

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL No. 129 MARCH 27, 1981 25¢

Victory to the Coal Miners!

Victory to the Revolution in El Salvador!

General Strike to Bring Down Reagan!



Miner at the March 9 UMWA demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Special Issue!
Sixth National Conference
of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Organize the Revolution!

World Workers Conference April 18-19

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all the forces of the workers and youth, all the organizations who want to prepare the revolution and who oppose the rearmament of imperialism and the Kremlin, to join in the building of the World Workers Conference.

With the struggle that the Fourth International has engaged, regrouping all the tendencies who want to boycott the Madrid Conference on "Security and Cooperation," we prepare the whole next period of the class struggle. The period opened up by the Polish Revolution which announced the end of the past period of peaceful coexistence and posed the European Revolution as an immediate question.

The Polish Revolution, at the most advanced point of all the attempts of workers and youth to confront imperialism and Stalinism independently, is responsible for the failure of the Madrid Conference of the masters of the world to achieve the tasks that were set for it by the 1975 Helsinki Accords negotiated by Carter and Brezhnev, for the failure of imperialism and Stalinism to maintain their Holy Alliance before the blows of the revolution.

The Madrid Conference, which to a great extent has been hidden from American workers — despite the fact that the American AFL-CIO has from the very beginning taken a leading role in it - is now for the Reagan administration a means to try to put all the instruments of counterrevolution under the hegemony of U.S. imperialism. This is the meaning of the "Soviet threat" which former Nixon aid, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, tries to impress on Congress. These maneuvers, which vacillate from day to day, are a blind response of U.S. imperialism to the revolution and bring with them the danger of military intervention, particularly in El Salvador.

The task of the World Workers Conference, which in the last weeks has gained the participation of tendencies from Poland, France, Spain and Peru who are opposed to the Madrid Conference, is to regroup all the forces among the working class and the youth who resist the dispersion and disorganization of the workers struggles, who want to organize the revolution.

Join in building the World Workers Conference!

Boycott the Conference of the Masters of the World!

To All Tendencies, Groups and Organizations Fighting for Independent Action Against Draft Registration and U.S. Intervention

Down with the Masters of the World!

Build the World Workers Conference! Madrid, Spain — April 18-19, 1981

International Young Guard/USA calls on you to join in an international mobilization against the masters of the world, Washington and Moscow, the imperialists and the bureaucrats, the Reagans and the Brezhnevs; to boycott their Security Conference now reopening in Madrid, Spain; to build the World Workers Conference, initiated by the Fourth International; to map out an international working class alternative to these masters of the world.

World revolution has already wrecked Washington's and Moscow's initial plans. They wanted to reorganize their world order over a conference table. But the movements in Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador and now Poland, in the heart of Europe, and our own movement in the U.S. have made this impossible.

These movements aren't simply "resistance movements," movements for "democratic rights." The anti-draft movement in the U.S. today isn't simply a "revival of the anti-war movement of the 60's." They are expressions of the revolution, revolutionary movements. Thus Washington and Moscow are forced to confront them, to confront masses of people turning toward the revolution all over the globe. This is the real purpose of their "Security Confer-— in a word, war.

The International Young Guard is fighting to organize the revolution, to unite these movements, break their national isolation and lead them to victory on an international scale. A first, international regroupment of the forces unleashed in this revolution, of the advanced guard of the movements in the Middle East, Central America, Europe and the U.S., will be a tremendous step forward in this struggle. Thus we call on all tendencies, groups and organizations fighting for independent action against draft registration and U.S. intervention, in opposition to Washington and Moscow and their "Security Conference," to join in an international mobilization against them.

Boycott the Washington-Moscow Security Conference! —It's necessary not only to reject this alliance and its decisions, but also to reject the policy of trying to pressure it into changing, of trying to avoid a confrontation with it. The struggles in El Salvador and Poland have proven that the imperialists and the bureaucrats can't be changed. They have responded to the demands of these people with guns and tanks. Washington and Moscow must be confronted and defeated. To continue to advocate trying to pressure them into changing as do the official Socialist and Communist parties is to disorient the movement. This is why we say: Boycott the Washington-Moscow Security Conference!

Build the World Workers Conference! Boycott their Security Conference in The movement against Washington and Moscow must be organized. It must have a conscious expression and it must be on an international scale. With this the movements in El Salvador and Poland will be victorious. Without it. disorganized and isolated in each country, the imperialists and the bureaucrats will be able to crush them. This is why we say: Build the World Workers Conference!

> An initial international regroupment on this basis, the elaboration of a plan and organization to carry it forward, will give a tremendous impulse forward to the movement in the U.S. against draft registration and U.S. intervention.

> Thousands of youth want to take radical action against draft registration and U.S. intervention. Dozens brought resolutions to the CARD conference for mass civil disobedience, boycotts, strikes. Yet they had little opportunity to discuss these resolutions, much less implement them. They lacked independent organization and were thwarted by

representatives of the official Socialist and Communist parties(DSOC, Linda Thompson, Duma Smith), who didn't want the movement to go beyond pressuring Washington and Moscow

It's no accident that the people who tried to suppress the radical youth at the anti-draft conference are also singing the praises of the Washington-Moscow Security Conference — "a framework for human rights," say the "Socialists"; "for detente and peace," say the "Communists." Or that they are today trying to sabotage the only action proposal the CARD conference did adopt — the May 9 march — with a meaningless, demoralizing debate on whether or not it should be May 3rd, much like the meaningless, pseudodebates with which they tried to bury the CARD conference itself.

An initial international regroupment of the forces fighting for independent action and organization against Washington and Moscow will provide the masses of youth in the U.S. with a framework for independent organization and break their isolation from their counterparts in other countries.

Thus all tendencies, groups and organizations engaged in this fight, whether they are for the revolution or International Young Guard's perspective for it or not, should join in this international mobilization against Reagan and Brezhnev, boycott their security conference, build the World Workers Conference. We are confident that in the course of common struggle we will be able to clarify what disagreements there are among these forces and advance on this

We propose to open up this struggle in a large fashion in the U.S. with a common fight under the banner: Stop Draft Registration and U.S. Intervention! Union Boycott of Draft Registration! Boycott War Supplies to El Salvador! A week of action May 2-9 and a large contingent for the May 9 march under this banner to build support for this struggle.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

Subscribe to Truth!

