

We Are All Polish Workers!



Leaflet reads: "All Power to the Central Strike Committee."

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The Stalinist rulers of Poland, at the instigation of their Kremlin bosses, have struck at the political revolution in Poland!

The imposition of martial law is a counterrevolutionary blow against not only the workers of Poland, but against all the workers of the world.

This newspaper, and the party it represents, the Fourth International and its American section, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, are unreservedly and unhesitatingly on the side of the Polish workers.

If you feel the same way, read on. If not, don't bother continuing.

The military dictatorship in Poland has shown in the sharpest light the truth about the Polish Revolution. It has shown its friends and its enemies. It has shown the course that it has to follow.

Ever since the Polish Revolution began, in the strikes of the summer of 1980, the Stalinists and the imperialists and their mutual supporters have tried to pretend that the struggle of the Polish workers was against socialism, for bourgeois democracy.

But when the crunch came, we saw the true relationship of forces. All the bourgeois press, all the capitalist rulers, spread lies that paralleled those of the Kremlin. "Solidarnosc provoked the government," they all cried. The Associated Press said: "Solidarity's call for a referendum on the Communist system was probably the last straw for Polish authorities, prompting them to declare martial law and crack down on the independent union."

The reactionary *Detroit News* chimed in: "Solidarity's brashness prompts crackdown."

Secondly, all the imperialist sources backed up the Stalinist government in another way. It was, don't you see, strictly an affair of the Polish people, not the Kremlin. Secretary of State Haig announced that the U.S. was for the situation being settled "without any outside interference." This paralleled his remarks about the attempted coup in Spain earlier this year — that was "an internal affair"; therefore, go ahead without fear of trouble from Washington.

Similarly, *The Christian Science Monitor* stated: "Moscow's low profile is reassuring . . . the Soviet

Union does not want to intervene."

And the Stalinists knew their allies, as well. An official broadcast asserted that the Western banks (supposedly on the side of the "counterrevolutionary" workers) would greet the new "stability" in the country and back this up with more loans.

Thirdly, flowing from these two positions, all the forces of the old order preached prostration by the Polish workers. Their initial line was that there was no resistance. Then, in face of the unavoidable reality that there was, they modified their position. As usual, the Pope (who in the disinformation of the Stalinists and their agents figures as the chief supporter of "Solidarity's counterrevolution") took the lead.

After the regime had imposed force and violence on the working class, his Holiness announces: "Polish blood must not be spilled." That is, don't fight back. And that has been the line of the Polish Church as well.

Now the bourgeois press is announcing that the resistance is going to force the Kremlin to intervene. Once again, *The Christian Science Monitor*: "If the situation next-door does not improve, Soviet leaders may have a much harder time dodging or deferring the question of direct intervention."

It is now clear that, despite the great difficulty in finding out the facts about the situation inside Poland, there is a growing and massive resistance.

That means that Jaruzelski has failed in his first attempt to snuff out Solidarnosc. That means that from now on, in their own pace and at their own rhythm, the masses will once again enter into motion. The revolution is deepening and new and even greater clashes are on the agenda.

All the apostles of defeat, all the doomsayers, have already been proved wrong. The defense of the Polish Revolution henceforth means not sympathy, but an active struggle against its enemies.

Order does not reign in Warsaw, nor in Gdansk, nor in Katowice. As the great Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg wrote: "The revolution will 'raise itself up clashing,' and to your horror, it will proclaim to the sound of trumpets: *I was, I am, I shall be.*"

TRUTH

Chronology of a Frame-Up

On October 20, 1981, in Nyack, New York, a Brink's truck was held up, one of its guards being killed then, followed by the deaths of two local cops.

This incident has served as pretext for a massive frame-up of militants associated with, or alleged to be associated with, a number of small and isolated organizations, in particular, the so-called "Weather Underground" (the "Weathermen").

In addition, these accusations have served as a point of departure for a witch-hunt of the revolutionary movement.

We want to make one thing clear again. *If such an action was taken against the imperialist state, as a means to raise funds, for example, it would be no "crime." While disagreeing with such methods, we would nonetheless defend these militants from the terrorist state of U.S. imperialism.*

However, the least likely possibility is that the government's accusations are true: that the "Weathermen" had combined with other alleged "terrorist" organizations — the "Black Liberation Army" (BLA), the Puerto Rican FALN, the Republic of New Africa (RNA) — to carry out armed expropriations, and that the cops had accidentally uncovered this "conspiracy" in the course of a criminal investigation.

If we examine the events of the period since Reagan came to power, we can see that the Nyack incident appears as a climax to policies aimed at the rights and freedoms of the working class, the youth and the oppressed.

Course of Events

"An Injury to One . . ."

A vehicle carrying money is robbed. Its guards are killed. Two extreme radicals, members of an unpopular and isolated tendency, opponents of a recent imperialist war, are seized by the cops and charged with murder and robbery. The attack is part of a broader offensive against revolutionary and workers organizations.

Kathy Boudin and Judith Clark?

No, Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti!

Sacco and Vanzetti, the Haymarket Martyrs, Joe Hill, the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, the Mollie Maguires, the Black Panthers — over and over the American ruling class has framed-up, persecuted and killed its revolutionary opponents by charging them with "murder," "crime" and "terrorism."

It was against such practices that the Knights of Labor put forward their great slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

In these struggles a great split has always occurred within the workers movement. There are those who see the main question and fight the state, subordinating their political differences with the accused militants.

And then there are those who seek "respectability," who try to disassociate themselves from the "disreputable" and "criminal" elements.

Let's examine a victory and a defeat.

On December 30, 1905, former-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho was killed by a bomb. William ("Big Bill") Haywood, Charles H. Moyer and George Pettibone, current and former leaders of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), a radical union that had had its strikes attacked by Steunenberg, were charged with the crime through the perjured testimony of the actual killer, Harry Orchard.

The men were actually kidnapped into Idaho to stand trial. The American Federation of Labor (AFL), led by their bitter political enemy, Samuel Gompers —

As soon as Haig became Secretary of State with Reagan's platform of imperialist rearmament as his guide, he announced that the real struggle was against "Soviet and Cuban sponsored terrorism." On this basis, the attacks on the revolution in El Salvador began.

But foreign policy has to be matched by domestic policy. The hunt for "terrorism," that is, organizing the counterrevolution, had to take place inside the U.S. as well.

By March 9, 1981, an "interagency working group" proposed that U.S. "intelligence" (secret police) groups once



Kathy Boudin

again be allowed to "gather information on Americans in this country and abroad, using such techniques as searches, physical surveillance and the infiltration of domestic organizations."

Lo and behold, a threat developed to

prove the need for such measures. On April 16, two cops were shot in New York City. By whom? Why, by two alleged members of the "Black Liberation Army" (whose very existence many leftists doubt) — and which the cops themselves say "came to an end in the early 1970's."

Just coincidentally, this sign of the "terrorist menace" appeared on the eve of the April 24 first session of the new (Reaganite) Senate "Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism."

At the same time, Reagan pardoned two former important members of the FBI, W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller, who had been convicted of authorizing illegal break-ins. As Felt himself announced: "This is going to be the biggest shot in the arm for the intelligence community in a long time."

And would you like to know who these "black-bag jobs" were aimed at? Why, at the "Weather Underground."

Then the preparations go underground.

