

A Platform of Combat for the General Strike

Bring Down Reagan!

Bring Down Reagan!

This demand summarizes the basis upon which a vast movement of the American people — workers, students, blacks and unemployed — has grown up since the 1980 elections. Reagan the militarist, Reagan the racist, Reagan the puppet of big business and the corporations.

Some have even coined a new phrase: "Reaganism." But let's call this new administration by its real name. It is imperialism stripped of all the demagoguery of the Carter administration about "human rights," and rightfully despised and hated by the oppressed people of the world.

It is the American ruling class panicked by the revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, Poland and elsewhere, and striking out like a cornered animal with its only weapons — terror, military rearmament, racism and exploitation.

Each in its own way, the mass movements which have grown up try to attack the foundations of this government.

The movement of the youth against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the draft.

The movement of blacks against the wave of terror and killings bringing back the Jim Crow "justice" that Reagan supports.

The movement in the unions to break all cooperation and collaboration with Reagan's assault on living standards and workers rights.

This entire movement is the echo of the peasants of El Salvador, the Polish workers and the Bobby Sands in America.

In unions, parties and anti-war organizations across the United States, a fierce debate is being opened up over the means and methods of combating the policies of the Reagan administration. It is a heated debate, but a healthy and a necessary one.

The movement must be organized. The forces must be forged into an army of workers, youth, women and blacks to strike with one fist.

This platform presented by the Trotskyist Organization/USA is intended to open up this debate, not to finish it. But it is intended to finish with one element of the debate — and that is the policy of class collaboration and compromise with our

enemies. Finish with the methods of back-room maneuvers and deals, and open up a fight for democracy in our movement — workers democracy. And finish with the bankrupt policy of waiting for the spontaneous outbreak of the revolution, and instead to consciously organize and prepare it around common objectives and actions.

Prepare and Organize the General Strike

While the youth movement has been the spearhead of the revolt against imperialist intervention and racism, the working class, that class which produces the wealth

of society, is the foundation upon which all the various sectors can bring their struggle to a conclusion. It is the methods of working class struggle and class independence which the movement as a whole must adopt.

In Iran, in Nicaragua and in Poland it has been the General Strike, led by the workers councils, neighborhood committees and youth, through which the working class has been able to place its stamp on history.

In the past period of "peaceful coexistence," the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin, acting falsely in the name of liberation, acted as the main transmission

belt for imperialism in the workers movement. Because of its deep crisis, expressed graphically by the Polish Revolution, in the Kremlin's place have appeared the Khomeinis and Walesas.

Their first task is to try to dismantle and render harmless the powerful organizations and councils of workers set in motion by the General Strike.

The movement against Reagan must aim toward the organization of a class-wide offensive — the General Strike — and learn from the Polish workers who have gone the farthest for class independence.

We must adopt as our principles:

— the unconditional defense of all the gains of workers and oppressed, including national self-determination, independent unions, workers councils, workers rights.

— complete and total independence of the unions and all workers organizations from the government.

— full freedom of discussion in our organizations as the basis for unity in action; in other words, Workers Democracy.

A New Leadership

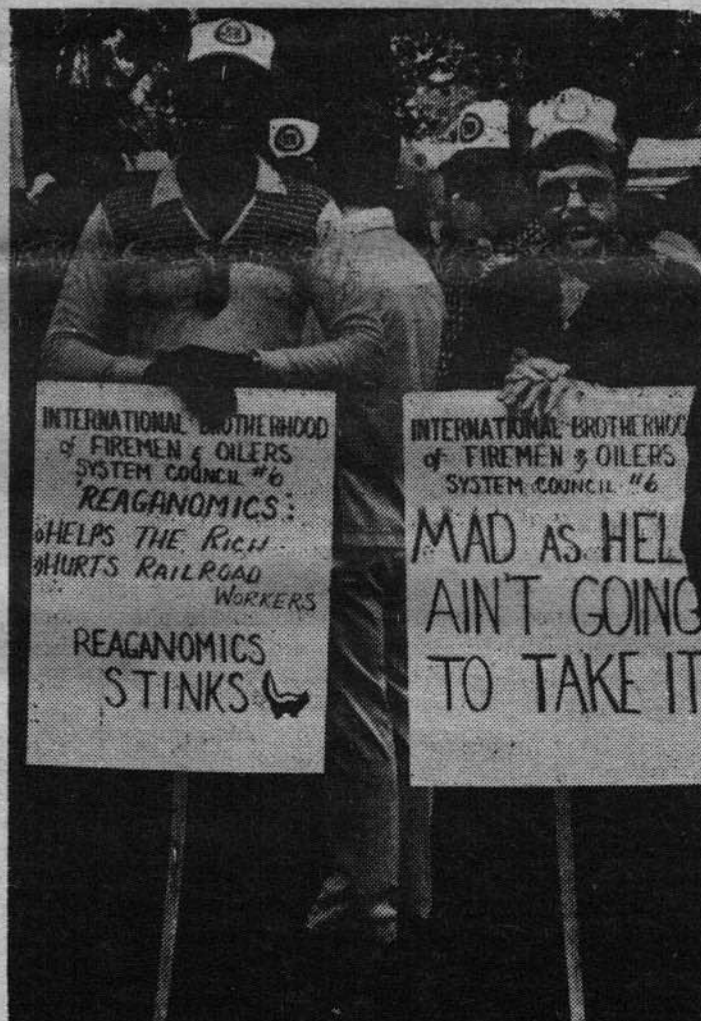
The General Strike must be prepared and organized. The objective conditions for its appearance are long overdue — massive unemployment and inflation, the police attacks on workers rights and protection of fascist and racist groups by the courts and the government, and the extreme political crisis of the two-party system in the United States.

Already, with the growth of a large movement against Reagan in the unions, among blacks and the youth, a large section of the American population, made up of those who have nothing to lose, is ready to enter into struggle.

The revolutions in Central America and Poland tell us that a minority can become a large and powerful majority overnight.

But they also tell us that lack of organization and conscious preparation, lack of a leadership of no compromise, can set back and seriously undermine the initial gains of a liberated people.

Continued on page 3



Rail workers at April 29 rally.

Organize Against the Voorhis Act!

A Step Forward for Our Paper

We have talked about, in the past issues of *Truth*, the importance of making it not just the paper of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in the narrow sense, but the paper of all those who are looking for a revolutionary solution in the movement against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism — in other words, making it *our* common paper.

What does this mean in practice?

First of all, *Truth* is a political newspaper. It is concerned with developing a policy that will lead to the raising of political questions — questions about power and how to get it.

Readers and subscribers of *Truth*: our paper must be an open forum on every question that faces the movement! It must be able to reveal the problems of the movement, its struggles and their solution. A good way to do this is to establish correspondence from our readers to the Editorial Board of our paper. Simple information about events, political problems that have arisen, positions and solutions, criticisms, etc.; the way is open.

