagan's election for the working class is becoming clear.

The banks announced a "renewal of the recession," the Greensboro courts — open season on union organizers, black militants and revolutionaries, and Reagan sent a representative to Moscow to reach agreement on the Polish "situation."

In short, the rearmament of the anti-working class alliance of Washington and Moscow, of imperialism and Stalinism.

But this doesn't mean the working class should run for cover, "Circle the wagons," as Coleman Young put it, and other opportunist and petty bourgeois leaders would like to put it.

The situation in the U.S. is still dominated by the world revolution which is expressed in the U.S. in the opposition of the majority of workers and youth to the Republicans and the Democrats, albeit not yet of an active character.

A union offensive against the Reagan regime, LIKE THE POLISH WORKERS offensive, is necessary. An Emergency Convention of the UAW and other major unions to formulate the workers demands and prepare this offensive, like the Inter-Factory Strike Committee in Poland did.

Such a union offensive will rapidly show what lies behind the Reagan regime — which is not "the producers," or even most American people as Reagan likes to think, but a handful of corporate parasites and a large number of petty bourgeois who live off the American and other working classes — once again, just as the Polish workers offensive exposed the Gierek regime.

This mobilization and the political struggle within it will prepare the foundation of the Workers Party.

The foundation of the Workers Party, if it is to have any meaning for the masses of workers, demands a mobilization of the working class in its mass organizations, its unions, in conscious opposition to the existing power, the differentiation and formation in this mobilization of this party, this leadership. And in this mobilization, the conscious preparation of the actual founding of this party — the elaboration of its program, the construction of its leadership, the political and practical preparation of its founding convention.

All the experiences of the workers and the revolutionaries in the last year prior to Reagan's election have shown that worsening conditions and increasing disgust with the two parties will not spontaneously engender a workers party. Nor

will pressure on union officials, the bitter experiences of the ranks, nor propaganda, no matter how good, of the revolutionaries. If they would, we'd have a workers party by now, because we've had plenty of all this in the last year.

No. A mass mobilization of the unions is necessary. A conscious combat in this. And a conscious combat within this mobilization.

The Detroit Committee of the Trotskyist Organization invites all workers and workers organizations in Detroit who want a working class solution to the problems be-

fore to join us in preparing and unleashing a union offensive against the Reagan regime, like the Polish workers.

To impulse this struggle the Detroit Committee and the UAW Committee for a Workers Candidate are planning a debate and discussion on the "Lessons of the 1980 Elections and the Road Forward in Founding the Workers Party." A planning meeting will be held Saturday, January 10. All workers and workers organizations are welcome.

Detroit Local Committee
December 9, 1980

YSA Convention

The national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth group of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, will be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27 through 30.

The YSA in recent years has, because of the increasingly treacherous policy of the SWP, fallen on hard times. The policy the SWP is carrying out is a policy that repels the youth.

The Fourth International has fought and is fighting for the revolutionary arming of the youth through the fight for the Revolutionary Youth International, a fight which takes shape in the U.S. in the International Young Guard/USA.

The central campaign of the RYI is the fight for the boycott of the Madrid Conference "on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

The European youth organizations, including those of the same Pabloite "United Secretariat" with which the SWP agrees, have avoided making any response to the RYI's proposal for a fight against this Madrid Conference.

They have evaded a political response because they are incapable of confronting the meaning of Madrid — the terrorist rearmament of the Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism.

The fight for the boycott of the Madrid Conference means a fight to rearm the youth, and through it, the working class, for the coming revolution, the clearest sign of which is Poland.

The United States is not Europe, but neither is it another planet. Here, too, the revolution is coming. That is the meaning of Miami and Greensboro, of the response

to conscription, of Carter's defeat.

But the YSA prefers to live in its peaceful dreams of "democratic America," where the revolution is like a fairy tale: "... long ago and far away, and in another country."

The policy of the YSA is confined solely to the United States. "International solidarity," as the YSA expresses it, means a completely passive support to struggles which are seen as being by nature "foreign" to the interests of American youth.

The YSA says: "Join the fightback" (even this word is borrowed from the Stalinists). But the question is not of a "fightback," but of preparing the revolution. We are not on the defensive; in the U.S., just as internationally, the proletariat has the initiative.

The YSA calls for the fight against "Reaganism" (likewise borrowed from the Stalinists) and against racist terrorism. But these are not "American" problems exclusively. The election of Reagan and his collaboration with the Kremlin are part of the terrorist rearmament being prepared at Madrid. Greensboro corresponds to Bologna and Munich, Paris and El Salvador.

The fight to rearm the workers movement for the coming revolution, above all through its youth, needs an international focus. The YSA is trying to conceal the need for that focus, for a centralized, worldwide fight for the victory of one international class, the proletariat, over the other, the bourgeoisie.

The YSA was founded in the late 1950's against the world order of imperialism and Stalinism. Under the control of the centrist SWP, it has degenerated into a barrier to the revolution for the youth.

If the YSA will not confront Madrid, the RYI will confront the YSA with Madrid. This is key to winning the revolutionary youth in the United States.

TRUTH
December 9, 1980

UNION OFFENSIVE, LIKE THE POLISH WORKERS!

Open Debate and Discussion on the Lessons
of the 1980 Elections and the Road Forward
in the Foundation of the Workers Party.

PLANNING MEETING SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 12 NOON
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Holiday Schedule

Due to the holidays, the next
issue of TRUTH will be
published January 16, 1981.

The Elections and the Workers Party

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

In the aftermath of the elections, now is the time for the unions, as the mass organizations of the U.S. working class, to organize a campaign against Reagan and his policies, especially his collaboration with the Kremlin.

This is the road to building an independent party of the American workers, the Workers Party.

It is necessary to understand the political significance of the elections in order to fight for this campaign.

