

TRUTH

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL No. 146 May 1982 25¢

For A New Revolutionary Leadership

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Fourth International is turning toward the working class youth for the building of a new revolutionary leadership. More than a decade ago the youth were the main force behind the revolutionary movement. That is still true today, and now, when the only alternatives on the horizon are war and barbarism or the workers socialist revolution, it is from the youth, first of all, that the Fourth International expects the answer to its call to rally in Hamburg, Germany, for *Freedom for Workers Poland, for a New Revolutionary Leadership*.

The Youth

Because it is in Hamburg, across the Baltic Sea from Gdansk in Poland, where the workers socialist revolution is being reborn, that the message must go out — there is a new force organizing and leading the assault on the world order of imperialism. That is the youth, and the Fourth International is building the Revolutionary Youth International to make that force into an army that will march over all the obstacles to finishing with the old order.

If the Fourth International attaches so much importance to Poland, it is not only because we see the need to defend a key workers struggle. It is because we see the international stake of the Polish Revolution.

Many are the existing leaderships and parties of the working class who are for "solidarity with Solidarity" in general. But few are those who are really ready to do anything of substance to defend the Polish Revolution. And even fewer still are those who want to bring the Polish Revolution here, to extend it on an international scale.

That is why our slogan must be: *Freedom for Workers Poland!*

In a dozen cities across Poland more than a hundred thousand Polish workers and youth demonstrated at the first loosening of martial law restrictions. This shows that the second stage of the Polish Revolution has begun, the stage of the confrontation with the tanks of the Kremlin.

In these demonstrations, the Polish youth have been singled out by the Catholic Church and martial law authorities as the major source of trouble. "Stones do not make laws," said Poland's Roman Catholic Primate to a crowd of 100,000 in Krakow.

Yes, all the working class youth who are rebelling against the old order have something in common. To the masters and bosses of the world, the youth and their "stones" are the "trouble," not the bombs, the cops, the starvation budgets and the military dictatorships of the bourgeoisie and its Stalinist ally.

Through their massive organization in the Revolutionary Youth International, the youth will be the lever of a new revolutionary leadership that will break the isolation of the Polish Revolution.

Freedom for Workers Poland means freedom for black people!

Victory for the Polish Workers means Victory for American workers!

A Test

Lenin said that a nation can never be free while it oppresses another. US imperialism oppresses every nation in the world, and it oppresses an entire nation of blacks and poor within its own boundaries. The American working class as a whole can never be free while imperialist and racial oppression continues.

When the Fourth International calls for *Freedom for Workers Poland* it does not qualify the "freedom." The right of self-determination, the solution of the national and democratic demands of the working class and its allies — whether it is in Poland, El Salvador, or in America itself — is an inseparable element of the workers socialist revolution.

The test of this elementary working class principle is being raised today in the convulsive upheavals between the classes, between imperialism and the oppressed, that are taking place.

From the Malvinas where US and British imperialism are intervening to smash the revolution. Where our slogans must be *Defeat British imperialism — victory to Argentina!* in order to take up the slogan chanted by thousands in Buenos Aires, "Malvinas Si, Junta No," and in order to organize the British workers to bring about the fall of Thatcher.

From El Salvador where our slogan must be *arms and aid to the guerrillas* in order to fight for the revolutionary leadership against the dangerous coalition between capitalists and workers which yields the ground of the battles to Washington. And in order to organize the *boycott of the military regime* installed by Reagan.

To the struggle of blacks in America, where we must say — *black liberation means the liberation of the whole American working class!*

But for any nation to be free, Reagan and his class must fall. For Reagan's class to fall, a new revolutionary leadership must be built and Workers Poland must win.

Working Class

If there is one great strength of the Polish Revolution, it is that the working class has shown that it alone constitutes the basis for revolution. It has shown that the liberation of the working class, and the means and methods of struggle which it alone can utilize, is capable of ending the world order of imperialism and Stalinism, which is already shaking from the first

All Out to Hamburg July 3-4!

The weekend of May 8-9 the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the Fourth International met in order to assess the stage of the mobilization for the International Rally of the Youth in Hamburg, Germany. The decision of the IEC was to postpone the date of the Rally from May 29-30 to July 3-4. In fact, the IEC stressed that the mobilization for the Rally had been positive and that the support of many groups and tendencies in the movement of the working class and the youth would have made it possible to hold the Rally as planned in May. In particular, the fact that organizations from Eastern Europe and Germany have declared their support for the Rally represents a real advance.

However, the basis for the construction of the new revolutionary leadership would have been reduced to a theoretical clarification, a discussion alone, when the whole fight for Hamburg is based on a renewal of the leadership of the workers movement through the massive construction of the Revolutionary Youth International. This is what can give direction and a fighting spirit to the theoretical clarification which must take place. This is what can make the Rally in Hamburg a decisive factor in the formation of a new leadership



Polish youth tear down police barriers.

blows of the Polish Revolution.

Look around you. Look at the revolution in Poland. The working class has the power and the means to reorganize society. But every institution that we face tries to convince us to reform this rotten system. *We are all Polish workers!* The entire working class hates Reagan. Let the youth be the spark to set off the *General Strike* to bring him down.

But to turn this revolutionary potential into a material reality, a workers party that is capable of understanding and drawing out for the whole working class the lessons of its struggles is indispensable. The revolution must be organized.

This is why International Young Guard, the US section of the Revolutionary Youth International, is turning toward the working class youth with its slogan *Return to Lenin* and is pointing toward Poland, where the revolution that Lenin and a workers party made in 1917 is being renewed today.

A confrontation between Stalinism and the working class is inevitable. This abomination, which calls itself "Communist" while it prepares to enter Poland with tanks to crush the workers, is on a collision course with the working class whose revolution it usurped. What is at stake in Poland is the renewal of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, the revolution which inspired millions of workers and youth all over the world, just as the Polish

Revolution has today.

Through the massive construction of the Revolutionary Youth International, the Fourth International is building an International Youth Rally in Hamburg, Germany, to build a new leadership that will be a guide to the revolution in every country. New! Because the so-called "Communist" Parties of the Moscow bureaucrats are being torn to pieces by the struggle of the Polish workers.

The working class youth must be the foundation of this new, working class, revolutionary leadership. You who are opposed to the militarist plans of Reagan, who oppose US intervention in El Salvador, who have no jobs and no future under this system. And you who have nothing to do with Stalinism and all the worn out tendencies and parties that walk in its shadow.

Join us, fight together alongside the Polish workers!

This is the basis upon which the Fourth International is preparing the Hamburg Rally. To the organizations that are not yet convinced of this perspective, but that search and fight to build a new revolutionary leadership: come to Hamburg, where we can be a force to clarify the means and the program of this new revolutionary leadership in front of the Polish Revolution.

All Out to Hamburg, July 3-4!

to organize the revolutionary struggles that are going on today.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA agrees completely with this decision and contributed to the discussion on the IEC. As always, the existence of the Fourth International as a world party has enabled us to draw from the experiences and the lessons of the whole International in order to see our tasks more clearly here in the United States. We have been able to realize the beginning of an advance in the construction of International Young Guard, US section of the Revolutionary Youth International, in particular, in the construction of the Malcolm X Circle in Detroit. These gains must be developed further, and will be, but, more importantly, the massive construction of International Young Guard/USA must become the basis for a new development of the American working class toward the construction of its own party, the Workers Party. The first stage of this construction, more important than ever, is the rebuilding of the US section of the Fourth International through the fight for a Trotskyist Congress.

Here, too, the IEC developed an important advance for the work of the TO/USA,

the Bolivian section of the Fourth International and the Peruvian sympathizing group. The IEC outlined the development of a Trotskyist Conference in Lima, Peru, for the rebuilding of the sections in the Two Americas. It posed the tremendous importance of the revolution in Central America for both of the American continents and the necessity, in the fire of these revolutionary struggles, to build a leadership for this revolution.

By its struggle for the Rally in Hamburg, the TO/USA is going to use the time that it has gained to realize the fruit of its initial advances in organizing the working class youth and to make the question of the new revolutionary leadership the stake of all the forces who are engaged in the struggle against US imperialism in the Two Americas. In this way, we will win those who search for this leadership against Stalinism and the centrist obstacles that have blurred the historic importance of Trotskyism and of the foundation of the Fourth International for the American Revolution, North and South.

All Out to Hamburg July 3-4! For a new revolutionary leadership!

TRUTH

Workers' Forum

BLA Prisoner Writes; Letters on the Party, Poland

We received the following letter from Kuwasi Balagoon, a member of the Black Liberation Army arrested in the Bronx on January 20, 1982, in connection with the Nyack Brink's truck incident.