We have mentioned before the importance of expanding the readership of our paper. Get your fellow fighters to read it and correspond with it. Get them to subscribe. Are there stores, newsstands, in your area that carry other papers? If so, can you get our paper into them?

We want to begin to hold meetings around our paper — its readers, subscribers, those who fight for its policy. In these meetings, in Detroit in the first place, we want to begin to pull together in an organized way the support that already exists for our paper.

One thing that the Editorial Board has on its agenda will be of interest to our readers. *Truth* is an 8-page biweekly. Frankly, this is not sufficient size or frequency to say what has to be said, to provide a concrete and immediate application of our policy for the movement.

We do not foresee *immediately* expanding our number of pages or increasing our frequency to weekly. But we *can*, with a moderate increase in cost, publish our paper in a full tabloid format (it is currently smaller than that).

Obviously this means more columns, more lines; that is, it will plainly give us more room to say what needs to be said. But beyond even this, it will give us greater flexibility in our ability to say it. It will mean that where we now, for instance, have one medium length article and one short one we will be able to have more articles per page and in this way treat different aspects of the same question in a more concrete and clearer way.

Making this increase in size is not a different question from expanding the influence of our paper. It is not just a question for the Editorial Board; it is a question for all of you as well.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Early in May, the U.S. government made a serious attack on the workers movement. It prevented, under cover of a subpoena which requires the presence in court within 24 hours of those served, the attendance of a number of leaders of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at an International Executive Committee meeting of the international center to which the SWP adheres, the "United Secretariat."

This took place during the SWP's lawsuit against the government, and it is doubtless an attempt to turn this lawsuit into a trial of the SWP. More importantly, however, this attack is made on the workers movement as a whole and in particular on our movement, Trotskyism. It is not just an attack on the SWP; it is a direct attack on us, too, on the Fourth International.

Because this subpoena is really an initial attempt to revive the forty-year-old Voorhis Act and to begin to put it into practice. The Voorhis Act, through a whole series of prohibitive rules, makes it effectively illegal for U.S. working class organizations to belong to an international group or party. This is a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and we must fight it now.

In response to this attack, we ask the SWP and all organizations of the American workers movement to join us in a unified combat to clarify the nature of this law and to outline a campaign to overturn the Voorhis Act. In doing this it will be possible to create leaders and organizers in the workers movement who can rally large sectors of the working class into active combat *linked to the preparation of the General Strike to bring down Reagan*.

The SWP has access to many political and organizational channels and could win militants and workers to a fight against the Voorhis Act. If to militants of the SWP to whom we have talked, a fight against it seems difficult because this law appears on face value to be obscure, it is because no fight has ever been waged. (The SWP only mentions it in passing.) It is the only real way to defend the SWP and all other working class organizations from FBI/CIA harassment and from the legal repression of working class organizations. A mobilization based in the unions with written resolutions raising the issue of the Voorhis Act, its reactionary, anti-working class nature and calling the unions to action, can win unions and sections of unions to this combat in the form of demonstrations, forums, rallies and publications widely distributed in the anti-draft movement, the Latin solidarity movement, and among all youth organizations sympathetic to the struggle of the working class.



Leon Trotsky. His party is under attack.

This kind of united front action can lay bare the Voorhis Act and its basis, the attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to make working class organizations appear to be "terrorist" and therefore subject to legal action, that is, jail sentences, the outlawing of meetings to discuss and plan international struggle, the harassment and intimidation of our movement for the freedom and independence of the working class.

This law, the Voorhis Act, centralizes the attacks of the real terrorist, the bourgeois state, in that it seeks to contain the struggle of the American working class in a national framework, therefore rendering it harmless and ineffective.

This campaign to overturn the Voorhis Act is a fight for the youth to take up. It is not another campaign that discriminates against and disorganizes the youth, who represent the vanguard of the developing revolutionary struggle against the Reagan regime, but a campaign to strengthen and develop the self-confidence and combativity of the youth in action. Its basis is the strength and determination shown by the fighters for the successful anti-draft demonstration that took place in Washington, DC, on May 3.

There are no limitations on this struggle, how broad it can become and how deep its political character. It is a mobilization against the terrorist state that seeks to win for itself the right to determine the

politics and the extent of the organization of the working class. It would delegitimize the right of the state to lay down its laws and its repression against our movement. We would *impose*, in this struggle, the right of international organization and mobilization, the right for the American working class to belong to its world center organizing and unifying its struggle on the global scale.

Concretely, we propose as an immediate step in this struggle the organization of a united front demonstration against these attacks and against, as a beginning in the broader fight, the Voorhis Act.

It was not accidental that the "24-hour call" came about following the Senate subcommittee hearing on "Security and Terrorism." Thus, in the line of questioning taking place in the trial of the SWP against the FBI, the government attorney tried to imply that the SWP was part of a "Terrorist International" operational center.

The point is not to try to appear "reasonable" to the state, but to fight these attacks and in doing so to make the Fourth International live in the United States, to make the question the right of the working class to fight and develop its struggle internationally, and to have a leadership to organize this fight.

If the court case of the SWP has failed to mobilize workers and youth, has even left members of the SWP and its youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), troubled by its lack of perspective, a political fight against this open manifestation of the terrorist state can answer these problems and give them a solution in the mobilization of the working class.

In particular, the YSA can make this fight its own by taking its place in the forefront of the struggle.

We of the Trotskyist Organization/USA are prepared to put all the forces of our organization into a joint struggle to defend the SWP and our party, as working class organizations, from the attacks of the FBI/CIA, by making this campaign against the Voorhis Act a real, concrete struggle in the unions and workers movement.

This battle is, from the point of view of the working class, central, because it is a question of the working class leadership — without a workers leadership, the terrorist state will continue to develop its attacks, both legal and back door (bugging, spying and harassing our organizations). These attacks are developing each time the state sees an opportunity to seize a weapon against our movement; therefore, we must seize this opportunity to build and unite the forces of the working class in a unified struggle against the terrorist state.

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General Strike . . . Continued from page 1

The time to prepare is now.

Already the union bureaucrats have begun to pay lip service to the General Strike.

" . . . Maybe just what we're going to do in every single factory under the jurisdiction of our unions (is) just lay down our tools and just stop working until we get somebody's attention." Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW.

" . . . It may be necessary for us to call for a general strike sometime following this march in order to demonstrate how strongly you feel." Fred Kroll, president of the railroad workers union.

As Kroll spoke, or tried, to at the April 29 demonstration of 20,000 railroad workers, the workers chanted: "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

The voice of the union bureaucrats who accept the policy of compromise and collaboration and the voice of the workers in the United States, an echo of the Polish workers, are not the same.