"What the masses can demand of a newspaper is a clear program and a correct orientation."

This quotation from Trotsky expresses the fight that our newspaper, Truth, has taken up in the United States.

Truth is the newspaper that fights for and defends the Polish Revolution, that says that it is a revolution, part of the world offensive from Iran to El Salvador. Truth alone has drawn out the lessons of the Polish Revolution for the American Revolution.

Likewise, only Truth says that the revolution that is underway today in Central America is the beginning of the American Revolution and fights to defend it on that basis.

In the United States itself, only our paper has taken up the fight to link every concrete struggle of the workers, youth and oppressed to the world revolution, to the preparation of the revolution right here

That is the basis on which we have fought for a revolutionary solution in the anti-draft movement, for the Special Convention in auto, to link these and other movements up to the world revolution through the boycott of the Madrid Conference of the masters of the world, through the World Workers Conference. That is the basis on which we have fought with our newspaper to orient these movements toward the preparation of the General Strike to bring down Reagan, the way to open the revolutionary crisis in the U.S.

This fight that we have opened up through Truth has already begun to produce definite results. But these results are limited by the fact that our influence, the influence of Truth to be precise, is limited.

The readership of Truth is still too restricted to enable us to expand the gains that we have already made, to expand them both in terms of quantity and

The Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, which has just been held, was directed toward the

turn that we are making, the turn to becoming the leadership in the U.S. of the worldwide turn of the masses toward the revolution.

The gains we have already made are part of this turn. The fight to complete this turn is directly connected to the need to expand the readership of Truth, the influence of our party.

Therefore, our Conference made a decision to launch a subscription campaign a campaign for 100 new subscribers to Truth between the Sixth National Conference and the May 9 anti-draft demonstrations.

In every mobilization in this period, centered above all on the preparation of the World Workers Conference, we are fighting for subscriptions to Truth, to the paper of the Polish Revolution, to the paper that prepares the American Revolution.

The subscription rate is three months/ six issues for \$1.00, a price that is within the reach of every fighter.

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

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

Subscription Rates: U.S., Canada, Mexico: \$1 introductory — six issues; \$3 six months; \$6 one year. Inquire for all other rates.

Sixth National Conference Trotskyist Organization/USA

The Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, (sympathizing) section of the Fourth International, was held in Detroit, March 14-

The National Conference is the highest body of the Trotskyist Organization/ USA. The decisions that it makes and the leadership that it elects on that basis guide the party for the whole next

In this issue of *Truth* we are publishing the Political Resolution adopted by the Conference and the "Report of the Outgoing Leadership" to the Conference. The "Report of the Outgoing Leadership' is an evaluation of our experiences and of the lessons we have learned since our Fifth National Conference in May 1979. The Political Resolution is the central document adopted by our National Conference. It represents the policy that we are going to carry into action from now on.

Inside our movement, we have the greatest democracy. Both the Political Resolution and the "Report" were prepared in draft form before our Conference opened, in order for the whole party to discuss our work and our goals in the freest and most open way.

But we do not discuss to hear ourselves talk. We discuss in order to decide, in order to act. That is the meaning, in the simplest terms, of democratic centralism.

So, in the preparation of the Conference and during it, we were able to strengthen the Political Resolution.

In particular, we strengthened our political orientation in the following ways. First, and in particular as a result of the intervention of the international leadership in our Conference, we clarified the nature of the General Strike as a strike to bring down Reagan, to open the revolutionary crisis in the U.S.

Second, we made it clear that the fundamental question is the revolution. That it is an objective fact and that it, and not the "consciousness" of the masses taken by itself, is what we orient ourselves on.

Third, we determined on and included in the Political Resolution the critically important understanding that the revolution unfolding in Central America today is not a local disturbance but the beginning of the American Revolution.

In addition to the documents included here, the Conference also adopted a Resolution on Tasks, to precisely take up the implementation of our policy, especially in terms of the preparation of the World Workers Conference. In this context, it also adopted a proposal for a subscription campaign for Truth (see

On the basis of these decisions, the Conference concluded by electing a new leadership to carry out the policy decided on. TRUTH



Youth in El Salvador building a roadblock against the junta's troops. The revolution in Central America represents the beginning of the revolution here.

Political Resolution: "Organize the Turn of the Class Struggle! **Build Its Leadership!"**

The Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA is held in the midst of a new turn of the revolution on a global scale. A turn opened up by the struggle of the workers and youth to independently confront the order of imperialism and Stalinism, an order which is being fractured by the blows of the revolution. The Polish Revolution, opening up the political revolution and the revolution on the scale of all Europe, is at the most advanced point.

Brothers and Sisters! Comrades!

We Are All Polish Workers! We Are All Comrades in Struggle Against the Rearmament of Washington and Mos-

young fighters in the streets of El Salvador, by the revolution in Iran, by all the sectors of the world proletariat and the oppressed who have entered onto the plane of open combat and struggle. This is the movement for American workers, this is

In the heart of imperialism, the last stronghold of the exploiters and oppressors, the lines are being drawn, too. From the side of Reagan and his program of military rearmament and political attacks on the rights and the survival of the working class. And with every week, we see growing the mobilization on the side of the workers and the

The road has been opened up, led by the youth. From the massive demonstration of blacks in Washington, D.C., from the autoworkers, from the youth who oppose the rearmament of imperialism and the draft — the ranks of the army of the exploited, the unemployed and the poor and oppressed are going into

> Now in Madrid, in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, imperialism and the Kremlin are trying to piece together the tattered remains of their Holy Alliance, trying to organize their security against the world revolution. Its first defeats and paralysis are the expression of the combat and struggle of the workers and youth from Poland to the Americas

which is closing the door on the past period, the period of "peaceful coexistence."

