

# "If You Want Peace, Prepare the Revolution!"

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

This issue of *Truth* is addressed to the hundreds of thousands who are marching in New York, and the millions behind them who want to finish with imperialism. The only way to obtain peace is to put an end to this system of barbarism and injustice. That is why our slogan must be: "If you want peace, prepare the revolution."

This June 12 march was called to put pressure on the Special UN Session on Peace and Disarmament. The question is: disarm who? Disarm Reagan's war machine? Yes! Disarm the bourgeois governments that terrorize the workers and oppressed of the world? Absolutely! But arm the workers and revolutionary fighters who are engaged in battle against imperialism!

*Arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas!  
Boycott of all arms to the Salvadoran dictatorship!*

The hypocrisy of Reagan and Haig and all the bourgeois gentlemen who have suddenly discovered "peace" knows no bounds. The list of warmongers who have joined the peace wagon is indeed getting long: Robert McNamara, who engineered the Vietnam War under LBJ; Ted Kennedy, who has called for a bilateral arms freeze after voting for a massive increase in the US defense budget; and even ex-CIA chief William Colby, whose former employer is organizing raids on Nicaragua from camps in Honduras.

Are we to believe that these vermin are joining the ranks of American people who are marching for peace?

In reality there is not one America represented in the June 12 march, there are two. One is from the oppressed nations under the dictatorships and military regimes installed by imperialism — from the peasants in El Salvador who are being murdered by American guns, from the workers and unemployed in our own decaying cities. The other is from the boardrooms of major corporations, from the halls of government, which cynically proclaims peace while preparing for war and organizing counterrevolutionary squads.

And what about the parties of the Kremlin and of the Social Democracy, which have been the main forces behind the leadership of the disarmament move-

ment in Europe, and are heavily represented in the leadership of this march today — are they for "peace"? We think not. The "peaceful" Stalinist bureaucrats are poised to intervene with tanks against the Polish workers. And the Social Democracy is behind the hys-

oppressed masses that are going on right now, and thereby gives the ground of battle to those who have all the bombs, guns and tanks in the first place.

The program of the Fourth International states:

"... It is necessary to differentiate

## Arms for the Guerrillas!

We are publishing below an appeal by "Marcial" (Salvador Cayetano Carpio), commander-in-chief of the Popular Armed Forces of Liberation (FAPL) and a key leader of the Salvadoran guerrilla fighters of the FMLN. This appeal (dated October 20, 1981) appeared in the magazine *Por Esto* as part of a longer piece, "In the battle trenches of the popular war of liberation."

In the midst of all the cries for "peace," why is it that you have not seen this appeal before?

TRUTH

In the framework of international solidarity, it is necessary to say with all frankness that many of our combat units have to fight almost alone, with guns that are in continual disrepair in daily use; with primitive arms and with arms and supplies that are increasingly seized, but still insufficient compared to those of the troops of the tyranny.

It is an evil lie, fabricated by the Pentagon's psychological warfare, that the Salvadoran fighters receive arms from Cuba, Nicaragua or from the socialist countries of other continents.

Our weapons are those that we make ourselves, or take from the enemy at the

cost of our blood! But if we have to fight against the vile aggressors with our teeth, and with them alone, we will not fail to do it, until we bring about the triumph of the just cause of our heroic people.

*An appeal to the peoples of the world: arms for the Salvadoran people!*

For this, before the flood of imperialist armament aimed at destroying our population, I feel obliged to conclude the account of this small episode of our people's liberation war with an appeal to the peoples of the world for them, by breaking the existing wall of reservations and hesitations, to boldly gather together the means to effectively supply our armed forces of the revolution, the material solidarity in arms that our people need to decisively defeat the imperialist aggression.

Imperialism and its supporters, with its pretension and its insolence, rejects every possibility of any other road at all than its vicious aim of militarily annihilating the revolutionary forces, even by a total genocide of the entire population.

In face of this, it is necessary to set in motion the slogan, and the campaign on the world scale, of arms for the Salvadoran people, against the weapons of imperialist genocide!

terical "anti-terrorist" laws and police attacks on unemployed youth in Europe.

We Trotskyists say to you who want peace, to you who are from trade unions and working class organizations, and even to the militants of the American Communist Party itself: the working class and its revolution is the only road to peace.

We are not opposed to the Kremlin's parties because they are "Communist," but precisely because they are the greatest anti-Communists.

We are not opposed to pacifism because it wants peace, but because it takes a neutral position in the armed conflicts between imperialism and the

strictly between the pacifism of the diplomat, professor, journalist, and the pacifism of the carpenter, agricultural worker, and charwoman. In one case, pacifism is a screen for imperialism; in the other, it is the confused expression of distrust in imperialism."

We might add today to the first group, the Kremlin bureaucrat and liberal Senator and, to the second, the unemployed youth and welfare mother. But otherwise this statement still holds just as true. There are two different camps in the "disarmament" movement, corresponding to antagonistic classes — capitalists and proletarians.