The policy of the Polish workers must take its place in the American workers movement. *No blank check to workers leaders. No trust in those who have compromised in the past.*

This principle of constant vigilance and of complete subordination of the course of the movement to the ranks must be adopted as a means to constantly renew and renovate the leadership of the workers movement.

In the UAW such a movement has already begun. Eleven hundred Ford workers signed a petition for a Special Convention of the UAW and a policy of no concessions. Several locals have adopted resolutions against further concessions. These initiatives must be supported and developed without conditions other than that one demanded by the workers themselves — Workers Democracy.

This principle must be fought for also in the movement of students and the youth. The movement belongs to the 100,000 who demonstrated in Washington, DC, not to a small group of organizers and activists. These large actions must be the forum as well for discussing and deciding upon the course of our movement.

These are the methods of the preparation and organization of the General Strike. All the initiatives which are put forward for unity and large regroupments can have meaning only as elements of an actual combat to bring down Reagan.

All other alliances are born of passivity and compromise from the beginning.

So, we can develop and organize the consciousness of the working class and youth by fighting in our conferences and conventions for an objective, the General Strike, which opens up a whole new period in American politics. The period of the working class and the workers revolution.

No Cooperation in our Own Exploitation

Reagan's election revealed that the two-party system in the U.S. is breaking down. Because both parties have the same goal, to build up the government apparatus, to confront the movement against imperialism worldwide. Which also means confronting the American working class.

It is from this one basic policy of both parties that Reagan's election policy came. A right-wing president with a populist approach.

In essence this policy comes down to an attempt to involve workers, blacks and all other sectors of the working class in their own exploitation. By cooperating in our own exploitation we are told we can save capitalism, excuse us, American capitalism (though every other country in the world is presently engaged in the same approach to solving its problems).

First, there is government reorganization and eliminating waste. Reagan's director of waste elimination had to admit the other day that they hadn't found much to get rid of. Of course not; the huge malignant bureaucracy of state power is necessary to maintain their class in power.

So government reorganization has come down to streamlining the repressive organs of state power — police, courts, military — against the people.

This is Reagan's policy which relies on divide and conquer for its success, splitting the working class with racist demagoguery, Jim Crow justice and war on the poor in order to arrive at the larger goal — smashing the resistance of the unions and the youth and intervening in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to stop the revolt against imperialism.

And the tax cuts. Effectively they are just an element of this same strategy following on the original model of California's proposition 13. For in the end it will be the working class that will have to assume the burden for Reagan's massive military outlays, fight his wars of intervention and be crushed under the weight of massive unemployment and continued massive inflation.

The economic revitalization of America is likewise reduced to a simple program — wage cuts, massive layoffs and the "restructuring" of large industry. All of which necessitates trade wars for the division of markets, protectionist measures, such as cutting back imports and wars of colonial intervention.

But Reagan's "mandate" has been proved to be extremely fragile. The sectors picked out for attack have responded with massive demonstrations and strikes — blacks, miners, autoworkers and the youth movement against U.S. intervention and military rearmament.

We must establish a firm principle in all the movements against Reagan's policies — *no cooperation in our own exploitation.*

Like the Polish Workers!

Outside of a struggle to impose our own solutions, like the Polish workers, there is only collaboration in our own exploitation. In Poland, the General Strike based on independent committees of the workers, reaching out to the entire working class and the youth, has been the means through which the workers have sought to take in hand every element of their social and daily existence.

This is our struggle, a fight for *workers control over production.*

The bottom line is the need for a complete change in the relations of the unions to Reagan's plans.



Miners at demonstration against Reagan.

No concessions. The first talk of bosses and bureaucrats for concessions must be the signal to build committees in the factories answerable only to the ranks, to prepare a general plan of mobilization and action.

Factory occupations to stop plant closings. No more giving in to the blackmail of workers with the threat of losing their jobs. The weapon of the sitdown strike which built the unions in the U.S. can be the starting point for launching the General Strike.

A sliding scale of wages and hours. The weight of ten million unemployed and soaring inflation is on every worker's back. It is a simple and just principle: with every rise in prices, wages must go up accordingly. With every cut in production, working hours go down to divide up the jobs among all, with no cut in pay.

Nationalization of basic industry under workers control. As long as the bosses have control, every solution offered amounts to more sacrifices by the working class. So, under the control of workers committees, we organize production to benefit needs not profits.

Boycott the Dictatorships!

No nation can be free that oppresses another. American workers, blacks and youth face the same imperialist state that the peasants of El Salvador do. And there is a corollary to this law. Every direct blow against U.S. imperialism is a blow for the independence of the American working class. Their exploitation is our exploitation.

The large movement against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador must find its foundation in the fight of the American working class. It can be the vanguard of all the liberation struggles.

Total military and economic boycott of the Latin American dictatorships must be

the goal through which the youth and the working class can directly intervene to stop Reagan's war plans.

Such a struggle is not counterposed to organizing a massive movement of demonstrations and protest, rather it is the conclusion to this movement. The means to bring together the fight against Reagan, the oppressor of other nations, with the fight against Reagan, the oppressor of the American workers.

The policy of no cooperation in our own exploitation is the basis upon which a new leadership can be forged and a workers program be developed in the movement.

Build the Workers Party

The American working class needs its own party. Reagan's election was a product of the abstention of the majority of the working class, which saw no vehicle for expressing its own political alternative.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, which has submitted this platform, states openly that there is no room left in the epoch of the complete decay and degeneration of capitalism for a reformist party. It must be a party to prepare the revolution. And we call on all workers and youth who see the need for such a party to join us.

But we are ready to open up the debate over the program and nature of the workers party. We are ready to place this decision in the hands of the entire working class.

So we call, joining the unions which have made this same proposal, for a *Congress of trade union delegates to build the workers party.*

This new leadership will emerge from an open combat against Reagan and his policies in solidarity with the workers of the world. We believe the weapon of the General Strike can be the means to test and build this new leadership, as it has been for the Polish workers.

New Steps by Reagan

The Reagan administration, which came into office bristling with threats and confident of immediate victories over the world revolution, has been put on the defensive by the continued upsurge of the oppressed masses and by the resistance to its plans on the part of American workers and youth.

In particular, it has been set back in Europe. The political importance of Europe has been analyzed in the "Manifesto" of the World Workers Conference (Truth #132).

The situation in Ireland and Britain, the continuation of the Polish Revolution, the recent victory of the workers in the French elections, all show this importance. And the Madrid "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," the hope of imperialism for counterrevolution, has manifestly failed in its objectives.

That is why there have been several new initiatives taken by Reagan and his gang that are aimed at pursuing the same objectives in what appear to be more likely or less critical areas. Together with the question of the nomination of Ernest Lefever for Under-secretary of State for Human Rights, we can see some important points in these initiatives.