It is necessary to reject the optimistic spontaneism of the view which sees in the election results a simple repudiation of the Democratic Party and its supporters, as well as, due to the high rate of abstention, a repudiation of the elections themselves. It is also necessary to reject the pessimistic passivity of the view which sees in the same results a "shift to the right," a defeat for the workers and oppressed.

These two views are not counterposed, but are just the opposite sides of the same bad coin of centrism and opportunism. In both cases, the objective is to disarm the working class, to keep it from organizing its political power now, whether this is done in the name of spontaneism — nothing needs to be done — or in the name of passivity — nothing can be done.

Reagan is neither just another Jimmy Carter nor another Adolf Hitler. His election represents an attempt by U.S. imperialism to resolve its crisis in a new way.

Carter's failure to defeat the working class and the large-scale desertion from the Democratic Party showed that this ruling class crisis was deepening. This is what is true about the assertions that the workers did not lose the elections, that there is no "shift to the right."

But the workers also did not succeed in finding an independent and organized expression of their needs and their policies in the elections. That is what made possible the election of Reagan.

To a certain extent, the election of Reagan and other right-wing Republicans is an American adaptation of what is known in Britain as the "Tory solution."

The 1979 election victory of the Conservative ("Tory") Party, which led to an open attack on the trade unions and all the gains of the British working class, under the direction of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was an attempt by the British ruling class to solve its crisis at the expense of the working class.

The election of Reagan represents at the same time both more and less than that "Tory solution."

Less, because the British workers had been systematically misled and betrayed by the counterrevolutionary leaderships, not just of their unions, but above all of the Labour Party, which the great bulk of the British working class sees as its party, for the period prior to the elections. Their

struggles were diverted away from a revolutionary outcome, thus demoralizing the less advanced workers and alienating the middle classes.

On this basis, Thatcher came to power in a position to take the offensive. Reagan is in no such position. The American workers remain undefeated.

At the same time, Reagan's election represents more than Thatcher's. The international importance of a defeat for the U.S. working class is greater, and today the international situation is far gloomier than it was even in 1979, for world imperialism.

The "Tory solution" under Reagan does find expression in the reactionary populist demagoguery about uniting the "producers" (workers AND capitalists) against "parasites" and "idlers." It finds expression, as under Thatcher, in proclamations about "free enterprise," "entrepreneurship," "re-industrialization," etc.

But this is not the chief problem. This lies on the international arena, in the attempt to rearm the Holy Alliance between the Kremlin and imperialism, to save the imperialist world order. In this terrorist rearmament, the isolation and the defeat of the U.S. workers is critical.

That is why, despite all the "anti-communist" saber-rattling and tough talk, Reagan — even more than Carter — has to seek greater collaboration with the Kremlin. In fact, the pressures and threats against the Stalinist bureaucracy are precisely part of this collaboration, to increase the subordination of the Kremlin and get it to expand its counterrevolutionary role.

Even before being inaugurated, Reagan has already taken steps in that direction. Even the flirtation with Taiwan is a sign to Moscow that U.S. imperialism is not tied to "playing the China card" and can come to terms with the Kremlin for the right price.

But the clearest example of this collaboration is the secret talks held by Senator Charles Percy, the Republican who will head the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the next Congress, with the Stalinist bureaucracy, including a meeting with Brezhnev himself.

These secret talks, held at the very moment that the Kremlin was engaged in military maneuvers and threats aimed at crushing the Polish Revolution, were intended to organize the international collaboration and relationship between the Kremlin and imperialism.

The so-called "warnings" about invading Poland made by Percy, on Reagan's behalf, as well as those made by Carter, are in fact not aimed at stopping any attacks — and (surprise!) they have stopped nothing — but at making it very clear to the Kremlin that it is expected to expand

its counterrevolutionary role at its own expense, that imperialism demands more and more capitulations. This is also the case with the demand for the "re-negotiation" of the SALT treaty, which Percy explicitly linked to Poland.

The attempt to encircle and defeat the Polish Revolution, to isolate and set back the Iranian Revolution, to crush the developing revolution in Central America with the aid of the Kremlin's agent, Castro, are all part of this collaboration with the Kremlin by Reagan and his supporters.

And this collaboration is itself not something "foreign," but part of a deliberate attempt to cut off the American workers from the world revolution and to be able to deal with them at home.

Reagan's policies, both domestic and foreign, are thus threats to the struggles of the American workers to overcome the crisis that they face at the expense of the imperialists.

Will the bourgeoisie solve its crisis by defeating the workers, or the workers their crisis by defeating the bourgeoisie?

This is the question that is posed to the American workers. And that is why interpretations of the elections which do not point out a road forward for the workers in solving their crisis, whatever other differences there are in these interpretations, really share a perspective of disarmament, of retreat.

It does not take much understanding today to "call for" a Workers Party, or "labor party," etc., by itself. That the fight of the American workers requires a political expression is obvious.

But what is not obvious, what is obscured by spontaneist and passivist "analyses" of the elections, is concretely how to go forward today in building this Workers Party.

Will such a party be built by the "progressive union leaders" of the type of Winpisinger, Fraser, etc.? Will the workers by themselves "through painful experience . . . learn how to make the unions their organizations and how to build a political party to fight for workers' interests"?

Both these views, despite their seeming differences, are those of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. In practice, they are the views of all the centrist organizations which claim to be "for" a working class party. The Stalinist Communist Party/USA likewise does not differ greatly from these positions.

The reason is that in both cases, there is no perspective of a struggle in the unions, no proposal for action to lead the unions in a struggle for the rights and needs of the workers, in a battle against Reagan and his collaboration with the Kremlin.

No, the "labor party" or whatever will some day (not now) come into being (nobody knows how). Meanwhile, the centrists and Stalinists confine themselves to

calling for it.

