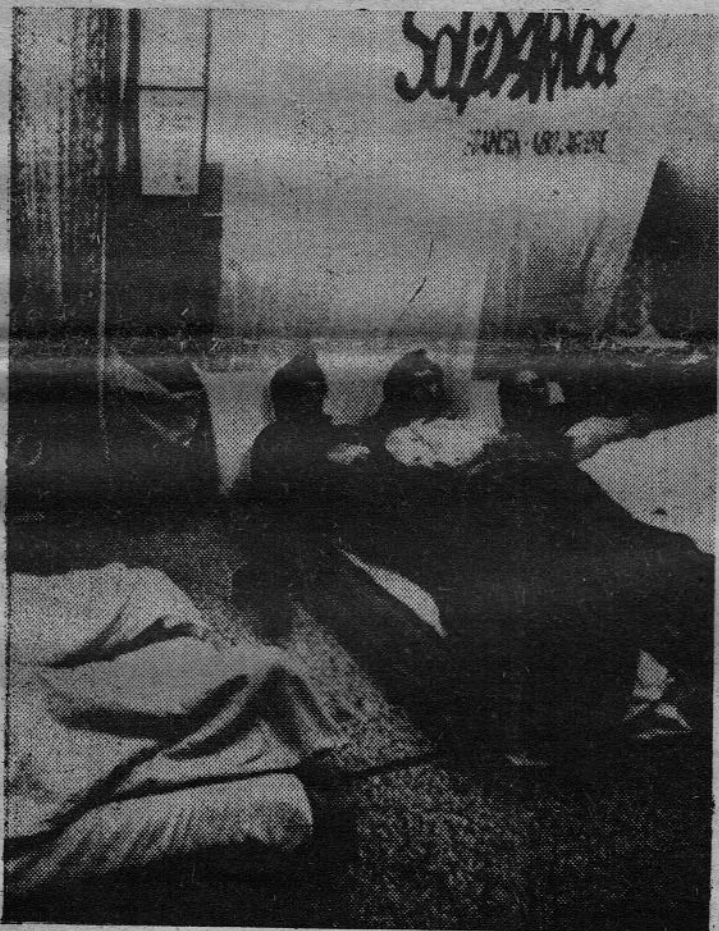


American workers, American youth

We Have to Learn to "Speak Polish"



Polish workers on hunger strike to free political prisoners.

Prepare the Revolution!

Organize the General Strike!

Now is the Time to Centralize Our Struggles

Everywhere you look in the world and in the United States, battles and struggles are being waged against the old order of imperialism and Stalinism.

This struggle is contagious, even on the smallest points. Republican prisoners in Northern Ireland go on hunger strike against British imperialism and its "anti-terrorist" terrorism. And in a few weeks, Polish workers are fasting to demand the release of political prisoners held by the Stalinist government. And again, Vietnam veterans in the U.S. are hunger striking against attacks on programs for them by that great "patriot," Ronald Reagan.

All the forces of this old order are in retreat. The pope, despite his best efforts (including nearly being promoted to the heavenly choir), is utterly repudiated by

the Italian masses in the vote on abortion. And the most reactionary heads of state fare no better. Giscard D'Estaing is driven out in France, Margaret Thatcher stumbles from one defeat to another in Britain. The "conservative tide" has gone out, the "Tory solution" has dissolved.

This is becoming clearer with each passing day in the United States as well. Where is Reagan's boasted "mandate" now? Not a week goes by without at least one demonstration in Washington, DC, against one or another aspect of the policies of the "leader of the free world." Coal miners, and blacks, youth from the movement against imperialist rearmament and railroad workers, every facet of opposition to Reagan. When this regime threatened to wreck the Social Security

program, the resulting uproar compelled even this self-deluded band of bigots to realize they had gone too far.

These offensives in the U.S., the coal miners strike, the growing activity in the unions against the so-called "Chrysler syndrome" (the policy of concessions and retreat begun to "save Chrysler" and since generalized), the increasing level of mobilization in the class struggle in short, show the immense possibilities that exist for really making a breakthrough, for changing the political situation in this country.

But this will *not* happen spontaneously. Far from it. The centrists, opportunists and Stalinists inside the movement of the workers and youth seek constantly to disperse this force, to disorganize this offen-

sive, to deprive it of the consciousness that it needs in order to win.

It is time to centralize all our struggles. It is time to draw the lessons from the whole world situation. In every country in which the mobilization is advancing the *General Strike* is on the order of the day. From Poland to El Salvador, this is the way to organize the independent intervention of the masses, to centralize all the struggles they are engaged in, to give it a *political objective*.

And politics, comrades, brothers and sisters, is about *power* — about who has it and who has not. The *General Strike* means fighting out that question. It means the conclusion to what we have begun. It means preparing the revolution!

TRUTH

Our Paper —And Yours

Truth is the newspaper of the Trotskyist Organization/USA. Its Editorial Board is selected by our organization to carry out and develop its policy through its press. Clearly, *Truth* is our paper.

But it is yours, too. It is yours because, as we found at the May 3 demonstration, there is a whole section of the youth and the workers that is looking for answers to the political problems posed by the movement against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism. Whenever we come into contact with this layer of the movement, it responds immediately to what *Truth* puts forward.

These active, searching elements of the movement want to know why such a large movement, with an even larger reservoir of support, is continually being deprived of the ability to exercise its full potential. They want to know why the current leadership of the movement is responsible — through its policy of "pressure" on imperialism — for the insufficient development of the fight. These militants want drastic solutions, and they want to know how to put them into action.

And *Truth* can meet these needs. There is no other paper that shows that this movement is not some expression of humanitarian protest, but is a fight against imperialist rearmament, and that it is, therefore, a movement toward the revolution, a movement that demands a revolutionary solution.

There is no other paper that has this solution: the fight to boycott the Latin American dictatorships, as well as draft registration, through the involvement of the power of the unions, the preparation and organization of the *General Strike to bring down Reagan*. In other words, the preparation of the American Revolution as part of the world revolution.

The opponents of this policy do not like facing up to it. They prefer to attack the Trotskyist Organization/USA as "too small."