Africa, North and South, is the focus of two of these initiatives. The U.S. has all but broken diplomatic relations with Libya on the grounds that its leader, Col. Khaddafi, is supporting "international terrorism" and is "interfering in the internal affairs of its neighbors." (Yes, it is American imperialism making such accusations!) And Reagan has offered aid to countries that "resist" Libya, thus offering a new arena for U.S. interventionism.

At the same time, Reagan has announced that he is seeking to end the "pariah" status of South Africa. This noble effort takes the form of trying to strike a deal over the independence of Namibia (now controlled by racist South Africa) in return for capitulations to imperialist demands in the rest of Black Africa, in particular, the expulsion of Cuban troops from Angola and a "power-sharing" agreement with CIA-backed rebel forces in that country.

Not giving up on Central America, as well as the Caribbean, Reagan has announced plans to increase "economic and military aid" (like in El Salvador) in order to counter poverty (really!) and combat, you guessed it, "Cuban and Soviet subversion." Despite the fact that its first "White Paper" is now admitted to have been a fraud, the Reagan regime is busy concocting yet another on Cuba's alleged role in Central America and Colombia.

When Reagan presented Lefever for his "human rights" post, he was announcing that an open racist, reactionary, apologist for torture and huckster for Nestle was a perfect symbol for his foreign policy. The defeat of this nomination shows that the struggle in the U.S. has already put the imperialists on notice. In Africa, in the Caribbean basin, and at home — we are going to defeat them.

TRUTH

Ireland: "No Support"?

The decisive turning point in the political situation in Ireland, in bringing the hunger strikes to world attention, was the April 10 victory of Bobby Sands, who was later the first hunger striker to die, in a special "Northern Ireland" election for a seat in the British Parliament.

This was a major breakthrough because, as even the bourgeois press admitted, this victory shattered the whole structure of lies that the Irish masses were hostile to the republican prisoners; that the fighters against imperialist rule were an isolated minority of "terrorists" without support, that the attempt of British imperialism to "criminalize" political struggle was endorsed by the workers and the oppressed.

The capitalist liberals, those who say that there is no need for violence and revolution in order to accomplish social change, have a superstitious reverence for elections. But when these same elections speak against their reactionary views, they are as silent as the followers of a broken god. This is the situation in Ireland.

A few years ago, these liberals and "moderates" quoted a gentleman named Conor Cruise O'Brien at great length. He was a writer and scholar, a member of the Irish Labour Party (a party that has few of the virtues and virtually none of the strengths of its British counterpart), and his position was one of tender concern for the "Protestants" of "Northern Ireland," lest they be "forced" into unity. (He was not worried about the real force exerted against Irish republicans.)

Lately, the liberals have not quoted Mr. O'Brien, although he writes as much and is as scholarly as ever. The reason is that — although they never saw fit to mention it — in the last elections in the "Irish Republic," four years ago, this person was voted out of office by the Irish voters, thus giving their own opinion on "moderation."

A similar situation is developing today. O'Brien has been replaced in the hearts of the liberals by people like Gerry Fitt, leader of the "moderate," not to say capitulationist, Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in "Northern Ireland." Once again, these liberals have not seen fit to mention that in local elections in the North, held on May 20, this person lost his long-time seat on the Belfast City Council to a member of "People's Democracy," the Irish group of the Pabloite "United Secretariat." In fact, Fitt came in last behind an openly pro-British figure, actually winning only 541 votes. This fact has not been mentioned in the liberal columns once so respectful of Fitt's wisdom. The fact that the republican voters of Belfast voted in two militants who claim to be Trotskyist, in preference to those like Fitt, speaks volumes about the revolutionary character of the struggle in the North today.

So far, there has been no response from the liberals, who sagely nodded their heads and announced that Bobby Sands' victory was "a fluke," to the results of these elections or, even more importantly, to the June 11 elections in the South for the parliament of the "Irish Republic."



Bobby Sands

As part of the mobilization around the political prisoners, the republican movement ran nine prisoners held by the British in the infamous "H-Blocks" in Long Kesh in the North (the constitution of the "Irish Republic" claims sovereignty over the North, thus granting citizenship to those in that area). The ever-so-liberal bourgeois newspaper, *The New York Times* (June 11, 1981), sagely announced, "none are thought to have any real chance of winning."

How reality constantly slaps the liberals in the face! Because, somehow disregarding the wisdom of American imperialist liberalism, the voters in the South elected not one, but *two* of the prisoners — Patrick Agnew and Kieran Doherty.

At the same time, the overall results in these elections are very interesting. The Fianna Fail party of Prime Minister

Why the Socialist United States of Europe?

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

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

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

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

Charles Haughey (the traditional party of the "national" bourgeoisie) appears to have lost ground markedly. In fact, because of Ireland's system of proportional representation, the final results will not be clear for up to three weeks. What is clear, however, is that when they had the chance, the Irish voters repudiated Haughey's "discussions" with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by voting for the prisoners or by voting against Fianna Fail.

The course of the last three Irish elections, which took place under the shadow of the struggle in the North, has revealed a deep discontent which is seeking a political solution, but cannot yet find it.

In 1973, the voters turned out Fianna Fail, giving a majority to the coalition of the Irish Labour Party and Fine Gael (the openly pro-imperialist party) in disgust with Fianna Fail's role in regard to the North. In 1977, in equal disgust with the right wing coalition, it put in Fianna Fail again. And now it has voted strongly against Fianna Fail once more, perhaps enough to depose it again.

These results show that the Irish voters, North and South, are looking for something new. In view of the situation with the struggle against British rule in the North, it is clear that this solution must be a revolutionary one.

In the first session of the revolutionary Dail Eireann ("Assembly of Ireland") in 1919, fully thirty four out of the seventy three members had to be answered for to the roll call by others with the phrase in Gaelic, "Fe glas ab Gallaibh" — "imprisoned by the foreign enemy."

When the new Irish parliament, the very non-revolutionary Dail, convenes, will not that be an appropriate response to the names of Paddy Agnew and Kieran Doherty? Will not that echo awaken memories that imperialism wants forgotten? Will not that mark the beginning of the final triumph of the Irish Revolution?

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

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

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

That is our struggle.

Defend the Polish Revolution!

Once again, the Polish Revolution is under attack. The Kremlin and the rest of its ruling parties are renewing their brutal threats against the Polish workers and their mass organizations, especially the free trade union "Solidarity."

Why do these threats occur now? It is not a sign of weakness on the part of the development of the revolution. No, it is precisely the fact that the mobilization inside Poland has once again made a leap forward, combined with the fact that the revolution in Europe as a whole has made new advances, that drives the Kremlin's international apparatus into this policy of counterrevolutionary invasion whose consequences it does not know itself.

After the initial demobilization following the "no-strike" law passed by the Polish parliament, a new upsurge has come about in the last few weeks, touching even new sections of the population.