Imperialism is on the defensive and its only instinct is to strike out brutally. That is why Reagan is arming British imperialism in its war against the Argentine dictatorship that US imperialism itself installed in power. That is why Reagan increases military aid to the Salvadoran government dominated by d'Aubuisson, whom even a former US ambassador has labeled a "pathological killer," even though polls show that a large majority of the American population opposes such aid.

Imperialism is no longer able to count on the Kremlin to maintain the "peaceful coexistence" of classes. The Polish Revolution is proof of that. Reagan and Haig have manufactured the absurd allegation that the Kremlin is exporting revolution to Central America only in order to further their own imperialist aims.

It would be different if the Kremlin would arm the guerrillas in El Salvador. But the Kremlin does not want to see the workers revolution advance in Central America any more than in Poland. And, therefore, it capitulates miserably to Reagan and restricts itself to feeble and fake maneuvers in the diplomatic

language of the bureaucrat.

But far more numerous in this march today are the youth who want to finish with imperialism and war and who, entering this movement as fresh recruits, are actively searching for an alternative to the capitalists and bureaucrats.

Many of them have regrouped themselves around the demand of "unilateral disarmament" and "No US intervention." The National Black United Front and the National Black Independent Political Party have helped to form a Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition with such demands. But, because the pacifist conservatives and the American CP are firmly tied to the liberal capitalists and former militarists who have now discovered "peace," the June 12 Coalition that they dominate bureaucratically expelled this caucus.

We oppose that expulsion, as every militant in this march today should. It is only one more example of trying to subordinate the independent struggle of the youth and working class to diplomatic maneuvers and subservience to the masters of the world. That is the real content of the "freeze" and of "bilateral disarmament."

But the struggle for peace begins in taking a side in the revolution that is now going on, and in organizing it by mobilizing the millions of the new generation of the youth to build a new revolutionary leadership.

*Not one man and not one penny for the bourgeois government!*

*Not an armaments program, but a program of useful public works!*

*The General Strike to bring down Reagan!*

The leaderships that tell you now is not the time to speak of revolution are only spreading confusion and hesitation in our ranks.

That is why the real objective before this march today is not one or another proposal for imperialism to disarm itself, it is the reorganization of the working class and the youth under a new revolutionary leadership. The CP, the Church and the various pacifist groups, who would like to limit the demands of this march to diplomatic maneuvers and pressure on the delegates of the bourgeois governments gathered here today, are trying to bury your sentiments for a world free of war in an illusory movement of "all the people."

Remember as you march today that the Polish workers are battling in the streets with the same Stalinist leadership that is trying to bury your aspirations in hollow maneuvers. Remember that in El Salvador the workers and peasants are literally "fighting with their teeth" against a vast array of bombs and advanced weapons bought and sent there with the aid of the gentlemen who are presiding over this UN session.

The Fourth International is ready to join with any tendency in the working class and the youth that is ready to take a stand in support of the revolution, that is ready to build the leadership that is necessary to organize it.

In the pages of this issue of *Truth* you will see the struggle that we are leading by building a Rally in Hamburg, Germany, for a new revolutionary leadership.

To Hamburg! Where the youth will constitute a force to organize this new revolutionary leadership. This is our call to you.

## Freedom for Workers Poland!

To the comrades of the Socialist Workers Party and to all those who value freedom for Workers Poland.

Within the working class movement, and especially in all the parties which claim to be Trotskyist, a fierce debate is going on around Poland. This debate concerns two positions: (1) that it is impossible to build a massive campaign of defense of Workers Poland because such a campaign will inevitably fall into the hands of pro-imperialist elements, and (2) that it is in fact only by advancing now the defense of the Polish workers, without any conditions, that the working class will be able to dominate the course of the Polish Revolution, breaking the isolation imposed on it by imperialist nations, and to positively resolve the crisis of leadership of the workers movement.

On May 1 — May Day — the Polish Revolution definitively entered its second and most decisive stage. The massive demonstrations of the workers

and youth of Poland that took place in at least a dozen major cities, completely dwarfed the impotent displays put on by Jaruzelski and the Stalinist bureaucracy. This shows the complete failure of martial law and the inevitability of a confrontation of the Polish workers with the Kremlin's tanks. They must not stand alone! *This time the tanks shall not pass!*

In fact, it is the miserable capitulations of the Kremlin, which is ready to drown the workers revolution in blood for imperialism, that allows the pro-imperialist elements any place at all in the movement to defend the Polish workers.

In such a situation, to demand that the movement be cleansed of pro-bourgeois elements before undertaking to mobilize the working class and the

Continued on page 3 . . .

# Call to the Hamburg Rally, July 3-4

We are printing on this page the Call to the International Rally of the Youth in Hamburg, Germany, which will take place July 3-4.

This Rally, for Freedom for Workers Poland, for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, for the Socialist United States of Europe, is aimed at preparing what is now increasingly on the agenda — the March on Gdansk.

Because the Hamburg Rally is not a mere get-together; it is a means to build in common struggle the new revolutionary leadership.

