

TRUTH

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!**

Organ of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International

Reagan elected with 26 percent of the eligible vote, the Democratic Party routed

THE MASSES HAVE NOT YET SPOKEN

— Down with Reagan and his gang!

— Down with the Democratic Party — the Working Class needs its own Party!

UNITY Around the Fight for a Workers Party Based on the Unions!

UNITY for Workers Democracy!

A LOSER IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The biggest loser in the 1980 Presidential election will be sitting in the White House in January. Within a few months Ronald "Bonzo" Reagan will wish that he was back acting with monkeys again.

This election is a defeat for U.S. imperialism. In the home of bourgeois democracy, the bastion of the "free world," a bare majority of eligible voters — 52.3 percent — turned out to vote. It was the lowest turnout in 32 years and the working class abstention, particularly in industrial states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, was massive.

Thus the new leader of the "free world" will take office in January with a humiliating "mandate" — 26.6 percent of the eligible vote, a bare quarter of the voting population. A "mandate" worth just about nothing.

More importantly than the actual numerical results, this election was a political defeat for U.S. imperialism. Faced with the rising tide of the world revolution, shaken in the last years by the revolutionary upheavals in Iran, Nicaragua and now Poland, U.S. imperialism faces the necessity of rearming itself, and its Holy Alliance with the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin, against the world revolution.

Key to doing this is dragging the American working class and youth behind the policies of imperialism. This attempt utterly failed. First, the hysteria and national chauvinism against Iran,

then the campaign against Soviet troops in Afghanistan, both failed MISERABLY to enlist American workers and youth behind U.S. imperialism and its counterrevolutionary policies.

Having failed at this, U.S. imperialism attempted to make this election into a referendum on "defense" and "national security," code words for the counterrevolution. The election of Reagan was to be a mandate to "get tough."

This also failed. Not only because of the massive abstention, but also because the candidates were forced to change their political tune in the middle of the campaign. After reading voter polls, both candidates became men of "peace" and the election was turned into a campaign to convince the voters that one candidate was more "for peace" than the other.

U.S. imperialism failed to make this election a mandate for the counterrevolution. Instead, Reagan has no mandate. He is a loser.

DOWN WITH THE IMMORAL MINORITY!

We totally reject any idea that this election represents a victory for the so-called "moral majority" or that the election represents a "shift of the right."

The election only represents a "shift to

TRUTH



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Election Day Fight — Workers Democracy!

About 10:00 pm Election Day, Jimmy Carter "conceded" the election to Reagan. He had lost. But the truth is that they both had lost. The class they represent, the bourgeoisie, had already lost in its effort to rearm itself against the revolutionary mobilization around the world; to rearm itself against the U.S. working class.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA based its fight in the elections on this revolutionary mobilization — a fight for Workers Democracy against the bosses' bourgeois democracy through a Workers Candidate of the unions.

We developed this fight in the last weeks before the elections in the fight for factory assemblies — meetings for the workers to decide what road forward for their class — to reject the capitalist candidates and the "winner" in the elections and to determine that the immediate task is the construction of a Workers Party.

The UAW Committee for a Workers Candidate took this fight to the regular union meeting of the Fisher Body-Livonia unit of Local 174 on October 19. We urged that the leadership demand from General Motors the workers right to meet. Not one bureaucrat could bring himself to speak in favor of the Carter-Mondale ticket "endorsed" by the Fraser bureaucracy. The only response was, "Why are we having this discussion? I thought the UAW was for Carter-Mondale." In other words, the workers don't even have the right to dis-

agree with the decision of the machine!

A leaflet with a call for this fight and an All-Workers Meeting to centralize the results on election day was circulated at Livonia and the Ford Rouge Assembly plants.

We contacted the Revolutionary Workers Group who support the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW at the Rouge plant. While they appeared interested in a common battle for these assemblies, somehow they never got back to us.

We contacted the Socialist Workers Party, the major pseudo-Trotskyist party in the U.S. at their October presidential candidate rally in Detroit. The SWP refused to even discuss a common fight for workers democracy on election day. When asked what the working class should do, its spokesmen replied: "Write-in Andrew Pulley." In other words, no independent fight by the working class against the bosses bourgeois democracy and elections, no fight as a class for the workers from which they could best decide HOW to have a vote for class independence counted. Vote, says the SWP, just like the bourgeoisie wanted the workers to, but vote for their candidate.

We continued this battle into Election Day itself when the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA distributed over 75 copies of TRUTH with the UAW Committee's leaf-

let inside at the Fisher Body-Livonia plant.

The political gains of this battle are the MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS of the elections. While we did not go as far as we wanted to in this battle, for the first time in many years there was an open and vigorous fight for a working class policy — workers democracy, in particular a policy in the unions against the capitalist candidates and their trade union supporters. And the first fruits of this fight were realized — the organization of a UAW Committee for a Workers Candidate composed of autoworkers from Fisher Body-Livonia, which has gone forward to take up the fight for an Alliance for a Workers Party.

And that is the road forward for the workers today. This positive revolutionary outcome can be best described in the words of the militants themselves as they drew the conclusions of this fight: "I can see that they (the trade union bureaucrats) can be beat, especially now, with only a handful of workers. Let's try to organize some more workers." And, as the elections drew to a close: "We're going to build a large, broad movement of all workers in the UAW who are for a Workers Party."

With this political rearming, with this policy, there will be no more Carters and Reagans.

November 9, 1980
Detroit Local Committee

Hamtramck

As Polish transport workers struck across Poland and 1,000 medical students walked out in support of health care workers occupying government offices in Gdansk, militants of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA canvassed in Hamtramck, a predominantly Polish city located within Detroit, to win support for the International Commission of Trade Unions and Trade Union Branches to defend the Free Trade Unions in Eastern Europe and the USSR. This is a Commission called for by Victor Fainberg, representative abroad of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT.

The results were: \$10.00 for the International Workers Fund (see page 8); WALKA KLAS ("Class Struggle"), newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, Polish section of the Fourth International was sold, workers, including a Polish emigre, were engaged in discussion on the fight for this Commission.

The battle to defend the free trade unions is ESSENTIAL for the victory of the Polish workers, for the victory of their revolution. And it is essential to save the life of Vladimir Klebanov, the founder of the first free Soviet trade union, currently being drugged with neuroleptics, as well as to win freedom for other imprisoned militants.