We quote from the February issue of Resistance: "Comrade Kuwasi was a leading member of the Black Panther Party and was part of the Panther 21. He was subsequently jailed on charges of sniping at a policeman and escaped from prison in 1978. At the time of his arrest, he gave only his name, identified himself as a member of the Black Liberation Army, and vowed to continue the struggle from wherever he is."

Dear Comrades:

After reading one of your issues, Truth, January 29, 1982, p. 11, in the article "The Nyack Frame-Up Is Widened," you stated, "This particular attempt, with the exception of Weems, failed completely." In reference of the "Panther 21" case.

I'd like to bring to your attention the fact that I took a lie detector test, which I passed, and stated that on the particular night that I was charged with shooting a cop I didn't even have a gun. My attorney William Crain and I reasoned that with a lie detector test and thirteen other defendants before me proven not guilty in a previous trial, the DA (whose name I can't recall) would have to drop the charges.

Meanwhile, however, I was charged with armed robbery and assault on a couple of cops in Hillside, New Jersey, in Union County. So a deal was made between my attorney and myself and the New York DA to plead guilty on the "21" indictment for a concurrent sentence no longer than the eight to ten years I would get in New Jersey; that was part of the bargain. Otherwise, I could have gotten at least twice that amount of time in New Jersey; so since I wasn't hurting anyone, I accepted the deal and that is how the state got its conviction (one and only conviction) in its "Panther 21" frame-up.

The state, the fascists, were of course bargaining for a political point. I'd like you to print this or at least the part that deals with how they got their conviction then, and I thank you for your support.

In struggle, Kuwasi Balagoon

Kuwasi Balagoon a/k/a Donald G. Weems Rockland County Jail New Hempstead Road New City, NY 10956

Dear Comrades:

While in Detroit I ran across your literature.

Although I have certain doubts on certain issues, I wish to subscribe to your newspaper and to your theoretical magazine (Truth and Fourth International).

[The Fourth International is the organ of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International and is published in four languages — Truth.]

I also wish to receive the "Theses" of all the eight World Congresses.

I would also like to have any of your Truth issues that have articles dealing with Poland. And also, how do you view the recent change of governments in France and Greece?

I am sending you a translation (along with the original) of a statement by the Rewolucyjna Liga Robotnicza Polski [RLRP — Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, section of the Fourth International — Truth]. Ten cadre of the Communist Internationalist League (Greece) visited Poland last August and they came across your comrades.

I've sent the English translation of this article to the SWP, the Spark and the RWL but, unfortunately, they did not publish it. (If they did, I haven't noticed.)

I also send you a collective statement by Trotskyist groups in Greece.

Comradely, M.B. Chicago

Dear Friends:

I have been meaning to write to you for some time now. A member of your group spoke briefly with me at the teach-in on Poland in Detroit last month. I subscribed to Truth and tried to make it in to help with some of your Rouge work, but I couldn't get it together.

I have on hand now The Fourth International... I'm always happy to hear from you, and I'm surprised by how much I agree with you, though I'm no Leninist

I agree with you that some "drastic" action has to be taken to fight the give-

backs and so on. I tend to think that we organize too much around what people are against and not what we're for, so that we come off as though we're trying to maintain conditions rather than change things. So, while I want to see strikes develop that answer give-backs, I want to see people organize around a positive program so that the strikes are not isolated and are part of an effort for something more than another "good" contract. Even if conditions were maintained, this would not be enough.

I'm cynical enough to believe that a general strike in auto is impossible now. However, it probably is viable in other important areas, and agitation for such a strike — and the strike structure you suggest — can always break the ice and get us back some of what we've lost. Dramatic actions have a way of working in times and places which "pure" theorists can't see. I'm really interested in your ideas on the economic organization of the working class, and I hope to learn more about your ideas soon.

The question of who is going to organize



Women shipyard workers in Gdansk.

job actions, and the means of carrying out and extending these actions, comes up right away. This is probably where I differ

With Trybuna Ludu Article New Fourth International Out

The latest issue (#98-99) of The Fourth International is now out.

This issue contains a number of important articles, but — with the Polish workers making good on their promise that the spring would be theirs — the most important are centered on the Polish Revolution, its defense and its extension onto the world scale.

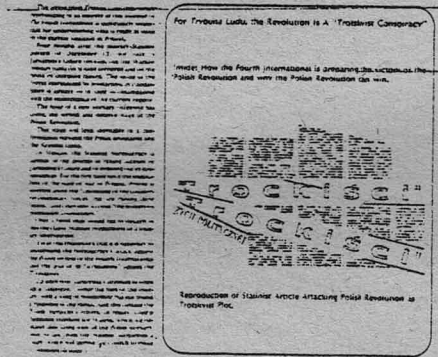
First of all, there is a translation of an attack on our Polish section, the Revolutionary Workers League (RLRP), published in Trybuna Ludu, the official daily of the Polish "Communist" Party.

This article contains the lies and misrepresentations and stupidities to be expected in such a "polemic" against "Trotskyism." But its significance is clear. The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy fear the coming second wave of the revolution — which in May has actually begun — and fears above all that this second wave will acquire a leadership that will be capable of

leading it to victory, that is, the Fourth International.



Stalinist Bureaucracy on the Defensive...



The joint tour of militants of SMOT and Solidarnosc has been postponed until mid-June.

This tour cannot rely on the "good will" of the trade union bureaucrats, the centrist organizations, or the fake friends of Solidarnosc.

Your help is needed in this fight. For endorsements of the tour, for organizing meetings of workers, youth, etc. And, above all, what is the key to the independence of the tour from the "official" leaders of the workers movement, financial support.

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from your group. I think radicals need political organizations, but I doubt that these organizations have to (or should) be political parties.

I'm much more partial to anti-bureaucratic caucuses, which don't limit themselves to reforming trade unions automatically, coordinating committees, shop groups that function inside and outside of unions, radical media and educational centers and publishing and organizing groups — all of which try to function democratically in the larger and less sectarian working class movements without trying to dominate or take them over.

I've been mostly active in trade unions, but I think we have to look at other forms of organization as well, and I think the women's movement, Polish Solidarity, the anti-draft movement and the Soweto student movement and the Black trade union movement in South Africa are models. I know some folks in New York who know Victor Fainberg, and I've done some work for SMOT...

Well, that's about all for now. Please stay in touch.

Tony P. Ann Arbor

Send your letters, questions and anything of interest to fighting workers and youth to: "Workers Forum," c/o Truth, PO Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207.

With this translation goes an article analyzing it — "Stalinist Bureaucracy on the Defensive" — whose title indicates the actual situation.

This article, written well before the recent events in Poland, predicted that any "concessions" by the Stalinists would be interpreted by the workers as weakness and would be the signal for action.

This issue also contains a report on the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International and its work for the Hamburg Rally.

There is also included the call of the Fourth International to the youth of the Two Germanies, which lays out the critical significance of the revolutionary reunification of Germany.

Finally, there is an article drawing a balance sheet of the policy of Lora, Moreno and Lambert in Latin America, of the so-called "anti-imperialist fronts." TRUTH

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Reagan Is on the Run!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

A rapid advance of the revolution is underway in the two Americas. This advance places the struggle for the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas on the order of the day and calls for a new international workers leadership to lead the revolution to victory.

This advance is expressed in Argentina's war against US and British imperialism, in the general strike in Bolivia, and above all in the offensive in Central America and the North American working classes' opposition to imperialist intervention in Central America.

For months the US has been counting on the election of Christian Democratic President Jose Napoleon Duarte to legitimize and give a popular cover to its reign of terror in El Salvador. Yet the Salvadoran workers and peasants have rejected this maneuver. Despite government threats to fire and even arrest anyone who did not vote, more than 25% of those who did vote on March 28 refused to vote for Duarte or Roberto d'Aubuisson (right wing assassin of Archbishop Romero). They turned in blank ballots or crossed off all the candidates on the ballot!

At the same time a massive, left wing opposition among the Sandinistas, to the official Sandinista leadership, is developing in Nicaragua. This opposition has evidently forced the official Sandinista leadership to take a more militant stand in opposition to the landowners and the factory bosses.

The FSLN leadership, after loudly proclaiming for months that it is not Marxist-Leninist, that "Nicaragua won't be another Cuba," organized the entire May Day Celebration in Nicaragua under the theme: "We're moving toward socialism."

It would be foolish to think that any of these events indicates any fundamental change in the nature of the Sandinistas, but they do show that the Nicaraguan masses are no longer willing to accept limitations on their revolution in the interests of peace with imperialism or the capitalist bosses in Nicaragua. This means that another aspect of Reagan's policy against the Central American revolution — terrorizing Castro and the Sandinistas into holding back the Nicaraguan masses — has failed.