A number of workers from "Solidarity" around Poland went on hunger strike to demand the release of the political prisoners, Leszek Moczulski and other leaders of the Polish nationalist party, the KPN. This victory was achieved. At the same time, even ordinary prisoners went on hunger strike to demand better conditions. And then, once again, the threat of the General Strike was raised when "Solidarity" chapters in four cities announced that they were going out because promises to prosecute the cops involved in attacks on "Solidarity" members in Bydgoszcz had not been kept.

But this time the Kremlin could see that the situation that frightens it so much was not confined to Poland. The mass upsurge in Ireland, the growing crisis of the Thatcher regime in Britain, to name just the most obvious examples, showed that. And on May 10 came the crushing blow: the Kremlin's favored candidate, Giscard D'Estaing, was defeated in the French elections. This meant both a new intensification of the crisis of the Kremlin's international apparatus, especially of the French Communist Party, and a new point of departure for the victory of the European Revolution.

We have said that the ultimate defense of the Polish Revolution lies in the Socialist United States of Europe. But this is not some kind of constitutional or legal arrangement. No, it expresses the unity and triumph of the revolution throughout Europe. The blow struck by the French workers against the Kremlin has been a real contribution to defending the revolution in Poland. And carrying it through by making the revolution in France will be a decisive aid.

This is the framework in which the Kremlin, in fear and desperation, has had to strike out with blind viciousness against the Polish workers.

We have said before that a confrontation between the Kremlin's tanks and the Polish workers was absolutely unavoidable. The recent course of events shows that any real steps forward by the Polish workers are inseparable from the development of

the revolution. Passivity means prostration before the Kremlin, that is, being crushed without a fight. And the revolutionary upsurge means a direct confrontation with the bureaucracy that lives in mortal fear of the threat that revolution means to its own existence. But such a confrontation will be fought on the best of terms — with the support of all the workers of Europe, with the Kremlin on the defensive, fearing its own troops and its own "home front," the Soviet workers.

This confrontation is being prepared today; there is no avoiding it. And the Kremlin is following its timeworn path. As in Hungary in 1956, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968, it is seeking to rally to its side even a small fraction of the Stalinist Communist Party (officially called "the Polish United Workers Party" — PUWP). If the workers are prevented from making a complete break with the Stalinist party, if a hard core of the bureaucracy is reliable, the Kremlin can invade and make the invasion stick. That is why the threats against "Solidarity" have been particularly directed toward the PUWP.

This has taken two forms. First is the June 5 letter the Central Committee (CC) of the Soviet Communist Party (that is, the Kremlin bureaucrats themselves) sent to the last CC meeting of the PUWP. This letter, filled with the abuse that the Kremlin specializes in, is a final notice to the Polish Stalinists to put their house in order or have it done for them.

At the same time, the Kremlin and its allies have played up the statement of a small Stalinist group centered in Katowice which has mouthed the Kremlin's line: "Solidarity" is full of "anti-socialist elements," the Polish workers are the "class enemy," etc. This is exactly the kind of preparation that the Kremlin made for the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The PUWP is the focus of these attacks because all the illusions about the fate of the Polish Revolution are centered there. Ideas that a "democratic renewal" can be achieved without breaking from Stalinism and its party, that a "liberalization" of that party is possible, are being spread in order to confuse revolutionary workers — including those who belong to the PUWP — about the absolute necessity of building a new party, the party of the political revolution, the party of the Fourth International.

This has had an effect such that the most recent CC meeting saw a rallying to the leadership in order to "defend" it from the Kremlin, when in fact the leadership will use this support to try to carry out the same policy.

The defense of the Polish Revolution means now more than ever the building of the revolution throughout Europe. Is this remote from us? Not at all. When we organize against Reagan we are taking up that fight. In particular, in the unions we can take up the fight for the General Strike and, immediately, support to the U.S. tour of the Soviet free trade unionists, Fainberg and Borisov.



Polish workers, members of "Solidarity."

Support the Tour of Fainberg and Borisov

The International Workers Fund is being used in the defense of the Polish workers, to extend the Polish Revolution throughout the world. This is not an easy task. The struggle is growing larger every day. The Trotskyist Organization/USA is taking the initiative in leading the fight defending the Polish workers struggles. To build "solidarity" on an international level.

The American working class must also take the initiative in preparing the revolution here in the U.S. The unions must be won back by the workers. This is the fight for Workers Democracy. This shows the urgency for workers to take up the struggle themselves in their own unions for the defense of the Polish workers and to build the International Workers Fund, for the defense of the free trade unions.

One example of the necessity of the International Workers Fund is the tour of Fainberg and Borisov, two free trade union leaders in the Soviet Union. Their tour has been very successful in France, Spain and Sweden. The words and actions of the workers of Eastern Europe travel with them. The gains from this tour are many, the losses are none.

The finances involved here are great. Airfare, accommodations and travel expenses here in the United States, literature to advance this tour; these are only a few of the expenses that confront us in the struggle to defend the Polish Revolution.

Your support of the International Workers Fund and your donations, especially a regular pledge, no matter how large or small, will aid in the struggle for the Polish Revolution.

The opposition to the Polish Revolution (Reagan, Brezhnev) is very clear. The road forward is also very clear for workers

and youth: organize the forces to defeat this great opposition and go forward with the revolution on an international scale. The opportunity is ripe for young people to take the lead against imperialism and Stalinism. A consciousness among these youth who are being oppressed is opening up a political struggle to confront the old leadership. We seek to take this even farther by defending the Polish Revolution and by building the International Workers Fund. The Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA will be selling buttons for \$1.00 in which the money will go towards the International Workers Fund, for the defense and extension of the Polish Revolution. The slogans on the buttons will be: "Solidarnosc," "We Are All Polish Workers," "Todos Somos Obreros Polacos," and "Poland Won't Be A Czechoslovakia."

If you would like to pledge or make a regular contribution to the International Workers Fund, below this article is a blank which you can fill out and return to *Truth*. If you would like to order some buttons also, you can write on the blank which buttons and how many. Making a pledge, buying and helping to sell the buttons, are steps in the defense of the Polish Revolution.

Fight alongside the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA in building the International Workers Fund. Extend the Polish Revolution to the United States. We are all Polish workers!

Contribute to the International Workers Fund!

Help Finance the U.S. Tour of Fainberg and Borisov!

SUE FROSCHEISER

Build the International Workers Fund!

I want to pledge _____

per week/per month.

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

Union/School/Organization _____

The SWP and May 3

A very important article, "Militarism and war: central issues for U.S. working people," appeared in the June 12, 1981, issue of *The Militant*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The importance of this article is made clear not only by its sub-title, "May 3 signals growing opposition," but also by who wrote it and by what it is.

Revolution

Doug Jenness is a member of the central leadership of the SWP and his article is made up of "major excerpts" from his report to the New York-Northern New Jersey District Convention of the SWP, a report "based on a discussion in the SWP's Political Committee."