The reason for this perspective of passivity is that the centrists and Stalinists are trying to hide one simple fact: that the solution to the crisis of the workers movement lies in solving the crisis of leadership in the workers movement.

The trade unions, which are a gigantic conquest of the workers, their only mass organizations, express this crisis most sharply. A Workers Party means a new leadership, a political leadership. This leadership will be built in the struggle to seize the unions from the control of the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who run them. This represents an attempt by U.S. imperialism to resolve its crisis in a new way. It did not lose the elections, that there is no "shift to the right."

This general perspective, if it is to mean anything, must take shape today, not sometime in the indefinite future. Our proposal is for the unions now to take up the struggle against Reagan and his collaboration with the Kremlin.

This struggle, this campaign in action against the counterrevolution, is not one that the bureaucrats can or will take up. Already, they are seeking their own share in this collaboration. Fraser's seat on Chrysler's Board of Directors, the stepped-up "anti-import" lies, support to imperialism's pressures on the Kremlin, are all part of this collaboration.

Workers who expressed their distrust of the Democratic Party, who are in the process of breaking from it; youth who see no future under this system; the oppressed minorities who cannot continue to live under their oppression: the struggle against Reagan, against his policies, against his counterrevolutionary collaboration with the Kremlin, is the way in which you can organize all the thinking and fighting elements of the laboring masses in a fight to make the trade unions ours again.

A fight in the trade unions against Reagan means a fight against the bureaucrats who share his perspective.

The Workers Party is not some empty political expression, just another "third party." It is a mobilization of the working class for its political independence, for its class rule. It will be built in combat, around a platform that represents the needs of the workers as part of the international class struggle.

That fight today begins in very concrete activity. A campaign of the unions against Reagan and his collaboration with the Kremlin. A struggle in the unions for this campaign. A mobilization in the ranks of the workers, the oppressed and the youth for this fight. The battle for the Workers Party begins now!

December 7, 1980

The Polish Revolution and Its Co

Translated from *La Aurora* #268

By ANIBAL RAMOS

The current moment of the class struggle is particularly critical. It has become common for the workers to refer to "the crisis," and to apply this term to much more than the so-called "economic crisis" — the political situation of states, all aspects of the social situation, and also the most official parties of the workers movement. There is such a general talk about "the crisis" that we must begin to place ourselves on guard. More, the struggle of the Polish workers permits us to take up in a more living and practical manner, the relation between the current crisis, about which everyone speaks, and the perspectives of the workers revolution, about which they speak much less.

The bourgeois and their propagandists speak of "the crisis" like blind fate, like something obscure, imprecise, with vague contours and an uncertain outcome — more or less like the peasant (or small farmer) talks about a storm or drought. This incessant talk about "the crisis" is nothing but a justification for material, political and even ideological attacks against the working class. Thus, for example, a recent bulletin of the Duro Felguera company (a Spanish company) declared that "to get out of the crisis it is indispensable to live poorly." What cynicism! "Living poorly" isn't the crisis, but precisely the solution to the crisis!

But the workers, to the extent that they don't arrive at freeing themselves from the influences of the bourgeoisie, and this can only happen through great battles which forge the consciousness of the class, also speak today of "the crisis" as a fatality which encompasses all and renders all difficult: life, struggle, organization. . . . In the majority of cases, it's not a question of a justification (in the manner of the bourgeois), but of a confusion, but the consequences are similar, a covering up of passivity and a certain submission before accomplished fact. For this reason, the most conscious workers can't be content with generalized chatter about "the crisis," chatter which clarifies nothing about the problems of action, but envelops and dissolves them into a cloud of thin air. To speak about "the crisis" on all sides and terrains of the class struggle, begins now to be a way of confusing the practical political problems of the struggle, of delaying the decisions of action, of settling into passivity.

The reality of our time is the proletarian revolution, as the profound content and logical conclusion of all class and political struggles. "The crisis" expresses in a deformed, negative, and passive manner this revolution which hasn't yet reached consciousness of itself, organization of itself around a party of consistent revolutionaries. Thus, economic, social, and political life, governments and parties, ideas and material means, become disorganized and degenerate, not under the energetic and creative impulsion of a workers revolution, but in the painful manner of a decomposition of the objective revolutionary conditions.

It's not a question then of "recognizing the crisis" and its graveness, since this can

engender not only revolt but also slavery, and in itself, only the second. It's a question of seeing, through what the bourgeois call "the crisis," the concrete contradictions of the revolution, the problems to resolve with action, and the roads of an active working class response. If in the factories and the unions they speak about "the crisis," this denotes a paralyzing influence of the bourgeois and its lackeys greater than its political debility and than its power; if they speak on the other hand of the difficulties of revolutionary action and how to overcome them, this denotes that the proletariat begins to affirm its independence and even before the revolutionary party is affirmed as a decisive force.

POLAND AND THE CRISIS

When all the journalists of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus of the Communist Party described the struggle in Poland as an action of pressure "to obtain independent unions," they wanted to hide in this way its real meaning and to be able to continue floundering impotently in "the crisis" in all countries of Europe. And, naturally the "anarchists" and the "autonomes," specialists in floundering passively in all "crises," united with the bourgeois and Stalinists in this propaganda operation. But the most direct meaning of Poland (and that which was best captured by many workers of "the ranks") was that of a real effort of the masses, in a point in Europe, to pass over to an open and energetic offensive, that is to say, a step of revolutionary action, a hope and a step of the revolution.