But on August 24, seventeen black Muslims (members of the New World of Islam) were indicted in Newark, New Jersey, on Federal "racketeering" charges ("criminal conspiracy" under U.S. "Organized Crime" statutes).

In mid-October, well-known attorney Leonard Boudin (father of one of the "Weathermen", Kathy Boudin) files a "friend of the court" brief in support of the suit by the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against government spying on it. At the same time, the SWP publicizes, for the first time, its call for the abolition of the anti-internationalist Voorhis Act.

For three weeks prior to October 19,

Jeff Jones and Eleanor Raskin, former "Weathermen," are negotiating a plea-bargaining agreement in Hoboken, New Jersey, on explosives charges against them.

On October 20, the Nyack incident takes place. Kathy Boudin (a single mother), Judith Clark (a pregnant woman) and David Gilbert (all former "Weathermen") are seized. The FBI announces Clark is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. On October 23, Jones and Raskin are grabbed in New York City. On October 27, a massive raid arrests Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston) in Mississippi at an RNA farm.

Charges against Ali have to be dropped (see *Truth* #141), but she is now in jail for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury, which is looking into violations of — "racketeering" statutes, that is, a "criminal conspiracy" by "terrorists."

In the meanwhile, a whole wave of propaganda (which we hope to examine later in detail) is unleashed, even including sappy Patty Hearst's sob story about the "terrorist" Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA).

On December 5, by the way, the CIA was authorized to once again spy on domestic groups. At the same time, the mythical Libyan "hit squad" was invented.

We think the pattern is clear. There is indeed a criminal conspiracy of terrorists — the U.S. ruling class and its agents!

Stop the Witch-hunt!

Free All the Arrested Militants!

Down With the Terrorist State!

K.F.

Haywood and the WFM were supporters of the newly-formed anti-AFL Industrial Workers of the World — did nothing to help.

But the IWW and the Socialist Party swung into action. Eugene Debs led the movement, issuing his great call: "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" Mass demonstrations were held all over the country. In Boston, 50,000 workers marched, chanting: "If Moyer and Haywood die, if Moyer and Haywood die, twenty million workingmen will know the reason why!"

A great defense campaign was mounted, Clarence Darrow was obtained as counsel, and Haywood and Pettibone were both found not guilty. Moyer was never even tried.

But the Haymarket Martyrs, fighters for the eight-hour day (the origin of May Day), accused in 1886 of having thrown a bomb that killed police in Chicago, were not so fortunate. As anarchists who had broken from the opportunist socialist movement, they found every man's hand against them. Terence Powderly, leader of the Knights of Labor, in conflict with most of his own organization whose ruin he was bringing about, was typical.

Rather than a vote of support, said Powderly, he owed the anarchists "a debt of hatred."

Four of these fighters were hanged, one cheated the gallows through suicide, and

the other three were pardoned six years later.

So those are the alternatives. Solidarity with the accused and victory, or betrayal and defeat.

Among those arrested or indicted in the alleged Brink's truck robbery in Nyack,



Joe Hill

New York, are three members of the supposed "Weather Underground" — Kathy Boudin, Judith Clark and the less well known David Gilbert.

A number of organizations have spoken in support of the black militants charged or jailed in connection with the frame-up, but

virtually no one will defend the "Weathermen." Further, while other groups go unmentioned, the "Weathermen" are the target of vicious attacks, especially in the liberal and radical press.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) claims to be Trotskyist. It likewise claims to represent the best traditions of the American working class. But where does it stand in this case?

In its first response to the attacks, the SWP denounced the Weathermen at length. Now it is suing the government for daring to state that it had any connection with Judith Clark. We insist: it is not challenging the terrorist state on its attempt to expand the framework, it is trying to get out of the line of danger! It has not uttered one word in defense of these militants!

But the "Weathermen" are the glue that holds this frame-up together. Refusal to defend them imperils all the accused; and the accused, let us be clear, are facing the death penalty! The SWP is dependent, for its suits and "political rights" activity, on this same liberal and radical public opinion that is so eagerly condemning the "Weathermen."

Now is the time to return not only to Lenin, but to the tradition of Debs, Cannon and the Knights of Labor. Otherwise, there will indeed be "a debt of hatred." K.F.

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The Battle in Auto Begins Right Now!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The bureaucratic leadership of the UAW has taken the latest and greatest step in its campaign to sell the autoworkers down the river.

Betrayal

On December 9, the UAW announced that its top leadership body, the International Executive Board (IEB), had voted to "allow" its Councils (of lower-ranking bureaucrats) in each corporation to reopen the UAW's contract with that corporation.

In other words, in the midst of the greatest wave of demands for "concessions," "give-backs," and just plain "take-backs" ever unleashed against the autoworkers, UAW president Douglas Fraser and the "administration caucus" have given the green light for capitulation to these demands.

"It's their decision," said Fraser, "... there is no bar against them doing it if they wish. That goes for the GM and Ford Councils, that goes for any Council in the industry."

Responded the labor relations director at GM: "This is certainly welcome news." And the chief bargainer from Ford chimed in: "We applaud this step."

The IEB took this popular (with the class enemy) decision in spite of the fact that only last March the GM and Ford Councils voted *against* contract reopenings. Or so they were presented. But, as the Trotskyist Organization/USA said then: "The UAW bureaucracy passed resolutions which lay the framework for more concessions" (*Truth* #122).

Now Fraser says, "Times have changed. The situation in the industry is distressful." What he means is that *now* is the time to move from preparation for betrayal to active implementation of it.

And the bureaucracy is wasting no time. The GM and Ford Councils will meet on January 8 in Chicago. The bargaining committees, which actually are responsible for negotiations, have already met or are meeting. The proposal from AMC for a 10% cut to be paid into the corporation is now being "re-evaluated." The point of departure for attacking the workers at Ford and GM, for spreading the "Chrysler syndrome" through the union, will be "concessions" at AMC and at International Harvester.

And, perhaps most significant of all, the bureaucrats want to postpone the UAW Convention for next summer, explicitly to make sure that Fraser and gang remain in power and have a free hand.

What are the "concessions" the corporations want? Work rules, where they have already made some gains, govern the pace of exploitation on the shop floor. The auto barons want to end the Annual Improvement Factor, an automatic base increase in wages of 3% a year. They want to get rid of, or sharply limit, cost-of-living increases (COLA). They want to cut holidays and overtime restrictions. They want a long-term contract.

In plain English, they want to throw the autoworkers back into the past.

Against this, the UAW bureaucrats are talking about "profit sharing" — what profits, when the capitalists control the books?! — and "job security."

Job security? In the last two contracts the bureaucrats promised job security, not through workers control, not through the sliding scale of hours (30 for 40), but through the same overtime rules and Paid Personal Holidays that they are now "conceding" to the corporations!

Fate of the Unions

All these facts, together with the situation of a *quarter of a million* autoworkers on layoff, raise a basic question: What is a union?

Seriously, what is it? Is it a big headquarters, filled with flunkies on fat salaries, is it a dues-collecting machine? Or is it an organization whose goal is to protect its members' interests from the class enemy, to increase their standard of living, to make gains for the workers?