It is ESSENTIAL for the victory of U.S. workers against the Reagan regime as well. U.S. workers cannot defeat the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism by themselves. Only the unity of the workers, East and West, can accomplish this central

task of the world revolution. Concretely, only the struggle for this unity can break the back of the Holy Alliance rearming at their Madrid Conference with an organized boycott and Workers Counter-Conference.

An older Polish-American woman, although a Catholic, disagreed with the pope's call for "calm patience," during the Polish general strike this summer. She said, "Some things are only won through strife." The militants convinced her that communism is not what exists in Poland. And that what the Polish workers did and continue to fight for, Workers Democracy, is what communists — Trotskyists — fight for today as the first step to communism. She contributed to the Workers Fund and agreed to bring up the call for the Trade Union Commission in an organization she belonged to.

Another woman from AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) agreed to a further discussion on how to take up this fight in her union and contributed to the Fund.

A Polish worker, a recent immigrant to the U.S., responded enthusiastically to our call for "No more Czechoslovakias, No more Hungaries!" He told a revealing story. As a young man he read Marx and, convinced that Marx was right, went to the Communist Party headquarters saying to the bureaucrats, "Here's what we should do!" They quickly dismissed him. Driven out of Poland 5 years ago by Stalinism, he came to the U.S. He bought a copy of WALKA KLAS, and wants to learn more about Trotskyism.

Even among youth attending the Communist Party/USA's presidential candidate's rally in Detroit on October 18, we found support for the Polish workers and their revolution, denounced as "anti-socialist" by the Kremlin hacks of the CP/USA.

These are the first results of a campaign that we began as an essential part of our battle in the elections for Workers Democracy. These results are very promising for the success of the Boycott of Madrid, for winning unions to the Commission, for getting invitations for Fainberg and his comrade Vladimir Borisov, the exiled SMOT leader, to tour the U.S.

Victory to the Polish Revolution!
Revolutionary Unity of the East and West!
November 9, 1980
Detroit Local Committee

READ, DISCUSS, DISTRIBUTE TRUTH!

Come to:

RYI Headquarters

David Whitney Bldg.

Saturdays, 11 AM to 4 PM

HERE LIKE IN GDANSK! (p.1 cont.)

the right" for those who saw the Democratic Party and Carter as "left." Instead, to the extent that the voting results show anything, they show that Reagan was elected not because the majority of voters were "for" him, but because they were AGAINST Carter and, logically enough, against his disastrous economic policies. The results, if anything, were a repudiation of unemployment and inflation, not a "shift to the right." The masses have not yet spoken.

We also reject the idea of the existence of a thing called "Reaganism," an idea promoted by, among others, the centrists of the SWP. Reagan, like Carter, like Bush and Anderson, is a tool of big business, of the imperialist bourgeoisie. His constituency, his policies and the people who pull his strings are those of the imperialist bourgeoisie. There is nothing special or unique about him — he is and always will be a tool of capital.

This is not, however, to ignore the danger represented by the so-called "moral majority" and those who follow in its wake — the KKK and Nazis. Our dispute with them is not over their interpretation of the Bible or over their campaign "tactics," which are the sole criticisms raised by the bankrupt liberals.

Our dispute with them is that they are COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES, today in a purely parliamentary movement, but one which lays the basis for a mobilization tomorrow of the middle classes and petty bourgeoisie against the working class, against the unions, against women, against blacks, against the world revolution. This "immoral minority" must be disarmed and crushed in the bud.

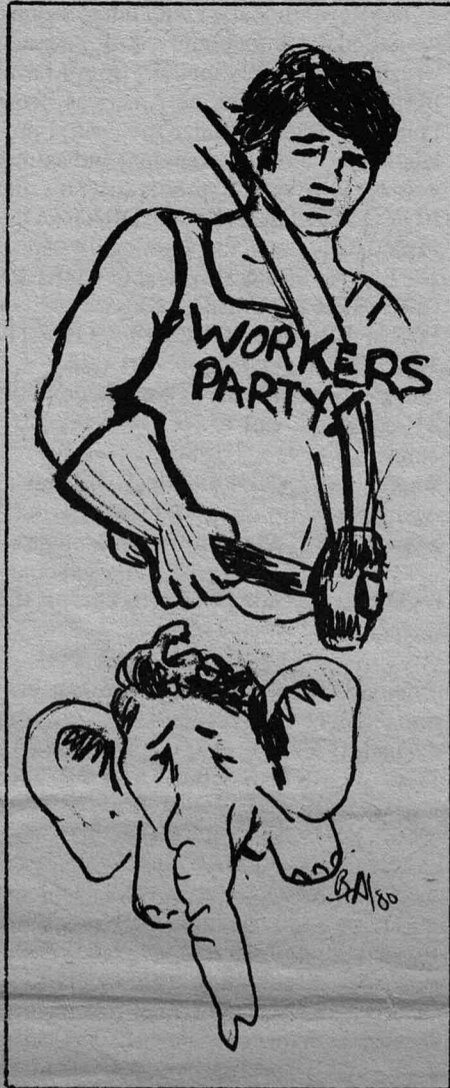
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE RUN

The most significant result of this election was its political defeat for U.S. imperialism. At the center of this is the massive defeat of the Democratic Party — Carter's defeat, the loss of the Democratic majority in the Senate, the loss of key Democrats in the House of Representatives.

The working class and blacks massively abandoned the Democratic Party. This is not a unique result of this election, but the continuation of the trend set since 1968. But 1980 proves that this trend is now IRREVERSIBLE — the Democratic Party is no longer a party that can command the support of the working class.

The election is also a massive rejection of the POLICIES of the Democratic Party. The conclusive failure of "human rights," imperialism's attempt to give itself a democratic face in the eyes of workers and youth. It is a rejection of its economic policies of making the working class pay for capitalism's failures. It is a rejection of its attempt at "national unity" against the world revolution.

Along with the massive abandonment of the Democratic Party, this election is also a historic repudiation of the trade union bureaucracy, tied to imperialism and its Democratic Party. The working class once again rejected the bureaucrats' last minute attempt to mobilize them behind the failed policies of the Democratic Party.