And that is the significance of this Call as well. It is intended to be the basis for support to Hamburg, through endorsements by organizations and signatures of militants.

Read the Call, support it, act on it.

TRUTH

We youth, organizations, groups and committees that have signed this call, who have met at the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International at its invitation, put forward this call to the youth of Europe and the world.

All Out To Hamburg, July 3-4!

All out to Hamburg with the Polish Revolution against the bureaucrats and militarists of the Kremlin:

Freedom For Workers Poland!

All out to Hamburg in order to develop and unify this revolution against Stalinism with the social revolution against imperialism and the bourgeois governments:

For the Socialist Europe of Workers Councils!

All out to Hamburg, in Germany, where this unity is bound up with the reconstitution of the class force of the German proletariat which aspires to its national unity:

Down With the Berlin Wall! For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

All out to Hamburg in order to come together and constitute a force, in order to debate, clarify the program and means for the proletariat and its youth to get a new revolutionary leadership in face of the crisis and bankruptcy of Stalinism:

Massively Organize the Revolutionary Youth to Resolve the Crisis of Leadership of the World Proletariat!

This is the basis upon which we call all organizations, groups and committees of the workers movement and its youth to rally in Hamburg.

This is the basis upon which the youth which mobilizes against imperialist rearmament and for peace, against Reagan and colonialism, can find an independent and victorious road. For our motto is still Karl Liebknecht's:

"If you want peace, prepare the revolution!"

And the revolution has begun in Poland, for Europe, the Rally in Hamburg will be the first stage of a march on Gdansk!

After Poland, Nothing Will Be As Before!

Yalta. More than 30 years ago, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt sealed a pact at the end of the Second World War. These "masters of the world" divided up Europe among themselves, while beginning a strict collaboration in order to block the workers revolution.

Imperialism needed Stalinism. It needed its parties, which throughout the world led the workers movement, in order to stifle the rising wave of revolution in Europe and in the colonies.

Each blow of the revolution has thrown this Holy Alliance into crisis. Today, while imperialism is undergoing an economic crisis without precedent, it can no longer count on the international Kremlin apparatus control over the workers in order to make them accept the massive unemployment and the attacks on their standard of living that the maintenance of the profit regime implies.

For, there has been the Polish Revolution . . . It changes radically the conditions of struggle of the proletariat in all of Europe.

Already, strike waves are developing in Portugal, Spain and France in a situation of crisis, isolation and even of splits in different Communist parties. The youth, which is once again entering *en masse* into these combats, has definitively broken with Stalinism. The latter can no longer count on a total control of the workers movement in order to be imperialism's select partner.

Because of this, the Second Conference on European Security and Cooperation which is being held in Madrid is a total failure. The masters of the world who are meeting there have not been able to establish together a thorough-going counter-revolutionary plan. Imperialism needs radical solutions to resolve its crisis. It needs to reconquer, through fire and blood, the colonies in revolt: to bring the proletariat of the metropolises to its knees by liquidating its freedoms and rights in order to impose upon it massive unemployment and a significant fall in its standard of living.

Stalinism, in order to save its power, needs to totally crush the Polish Revolution with its tanks. But this can only make its crisis grow to the point of dislocating its international apparatus, of isolating it still more from the workers of the world and of losing control over them.

The revolution has already broken the precarious equilibrium of this world.

Once again there appears on the horizon the alternative, war or revolution. Imperialism is preparing itself feverishly for a new war by rearming itself. The only way to disarm it is to make the revolution. The Polish workers have begun the first significant act in this struggle by engaging themselves in the revolution.

The Kremlin can talk about "disarmament," but its intervention in Poland, the crushing of the workers revolution in the heart of Europe, will be the first act opening the road to war. It will serve as a stepping-stone for imperialism, to send its troops to Central America and to prepare war against Eastern Europe.

We fight for freedom for Workers Poland!  
This Time, the Kremlin's Tanks Will Not Pass!

Together, we are making a campaign for these slogans and we call on all the youth to mobilize themselves around them.

In fact, Jaruzelski's coup d'etat has not succeeded in bringing the Polish proletariat to its knees. The Polish proletariat is reorganizing. Solidarnosc is once again gathering together its forces in clandestinity for a new decisive battle. The slogan of the Polish youth is:

Winter Is Yours, But Spring Will Be Ours!

The next confrontation in Poland will be that of the workers with the Kremlin's tanks.

But the conditions for this confrontation, the possibilities for the proletariat to turn them to its advantage, are being decided now throughout Europe. They depend on the workers of Europe politically breaking the isolation of the Polish Revolution.

It is a question throughout of the same struggle against the old, bankrupt leaderships of the workers movement. Against Stalinism which tries to liquidate the Polish Revolution through the violence of its tanks and slanders throughout Europe and which tries to isolate it by supporting the bourgeois states against the independent movement of workers (participation in the imperialist government in France, supporting the monarchy in Spain). Against the Social Democracy which in Germany presents Poland as a danger to peace and which in France manages the capitalist government.