Already in April 1980, the Fourth International was preparing the Polish revolution and noted in this country "the explosive maturity of its conditions," comparable only to those of the Iberian peninsula. Today a reader can protest by saying that in Spain there are not conditions, given the economic crisis, given the crisis of the so-called "democratic" regime, or even given the crisis in the workers ranks, for an advance such as the one in Poland. But this passive reasoning forgets precisely that in April 1980 the opportunists said something all together different about Poland, and even in Poland. . . . The opportunists and those who are demoralized see the social, economic and political "crisis" of the Stalinist regime, they see the crisis of the opposition and its factions; the Fourth International sees and notes on the contrary, the explosive conditions of the revolution and the workers of Poland have demonstrated (no matter what the final evolution of their struggle) that the active analysis of the Fourth International was more realistic than the passive commentaries of the opportunists.

Why then, nevertheless, does the opportunists, opinion, the idea of a "crisis," that blindly dictates conditions and negates the workers revolution, dominate among the masses? Because it is a question of a struggle, in which the force of ideas is nothing other than the material force of the classes, the fractions, the par-

ties, which struggle among themselves. Not only the results of the combat, but also the consciousness of the class, depend on organized force, and in particular the consciousness of its force cannot be formed outside of this same organized struggle, of the class, of the unions, of the party, outside of the testing of programs, leaders, etc. etc. And the capital contradiction is that such mass organizations and organisms of struggle not only have an opportunist leadership, but also a leadership which is demoralized, prostrate before the bourgeoisie and which engenders veritable bands of demoralizers, heralds of the crisis, which load their paralyzing weight on the masses and which try to isolate its active, militant and proletarian sector. The leaderships of the mass organizations are not only an obstacle but also a weight, and nevertheless, it is only through organization that the masses form their consciousness, their leadership and liberate themselves from the opportunists. This contradiction is what makes the difficulties of the revolution appear as a "crisis." But those who leave aside the revolution to chatter about "the crisis" obscure the problem and fade before the struggle to resolve it.

Because the contradiction between the struggle of the masses and its leadership is not a struggle that you can dodge or flee, as those who abandon the unions, the parties and struggles, closing off in this way the very possibility that the working class and its youth form their consciousness (and including their cadres and party) in a framework of the actions of the masses, of workers democracy, the only framework in which it is possible for them to liberate themselves from the bourgeoisie. The workers struggle is a struggle, that is to say it has its efforts and at times its supplementary efforts. And day by day the revolutionaries must, if it is possible to speak in this way, take on their shoulders the efforts to defend the unions, to impulse the workers struggles, to carry forward a movement of the masses, taking on their shoulders the weight which is the present leadership, and only in this way, along this road, will it be possible to throw off this weight to change the leadership. The demoralized sectarians do not comprehend this. Their only recourse is to unite with the opportunists in their chitter-chatter about the "crisis."

In the 7th Congress of the Fourth International in the month of July, Poland was a constant theme. Some comrades wanted the congress to define the situation in Poland as "determined by the new conciliatory role of the opposition." Nevertheless, the congress succeeded in defining it as determined by the maturation of the revolution and its political problems, above all, that of the struggle for workers rights as the preparation for the seizure of power. In July the discussion could have appeared nit-picking. But in September, it is evident we have done well by orienting ourselves toward the active preparation of the revolution, and not simply towards the denunciation of the conciliators. The example of Poland must serve now for all of Europe and especially for the states of

the Iberian peninsula.

THE OPPORTUNISTS IN POLAND

With this revolutionary attitude comrades of the Workers Commissions, members of the PORE, succeeded in making the struggle of the free unions of Eastern Europe present at the Congress of the Union of Catalonia, the Congress of the CONC. But then, for the opportunists, nothing was happening and the unions weren't representative. It's necessary to say that the members of the LCR, PST, etc., did nothing either. They didn't consider it as something current because as one already knows for them that which is current is "the crisis." But after August all these passive elements began "debates" on Poland and in these debates for these people who never budged a finger to defend the free unions it comes out now that in Poland there is only a movement in favor of "free unions" . . . but not a revolution with its contradictions and its problems to resolve. In this way the unstable compromise, the explosive compromise, which reflects the weight of the conciliatory tendencies in the first leadership of the revolution is presented cynically to us, as if it was the conclusion of the movement, its profound content and its dynamic. And this, in order to continue hiding, not only with respect to Poland, but also with respect to their own country, the necessity and the task of the preparation of the revolution whose contradictions have been revealed in Poland by the struggle of its workers and the inconsequence of its leadership.

But the Polish movement, with the impetuous development of strikes, with the general strike in the making, and always at the point of being declared, blocked only by promises and concessions; with the centralization of factory committees, disputing in fact the authority of the Stalinist police authorities; with the unification of all first demands of the class in an economic, political and union platform; this movement is the classic beginning of the revolution. That it doesn't want to develop itself in the shadow of authorities but to confront them is demonstrated in the first demands for the dissolution of the central union bureaucracy and the unconditional liberty of the opposition. The workers aren't just looking for space for the unions in the shadow of the power of the apparatus but a workers conquest against that power to continue the struggle.

In other articles LA AURORA has occupied itself and will occupy itself with the concrete manner in which this movement, confronted with the problems of power and its leadership, was led by a sector of the opposition and the inter-factory committee to a compromise which is at the same time a negation of the workers' aspirations and impossible for the police apparatus of the authorities and in particular the Kremlin to respect. What is important here is that this compromise momentarily detained, provisionally deformed and derailed, a revolutionary uprising. And that the attempts to present the

Contradictions



Polish youth fighting for free student unions. The Polish events are not a trade union but a revolutionary question.

movement as born to end in a compromise with the authorities are false and pertain to the category of the demoralizing theories of the sectarians which do not see nor prepare the revolution but who briefly exalt it while it shows its force in order to bury it for the moment at the occasion of the most fragile compromise.