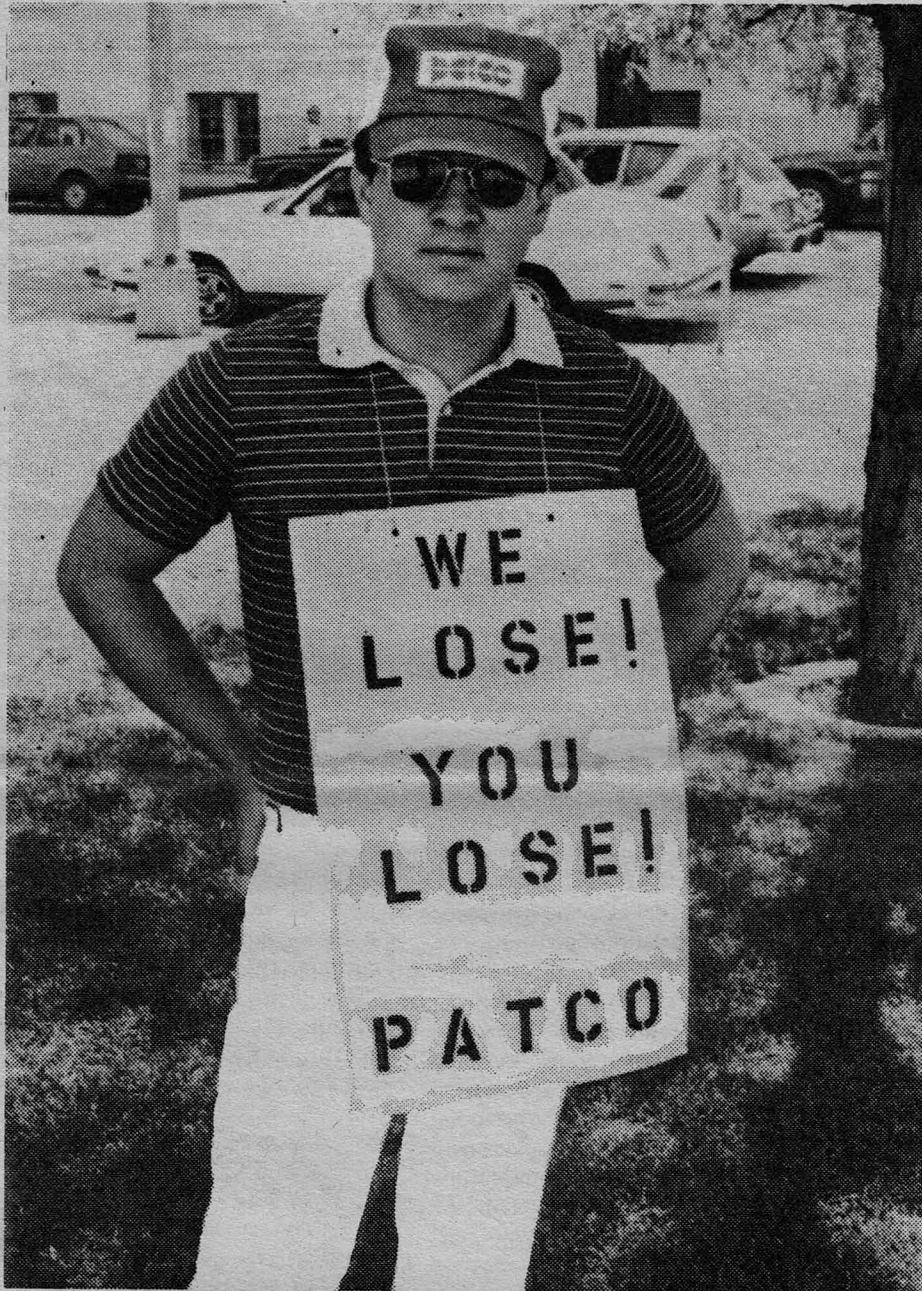
We think it has to be the second. But if Fraser and his gang succeed, the union in this sense will cease to exist. That is what we mean when we say the fate of the unions is at stake. The corporations, the capitalists, are out to destroy the unions as

sort of labor management, who hits the nail on the head:

What could the union leadership say? Could it issue a call for militant unionism? Could it say that "this is an adversary relationship," that "we must preserve our union even if some of us get hurt?" No.

The fact of the matter is, given certain actions, or the lack of them, this action was inevitable. The chickens have come home to roost.

These class-collaborationist chickens, the idea of a "civilized relationship" be-



A severe warning from PATCO. One that we must heed.

workers organizations. After that, the apparatus will be only a hollow shell, easily swept aside.

In the December 12, 1981, *New York Times*, the well-known labor reporter William Serrin cites an anonymous profes-

sor between the company and the union, the idea of "mutual interest" of employers and employed, need to have their necks wrung.

There is indeed an "adversary relationship" between bosses and workers, and it

The Rouge is the Key

We are on the eve of great battles in auto. We have to know the terrain on which these battles will be fought. It is already clear that Ford is in the lead of those demanding concessions. And that means that its River Rouge complex is going to be a decisive arena of these battles.

The Rouge remains one of the largest factories in the country, it is still the largest in auto. Thirty thousand workers, with years of struggle and experiences behind them, constitute a stronghold of the working class.

Local 600 of the UAW is the largest local in the union. So, for both the company and the bureaucrats, what happens at the Rouge is critically important.

The core of the fight must be: "No Concessions!" "General Strike!"

This policy cannot and will not be carried out by the bureaucrats, by the offi-

cial leaders of the unions. Despite all the talk about a one-day work stoppage in his own program, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi is already ready to "sit down and talk."

The General Strike has to be prepared. It can be built by a number of means. Sitdown strikes and factory occupations are now on the agenda. Workers have to organize themselves into *independent* fighting bodies — strike committees, factory committees, etc. — to carry out such tasks. The official union framework cannot stand such activities. Either the bureaucrats or the workers must give way.

At the Rouge, there are a number of opposition groups in the union. Many of these, ranging from the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (which is led politically by supporters of the Revolutionary Workers League) to groups farther

to the right, are calling for an Emergency Meeting of Local 600.

We are for such a meeting. But one thing must be clear. This meeting, if it is to mean anything, has to be a meeting that organizes the General Strike!

General Strike

Our greatest weapon in this war is — as the Polish workers have shown — the General Strike. In this way, the workers can paralyze their enemies and, at the same time, begin to organize their own rule.

If we want to defend the UAW, if we want to defend the gains the workers have made, if we want to spread the struggle out from auto to the whole working class, then the General Strike is the weapon we need.

But who will organize it? Various bureaucrats, including even Douglas Fraser, have called for it, or something that sounds like it. A number of radical publications have discovered an interview given by AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland that sheds light on this question.

In regard to the defense of the PATCO strikers, says Kirkland, "I have never gotten so much mail on an issue in my life... about 90% are pro-controllers and about 50% of those denounce me for not calling a general strike."

But Kirkland — and Fraser and the rest — have no intention of doing this.

Kirkland says that it would take a "matter of the gravest national concern" — a coup, an invasion or the rescinding of the Bill of Rights — to "bring me to the point of undertaking to organize a general strike."

What a fraud! Kirkland thinks such things will never happen, and so he will never be "brought to such a point." And, as the martial law situation in Poland shows, it is incredibly difficult to organize the General Strike *after* an attack. The General Strike has to be prepared and organized, not as a measure of defense but as a way to take the offensive.

The failure to take any steps to defend PATCO has laid the groundwork for the attacks on the UAW. Now the decisive battles are in auto, and the fate of PATCO and all the unions depends on these battles.