At every turn, the movement of workers and youth runs up against its old and bankrupt leaderships who are driven to compromise and to bow and scrape before the masters of the world assembled in Madrid. These are the failed leaderships which are firmly entrenched in the now defunct stage of "peaceful coexistence." The mobilization by itself will not develop the revolution to its conclusion, to the taking of power by the masses of exploited and oppressed, to the international revolution the revolutionary leadership is necessary, the general staff with its battle plan. Which will forge the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe now on the order of the day from the flame of the Polish Revolution, which will forge the struggle in the heart of imperialism for the General Strike to shatter the plans of Reagan, to unify the struggle of the two proletariats of North and South America against the military rearmament of imperialism.

The crisis of the international apparatus of the Kremlin, expressed in open factions in its parties, especially in Poland and in Spain, in the absence of a working class leadership, is what allows the Walesas and Khomeinis to appear at the head of the masses' struggle. Centrism orients itself toward these retreating currents, and in so doing orients itself toward the *crisis* of the Stalinist apparatus and the attempts to maintain the now defunct stage of "peaceful coexistence."

The revolution is not characterized by the illusions of the workers and youth. We see around the agreement of Walesa to the period of stabilization in Poland a sigh of relief from the opportunists, "at last," they say, "a return to normalcy." No! The Polish Revolution has begun, it now enters its second phase characterized by the confrontation with the retreating and compromising currents in its ranks and by the struggle for power. The revolution exists and the organization of the revolution is the basis for combating the illusions of the workers.

In the Americas, where Castro and the Stalinist Communist Party/USA have thoroughly expressed their support of the Kremlin, the Socialist Workers Party tries to maintain its support for Castro and the petty bourgeois nationalist leaderships (FSLN) with muted criticisms designed to stifle the militants in its ranks, and in the ranks of the Young Socialist Alliance, who are seeking the road of the Polish Revolution. Comrades, the revolution in Central America is the beginning of the American Revolution. It is the beginning of the end of "peaceful coexistence" in the Americas as practiced by Castro — the policy of class collaboration and collaboration with imperialism.

The Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA launches an open combat to regroup the revolutionary forces. It puts forward the party and its working class character — the struggle for the Workers Party — against those who would dissolve the workers initiatives into the diverse petty bourgeois movements. It puts forward its international and revolutionary character against centrism and the pro-Castroist SWP. It puts forward the common struggle for the defense and extension of the Polish Revolution and the turn of the class struggle on an international scale, as the way out for the militants and tendencies of the workers movement



Armed miners confront scabs. But above all the miners need a political weapon, the Workers Party.

trapped in the framework of "peaceful coexistence."

The rebuilding of the U.S. section of the Fourth International, which passes through the construction of the Workers Party, that is, organizing the rupture of the American working class from the bourgeoisie, takes on the character of a struggle to open up the road of the revolution — from Poland to El Salvador — in the heart of imperialism. In this manner the Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA represents a decisive stage in the rebuilding of the U.S. section of the Fourth International.

Comrades!

The forces for this regroupment of the revolutionary vanguard are present! In the Americas, from Bolivia across the Southern continent through Central America and up to the ghettos of the industrial midwest of the imperialist colossus — the young street fighters, the union fractions of the ranks, the organizations of youth and workers who seek to engage themselves for the unity of the two proletariats — north and south.

The youth and workers who seek to follow the road of independent struggle of the Polish workers — "here like in Gdansk!" For the Socialist United States of Europe!

The task is an international plan and a first regroupment of the revolutionary forces unleashed in the new turn of the class struggle, a world center to organize the revolution, to bring together all the initiatives of the workers and youth the movements for the class independence of the unions, the youth movement directed against the draft and the rearmament of imperialism, the Polish workers who oppose their struggle to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Kremlin tanks - bring them together independent of all the attempts to reform, pressure, or enter into the framework of the Madrid Conference of the masters of the world.

Boycott of the Madrid Conference of the masters of the world!

Form the committees of boycott linking the struggles against the rearmament of imperialism and Stalinism!

Build the World Workers Conference to organize the international plan of battle!

The combat for the World Workers Conference is led on the field of the unconditional defense and common struggle to extend the Polish Revolution and the turn of the class struggle on an international

scale. Above all, the task for American workers is the defense and extension of the revolution in Central America, the beginning of the American Revolution.

Unconditional Defense of the Colonial Revolution! Hands Off the Polish Revolution!

To the Youth who Oppose the Rearmament of Imperialism and the Draft —

Your struggle is part of the struggle of all the youth against imperialism. Lenin has said: "No nation can be free that oppresses another nation." That is the living reality of imperialism's rearmament, which simultaneously reinforces the puppet dictatorships of imperialism in Latin America and around the world while it reinforces the bourgeois, terrorist state against American youth, depriving them of the right to a job, an education and freedom of expression. Your struggle is part of that of the Polish youth, the young leaders of "Solidarity" and the interfactory committees, and the striking student youth.

Not a cent, not a gun for the bloodstained dictatorships!

Join the International Youth March on Madrid!

To the Young Street Fighters of Guatemala and El Salvador —

Your revolution is our revolution. Unity of the youth and the two proletariats of the Americas against U.S. imperialism.

To the Workers and Militants of the Unions —

Gdansk! Your goal is the same, the unions for the working class independent from the exploiting class and its government. The same means are at hand — the General Strike and a class-wide offensive against the attempt of Reagan and his labor misleaders to involve the workers in their own exploitation. A new current is growing in the unions which is organizing the break from the parasitical layer of bureaucrats in the unions and their collaboration with the bosses. Your place is at the side of the Polish workers!

Kremlin! Hands off "Solidarity"! The ten-million-member Polish workers' union!

Free Moczulski and his KPN comrades now!

Free Wojciek Ziembinski now!

Defend the Soviet SMOT, the Rumanian SLOMR, the Bulgarian Free Union!

Free Klebanov, Morosov and Grimm

Your place is at the side of the fighters against U.S. imperialism and its bloody dictatorships in Latin America.

Extend the boycott of the bloody El Salvadoran junta initiated by the ILWU!