It is also a repudiation of the so-called black "leaders" who failed to turn out the black vote for the Democratic Party. It is a repudiation of ghetto wardens, such as Coleman Young of Detroit, who once again failed to convince masses of blacks that there was a dime's worth of difference between Carter and Reagan.

THE TREACHERY OF STALINISM

As disastrous as this election was for U.S. imperialism, it was also a disaster for its chief ally, the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin. It is also a loser in this election. In place of mobilizing the workers and youth against imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy came to the aid of Carter during the election.

Castro virtually endorsed Carter during the campaign with his warnings about "Reaganism." So did the petty bourgeois FSLN in Nicaragua. At the last minute Brezhnev himself, in an interview with Armand Hammer, praised Carter.

This doesn't mean however that Reagan is unacceptable to the Kremlin. On the contrary, before Reagan has even taken office, the Kremlin has declared its willingness to scrap SALT II and "renegotiate."

So much for the central theme of the American CP's election campaign — that SALT II was the "central issue of the day."

As well, Reagan's new foreign policy of "linkage" — tying U.S. imperialism's relationship to the Kremlin to the Kremlin's willingness to carry out its counterrevolutionary policies throughout the world — fits in perfectly with the Kremlin's

maneuvers to arrive at a new counterrevolutionary accord with imperialism at Madrid.

It goes without saying that this train of capitulations represent a defeat as well for the American mouth pieces of the Kremlin, the CP of Hall and Davis, whose policy of "saving the cities" "saving Chrysler," i.e., SAVING-CAPITALISM, was also rejected by the working class.

THE OTHER LOSERS

Reagan was not the only loser on November 4. Carter of course lost — and happily we will never again hear from that cowardly hypocrite who conceded the election before the polls even closed. Anderson also lost, his 6 percent of the vote showing that recognized that there was no difference between him and Reagan.

Special mention in the list of losers must be given to the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP.

We are not particularly concerned with their actual vote total, which is not yet known, although we are sure that, given the number of votes ANYONE appearing on the ballot will get, their vote will prove to be statistically insignificant in terms of any working class support.

More important was their political defeat, which, like the Democratic Party's is IRREVERSIBLE. The defeat of Carter and "human rights" is also their defeat. Having boasted just after Carter's election in 1976 that "if Carter called a conference on human rights we would be the first ones there," the SWP was like a jilted bride — the "conference" never materialized, "human rights" never deceived the working class and the SWP was left throughout the last four years in Carter's shadow.

As with their allies, Castro and Doug Fraser, this election was a defeat for the SWP, which finds itself, during a time of massive working class rejection of imperialism and Stalinism, more isolated from the working class than at any other time in its history, more politically bankrupt than ever before.

A HISTORIC MOMENT FOR THE WORKING CLASS

We have presented a list of losers. The working class has an historic opportunity to finish them off once and for all and build an independent working class alternative to these bankrupt policies and leaderships.

Several factors lay the basis for this historic possibility. First of all, the working class is the only class which has not lost anything in these elections. Although silent, it has not yet been defeated.

Furthermore, in the U.S. and throughout the world the working class remains on the offensive. Every situation in the class struggle today remains characterized by the totally defensive posture of U.S. imperialism and Stalinism in face of the workers mobilization.

Not only were the bankrupt leaders defeated in these elections — the trade union bureaucrats, the black "leaders," the Stalinists — they have nothing to say today. Coleman Young declares that "now is the time to start circling the wagons." Fras-

er's "anti-import" campaign has already given him a foothold into the Reagan administration. They have nothing to say, nothing to propose.

HERE LIKE IN GDANSK

Unlike anyone else, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International, has a lot to say. As the only organization which proposed an independent working class alternative in this election, we present the only leadership which was not defeated, because this policy has a future.

Through our candidate, Fred Vitale, member of UAW Local 174, we fought for the formation of a Workers Party based on the trade unions, for a party of class independence based on a program of Workers Democracy in order to organize the working class and its youth against imperialism in these elections. We formed a UAW Committee for a Workers Candidate and fought for an Emergency National Convention of the UAW to repudiate Fraser's endorsement of Carter and to select a Workers Candidate. We invited all other working class organizations to join this fight, in particular the SWP and CP. They, opposed to class independence, opposed to a mobilization of the unions against imperialism, refused.

This fight did not go as far as it could have; we did not succeed in winning the unions to a Workers Candidacy. But unlike everyone else, we waged this fight without compromising ourselves with imperialism, with the Democratic Party or with the trade union bureaucracy.

Unlike everyone else, our fight can go forward today. Unlike everyone else, we are part of an international party and are fighting for the world revolution in the U.S.

Like in Gdansk! This is how we propose to continue the struggle. To take up the fight of the Polish workers, because this is our fight as well.

Against imperialism. Against Stalinism. For trade unions independent from the trade union bureaucracy. For workers' self-organization at all levels of society. For the world revolution.

A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE UNIONS

This fight cannot take place without a weapon. The working class cannot take advantage of this defeat for imperialism, or the historic opportunity presented by the rout of the Democratic Party and the other leaderships, nor can it build an offensive against the loser, Reagan, without a political weapon.

This weapon has to be a party, a party of class independence. A party opposed to imperialism and Stalinism. A party to replace the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats. A party based on the unions, the only mass organizations of the American working class. A party organized around a program of Workers Democracy, to overthrow imperialism and establish the rule



LA AURORA: NOT GUILTY!

A victory for freedom of expression has been won in Spain. As reported in the last issue of TRUTH, the newspaper of our party in Spain, LA AURORA, was put on trial in Madrid on October 13 for "illegal propaganda."

The "illegal propaganda" concerned saying: "Down with the monarchy of military tribunals!" and "The Monarchy Continues to be the Number One Terrorist" on the front page of LA AURORA.

The verdict was a total acquittal: "considering that the proven facts do not constitute the crime of illegal propaganda . . . the accused is acquitted . . ."

This victory is a victory not only for our party in Spain and for its newspaper, but as well for the Spanish working class in the struggle to impose workers rights against the monarchy and its regime inherited

from Franco.

But this struggle has to continue. On October 14 in Barcelona, ANOTHER trial took place, this time against the PORE itself, to have it declared illegal. Another victory was won — once again the trial was suspended.