Finally, participation in guerrilla activity in Guatemala has doubled and begun to involve many of the long-oppressed Indians in Guatemala. The masses rejected the right wing candidate in the recent elections and provoked a split in the military, rocking yet another bastion of counterrevolution in Central America and opening the road to the revolutionary unification of Central America.

Reagan's Plans Ruined

The revolutionary offensive in Central America — in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala — and the support for it in the US, have completely ruined Reagan's plans for the counterrevolution and placed Reagan on the defensive. Since Reagan took office, the masses of Central America have definitively proven that *US initiated terror* will not suffice to hold back the revolution. At the same time, the polarization of forces, manifest in the growth of support for "the extreme left" and "the extreme right" be it in El Salvador, Nicaragua, or Guatemala, makes negotiating an end to the revolution increasingly impossible. Nor can the US send troops to exterminate the revolution, because of the opposition of American workers. In short, the revolution is closing off all of Reagan's options. This is why Haig keeps running back and forth proposing negotiations, and why the bourgeoisie in the US is split on what to do in Central America. Reagan, Haig and the class they represent do not know what to do. They are on the run!

The Stalinist bureaucracy, its parties in this hemisphere, particularly the Cuban bureaucracy and the Cuban Communist Party, as well as the petty bourgeois nationalist organizations dependent upon it, particularly the Sandinistas in Nicar-

agua, also feel cornered by the advance in the revolution.

Nevertheless, the breadth and depth of the Kremlin's collaboration with imperialism against the revolution in Central America has forced groups influenced by the Kremlin and the SWP to attempt to provide a left wing alternative to this collaboration, without openly fighting the Kremlin, without openly naming their alternative as such. Thus the National Black United Front, the National Black Independent Political Party, and the Socialist Workers Party have formed the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition.

With the abolition of imperialism there will be no place for a petty bourgeois, aristocratic layer with special privileges and rights over the rest of the workers in struggle, a layer which uses the workers movement to attain and maintain a privileged position for itself within the imperialist system.

Thus Moscow, with the support of the Social Democracy in this hemisphere, has decided to extend its movement for peace with imperialism in Europe, for a "nuclear freeze," to the US.

In a situation where the masses are advancing, *arms in hand*, to destroy bastions of imperialism in Central America, a movement for "peace" can only be understood as an appeal to imperialism to "bury the hatchet" and join hands against the revolution, as an attack on the *armed* revolution.

Castro

Castro made the politics of the Kremlin's "peace movement" clear when, days after Salvadoran workers and peasants rejected imperialism's candidate, one of his spokesmen announced that:

— Until recently, both the US and Cuba were acting in a way that was leading to an unavoidable confrontation.

— Cuba is convinced that an important part of the differences result from a misunderstanding.

— Socialism is not on the agenda in Latin America and therefore Cuba is now prepared to play a positive role in promoting democratic change and moderation in the region.

In exchange for "normalization of relations with the US," Castro's spokesman declared that Cuba is prepared to:

— Accept an international peacekeeping force in El Salvador, including troops from such countries as France, Mexico, and West Germany, to maintain a ceasefire, control arms imports and supervise new elections.

— Open up negotiations with the US concerning US use of Cuban air space, the US base in Cuba, Guantanamo, and settlement of financial claims against Cuba by capitalists expropriated by the revolution.

— Oppose the Kremlin in Afghanistan and Poland (*New York Times*; April 6, 1982.)

Well, how about that! Castro now says that Cuba must share the blame for the "hostilities" in this hemisphere, that its differences with imperialism have been a misunderstanding and that socialism is not on the agenda! And he is ready to agree to just about anything if the US will "normalize relations with Cuba," whatever that means.

Of course it is possible to be scandalized by the breadth and depth of Castro's capitulation to US imperialism and with reason. But it is most important to understand that this is *much less* a well-worked-out attack on the revolution than it is a desperate attempt to save himself. Castro and his compatriots in the Cuban bureaucracy feel the hot breath of the workers revolution on their necks and are looking to US imperialism to save them, and, at this moment, they are willing to do anything to get back into the fold. Of course, with exactly the same objective, they are equally capable of launching an adventure against imperialism tomorrow which, no doubt, will be offered up by the pseudo-Trotskyists as proof of Castro's



Fidel Castro

revolutionary nature. In reality, such twists and turns are characteristic of the Stalinist bureaucracy in its death agony.

Pseudo-Trotskyists Silent

Interestingly enough, the US Socialist Workers Party, the main pseudo-Trotskyist supporter of the Kremlin and Castro in the US, has maintained a stony silence about the Kremlin's "peace-nuclear freeze movement" and Castro's initial elaboration on this theme. Indeed they have completely hidden the fact that this "peace-nuclear freeze movement" has been initiated by the Kremlin with the collaboration of the Social Democracy in Europe and the US. They pretend that there isn't anybody in this movement but evil-minded Republicans, Democrats, Social Democrats and good-hearted "activists" and SWP members. And they have not said one single word about Castro's declaration. What happened to the American CP, comrades?

In opposition to the liberal imperialists' and the Stalinists' attempt to limit the June 12 demonstration at the United Nations Disarmament Conference to the demand for peace and for a "nuclear freeze" and to the Social Democrats demand for a "bilateral freeze" (US — USSR), this coalition, which was excluded from the June 12 rally committee, is demanding US out of El Salvador and a unilateral freeze — US freeze.

Now the Trotskyist Organization/USA is for US out of El Salvador and a unilateral freeze on the production of nuclear weapons, but these demands do not begin to get at the heart of the revolution in our hemisphere.

Arms and Poland

The fact is there is an *armed* movement in Central America right now which is fighting to *disarm* American imperialism. Where does the TWPPC stand on this movement? Is it with this movement without conditions? Is it for *arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas*? Or does it take a neutral position and call for negotiations?

It is high time for all those who claim to support the Salvadoran revolution to pass from words to action, to start to organize a real confrontation with Reagan in *this country*. This is precisely what the Kremlin's peace movement aims to stop. The practical struggle to boycott arms to the junta and to get arms for the Salvadoran guerrillas will be a first step in determining which tendencies represent a serious alternative to the Kremlin and which do not.

This struggle calls for a new leadership of the working class in the US, Central and South America, and around the world. Yet the Socialist Workers Party does not call for such a new leadership much less attempt to build it. Indeed it presents its differences with "Republicans, Democrats and Social Democrats," never mentioning the Kremlin by name, in the form of a family argument: "What strategy for new anti-war movement?"

No wonder that the SWP opposes defending the movement for a new leadership independent of Stalinism which is developing — that is, *Workers Poland* — inside the "new anti-war movement."

"It would be dead wrong to introduce the issue of Poland into today's anti-war movement," says the SWP. "Doing so would only play into the hands of Reagan and Haig who use the 'Soviet threat' as their justification for intervention in Central America."

But it is the SWP which is dead wrong. It is Stalinism which is supporting imperialism in Central America. It is Stalinism which is cutting off guns to the rebels. It is Stalinism, *Fidel Castro*, which is ready to support a full-scale imperialist occupation of El Salvador in exchange for "normalization of relations with the US."

Thus it is precisely the "issue of Poland" which must be "raised in today's anti-war movement." The issue of a new workers leadership that does not subordinate the interests of the workers to imperialism, that does not use the workers movement as a piece of change for bargaining with imperialism, that is independent of Stalinism; for this is what *Workers Poland* represents, a break with Stalinism, a movement for a new leadership.

Instead of defending this movement in "the new anti-war movement," the SWP defends "the Kremlin against imperialism"

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting today and will be marching on June 12 under a different banner:

Guns to Salvadoran Guerrillas! No Negotiations!

With Workers Poland, For Revolution! New Workers Leadership!

The working class has the initiative. Reagan and Haig are on the run. Now is the time to finish the job. We call on all tendencies in the workers movement that sense the turn in the situation, the possibility for victory in our time, to join with us. This combat is open to you.

**The Fourth International
With Trybuna Ludu
Article**

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Political Revolution, Kuron and the SWP

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Jacek Kuron is one of the best-known Polish oppositionists. The author, with Karol Modzelewski, of the famous "Open Letter" of 1964; founder of the KOR; adviser to the moderate, conciliationist Walesa leadership of Solidarnosc.

"No Comment"

In the April 19, 1982, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, which is published by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), appears a document by Kuron in which, from his place of internment in Poland, he attempts to develop his proposals for the current situation of the Polish working class.

We do not agree in the least with Kuron, and we will explain why. But there is absolutely nothing wrong with printing his document. Frankly, if we had the space, we would publish it ourselves. *But we would do this together with our own position*, so that our readers could see clearly where we stood in relation to his arguments.