Today we can already foresee, unlike the demoralizers, the next stage of the revolution in Poland. Not in the manner of the prophets but in the manner of combatants. The collaboration of the new unions with the power is possible at the top, but it will clash with the pressure of the ranks. The forces of compromise, a sector of the Polish apparatus and a sector of the opposition, will leave within a certain time the terrain to the Kremlin, on the one hand, and the proletariat on the other. The Kremlin will prepare this battle. The workers will be able to confront it only with the international working class around the workers councils. Such are the exact terms of the problem that the revolutionaries must resolve. When the inter-factory committee, more or less transformed into an organ of the new unions, threatens a general strike if the government doesn't respect its own compromise, this demonstrates that this committee grew out of the revolution and its existence constantly confronts the apparatus as a power in conflict with its own conciliatory leadership.

LESSONS OF THE CRISIS AND THE REVOLUTION

In this momentary euphoria, appropriate to opportunists before an impetuous revolution whose contradictions don't reveal themselves obviously (in this case opportunists lament about "the crisis"), the leadership of the French OCI (the chiefs of their Spanish offspring, the POSI) saluted Poland with the shout: "The laws of history are more powerful than the apparatuses!" This phrase is from our program and it affirms on the world historical plane the supremacy of the laws of the class struggle over bureaucratic combinations and police methods. But translated onto the immediate political plane and presented as a revolutionary prophecy it changes into a cover-up of all the contradictions of a revolution of all the opportunism of its leaders, of all the passivity of all those who call themselves revolutionaries.

The OCI salutes with this phrase, which converts the revolution which is a living struggle into a fatality, not only the Polish movement but also the compromise of Walesa with the authorities. It is completely irresponsible. The compromises, are condemned, are already in "crisis," but the revolution must organize itself, must find its leadership before confronting the apparatus of the Kremlin.

But what is important is the amplitude of the sinister method. For these people the revolution comes out of the crisis as a natural product, not as its conscious alternative. Thus the OCI belongs to this irresponsible category that considers the

graver the crisis the closer the revolution. This isn't very much different from what the bosses of Duro Felguera say: "To get out of the crisis it is necessary to live poorly."

What is fundamental in the struggle of the Polish workers and, above all, for the Spanish workers is that which underlines the active role of workers combats, of revolutionaries' combats, of their party. If we were to consider that the revolution cannot begin to manifest its force without a party, not only would Poland have taken us by surprise, but also moreover we would be making the party a metaphysical abstraction when it is in the first place a sector of the workers. In Poland the workers have unleashed a movement of enormous dimensions. The problem of the party appears above all in that this revolution, lacking a leadership at its top, was carried to a momentary compromise and that once again the future is uncertain and depends on the regroupment of the workers and the revolutionaries in the party.

And, on the contrary, there where, as in Spain, a party, even a very small party, is in the process of conquering attention and influence in the masses but not its organized confidence, it is because the workers vanguard still hasn't broken with this passive chatter about the crisis, and doesn't consider itself the primary active force of the workers revolution. It is necessary to respond as in Poland to the whinings about the crisis and betrayals with propaganda about the revolution and, above all, with organization.

September, 1980

The Old Order Rearms



MADRID — The "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" at last got underway, due to a last-minute arrangement between the supposed opponents, U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin.

This arrangement-despite-tough-talk sets the tone for this Conference. That is why it continues, not in spite of, but because of the Kremlin's threats against the Polish Revolution.

The American Socialist Workers Party, has denounced the "hypocrisy" of imperialism's attacks on the "human rights" violations of the Kremlin. But such denunciations only form part of the NEGOTIATIONS underway at Madrid; they are part of the "collective bargaining."

IRELAND — Here the friends of "Security and Cooperation in Europe" are faced with a real threat. The hunger strike of the seven republican prisoners in H-Block has been joined by three prisoners in the women's jail in Armagh. The male strikers have already been moved to the prison hospital, with one of them weighing less, after seven weeks, than 53 pounds.

Mass demonstrations have broken out in Ireland, demanding the end of H-Block and the granting of political status to the prisoners. The British bourgeois publication, THE ECONOMIST, bemoans the fact that anything can happen if "the coffins start coming out by Christmas."

IRAN — Here, too, we find the same search for "security and cooperation," now expressed in the negotiations for the release of the "hostages." The seizure of the U.S. "Embassy" marked a major upsurge in the Iranian Revolution. The attempt to wipe out this conquest through a deal with the U.S. — which the SWP refers to as "just demands" — is part of the consolidation of the bourgeois state in Iran under the mask of the "Islamic Republic."

Finally, to mark the end of 1980, we announce the winner of our PHILISTINE OF THE YEAR AWARD. And it's Andrew Young, "black leader" and friend of "human rights," for this statement in the March 12, 1980, NEW YORK TIMES: "The recent '60 Minutes' broadcast on Iran under the Shah that depicted torture not only delayed my family's Sunday dinner but ruined everyone's appetite."

TRUTH

December 9, 1980

“Leading role” of Stalinism? No! Break the Gdansk Accords!

United Front for a Government Responsible to the Workers Councils!

Call of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland

The August strikes, as well as events throughout the country, clearly show that the workers and youth are fighting to take control of their own affairs. The means of production, the factories, the whole country — all this belongs to the workers. Our fight is a struggle to recover all this property whose rightful owner is the working class.

The maneuvers and the deceptions of the regime in opposition to the daily struggle of the working class for the satisfaction of its demands and for free trade unions clearly confirm that the Gdansk Accords represent a trap in which the ruling bureaucracy wants to snare the workers by forcing them to recognize its “leading role.”

Today, the Gdansk Accords have to be broken, because this is the only way possible to develop the struggle further, to result in the satisfaction of our demands. And it is only in this way that everything that is ours can be taken back from the usurers. It is necessary to prepare and organize the takeover by the working class of all the affairs of the state.