We have never denied that we are small. But what we represent is very big, indeed. We are small, but no other organization even close to our size puts out a paper that has the frequency and size of *Truth*, puts out a paper that fills a need like *Truth*. We are small in size; the opportunists are small in conception.

Because *Truth* meets your needs, because our fight is where yours is leading you, we say: *Truth is your paper!*

You can support your paper. You can subscribe and get others to do so. You can get the paper in the hands of others. You can contribute to it financially. You can write to it about the problems of our movement. You can help to make its fight victorious.

Truth is our paper — and yours!
THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Trotskyism, Cuba and the SWP

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The latest attempt to justify the capitulation of the Barnes leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to Castroism and thus to Stalinism appeared in *Intercontinental Press*, "international" organ of the SWP (May 11, 1981).

Under the title of "Debate on Cuba," three articles were printed. Two of these were letters written by former members of the current led by Posadas in Latin America and the Cuban section of what was the Pabloite "International Secretariat." In response to these letters, SWP'er Jose G. Perez tries to answer the questions raised by the SWP's capitulation to Castroism.

Apparently, the nature of this "debate" is such that it has been impossible for the leadership to respond before now. The letters of the ex-Posadistas (now members of the same "United Secretariat" as the SWP) were written in February 1979, following Barnes' speech to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Convention in December 1978, in which he denounced and slandered the Cuban Posadistas in the fashion of the Castroites who said the exact same thing; that the militants who fought as Trotskyists in Cuba were provocateurs aiding imperialism.

The charge, never proven, was that the Posadistas called for a march on Guantanamo Bay to drive out the U.S. imperialists thus seeking to create a provocation.

Even if the Posadistas had called for the expulsion and even for a march this would be a tactical decision, certainly not grounds for disowning these militants. *Because there is no fundamental difference between Barnes' line and that of the Posadistas* — the Fourth International should be subordinate to Stalinism, acting as a "left wing" — all Barnes can resort to is slander and denunciation.

It is its political bankruptcy and capitulation to Castroism that the SWP leadership cannot explain. Castro himself has increased the difficulty with his "embarrassing" attacks on the Polish workers struggle, as well as because of his rôle in El Salvador. Castro comes out openly *against* working class struggle.

He referred to the Czech workers struggle of 1968 as being part of an "imperialist conspiracy" and praised the armies of the countries of the Kremlin's Warsaw Pact for crushing the revolution. He has said, "Nicaragua will not be another Cuba." (He's against the

revolution going as far as it did in Cuba — the expropriation of capitalism).

And Castro has always hated Trotskyists, calling Trotskyism: "... this discredited thing, this anti-historical thing, this fraudulent thing which emanates from elements so clearly in the service of Yankee imperialism."

But Barnes sings praises to Castro (in the very speech in which he slandered the Posadistas): "Outside Lenin, Trotsky and Sverdlov, the Cuban leadership is far superior to the Bolsheviks."

That is why Barnes has to denounce his former Cuban comrades as "ultraleft sectarians" who were an irritant to the July 26th Movement led by Castro because they could not completely buy the official line that they should have *no* differences with Castro, raise *no* criticisms.

For this same reason, to ingratiate itself with the class-collaborationist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the Barnes leadership instigated the denunciation and expulsion of their former comrades in Nicaragua, the Simon Bolivar Brigade.

Castro and the Sandinistas are completely comfortable with each other, they stand for the same thing, to act as an obstacle to the independent struggle for power of the working class. The SWP must show that it has no intention of raising such a political line. It will leave the leadership of the revolution to the Castros, to the Sandinistas, to whatever petty bourgeois leadership comes forward and usurps leadership.

The "United Secretariat" and its U.S. sympathizing organization, the SWP, are obliged to erase their past at every turn of the class struggle, for their fundamental orientation to subordinate the working class to Stalinism is laid bare by the turn of events. They are obliged to attack even small differences over this orientation.

In Perez' article (written for Barnes) in *Intercontinental Press*, he denounces the entire Posadista Latin American Bureau (of the "International Secretariat" which the SWP claims then represented part of the Fourth International) for identifying the problem in Cuba as a struggle between a "petty bourgeois current (Castroism — B.P.), which was trying to limit the revolution to reforms within a capitalist framework, and the proletariat, which was trying to push the revolution forward to socialism."

This is an attempt to characterize the Posadistas as "ultraleft," but it express-

es the policy of the Fourth International. It is true that Castroism represents precisely such a petty bourgeois current, and everything Castro has said or done to date confirms this.

It took Barnes and Company two years to get around to answering the ex-Posadistas. As is shown by Perez' response, this was because they have no answer except further distortions and slander.

Barnes' 1978 speech was intended to crush a promised "discussion" on Cuba in the SWP and YSA. Temporarily, this maneuver succeeded. But today, after Poland, after El Salvador, and on the eve of the SWP's Convention, the question is more vital than ever. The publication of this "debate" now attempts to once again stifle the drawing of a real political balance sheet of Castroism and the SWP's support to it. But the nature of the reply shows the weakness and crisis of the SWP leadership. In fact, it makes it possible for the Fourth International to intervene in this crisis and to provide a solution to those militants who are asking, more and more insistently — "Why do we support Castro?"

dynamics
of the Cuban
revolution
the Trotskyist view
by JOSEPH HANSEN

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Defend the miners

Organize the General Strike

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The class struggle in the United States is at a critical point. Only months after his election, Reagan is confronted with the revolution on a world scale and with its development in the U.S. The entire situation — the miners strike, the fight of the youth against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, the movement of blacks against Reagan's war on the poor — begs for a class-wide offensive.

Unions

The miners strike, now in its ninth week, can still be the launching point for this fight. *To organize the General Strike to bring down Reagan!*

As *Truth* goes to press, a tentative agreement has been presented by Sam Church, president of the UMWA, to the bargaining council. It has been agreed to by the council and will now be submitted to the miners themselves on the weekend of June 6-7. If the headlines in the *New York Times*, "Miners union reducing demands" (May 23, 1981), or the statement of one union leader that, "this is about the best we can get," are any indication, the new settlement can be expected to be another sellout.