But the SWP publishes Kuron's statement *without comment*. When the liberal magazine, *The Nation* (May 8, 1982), publishes excerpts from this statement without comment, the reason is obvious. The radical liberals agree with Kuron on the basics of his program — pressuring Stalinism to reform itself — so there is really nothing for them to add.

But the SWP says that it is a Trotskyist party, a party devoted to the revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist regimes in Poland and elsewhere, what Trotskyists call the *political revolution*.

The SWP, however, is in reality opposed to the preparation and organization of the political revolution, in particular to building its party.

By publishing Kuron's statement without putting forward its own position, the SWP is indicating its *endorsement* of Kuron's policy, but without coming out and saying so. "Silence lends consent."

Kuron's perspective is clear enough. First, he establishes the situation. The junta has failed miserably in restoring the economy. In fact, it is now the chief source of the problem. At the same time, the dictatorship "gets the desperation and hatred of everyone; the fear and the submission of some; the determination and willingness to fight of others."

In turn, "No appeal can stop the young people who want to fight . . . As long as the occupation continues, no one has the power to guarantee peace in Poland. Only two forces can guarantee peace: the regime, by concluding a compromise with society; or society, by overthrowing the regime. In the second case, we would find ourselves face to face with Soviet military power."

So far, Kuron's position does not seem that different from the perspective of the Fourth International: the coup has failed, the Kremlin will have to intervene.

The events of early May in Poland not only confirm this perspective brilliantly, they make the discussion on what to *do* all the more acute.

A Betrayal

And here is precisely where Kuron diverges from us. In this fundamental choice he has posed, he takes sides *against* the revolution. "A national agreement is an absolute precondition for peace."

Poor Jacek Kuron! After everything that has happened, he is back again on the same old stand — preaching a compromise with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

What is really astounding is that this policy had a complete test; it was the official policy of the official leadership of Solidarnosc, and Jacek Kuron was its prophet. But December 13 showed in no uncertain terms that this policy was completely and totally wrong!

Jacek Kuron's policy was responsible for

the fact that the Polish workers are today fighting under conditions of martial law, for the fact that power is not in their hands.

After this gross political bankruptcy he wants to sing the same old song, but in a little different tempo.

In this context, he calls for "a massive and well organized resistance." Why? Because "only such a movement can be an active partner in a compromise."

He even holds out a deal to the Stalinists themselves: "A move toward compromise would offer the government's camp the social mandate it has lacked since 1956"; that is, since the first attempt by the Polish workers to take over political power, the "Polish October."

In political terms, this policy has a name: *the reform of the bureaucracy*. And it is a perspective explicitly counterposed to the Trotskyist policy of political revolution; in Kuron's terms, "overthrowing the regime."

But the SWP, which claims to be Trotskyist, publishes such a policy and has nothing to say against it. Strange? Not really.

As we have pointed out before, the SWP is distinguished for its refusal to do anything to actively defend the Polish Revolution, to link it to the struggles of workers here. This position has just been reasserted: "It would be dead wrong to introduce the issue of

March 1, 1982).

At first glance, such positions — abstention from defense, denial of defeat — would seem to be contradictory. But in the light of the publication without comment of Kuron's perspective, the contradiction becomes more apparent than real.

Why? Because *both* the refusal to mobilize international working class support for the Polish Revolution, *and* the recognition of the fact that the working class has not been defeated, fit into the perspective of opposing the organization and victory of the political revolution. That is, after all, what Kuron has called for.

Just by coincidence, as it were, in the April issue of *International Socialist Review* (in *The Militant*; April 9, 1982), the SWP reprinted "major excerpts" from a 1958 article by the late Joseph Hansen. As the SWP's introduction put it: "There is much in Hansen's article that remains relevant today in assessing the meaning of the events in Poland."

Now, Hansen's article was originally aimed against the theory of the "self-reform" of the bureaucracy, put forward by Isaac Deutscher and accepted by the Pabloite betrayers of the Fourth International (today represented inside the Pabloite United Secretariat by Mandel, Frank, Maitan).

But, in reality, it was written at a period

Daniel Singer — Liar!

Workers and youth, beware! A fraud is on the loose!

On April 26, the traveling medicine show calling itself "American Workers and Artists for Solidarity" put on its Detroit performance.

Acting in the capacity of leading snake oil salesman was the Polish-French journalist Daniel Singer — modestly billed as "the John Reed of the Polish Revolution" — the author of *The Road to Gdansk*.

Responding to an intervention by the Trotskyist Organization/USA on the fight of the Fourth International in Poland and on the attack launched on it by the Polish Stalinist daily *Trybuna Ludu* (see the article on the latest *Fourth International* on page 2), Singer flat out *lied*.

In the blandest tones, he remarked: "I'm not familiar with this group as being among the 'active minorities' in Poland that I mentioned before."

And further: "Do you have this article? Here . . . ?"

Poland into today's antiwar movement" (*The Militant*; May 7, 1982). The Kremlin, which is for "peace" alone as the goal, couldn't have put it better.

Strange Distinction

At the same time, the SWP has taken a position which distinguishes it from other centrist organizations. As it replied to an attack on its refusal to defend Poland, an attack made by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan — the heads of the SWP's fundamental opponent wing in the so-called United Secretariat: "The bureaucracy . . . has not definitively destroyed Solidarity, nor has it broken the back of the workers struggle. Decisive battles are yet to be fought."

At the same time, it pats itself on the back for having "avoided a mistake made by many radical and petty bourgeois commentators, whose immediate reaction to the crackdown against Solidarity was to despair, and to draw the impressionistic conclusion that the heroic Polish working class had been crushed, and its struggle ended for an historic period" (*Intercontinental Press*;

But when we approached him after the meeting, we no sooner got close enough for him to see *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle," organ of our Polish section) than he began to snarl: "I know Bekier very well . . . I get *Trybuna Ludu* every day; it attacks Kuron and Modzelewski, not you, in this article . . . I can get *Walka Klas* any time I want . . ." and so on.

If Daniel Singer disagrees with us, he has a right to say so. We welcome such a discussion. But no one has the right to lie to the working class!

This lie forms an essential part of the activity of all the so-called friends of Solidarnosc, an activity aimed at — in the guise of sympathy, which is purely verbal — demanding "that in reality the revolution deny itself, that it deny its own steps forward, its own experiences."

Singer, this Isaac Deutscher of the Polish Revolution, denounces the "stench of Stalinism." But he is the one using its putrid methods.

TRUTH

(dubbed "regroupment") in which the SWP itself was cozying up to Stalinists in the US, a sign of its degeneration and a precursor to its "reunification" (such as it amounts to today) with the Pabloites in 1963.

A Revision

Thus, this article by Hansen is *notorious* in our movement for having introduced, in the guise of defending the Trotskyist conception of political revolution, a slightly disguised version of the Pabloite position.

And lo and behold, this is among the "major excerpts" that the SWP chose to reprint.

"The program of the political revolution," wrote Hansen, "has been badly misunderstood — and sadly misinterpreted — in the radical movement."

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as *the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers*" (emphasis in original).

Oh, no, sneers Hansen: "No revolution comes in a single oversize dose like a horse



Jacek Kuron

pill."

It is Hansen's policy, however, that is hard to swallow.

In the sphere of the political revolution, Hansen reintroduced the Social Democratic concept that the "revolution" consists of the totality of *reforms*. By way of Bernstein's arguments, Hansen lines up with the position of the Pabloites, the *reform* of the bureaucracy. After all, the Pabloites themselves, as precisely *pseudo-Trotskyists*, never formally abandoned the position of political revolution.

The one thing missing from Hansen's schema, the one thing the SWP of today neglects to add, is the *insurrection* that will topple the bureaucracy. And without that, all the "reforms," as proven once again by the experience of Solidarnosc, aren't worth the paper they're printed on.

What are the practical conclusions to all of this? Above all, they concern honest militants in the SWP.

We know that a large number of them have been concerned by the uncritical articles printed in its press on the Vietnamese Stalinist bureaucracy. What must they think when they see articles like the recent glowing report on the triumphs of socialism in North Korea (*Intercontinental Press*, *The Militant*; March 15 and March 12, 1982 respectively)?

Hamburg Rally

We also know that there has been sufficient opposition to the SWP's refusal to defend Poland that it has actually printed letters from SWP members arguing against this (as well as those of a pro-Stalinist line in the letters column of *The Militant*).

On the question of Stalinism, then, the crisis of the SWP is wide open.

But this is not a matter of "positions" alone, in the abstract, on Stalinism.

No, it is much more. It is a question of the whole fight that Trotskyism represents, the fight against Stalinism, its oppression and domination of the working class, its subservience to imperialism.