This trial has been held three times — on May 6, July 1 and now on October 14 — and each time the public prosecutor has not dared to present his case.

The government has had almost two years to prepare the case and it is still incapable of presenting a final case before a judge.

This demonstrates the bankruptcy of the government in Spain and the crisis of the Francoist regime, because it shows its consciousness of the fact that to continue this trial against the PORE requires a confrontation with the struggle of the working

class as a whole for its rights.

The government's retreat is also a result of the mobilization of our party in Spain. Over 3,800 signatures have been collected for the legalization of the PORE and a great deal of support among workers organizations, trade unions, committees, has been gathered. On the day of the trial, the PORE demonstrated in face of a massive turnout of police, who illegally tried to break up the demonstration.

This struggle has to continue. For the complete legalization of our party in Spain, for 10,000 signatures supporting this fight This struggle is part of the overall struggle our party is leading in Spain for the defense of workers rights, for the COMPLETE FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION.

November 10, 1980
J.C.

Old Order Rearms



MADRID — The preparations for the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," the gathering of the imperialist and Stalinist forces trying to rearm their counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance, are in grave difficulty. This difficulty reflects the blows dealt the imperialist world order by the international working class, especially by the development of the revolution in Poland. The desperate crisis of the old order makes its attempts to rearm itself all the more vicious. For instance . . .

IRELAND — Seven of the 350 Republican (Irish nationalist) prisoners on the notorious "H-Block" at Long Kesh in the British imperialist enclave of "Northern Ireland" have decided, as part of their continuing struggle against "criminal" status, on a hunger strike to the death. The response of British imperialism? "If they die, so be it." The "blanket men" (they refuse to wear prison uniform) have made it clear that the real terrorist is the state created by British imperialism and its Orange thugs.

This resistance of the Irish working class, the exposure of the real nature of the British ruling class, are elements of the crisis that is now revealing itself in . . .

BRITAIN — The British Labour Party is in open disarray, with the right wing reeling before the upsurge of the working class. The reformist trade union leaders, the Stalinists and centrists are trying to channel this upsurge into the "Labour left" of Tony Benn and Michael Foot, a gang of opportunists who totally support the Madrid Conference.

The old order will accept support from the worst places. Thus, we have . . .

VATICAN I — The pope and his crusade against "lust" represents a defense of the bourgeois family, an attack on the rights of women and youth. It is a whole program: BACK TO THE DARK AGES! And this sheds light on . . .

VATICAN II — The Catholic Church is going to "re-examine" the case of Galileo, whom it compelled in 1614 to recant the truth that the earth revolves around the sun. Now, in face of even more dangerous revolutions, it has to try to whitewash its crimes.

TRUTH
November 9, 1980

FBI: VERY GUILTY!

On November 6, two former FBI officials were found guilty of conspiring to violate the constitutional rights of Americans by authorizing FBI agents to break into homes without search warrants during so-called "investigations" of the Weather Underground in the early 1970's. They were found guilty by a D.C. jury of authorizing nine such illegal "black bag jobs" against relatives and friends of the Weather Underground.

The officials, W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller, were the highest ranking officials of the FBI ever to be tried on criminal charges. The FBI was founded in 1924.

Felt worked for the FBI for 31 years and was acting associate director, the second highest official in the bureau. Miller worked for 24 years and was in charge of the FBI's intelligence division when he authorized the break-ins.

Like the trial against the PORE in Spain, this conviction of the FBI agents is a partial victory in the struggle for workers rights in this country. It is a result of the mobilization of the workers and youth in the U.S. against imperialism and against its right arm — its secret police. It is a partial vindication of the rights of hun-

dreds of thousands of workers and youth who have had their rights spit and trampled on by the FBI and CIA.

The conviction also repudiates the "legal" justifications given by the FBI and CIA over the past years for their illegal activity — that it was necessary to protect "national security" and guard against "foreign intelligence." In convicting these agents, the court and jury explicitly rejected this rationale.

The real danger to "national security," that is, the peace and well-being of American workers and youth, is the FBI and CIA. The real terrorists are the bourgeois state and its secret police! Because this trial proved this, it was worthwhile.

But it is a very limited victory. These two men are clearly nothing but scapegoats. Coming out of the post-Watergate period, this suit was part of the bankrupt "human rights" policy of Carter — to prove that the abuses of the Nixon era were simply the problem of "individuals" and that the government could "reform" itself.

Felt and Miller aren't the only guilty ones. The guilty ones are ALL those in charge of running the imperialist state and its police — in the past and TODAY. Felt

and Miller are only the tip of the iceberg.

The rights of workers and youth in this country will not be vindicated until the FBI and CIA and all secret police are abolished, until the entire imperialist state's repressive apparatus is dismantled.

This is really what this trial attempted to cover up. That this repressive apparatus continues to exist today, that illegal spying and break-ins continue and will continue, under the new "reformed" FBI Charter recently passed by Congress, with a "legal" cover.

Like our fight in Spain, the fight for workers rights against the FBI and CIA is totally linked to the fight to impose the legalization of the Fourth International in the U.S. Like these illegal break-ins, the attempt to make the Fourth International in the U.S. illegal is based on theories of "national security" and "foreign intelligence." The massive fight of the working class to make our party fully legal in the U.S. is a fight to bury these theories and the secret police that implement them.

November 10, 1980
J.C.

of these elections, that all workers and youth join the fight of the Fourth International to organize a Workers Boycott of the Madrid Conference "on Security and Cooperation," to join the international mobilization of workers and youth and to regroup the new current of the working class that is being formed in this fight.

With these elections U.S. imperialism wanted to inflict a defeat on the U.S.

working class that would be heard around the world. It wanted Reagan's victory to be a war cry. Instead, it is a whimper and a humiliation.

But the American working class has not yet been heard. In the factories, in the schools, in the streets, in the ghettos, people are waiting to hear a voice. The voice is that of the working class, which must bring behind it the masses of youth and the oppressed.

For all those who weren't counted on November 4, who have not been heard, who have not yet said what YOU want to say, the future is open, all the possibilities still can be played.

Everything depends on a political struggle to build a new leadership for the working masses in this country; it is a struggle which we invite you to join.