The massive rejection of the first agreement by more than a two to one margin nationally, represented a political statement by the miners. It came only days after the attempted assassination of Reagan, when all the pressures to moderate their struggle would be at a peak. But the reverse happened. Blacks reacted with jubilation, and the miners overwhelmingly rejected the contract and with it their union leadership under Sam Church.

At the same time 20,000 railroad workers demonstrated on April 29 in Washington, DC shouting, "Strike! Strike!" in response to the leadership of their union — who have since negotiated a sellout rail contract yet to be accepted by railworkers. Many of the railroad workers could plainly be seen to be wearing "Solidarnosc" buttons supporting the Polish workers union and the weapon which organized it, the General Strike.

Many locals in the UAW have begun to take positions against the demands for concessions by auto companies. Though in every case the union leaderships have been forced to take a more militant stance, some even suggesting the possibility of a general strike (*Truth* #132), they can be expected to collaborate in the workers' own exploitation.

It is even possible that UAW leaders will try to re-open contract negotiations with GM and Ford as they have done at Chrysler, even though they have so far opposed such a move. If such a development occurred it would make the entire situation even more explosive.

And the tremendous movement of the youth against U.S. intervention in El Salvador shows that the entire political situation is critical and that the working class as a whole is looking for a way to confront the Reagan government and its policies.



Miners listen skeptically at April 30 rally in Pittsburgh.

The fact that many young workers from major unions helped build the May 3 demonstration in Washington, DC, shows the basis for a united offensive of the youth and the unions to organize the general strike.

Pass to the Attack

Counterposed to the immediate preparation and organization of the General Strike is the theory of "stages." That is, the American working class must first go through a period of experience with a reformist perspective, a period of gradual pressure of the bureaucracy in the unions and alliances with liberals.

But in reality, this "theory" expresses more than anything else a hesitation before the actual situation, which does not leave any room for the peaceful development of the class struggle. Hesitation leaves room only for the bosses and Reagan's government to organize their offensive against the working class.

The miners strike has begun, in reality, from a deeper appreciation on the part of the miners of the political significance of their fight and attempts to link up with other sectors of the working class.

The UMWA has endorsed the struggle of blacks against the racism of Reagan's war on the poor, and the question of a workers party has had a wide debate in the American working class as a whole. Nevertheless, the miners and the U.S. working class in its entirety still find their struggles dispersed by the class collaboration of the leaders of the workers movement, especially the trade union bureaucracy.

The balance sheet of 1978 is still present in the minds of miners and all workers and militants. This national strike of the miners, which received wide support from all sectors of the working class and youth, broke the back of the Carter administration. It eventually ended with the virtual ouster of Arnold Miller from the presidency of the UMWA — and Miller had originally been elected as a reform candidate.

But the strike itself still ended in a standoff. A victory in the sense of the initiative which was gained by the whole working class over Carter and the ruling class, but at the same time no real change in the relationship of forces between the workers and the bourgeoisie. Now the present leadership of the UMWA is under fire again for compromising the existence of the union.

1978, if it had passed to the independent organization of a general strike of the unions against the Carter plan of "sacrifices," would have changed the whole face of American politics. That is what is at stake today — and even more so.

Defense of the Unions

The most basic demands which have been raised by the miners center around the defense of their union. This is why the first agreement was rejected.

It contained provisions for a forty-five day probationary period, dropping royalty payments by the coal operators for non-union coal as well as unlimited subcontracting of union construction work to non-union workers.

Though in the bourgeois press the negotiations are said to be center on the issue of sub-contracting alone, it is likely that the new tentative agreement will try to ram through some variation of all three union-busting proposals. By focusing the negotiations on the issue of sub-contracting, the union leadership has revealed its strategy.

This provision — for construction work at mines to be carried out only by UMWA workers — has been struck down by a Federal court as a violation of anti-trust laws. Thus, Church sets up the main issue in the strike as a confrontation with the courts, and hence the bosses government, and then backs down in respect of the capitalist state.

The organization of a General Strike is the only means to defend the unions for two reasons. First, it is precisely the weapon which gives the working class the

ability to confront the state — this has been shown by the struggle of the Polish workers. And second, because it is also the means to organize the unorganized and extend and build the unions.

The capitulation of Church before the operators has not been lost on the miners. In district elections in early May almost all of the supporters of the first agreement were swept out of office. Church's days are numbered as well. But the real test of leadership is the organization of an offensive which will confront the government by leaders who will not back down.

The miners strike is at a critical point. If the new tentative agreement is rejected it will certainly bring with it a direct confrontation with the Reagan government. And the settlement comes, not coincidentally, at a time when it appears that the coal operators are beginning to feel the strike.

But even in the unions, taken by themselves, the situation is very favorable for organizing wide support for the miners strike and transforming this support into an active organization of a General Strike. Significantly, the Church leadership has done even less of the type of union-wide support work than was organized during the 1978 strike. It is afraid of an explosion and a unified offensive of the unions.

Unity

The basis for a united movement of the working class and the youth to bring down Reagan exists.

What is stopping such a movement from developing is the subordination of the unions and the struggle of the youth to policies of class collaboration and compromise. This is what is responsible for the disorganization present in the leadership of the workers movement in face of the tremendous possibilities which are present.

From class collaboration comes the attacks on workers democracy and the dispersal of the forces which are available for an offensive. The union leadership becomes the transmission belt for the enemy class in the heart of the workers movement. In trying to control the workers and to subordinate them to the policy of the bosses government, the bureaucracy strangles the ability of the union to advance and defend itself.

Thus, the defense of the unions and the unity of the working class become a question of the independent organization of the ranks and the construction of a new leadership. The bureaucracy, its very existence threatened, refuses even to open up the debate in the UMWA over how to confront the Reagan government.

That is why the General Strike meets the needs of the present situation — even if it represents a qualitative jump in the present level of the class struggle. It is the means in action to pass to the plane of political struggle which is necessary even to win the most minimal demands which the miners have put forward.

Ireland and Britain

Why the Socialist United States of Europe?

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is our struggle.