Workers Poland, comrades of the SWP demands your aid! It is not possible to duck this reality.

The struggle for the political revolution is, once again, not an abstract one of "positions." It is a question of action.

The Fourth International has proposed the defense and extension of the Polish Revolution, that is, the preparation and triumph of the political revolution, above all as a task of building a new revolutionary leadership. This is the goal of the International Rally of the Youth in Hamburg, Germany, on July 3-4.

In joining that fight, you can take up the battle for Trotskyism in the SWP.

Polish Workers and Youth Make Their Spring

"Spring has sprung" in Poland. Ever since martial law was first imposed, the slogan that has appeared everywhere has been: "The winter is yours, but the spring is ours." The youth and the worker of Poland have kept that promise, with a vengeance.

May Day and May 3

Indicated by a number of preparatory steps, including the increasing centralization of Solidarnosc's clandestine leadership and the establishment of "Radio Solidarnosc," a call was made for counter-demonstrations to be held throughout Poland on May Day in opposition to the Stalinists' official celebration.

At the same time, in an effort to impress Western imperialism with its stability and to try to strike a deal with the Catholic Church and the conservative section of the opposition, the military junta of Jaruzelski announced the release of some internees and the lifting of curfew.

But, as the current issue of *The Fourth International* (written well before the events) says: "The workers have such consciousness of their strength that the slightest semblance of a concession from the bureaucracy will be interpreted only as a retreat, as proof of the weakness of the authorities and as an encouragement for the struggle."

Prophetic words; for May Day saw mass demonstrations throughout the country for the first time since December 13.

As many as 50,000 marched in Warsaw and a similar number in Gdansk, while thousands of others marched in other cities. May Day is International Labor Day and the crowd in Warsaw rightly chanted, in opposition to Stalinism's perversion of it: "Our holiday, our holiday!"

Other slogans included: "Solidarity! Solidarity!" and "Down with the junta!"

Caught off guard, the authorities were incapable of intervening. While they tried to present this as a sign of strength and generosity (!), the masses again inter-

Scene from

May events

in Poland.



preted it as a sign of weakness.

Further demonstrations were called for May 3, Constitution Day (marking the adoption of the 1791 Polish Constitution in the course of an attempt to establish an independent democratic republic).

The junta warned that it would meet any demonstrations with repression, but if this reduced the size of specific actions to the most militant, it did nothing to limit their extent. In fact, on May 3, actions took place in practically every center of the Polish working class: Warsaw, Gdansk, Szczecin, Lodz, Krakow, Torun, Lublin, Gdynia and elsewhere.

The ZOMO riot police goons attacked the demonstrators, leading to large scale street fighting in Warsaw. In Szczecin, the demonstrators tried to burn down the CP headquarters. And in Gdansk, the crowd marched on a police station.

What Is At Stake

These massive actions — and more can

be expected — have ripped the hide off the lies that Stalinism and imperialism have tried to pass off around the Polish Revolution. It is now clear to everyone — even the most obtuse, like American centrists — that the Polish workers are not defeated.

At the same time, this independent action of the Polish workers has made the class lines all the clearer.

The Polish Catholic Church denounced the demonstrators, thus revealing to the whole world exactly on whose side it really is.

And imperialism, too, came out with its real views. White House press secretary Larry Speakes announced: "It is imperative that a dialogue be established between the government, Solidarity and the church." Anything but the triumph of the political revolution.

A similar view was put forward by well-known columnist Jack Anderson. Warning that Poland's army is unreliable for crushing the workers — he is just passing on planted

information — Anderson poses the alternatives: "The Russians are ready, willing and able to descend on Poland . . . if the military lose control of the situation." And he states US imperialism's real position: "Settle for the grim but survivable oppression of martial law."

The youth that went out into the streets to fight the cops, the workers that support the by organizing strikes, will not accept this advice. They have already rejected it by their actions. The Polish proletariat is not stupid, it knows what the stakes are better than anyone else.

It is our duty now to them and to ourselves to take every step that can support their initiative and struggle. In this situation, the preparation of the March on Gdansk through the International Youth Rally in Hamburg now becomes a critical question.

*All out to Hamburg, July 3-4!
Victory to the Polish Revolution!*

Where Does the RWL Stand?

With the mass demonstrations, strikes and open resistance throughout Poland in early May, it is clear that the second stage of the Polish Revolution has begun — a stage that leads inevitably, sooner rather than later, to the confrontation of the Polish workers with the tanks of the Kremlin.

In this situation, the greatest political clarity is required on the nature, tasks and perspectives of the revolution.

The RWL

In the March-April issue of *Workers Struggle*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of the United States, there appears an article entitled "Why We Are All Polish Workers." This article is an excellent example of the false assessment made by most of the "left" about the course of the Polish Revolution after martial law was imposed. At the same time, and for the same reasons, this article shows a complete lack of potential to predict what is happening today, and thus a complete inability to do anything about it except be surprised.

The RWL, in fact, formed part of the large cortege of mourners for the Polish Revolution, reports of whose death were, however, to paraphrase Mark Twain, "greatly exaggerated." The position of the RWL, along with a whole slew of undistinguished organizations, is that the Polish workers were defeated by Jaruzelski's coup.

This article reflects that point of view in an almost morbid way. What we have before us is not a political struggle, but a post-mortem.

That is why all references to Solidarnosc

and the Polish workers' fight are written in the *past tense*: "Whatever its weaknesses — and they were many, Solidarnosc represented . . ." and so on and so forth.

The position of the Fourth International on this is quite clear: from the very beginning, we took the position that Jaruzelski's coup had failed.

But at the same time, because of this analysis, we put forward a *policy* and *slogans* to concretize it: the revolution is preparing its second and decisive stage, the Kremlin must intervene, the March on Gdansk and the Hamburg Rally to defend the Polish Revolution and build the new revolutionary leadership.

But in the RWL's autopsy report you will not find one single policy for action or proposal for the future, still less any slogans to lead a fight.

Take A Stand

"A lot of people," said Bob Dylan, "ain't got much meat on their tables. But they got a lot of knives and forks, and they gotta cut somethin'."

Instead of developing a policy for the revolution, the RWL contents itself with — in a not very honest and not very principled way — attacking us.

"The RWL is," it writes, "currently studying" the materials of our Polish section — they have been "studying" this material since the coup without any practical conclusion — "which while extremely critical of the Walesa leadership of Solidarnosc, seems to focus on the demand — apparently conceived of as transitional — for a 'united front for a government responsible to the workers councils.'"

Now just what is that supposed to mean? *Is the RWL for or against this slogan? If it is against it, what slogan does it propose instead? Is this a serious attitude to take — and after all that "study," too?*

The RWL compounds this by, after quoting our interview with our Polish comrade, Stefan Palka (*Truth* #143), announcing that: "Without for a moment endorsing the sectarian and ultimatic tendencies of the Vargaites . . ."

Well, now (and for the moment, let us say that it would be well for the RWL to leave aside its "sics" and "claims" and similar small change, never mind this word "Vargaites" which has a certain origin), don't keep the working class in ignorance; what are our "sectarian and ultimatic tenden-

cies"? Please let us know: are they the "united front for a government responsible to Solidarnosc," are they the slogan "Freedom for Workers Poland" — the RWL is afraid to appear to be on Reagan's side by being too supportive of Poland, it even criticized the SWP for getting carried away by its support! — what are they?

The RWL, this charter member of the "united front for mourning the Polish Revolution," is really going to be unable to get away with this kind of evasion.

The situation inside Poland grows more critical each day, the entry of the Kremlin's tanks more imminent. *What is the RWL for, where does it stand?* Let's have some clear answers for a change.

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

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

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

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

Black Independence and the Revolution

"In January, a New York Times/CBS Poll found that when blacks were asked if Mr. Reagan cared about their problems, zero percent said yes." (*New York Times*; May 7, 1982; emphasis in original.)

When we took up the defense of the militants involved in the Nyack incident, we took our stand on a question of principle: with revolutionary fighters — especially those of an oppressed minority — against the terrorist state. Starting from that, we have learned a lot.

The Black Liberation Army (BLA) represents what we might call — using the analogy of the Irish nationalist movement — the "physical force" wing of a broader movement that aims at establishing an independent black nation out of part of the territory of the present United States. The supporters of this idea generally use the name *New Afrika* for the proposed country.

Black nationalism, or to be more precise in this case, *black separatism*, is not some new idea. Back in the 1920's Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association called for American black people to gain their freedom by going "back to Africa." Later, Elijah Muhammed and his Nation of Islam (called by many the "Black Muslims") became prominent by preaching this same basic idea — even if more vaguely.