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The rights of workers and youth in this country will not be vindicated until the FBI and CIA and all secret police are abolished, until the entire imperialist state's repressive apparatus is dismantled.

This is really what this trial attempted to cover up. That this repressive apparatus continues to exist today, that illegal spying and break-ins continue and will continue, under the new "reformed" FBI Charter recently passed by Congress, with a "legal" cover.

Like our fight in Spain, the fight for workers rights against the FBI and CIA is totally linked to the fight to impose the legalization of the Fourth International in the U.S. Like these illegal break-ins, the attempt to make the Fourth International in the U.S. illegal is based on theories of "national security" and "foreign intelligence." The massive fight of the working class to make our party fully legal in the U.S. is a fight to bury these theories and the secret police that implement them.

November 10, 1980
J.C.

of these elections, that all workers and youth join the fight of the Fourth International to organize a Workers Boycott of the Madrid Conference "on Security and Cooperation," to join the international mobilization of workers and youth and to regroup the new current of the working class that is being formed in this fight.

With these elections U.S. imperialism wanted to inflict a defeat on the U.S.

working class that would be heard around the world. It wanted Reagan's victory to be a war cry. Instead, it is a whimper and a humiliation.

But the American working class has not yet been heard. In the factories, in the schools, in the streets, in the ghettos, people are waiting to hear a voice. The voice is that of the working class, which must bring behind it the masses of youth and the oppressed.

For all those who weren't counted on November 4, who have not been heard, who have not yet said what YOU want to say, the future is open, all the possibilities still can be played.

Everything depends on a political struggle to build a new leadership for the working masses in this country; it is a struggle which we invite you to join.

November 9, 1980
TRUTH

Old Order Rearms



MADRID — The preparations for the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," the gathering of the imperialist and Stalinist forces trying to rearm their counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance, are in grave difficulty. This difficulty reflects the blows dealt the imperialist world order by the international working class, especially by the development of the revolution in Poland. The desperate crisis of the old order makes its attempts to rearm itself all the more vicious. For instance . . .

IRELAND — Seven of the 350 Republican (Irish nationalist) prisoners on the notorious "H-Block" at Long Kesh in the British imperialist enclave of "Northern Ireland" have decided, as part of their continuing struggle against "criminal" status, on a hunger strike to the death. The response of British imperialism? "If they die, so be it." The "blanket men" (they refuse to wear prison uniform) have made it clear that the real terrorist is the state created by British imperialism and its Orange thugs.

This resistance of the Irish working class, the exposure of the real nature of the British ruling class, are elements of the crisis that is now revealing itself in . . .

BRITAIN — The British Labour Party is in open disarray, with the right wing reeling before the upsurge of the working class. The reformist trade union leaders, the Stalinists and centrists are trying to channel this upsurge into the "Labour left" of Tony Benn and Michael Foot, a gang of opportunists who totally support the Madrid Conference.

The old order will accept support from the worst places. Thus, we have . . .

VATICAN I — The pope and his crusade against "lust" represents a defense of the bourgeois family, an attack on the rights of women and youth. It is a whole program: BACK TO THE DARK AGES! And this sheds light on . . .

VATICAN II — The Catholic Church is going to "re-examine" the case of Galileo, whom it compelled in 1614 to recant the truth that the earth revolves around the sun. Now, in face of even more dangerous revolutions, it has to try to whitewash its crimes.

TRUTH
November 9, 1980

Fight for Polish Workers Advances

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

At the very moment that this article is being written, the situation in Poland is heading toward a showdown. This coming showdown raises with the greatest urgency the need of the Polish workers for a leadership that can meet the tasks that are being posed.

On Wednesday, November 12, the Polish Supreme Court will make a final decision on the statutes (constitution) of the free trade union federation SOLIDARNOSC ("Solidarity"). The question at issue is whether these statutes will include a clause recognizing the "the leading role of the Polish Communist Party."

The Supreme Court's decision follows an appeal by "Solidarity" of the previous decision by the district court in Warsaw to unilaterally insert such a clause into the federation's statutes.

But this is only the LEGAL framework in which a fundamental battle is being fought. From the time of the August 31 signing of the Gdansk Accords, the Fourth International has said that this question of recognizing the "leading role" of the Stalinist party summed up the deepest POLITICAL questions, questions that could not be avoided.

It is important to realize that no one is simply waiting for the court to reach its decision. Actions are being waged both by the working class and by the Stalinist bureaucracy of party chief Stanislaw Kania.

The workers are carrying their strike activity into new areas. Teachers and medical workers have occupied government buildings in Gdansk, with other medical workers on strike in Katowice, Warsaw, Stolp and other cities. Transport workers in Gdansk and four other nearby cities stopped their buses for an hour last Friday in sympathy actions. Postal workers are on strike in Gdansk, Poznan and other cities.

This is part of the MOBILIZATION that the Polish workers are engaged in. The court decision, if it seeks to impose the clause on the unions, will be met by a series of rotating strikes, "rolling thunder," as it were, which raises the possibility, despite the best intentions of the opportunist and conciliatory leadership of "Solidarity," of a GENERAL STRIKE throughout Poland. And such a general strike always poses the question of political power, the question of who will rule.

This possibility is not abstract. There are already reports that workers are showing up at their plants with sleeping bags and sacks of food. They are ready to fight, a fight that means a battle to the end.

At the same time, the bureaucracy has embarked on a series of attacks aimed at intimidating the working class. Party chief Kania announced recently that the unions are "abusing the right to strike." (This shows that, in Kania's mind, there really is no such right. You can "abuse" privileges, maybe, but never RIGHTS).

Kania also plainly said: "... There are limits we must not transgress." Likewise, Polish CP Central Committee member Jozef Klasa stated that the regime might "use every option at its disposal" and "refuse the right to strike." The only possible meaning of these words is a threat to violently suppress the workers strikes.

And the Polish bureaucrats are being backed by their fellow members of the international Kremlin apparatus. The East German bureaucracy has closed the border to Poland, after having denounced the movement of the workers for weeks as "anti-socialist." The "normalized" Czechoslovak bureaucracy, together with others in Eastern Europe, has also engaged in these slanders and provocations. And only 2 weeks ago Kania and Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski flew to Russia for "consultations" with the Kremlin leadership.