Every political tendency today is faced with the fact of revolution. It is the determining factor in events from Poland to El Salvador, from Ireland to the movement in the U.S. against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism.

The May 3 demonstrations represented a major manifestation of the size and strength of this movement among the working class and the youth against this rearmament. Jenness has to try to explain why the SWP was virtually absent from May 3, why it was completely unable to anticipate and prepare for it. In doing this, he also has to try to provide a perspective for the future, to try to answer the discontent that exists in the SWP on the eve of its National Convention, which the District Convention was undoubtedly intended to prepare.

After much praise for the importance and magnitude of May 3, Jenness states: "The Political Committee thinks that we made an error by not supporting the May 3 action earlier and by not campaigning around it." And further: "... We didn't really take up support for May 3 in an active or clear way."

These statements are, to be polite, misleading. The truth is that the SWP *boycotted* May 3, that it sent no one but a skeleton crew of *Militant* distributors and propagandists for its court case, that it actively discouraged its own members and those over whom it had influence from coming. In other words, if it had been up to "the Political Committee," May 3 would have been a failure.

In the face of the success of May 3, the SWP leadership has a lot of explaining to do. As we have seen, Jenness wants to dismiss the leadership's policy as an "error," as a tactical mistake. But he knows, thus the need to make a whole report on it, that the members of his organization see in May 3 another example of the crisis of their organization.

Because the fact is that the SWP, which for years has been labeling any disagreement with its policy as "sectarianism," revealed itself as having the most truly sectarian position in regard to the movement, that is, to the actual development of the revolution, of any organization.

The real problem facing Jenness about May 3 is that it appears as the latest and most glaring example of the fact that the

SWP is unable to respond positively to the revolution, internationally and in the U.S.

This incapacity came out openly after the election of Reagan, which produced a report to the SWP National Committee by National Secretary Jack Barnes that abandoned in practice the campaign for a "labor party" built by the trade union bureaucrats, substituting a revived campaign for a "black party" (which, we note in passing, is not mentioned in Jenness' report). At the same NC meeting, the SWP had to do a complete about face on its position on Afghanistan, repudiating its previous total support to the Kremlin's invasion and its campaign around "the truth about Afghanistan" (on which subject the same Doug Jenness made a national tour).

And in April (for its own reasons), after having dismissed for months "all this talk about Poland" (as an SWP leader put it at the National CARD Conference), the SWP discovered that: "A political and social revolution has been unfolding in Poland for the past eight months." We have taken up this position of the SWP, and its meaning, in the last two issues of *Truth*.

Similarly, after having tried to suppress its promised "discussion" on Cuba, the SWP leadership finds itself faced today with ever more discontent about its support to the Stalinist, Castro.

And then came May 3.

Perspectives

Is this just a question of "errors," of adjusting to reality a day late and a dollar short, of stumbling into positions that crudely approximate ours?

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, section of the Fourth International, does not think so. On the contrary, the question is one of a fundamental perspective — or lack of it. And this is where Jenness' report is most revealing.

The Fourth International has put forward a clear perspective. There is a new turn in the world situation, a turn by the masses toward the revolution. A new current of workers and youth is developing as part of this turn. In response to this revolutionary upsurge, the old order of imperialism and Stalinism tries to rearm itself. Thus, as we have stated, the movement in the U.S. against imperialist rearmament is a movement which expresses this new turn and new current. It demands a revolutionary policy.

But Jenness does not even mention the world revolution. All he sees is "the drive of the American imperialists toward war," which is opposed only by "the deep sentiment for peace among the American people." Is it any wonder the SWP cannot orient itself on the elections, Afghanistan, Poland, Cuba — May 3?

That is why, when he comes to what is to be done, Jenness can only confess bankruptcy.

... We're not right on the verge of a class-struggle left wing or labor party being born. We're still at a stage where we don't know how, when, and in what form a class struggle left wing will emerge in the American labor movement...

The general trend in the labor movement today is for the officialdom to settle for Chrysler-type contracts...

There is no leftward development by the union officialdom.

"Not," "don't know," "no." What a truly negative outlook! And what a false one!

The "general trend" is for the "Chrysler syndrome" to win? What about the fight against this, for class independence, in the unions? In recent weeks, in the miners' union in particular, a whole series of these capitulationist "officials" (bureaucrats, in plain Marxism) have been voted out of office. The miners' strike itself, which Jenness sees as "unique," exemplifies this revolutionary trend.

In particular, there is the situation in the UAW, in which a movement is developing against concessions and in which the special convention and even the General Strike have been raised. When 1,100 auto-workers signed a petition for no concessions and a special convention, *The Militant* did not see fit to report this. But it did devote a full page to one SWP member interviewing another (May 8, 1981) in support of the attempt by some bureaucrats to divert the drive for a special convention into a reactionary fight against the reaffiliation of the UAW to the AFL-CIO.

Since the outlook of Jenness and of the rest of the leadership is completely negative in terms of the workers and youth, it is no surprise that it is completely negative for militants of the SWP itself.

"Discussions are taking place... as workers absorb the meaning of the blows being dealt to them and try to come up with answers," Jenness says, as he presents a glowing outlook to match this glowing estimate. The whole two pages of his article come down to empty platitudes in place of a conclusion: "... the most favorable opportunity the party has had in years to get a hearing for our ideas." "... puts us in the best position to become part of the ferment taking place," "... we can win new friends and members."

These timeless abstractions do not even begin to respond to the situation of the working class or to the desires of SWP militants.

We are trying to arm the militants of the SWP against this leadership that is abusing them and their aspirations. This means a political confrontation with that leadership.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA has put forward the organization of the General Strike as the key political task of the American workers movement. On this basis we have proposed a United Front to the SWP. This is not an organizational arrangement, but a question of common action around the actual struggles existing today with a view toward centralizing them and giving them a consciously political content.

When we propose a fight to involve the trade unions in a boycott of the Salvadoran junta, when we propose a struggle for the Special Convention of the UAW, when



Jenness

we propose a campaign in defense of the Polish Revolution (tour of Fainberg and Borisov), when we propose an active opposition to the Voorhis Act (see page 2), we are proposing the active organization and preparation of the General Strike.

All militants of the SWP have to answer this question: are these correct struggles or not, and if so, how do they propose to take them up? For our part, we say that these militants should confront their own leadership with this combat, should propose that the SWP actively take up the United Front for the General Strike.

That is the road to the preparation of the American Revolution.
K.F.

Middle East

Potential war in Lebanon, Israeli attacks on Iraq, political crisis in Iran. The recent events in the Middle East present a picture of confusion to American workers and youth.

The Zionist State of Israel is the dagger of imperialism in the Middle East. So its attack on the Iraqi nuclear facilities, under the guise of "self-defense," is a transparent and blatant assertion of its domination over every nation's right to its own independence and military defense.