The well-known writer James Boggs has made a telling point: Garvey and Muhammed are "the only two leaders who ever built mass organizations among urban blacks."

Why? In spite of all the confusions and contradictions of their programs, where did this great appeal lie?

There are two illustrations that can shed some light on this.

In a 1939 discussion on the black question, Leon Trotsky pointed out: "The black woman who said to the white woman, 'Wait until Marcus is in power. We will know how to treat you then,' was simply expressing her desire for her own state . . . ['Back to Africa'] was the expression of a mystic desire for a home in which they would be free of the domination of whites, in which they could control their own fate. That also was a wish for self-determination."

Second, Malcolm X, who began his struggle under Elijah Muhammed, made a very significant statement shortly after he broke with the Nation of Islam. An interviewer asked him how he proposed to achieve his "goals of separation."

Replied Malcolm: "A better word to use than separation is independence. This word separation is misused . . . They

don't call it the Declaration of Separation, they call it the Declaration of Independence."

When it comes down to it, such a struggle means a desire to achieve independence from American imperialism — to get it off the backs of black people.

The poll results reported in our first paragraph, along with many other signs, show that today blacks increasingly believe that they have no place in this system. Reagan, in reality, represents the broken promises, the purely temporary gains, the brutal racist attacks, that leave blacks no room for illusions in "peaceful" or "compromise" solutions.

That is the situation in which even very small, isolated organizations like the BLA can suddenly feel that they represent the deepest aspirations of their people, can suddenly go from deep inactivity to the front pages.

And the BLA is not alone. The Republic of New Afrika movement itself, which the FBI officially dismissed as moribund years ago, has gained a new lease on life — despite its illusory policy of buying up farmland in the South.

Likewise, a split that occurred in the "Black Muslims" in 1975 has now acquired new force, with Louis Farrakhan — once one of Muhammed's top aides — as its leader. It has taken back the old name, calling on blacks to "rebuild the Nation of Islam." A rally held in Chicago earlier this year attracted close to 5,000 people.

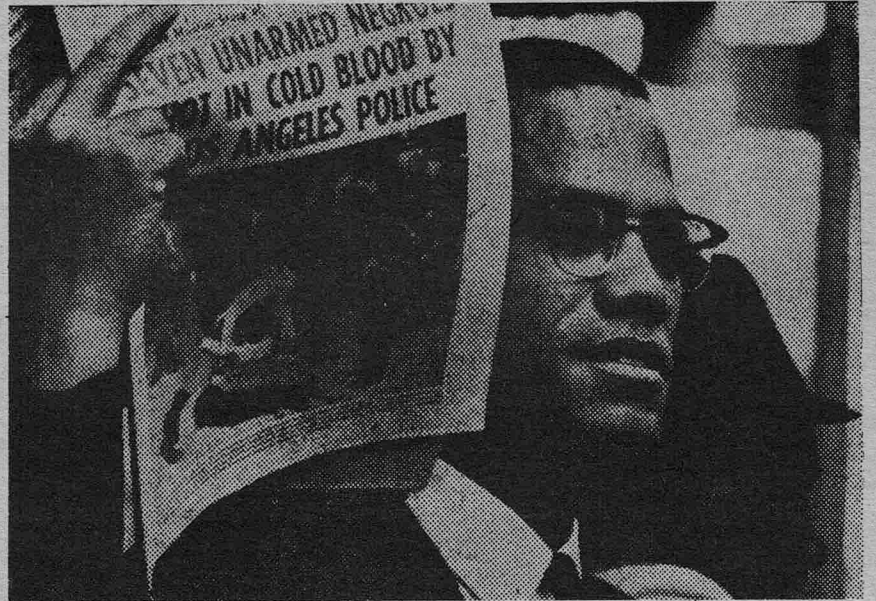
And a First National Conference on Black Self-Determination was held some months ago, with numerous organizations and individuals taking part.

But even outside the separatist movement, the sentiment for *independence* from imperialism evokes a great response. That is why a large number of non-separatist black organizations — National Black Independent Political Party, National Black United Front, Harlem Fightback, etc. — have come to the defense of the accused BLA militants.

The decision on whether independence requires separation or not will be made in the course of the struggle against imperialism, and it will be made by the black masses. The Trotskyist Organization/USA absolutely and unconditionally defends blacks' *right to self-determination*, their right to make the choice.

As Trotsky stated in another discussion: "Those American workers who say: 'The Negroes should separate when they so desire and we will defend them against our American police' — those are revolutionists, I have confidence in them."

Revolution is precisely the question.



Malcolm X

There is no hope for black independence in any form outside this perspective.

This basic understanding is what enabled Malcolm X to make his truly heroic struggle to come to terms with the way American blacks could gain their independence.

When he was still a follower of Elijah Muhammed he put it very simply: "Revolution is based on land . . . A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation."

After his break with the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X changed his definition: "The political philosophy of black nationalism means: we must control the politics and politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces." Consequently: "We won't organize any black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out."

From national independence to political independence, but still not addressing the question of the power of American imperialism.

That is what Malcolm X was grappling with when, on January 18, 1965, he stated: "Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? . . . I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I would still be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the over-all philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of black people in this country."

A month later, on February 18, in tune with a number of other statements, Malcolm said: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely

American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the exploited against the exploiter." Three days later he was assassinated. Do we have to ask why, and by whom?

Malcolm's "global rebellion," the *world revolution*, is now at a much more advanced stage than when he died. The Polish Revolution has opened up a *decisive* period, when all the old problems and scores will be settled once and for all.

Everything depends on the leadership. All the liberal "black leaders" want to "pressure" Reagan, maybe even deal with him. The Stalinists of the Communist Party, who have consistently sold out black struggles, who slandered Malcolm X, who thoroughly disorganized the Black Panthers politically, are up to their old tricks — supporting the "black leaders," slandering the BLA, subordinating black demands to the Kremlin's "peace" line for the June 12 demonstration.

All these old betrayers have to go! A *new revolutionary leadership* — for the black struggle as part of the world revolution — is an absolute necessity. This means the youth, first of all, and on that basis, the reinvigoration of the older militants.

We of the Fourth International want to build that leadership, with and from the black youth in particular. In defense of the rights we have won, in defense of imprisoned fighters, around the preparation of the *General Strike to Bring Down Reagan* — the clash that will openly pose the definitive winning of black independence — we can create a legion of Malcolm X's. K.F.

Stop the Torture of the BLA Prisoners

By RICHARD TETRAULT

The members and supporters of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) captured in connection with the October 20, 1981, attempted robbery of a Brink's truck are being tortured at the hands of Reagan's cops, with the knowledge and complicity of official medical personnel.

We stand for the freedom of these militants. The real criminals are those who for four hundred years have robbed blacks in this country, not those who are trying to stop this exploitation.

All the more then, do we demand: *Stop the torture of the BLA prisoners!* Every young person, every worker, every member of the oppressed has a stake in this fight.

Solomon (Samuel) Brown was kidnapped by the FBI from his cell at Woodburne Prison in attempt to make him inform — or to make it appear that he had informed — on the other militants.

Apparently, Reagan's secret police weren't satisfied, because they tried to have him sent back to the Bergen County jail, to be at the mercy of the local cops, instead of

back to Woodburne.

In the course of the hearing on Brown's petition against this, he testified that he was beaten six times a day by cops — every four hours — for the week he was held by the county. As he was transported from one holding place to another he was constantly beaten around the neck.

By December 17, with the confirmation of X-rays, it became clear that Sol Brown had a broken neck. Even in light of this information, the prison doctor did nothing to treat his condition.

The February 1982 issue of *Resistance*, newsletter of the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters, reports that the Rockland County District Attorney and prison officials were forced, under pressure of an organized campaign, to provide Sol Brown with decent medical care. Upon arrival at Westchester County Medical Center, doctors confirmed that Brown did in fact have a broken neck and started treatment immediately.

Similarly, Sekou Odinga (Nat Burns) was beaten from the moment of his cap-

ture. In the first four and a half hours following arrest, he was beaten viciously. Eleven hours later he was admitted to Kings County Hospital Center and, following testing and treatment, it was revealed that he suffered from multiple contusions and abrasions of the scalp, face, toe, arm and abdomen, as well as an inflamed pancreas.

Doctors said they were unable to determine the cause of the injuries or when they might have occurred. But Sekou Odinga had no problem explaining the state of his health. He was escorted into three different rooms where several cops hit him on the head, put his head down a flushing toilet, burned his wrists with cigars and threatened to shoot him. The FBI's "Anti-Terrorism Task Force" was brought into the "investigation" and must be given credit for the toe and pancreas damage, adding their own special touch.