In the last issue of *Truth* we said that no one was going to wait for next summer and fall for "negotiations." The enemy has already joined battle. Now we have to carry the war to them.

No later than January, things will come to a head in auto. In the great clashes that are coming, the orders of the day must be: "No Concessions!" "General Strike!"

to the right, are calling for an Emergency Meeting of Local 600.

We are for such a meeting. But one thing must be clear. This meeting, if it is to mean anything, has to be a meeting that organizes the General Strike!

A meeting, like *many* that have happened at the Rouge in the past (Engine Plant, Stamping), that consists only of discussion (that is, letting off steam), that leaves the bureaucrats in control, will be of no use at all.

The key thing is the independent organization of the workers. If this meeting is built in this way, so that it becomes, at least in embryo, a workers council, that is all to the good. If not, it will have to be bypassed and other means found. There is no time to waste; we must begin now.

K.F.

The Revolutionary Youth International:

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

From Essen to Berlin

The struggle to found the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) was the culmination of all the efforts by the Fourth International to organize the massive upsurge of the working class in 1968 under the banner of the socialist revolution. No one can deny today that it was the youth in 1968, whom we call the "generation of 1968," who were in the front lines of the battle against imperialism and Stalinism. And it was these youth, deprived of any continuity to the lessons of the international workers movement, who sparked the great battles of the working class in 1968 — the general strike in France that led to the fall of the De Gaulle and the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia.

These youth, from diverse political tendencies and backgrounds, changed the face of history. Disgusted with the so-called "Communist Parties," they didn't stop to educate themselves, but entered into battle to overturn the old order.

But history has shown before that the workers and youth cannot, in the fire of events, relearn and re-experience all the lessons of the international workers movement. The irony of the situation was this: despising the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist parties and their conservative and reactionary policies, the youth were, however, blocked from finding their link to the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism by the very hatred they had for Stalinism.

This is where the story of the Revolutionary Youth International begins. From the conviction of the Fourth International to carry out the letter of the lines written in the *Transitional Program*, "Open the road to the youth!"

This was the task which faced the International Committee (which maintained the continuity of the Fourth International) in Essen, Germany, where on July 3, 1971, 5,000 youth gathered at the call of the International Committee to found the Revolutionary Youth International. This rally gathered together youth from all over the world, including the United States. Represented there were also youth of Czechoslovakia and Poland who had fought in 1968 and 1970.

But the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International was not to take place at Essen. Instead, tendencies within the Fourth International itself would undo the work and struggle that led to the Essen rally. Instead the Revolutionary Youth International and its foundation would be postponed, at a moment when this task was more urgent than ever.

An amendment, presented by the British Young Socialists, but prepared in reality by the British Socialist Labor League (now called the Workers Revolutionary Party), would precipitate a split at Essen and leave its work unfinished. The amendment proposed that: "Everywhere the revolutionary youth devote itself to, above all, the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms that it takes in the workers movement . . ." and further proposed that the youth dedicate themselves to the study of dialectical materialism.

But this was not the kind of school for the youth that Trotsky had spoke of, one in which the youth fight at the side of the

Fourth International, but by their own means and methods. Instead, the amendment proposed that the RYI be a school, period. One of passive education subordinated to the political line of the party — a school with which the youth are today all too familiar.

"It seems to me that the youth is guided a bit too firmly," Trotsky said. "that they do not feel their independence and their right not only to obey, but to make their own errors . . ."

This amendment and the conception of the party and youth organization behind it were not fought openly and defeated at Essen. Instead an agreement was made between the British SLL and the Fourth Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI), to postpone the foundation of the RYI. And, worse yet, it was an agreement made over the heads of the youth without an open struggle.

Two conclusions could be drawn from Essen. One might be that the Fourth International was wrong to have built the Essen rally, that it was impossible for the youth to arrive at correct conclusions by their own means and methods.

This conclusion is drawn today, not openly but inescapably still drawn by those, who by the time of Essen, had long since given up the struggle to build the Fourth International among the new generation of the youth. The story of the Revolutionary Youth International is also the story of the fight to maintain and develop the Fourth International as an international center against Stalinism.

The Essen rally represented more than just a nice gathering of youth from around the world. The youth who came to Essen represented a current that had not hesitated to enter into struggle against imperialism and Stalinism, and a current among the youth that was also disgusted with the pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat."

The organizations of the "United Secretariat" were not the builders of Essen, they never fought to build the Revolutionary Youth International. Not because they had already surmounted the obstacles which left the struggle of the youth aside from that of Trotskyism, but because they had already given up the struggle for Trotskyism and Bolshevism.

At the time of Essen, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a supporter of the "United Secretariat," maintained the theory of the "new radicalization," which stated that the student movement and the schools would be the only repository of revolution for a long time to come — the working class was too backward.

On the face of it the theory was bad enough, a complete rejection of Marxism and of the working class as the motive force of the revolution. But it also supported the accommodation by the "United Secretariat" to Stalinism and the bureaucratic leaderships of the unions, leaving the students to the universities and schools and leaving the Stalinists and bureaucrats to their dirty work in the workers movement.

But the slogan Revolutionary Youth International did not die at Essen. Nor did the Fourth International die, either in 1963



Scene from the Essen Rally of the Youth, 1971.

when the SWP split from the International Committee to reach an accommodation with a pro-Stalinist tendency called Pabloism, nor in 1971 when the British SLL split from the Fourth International after blocking the foundation of the RYI in Essen, nor in 1972 when the French OCI abandoned the fight to rebuild the Fourth International and to found the Revolutionary Youth International.

A tendency arose to continue the work of Essen, to build the Revolutionary Youth International as the basis for the rebuilding of the Fourth International. This tendency was the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International.

The International League drew the second conclusion: Essen was a tremendous gain for the revolution and the building of the Fourth International, that the work of founding the Revolutionary Youth International had to be maintained in order to rebuild the Fourth International as an international center against Stalinism. And that the youth, who had thrown themselves into the battle against imperialism and Stalinism, were the basis upon which that rebuilding could take place.

In December 1975, the Revolutionary Youth International was founded in Berlin, Germany. It was founded, not with the thousands who were present at Essen, but with hundreds. Many of the generation of 1968 had already been lost.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International took place in 1976 on the basis of the Berlin rally. Despite the damage already done, by those who had abandoned the struggle to win the youth to the socialist revolution, who abandoned in fact the Fourth International, the task of building an International of the youth could not be postponed any longer, for this would have meant an even greater loss.

The Struggle Continues

International Young Guard/USA (IYG/USA) continues the struggle begun in Berlin with the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International. With the rest of its comrades in the RYI it greeted the turn in the class struggle, the fall of Somoza and of the Shah of Iran, and the beginning of the Polish Revolution, with the slogan *Organize the Revolution!* International Young Guard/USA has proved by its struggle that this is the task assigned to the youth, not to be subordinated to the old order and its man-

Once again two conclusions could be drawn. It is true, the "United Secretariat" had nothing to do with the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International; the British SLL (by then the WRP) and the French OCI, once leading organizations of the Fourth International, were not there either. We know what their conclusions are.

Fortunately, we in the Fourth International, and the youth who founded the RYI did not listen to them.

Once again, in the '80's the revolution is on the rise. Once again the youth are in the forefront of all the battles. And once again, the Fourth International must find the road to the massive upsurge of the youth, disgusted by the Stalinist so-called "Communist" parties and all those who live in their shadow.