The Lessons of Ireland

Ireland is today the country in Europe in which more than any other the Permanent Revolution — "the reconstruction of the nation under the leadership of the proletariat" — is a reality. It is the country in which, without seeking to exaggerate this, the colonial revolution links up with the European Revolution.

Ireland is a country in which centuries of struggle against foreign rule have yielded rich lessons: the incapacity of the so-called "national" bourgeoisie to actually carry out the tasks of national independence and national unification, the impossibility of coming to terms peacefully with imperialism, the fact that the struggle for national and democratic rights cannot triumph without the socialist revolution.

These lessons are not the concern alone of Irish militants. They are intimately connected with the struggle for the world revolution today, especially with the struggle for the European Revolution.

Because Ireland is not only the country in which the workers and peasants have had a real experience with the (much talked about) "revolutionary Constituent Assembly" — the first *Dail Eireann* ("Assembly of Ireland") in 1919 — it is also the country in which the problems and difficulties of the struggles throughout Europe that began in 1968, the landmark year which represented the opening of the period of *the imminence of the revolution*, have had a particularly rich development.

In 1968-69, as the echoes of the May events in France and the "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia were fading away, as the first rumbles of the "hot autumn" were being felt in Italy, the Irish movement began its new ascent. And if there is any difference between Ireland and any other European country, it is that in Ireland, especially in the North, these struggles have had a virtually uninterrupted character.

The young men who are today active in

the republican movement are in their early and middle twenties. That means that virtually their entire conscious existence, their whole political life, has passed under the impact of this mobilization *coupled with all the experience of the past* as interpreted by the republican movement.

And this is precisely the problem. Because the republican movement, represented by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its "political wing," *Sinn Fein* ("We Ourselves"), as well as by other organizations, is a current which in its origins, its outlook and its policy is not working class but petty bourgeois. It represents the historic struggle of the Irish peasantry, and later of the small farmers and the little men of the cities, against the foreign oppressor, against the whole system of landlord rule and financial domination that it meant.

The whole history of revolution shows that such a movement can exhibit tremendous courage and devotion, that it can even put forward an extremely "radical" program. But it also shows that it cannot exist independently of the two major classes in society. Either this plebeian revolt is led politically by the working class and triumphs (Russia) or it falls, *de facto*, under the influence of the bourgeoisie and fails in its objectives. This second alternative has been, unfortunately, the repeated case in Ireland.

The struggle to win the militants of this movement to the policy and the party of the working class, to the Fourth International, is directly connected to drawing out the lessons of Ireland *in their significance for the working class revolution in Europe, for the world revolution*.

The *Manifesto* of the World Workers Conference, published in the last issue of *Truth*, sets the framework for discussing these lessons.

"No armed group, no active minority, can take the place of the entry into action of the masses without which no revolution is possible," states this *Manifesto*. The

IRA represents precisely such an "armed group." But every high point in the struggle of the Irish masses has occurred when they have taken to action directly, when it has not been a question of the IRA being locked in single combat with the British Army while the masses look on supportively.

The initial mobilizations for "civil rights" in 1968-69, the period of the "no-go" (for the British Army) areas, the period of "free Derry," coincides with such a mass intervention. In the same way, the original winning of political status for republican prisoners was part of an upsurge throughout Ireland that was expressed in the burning of the British Embassy in Dublin and the first general strike in the history of the "Irish Republic" (the South of Ireland).

And it has been the *discouragement* of mass initiatives, in good measure directly attributable to the IRA's policy, that has produced setbacks — the creation of the pro-imperialist "Peace Now Movement" under the cover of which the British instituted "criminalization" of revolutionary struggle.

The key significance of the hunger strikes today is that they have permitted new mass initiatives, both in the North and the South. Meanwhile, the IRA leadership and centrists like Bernadette Devlin try to keep this mass movement confined to the limits of "pressure," in the guise of "disciplined struggle."

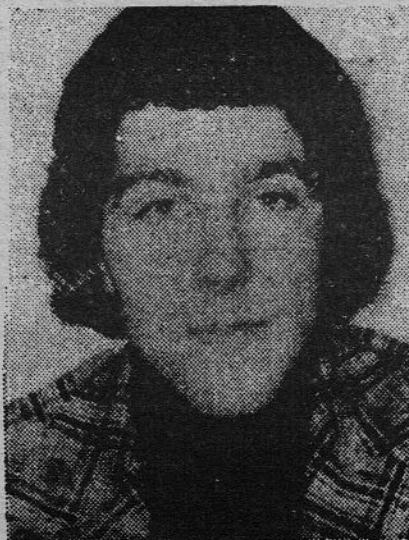
That is why the *Manifesto*, in the framework of the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe, sets the preparation of the General Strike as the key to the involvement of the masses and thus to their revolutionary mobilization. In particular, this road of the General Strike has already been shown in Ireland — in 1912, in 1919, in 1972 — as the form of the mass upsurge at its highest and most successful point.

Fallen Hunger Strikers

Bobby Sands



Frankie Hughes



Patrick O'Hara



Raymond McCreech



What is Coming in Britain

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

*Rise like Lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew,
Which in sleep had fallen on you —
Ye are many — they are few.*

These lines from the great English poet Shelley, written to protest an attack on the English working class that was just being born in his day, are supposed to be often on the lips of Michael Foot, head of the British Labour Party, leader of its "left wing," and the head of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

The words are in ever increasing contradiction to the reality.

As part of the revolutionary upsurge which is shaking the world, the British ruling class, the oldest and most vicious in the world, finds itself in a situation that threatens its rule in a way that has hardly been surpassed in the past.

When Margaret Thatcher was elected Prime Minister on a program of open attacks on all the gains and conquests of the British working class, imperialism in that country felt that it had the initiative and that it could do anything it liked. In other words, not too different from the immediate aftermath of Reagan's election here.

But after three years of Thatcher, the workers, the youth, the blacks and other immigrants, the national minorities (especially the Irish) are in fact on the offensive. The situation in Ireland, the riots in the Brixton section of London, the May 31 rally of 100,000 against Thatcher show the extent of this mobilization.