To Blacks and the Oppressed National Minorities —

Reagan's attacks fall first on blacks and the poor of the central cities where the police army of occupation and the extralegal racist and fascist organizations work hand in hand. Your struggle for rights and self-determination is in the front ranks of the struggle of the entire working class for workers rights. The advance of the revolution has opened up a new thirst among the poor and oppressed for their rights and liberties, and unleashed a new militancy of struggle. Your independence is the independence of the Polish workers — workers democracy and class independence.

To All Workers and Youth -

The boycott of the Madrid Conference of the masters of the world begins from the advance of the Polish Revolution which shows the way for all. No! to passivity and compromise before the "crisis" that is presented to the working class like an eternal fixture. Revolutionary action like the Polish workers! Organize the World Workers Conference and the Boycott of Madrid!

Down With Reagan! Advance! Advance! Organize the General Strike!

From the first moment of the opening up of the turn in the class struggle on the world scale, with the Iranian Revolution and the fall of Somoza in Nicaragua, the American bourgeoisie has accelerated its efforts to involve the American working class in the rearmament of imperialism, to involve them in their own exploitation. It has had the cooperation of the trade union bureaucrats in organizing concessions and nationalist campaigns, and to some extent it has had the cooperation of the workers themselves. To the workers parties and leaders who based themselves on the period of "peaceful coexistence" this has placed a question mark over the mobilization of the American working class. But it is largely the failure of these leaderships to open up a road of struggle and combat for American workers and youth that has disorganized and held back their resistance. It is time to pass from the plane of propaganda and "good ideas" to the plane of open struggle! This is the means to impulse the struggle of the workers for their own solutions. It is time to organize the General Strike!

The organization of the General Strike is the means to open up the revolutionary crisis of U.S. imperialism and the Reagan regime, to open up the road of the Polish Revolution, of the struggle for workers power and class independence against the rearmament of imperialism and Stalinism. It is the means in combat to forge the unity of American workers with the revolution in Central America.

The failed leaderships say the workers are not ready for this struggle. They say their illusions in democracy and imperial-

ism are too great. And from here they end up yelling, "long live democracy," which means also in reality, long live imperialism and peaceful coexistence. A general mobilization of the working class and the youth to shatter Reagan's plans is the basis for the unity of the trade unions and the workers.

The American working class is ready, because outside of a combat for class independence, a struggle to prepare the revolution through the organization of the General Strike, there is no alternative except collaboration of the workers in their own exploitation. And we must take up this struggle, even with the workers who have illusions, because it is not the illusions of American workers that express the situation but rather the strong movement in the unions, among the youth and the oppressed for a rupture with the bourgeoisie. This is the means to organize the consciousness of the working class.

Like the 1,100 Ford workers in Detroit who have demanded no concessions, the new slogan of the ranks must become no collaboration of the workers in their own exploitation. The General Strike based on the independent committees of the unions, uniting with the unorganized sectors of the working class and the oppressed, is the means to impose workers control of production, to impose workers solutions. In the case of the attempts to wring more concessions from the workers with threats of plant closures and liquidations the workers committees must be formed to open the books of the government and the bosses, and from there to enlarge the movement to the whole industry and organize the unity of the unions for a general offensive for the workers' demands.

In auto, where the attack is concentrated, the bosses and bureaucrats try to turn the attention of the workers away from their own tasks with the reactionary campaign against imports when, in fact, it is the capitalist class and the auto barons on a world scale who have embarked on the restructurization of auto and the liquidation of the workers gains, their jobs and the future of the young generation of workers. In every country, the capitalists try to present the "crisis" as a national problem, but it is a consequence of their system which cannot survive without destroying the class which produces the wealth, cannot survive without creating an impoverished army of unemployed and increasing the general misery of the popula-

With the Ford workers in Detroit, with all the tendencies which have raised the demand for a special convention of the UAW, we fight to broaden this movement and organize it on the basis of workers democracy, a convention subordinated to the ranks. And we give this convention a task - to organize the General Strike! In the case of plant closings, which demand an immediate action by the workers to defend their jobs, the organization of the factory occupation and the sitdown strike is the starting point for organization of the General Strike. The key task which still remains before the Trotskyist Organization/USA is to place itself inside this movement, in order to lead it.

The whole struggle for workers rights, especially the rights of blacks and the specially oppressed, can develop only on the road of open struggle and unity with the unions and large strongholds of the industrial working class.

A United Front to Organize the General Strike!

This is the road of struggle, the means for the workers and youth to test their leaders. The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes the United Front to all the tendencies in the workers movement who want to take up a fight against Reagan and his plans of military rearmament and attacks on the rights and living standards of American workers. This is the combat which unites the unions with the oppressed, which unites the working class and the youth who struggle against imperialist rearmament.

To All the Tendencies who Fight for the Workers Party and the Break of the Unions from the Bourgeois Parties — the Democrats and Republicans —

The mobilization for the General Strike is the means to clarify in struggle the porgram and the nature of the party. The fight for the party of the workers, the fundamental problem of the revolution, is an affair of the ranks of the workers movement, not a "discussion" among the trade union bureaucrats who, like Winpisinger of the IAM, want to "go a little further down the road with the Democratic Party." In the imperialist epoch there is no place for a reformist labor party which could only enter into the crisis of the two-party system in the United States, not resolve it.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes to take up the initiatives of the unions which have stated the necessity for a labor party or workers party by building a Conference of Trade Union Delegates for the Foundation of the Workers Party. The movement for a workers party exists and expresses the attempts of the working class to organize its class independence. This independence can be guaranteed only through the construction of the Workers Party as a party to lead the workers to power. In the combat to organize the General Strike, the Workers Party takes on this character in a living manner. It is a question of the resolution of the central contradiction which faces the world revolution — the need for the revolutionary leadership — and faces the American revolution in the movement of the unions the only mass organs of the U.S. pro-- to break from imperialism and the American bourgeoisie.

The Youth are the Flame to Renew the Leadership of the Workers Movement!

In the struggle to build the leadership of the workers revolution, to forge the party, the workers party, the place of the youth is in the front ranks. The youth are in the forefront of the class struggle from the young leaders of "Solidarity" in Poland, to the youth who fight in the streets in El Salvador, to the black youth in Miami. The youth are the centerpiece of the revolutionary regroupment of the new current in the class struggle.