Only today, the Fourth International exists and fights. The Revolutionary Youth International is growing and gaining new circles of youth from the countries of Eastern Europe to Africa and Latin America. It is organizing the revolution at the moment when all the other organizations of the youth are in crisis and breaking up. The struggle of the youth will not be confined to support work for the Stalinists and bureaucrats, the struggle of the youth will not be dissipated by their fearful "parent" parties, the struggle of the youth will not be confined to the schools — the youth will fight in the front lines as they already have in Poland and in El Salvador, the youth will be the spark and spirit of the entire working class, and the youth will do it by their own means and methods, in the Revolutionary Youth International, at the side of the Fourth International.

Join our fight!

From Berlin to the World Army of the Socialist Revolution!

ifestations in the movement — opportunism, bureaucratism, and hesitation — but to lead the working class toward the revolution.

A new generation of the youth is turning the old leaderships, with their feet planted in the past period of peaceful coexistence, upside down. International Young Guard/USA greets with confidence and enthusiasm the new period of rebellion and the new generation which is being formed in political struggle. And it calls this new generation to

From Essen to Berlin to Its Fight Today

LES SOCIALISTES D'EUROPE
 EN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN EUROPAS
 ED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE
 OS SOCIALISTAS DE EUROPA
 СКИЕ СОЕДИНЕННЫЕ ШТАТЫ ЕВРОПЫ



prepare with us the next objective — *The International Rally of the Youth for the Return to Lenin, for the Socialist United States of Europe!*

Now in a new period of the upsurge of the class struggle it is time to rally together again, in the same manner as at Essen, the thousands of youth who are opposed to the old order of imperialism and Stalinism.

We know our enemies and we know our brothers and sisters.

International Young Guard/USA has

conference overturned and the movement split by petty bureaucratic tactics of the Peoples Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), led by the Workers World Party.

And we were present on May 3, at the massive demonstration of 75,000 plus at the Pentagon, and we said then that these numbers of youth were not the result of the opportunist maneuvers of the "backroom" leaders of our movement, but rather the signal of a deep and thoroughgoing upheaval of the youth and the working class. And we

alism is solely the property of the youth and the working class. It must have its leadership, and the youth who are saying, "We want action," and who are disgusted with reformism, the Democratic Party and bureaucracy are the basis for it.

International Young Guard/USA knows who the real terrorists are. Not the Weathermen, the Palestinian masses or the Red Brigades — but the bourgeois state, Ronald Reagan and his imperialist war machine of colonial intervention! And we say: *Down with Reagan! Down with the terrorist state!*

International Young Guard/USA was the only organization of the youth to immediately oppose police state arrests and search and seizure raids against the militants of the Weather Underground, the Republic of New Africa and other groups. This police attack, along with the mythical "Libyan hit squad," is a fundamental attack on all political parties and the militants of the youth and working class.

And we say to the militants of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, and all other tendencies who hesitate before the attacks of the bourgeois state — *the defense of the militants arrested is the defense of the Fourth International.*

If we say to the youth, "We cannot defend those who oppose the bourgeois state unless they use the 'proper methods'" then the youth will say to us, and have a right to say, "Then why should we defend your party if we have political disagreements with it?" Why should the youth and the

working class come to the defense of the Fourth International, why should they mobilize against the Voorhis Act, the reactionary law which prohibits an international party of the working class, why should they defend the SWP against police spying, if they do not know which side they are on — bourgeois or proletarian.

No! The defense of every militant and every political tendency against the attacks of the terrorist state is the elementary duty of a working class party!

International Young Guard/USA knows which side it is on.

And so the struggle continues. To build a massive army of the youth, of American youth and the youth of the world — a World Army of the Socialist Revolution!

Already International Young Guard/USA has founded the Malcolm X circle in Detroit. We give the names of revolutionary leaders and martyrs to our circles of militants in order to remember and carry out their struggle. We call on all tendencies among the youth who are opposed to imperialism and Stalinism to join in the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International, to build a circle in every major working class center, the centers of the revolution, with the names of the revolutionists of the past — in order to continue their goal and their struggle to the revolutionary future.

Imperialism No!

Stalinism No!

Socialism, Yes, Yes, Yes!

The Fight of Lenin and Trotsky

The fight of Lenin and Trotsky must be carried into the movement of the youth today. This does not mean that the youth must read books and master quotes until they can match the debating proficiency of their "elders" in the movement. Marxist theory is not only studied, it is also practiced in the living struggle of the working class. That is the fight of Lenin and Trotsky, that is the meaning of the slogan of the Revolutionary Youth International, *Return to Lenin.*

Under the cover of "orthodoxy," the currents claiming to represent Trotskyism but that have tried to destroy the Fourth International as an international center pay homage to Lenin and Trotsky in order to overturn their struggle in practice.

Can you imagine these two great leaders associating themselves with the petty gangster and bureaucrat Castro, the hatchet-man of the Kremlin in the Americas, who defends the counter-revolutionary attacks of the Kremlin on the Polish workers? Yet the SWP split from the International Committee precisely around support to Castro and Stalinism.

Can you imagine Lenin, like these so-called "Trotskyists," refusing to defend militants and radicals from police attacks because their methods were too "ex-

treme"? Lenin, whose own brother Alexander was hanged for plotting to assassinate the Czar of Russia! We cannot ask the youth to defend our party, the Fourth International, if we do not defend our brothers and sisters, regardless of our disagreements with their methods.

That is the urgency of raising the cry *Return to Lenin* against all those who retreat before the revolution and the form that it takes. If we cannot defend the lessons and the traditions of the international workers movement of more than a hundred years, if we hesitate before the period of revolution and counterrevolution that we are in, then surely the youth will seek other solutions.

That is the danger. We see the revolution advance, but it advances against the blows of the counterrevolution. There is no middle ground, especially for the youth who feel the attacks most acutely of all.

Trotsky said, "... that youth which is socially transformed into pariahs, which cannot have any attachment to the regime either politically or socially, which is more audacious by the very nature of youth, and which has no conservative traditions, this youth waits for a radical leadership. Who will give this leadership to the youth? We or the fascists?"



IYG/USA

been in the front lines of the first battles against U.S. imperialism.

We were present in the first massive demonstration of 10,000 in Washington, DC, against the draft. Later at the National Conference of CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) we became known for our fight for revolutionary democracy in the movement. We saw in the first days of this movement the necessity to cast aside the bureaucratism and cliquism which still plagues our movement and threatens to strangle the new generation of the youth. With the young comrade at the Conference who stood up and said, "We want action," we raised our voices for a united and massive demonstration against the draft and for a national campaign utilizing the energy of the youth to win the unions and the working class to *boycott the dictatorships.*

We didn't sit on the sidelines when we saw the decisions of the National CARD

said, "If anyone tries to channel this movement into petty protest and attempts to bind the youth and their movement to the Democratic Party and the 'official' traitorous bureaucrats in the unions, they will fail miserably!"

And later, at the All-Peoples Congress (APC) in Detroit, organized by PAM and the Workers World Party on the basis of the most miserable capitulations to liberalism and bureaucratism, we fought for the *defense of PATCO*, and for a *one day work stoppage to launch the General Strike*. And we saw once again all the voices of the youth who had been roped into the preparation of the APC drowned out by the goons and bureaucrats who disorganized this Conference.