At the same time, the Lebanon crisis flows from the same source as the Israeli dispossession of the Palestinians — the imperialist division of the Middle East after World War I. "Syria," "Lebanon," "Palestine," "Jordan," "Iraq," are the names given to territories chopped out of the old Ottoman Empire in order to divide and conquer the Arab peoples. In this case, Syrian intervention in Lebanon was designed to maintain this status quo in the Middle East. Israel cannot accept the status quo, it must have more. Hence the confrontations.

In Iran, the attacks of the religious reactionaries on the "moderate" president Bani-Sadr reflects that the revolution has not become a socialist one, that a revolutionary leadership did not emerge in opposition to Khomeini. Bani-Sadr represents capitalism also, but it is in the interest of the Iranian masses to defeat the "Party of God" in its attempts to seize power, so that the working class and its allies can once again take the offensive.
TRUTH

Atlanta and Conspiracy

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The recent series of murders of black children and young adults (now totalling 28) in the Atlanta, Georgia, area has produced a massive response on the part of black people throughout the country.

The reason for this response is that far more is involved than the activity of one or more murderers. An attack on black youth, an attack that goes unanswered and unstopped by the authorities, reveals to many blacks what this racist society has in store for them.

At a number of rallies, figures like Dick Gregory and the sister of the late Malcolm X have advanced a conspiracy theory to account for the killings and the role of the authorities in them — black children are being kidnapped by white scientists in order to determine how blacks have been able to survive under the conditions they have faced in "white America."

The bourgeois press reports with distress that these theories have evoked a favorable reception, much to the dismay of moderate and "responsible" black leaders.

Such strange views find an echo in the black masses because in fact they are far closer to the truth than the simpering moralism and pressure politics put forward by the "respectable elements."

There is indeed a conspiracy against blacks, a conspiracy organized at the very highest levels of the government, whose goal is not to experiment on blacks but to deprive them of every gain they have won in the whole last generation of struggle.

In the Atlanta murders themselves, the racist nature of this real conspiracy is readily apparent. From the very beginning, the police played down the existence of a series of murders. Then they actually tried to imply that it was the families' public outcry over the first deaths that had inspired various maniacs to go out and kill black youth.

This was only the beginning. When blacks organized armed patrols to defend their neighborhoods and their children, the cops managed well enough to arrest the mili-

tants and break up the patrols. A startling contrast to their prostration on the murders themselves.

And when the FBI entered the case as a result of the "pressure" of the moderate leadership, its contribution to solving the crimes was to announce in an open press conference that "some of these kids were killed by their families"! To follow that up, the FBI and the cops "leaked" rumors that some of the dead youth had been homosexual "hustlers" — apparently they got what they deserved.

Most recently, the state of Georgia has been threatening the committee set up by the families of the victims with violations of laws regulating charitable contributions.

It is not hard at all to see a conspiracy in this. The racists are saying, "Who cares about a bunch of black kids? Just a bunch of trouble-makers. Let's get these uppity niggers and to hell with their brats."

But the real conspiracy is shown by events far removed from Atlanta. For instance, earlier this year in Mobile, Alabama, a young black man was beaten and hanged from a tree — the first real old-fashioned Southern lynching reported in many years. Yet just a few weeks ago, the suspects in this crime were released on grounds of "insufficient evidence." For years now, American democracy has been telling the world that it has ended racial discrimination and lynchings — especially in the South — "peacefully," by "democratic" methods. But today, when the fascists kill communists and get away with it, when bigots lynch blacks and get away with it, this lie is revealed to everyone as the cover it has always been for the maintenance of imperialist rule over blacks, over workers.

At the head of the state itself, we have a regime which is gleefully chopping away at all the social programs blacks, other minorities and workers have won. It is not hard to see a conspiracy in this.

At the same time, one of Reagan's closest allies, Sen. Strom Thurmond of



Harlem rally of 10,000 against Atlanta killings.

South Carolina, has taken over the Senate Judiciary Committee. He is mounting an open campaign against the extension of the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, a law that marked the end of the total exclusion of blacks from elections in the South, a law that was passed over the objections of Lyndon Johnson because of the black movement and its fight at Selma and elsewhere.

Strom Thurmond, who now says this law is no longer needed (in contrast to evidence from all over the South), just coincidentally fought every single civil rights bill to the bitter end — being firmly convinced that they weren't needed then, either. This same Strom Thurmond, now a Republican, is the one who split from the Democratic Party in 1948 because it had even a feeble civil rights plank and ran for president on the openly racist "Dixiecrat" ("States Rights") ticket. Along with the rest of the Southern Democrats his cry

was: "Segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" And now he is Reagan's favorite senator. It is not hard to see a conspiracy in this.

The moderate, respectable, liberal "leaders of the black community" have tried to turn the case of the Atlanta murders into a means to link blacks to their oppressors through "pressure" politics. They have come up with wearing a green ribbon "to celebrate life," as if the problem in Atlanta had something to do with sentimentality about the eternal ebb and flow of nature.

There is nothing wrong with wearing a green ribbon to express solidarity with the blacks of Atlanta and their struggle. But it would be far better to take up the struggle for the destruction of the terrorist state that is oppressing them and all blacks, against the real conspiracy that faces them.

Election Results Shake Unions

By FRED VITALE

In elections held recently in three major unions in the U.S. — the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), United Steelworkers of America (USWA), and the United Auto Workers (UAW) — the workers have shown their opposition to the existing leaderships. The workers in the unions are drawing a balance sheet of the last years' drastic cuts in their standard of living, the plant closings, the racist attacks. They are drawing a balance sheet of the leaderships that led their strikes and accepted their contracts and are finding them completely inadequate in face of the tasks confronting their unions.

The workers are drawing their own balance sheet about the meaning of the Polish Revolution for their struggle — the American unions have to learn to "speak Polish."

As we reported in the last issue of *Truth*, UMWA workers had thrown out several of the leaders that gave them the first contract which they had overwhelmingly rejected. Over half of the 160,000 miners are still out, honoring mine construction worker picket lines.

In the USWA, a loosely-knit group of

reform candidates ran against the USWA bureaucracy for district offices. They were all former supporters of Ed Sadlowski's "Fight Back" Campaign for president of the USWA in 1977.

In the large Canadian district and the important District #8 (containing the massive Bethlehem Steel mill at Sparrows Point, Maryland), these candidates, pledged to let the ranks vote on contracts and to oppose the no-strike agreement (ENA), defeated the bureaucratic incumbents.

James Balanoff, best known of the "reform" candidates, incumbent head of Ed Sadlowski's home district (#65, the largest in the USWA, covering the great plants of Chicago and Gary), lost. He lost because during his years in office, while U.S. Steel closed plants and laid off workers, Balanoff said little and did nothing.