Two months ago, at the time of the signing of the Accords, part of the workers already felt that a trap was being laid for them. Right now, more and more layers of the working class recognize that the struggle now has to pass to a new stage — the stage of the conscious preparation of the alternative to the regime, the stage in which it is necessary to regroup all those who want our state to be led by a real workers government. All those who are not in accord with the Gdansk Accords and who want to carry out to the end the fight that has begun must now become the active organizers of this alternative.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (section of the Fourth International) calls on the Independent and Autonomous Union “Solidarity” and all other Independent and Autonomous Unions, the free unions and organizations of the students and youth, all the opposition groups, all workers and worker militants to constitute a UNITED FRONT FOR A GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE WORKERS COUNCILS.

The battle waged since July has clearly shown that the working class has nothing to expect from the good will of the bureaucracy and cannot depend on its whims. On the contrary, only an independent struggle, without unilateral concessions, can insure victory. This struggle, which today demands a mobilization for a government responsible to the workers councils, can be organized only through the method of then general strike of all the workers; that is, in the course of the organized and prepared confrontation with the ruling bureaucracy.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland proposes the following four-point platform of common struggle for such a government.

1. Only a movement centralized on the

level of the whole country is capable of effectively opposing and fighting the apparatus of the ruling bureaucracy. That is why the workers and youth need a NATIONAL FEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS! The condition for the creation of this federation is the DISOLUTION OF THE CRZZ, the official Stalinist union federation!

All the wealth of the CRZZ — buildings, presses, newspapers and magazines, recreation and vacation centers, as well as all its funds — has always been financed by the workers’ dues and, as a result, belongs to the working class. This wealth must come under the direct and exclusive control of the free trade unions. No compromise with the bureaucracy! Unions independent of the regime! Oppose all domination of the unions by the PUWP, the Stalinist party!

The realization of these tasks today belongs to the militants of the new trade unions. Call a FREE CONGRESS OF UNIONS!

2. The whole state belongs to the working class. That is why the administration of the state must also come under the control of the workers. WORKERS CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION AND FOREIGN TRADE!

The reason for the immense crisis in the country is bureaucratic management, colossal waste, catastrophic planning, as well as economic and political dependence on imperialism.

It is necessary to immediately create in the factories Committees of Control over Production and Foreign Trade. It is necessary to create the independent organs of the working class. Their regional and then nation-wide centralization will be the guarantee of this independence and will allow the exercise of their functions throughout the country. The struggle for these workers committees or commissions must become the chief task of the new unions.

3. The bureaucracy wants to impose its monopoly of power on us in all the domains of social existence. It lays down conditions for recognizing the new unions and, at the same time, tries to destroy the workers rights that have already been won, especially the right to strike. It tries to maintain its monopoly over the press, the

mass media and all other means of expression. THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE FOR ALL POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTIES which do not question socialized property in the means of production. ABOLISH CENSORSHIP!

The apparatus of the regime is preparing new political trials and arrests. FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS! RESTORATION OF ALL RIGHTS TO WORKERS, STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS DEPRIVED OF JOBS AND SCHOOLING FOR POLITICAL REASONS! RETURN OF THE POLITICAL EXILES VICTIMIZED BY REPRESSION FOLLOWING 1968!

4. At all costs, the bureaucracy seeks to impose ITS OWN international alliances. But the working class knows only one kind of alliance. This is the alliance with the workers of the East and the West. That is why the working class of Poland recognizes the struggle of the workers of the USSR for free trade unions as its own cause.

The Soviet workers have made the first attempts to win working class independence. The first free trade union was founded, but was immediately broken up by the KGB secret police.

FREE VLADIMIR KLEBANOV, founder of the first free trade union in the USSR, who has been confined in a hospital for the mentally ill!

Today, there is a new attempt to create free trade unions. In extremely difficult conditions, the Soviet workers are fighting around the second free trade union, SMOT. Similar attempts have been made by the workers in Rumania. FREE ALL THE MILITANTS OF SMOT IN THE USSR AND SLORM IN RUMANIA!

The Kremlin bureaucracy is preparing an armed intervention against the Polish workers. The alliance of the working class of Poland with its comrades in other countries is the chief weapon against any intervention, against any repression. The alliance with the workers of the capitalist countries and their mobilization in defense of the free trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe assumes particular importance.

oOo

Workingmen and Workingwomen! Youth!

They want to trick us for the third time. For the third time — after Gomulka, after Gierek — they are trying to impose coexistence with the bureaucratic regime on us.

No! Our only way out is resolute struggle to guarantee class independence, to free ourselves from the rule of the usurpers and tyrants.

After the August strikes, a new general mobilization of the workers is necessary. Once again, it is necessary to elect strike committees and MKS (inter-factory strike committees). But this time, much greater centralization is necessary, on the level of the whole country. In the course of the general strike, we must create and build independent organizations of the working class.

In this fight, together with all the organizations of the working class and the youth, and as the only guarantee of its success, we must establish the UNITED FRONT FOR A GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE WORKERS COUNCILS!

October 29, 1980

On Guard!

As we go to press, the threat of a Kremlin intervention against the developing Polish Revolution is growing.

ON GUARD against this threat! HANDS OFF THE POLISH REVOLUTION!

There are those who speculate that the Kremlin and its Warsaw Pact stooges will not actually invade Poland, that they want only to intimidate the free trade unions.

Only to intimidate them! Only to break the offensive of the workers, to demoralize the backward elements, to isolate the most advanced — all the better to invade in the future without facing the incalculable consequences that might now arise for the Kremlin.

This is what is dangerous about the response of the opportunist and conciliatory Walesa leadership of the free trade unions, which has retreated in face of these threats, denouncing “irresponsible strikes” and pleading with the Stalinists that “there are no strikes or other protest actions going on now.”