Today, Thatcher, once hailed as the "Tory (reactionary — *Truth*) solution," is now lovingly referred to by the workers of Britain as "Attila the Hen."

"England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," goes the old saying. We can turn this around and say that the great opportunities existing today in Ireland for the revolution are a direct source of the difficulties of the *English* (for "Britain" is, like "Spain," a name for a centralist state representing the domination of one national capitalist class over not only its own proletariat but also that of other nations) ruling class.

The problems of the class struggle in Britain, the question of Ireland, find their sharpest expression in the developing struggle inside the British Labour Party.

Unlike the workers of the Americas, the workers of Britain and most of the rest of Europe have built mass working class parties. The creation of these parties was a great step forward because it showed that the workers wanted to break from the political domination of the capitalist parties, that they wanted their *class independence*.

But these parties, "Communist," "Socialist" or "Social Democratic," and "Labour," have consistently betrayed these desires of the workers. These parties have become one of the main instruments for confining the working class to the limits of bourgeois rule — elections, "reforms," parliamentary maneuvering, etc.

Because these parties, however, have a mass working class base and depend on

this base for their support, any development in the working class finds a reflection in these parties.

And this has recently been the case with the British Labour Party. Under the pressure of the trade unions, who financially control the Labour Party and who directly feel the growing anger of the workers, the Labour Party has recently adopted a whole series of "left" positions and internal reforms. And the "Labour left," feeling its oats, has moved to demand control of the party. Michael Foot is one leader of the "Labour left," and just plain Tony Benn (whose actual name, Anthony Wedgwood-Benn, reveals his aristocratic origins) is another.

Because of these developments, some groups claiming to be revolutionary, or even "Trotskyist," like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the U.S., have announced that the British Labour Party is "moving to the left."

Such a position hides the real development and is an attempt to conceal the political tasks that face the British workers.

The recent split in the Labour Party, with part of the right wing forming the Social Democratic Party, is proof to these people not of the irreconcilable contradictions tearing at the Labour Party, but of the "leftward-moving" nature of the "Labour left."

But the day after Bobby Sands died, it was Michael Foot who stood up in parliament, not to fight, but to give complete support to Thatcher in her imperialist policy.

And Tony Benn, regarded now as a "real" "left" in contrast to Foot, gave an example of how "left" he is when he recommended that socialists in the United States *stay in the Democratic Party!* (*Intercontinental Press*; November 24, 1980).

The recent sweep of the Labour Party in local elections, the massive and growing size of the trade unions, the fact that only 29% of the British people want to retain sovereignty in Ireland, all demonstrate that the masses are seeking a way out. Telling them that the reformist Labour Party is "moving left" is a conscious attempt to divert that search into a dead end.

The whole history of the British working class, including the miners strike of 1974 that brought down the last Tory government and the steel strike of last year, show that in Britain, as in all other countries, it is through the preparation and organization of the General Strike that a new political level can be attained, including the question of the formation of a revolutionary working class party.

We began this article with lines from one English poet, so let us close it with some more from another. We agree with William Blake when he wrote, in a poem which the British working class has made into one of its songs:
*I shall not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
'Til we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.*

What the International Workers Fund Can Mean

Workers, Youth, Unemployed — We must all work together to build the International Workers Fund, in order to extend the speaking tour of Fainberg and Borisov, militants of the free trade union in the Soviet Union, SMOT (Free Interprofessional Association of Workers), to the United States.

The movement which already exists throughout Eastern Europe is shown through the advance of the Polish workers.

Fainberg and Borisov have traveled to France, Spain and Sweden. The lessons of the Polish workers travel with them. The struggle to unite the unions of the USSR and Eastern Europe to the unions of the U.S. is getting stronger and stronger every day. Now is the time for workers to take the offensive in organizing in their own unions the fight to build the International Workers Fund. The Trotskyist Organization/USA along with International Young Guard/USA take up the fight of the Polish workers, to develop the lessons of the struggle of the free trade unions on an international level. The International Workers Fund is not just a question of money but a question of Workers Democracy. It means making a rupture with the old leadership and forming the new under workers control. The speaking tour of Fainberg and Borisov is bringing together workers on every continent to organize against the attacks of the Stalinist and imperialist regimes. A revolutionary consciousness is taking hold of workers and youth throughout the world. This shows the urgency to build the International Workers Fund to extend the tour of Fainberg and Borisov to the U.S.

The spread of "Solidarity" shows that the struggle of the Polish Revolution is our

struggle. American workers would greatly benefit from the tour of Fainberg and Borisov supported by unions and organizations that support free trade unions.

*Workers of the world, unite!
We are all Polish workers!*

By making a donation to the International Workers Fund, you can show solidarity with the Polish workers. The only condition is the defense of Workers Democracy. The Trotskyist Organization/USA opens the fight of building the International Workers Fund for the extension of the speaking tour of Fainberg and Borisov to all unions and organizations who defend the fight of the free trade unions.

Defend the free trade unions!

The exploitation of the workers and militants in the unions is clearly shown by the extremes of the leadership to disorganize the workers. The revolution will pave the road forward for the development of Workers Democracy.

The opposition to Reagan and his regime grows greater each day. This is the result of workers drawing a political balance sheet of Reagan's attempts to suppress the working class.

Join the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA in the building of the International Workers Fund to bring Fainberg and Borisov here to the U.S. and to utilize the lessons of the Polish Revolution!

Contribute to the International Workers Fund!

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

SUE FROSCHHEISER

Build the International Workers Fund!

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Name _____

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Poland won't be another Czechoslovakia!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

An interview with Jacek Kuron, a leader of "Solidarity," the Polish workers union, has just appeared in the Socialist Workers Party's "international" organ, *Intercontinental Press* (May 25, 1981).

This interview shows the bankruptcy of the current leadership of the revolution and the urgency of building a new one, prepared and determined to lead the working class and its revolution in a confrontation with the Kremlin and its tanks, to make sure Poland won't be another Czechoslovakia.

By "interviewing" Kuron, without comment, the Socialist Workers Party also gives a fuller picture of the meaning of its discovery of the Polish Revolution, which we discussed in the last issue of *Truth*.