In the UAW elections, workers are drawing a balance sheet of the "Chrysler contract" and of the UAW leadership, supposedly the most "reform-minded" in any major union in the U.S.

Even before the elections, a movement

in the UAW for a Special Convention of the ranks was — and still is — the most powerful balance sheet of the Chrysler contract, coming right after the outbreak of the Polish Revolution last summer. This movement has not yet found an expression in the elections.

At Local 600 (Ford River Rouge), the largest local in the UAW (20,000 workers voting), the incumbent president, Mike Rinaldi, clung to his post only by luck. He ran against someone even *closer* to the Fraser bureaucracy — an International Representative and former president of the local, Walter Dorosh. Rinaldi developed his campaign in a demagogic way against the (UAW) "International." Even with this effort, results for several lesser positions were close enough to require a runoff election.

The present political turmoil in the unions answers the bourgeois writers talking about the strength of the bureaucracy, the political apathy of the workers and the "unity" of the workers with their leaders.

These results, particularly the continued defeats of open traitors in the UMWA, the

defeat of Balanoff and the efforts in the UAW, can be critical elements in a balance sheet of the *whole* reform wing of the bureaucracy and of those who have supported it. A wing that at every important turn has in fact completely supported the aristocratic, racist and openly pro-imperialist Neanderthals like George Meany or his former aide, Lane Kirkland, his successor as head of the AFL-CIO. A reform wing without any reforms to its name. All it does have to its credit, especially in the case of the UAW, is new methods for *involving the workers in their own exploitation* — the Chrysler contracts.

These defeats for the bureaucracy, along with the growing influence of the Polish Revolution, can be the starting point for a new revolutionary current to cohere itself in the unions around the *defense of the free trade unions* in Poland and throughout Eastern Europe, around bringing that revolutionary fight here. This can begin by fighting for union invitations and funds for the tour of the Soviet free trade unionists, Fainberg and Borisov.

TRUTH



The movement of the youth is in the streets against the rearmament of imperialism.

The Spirit of May 3 Lives!

The spirit of May 3 (the huge, successful demonstration of nearly 100,000 youth in Washington, DC, against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism) is the spirit of the rising revolution in the U.S. This spirit still lives even in CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft), among the youth who still attend meetings in spite of all attempts to exclude and disorganize them.

This was evident at the June 8 meeting of Detroit CARD. The question of the National Steering Committee meeting of CARD (see *Truth* #133) came up (but as just another item on the agenda), and we intervened, basing ourselves on all the previous struggle of International Young Guard/USA in CARD. The orientation we put forward was to drop the bureaucratic rules obviously designed to keep what is the backbone of the movement, the youth and young workers, fighters in the May 3 demonstration, from participation, to build the National Steering Committee in a completely open fashion to draw in these youth and, on the basis of this struggle, to turn the Steering Committee meeting into a debate, discussion and resolution of the problem of the lack of a truly representative leadership, rather than what presently exists: a self-appointed clique.

In the discussion that took place, the "old hands" from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and other equally compromising leaderships squirmed. They were obliged to say that they did not fully agree with the rules, but that NCARD had arrived at them through a "compromise." Some of the limited number of youth present spoke again and again about wanting to "preserve the spirit of May 3" and feared that these rules would go against this.

The leadership of the local CARD chapter tried to incorporate our orientation,

trying to submit it to the framework they have set up for the Steering Committee (that it not be an open meeting, that it only be a discussion of delegates established by the prohibitive rules). They said that we could argue for the local CARD chapter delegates bringing this up on the Steering Committee.

Speaking in favor of maintaining the framework and exclusionary rules, some of the "old hands" resorted to pure demagoguery. One of them said that if there weren't such rules anybody could pack the meeting and take control and that even the Moonies (followers of the religious fanatic and CIA agent, Sun Myung Moon) might take over.

We had to remind these oh-so-"progressive" individuals exactly who was present May 3; wasn't it the youth and young workers, after all? Their real concern was that the youth might take over, making them totally irrelevant. The youth at this meeting were obviously leaning towards a correct orientation, hence the need

for demagoguery. Our motion was voted down (mostly by the "old hands" who pack every meeting of CARD) and the youth either did not vote or voted under the political pressure of the CARD leadership. It was positive that several of these youth got our paper on their way out the door (before the meeting was over), wanting to read our policy and our platform on the back page of the last issue of *Truth*.

We plan to carry this fight out to the end, to meet with these youth again and to get statements of support for our platform from members of CARD and of the Young Socialist Alliance (youth organization of the SWP) and to carry on the fight in opposition to the National Steering Committee and its policy, to show the whole movement it is possible to regroup these fighters in a united struggle to reorient the youth movement and purge it of bureaucratism.

B.P.

Platform for Common Struggle

- 1. We repudiate the basis on which the National Steering Committee of CARD is to be held in Washington, DC, on June 19-20 as a complete violation of workers democracy. For organizations to participate in this Committee, the rules include: membership of at least 10 people; membership in CARD for two months before the February Conference; verification by three other organizations by letter that the organization has participated in anti-draft work; submission of the delegate's name and two alternates along with fifty dollars. For CARD chapters, membership two months before the February Conference is necessary and a ten dollar fee.**
- 2. We demand that the steering committee's sessions be open to all fighters and groups in the movement.**
- 3. The actions taken around this meeting and around May 9, for example, are a complete violation of the decisions of the February 1981 National Conference of CARD, its "highest body." On this basis, we call for an Emergency Conference of CARD, open to all individuals and groups who have taken part in the movement against the draft and U.S. intervention. On this basis, we can take a decisive step forward by reorienting our movement toward victory.**

No Concessions in Detroit!

Workers of Detroit!

Vote "No" on the capitalist tax increase in the June 23 election!

Take the offensive against any "concessions" demanded from city workers!

The ruling class that has brought you war, racism and depression, the Mayor who has brought you the destruction of Poletown, the auto barons who have brought you the massive layoffs and the closing of Dodge Main, Fleetwood and Cadillac, now want you to take another step in their "Chrysler syndrome."

They want you to raise your own income taxes to finance their crisis. They want city workers to accept "concessions" as part of this tax increase. They want the unions to finance the city's deficit.

If you do not agree, they threaten bankruptcy and domination of Detroit by "bigots." Are there any worse bigots than the men who run Ford, GM, Chrysler and the various real estate scams?

The leadership of AFSCME Council 25, which represents the bulk of Detroit city workers, has voted unanimously to oppose the tax increase and other demands. Good! But more is needed.

The bankers and financiers, the wealthy of Bloomfield Hills and the Grosse Pointes, say Detroit cannot go on without this tax and "concessions." All the city really needs to run is the determination of the workers not to let it be stopped. The General Strike — of city workers first of all, supported by other unions — will deal these gentlemen a stunning blow and show who the city really needs.

TRUTH