As they enter into the struggle, whether the youth of the anti-draft movement or the young militants in the unions, they immediately confront the passivity of the old and failed leaderships. Like the youth in the National Anti-Draft Conference who demanded "we want action," they seek the road of Revolutionary Action Like the Polish Workers.

The youth organizations, the YWLL, the YSA and others, are held in the grip of



Police car in flames during 1980 Miami rebellion.

their "parent" organizations, the Stalinist Communist Party/USA and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, who want to maintain the radical youth in the framework of "peaceful coexistence." These organizations of the youth are in constant flux; new youth arrive looking to link up with the revolution and leave having failed to find it.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA gives the most central place in all of its fight to developing the initiatives of the Revolutionary Youth International and its U.S. section, International Young Guard, toward the association of the organizations of the youth and the various movements which are based in the struggle of the youth — the anti-draft movement in the first place — to the unitary fight for the Boycott of the Conference of the Masters of the World and for the International Youth March on Madrid. Through the formation of a Liaison Committee associating the forces regrouped by the RYI, in particular the youth regrouped in the antidraft Conference, the International Young Guard opens up the debate and struggle for the defense and extension of the Polish Revolution and its lessons for the entire movement of the workers and youth and the direct mobilization for the World Workers Conference

Against the failed leaderships who claim to represent Trotskyism, from the SWP which tries to make the youth into cheerleaders for Stalinism in the Americas Castro — to the Parity Committee of the OCI and Moreno which carries with it the slanderers of Michel Varga and the Fourth International, the International Young Guard/USA, section of the RYI, fighting as the autonomous army of the youth, can forge a revolutionary regroupment of the youth who are looking for a way to the revolution. In this struggle, IYG/USA constantly develops and reinforces the movement through the fight to Return to Lenin and the construction of its circles and its leadership — the National Bureau of IYG/USA as a school of communism in the living struggle of the re-

The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes a precision in the campaign of the RYI against the draft. The highest point of the struggle of youth against the Vietnam War was the struggle around the intervention in Cambodia to organize the unions and working class youth behind the antiwar movement. International Young Guard/USA must fight to make the antidraft movement an open struggle to organize the youth, the unemployed and the unions to stop the draft and military

rearmament.

For a week of action around the May 9th march against the draft, organizing delegations of student and unemployed youth to the unions to win them to the fight to stop registration and the draft, to organize the campaign for the boycott of the Latin American dictatorships.

Here is the Fourth International!

The whole struggle and all of the actions toward Madrid and the World Workers Conference, toward the organization of the General Strike, are centralized and reinforced by the fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to put itself forward as the party of the workers, the party of the new current of workers and youth.

We are the Trotskyist Organization/ USA, (sympathizing) section of the Fourth International. "Sympathizing" because of the reactionary law of U.S. imperialism that singles out the world party, the international center of the workers socialist revolution, for attack. We are the Fourth International, the world party singled out in Spain by the Francoist monarchy for "illegality" because our party, the PORE, refused to integrate itself into the "democratic" constitution which all the other claimants to the banner of the Fourth International lay down before.

We are the party of the Polish Revolution, of the unity of the political and social revolution, we are the party of Lenin and Trotsky which rests on the continuity of Bolshevism. We are the current, the Bolshevist current which led the Russian Revolution and raised the banner of the international revolution and the world party after the Stalinist liquidation of the Third International.

We are the international center which continued the struggle of the Fourth International, rebuilt it as a world party based on democratic centralism, against the liquidators and slanderers of our movement. We are the party that has led the struggle against the campaign of Stalinist slander against our comrade, Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution, which was organized by Lambert of the OCI, now regrouped in the Parity Committee, and toward which every other claimant to Trotskyism has either participated in or remained silent.

And we are the party for all the workers, militants and the youth who want to join hands with the Polish workers, who want to join in the preparation of the revolution. The Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on you to join our fight, join the Fourth International.

TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

"Report of the Outgoing Leadership"

Comrades,

The report of the Central Committee of the PORE to its 6th National Congress has said: "It is necessary to learn to recognize the revolution when it presents itself." For the most part, this statement could represent the balance sheet of the struggle of the Fourth International in the preparation of its 7th World Congress. It applies directly to the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the whole period since the 5th National Conference.

This period has been a struggle on our part to see the revolution behind its contradictory development, to elaborate the tasks of the preparation of the revolution, above all in the Two Americas, and to regroup the vanguard of the working class. A struggle to make the fight of the RYI the centerpiece of a large and open revolutionary regroupment. The 5th National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA was an important advance in that it placed these tasks on our shoulders.

However, this Conference did not foresee completely the powerful development of the world revolution, starting with the colonial revolution in Iran and Nicaragua, and passing to a new stage with the beginning of the Polish Revolution. This is not a question of "bad eyesight," but rather of a very positive and difficult struggle waged throughout the International to base ourselves on the tremendous upsurge of the revolution in order to resolve its most essential component — to build its leadership.

Behind the crisis of the Stalinist apparatus, which in the absence of a working class alternative has left the Walesas and Khomeinis at the head of the revolution, is the unbroken and growing mobilization of the proletariat. This is our revolution, and it is the revolution for American workers and youth. We place ourselves on the side of the revolution, taking on our shoulders the weight of its present leadership, in order to resolve its central contradiction — the need for a revolutionary leadership. We are ready to engage in common struggle with all the sectors of the workers, youth and militants brought into motion by the revolution, we will struggle with them even though they have illusions in the revolutionary stake of the battles. That is why we say we are all Polish workers!

But, comrades, we cannot increase their illusions. For all our efforts can come to fruition only if we can succeed to overcome the dispersion of the revolutionary forces which have entered onto the road of the revolution. This is the nature of the struggle which we engage for the boycott of Madrid and the World Workers Conference. To place ourselves at the head of the mobilization of the workers and youth through an open revolutionary delimitation. To make the Polish Revolution, at the head of all the workers struggles, the point of departure for a balance sheet of a decade of the failed leaderships and their resting place in "peaceful coexistence."