Jacek Kuron once considered himself a Marxist. With Karol Modzelewski he wrote the famous "Open Letter" in 1965 which called for the overthrow of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the countries of the socialist conquests and the formation of a new political party to lead this struggle.

Today he no longer considers himself a Marxist, nor does he fight for the political revolution and the formation of a new party.

In his own words: "In 1965 I said that there should be a revolution in the Soviet Union and Poland, or in Poland and every country of the Soviet bloc. Today we are making the revolution in Poland. And in this practical situation I have to keep in mind the existence of the Soviet Union, and this places a limitation on my political program." (emphasis added — MG)

What does this mean concretely for the Polish Revolution? Kuron has absolutely no perspective for the defense and extension of the revolution, for a confrontation with the Kremlin and its tanks.

Kuron's original perspective for dealing with the Kremlin — "the self-limitation of the revolution" — has failed.

He and his associates organized in the Workers Defense Committee/Committee for Social Self Defense (KOR) originally thought that the revolution should "voluntarily limit itself," that it should leave the Polish Stalinist party intact. With its agents intact, the Kremlin wouldn't need to send tanks. On this basis he and his associates supported the Gdansk Accords.

But the revolution has refused to limit itself. The Polish Stalinist party is falling apart and the tanks continue to hover at the border. So Kuron, as his own words show, doesn't know what to do.

Because of the external danger, the revolution has to be self-limited. At the beginning nobody knew whether the self-limitation of the revolution was possible.

Generally speaking, revolutions are not able to limit themselves. However, in my opinion it was within our power. I think perhaps we could have done it. The self-limitation of the revolution might have been possible. But now we don't know the answer to the basic question of how to do that.

This revolution has reached the party and now it is proceeding inside the party. And I don't know yet what should be done in this situation.

The problem is that the revolution is by its very nature international. It goes beyond national boundaries. It can't be limited to one country. Either you fight to defend it and extend it or you fight to suppress it. There is no middle ground.

Josef Stalin was faced with this alternative and chose the latter. He developed the theory of "socialism in one country" (sound like the self-limitation of the revolution?) to justify this.

Kuron's problem is that he doesn't want to fight for the international revolution any more, but he doesn't want to join the Kremlin and Stalinist parties in openly suppressing it either. That's why he says he doesn't know what to do.

He opposes the Polish nationalist party. He's against the formation of a new working class party. The only thing he suggests is "pressure on Western governments."

"... Pressure by peoples on their governments in defense of us is very important. Western governments would be able to stop Soviet intervention by their joint efforts."

But "the Western governments," i.e., the imperialists, are the ones behind the Stalinist attack on the Polish workers. The United States is the one that wants to put Poland, and everybody else for that matter, on rations. They are demanding that the Kremlin carry this out.

Asking the U.S. to defend the Polish Revolution from the Kremlin is like asking the wolf to protect the chickens from the fox.

Such bankruptcy can only disarm the Polish working class. It is an invitation to the Stalinists to invade Poland. The Kremlin knows that the only defense against its tanks is the independent, mass organization of the working class on an international scale, the construction of a leadership which really expresses and advances this revolutionization of the working class.

The Fourth International is building this struggle with a tour of the Soviet free trade unionists, Fainberg and Borisov.

They defend the free unions in Poland, and they obviously can't afford to throw their hands up into the air in face of the Kremlin or pretend that a confrontation with the Kremlin is avoidable, like Kuron.

Building this tour will advance the regroupment of the forces of the revolution on an international scale.

This is the way to assure that Poland won't be another Czechoslovakia.

Guatemala Next

When Reagan and Haig and the rest of that cast of gangsters came to power, they set out to rearm imperialism. And they proposed to do it by "drawing the line" in El Salvador, defeating the revolution there and strangling the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Despite all their plans, the "line" they drew finds the workers and youth of the U.S. more than ever on the other side. The opposition to U.S. intervention, to the rearmament of imperialism, has been a major aid to the revolution in Central America.

Reagan and the U.S. bourgeoisie have had their fingers burnt but their hands haven't been cut off yet. Now they are seeking to pursue the same objectives by different paths.

First, they are trying to stop the revolutionary struggle for power in El Salvador by setting in motion, through the (so-called "Socialist") Second International, through Castro and the supposedly "friendly" governments in the region, a process of "negotiations."

So far, the role of the U.S. in this process has been to refuse to "negotiate," otherwise known as "upping the ante." At the same time, liberals in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have linked participation in such "negotiations" to continued arms aid to the Salvadoran junta.

Not only do the workers and peasants of El Salvador have nothing to "negotiate" with their murderers and slavemasters, any support to these "negotiations" is in fact support to the schemes of imperialism. Any support to these "negotiations" is in fact in complete contradiction to everything our movement in the U.S. has fought for and achieved.

Having had to pull in their horns on El Salvador, Reagan and his circle are now trying again in the neighboring Central American country of Guatemala. And Guatemala, besides the political importance of its part in the revolution in Central America, is the site of recently discovered oil reserves estimated to match those of the Alaskan North Slope.

Early in May, the Reagan regime stated that it would like to resume arms aid to the Guatemalan dictatorship — which rejected it in 1977 in protest of Jimmy Carter's empty "human rights" criticisms. Reagan wants to fight — surprise! surprise! — a "major insurgency."

Central America, in which Guatemala is only the next link in the chain, is the key to the revolution throughout the Americas, including in the United States itself.

We need to do more than set Reagan back. We need to bring him down. We call on every worker, every youth, to take part in the upcoming actions in defense of the revolutions in Central America (June 24-25, July 19). And we call on you to fight for the policy that can involve us in the revolutionary process:

Boycott the dictatorships!

General Strike to bring down Reagan!
K.F.

Navy Deaths

Every once in a while, the corner of the veil that hides the terrorist state is lifted. This is the case with the revelations about the deaths of two sailors at the hands of the U.S. Navy.

Most attention has been paid to the case of Paul Trerice of Algonac, Michigan, who died aboard the *USS Ranger* while confined to its "correctional custody unit" (CCU), which is supposedly designed to deal with minor infractions.