To those who had the illusion that governments of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party could satisfy the aspirations

of the workers we say: Look at France, a CP-SP government is in power. All that it is able to do is to manage the capitalist crisis and to try to resolve it by attacking the workers.

The rally in Hamburg will prepare a march on Gdansk of all European youth disposed toward breaking the political isolation of the Polish Revolution by building a new workers leadership against Stalinism in the concrete process of the European Revolution. This process is already underway in the wave of strikes in Portugal, Spain and France. Their unification in each country with the General Strike opening up the revolutionary crisis throughout Europe must join with the Polish Revolution under the common objective of:

The Socialist United States of Europe!

A Socialist Europe of Workers Councils, where the workers in power will be able to definitively put an end to the reign of exploitation and oppression, where the proletariat of each nation will be able to establish fraternal and free relations with its class brothers breaking the boundaries of war of capital.

This unity of the European proletariat is concentrated in Germany where the division imposed by the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats is carved in the flesh and blood of the divided German people.

Youth of Germany!

Of Europe, of France, and of Spain, of Sweden and of Finland, and also of the USA and of Latin America. We are going to Hamburg to shout "Down with the Berlin Wall!"

In order to struggle with you for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, it is in Hamburg that we are going to come together.

Youth you have mobilized yourselves for peace by the thousands against the US military installations in Western Germany. In Eastern Germany, by the thousands also, you have mobilized for the withdrawal of the occupying troops from the two Germanies. We support your struggle and we are with you, we who have demonstrated in Spain and Italy against the installation of NATO's bases.

But we are conscious that imperialism will not withdraw its troops because we demand it, even if we do so massively. Precisely, it needs them against you, and in order to prepare war. It will be necessary to take these bases from them, arms in hand, and that by means of the revolution, the revolution as in Poland. Poland isn't a danger for peace, as Social Democrats like Brandt and Kreisky say; it is the first step against war.

If, as the workers of Szczecin say: "There will not be a just Europe without an independent Poland"; there will not be a united workers Germany without freedom for Workers Poland.

With Poland, it is the revolution against the imperialists and Stalinists which will unify Germany and which will drive out of your country the occupying troops, the bombs and the tanks.

It will not be "detente" which will realize this. Detente is dead. Look at Schmidt already on Reagan's coat-tails.

Youth of the Middle East and of Africa, of the USA and of Latin America!

The Socialist United States of Europe it is also your objective. They tell you it is far away. They tell you that these are the metropolises.

No, it is not so far away! Look at how the day after the coup d'etat in Poland, Begin sent troops to the Golan Heights and Reagan multiplied the millions of dollars of aid to the military junta which assassinates people in El Salvador.

The Kremlin is preparing to serve Central America on a platter to Reagan in exchange for the intervention of its tanks in Poland. The Kremlin is in Europe.

To keep US troops from entering Central America (and not only El Salvador but also Nicaragua and Cuba) you must struggle to keep the Kremlin's tanks from overrunning Poland.

When Reagan has to face a massive mobilization of the youth in the US who oppose the crushing of El Salvador, what a magnificent gift Brezhnev would give to him by sending his tanks against workers in the heart of Europe! There is the true anti-communism! It is that of the Kremlin which serves Reagan's plans.

The Kremlin—which through its representative in Latin America, Castro, has always blocked the construction of the true workers party in the USA; which supports the bloody junta in Argentina; which time after time supports the dictatorships; which isolated the youth by pushing them into suicidal terrorism, which placed the movement of workers and peasants behind the national comprador bourgeoisie of imperialism. The Kremlin must now face a workers revolution against its power, a crisis without precedent of all its parties in the world.

It is midnight for Stalinism, it is the hour of a new leadership of the world proletariat, a revolutionary leadership!

Youth, in the past you had a lot of difficulty in finding your place in the workers struggle. It was difficult for you to be, as Liebknecht said, "the flame of the revolution whose crucible is the proletariat," because Stalinism dominated and corrupted the workers movement.

Today, we see the youth in Polish Revolution which is confronting Stalinism. We see it in the workers resistance to Jaruzelski, in the strike wave in Spain and Portugal and in France. At the moment that Stalinism is in crisis, you will take your place in the front ranks of the workers struggles.

But it is not sufficient for a treacherous leadership to be exposed to a revolution or in crisis in the workers movement in order for the proletariat to be victorious: a new international and revolutionary leadership is necessary! It is to you that we address ourselves, above all in order to construct it together.

This is the work that the rally in Hamburg will take up. For this work it is necessary to gather ourselves together *en masse*. In the common struggle it is necessary to debate and confront programs. This is what we call you to do by preparing Hamburg and by being present there *en masse* with your delegates.

The RYI thinks that building this leadership means building an autonomous organization of the masses of youth, a veritable world army of the socialist revolution which struggles for a return to Lenin, that is to say, for the construction of the Fourth International which made the banner of Bolshevism-Leninism into an instrument of struggle against Stalinism since its birth.

Other signers of this call are not convinced of this.