We are going to shed some light on the class struggle for those who have had a real problem with their vision. The best example at hand is the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1980 elections. We proposed to them a common struggle in the 1980 elections around the fight for a Workers Candidate. For all their criticisms over the last years of the "ultra-lefts" they found themselves on the outside of the workers mobilization when it came to the vote. Not because they went too far, but because the working class is looking for an alternative of combat against the rearmament of imperialism and the attempts to involve the workers in their own exploitation. Outside of the revolution and the party and combat which can lead the American working class to power there is only really the latter

This is our task, on the basis of the flame of the Polish Revolution announcing the death knell of the whole past stage of "peaceful coexistence," to light the way forward for the working class in the U.S., to make the revolution come alive in the heart of imperialism.

Thus, we must make a precision in our combat to organize the general strike, in order to pose very clearly the road to opening up the pre-revolutionary crisis of U.S. imperialism, in order to open up the road of the Polish Revolution in the Americas. The general strike is the weapon of the American working class to organize its rupture with the Reagan regime and the bourgeoisie.

DOWN WITH REAGAN! ORGANIZE THE GENERAL STRIKE!

On this basis we propose to the SWP a common struggle to realize the organization and centralization of all the initiatives of the workers and youth toward their independent solutions - in auto the Special Convention, the miners' strike, the open attacks of Reagan on blacks — through the organization of the general strike. In this struggle, which must be put forward in a serious manner to the SWP, including proposals for organizing joint activity (meeting with the leadership, common work with the branches), the program and nature of the workers party must be developed as a balance sheet of the party to lead the working class to power.

The struggle to make the revolution come alive in the American working class is an essential task of the preparation of the revolution on an international scale. The advance of the Trotskyist Organization/USA around the fight to defend unconditionally the colonial revolution, especially the Iranian Revolution, was at the same time a reorientation of our combat to define the tasks of the American Revolution. above all in the definition of our fight for the Workers Candidate in the 1980 elections. This whole struggle necessitated the rejection of the Workers Party as a small regroupment around the Trotskyist Organization/USA, it precipitated a struggle to break our isolation from the strong movement of the workers and youth internationally and in the United States. An isolation which is felt in the working class as a whole under

the tremendous pressures of U.S. imperialism, and in the party as an adaptation to these pressures.

Our initial gains in the fight for a Workers Candidate were a product of this re-orientation. And the failure of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in the last moments to organize the workers vote along class lines, an abstentionist adaptation, represented a retreat from the struggle waged in the 7th World Congress for this orientation.

But, comrades, this whole period represents a very positive balance sheet for our party because it has resulted in a qualitative advance in the definition of the tasks of the revolution in the Two Americas and an advance on the terrain of organization as well.

Now we must concentrate all our efforts on the task of the preparation of the World Workers Conference and above all through the struggle of the party to impulse and clarify the fight of International Young Guard/USA. Because in this struggle, a fully political one, we will prepare the next period of our combat, we will prepare the revolution

We demand no prior agreement in order to engage with militants, workers and youth in the combat for the Conference. Only that the World Workers Conference represent a regroupment of all the currents and tendencies who are opposed to the rearmament of the Holy Alliance and their Conference of the masters of the world in Madrid and the engagement of a revolutionary struggle. In this sense the Conference can be compared with the Zimmerwald Conference of the Bolsheviks, with the difference that the Fourth International exists and fights to give an axis to the currents which resist the dispersion and disorganization provoked by class collaboration.

We aim toward the regroupment of the youth who fought with us in the anti-draft Conference, the currents in the UAW who have come out for the Special Convention and, in this framework, a delegation representing the Trotskyist Organization/USA, International Young Guard/USA, the YSA, and the UAW movement for a Special Convention.

Comrades, never before has the clear definition of our tasks, the tasks of the preparation of the American Revolution been more important. Therefore, never has it been more important to insist that the discussion be organized toward a clear policy and a cohesive orientation of the Trotskyist Organization/USA going forward from the 6th National Conference.

Defend the Polish Revolution! Contribute to the International Workers Fund!

From Europe to America, in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the working class and the youth have an example to imitate — the example of the Polish workers. The Fourth International has established the WORKERS FUND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL in order to support and extend the Polish revolution. The Polish revolution has begun!

From its very first moments the Fourth International was present. A delegation of Trotskyists from the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain) and militants of the Revolutionary Youth International went to the shipyards in Gdansk where their message was received by hundreds of workers.

CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORKERS FUND!

Our message — build the party of the political revolution in Poland — now received by thousands of Polish workers through WALKA KLAS ("Class Struggle") the journal of the Polish section of the Fourth International, is the one that expresses the mobilization of the Polish workers. A mobilization which began with the General Strike for free trade unions and workers rights and must end with the

working class in power, must end with destroying the parasitical bureaucracy and stopping the strangulation of the socialist conquests by U.S. banks.

It is a struggle which begins from the mobilization of the Polish workers and the spark it has given to working class militants and youth all over the world but doesn't end there. A NEW CURRENT of workers and youth is pressing forward against the dangerous passivity of the compromised leaders and parties. Those who link themselves with the frightened bureaucrats and their calls for "order" and "peace," while Moscow marshals its tanks on the borders of Poland — waiting for the first sign of "order" to intervene. OUR PLEDGE — YOUR PLEDGE

And so the Workers Fund for the International is of direct concern for American workers. It is our pledge to you to join in the preparation of the revolution with the NEW CURRENT of U.S. workers and youth, from Chrysler workers to the anti-draft youth. Our pledge and your pledge together to build the International — the World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

NameAddress						
I wish to	make a pledge	e [] mo	nthly [one-time	a	
		ns to TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207				



"Solidarity" delegates, elected from mass meetings, in session. This is how the UAW Special Convention must be built.

Special Convention of the UAW Now!

By FRED VITALE

To the 1,100 Ford workers from Local 900 who demanded no concessions and a Special Convention of the UAW and all autoworkers who agree with them:

The UAW needs a Special Convention

The UAW needs a Special Convention now more than ever!

The recent Chrysler "agreement" which represents the single greatest sellout in the history of the UAW; the first concessions made at Ford — the Rouge steelworkers; the "deal" offered by the Reagan government — "cut imports if the UAW makes more concessions"; all these events prove the urgent need for a Special Convention.