The best defense inside Poland is precisely the development and centralization of the workers offensive, leading to the planned revolutionary confrontation with the bureaucracy.

Despite the bluster of Reagan and Carter, U.S. imperialism has given the green light to the Kremlin with Brzezinski’s statement that the U.S. “recognizes geographic and historical realities”; that is, that Poland is in the Kremlin’s sphere of influence. Likewise, imperialism has urged the Polish unions to “cool it” in order to stop an invasion.

Washington and Moscow against the revolution, against the conquests of the Polish workers! American workers and youth must mobilize against this government, against its attack on the cause of their Polish brothers and sisters, the cause of all workers.

TRUTH

December 8, 1980

**Get
WALKA KLAS!**

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Real Danger to the Revolution in Central America

Rearmament of Washington-Havana Alliance

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Many newspapers have begun to talk about a danger to the revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador and the rest of Central America since Reagan's election.

Bourgeois, Stalinist and centrists, from the NEW YORK TIMES to THE MILITANT, all cite increased U.S. support to dictatorships, the possibility of a coup to overthrow the Sandinistas, and even direct U.S. intervention — a "new Vietnam."

But the real danger to the revolution is not here. Guns alone cannot maintain imperialism. The entire struggle of the workers and oppressed masses against imperialism — first British imperialism and then its successor, U.S. imperialism — Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua — has proven this.

Further, the situation in the Two Americas, in particular in Central America, is still dominated by the revolutionary offensive of the masses and not by the counter-revolutionary maneuvers of imperialism which are defensive and desperate. Should the U.S. decide to send troops to Central America, it will surely lose, just as it did in Vietnam, Iran and Nicaragua.

In fact the real danger to the revolution, rather obstacle, for it is not a question of something to be feared and avoided but something to be confronted and overcome, is the alliance of Washington and Havana aimed at POLITICALLY DISARMING the masses, at confining and isolating the revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador, from each other and from the rest of Central and North and South America.

This alliance was forged in the last years by Carter and Castro on the basis of "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence." If Washington "reforms" its puppet dictatorships in Central and South America and recognizes the Stalinist regime in Cuba, then the bureaucracy from Moscow to Havana will actively support imperialism's dictatorships against the revolution.

Thus Castro declared at the UN, "We don't want to upset our great neighbor to the north," at a rally in Havana, "Nicaragua won't be another Cuba," and actively opposes collaboration between Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador in the construction of a Socialist United States of Central America. After the revolution succeeds in El Salvador, he says, then we will send "internationalist doctors and nurses."

Precisely because this alliance has failed to confine and isolate the revolution in Nicaragua and El Salvador (a failure manifest in the increasing discontent of the Nicaraguan masses with the Sandinistas' national reconstruction and the Salvadoran masses' offensive against the "human rights junta"), indeed it has been profoundly shaken up under the blows of this revolution (witness Carter's and Castro's silence in the last months over the situation in Central America), Reagan is attempting to reforge and rearm this alliance on a new political basis — that of an open attack on the revolution.

Reagan wants to do openly what Carter did covertly. Using the threat of all-out war against the peoples of Central America, either through the armament of the

fascists or through U.S. troops, Reagan is trying to force the Kremlin, Castro and the other petty bourgeois nationalist leaderships in Central America, in particular the Sandinistas, to openly do the bidding of U.S. imperialism and attack the revolution, to defend the imperialist puppet dictatorships and nominally independent bourgeois states without even a fig leaf of reform, like Carter's "human rights."

The real problem before the masses of Central America is that, like the leaderships of the labor and black movements in the United States and like the Kremlin, the petty bourgeois nationalist leaderships in Central America have already proven themselves willing to do this.

In an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES after Reagan's election, Sergio Ramirez Mercado of the Sandinistas and the ruling junta said: "I won't deny that we've lost some popularity, but who is it that tells the workers not to strike and the peasants not to occupy private land? It's easy to be popular if you give into popular demands, but it would also be irresponsible."

And arguing for why the bourgeoisie, which he calls "the private sector" (just like Reagan), should support the Sandinistas, he says: "We can guarantee them credits, profits and stability."

In face of the assassination of six of its own leaders, the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador is intensifying its

effort to gain recognition from the U.S. State Department by emphasizing its moderate politics and military power in El Salvador. It called off a march against the assassinations because of the junta's threats and simply called for three days of mourning.

Castro, the Sandinistas, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the rest of the petty bourgeois nationalist and Popular Front leaderships are playing the same role in Central America that Allende played in Chile and Lechin played in Bolivia.

In the name of the working class and the revolution, they defend private property and national boundaries, "non-interference in the affairs of other nations." In short, in the name of the working class and the revolution they prepare the counterrevolution.

And the result with these leaderships will be the same as it was with Allende and Lechin.

The road forward for the revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and throughout Central America lies in a complete break with these leaderships which represent the last link with imperialism. And all the talk about the Reagan threat to Castro, the Sandinistas and the Revolutionary Democratic Front is designed to hide this fact.

In Nicaragua, a Congress of Delegates of the Committees of the Ranks is necessary to form a workers government re-

sponsible to it and begin to forge an alliance with the workers and peasants of El Salvador.

In El Salvador, a Congress of the Ranks of the Unions is necessary to prepare a general strike to bring down the junta and lead in the formation of a Popular Assembly as the basis for a Workers and Peasants government.

In Cuba, a Congress of the Ranks of the Unions to begin to build a Workers Democracy and break the isolation of the Cuban Revolution.

This is the basis for the reconstruction of the sections of the Fourth International and the construction of large workers parties which will lead in the establishment of the Socialist United States of Central America, a pillar of the United Socialist Republic of the Americas.