But together we fight for freedom for Workers Poland, for the revolutionary unification of Germany and the Socialist United States of Europe. On this basis we are determined to resolve together the crisis of leadership of the international workers movement by rallying and organizing *en masse* the youth.

We will be in Hamburg!

We call on you to come to Hamburg!

We call on you, you who are in the Communist Party and who claim Leninism and the October Revolution. By continuing to identify Leninism and Stalinism, you will isolate yourselves more and more from the masses of youth. Your place is on the side of the Polish workers who are revitalizing the Soviet October against the Stalinist counterrevolution.

We call on you, you who are mobilizing for peace, and for disarmament, there will not be any peace with capital in power.

We call on you, you youth who are organized in committees and groups and trying to find a solution that is independent from the Kremlin by separating yourselves from the workers movement. The Polish Revolution shows that the working class is the decisive force in the revolution and that only it has the power to bring down Stalinism. We call on you, you who struggle for self-determination of the oppressed peoples. Isolated from the world proletariat, imperialism will always be more powerful than you are.

Respond to the call of the Polish Revolution, it is the means to finish once and for all with the dispersion of the youth resulting from its separation from the workers movement caused by Stalinism.

All out to Hamburg, it will be an open forum, a Rally for the fighting youth!  
July 3-4, all out to Hamburg!

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# Building the Hamburg Rally in the US

## May 19: Kettering . . .

On May 19, the Trotskyist Organization/USA planned and carried out a rally at Kettering High School on Detroit's East side under the slogans: Freedom for Workers Poland, General Strike bring down Reagan, Build the Workers Party. Forty to fifty youth participated in the rally chanting: "Down, Down, Down with Reagan, Freedom for the Polish Workers," while as many youth looking on intently, occasionally joining in the chants.

The second phase of the action was a demonstration at the Ford River Rouge Plant. We discussed with the Kettering youth the necessity of winning the support of auto workers in the struggle to build a new leadership of the working class that can defeat Reagan. With this objective in mind we convinced the youth that it is through this struggle that their hopes and desires can be realized, and that their struggles must be the foundation of the new working class leadership.

It is important to understand, first of all, the discussions and preparations that made these actions successful.

Since the beginning of January the entire Fourth International, following the decisions of its Eighth World Congress, has dedicated itself to building a new international working class leadership, concentrated in the international youth rally which is now scheduled for July 3-4 in Hamburg, Germany.

The building of circles of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) is the means to organizing the youth independently of its class enemies. This meant reinforcing the work of the Malcolm X Circle of International Young Guard/USA (IYG), to make it a lever for the construction of a new revolutionary leadership.

The Polish Revolution is a constant reminder that the working class and, in particular, its youth, is the only force capable of changing the miserable conditions that exist under our rotten ruling class. The Malcolm X Circle has begun to lead a fight based on the lessons of the Polish workers and utilizing the same methods of struggle — methods based on workers democracy.

In the first two weeks of May, several interventions were organized at Kettering with the intention of preparing a centralizing action. The party along with youth appeared as a real force speaking to the desires of the youth. Meetings of the Malcolm X Circle, held regularly on Saturdays, began to discuss the Polish Revolution in great detail in order to transfer the lessons of the General Strike and of confronting the government in the struggles of black youth throughout the US.

Based on these discussions, a special supplement of *International Young Guard*, newspaper of IYG, was produced. It concentrated the fight for the general strike, underlining the Hamburg Rally and the construction of a new workers leadership to defeat Moscow and Washington. The paper called, finally, for the May 19 rally and demonstration as a first step in organizing this fight.

The rally took place, but not without difficulties. The school administration

set out to intimidate the youth and to try and prevent the action, claiming that no political activity could take place within 250 feet of school grounds. First of all, this is not true, and has been so ruled over and over again in court. What this shows is that from Reagan on down to the last school principal, the agents of the ruling class fear the independent mobilization of the youth and are prepared to use terrorism against the working class to prevent it from being the master of its own destiny.

Despite this attempt at intimidation, despite the arrival of the cops — whom black youth do not feel are their "friends" — two new youth stood up against this and went with us to the Rouge.

The youth need a leadership that is prepared to fight to the end. The Fourth International makes the construction of this leadership the affair of every honest worker, of every youth, under the slogan: Freedom for Workers Poland!

We will continue the fight — the principal has already backed down — against the unconstitutional "ordinance" and carry it forward to a *public victory*. But, most importantly, we will continue to build the Malcolm X Circle of International Young Guard/USA as a force for the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

RICHARD TETRAULT

## The "Revolution Strike" . . .

A key element of the new leadership is being forged on the East side of Detroit — the Malcolm X Circle of IYG.

In these last days since a rally of youth at Kettering High School for the General Strike and a new leadership, (see this page) the youth have begun to regroup in the Malcolm X Circle and to clarify what they will say and what they will do to build the RYI in the United States.