A Special Convention is the key to stopping the policy of concessions as well as the Reagan government because it can concentrate all the power of the autoworkers independently of the government.

The Special Convention must have a goal of how to stop the concessions, how to stop the Reagan government. This goal should be: A General Strike to bring down Reagan.

General strikes work. This is the lesson of the Polish workers' struggle from last summer until now, and the answer to the UAW leadership's lie that "concessions" save jobs. The general strike as a weapon of mass independent action has built a union with 75% of all Polish workers in it; it has stopped "concessions" to "save" the economy; it has forced the Stalinist regime to back off time and time again; and it is not over, either.

A general strike to bring down Reagan should be our goal because the movement for a Special Convention in the U.S., like the more advanced movement of the Polish workers, is a movement towards the socialist revolution.

This movement is part of the world-wide opposition to the efforts of Washington and Moscow to rebuild their shattered world order concentrated in the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" being held in Madrid, Spain, today. This movement should be represented at the World Workers Conference in Madrid, April 18-19. It has been called to organize all the currents across the whole

planet who are also resisting the policies of austerity and concessions, resisting the efforts to involve the workers in their own exploitation (which is what the Chrysler "contract" is). This Conference can organize an international battle plan against the rearming of Washington and Moscow.

Whatever you may think of these questions, however, the movement for a Special Convention must expand, develop and win. The only way this can happen is if all the forces in the UAW for a Special Convention are united. The movement needs a Committee for a Special Convention.

A Special Convention can be built only by mobilizing the ranks of the UAW.

Informational picket lines can be set up in front of the plants to win more autoworkers to this fight. Speaking tours of the locals should be organized andmotions put forward at open mass meetings of locals to win their endorsement.

Delegates must be elected in open assemblies with each worker nominated declaring where he stands on the "concessions," plant closings and the pressing issues facing the working class.

The convention itself must be an open convention. Autoworkers have not started a movement for a Special Convention, only a few months after the UAW had two conventions, just to have another one of *their* "conventions." No! A Special Convention must be based on workers democracy.

Unemployed workers must be notified of all local meetings concerning the Special Convention and every effort must be made to involve them in this fight. Those who have suffered because of the policy of concessions must not be continually ignored!

All workers who want to see a Special Convention: your place is in a Committee for a Special Convention. Join with us — let's win a Special Convention!

For more information call: Fred Vitale, UAW Local 174, 554-2262; or write:

TRUTH PO Box 07066 Detroit, MI 48207

Letter, continued . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

We think it's time to stop asking the U.S. government not to register youth, time to stop asking them not to wage war on the peoples of Central and South America. It's time to take action to stop them from doing so. Mass action on the part of the youth can inspire workers to make a stand. Organized union refusal to handle draft registration and war supplies to U.S. puppet dictatorships will be a tremendous blow to Reagan. A unified boycott committee, bringing together all the anti-draft and different Latin American solidarity committees is necessary to coordinate this struggle.

We call on all tendencies, groups and organizations fighting for independent action and organization to meet to discuss these proposals and work out an agreement in opposition to the Washington-Moscow Security Conference, to prepare the World Workers Conference, to build a large delegation from the

We think it's time to *stop asking* the S. government not to register youth, me to *stop asking* them not to wage work out a mutually agreeable place and time.

U.S. to this conference. We propose the weekend of April 4. Please contact us to work out a mutually agreeable place and time.

Down with the Conference of the Masters of the World! All out for the World Workers Conference — Madrid April 18-19, 1981

International Young Guard/USA, Section of the Revolutionary Youth International

Contact Rich Tetrault, P.O. Box 07066, Detroit. MI 48207. Phone: 313-554-2262.

Slanders

Because of the publication of the documents of the Sixth National Conference, the article on the slanders against the Fourth International will appear in a forthcoming issue.



Miner burns sell-out contract during 1978 strike.

Miners, continued . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

victory or defeat imperialism experiences anywhere in the world directly affects its power in the U.S., and vice versa.

Right now, the workers and peasants of Central America, above all in El Salvador, are engaged in open conflict with a brutal regime directly and openly supported by the Reagan government, by, U.S. imperialism.

If U.S. imperialism "wins one" in El Salvador, it will turn on us with redoubled fury. If it loses, it will face us already weakened, already more on the defensive.

Even more importantly, if the working class of the United States comes to the aid of the revolution in El Salvador it will be striking a real blow against its enemy at home, the Reagan government.

That is why we offer a revolutionary perspective to the anti-draft movement, why we call for a boycott by the unions of the El Salvadoran dictatorship, extending it to all the puppet dictatorships of U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

But the General Strike to bring down Reagan expresses this fight on a much broader and more extensive basis. It poses a common sight against and a common victory over U.S. imperialism.

And Reagan is fully aware of this. In addition to the quotation displayed on this page, he referred in his March 7 press conference to "those who aren't just aiming at El Salvador but, I think, are aiming at the whole of Central and possibly later South America and I'm sure, eventually North America."

He wants you to think it's "the commies" and the "terrorists" he's worried about, but really it's you.

And we have every reason to think in terms of our "whole hemisphere," of carrying the struggle to "North America," right into the belly of the monster.

The mobilization of the coal miners, linked with that of autoworkers, youth, blacks and the poor in general can do just that.

That is the fight we have to take up in every mobilization from now on.

General Strike to bring down Reagan!

RUTH

The Miners, the General Strike and the Revolution

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The miners' strike has already begun! The coal miners have not waited for the official expiration of the "contract." The flying picket squads are already out, closing down mines.

These very facts show that the mobilization of the coal miners of the United States is part of the revolutionary upsurge that is shaking the world today. It is above all part of the preparation of the American Revolution, whose beginnings are underway in Central America right now.

The enemies of this revolution are fully aware of the deep significance of the miners' strike. That is why they are doing everything they can to derail or stop it. The miners and their friends have to take the road of this revolutionary offensive, of deepening and preparing it in the U.S., if they are to win.