And where is PAM now? Its Conference was only another miserable failure at trying to contain the revolutionism of the youth.

No! The movement against U.S. imperi-

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Negotiations Against the Revolution

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

In the last issue of *Truth* we said that U.S. imperialism's, Castro's and the Sandinistas' threats, counter-threats and military maneuvers were part of a process of negotiations between them against the revolution in Central America. We said these threats and counter-threats were also a way of covering up these negotiations.

"In short, Reagan and Castro are both willing to make a deal over El Salvador. Now they are just haggling over the terms. This is the real meaning of the current war of words and military maneuvers."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), on the other hand, said that Reagan's and Haig's threats were a prelude to a military attack on Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada or El Salvador, that Castro and the Sandinistas were getting ready to defend the revolution and that American workers should line up behind them.

Recent events have proven our assessment to be entirely correct.

More Proof

The Washington Post has just revealed that the U.S. and the Sandinistas were in secret negotiations during August, September and October.

The U.S. was demanding that the Sandinistas reduce the size of their armed forces and that they not permit Nicaraguan territory to be used to support the revolution in El Salvador.

In November these talks broke down. It was at that moment that Reagan and Haig began to threaten Cuba and Nicaragua with military intervention and that Castro and the Sandinistas launched their counter-campaign "in defense of the revolution."

Since that time, representatives of U.S. imperialism and the Sandinistas have met on at least two occasions. Haig went to Mexico and asked the Mexican government to speak to the Sandinistas on behalf of U.S. imperialism. Shortly thereafter,

the Foreign Minister of the Sandinistas, Rev. Miguel D'Escoto showed up in Mexico City. Haig and D'Escoto also met at the Organization of American States (OAS) conference in St. Lucia.

Evidently the U.S. has not yet gotten the cooperation from Castro and the Sandinistas that it wants, for at the OAS meeting Haig launched into another tirade.

He accused Nicaragua of a military build-up that is "but a prelude to a widening war in Central America."

He said: "Havana calls the leaders of violent opposition groups together, forges unity pacts among them, trains their men, provides their arms and sends them to mount a violent challenge to legitimate governments."

He continued: "The United States is prepared to join others in doing whatever is prudent and necessary to prevent any country in Central America from becoming a platform of terror and war in the region."

If the U.S. and the Sandinistas have not yet resumed negotiations it is not because the Sandinistas do not want to. Cooperation with the U.S., negotiations with the U.S., are a matter of policy for the Sandinistas.

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega said: "Nicaragua still has its door open for an understanding with the United States, but it does not accept the door that the U.S. offers Nicaragua because it is such a small door that to go through it one must get down on one's knees . . ."

Why is Nicaragua open to an understanding with U.S. imperialism?

Because they don't think it's possible to get rid of it.

"Even if we were Marxist-Leninist, we'd have to be mad to think that socialism is possible here . . . Nothing will work unless it is economically and politically pluralistic," said Sandinista founder Tomas Borge.

The Sandinistas Speak

"Even if we were Marxist-Leninists, we'd have to be mad to think that socialism is possible here. Nothing will work unless it is economically and politically pluralistic."

Tomas Borge

"We had thought the masses would support the guerrillas in taking power. But that's not how it happened. In stead the guerrillas ended up supporting the mass insurrection that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship."

Humberto Ortega

"We have promised, in all seriousness not to send arms or troops to help the Salvadorans, and we have kept our promise. Mr. Carter can rest assured that we are keeping our promise."

Tomas Borge

"The private sector is risking its neck. If it refuses to cooperate and things get worse, people would not turn to Robelo for a solution, but would demand something much more radical than the mixed economy now offered by the FSLN. And we would have to be at the head of it. We couldn't allow the Trotskyists to do it for us."

Sergio Ramirez



Tomas Borge

"The enemies in Nicaragua are Trotskyism and all those who want to accelerate the evolution of the regime."

Jaime Wheelock

"I've never said I'm a Marxist . . . That's one thing we want to guarantee. Private property in this country will be respected. The only thing the revolutionary state has taken over to administer is the property of Somoza and his henchmen. The industrialists can keep calm."

Tomas Borge



LATE DEVELOPMENT. FDR-FMLN leaders Ruben Zamora (left) and Francisco Altschul are having negotiations with U.S. State Department. Once again, the SWP covers this up.

As it has become increasingly apparent that the SWP's "war" of U.S. imperialism against Castro and the Sandinistas, who were valiantly defending the revolution, is not going to materialize, the SWP has just tried to twist things around.

SWP's Distortions

In its "international" organ, *Intercontinental Press*, the SWP ran an article that began: "Reagan has not changed his mind about Central America," and ended, "We have no way of knowing the exact timing and form of such a military move."

In *The Militant* the article begins with "Haig seeks allies for Central America attack" and half-way through quotes SWP leader Jack Barnes who says "a collision is inevitable" (our emphasis), not *imminent* as the SWP said before.

The December 21, 1981, issue of *Intercontinental Press* says: "U.S. confrontation with the advancing revolution is inevitable."

What happened to the *imminent* confrontation? It was "disappeared" with a flick of a pen.

As we said in the last issue of *Truth*, this is not the first time that negotiations between American imperialism and the Kremlin through Castro, or his friends like the Sandinistas, have been masked by denunciations and counter-denunciations. Nor is it the first time that the Socialist Workers Party has joined the American Communist Party in being the chief advertisers for this operation.

Two years ago *The Militant* cried "Stop U.S. War Moves Against Cuba," and it has since been revealed that Carter and Castro were in secret negotiations during this entire period.

By trying to make the American working class into an appendage of Kremlin-Castro diplomacy, by trying to make American workers jump to Castro's tune, the SWP places itself completely outside the development of the revolution in this hemisphere.

Was it an accident that while the Kremlin was preparing for martial law in Poland that the SWP was organizing in defense of Castro, its chief agent in the Americas?

Was it an accident that the November 21 demonstrations (against "invasion") regrouped primarily Stalinist and pro-Stalinist organizations like the Communist Party, the Workers World Party, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Puerto Rican Social-

ist Party?

Also present, although kept a distance by SWP and CP "monitors," and their friends, the cops, was the viciously pro-Stalinist "Spartacist League."

Is it an accident that not one of the organizations which participated in these demonstrations participated in the demonstrations in defense of the Polish workers after martial law was declared?

Latin America and Here

We don't think so. Either you are on the side of the workers and oppressed peoples or on the side of the Stalinist bureaucracy. There is no middle course.

In the U.S., this means organizing the forces of the revolution to stop all arms to the dictatorships in Central America, to organize general strikes to bring down the dictatorships, as first steps in building the Socialist United States of Central America and the Caribbean.

The miners' strike in Bolivia, the forced replacement of Viola in Argentina, and the opposition to the arrest and imprisonment of Lula and other trade union and Workers Party leaders in Brazil, are all expressions of the advance of the revolution, they show that this struggle is on the order of the day.

This, not negotiations between imperialism and its petty bourgeois agents, Castro and the Sandinistas, etc., represents the future of the revolution in the Americas.

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Meeting on Hungary, Poland . . . and the USA

On December 5, 1981, over twenty militants and youth attended a public meeting called by the Trotskyist Organization/USA on the subject "Hungary '56 — Poland '81: Twenty Five Years of Struggle for the Power of the Workers Councils."