The FBI and the grand jury continue to organize a campaign of terror against these militants and their fellow prisoners as an attack on the entire black population. The

systematic torture of these militants is a fundamental attack on the struggle for every right we have won and must be condemned by every worker and every workers organization.

The October 20th Coalition has urged that everyone send messages to William French Smith, Reagan's Attorney-General, demanding:

- 1) An immediate end to their isolation through punitive segregation and that they all be released into general population;
- 2) an immediate end to torture and any physical abuse;
- 3) full medical treatment by doctors of their choice;
- 4) that all the freedom fighters be moved to Metropolitan Correctional Center;
- 5) full visitation rights for Sol Brown while he is in the hospital;
- 6) the immediate transfer of Abdul Majid (injured in the auto crash at his arrest) out of prison and to a hospital;
- 7) safe transportation for all the militants, without shotguns being held to their heads or hearts.

Trotskyism, the DSA and the Workers Party

For the first time in over forty years a Social Democratic current of any size exists in this country.

The DSA Is Founded

This current consists of a whole range of organizations, publications and individuals, but the group that defines it, that gives it its numerical presence, is the recently founded Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

The DSA emerged out of merger between the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM — basically composed of ex-“New Leftists”) on March 20-21 in Detroit.

The DSA claims a membership of approximately 7,000. To be sure, given the Social Democratic character of the group, this is largely a “paper” membership. Nonetheless, this figure is useful for relating the DSA’s importance to that of other political groups.

Thus, the DSA is five to six times larger than the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the largest organization claiming to be Trotskyist in the US. And it is (very approximately) about half the size of the Communist Party USA, which also has a lot of “paper” members.

The emergence of DSA, with a whole bunch of big names associated with it, intellectuals, trade union bureaucrats, etc., has naturally existed a lot of comment “on the left.”

In general, this comment is critical. DSA supports Zionism. DSA totally supports the Fraser bureaucracy and its concessions in auto. DSA doesn’t take a firm enough stand for balck rights. DSA is even having a “discussion” over women’s right to abortion.

Sometimes, this criticism is addressed to a much more fundamental question. The DSA is opposed to building a labor or workers party; it functions as a pressure group inside the Democratic Party, and it is completely committed to “reforming” this thoroughly bourgeois party.

But even this criticism begs the question, beats around the bush, taken by itself.

Why, now, when the Democratic Party is *falling apart*, when more and more workers abandon it all the time, when there is an “independent” black party, when there is more talk than ever about a labor party, does a *large* tendency suddenly emerge that is wedded to the perspective of saving this party?

In the last issue of *Truth* we published our Theses on the Trotskyist Congress, that is, the rebuilding of the US section of the Fourth International. The Theses point out that the building of an independent working class party in the US (workers party, labor party) in fact depends on building the Trotskyist party.

Shachtmanism and Trotskyism

The real significance of the DSA in fact lies in this struggle.

The American Social Democracy went into its existence in the shadows, to the extent that it virtually did not exist as an organized tendency, because of one decisive event.

In 1937-38, the Trotskyist forces that had entered the Socialist Party (SP) of Norman Thomas split that organization, taking with them practically every healthy element. Thomas (who, Trotsky said, “called himself a socialist as a result of a misunderstanding”) was of the opinion that this destroyed the SP and left it a shell (*Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist*, by W.A. Swanberg).

Thus, the heritage that we base ourselves on in our fight to rebuild the Fourth International’s section in this country is linked to the destruction of Social Democracy as a barrier to the building of the workers party.

In 1940, the SWP had a major battle in its own ranks. Max Shachtman and other leaders sought to abandon the position of the Fourth International for the defense of

the Soviet Union as a conquest of the international proletariat. Hidden behind very violent verbal opposition to Stalinism was a basic capitulation to American imperialism.

The Shachtmanites split from the Fourth International, from the SWP, on the eve of the imperialist war. Increasingly, because of its basic prostration before imperialism, this current increasingly moved toward the positions of Social Democracy, that is, in opposition to class independence and its political expression, a workers party.

In 1958, the Shachtmanites formally joined the moribund SP, hoping to give it a



Michael Harrington

new lease on life.

But this step, too, meant a fight for Trotskyism would emerge. A section of the Shachtmanite youth rebelled against this open capitulation and, under the influence in particular of the Hungarian Revolution, *were won to the SWP*. These young people were the founders of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), which at that time marked an opening toward the youth by the SWP.

As part of its “reunification” with Pabloism in 1963, the SWP gutted the YSA and turned its back on the youth movement. As the Theses state: “A whole generation of American youth who were linking up with the revolution and breaking from Stalinism would have to traverse a road littered with the corpses of deserters

How the Shachtmanites Help Stalinism

The Shachtmanites of all stripes have one main claim to fame. Unlike the Trotskyists, they say, they *really* oppose Stalinism. Why? Because they deny that there are any socialist conquests left to defend in the Soviet Union and the other countries modeled on it. Because they claim that the Kremlin bureaucracy is not a social layer (a caste) hostile to the working class, but an alien class (“bureaucratic collectivist,” “state capitalist” or just “new”).

Such a glowingly optimistic perspective — of the Russian Revolution as a failed episode, of “class” societies sprouting up like weeds as a result of revolution — they tell us, enables them to put themselves in a “third camp” independent of both Stalinism and old-fashioned imperialism.

But, in reality, there are only two “camps.” One is that of the working class, the other is that of imperialism and its agents (including the Stalinist bureaucracy). As Trotsky remarked, the “third camp” is the “camp of the stampeding petty bourgeois.”

The International Socialists (IS), more or less the model Shachtmanite group, has been very active in calling for “solidarity with Solidarity.” But we will see where its real solidarity lies.

from Bolshevism, including Shachtmanism, Maoism and anarchism.”

Against the Rebuilding

Once again, when the fight for the Fourth International in the United States reemerged in the founding of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in 1975, it is not in the least surprising that this took place as a result of a struggle against Shachtmanism (in one of its “radical” versions). Here, too, the continuity was expressed.

When we look at the DSA we can see what the dominant force within it is: in a word, *Shachtmanism*.

DSA Chairperson Michael Harrington is not only an old-time Shachtmanite, one of those who went along with Shachtman in joining the SP, but he was the leading figure in the fight in the youth *against Trotskyism*. In 1957, Harrington wrote: “The politics of this grouping are not those of an ordinary, loyal faction: rather, they lead in the direction of a split toward the Cannonites.”

He likewise put forward, around the Hungarian Revolution, the following perspective: “The social revolution against Stalinism is the democratic revolution.” This “democratic” line is the same one he and the rest of the Shachtmanites put forward today around Poland, in opposition to the fight for the political revolution, for the extension of the revolution.

And talk about being “littered with the corpses of deserters”! Who should turn up in the DSA but *Dissent* editor Irving Howe, a Shachtmanite of 1940 vintage. Shachtman is dead, but his heirs carry on the family tradition.

Now, we “Cannonites” (that is, Trotskyists) see in the DSA’s emergence a barrier to the fight for the workers party directly. The DSA does not just have bad positions, it is not just bastractly bad for supporting the Democratic Party. Its emergence at this time is determined by the fact that the coming American revolution, which is on the agenda in the light of world events, demands a Trotskyist leadership, a Trotskyist party.

The centrists and opportunists of all varieties cannot deal with this fact. That is why their “criticism” is so empty.

The Trotskyist Congress

And it is the SWP itself that is the most helpless, wavering between breezily dismissing the DSA and advising it on what good positions it should take: “This [National Black Independent Political

Party] is the party the DSA should be building and encouraging people to join”! (*The Militant*; April 23, 1982.)

This is particularly striking when we consider that the SWP “fused” in 1977 with an openly Shachtmanite group, *composed precisely of those who most viciously opposed the fight that led to the formation of the Trotskyist Organization/USA*.

In fact, the emergence of the DSA marks a new stage in the *crisis* of the SWP.

In 1965, the Social Democracy lost any hope of controlling the new generation when the leaders of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) broke with it over allowing communists to participate in their March on Washington against the Vietnam War. But the SWP was incapable of winning and arming those youth. Thus, the new generation went leaderless and its potential was not capitalized on.

In 1973, over the question of whether or not to support Democrat George McGovern’s “anti-war” candidacy (*not* over the question of the war itself, which Harrington had fully supported until then), Harrington and his allies broke with the SP (which was “neutral” for Nixon) and formed DSOC. The fact that such a development was possible, that there were any forces to support a McGovern candidacy, is the direct fault of the SWP.

NAM itself also reflected these confused forces of the 1960’s who see no place to go but to the right, having been completely disoriented by the policy of the SWP. Thus, in terms of *both* elements of the merger that has produced the DSA, the SWP is responsible.