The recent announcement by the reactionary bureaucratic leadership of the UMWA, Sam Church and Co, that a "tentative agreement" has been reached with the coal operators is part of the attempt to cut the miners' strike short, to prevent it from reaching its goal.

There are only two real possibilities. Either there was an overnight capitulation by Church or the coal operators, or the "agreement" is a total fraud.

If the operators capitulated it means that they are terrified of the power of the miners, that they dread the consequences of a strike. If that is the case, then we have them on the run and the task is not to "settle" but to completely rout them.

If Church capitulated, a capitulation which indicates the immense pressure the bureaucracy is under from imperialism and which the miners will immediately repudiate, this can open the road to a major confrontation between the miners and the whole working class, on one hand, and the bureaucracy and imperialism, on the other.

If the "agreement" is a fraud representing virtually nothing new, then it is simply a means to stop the impetus of the strike, to convince workers not to do anything because "it's all settled anyhow," and then for them to have to start all over again in dispersion, when the "settlement" turns out not to be one.

All these possibilities only reinforce the revolutionary potential of the coal miners' strike.

The coal miners, like the autoworkers, government employees, the poor, the youth, are confronting the Reagan regime. This regime is a government of imperialist rearmament, both political and military. Its policy is an attack on the working class and the oppressed, a drive for "concessions" and "sacri-

fices.

This is what the miners face a specific example of in the "take back" demands of the coal operators, demands for Sunday work, cuts in "black lung" payments by Reagan, etc. And all together these demands are aimed, as Church says, at the destruction of the union. This is especially so because the coal companies are increasingly dominated by one of the most powerful sectors of imperialism, the gigantic energy monopolies which have spread from oil into coal, nuclear power and even solar power.

But how does Church propose to defeat these attacks? Fundamentally he doesn't. His whole policy of pressure, of "restore the budget cuts," of a "contract fight" accepts that the unions and the workers are on the defensive, have to fight to hold on to what they've got.

That way ruin lies. That is the road of the Chrysler pact, of what economists are starting to call the "Chrysler syndrome." And on that road there is no end to the retreat.

Taking the offensive is the way out. That means seeing that the attacks on the miners are being organized from the same source as those on all workers. It means seeing that the Reagan government is the political center of these attacks.

And so this same Reagan government has to be the target of our offensive.

The coal miners of the U.S. organized in the UMWA have long been one of the most powerful, militant and advanced sectors of the whole working class. The UMWA was one of the first industrial unions. It was one of the first unions to admit blacks on an equal basis. And it has fought some of the key class battles in our history.

The UMWA was the organizational

backbone of the emergence of industrial unions in the mass production industries in the 1930's, the great mass movement of the CIO.

During World War II, it fought and broke the "no-strike" pledge that Roosevelt, the Stalinists and the bureaucracy tried to impose on the working class.

The Miners for Democracy movement in the early 1970's spelled the doom of a vicious and corrupt union regime and opened the road to the militancy that the miners have shown so fully since then.

Not to mention the great strike of 1978 that marked the beginning of the end for Jimmy Carter.

All these things show that the miners are in a position to make another leap forward in and for the American working class.

The question now is to single out the enemy and to defeat him. That enemy is the Reagan government. The way to defeat it is the General Strike to bring down Reagan. And the miners, with their forces already in the field, with their great traditions and militancy and prestige, can play the lead in organizing this General Strike.

The General Strike is obviously an action which will change the whole political situation, which will crush the drive for "concessions" and open up a period of revolutionary struggle in the U.S.

But is this something that can happen inside the borders of the U.S. alone?

The same Reagan regime that is attacking the workers and youth and oppressed in the U.S. is hardly confining this imperialist rearmament to the U.S.

On the contrary, it sees things from a global point of view. It knows that any

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

"What the other countries need from us, above everything else, is one small but good revolution in the United States."

James P. Cannon, "The Coming American Revolution"

"They're trying to put us back into slavery. But we're not going."

UMWA coal miner on the "CBS Evening News," March

"And it isn't just El Salvador either . . . Our problem is this whole hemisphere." Ronald Reagan, March 3, 1981

Hands Off the Polish Revolution!

Two hundred cops attack farmers and "Solidarity" members in Bydgoszcz. Warsaw Pact maneuvers, involving both Kremlin and Polish troops, take place on Polish soil. The Politburo of the ruling Stalinist Communist Party denounces the free trade unions for creating a "state of anarchy."

The Polish Revolution is under attack!

These most recent vicious threats to the gains the Polish workers have made since last August have one cause. The revolution is growing in Poland, as it is all over the world, and the bureaucrats have not been able to stop it with all their lies, promises and maneuvers. Now the iron fist has to come out of the not-so-velvet glove.

The revolution is entering into a stage of open confrontation. There can be no turning back

The best defense is a good offense!

Every advance the Polish workers have made has been based on their independent mobilization. The General Strike has been the means, as reality and threat, that has consistently thrown the Stalinists into retreat. Today, more than ever, the question of the General Strike is posed. But now it has to pose directly the question of power, of who will rule.

That is why the Fourth International and its Polish section, the Revolutionary Workers League (RLRP) have called and fought for a United Front for a Government Responsible to the Congress of the MKZ, MKS and MKR (inter-factory strike committees, etc.).

In this fight, we have consistently posed the necessity of building the new party, the Revolutionary Workers Party of Poland, through the Conference for the Return to Lenin.

The present "moderate" leadership of "Solidarity," represented by Lech Walesa, is openly placing itself today in opposition to this perspective, the only one that meets the needs of the Polish Revolution. It is trying to stop the workers' mobilization, to hold them back from striking, instead seeking "talks" with the bureaucrats who know only one answer — repression.

In a recent interview, Walesa stated: "From now on I can only descend." He has seen the handwriting on the wall: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting."

"Hands on the throat, knees on the chest!"

These words of the great Polish and international revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, are the action perspective of the Polish workers. Don't let them get away. Knock them down and strangle them!

And this goes for American workers as well. Reagan says he is "less concerned" about a Kremlin invasion. That is, go ahead. General Strike to bring down Reagan! That is the greatest aid we can give to the Polish workers.