Following Trerice's death, a number of sailors from the *Ranger* and other ships, both ex-convicts and those who merely saw things, have reported brutal beatings and vicious treatment in the CCUs. As a result, on May 18 the Navy closed all the CCUs, "pending an investigation."

The Navy has said Paul Trerice died of "heart failure." That is, after being on bread and water for three days, after being denied breakfast, after being forced to exercise in the Pacific sun, after collapsing and waiting 30 minutes for medical attention, after being handcuffed and "restrained," he died — at age 20 — of "heart failure."

At the same time, the case of Bernal Johnson, a black sailor from Detroit who was found dead by a stream in the Philippines after "escaping" from another CCU, has shown that the case of Trerice and the *Ranger* were not isolated.

What is at stake here? One liberal announced that this showed the need for the draft, because it would "democratize" the Armed Forces.

We say that these incidents show that the military machine of U.S. imperialism, which Reagan is seeking to rearm, is a terrorist state in regard to the oppressed of other countries and to Americans who are caught in this machine. No lies about "democracy"! We have to destroy this terrorist state and the officer corps that does its work in the military!
K.F.

Road to Victory in France

The May 10 victory of Francois Mitterand, head of the French Socialist Party, over Valery Giscard D'Estaing in the run-off "second round" of the presidential elections opens a new stage of the struggle for the revolution in France and in all of Europe.

As soon as the news of Giscard D'Estaing's defeat was out, tens and tens of thousands of workers and youth streamed spontaneously to the Place de la Bastille (with its historic connection to the great French Revolution) to celebrate the defeat of the bourgeois government of Giscard D'Estaing and the end of almost a quarter century of conservative rule.

All over France, motorists joyously honked their horns to the rhythm of "Ce n'est qu'un debut!" — "It's only a beginning!"

That was precisely what the capitalist classes of France and the other imperialist powers were afraid of.

There was gloom and doom* in Washington, Bonn and London. In France itself, the Bourse (stock exchange) went into a frightened decline and the franc's

value began to tumble on world currency exchanges.

The significance of this victory for the French working class is that it opens up the possibility of destroying the Fifth Republic and all its works, of taking off from this "beginning" and carrying it through to a conclusion.

Remember the famous statement of Frederick Engels: "France is the country where more than anywhere else the historical class struggles were each time fought out to the finish."

The French workers and youth felt a victory, the imperialists and their supporters felt a defeat — and all this regardless of the fact that Francois Mitterand is himself a moderate and thoroughly bourgeois professional politician.

The reason is that the Fifth Republic, which was established by Charles De Gaulle's coup d'etat in 1958, a blow that set the French working class back severely, had become the pillar of the existing order in Europe. It was the pillar of collaboration with the Kremlin, the pillar of "anti-terrorism" in Europe, the pillar of

support to imperialist intervention all over the world and a direct source of intervention in Africa.

Meanwhile, in the headquarters of the French Communist Party (PCF) on election night, the Stalinists shouted, "We've won! We've won!" This is known as "whistling in the dark."

Because with the defeat in the elections to the Fifth Republic, the PCF also sustained a defeat to its policy. On orders from the Kremlin it had deliberately split the popular-front "Union of the Left" in order to keep Giscard D'Estaing in power, in order to sustain the Fifth Republic as the pillar of the order that the Kremlin also bases itself on in Europe.

We can see who the defeated are. But the problem is that, in terms of the decisive victory of the French workers and their allies, it is indeed "only a beginning." To stay at the level of Mitterand's election means losing the initiative that has already been taken.

The French section of the Fourth International, the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (LOR/Revolutionary Workers

League) fought for a policy of class independence and initiative throughout the course of the elections. It fought for a single candidate of the organizations claiming to be Trotskyist in France, in order to provide a pole of regroupment for the revolutionary workers and youth. On the "first round" it called for a vote for Alain Krivine, the candidate of one of these organizations. And it called for a vote for Mitterand on the decisive "second round." The LOR centered all this, however, on the preparation of the General Strike as the only way to truly destroy the Fifth Republic.

Now more than ever, this is the road to victory. *No confidence in Mitterand!* In the legislative elections in June, run working class candidates and elect a working class majority. Organize factory councils to control production and centralize them throughout the country. *Prepare the General Strike!*

TRUTH

Union elections . . .

"Will you organize working class action like the Polish workers?"

By FRED VITALE

In May and June, elections have been and will be held in virtually every major union in the U.S. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) held district elections while on strike; the United Steel Workers of America (USW) held district and presidential elections May 28th; the Teamsters Union, the largest single union in the U.S., is having its convention the week of June 1 and will be electing a president; the UAW is holding elections of local officers during May and June.

These elections are important because the unions are the only mass organizations of the working class, key organizations for organizing the General Strike to bring down Reagan, the first stage of the workers revolution in the U.S. Particularly today, there is a movement in the unions against concessions, against the "Chrysler syndrome" (companies demand cuts in wages, benefits, and close plants for their "survival" while the union leaderships agree to it), a movement which looks more and more to the Polish workers — their struggle, their union "Solidarity," their revolution.

This movement will confront not only the Reagan regime, the source of all these attacks, but the leadership of the unions today, the agents for the imperialists in the unions.

These elections pose very sharply the need for a new working class leadership for the revolution, a new leadership for the unions to stop the concessions. For in all

these elections there is not one candidate committed to the workers revolution or to the General Strike.

The central issues in all of these elections are the same: 1) no more concessions — massive strike action to stop them and advance the workers interests; 2) the workers need to win back their unions, to oust the present leaders to win their demands.

Because of the increasing demand for strike action to stop concessions, the goal that can centralize all these actions, the General Strike to Bring Down Reagan, is also the issue in these elections.

The General Strike can be prepared in these elections by a struggle for all candidates to take a stand on one simple question: "Will you organize working class action like the Polish workers?"

Already the results indicate the powerful movement in the unions and the need for a new working class leadership for the revolution.

The miners went on strike two months ago after rejecting by a two to one margin the contract originally accepted by the union's five-man negotiating team. The members of this team, all members of the International Executive Board, are in deep trouble in district elections. Walter Suba, of District 14 (southern Pennsylvania) was thrown out by miners in early May because he was a member of this team. Still other elections are pending.