By tying their wagon to Castro and the other petty bourgeois leaderships in Central America, the Socialist Workers Party has excluded itself from this struggle which represents the future for the workers and peasants of Central America.

DOWN WITH THE REARMAMENT OF THE WASHINGTON-HAVANA ALLIANCE!

A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF CENTRAL AMERICA!

REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'S SECTIONS!

December 8, 1980

Revolutionary youth in El Salvador. Washington and Havana are out to defeat them.



Jury sets Klan-Nazi murderers free

Build Workers Guards in the Unions!

By FRED VITALE

On November 17, a little more than a year since the ambush, an all-white jury of mill-owners' wives and foremen, chaired by a member of a counterrevolutionary Cuban exile group, acquitted 6 Klansmen and Nazis of all charges in the murder of 5 working class militants, members of the Communist Workers Party.

On November 3 last year, the fascists drove up to the anti-Klan demonstration in a black neighborhood in Greensboro, North Carolina, and in front of television cameras and newspaper reporters calmly opened their trunks, took out their guns and shot the militants dead. Everybody saw it happen.

This fascist murder is part of a wave internationally of fascist activity. This year saw fascists claim responsibility for the Paris bombing of a synagogue, the bombing of a crowded train station in Bologna, Italy; and of a beer hall at the height of Oktoberfest in Munich, Germany. Fascist bands are responsible for the murder of thousands of peasants and workers in El Salvador alone this year.

In the past the police and the army were sufficient to carry out the terror by the ruling class against the working class and oppressed. Today, they are not enough. The bourgeoisie and its democratic state are forced to develop these fascist bands as a new regiment in their terrorist apparatus because the revolution is approaching. These offspring of dying democracy are a key part of the rearmament of the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism, that is, the counterrevolution.

For working class youth, for all workers, the murder of these militants means one thing: there is no solution for the working class under capitalism and its government, the democratic state.

Every militant murdered was involved in union organizing in the textile mills in the Piedmont area of North Carolina. One had been a leader of a strike the year before and had been harassed by the company, according to a spokesman for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. They were murdered at a anti-Klan demonstration, an effort to defend workers rights. Their murder is itself a condemnation of capitalist society.

Workers and oppressed cannot depend on this democracy to protect them. The fascists are not just a "right-wing terrorist group." They are armed bands developed, cared for and protected by the democratic state, in this case, the Carter government. It is public knowledge that a "former" FBI informer led the ambush; an agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Control Bureau of the Treasury Department trained them to shoot, suggested the

ambush and got them the guns; an "undercover" Greensboro cop was along for the ride.

For the fascists to be finished, the democratic state which gave birth to them and nurtures them must be finished. There is no other way! The workers can rest easy only when their dictatorship is firmly established over the ruling class through the destruction of the capitalist government. This is the political conclusion every worker must draw.

The government attorney pressing the charges against the Klansmen told the jury, "if you acquit them, you'll play right into the hands of the Communists. They'll say it's an indictment of the judicial system . . ." And of course, the Kremlin supporters (Stalinists) of the Communist Party/USA, the Socialist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist, the CWP and virtually every "left" and "revolutionary" organization did just that. But the prosecuting attorney is not a Marxist, and neither are these parties.

These parties all say the verdict is a "travesty of justice," and they demand "justice," that is, that the capitalists punish their own henchmen. For Marxists, whose goal is the rule of the working class, the MURDERS are the indictment of capitalism, its state and its "judicial system."

All these parties "agree" with the goal, but that "agreement" is an empty one. For them the VERDICT, that is the decision of the capitalists to approve their own actions, is the "travesty of justice." For them, the working class' influence (meaning themselves and their friends) must grow in the democratic state to "prevent" such "travesties" again. And, in any case, the verdict represents "a defeat for the working class."

Their "solution" are cut from the same democratic and pacifist cloth. The CP calls for laws to "ban the Klan", the SWP calls for "federal prosecution of the KKK killers" and both call for demonstrations, telegrams, etc., to pressure the government to carry out these actions.

The NAACP in a particularly glaring pledge of loyalty to the terrorist state, held its state conference the day after the verdict was reached, on the condition that it have "police protection."

These are the methods not of the working class, but of petty bourgeois democrats. For example, in these protests the unions' role is to be one more group of organizations among others, a role perfectly acceptable to the gangs that rule the unions today.

What has been the spontaneous response among the workers and youth to fascist attacks? Two summers ago when



Nazis moved into an integrated neighborhood on Detroit's northwest side, local white and black youth attacked the headquarters and broke windows in the store; this fall working class blacks in Buffalo began arming themselves after a series of racist attacks there.

Arming ourselves and mass action are essential elements of a working class response to the fascists, to counterrevolutionaries. But this response must be organized.

We must make our unions into our weapons. The unions must organize, maintain and win the right to bear arms for a workers guard, the building block for a workers militia against the democratic state.

This is a battle against the present "leaders" in the unions. Their attitude is most aptly expressed by the Local 600 bureaucrats of the UAW who passed a resolution last year at the time of the murders saying that they "condemned violence on both sides in North Carolina."

Trotsky, in a discussion with a CIO organizer in 1938, made clear the importance of this political fight: "You can no more save yourself from fascism with the help of democratic laws . . . than you can from a cavalry unit with the help of diplomatic notes. One must teach the workers to defend their lives and their future, arms in hand, from the gangsters and bandits of capital . . . The only way to save not only the workers organizations, but also to keep casualties to a minimum, is to create a powerful organization of workers' self-defense in time. This is the trade unions' most important responsibility . . ."

The verdict is no defeat for the working class. And if workers understand that the rights, indeed the very lives, of the working class can be saved only by their own dictatorship, that they must build their movement with that as its goal, then the militants who were murdered will be avenged.

December 7, 1980