The situation is thus verging on a clear alternative — revolution or counterrevolution. In face of this choice the role of the leadership of "Solidarity," the grouping whose chief figure is Lech Walesa, is becoming very clear indeed.

The showdown is there. The workers see it. The Stalinists see it. And what is the policy of this leadership? Why, they want a "compromise."

"Compromise" ought to be these peoples' middle name. Lech "Compromise" Walesa, Jacek "Compromise" Kuron. That would make it clear to everyone where they stood.

But there is nothing to "compromise" on. That is precisely the reason for the showdown in the first place. Any leadership that arrives in such a situation and then tries to find some way out automatically condemns itself. The die has been cast and these people want to crap out.

The Fourth International has said, right from the beginning of the movement for free trade unions, that these unions, as organizations representing independent working class power, CANNOT "co-exist" with the anti-working class rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Right from the beginning, it said that the road of the free trade unions had to be toward POLITICAL REVOLUTION, toward the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship.

Everything that has happened in Poland in the last ninety days has brilliantly vindicated this perspective, a perspective that only the Fourth International stood for.

"The leading role of the Polish Communist Party," as well as the other clauses of the Gdansk Accords, are aimed at subordinating the unions to the bureaucratic state, to slowly but surely rolling back the workers gains, persecuting the militants, restoring the power of the bureaucracy.

This is what happened in 1956 and 1970. Now the Polish workers have learned a lot and they are not going to buy that again.

But Walesa, who is portrayed in the capitalist AND Stalinist press as an opponent of the regime, is precisely the person who has tried to put a brake on the mobilization at every step, to impose a policy which can only lead to defeat.

Walesa and his associates are the ones who tried to "settle" the original Gdansk strike and were shouted down by the workers. It was Walesa who imposed the signing of the Gdansk Accords, under the pressure of the same kind of threats of Kremlin armed intervention that are now being made, against a significant minority in Gdansk, against workers in Gdynia who were building barricades — that is, moving from strike to insurrection. It was Walesa who tried to stop strikes from spreading throughout the country — in Warsaw, in Lodz, in Silesia's coal mines.

And now this Catholic supporter of the established order is trying to present himself as an "arbitrator" between the militants — whom everyone sees — and some unknown "moderates" — who are always someplace else!! — in order to preserve "unity." "Unity," from the same Walesa who opposed the building even of a national trade union federation, who has tried to dissipate the workers energy in one-hour work stoppages!

Walesa, the Stalinists, the centrists and the imperialists all argue from the same perspective — the perspective of the national isolation of Poland. The Fourth International, on the contrary, fights from the perspective of the unity of the world revolution. And in doing so, it fights alongside the Polish workers.

Already, Polish railroad workers are marking on freight cars headed for the Soviet Union one simple word: "Solidarity!" And at the border — "the national security of Poland" — the Kremlin bureaucracy tries to wipe it off.

But the consciousness of the workers cannot be easily erased. "Gdansk!" has become the battle cry of workers in Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary and, most clearly, in Italy, where FIAT workers shouted: "Gdansk! Gdansk! We will do like in Russia!" And this is precisely the question.

The Russian Revolution, whose 63rd anniversary was November 7, marked the beginning of the world revolution. But this stream was slowed and dregs of sediment began to pile up, blocking its path. These dregs, the Stalinist bureaucrats, were first the result, but more importantly the CAUSE, of the damming of the torrent that began in 1917. The workers of Poland, in their open confrontation with Stalinism, are posing the question for the workers of the world: NOW IT IS TIME TO BLAST OUR WAY THROUGH THIS OBSTACLE and let the flood tide of Bolshevism loose.

That is the policy that the Fourth International is pursuing, in Poland and internationally.

It is fighting for the proposal of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, for an International Commission of Unions and Union Branches to defend the free trade unions in Eastern Europe. In this way, the workers in the capitalist countries can come directly to the aid of their Eastern brothers and sisters.

It is fighting for the boycott of, and the building of a world Workers Counter-Conference against, the Madrid Conference of the imperialists and Stalinists, which is supported by Walesa and his "advisers."

It is fighting to build the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin as a means of linking up with Bolshevism, of continuing what the Russian Revolution began through a revolution in Poland. And this revolution depends on the building of the Polish section of the FI especially in this Conference, into the PARTY OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN POLAND, depends on uniting the Polish and Soviet workers, the workers of East and West.

In this context, the FI fights for a FREE UNION CONGRESS, for a united front against the Gdansk Accords, for winning the most advanced elements in Poland to its party through the fight to Return to Lenin.

This is the leadership the Polish workers need, this is the leadership that is being built in today's struggles.

November 10, 1980

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Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America

How Can Workers Win?

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

How can the working-class and poor peasants confront and defeat the tremendous forces of U.S. imperialism?

This is the fundamental question posed by the situation in Central America — the overthrow of Somoza, the revolutionary confrontations in El Salvador and Guatemala, the regroupment of counterrevolutionary troops in Honduras under the leadership of U.S. imperialism, the murderous, Vietnam-like sweeps of the cities and the countryside — posed that is, by the revolution and the counterrevolution.

Yet the leaderships of the movements in Central America (the Sandinista National Liberation Front — FSLN — in Nicaragua, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, the coalition in Guatemala) and the solidarity movements in the U.S. do not have an answer.

The strategy they have elaborated is armed struggle or “revolutionary popular war,” combined with pressure on U.S. imperialism to break off support to the various counterrevolutionary forces in Central America. This includes supporting the liberal section of the bourgeoisie in the U.S. and elsewhere against the conservative section. Like supporting Carter against Reagan in the U.S. or Manley against Seaga in Jamaica.

This strategy was endorsed by the recent El Salvador Solidarity Conference in Washington, D.C., which decided to form an El Salvador Solidarity Committee and assigned itself the task of getting out the truth about El Salvador, as well as demanding that the U.S. break diplomatic relations with the junta and stop all economic and military aid to it.

There are two problems here. First, the workers and oppressed masses are the only ones who can be trusted to fight to the finish against U.S. imperialism and its puppets in Central America. They cannot count on the middle classes, still less on the so-called patriotic or liberal bourgeoisie to lead this struggle.