The problems these youth are discussing, debating and resolving are the problems of the revolution itself. The youth will no longer be separated from the source of power that can decisively finish with unemployment, high prices, and racism. With the example of the Polish workers' method of struggle before them and armed with the political capital of the Fourth International the youth are preparing the way for the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The May 19 rally at Kettering was a means to gather forces to go to a central factory (the Ford Rouge Plant) and rally there to win workers. For the first time in all these long years in which the youth have been separated from the workers' struggle, a new leadership of workers and youth is being born. That is the significance of the last two interventions at the Rouge for a new leadership and the General Strike with members of the Malcolm X Circle and the Fourth International.

In preparing this action, we have learned that our newspaper is essential. We have learned to develop our arguments and our activities entirely around it. With the Malcolm X Circle, we debate the ideas expressed in *Truth* and decide on a clear line of argument to build the new revolutionary leadership. What we actually say is the key to organizing this leadership.

We arrived at this in the course of struggle with the youth. On May 29, at a meeting of the Malcolm X Circle, the youth freely discussed the conditions of their life and the disastrous consequences of each shift of policy of the Reagan regime for them. In struggling with the realities imposed by dying imperialism, they began to advance toward a political solution. We debated the General Strike, what it is and what it will do.

HIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL No. 147 June 11, 1982 15c

## Prepare the Revolution!"

oppressed masses that are going on right now, and thereby gives the ground of battle to those who have all the bombs, guns and tanks in the first place.

The program of the Fourth International states:

" . . . It is necessary to differentiate

### Guerrillas!

cost of our blood! But if we have to fight against the vile aggressors with our teeth, and with them alone, we will not fail to do it, until we bring about the triumph of the just cause of our heroic people.

*An appeal to the peoples of the world: arms for the Salvadoran people!*

For this, before the flood of imperialist armament aimed at destroying our population, I feel obliged to conclude

Some thought the General Strike would be some sort of protest in Washington, others that it meant handing out a lot of leaflets. It was not yet clear that the General Strike means a complete break with all "peaceful" protest and organizes the vast power of the working class to *impose* its demands — for jobs, for political rights — as opposed to pleading with the racist, imperialist state.

This question is being cleared up in the course of preparing a contingent of the youth for the "disarmament" rally in New York, on June 12, which is precisely a peaceful protest which thinks it can disarm Reagan by requesting "peace." But what kind of peace? If the Reagan regime stays in power, "peace" will mean the subjection of the working class and the oppressed to the same class that dangles the threat of nuclear holocaust over the heads of the working class of every country to stop the revolution.

Our slogan and struggle is to say to the youth assembled in New York, "if you want peace, prepare the revolution; build its leadership! Arms to the workers and peasants of El Salvador!"

Our struggle with the RYI, at the factory gates, at the school — a fight we continued with another rally and action at Kettering and the Rouge on June 2 — and in the black working class neighborhood surrounding it, with *Truth* as our weapon, is building the real alternative to empty protest.

The struggle we have taken up is building a revolutionary leadership of workers and youth to break with these methods of the past and find the road to revolutionary struggle. It was not accidental that a member of the Malcolm X Circle referred to the General Strike as "the revolution strike." This "mistake" really speaks the truth.

BARBARA PUTNAM

## Poland, continued . . .

youth independently is the height of sectarian hesitation before the revolution.

Comrades! The revolution unfolding before our eyes, the break-up of the Stalinist apparatus before the struggle of the Polish workers, and the tremendous crisis of Reagan's imperialist government all constitute an open call to defend the revolution and to build the new revolutionary leadership necessary to ensure its victory.

In this issue of *Truth* you will see how we are doing this. While you may

language of the bureaucrat.

But far more numerous in this march today are the youth who want to finish with imperialism and war and who, entering this movement as fresh recruits, are actively searching for an alternative to the capitalists and bureaucrats.

Many of them have regrouped themselves around the demand of "unilateral disarmament" and "No US intervention." The National Black United Front and the National Black Independent Political Party have helped to form a Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition with such demands. But, because the pacifist conservatives and the American CP are firmly tied to the liberal capitalists and former militarists who have now discovered "peace," the June 12 Coalition that they dominate

## Support the Tour . . .

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is working to build support for a tour of representatives of Polish Solidarnosc and of SMOT, the free trade union in the USSR.

At the direction of the UAW International, the Wayne State University local of the UAW dropped its support of the tour.

But a fight to win support in unions and workers organizations to build the tour has had marked success. Besides the continued support of the Malcolm X Circle of IYG and of the Wayne State Polish Jagellonian Society, militant workers at both UAW Locals 174 and 600 (including a member of the United Front Caucus at the River Rouge) have endorsed the special call we put out, together with the statement of SMOT and Solidarnosc militants seeking to build the tour. Of great interest, also, is the fact that members of Chicago Workers Video are building the tour in that city, and have already raised a considerable amount of money. So the fight is well underway.

We are interested in setting up meetings with any working class group or organization that seriously wants to meet with representatives of Solidarnosc and SMOT and that is willing to contribute to financing the trip. All meetings will be organized in a free and open fashion, in the spirit of Gdansk, not of Moscow.