Besides members of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA, unaffiliated militants and members of several organizations (Revolutionary Workers League/RWL, Revolutionary Socialist League/RSL, and the Iranian Mojahedin) attended.

Presentation

Kevin FitzPatrick gave the presentation for the Trotskyist Organization/USA. The talk was not an "historical" one, nor was it devoted to a sterile, propagandistic analysis of events in Poland. Instead, as was stated at the beginning, the meeting was held because: "We want to learn everything from these struggles so we can do what our banner [at the meeting] says: *Bring the Polish Revolution Here!*"

The speaker pointed out that the links between Hungary and Poland are not just a matter of history in the abstract sense.

"The events of 1956, of a quarter-century ago, are not forgotten. No, they live in the consciousness of the Polish workers and are at the heart of all their struggles since that time. And, even more important, these events live in the Fourth International."

Pointing out that in 1956 the Fourth International was in full crisis, the speaker contrasted this to the present day, when the International has been rebuilt, especially in direct connection with the building of its Eastern European sections.

Thus, the fact that the Polish government has just expelled our comrade Stefan Bekier from the country showed the fight of the Fourth International to take up the *organization of the revolution*, as the speaker noted, "come what may."

Likewise, Comrade FitzPatrick pointed out the significance of the slanders against our comrade Michel Varga (Balazs Nagy) in the context of this situation. Michel Varga was a leader of the Hungarian Revolution, the rebuilt Fourth International is fighting for the political revolution in Poland, thus, "it is transparently obvious that if you can smear Michel Varga as an imperialist agent, smear the Fourth International by extension, you will be well on the way to accomplishing Stalinism's dirty work."

The speaker pointed out the achievements of the Fourth International, from alone labeling the Polish Revolution a *revolution* from its beginning, to the expansion of its organization and journal, *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle") inside Poland, to its role in the resolution passed by the Gdansk Congress of "Solidarity" supporting free trade unions throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Comrade FitzPatrick then pointed out the international significance of the Polish Revolution. It has brought into Europe itself the new wave of the world revolution and it has made the preparation of the revolution a practical task in the imperialist countries as well.

Our Struggle Here

The Polish workers' struggle began over something as simple as opposition to price increases; that is, it defended the rights and gains of the working class.

The situation in the United States, in this sense, after PATCO, after "Reaganomics," facing the "concessions" drive, is similar: "This defense immediately passes over to the active mobilization for the taking of power. This is the dynamic of revolution today."

What are a few key lessons of the Hungarian and Polish Revolutions? First — and this took place over a week before the imposition of martial law — that the confrontation is *inevitable*.

Second, the independent organizations of the workers must be built — strike committees, etc., up to workers councils.

Third, that the General Strike "has entered the political vocabulary of the American workers."

Above all, that the Fourth International is needed to make these lessons conscious, to give them practical form in the party. As Comrade FitzPatrick said: "What we need to do here is what the Fourth International is trying to do in Poland . . . *organizing the revolution* . . . Concretely, when we look at the U.S. today, it means organizing the struggle for the General Strike."

Further: "We can see that the battleground lies in auto . . . anyone who is waiting for the 'contract round' next fall, or is planning some kind of routine activity until then, is deluding himself very badly."

The presentation concluded on the following note: "Just as we have called for a united front for a government responsible to Solidarnosc in Poland, so we have consistently offered and offer again joint work



Workers barricaded in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

to every organization and militant in the U.S. . . . the Polish Revolution . . . the Hungarian Revolution . . . are alive today and our task, the reason why we called this meeting, is to make them come alive in this country."

Discussion

Following the presentation, a full discussion took place for nearly an hour and a half. A militant of the Mojahedin remarked that this was one of the few meetings he had attended in America where a political discussion really took place, where everyone was free to speak. Even a supporter of the RSL agreed with this statement.

In the course of the discussion, it became clearer what was at stake here. The RSL, while saying that confrontation was not inevitable in Poland (!), likewise put forward its concept of a purely ideological struggle against "reformist leaders," in Poland and here. It became clear how an organization, like the "state-capitalist" RSL, that refuses to defend the workers gains is absolutely incapable of making

new ones.

The RWL, on the other hand, does defend the degenerated and deformed workers states. But it is an organization stuck in the period of "peaceful coexistence," unable to comprehend the tasks of the present period of the imminence of revolution and counterrevolution. Thus, its opposition to the call for the General Strike. Thus, despite its political activity at the Rouge, its stated perspective of "preparing for the 'contract round' next year" — a week before the UAW bureaucrats smashed that dream!

Nonetheless, the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the RWL are striving, with difficulty, to really organize joint work at the Rouge, as well as potentially around defending the Polish Revolution.

We see this work, like our meeting (which frankly was as large as, and more representative than, anything the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has done in Detroit in the recent past), as steps in *organizing the revolution*.
C.M.

Who Defends the Polish Revolution?

In the aftermath of the imposition of martial law in Poland, numerous demonstrations have been organized all over the world, as well as in the United States, against this brutal attempt to suppress the Polish Revolution.

In New York, Chicago, and other cities relatively large demonstrations were organized by Polish-American groups, in many cases around pro-American and anti-communist slogans.

Similarly, the AFL-CIO has gone through the motions of organizing demonstrations "in solidarity with 'Solidarity,'" which were occasions for calling on Reagan to do more to help the Polish workers — as if he wanted to do anything! — and, once again, seeking to claim that the free unions of the Polish workers are just like those that now exist in this country.

How can the revolutionary and working

class forces orient themselves in this situation?

Let us contrast our behavior to that of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

On Tuesday, December 15, a small demonstration of about 65 people was organized in Detroit, basically by organizations that claim the Stalinist governments in Eastern Europe represent some kind of "new class."

The Trotskyist Organization/USA took part in this action because the slogans on which it was called were not based on this false idea. Secondly, when one organization, the Revolutionary Socialist League, tried to sneak its slogans into the chants of the picket line, we objected vigorously and successfully; we protested the refusal of the organizers to let the Revolutionary Workers League, which defends the socialist conquests in Eastern Europe, speak — on the grounds that it did not "en-

dorse" the demonstration, despite having a number of militants actually present.

In this way, the action did not appear in the media as an anti-communist action, but as one by socialist groups against the repression in Poland, strengthening the consciousness, not weakening it, of what the Polish Revolution is and who its friends are.

Similarly, while having called a demonstration to correspond with the "Solidarity"-called "National Day of Protest" in Poland, on Thursday, December 17, we called off this action in favor of participating in an action called for Friday, December 18, by the Detroit area AFL-CIO. About 200 people showed up, and our intervention, including our banner's appearance on television (with the slogan, "Bring the Polish Revolution Here"), once again gave this action a different character.

The SWP, however, has not done a thing to actively defend the Polish Revolution. Instead it has opposed actions aimed at official Polish centers — despite taking part in such events in 1968 around Czechoslovakia — and has denounced the AFL-CIO efforts. For its part, it prefers to call for its own meetings to "get out the truth" (after Afghanistan and Cuba, this is really a tired excuse) about Poland, as if the problem was one of education!

In the name of a verbal opposition to imperialism, it refuses to confront its agents. In the name of opposition to Stalinism, it opposes action against its repression. In this way it does not differ from the Kremlin agents of the "Spartacist League" — whose presence at such actions took the form of skulking around, photographing militants.
C.M.