This is not only the principal lesson of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and one of the bases of the foundation of the Bolshevik party and the Fourth International, but also a conclusion often expressed in banners in marches in Nicaragua!

Thus the working class must have its own independent political struggle, its own independent political party, to which its military struggle must be subordinated. It must forge an alliance with the oppressed masses of the cities and the countryside through Popular Assemblies. But in no case can it subordinate its overall struggle to the politics of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. And that is what “armed struggle,” without the struggle for the formation of the workers party,

means. It is at best exhausting, at worst a bloodbath.

Second, to confront and defeat the forces of imperialism it is necessary to unite the forces of the workers and peasants across the national boundaries artificially imposed by imperialism. And not just the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Belize and Panama, but also the workers of North, Central, and South America.

No working class in one country, even in one region, can confront the imperialist colossus alone. It, with the assistance of the Stalinist Kremlin bureaucracy, organizes itself on an international scale to concentrate the forces of the counterrevolution. The working class must do the same.

Not only does the strategy of “armed struggle” combined with political pressure not accomplish this goal, it is directly counterposed to it.

At the rally in Managua on the anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, (attended by a representative of the El Salvadoran junta!), both Castro and the speakers from the FSLN made a point of how they are not going to intervene in Central America. Castro says: “Some might claim (we) try to set fire to Latin America . . . but it is impossible to set fire to a people . . . they explode themselves.”

Well, they may explode by themselves, but they don't win by themselves. Castro said that AFTER the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala triumph, THEN he will send “internationalist doctors, teachers, and technicians” to help them. How generous.

What could be more obscene than the spectacle of these “revolutionary” leaders reviewing the “revolutionary troops” in Managua, while workers and peasants are being massacred down the road in El Salvador.

The imperialists and Stalinists certainly don't respect national boundaries (Chile, Czechoslovakia). Why should the working class?

The Fourth International is fighting for an international WORKERS BOYCOTT of the dictatorships in El Salvador, all dictatorships in Central and South America, for the unification of this struggle with the struggle of the European workers against imperialism and Stalinism in a World Workers Counter-Conference Boycotting the Madrid Security Conference of the Masters of the World.

This combat can tap the revolutionary energy of the workers and peasants and unite their forces across borders. It is open to all militants and organizations who want to do this.

November 10, 1980

Jamaica: How Black Becomes White

Michael Manley, prime minister of Jamaica, lost to Edward Seaga in the recent election.

Manley's party, the People's National Party, a bourgeois party, won only 9 seats in Congress, while Seaga's party, the Jamaican Labor Party, also a bourgeois party, won 51.

Like Jimmy Carter, Manley was blamed for the massive unemployment and rising prices that have plagued the workers. He was also responsible for a tremendous repression of the youth in Jamaica. So much did they hate Manley that many joined the Seaga campaign and organized armed attacks against Manley supporters.

Yet Seaga and his party have no more future in Jamaica than Reagan and the Republicans in the United States, because they are no more able to fulfill their promises than their U.S. counterparts. The field is wide open for the construction of the workers party.

Yet from the beginning of the elections the U.S. Socialist Workers Party has supported Manley, claiming he is an anti-imperialist and friend of the people, just like the labor bureaucrats in the U.S. supported Carter.

Now they say Manley's defeat is a blow against the Jamaican workers and peasants and criticize Manley for not putting forward a socialist program and mobilizing the masses!

Since when is black, white? Since when do Trotskyists support one section of the bourgeoisie against another, one bourgeois party and candidate against another?

The fact is Trotskyists do not. But pseudo-Trotskyists who support Stalinist bureaucrats like Fidel Castro do.

Michael Manley is a close colleague of Fidel Castro. Castro considers him a progressive bourgeois, like the presidents of Mexico, or Venezuela, or . . . the United States — Jimmy Carter. Thus the entire workers movement, be it in Jamaica or in the U.S. is to be subordinated to their re-election, just as Stalin attempted to subordinate the workers movement to his diplomacy in the 30's.

Fortunately, workers in the U.S. and Jamaica no longer accept these politics. But these politics will not die of their own accord. The sections of the Fourth International in the two Americas must be rebuilt and the pseudo-Trotskyist centers of confusion destroyed.

November 11, 1980

M.G.

El Salvador

Solidarity and Workers Democracy

The Michigan Interfaith Committee for Central American Human Rights, the Detroit Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, and the Latin America Task Force held a forum on the struggle in El Salvador in Detroit, October 25th.

They showed the film “El Salvador: Revolution or Death” and Ruben Zamora, once a participant in the junta, now a member of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, spoke.

The Detroit Local Committee of the Trotskyist Organization/USA sent a delegation to the meeting to win their support and participation in a workers boycott of the dictatorship. While a number of individuals indicated their support for this struggle, the sponsors refused to allow the members of the TO/USA to address the meeting, they even refused to allow its representative to speak from the floor.

This is an attack on the revolution in Central America and the struggle throughout the Two Americas to bring down the U.S. puppet dictatorships. These struggles demand Workers Democracy, an open and free discussion and struggle in the ranks of the workers and solidarity movements. If the leaderships of these organizations oppose such a free and open political struggle, it is because they know that their strategy of “of getting out the truth” and “writing Congressmen” would be defeated.

American workers and youth know the truth about imperialist oppression of their brothers and sisters in Latin America, and they have been asking them for years to stop. It's time to stop asking and start taking independent action, a workers boycott of the dictatorships is the answer. We call on all youth and workers to wage a struggle with these organizations to place them on the side of the boycott.

November 11, 1980

M.G.

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Free Speech! Rights for the Youth!

As previously reported, two TRUTH distributors, Rich Tetrault and Kevin Fitzpatrick, were arrested at Wayne County Community College and charged with "disorderly conduct" for exercising their free speech rights.

The exercise of these rights was directed above all at organizing the youth who attend WCCC into the World Army of the Revolution, the Revolutionary Youth International. The RYI is the way for youth to organize and to educate themselves, to solve the problems that today block their future.

Thus, these arrests are not some GENERAL violation of free speech, nor are they just a case of a revolutionary organization versus the cops.

This fight for free speech is above all a fight for the RIGHTS OF THE YOUTH. The rights of the youth, their ability to hear all viewpoints, to make their own decisions, to organize themselves to make their own future, are at stake in this fight.