In turn, these forces have grown in the last ten years and will grow — now that they are in a single organization — *at the expense of the SWP*. The SWP’s policies are, in essence, reformist. But it is held back from fully implementing them by the need to hold on to its “Trotskyist” pretenses. Why bother with the SWP when you can get the genuine article, with no artificial ingredients added, from the DSA?

The solution to the crisis of the SWP, the building of the workers party, *the destruction of the DSA*, all depend on the fight to rebuild the US section of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist Congress thus also means a revival of American Trotskyism’s fight against Shachtmanism, against Social Democracy, for class independence. K.F.

speech” for Stalinists, suppression of the one party that represents a force in Poland — that is Shachtmanite “solidarity.”

It was, again, the IS that organized the April 26 meeting (and each meeting gets smaller) at which Daniel Singer tried to deny the fight of the Fourth International in Poland (see page 4).

Prior to that meeting, we attempted to find a way to use it to build the joint SMOT-Solidarnosc tour. IS public spokesman David Finkel first objected on the spurious grounds that he didn’t know who Victor Feinberg was. Then he revealed that he knew quite well. Referring to *Fourth International* #96-97, he objected this time on the grounds that Feinberg called for arming the Polish workers! For the “third camp,” only the Kremlin has the right to use force.

Being in the “third camp” ends up meaning being dependent on the camp of the bourgeoisie. And it thus means being incapable of real independence of Stalinism. Behind fake “solidarity with Solidarity” lurks the united front against the political revolution and against its party, the Fourth International. K.F.

Auto Fight Demands New Leadership

By BARBARA PUTNAM

We said in the last issue of *Truth* that contrary to all those who said that concessions had brought peace to the auto industry, these concessions would in fact be the battleground of the new struggles. In the space of a few weeks, this has already been graphically borne out.

The Battles Begin

First of all, the concessions package at General Motors (GM) passed by a bare 52% margin, with thousands of workers abstaining, with whole plants voting for the package because part of the deal was that they would be kept open *if the concessions passed* — and with the Fraser bureaucracy of the UAW doing the counting.

What a slap in the face to the LOC (Local Opposed to Concessions) leadership of frightened lower-level bureaucrats, skilled trades workers and Stalinists!

Only a few weeks before this vote, these advocates of peaceful and compromise solutions had dropped the whole fight. Listen to their pusillanimous words.

Don Douglas, LOC leader and president of Local 594 in Pontiac: "I don't intend on putting up a fight . . . We're not really looking for a big battle." Pete Kelly, another LOC leader, long-time oppositionist in the UAW and a leader of Local 160 (skilled workers at the GM Tech Center): ". . . The plant closings and shift eliminations have stampeded these people (GM workers) into taking concessions." (*Detroit Free Press*; March 10, 1982.)

Well, a 52% "victory" for Fraser shows more clearly just who it was that was "stampeded."

GM, trying to take the offensive, announced — at the very moment the concessions pact was signed — that not only had corporate executives gotten a pay raise in 1981, but salaried employees would continue to receive "merit" increases. This was an open rejection of Fraser's "equality of sacrifice" line, a blatant attempt to rub the workers' noses in it.

On top of that, the company announced that it was going to make it easier for top executives to get *bonuses* — which even its own past standards for performance would have denied them. This really tore it.

A vast sense of outrage swept the GM plants. And Don Douglas, whose local (despite his gloomy predictions) had rejected the GM contract, called for a one-day strike to coincide with the May GM stockholders' meeting. In a matter of days, Fraser announced that GM had called off the bonus proposal.

This incident shows two things. First, that even the slightest threat of independent action by the workers suddenly turns things around. Second, that the existing leaderships — Douglas dropped his call, merit raises remain — in the UAW are a barrier to the fight the workers want and need to make.

The Communist Party Moves

The Fraser bureaucracy remains in power, but its betrayals have undermined its hold. Thus, it has lost at both AMC and Rockwell in attempts to impose concessions.

Likewise, in defiance of Solidarity House (UAW headquarters) orders, the militant Lordstown, Ohio, Local 1112 has organized subcouncil meetings in opposition to GM requests for local contract concessions. But also attending will be representatives from twenty Michigan locals, and others from as far away as California.

For the first time in recent memory, the Communist Party USA (CP) is resurfacing, to take up in its own name where Fraser can't.

The CP is obliged to come forward now



GM Chairman Roger Smith and UAW President Doug Fraser. The labor leader is on the right.

as an "alternative" of sorts, as the champion of these struggles, as it is doing in every country where the Kremlin has parties. In France the policy is more fully developed. There it says, "Either with us and the workers, or with Mitterrand and Poland." The idea is to break the link of the working class with the Polish Revolution, which has thrown Stalinism into crisis and shaped the terms of all class confrontations, placing them on an entirely new footing.

On April 15, the CP put out a "spe-

cial auto issue" of its paper, *The Daily World*, which included a shopfloor bulletin for reprinting ("Jefferson Worker") raising insignificant demands for the "'82 contract," signed by the CP of Michigan. In this same issue the CP applauds LOC as the leadership of the auto workers. What it hopes to accomplish is to convince UAW members that nothing can be done now about concessions. They should wait "until the full effects of the contract are felt" ("about a year") then "challenge the policies

favoring concessions next year at the UAW International Convention."

If honest workers and militants ask themselves the question: "What has been the main problem in fighting concessions?" they could answer only that it has been the lack of a leadership that will organize their struggle.

The New Leadership

From the first, the Trotskyist Organization, US section of the Fourth International, has acted as a workers leadership. We posed the General Strike to bring down Reagan and the building of the Workers Party. We have brought to auto workers the lessons of the Polish Revolution, which has opened up for all workers the road to class independence, through the reaffirmation of working class methods of struggle (the general strike, formation of workers councils, workers democracy).

A real workers leadership must provide the political basis for the building of a new leadership in face of the prostration of the old leaderships.

We are organizing a cell of our party at Ford River Rouge to engage the most militant workers in a political fight to give the necessary leadership for the fight. In the course of common activity that leads toward the General Strike, we can clarify with the workers that the stake of their combat against concessions is the construction of the Workers Party and building links with the Polish Revolution against Stalinism. But we think this has to lead to the conclusion: to build the new leadership in the plant, *build the cell of the Trotskyist Organization/USA*.

We are willing to discuss with any worker or militant what is important and what to do on a daily basis that can reach hundreds and thousands of American workers, that can train and educate them in working class methods of combat.

Why We Should Be For Argentina

Workers and young people and all the oppressed in the United States should be on the side of Argentina in its war against British imperialism.

Why?

Because Argentina is a country dominated and exploited by imperialism, and in a war between such a country and an imperialist power, we are on the side of the oppressed. *We are for imperialism's being defeated.*

Second, because this war is specifically to regain territory seized from Argentina by the British Empire in a colonial land grab.

The natural wealth of Argentine territory (oil in the Malvinas' offshore waters) should be in the hands of Argentina. Britain *must not* "rule the waves" that control access to the South Atlantic, the South Pacific and Antarctica.

Many try to support imperialism by discovering the evils of the military dictatorship that rules Argentina. But the junta's existence is proof of the fact that the country is ruled by imperialism, which sets up such regimes everywhere it can to insure its rule.

Also, British imperialism is in no position to denounce the junta's repression. What it has been doing in Ireland alone shows this.

And the junta, despite its motives in making its move now, can only lose. If it backs off — as it is doing now — it puts itself in danger. If it takes the measures necessary to win — expropriation of Brit-



Demonstrators in Argentina.

ish property, mobilization of the masses — it puts itself in danger. That is why, for instance, a massive demonstration took place on April 26 in Buenos Aires, with workers chanting "Malvinas, yes; dictatorship, no!" And on May Day a rally took place that *The New York Times* had to admit showed that, "long suppressed forces . . . have increasingly come to the surface of Argentina's political life."

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is the Ronald Reagan of Britain. It is in the interest of the British working class for the attack by "their own" imperialism on Argentina to be utterly defeated. And it is in their interest to do everything possible to help Argentina.

Ronald Reagan himself is in a bad way. Either his favorite junta or an allied imperialism will have to lose. But, just to

make things clear, he has come out for imperialism. Thus, the war has already damaged his ability to use the junta against the revolution in Central America. And whatever happened to the Monroe Doctrine and "non-interference in our hemisphere by outside powers"?

We, too, have interest in the defeat of Britain, because it means a blow to our enemy, Reagan.

Concretely, the Fourth International — which has fought for a boycott of the dictatorships in Latin America — *opposes* any boycott of Argentina during the war. In addition, we oppose Reagan's economic measures against Argentina, just as we did those of Carter against Iran.

Sink the Royal Navy!
Forward with the Argentine Revolution!
TRUTH