Elections were held for major district offices and president of the USW on May 28th. For the past several years, the steel-

workers have suffered under a guaranteed no-strike contract called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). The steelworkers have been hit during that time with catastrophic layoffs and plant closings with the number of steelworkers now down to the 1933 level! A strong movement against this "restructuring" exists in the USW.

A group of reform candidates, all former supporters of the Ed Sadlowski "Fight Back" campaign for president of the USW, is running for district offices. Their platform consists of rejecting the ENA and for the right to vote on the contract.

The Teamsters Union, while being hit with the same "Chrysler syndrome" as all workers are, is especially a target of indictments and arrests by the Federal government for the sole purpose of controlling this powerful union.

As well, the Teamsters are subject to the most dictatorial regime among the major unions. Militants opposed to the gangster leadership have been systematically beaten at conventions, and the rules for delegate elections virtually insure that only the machine will win.

The Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) is running Pete Camarata for president of the Teamsters against Roy L. Williams. The platform of the TDU is for a more democratic union. They do continually call in the government against the gangsters that run the Teamsters Union.

In all unions a combat is necessary

against the gangsters that run the unions based on a *mobilization of the ranks* — on strikes and strike committees, workers assemblies to elect their representatives, demonstrations — that is, workers democracy like the Polish workers. All reform groups must take a stand: "Will you organize action like the Polish workers to stop concessions?" If they say "yes," and if their actions match their words, they deserve the workers' support.

Most critically, elections are taking place in the UAW. Elections have been held at the large (5,500 workers voting) Ford Brook Park plant Local 1250, Chrysler Twinsburg Assembly (3,800) Local 122 and GM's Chevrolet plant in Parma, Ohio, Local 1005. In all of these elections, virtually all the incumbents were voted out of office, in a direct rejection of the policy of concessions that the UAW leadership has pursued (see last issue of *Truth*).

But the movement for a UAW Special Convention, a movement to win back the unions, a movement for the entire UAW membership to build the new working class leadership of the union, *this movement is not being expressed in these elections*. This is the task immediately in front of the autoworkers in these elections. To utilize these elections, not simply to reject the policies of concessions but to build the only alternative — a Special Convention to prepare working class action like the Polish workers.

TRUTH

National CARD Steering Committee

We Must Defend Our Movement!

An Appeal from the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA

To all the militants and local organizations of CARD, to all political organizations and individuals active in the movement against the draft and U.S. intervention: the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA make an appeal at a decisive moment in the existence of our movement.

The May 3 demonstrations showed the immense power and scope of our movement. They showed even more the future potential of a struggle against American imperialism.

But even those demonstrations were impeded by the fact of a total confusion over the dropping of the original date of May 9, set by the National CARD Conference of February 1981, composed of 1,200 militants.

The date of May 9 was dropped and the May 3 date, that of the "People's Anti-War Mobilization," adopted in a completely undemocratic and backroom manner.

The National CARD Conference elected a Steering Committee, composed of representatives of every organization supporting the Conference. But this Steering Committee never met, never made any open and responsible decision on May 9. It remained a dead letter.

That is, a question which caused great concern and confusion among militants was decided by persons responsible to no one.

Such a procedure is in complete contradiction to the nature of our movement, which seeks to involve the broadest layers of the population in active political struggle.

And this was no fluke or mistake, either.

As we said, the May 3 demonstrations showed the immense potential of this movement. This frightens those whose perspective for the movement is for it to be confined to the limits of traditional "pressure politics," those who are opposed to its taking a revolutionary direction.

Such a perspective is likewise in complete contradiction with the nature of our movement.

These two contradictions are the same. Those who have the most interest in confining our movement politically also have the most interest in confusing it organizationally.

That is why May 3 has brought things to a head.

The distinction that CARD had, what set it apart from other organizations, was that it represented an organization in which there was a certain framework of democracy, an ability to argue out positions and reach decisions openly.



Part of the massive turnout at May 3 demonstration.

The National CARD Conference existed in this framework. It was not a triumph of democracy in the abstract — in fact, the chief problem at it was the domination by the same forces who are today operating behind the back of the

movement — but it did represent an open debate, with a certain consensus arrived at.

To arbitrarily violate these decisions means striking a blow at the very nature of CARD itself, at all its gains.

Platform for Common Struggle

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

Today, after May 3, it is clearer than ever that the movement must belong to its fighters, that they must determine its course.

But the forces who arbitrarily called off May 9, the forces who did virtually nothing to build May 3, have now gone even farther.

If the previous violations of the nature of CARD, of its advance, were bad enough, today this is insufficient. CARD still exists, its militants feel that it is *theirs*, there is the common knowledge of the existence of certain decisions and a certain democratic framework. But today, in order to keep the movement under control, the one organization in it with this experience must be disorganized in order to disorganize the movement.

Those who constitute this undemocratic leadership, those who on their own called off May 9 — a virtual clique in our movement — have called (on whose authority?) a "National Steering Committee" to be held in Washington, DC, on June 19-20 (although this, too, is hard to verify) which in fact is no steering committee at all. It has nothing to do with the body voted for by 1,200 militants.

Instead, these unknown persons have decreed a whole series of rules for attendance, which in Detroit they will only announce and not even produce a copy of (see point 1 in platform).

These restrictions of representation to the "old hands," say to the youth who have come into the movement and helped to make it a movement, who made May 3 a success, who helped keep Reagan from intervening in El Salvador — you are not wanted. The movement is the private property of this clique.

What flows from this? We feel that what is at stake is the survival, in any real sense, of CARD. Either it will be written off, literally or in practice, or it will be "restructured" in such a way as to achieve the same result.

This outcome must be prevented. Our movement must be defended. It must, in fact, go forward and defend its active and democratic character, its nature as an open mobilization.

We propose a fight for the solution to this problem — an Emergency Conference of CARD! We offer a joint struggle with any organization, militant or tendency around the three points contained in our platform which appears with this appeal.

The movement needs a perspective to match what it has already done. We have an opportunity to provide this and we must seize it.