If you would like to meet with Solidarnosc and SMOT representatives, make a contribution to finance their trip, or build support for this tour in the unions, contact us today: *Open Organizing Committee for the Solidarnosc-SMOT Tour* (1088 Rademacher; Detroit 48209; 313-554-2262)

not agree with the Fourth International and its whole fight, we believe that the situation dictates that we join together in a common mobilization to defend *Freedom for Workers Poland!* We direct your attention particularly to the work we have done to build a speaking tour of Solidarnosc and SMOT militants (see this page). On the basis of this common struggle we believe that your place is also in Hamburg, Germany, where we may debate and clarify the nature and the program of the party that is necessary.

D.H.

### TRUTH Bi-Weekly Organ of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Editorial Board: Kevin FitzPatrick,  
Editor; Margaret Guttshall, David  
Heffelfinger, Barbara Putnam.

Subscription Rates: US and North  
America: \$1 for eight issues  
(introductory). \$3 for one year.  
Inquire for all other rates, including  
institutional rates.

# TRUTH

Call to the Hamburg

We are printing on this page the Call to the International Rally of the Youth in Hamburg, Germany, which will take place July 3-4.

This Rally, for Freedom for Workers Poland, for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, for the Socialist United States of Europe, is aimed at preparing what is now increasingly on the agenda — the March on Gdansk.

Because the Hamburg Rally is not a mere get-together; it is a means to build in common struggle the new revolutionary leadership.

And that is the significance of this Call as well. It is intended to be the basis for support to Hamburg, through endorsements by organizations and signatures of militants.

Read the Call, support it, act on it.

TRUTH

We youth, organizations, groups and committees that have signed this call, who have met at the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International at its invitation, put forward this call to the youth of Europe and the world.

All Out To Hamburg, July 3-4!

All out to Hamburg with the Polish Revolution against the bureaucrats and militarists of the Kremlin:

Freedom For Workers Poland!

All out to Hamburg in order to develop and unify this revolution against Stalinism with the social revolution against imperialism.

they actually won new gains.

In Schenectady, New York, strikers have employed mass picketing against General Electric. And strikers at Northwest Orient Airlines, under the threat of being replaced, are having to come to terms with the lessons of the PATCO strike.

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is threatening "to call a memorial period (a mine shutdown — *Truth*) of up to ten days, and to make preparations to fill the streets of Washington, DC, with every coal miner we can bring to the nation's capital."

Why? Because of the drastic increase in mine deaths that has "come in the first full year of the new administration . . . makes it easy for many of our members to point a finger."

Now if a bureaucratic hack like UMWA President Sam Church has to talk like this — and it is *at Reagan* that the miners are pointing their fingers — it is clear that much more is going on beneath the surface.

One sign of this could be clearly seen at the just-concluded convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), which is connected to the AFL-CIO in the United States.

Canada is closely linked to the US, above all because its economy is dominated by the same imperialist corporations that we face here (GM, US Steel, etc.). This has also meant that many US unions have a large Canadian membership.

The CLC Convention took a decisive stand against any Canadian union's accepting concessions, vowing to fight this attack through strike action.

This vote follows on the heels of a massive demonstration in Ottawa (Canada's capital) that rivaled Solidarity Day in the US. The November 21 action of 100,000 against Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's version of "Reagonomics" was in turn based on the 1977 one-day general strike that shut Canada down in protest of Trudeau's wage-freeze policies.

(One important point is that the CLC is the base of the New Democratic Party. Although the NDP is a very moderate labor party indeed, this at least means the workers will not be voting for the same capitalist politicians who are attacking them.)

Taking the lead in the CLC action were the Canadian locals of the UAW, which have consistently refused to accept concessions. The former director of the Canadian region of the UAW, Dennis McDermott, is now head of the CLC.

Already, strike waves are developing in Portugal, Spain and France in a situation of crisis, isolation and even of splits in different Communist parties. The youth, which is once again entering *en masse* into these combats, has definitively broken with Stalinism. The latter can no longer count on a total control of the workers movement in order to be imperialism's select partner.

Because of this, the Second Conference on European Security and Cooperation which is being held in Madrid is a total failure. The masters of the world who are meeting there have not been able to establish together a thorough-going counterrevolutionary plan. Imperialism needs radical solutions to resolve its crisis. It needs to reconquer, through fire and blood, the colonies in revolt: to bring the proletariat of the metropolises to its knees by liquidating its freedoms and rights in order to impose upon it massive unemployment and a significant fall in its standard of living.

Stalinism, in order to save its power, needs to totally crush the Polish Revolution with its tanks. But this can only make its crisis grow to the point of dislocating its international apparatus, of isolating it still more from the workers of the world and of losing control over them.

The revolution has already broken through the precarious equilibrium of this world.

Once again there appears on the horizon organized by Local 1112 of Lordstown, Ohio, are expressions of this development. Our policy cannot be "a plague on both your houses," but a fight to free these initiatives from the policies that are holding them back. That means a fight to get rid of the Fraser bureaucracy, to return the UAW to its members, to make it a focus for developing all the fights that are taking place.