Cuts in education, the reinstatement of draft "registration," even the deprivation of the right to drink for those under 21, are symptoms of one fundamental disease — the youth have no rights.

And all the various agents of the imperialist order intend to keep things that way. That is why the headmaster at Cass Tech high school in Detroit complained: "Why don't you go to Wayne State where there are adults?"

But the students at WCCC are adults — only the administration wants to treat them like children. That is clearly revealed by its "Downtown Campus Regional Manual," which spits on the very idea that youth have rights. This "Manual" consists of nothing but a series of rules that students — and even faculty — are supposed to follow like sheep, together with a procedure for calling the cops. The real meaning behind the rules is that the youth will not be allowed to organize themselves on any question, especially not on political questions.

We have learned that this intolerable situation is being fought, initially through an attempt to elect a student government that represents the STUDENTS. That's good, but the fight has to be broadened into one that involves the fate of the whole coming generation. How the new student government responds to the fight against our arrests will teach students a lot about its real independence of the administration.

We are for unleashing an offensive for the rights of the youth at WCCC. This is the way to defend free speech, the revolutionary leadership of the youth and the gains that young students have made in the past.

TRUTH
November 10, 1980

JUST OUT — IYG!

Interview with Rich Tetrault, leader of IYG/USA

Q. A new issue of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD has just come out which represents a tremendous advance for the youth. Could you underline its importance somewhat?

A. This issue focuses on the struggle of the Polish workers, their fight to build trade unions which are truly independent of the wretched Stalinist bureaucracy. Members of the Revolutionary Youth International went to the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to propose an open and united battle against the masters of the world. Across the front page of the IYG, the name GDANSK in red, bold-faced type focuses your attention in the same way as its political content has sparked the flames of the world revolution. This is a special issue, a call of the International Executive Committee of the RYI to the Workers Counter-Conference in Madrid,

which is translated into French, English, Spanish and Polish — all in one issue. The simultaneous publication of IYG in three languages has been a priority of the youth since our last congress. This not only represents a great organizational advance but a political clarification and centralization which paved the way for such an advance.

Wherever one finds the policy of imperialism, the youth must take the lead in organizing its class in the struggle for political power. That is the significance of Madrid. The call of the IEC of the RYI is an important tool for the rearming of the youth in order to prepare for Madrid.

Q. You speak of Madrid. What does it mean for American youth?

A. The call in IYG is very clear. The revolution in Poland marks the beginning of the European Revolution. The Conference of European Security and Coopera-

So That the Flame of Poland Can be Lit Throughout Europe Build the Fourth International in Poland! Contribute to the International Workers Fund!

Brothers, sisters, young comrades:

A single cry, a single thought, has been present in all your struggles: GDANSK! With this cry the workers at Fiat in Turin mobilized; this thought was present in the struggle of the Berlin railroad workers. This cry and this thought already form part of every struggle, strike, assembly.

Yes, comrades, our Polish brothers have given the signal with their revolutionary struggle.

Workers and peasants of Asia, Africa, Latin America: you aren't fighting alone. Your revolt against imperialism, betrayed everyday by the bureaucrats of the Kremlin and Peking, finds support in the revolutionary mobilization of the Polish workers.

Workers of Western Europe and the United States: your mobilization against the imperialist bourgeoisie, your unceasing struggle against the trade union bureaucrats, against the agents of the Kremlin, guardians of the state in your ranks, finds strength in the combat of the Polish workers.

Workers of Eastern Europe: you know that in order to liberate yourselves from the police machine of the Stalinist bureaucrats, you have to do what was done in Poland.

We are all Polish workers in struggle against the exploiter bourgeoisie! We are all Polish workers in struggle against the oppressor bureaucracy! We are all Polish workers in struggle against the order of the Holy Alliance of imperialists and Stalinists! Brother, sister, young comrade:

No one doubts that it is necessary to struggle. Now we can win! But the victory depends on the unity of the international working class from East to West, from the metropolitan centers to the colonies, against the masters of Washington and Moscow. The victory depends on seeing that the combat of the Polish workers extends throughout Europe. The victory depends on the struggle of the international proletariat having a plan

and a single will, supported by all the past lessons of the struggle of the international working class. This is the International, the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, its program, its struggle to RETURN TO LENIN, for the return to the traditions that will make great working class victories possible.

Comrade: With your help the Fourth International will forge this unity, this will and this program for victory. With your help the Polish workers will not fight alone.

The imperialists and the bureaucrats spend millions of dollars daily on weapons which they use against you and all the oppressed of this planet.

They spend millions daily increasing the forces of repression which trample on your freedom.

They spend millions for the preparation and celebration of the Madrid Conference, where the masters of the world will discuss how to save their order from the menacing revolution.

Imperialism and the Kremlin have already given millions to help the Polish bureaucrat Kania sharpen this police apparatus, which the Polish workers hate and wish to destroy, in order to isolate them, so that their struggle cannot be linked with yours in the proletarian revolution.

Comrade: the Fourth International needs to build an INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FUND to organize the revolutionary unity of the world proletariat. The Fourth International needs \$75,000 so that the flame of Poland can be lit throughout Europe, so that the Fourth International can be built in Poland.

Comrade: Contribute to the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FUND! It will be your contribution to the struggle for the unity of the world proletariat against the order of imperialists and bureaucrats.

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tion to be held in Madrid in April means precisely the counterrevolution. Every American worker and youth has a stake in this confrontation. The problems of the Polish workers are the problems of Americans — a repressive ruling class and the struggle for class independence.

The revolution is not some empty discussion. Look at Poland. It moves, gathers strength. It is a force. American youth have every reason to develop that force. We, the youth who in the thousands marched against the imperialist draft, who fight for jobs and education, who despise all the agents of the state — the fascists, trade union bureaucrats, opportunists and

traitors in the workers movement. Madrid means a great deal for American workers and youth — it means our preparation and independent organization for the revolution.

Q. What are the means to organize this fight and engage the youth in revolutionary struggle?

A. The Revolutionary Youth International has called for the formation of broad committees of boycott to prepare the Madrid Counter-Conference. Workers in the factories and through their organizations and the youth in the schools can join this fight immediately.

November 10, 1980