Poland and the Fourth International

By BARBARA PUTNAM

Martial law, arrests of leaders of the Polish working class, jailing of Solidarnosc militants by the thousands. The confrontation is here. The confrontation that was inevitable.

Out of these terrible truths, the world working class must draw one clear lesson: all workers face the confrontation — the revolutionary party must grow with a leadership that can foresee, that can prepare, that can resolutely lead the fight of the workers to the finish.

Our Party

Only one party in Poland foresaw the confrontation, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, section of the Fourth International. Now more than ever workers must know this party, what it has done in the fire of revolutionary struggle; they must know it and they must defend it. That is how the American workers can build their party to face the confrontation coming in the United States — armed with the lessons of the Polish workers' struggle.

The newspaper *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle"), organ of the Revolutionary Workers League (RLRP; its Polish initials), has for long months done painstaking work among the Polish workers. A large section of the workers know *Walka Klas*.

The circulation of *Walka Klas* has reached many thousands each time it comes out. Sympathizers, brigades of distributors, come from all over Poland to get it, but the number printed falls far below the need and demand. A serious paper shortage in Poland has prevented larger publication. No sooner have the first brigades arrived for *Walka Klas* than the supply is nearly exhausted, leaving only a few for later groups who must then circulate single copies (or reprint it).

Preparing for the confrontation now taking place, the RLRP waged a ceaseless struggle for a political solution for the Polish workers. Their struggle has been for a government responsible to Solidarnosc, to the workers councils, and they have struggled politically with many tendencies in the working class to achieve this.

Part of our Polish section's ten point program for the revolution has been for publication of all secret diplomatic agreements with the Kremlin in the framework of the Warsaw Pact, which says that all the states of Eastern Europe must defend Stalinist rule in any of them where it is threatened. The RLRP has fought for the right of the workers to freely choose what relations Poland will have with other countries and the right to freely address the workers and peasants of all the countries under Stalinist domination.

A result of this struggle which took place within the ranks of Solidarnosc was the adoption of a call at its first national Congress to the workers of Eastern Europe to fight for free trade unions in their countries, to extend the fight of the Polish workers, especially into the USSR.

There was an immediate response from the workers of these countries. Elsewhere on this page are excerpts from a statement by SMOT, the free trade union movement in the USSR, which unconditionally proclaimed itself on the side of the Polish workers and which has become the launching point for such a struggle in the USSR.

Given the current situation in Poland, this may well prove to be the most important element of the fight of the Fourth International in Poland: to extend the revolution throughout the Eastern European countries and the USSR. It has laid a basis

for the spread of the revolution all across Europe, countering the attempts by the Kremlin and the imperialist powers to isolate the Polish Revolution.

This underlines the fight of *Walka Klas*

SMOT Response to Solidarnosc

At the first session of the Gdansk Congress of Solidarnosc ("Solidarity"), the delegates approved a resolution supporting the free trade union movement in the rest of Eastern Europe and calling on the workers of the East to support the Polish struggle. Below we publish extracts (for reasons of space) from the response made by SMOT (Free Inter-professional Union of Workers) the free trade union in the USSR. (The full text is available).

Brothers,

We salute your historic congress in the name of SMOT. The workers of our country are following your struggle with enthusiasm and hope. You have brought about the rebirth of the tradition of working class fraternity, of free labor and of revolutionary and creative initiative. In conditions of deep crisis, of hunger, of provocations, of continual threats, you have established a new Poland, the Poland of "Solidarity."

You have destroyed the culture of slavery and in its place you have built a new culture, in which the liberty of each guarantees unity and social progress. Slavery begins where solidarity ends. Slavery is the fate of those who forget comrades fallen in battle and who do not defend the

and the party to form a free Federation of Socialist Republics of Central and Eastern Europe which would support and nourish fraternal relations with the working class and peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our Fight

\$1408 for the International!

In the last weeks we have raised a total of \$1408.33 for the Workers Fund for the International.

\$473 was raised through individual pledges, \$46 through sales of buttons, \$115 through sales of tickets to a fundraiser, and \$888.74 came from a special donation. Our expenses were \$114.

While we didn't reach the goal we set — \$2000 — the results were still positive.

This is the first time in many months that significant sums of money have been raised for the International in a financial campaign.

Moreover, we learned a lot from this struggle.

Most of the money we raised from sources outside the party was in the political mobilization of the party, from people who were involved in the political struggle.

To these people, making a contribution was a logical conclusion of the struggle in which they were involved.

To people not involved in the struggle of the party, even though they were sympathetic, our requests for contributions just appeared as one more demand.

We had originally planned to raise the bulk of the money we needed through door-to-door collections. This proved to be unworkable.

We also learned that relatively small

A struggle waged by the RLRP through its paper has been for the dissolution of the forces of repression and for the freedom to organize political parties that do not place into question social property in the means

living. Slavery is the historic punishment of those who trust their fate to privileged castes. Slavery descends upon peoples that claim to be the masters of other peoples.

Since its foundation in the summer of 1978, SMOT has always proclaimed the same principles as "Solidarity." Its goal has been the defense of the rights of the workers — right to work, economic, social, political, cultural and religious rights

Thus it has been with a special recognition that we received your call in support of the unions in Eastern Europe. The working class of our country will never forget this noble and generous act and the proletarian solidarity which resounds between our two countries as the signal of new relations.

A new pact is being outlined, the Gdansk Pact — a pact of freedom, of fraternity and of free labor.

For your freedom and ours, my brothers! For your victory and ours!

In the name of SMOT's Council of Representatives, the representatives of SMOT abroad:

Vladimir Borisov
Victor Fainberg
Yevgeny Nikolaev

of production. The groundwork has been laid in the Polish working class to continue this struggle. The entire Fourth International has been waging a struggle for some time for the free return of two editors of *Walka Klas*, exiled after the crushing of the student movement, March 1968, and

of all political exiles. This could only better prepare the Polish workers for the confrontation.

Stefan Bekier, one of the editors of the paper, in spite of the government, returned to Poland to build the party. He was arrested on November 11, 1981, and exiled once again from Poland. Now the task is to organize the massive defense of the Polish Revolution in the workers movement of every country, to lay the basis for the return of the political exiles, and thus, to build the leadership of the Polish Revolution.

Factory organizations in Poland, through their bulletins, have reprinted from *Walka Klas* the situation of Bekier and its other editor, Jozef Goldberg, calling for their safe return to Poland. A factory publication at the Ursus Tractor Factory printed a pamphlet written by Michel Varga, a militant of the Hungarian Revolution and of the Fourth International, *The Formation of the Central Workers Council of Budapest, 1956*.

Likewise, shortly before martial law was declared, the Polish translation of Trotsky's great polemic against Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed*, was ready to be printed.

Even with the severe repression launched against the Polish workers and the threat of the death penalty hanging over their heads, the work of the Fourth International still lives in Poland. On the front of this issue of *Truth* is a photo from *The New York Times* of Polish workers reading a leaflet that says, "All Power to the Central Strike Committee!"

And slogans like these are painted on the walls of working class areas: "Return to Lenin," "Down with Censorship," "For a Government Responsible to the Workers Councils."

We must defend the Polish working class — we must prepare our confrontation, we must build the party of the American Revolution!

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

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

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

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