The GM assembly plant sub-council has demanded a meeting with Fraser and company, in order to organize a fight against GM's drive for more concessions around Local contracts. LOC has stated that if no such meeting is accepted by Fraser, it will organize one on its own.

And at the Linden, New Jersey, GM plant, which voted against concessions by a 5-1 margin, Local leaders who are members of an opposition caucus are demanding new elections, saying that the whole voting process has to be investigated. These militants want to organize an appeal to the UAW's Public Review Board, which is supposedly an impartial court of last resort against the actions of the leadership.

The existence of the Public Review Board, which only the UAW has, is supposed to show the democratic character of the union and its leadership. In this sense, a fight to expose this fraud links up with some other key developments and points the way forward.

When the Fraser gang lost the concessions vote at AMC because the Toledo, Ohio, Local voted against it, these bureaucrats *forced* another vote there, while *denying* the Kenosha, Wisconsin, Local (which had barely passed it) a second vote.

In the same way, the crew at UAW headquarters (the misnamed "Solidarity House") flat-out *cancelled* the Special Bargaining Convention scheduled for this year. (As one of the bureaucrats cynically remarked, "What bargaining?")

And, in order to guard themselves from the danger that threatens them, the Fraser gang postponed until 1983 the UAW Constitutional Convention, at which the leadership is elected. This bureaucracy, the remnants of the "Reuther machine," once so smug and powerful, is now afraid to put itself to an open vote.

The Fraser bureaucracy is now engaged in an open attack on democracy in the union. How can workers fight for this workers democracy and at the same time organize the necessary offensive against Reagan?

## ion of the UAW!

Victory in 1973 auto  
upsurge, attacked and  
betrayed by Fraser.  
Now is the time  
to settle accounts  
for good.



### Special Convention

The Trotskyist Organization/USA thinks that our goal has to be the *Special Convention of the UAW*.

This is a fight for workers democracy, not only in the sense of actually holding the mandated Convention that the bureaucrats are trying to avoid, but in a much broader sense, too. This convention must be "special" not only in terms of the provisions made for it in the UAW Constitution, but above all because it will deal with the situation and the tasks that the autoworkers face today, in opposition to the charades that take place at the bureaucratically run conventions.

Everyone knows that the source of everything we hate — concessions, budget cuts, El Salvador, etc. — is the Reagan administration.

The Special Convention of the UAW can, like the first Congress of Solidarnosc ("Solidarity"), last September in Poland, take the lead not just of a union movement, but of a *social movement* opposed to the old order.

But the Solidarnosc Congress was even more than that. It was a political alternative of the working class, a "workers parliament," so to speak.

The struggle will decide if the Special Convention of the UAW can go that far. But it must, under any circumstances, have clear goals, openly debated and freely agreed to, to give it a real dynamic.

One obvious task is to *throw out Fraser and the whole "administration caucus,"* replacing it with a leadership that has a fighting policy.

Already, the union bureaucrats, led by AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland, are organizing to divert the hatred of Reagan into voting for the Democrats in 1982 ("Solidarity Day II," they dare to call this) and a Democrat for President — *another Democrat!* — in 1984.

## The Change in Our Paper

As our regular readers can see, this issue of *Truth* is different from what you have been accustomed to.

In April, for a number of political and organizational reasons, we decided that we could publish the eight-page paper only on a monthly schedule. At the same time, we still believed what we wrote in *Truth* #143: ". . . In today's situation, the paper has to be at least a bi-weekly."

Reality has shown us just how true this was. The monthly paper simply has not met our needs, has not met the needs of the current political situation. On this basis, we decided that we *had*

It is clear that a fight against Reagan demands the creation of a Workers Party, going far beyond even what has been done in Canada. The Special Convention of the UAW can be the point of departure for building this party.

But, above all, our goal must be organizing the *General Strike to bring down Reagan*. It is the General Strike that we have seen outlined in Canada and "all feathered-out" in Poland.

The workers who will fight for the Special Convention of the UAW are those who are breaking from the bureaucracy, who are hostile to it and its deals with imperialism. Tapping the massive opposition to Fraser in the UAW means organizing a fight against Reagan. The General Strike to bring him down is not only a *goal* for the Special Convention, it has to be the *axis* around which it is built.

### Our Fight

When 1,200 workers at Ford Local 900 signed a petition to Fraser demanding no concessions and a Special Convention, the Trotskyist Organization took this fight up in Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge plant.

When we ran our campaign for a workers candidate for mayor of Detroit, we took this fight to the Rouge as a way to help prepare the General Strike.

When LOC and other forces were on record for the general strike, the Trotskyist Organization took this fight into the United Front Caucus (a coalition of opposition groups at the Rouge) in order to get it off paper and into motion.

That has been our fight. Now more than ever, the General Strike to bring down Reagan confronts all of us. "There is nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come."

Let us take up that fight right now in working together for the Special Convention of the UAW!

There are some technical changes that flow from this political decision — price, subscriptions (existing ones will be adjusted), etc. — but the key question is the regular bi-weekly appearance of the paper that will enable us to play the role we must.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD