

# TRUTH

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL • No. 132 May 22, 1981 25¢

Revolution in Poland,  
upsurge in Ireland,  
Giscard defeated in France . . .

## A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!



Irish youth fights British imperialism.

**A decisive step toward  
the victory of the  
American Revolution**

**Manifesto of the World Workers  
Conference**

Pages 4-5



Bobby Sands

"I was only a working class boy from a nationalist ghetto, but it is repression that creates the revolutionary spirit of freedom. I shall not settle until I achieve the liberation of my country, until Ireland becomes a sovereign independent socialist republic."

—Bobby Sands



Frankie Hughes

## Stop STATE Terrorism!

"... The British Army has borrowed, refined and codified the psychological torture methods of the KGB. To this grim little armory it has added a dimension of physical pressure, derived from experience in colonial wars fought against black and brown people. And government ministers not only knew of, but actually authorized, this nightmare on what they claim is British soil."

So writes a British journalist in the American liberal magazine, *The Nation* (both oppose the IRA). In other words, a *terrorist state*.

But from reading the lying capitalist press, you are led to believe that it is those like Bobby Sands and Frankie Hughes, who fought to the death against this state, who are "terrorists" and "criminals."

*The real terrorist is the state!*

From one end of Europe to the other, all over the world, the dying old order of imperialism and Stalinism seeks to save its hide with an unprecedented terrorist campaign, at the same time labeling revolutionaries, the workers and the youth as "terrorists."

The examples of this are everywhere. Immediately following Bobby Sands' death, U.S. imperialism came to the aid of its British partner, trying to make the Irish

Northern Aid Committee register as a "foreign agent" — of the IRA!

This same government has now kept members of the Socialist Workers Party from attending the International Executive Committee of the "United Secretariat" in a blatant attempt to re-vitalize the reactionary Voorhis Act.

And when a *known* neo-fascist — certified even by the Turkish military dictatorship — attempts to kill the pope (about whose fate, frankly, *we couldn't care less*), this becomes the pretext for a massive campaign of lies that seeks to connect this with the PLO, with Libya, with Armenian nationalists, with Iran — with an "international terrorist network." And all this happens, just coincidentally, following the first hearings of the U.S. Senate's subcommittee on "Security and Terrorism," which put forward such a theory. It happens on the eve of the Italian vote on abortion, in which the pope has his well-known position.

But there is indeed an international terrorist network. It is the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism and their terrorist states!

"Stop terrorism"? Yes, with the revolution!

TRUTH

## A Paper to Organize the Movement

The May 3 demonstration shows the immense potential of the movement that has developed in the American working class and youth against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism.

At the same time, in the difficult nature of its advance, in the lack of a clear-cut policy for victory, are reflected the problems of this movement which can find an outlet only in the revolution.

At the Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, we set a goal of winning 100 new subscribers to *Truth* by the time of the May demonstrations. We said then that the fight our Conference put forward was for us to "make the turn to becoming the leadership in the U.S. of the worldwide turn of the masses toward the revolution."

We also said that: "The fight to complete this turn is directly connected to the need to expand the readership of *Truth*."

What have we accomplished since then? We have made real advances in our fight in the movement against imperialist rearmament, but at the same time there have been problems. The subscription drive obtained 27 new subs for *Truth*. This represents an advance, but it falls short of the goal we set.

That is likewise the case with our fight to give leadership to the movement. Only our policy has offered a road to victory for the youth, and it — expressed in every issue of *Truth* — has been confirmed by the actual development of the struggle. At the same time, this policy has not *won*, has not become the policy of the movement as a whole.

We found both in the sub campaign and in our fight in the movement that whenever we put this policy forward in the most concrete and political way, whenever we carried into action our program, we were successful.

When we did not do this, when we modified our policy, did not apply it, did not develop it, we fell short of our goals.

The question then is to continue on the path we have taken, only to do so *more*. To do it more boldly, more clearly, more in intimate connection with the struggle.

At the May 3 demonstration, among the young workers and militants there, our policy — and thereby *Truth* — found a clear response. We told these youth that our paper was an *open forum* for their fight, the paper that was developing their fight.

*Truth is the paper than can organize the movement!* The fight for its policy and for subscriptions to it are different aspects of the fight to prepare the revolution.

We are going to continue our fight for subscriptions in the heart of the movement as the heart of the movement.

Subscribe to *Truth*! Build it in the movement. Organize our victory!  
THE EDITORIAL BOARD

## Apprentices of Vichinsky

# A Workers Tribunal Against the Slanders

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

(In 1972, at the proposal of Pierre Lambert of the French OCI, the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International was dissolved. The League of Revolutionary Socialists of Hungary (LRSH) opposed its dissolution and organized a Faction for the Maintenance of the International Committee. Faced with the liquidation of the International Committee, the organizations adhering to the Faction formed the International League — Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIR-QI). Its struggle finally culminated in the rebuilding of the Fourth International in January 1976.

The response of Lambert to the formation of the LIRQI was a campaign of Stalinist slander against Michel Varga, a leader of the LRSH and the IC, as an "agent of the CIA and the KGB," as well as a campaign of physical attacks aimed at the silencing of the LIRQI and preventing the rebuilding of the Fourth International.)

In our last two articles, *Truth* laid the basis for workers and militants to understand the principled combat which the Fourth International has waged since its foundation, and even before in the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. We have as well shown that the groups which formed a pseudo-Commission into the slanders of the OCI against Varga were unable to produce even one shred of evidence to support these Stalinist slanders, yet reached a verdict of "doubt" — the same conclusion they began with.

In reality, this "doubt" has been the basis for the continuation of the slander campaign. Through *Truth* and articles explaining the combat for workers and militants to take against the slanders, we plan to organize a Workers Tribunal to review the conclusions of *The White Paper*. This document was the product of the public Commission of Inquiry initiated by the International League. In addition, we hope

that this Tribunal will take a stand on the various slanders in the American workers movement. And we appeal to workers and militants to support this campaign by coming forward with testimony and by subscribing to the publication of *The White Paper*.

### Continuation of the Slanders

Since October 1975, the Spartacist League (SL) has maintained the same position (in fact, the same phrases) — Varga is "highly dubious," they say. This conclusion was reached *before* the pseudo-Commission was formed, thereby showing that the SL from the very beginning, without any other possible motivation than to attack the Fourth International, not only had "doubt" about the slanders but took them up as well.

Listen carefully, readers. In more than six years, the SL has been unable to convince one worker or militant that Varga is "highly dubious" but nevertheless continues to this day to use this vile, Stalinist slander as its calling card in the workers movement.

But, in reality, the SL is only the little dog who barks loudly. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which also participated in the work of the pseudo-Commission, though it has never publicly acknowledged this fact, has revealed on several occasions in statements that have been made by its leaders and militants that it also took the conclusion of its own pseudo-Commission — that there was not one shred of evidence against Michel Varga — as a verdict of "doubt." And furthermore, that like the SL, it not only refuses to denounce the slanders but even prefers to maintain them and use them against the Trotskyist Organization/USA in place of political struggle.

On April 16, 1976, only one month after the pseudo-Commission had reached the verdict that no evidence could be found to support the slanders of the OCI, John

Hawkins, a member of the National Committee of the SWP, declared in a public forum in Detroit: "We've got the goods on Varga. He's a police agent. We'll announce it in a few days."

This repeat of Stalinist slander made by the OCI, after such slander had already been judged baseless in fact, was obviously concocted on the spot as a quick means to dispense of a political opponent. But the gravity of the accusation demanded a public condemnation from the SWP.

Later, at a meeting of the SWP, Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the SWP, confided to a leader of the Trotskyist Organization/USA that the SWP did not support the slander and that Hawkins had been reprimanded for his remark. Barnes promised a public retraction. It has been five years and there has still been no public retraction.

We ask the militants and leadership of the SWP: why haven't the conclusions of the pseudo-Commission been made public in your press after your organization regularly participated in its work in Paris? Why hasn't the continuation of the slander campaign by the SL, and the remarks by Hawkins and other of your militants, who refer to the Fourth International as "Vargaites," been condemned?

We believe that the evidence shows quite clearly that the SWP, though it has never repeated the slanders in its press, condones and even profits by the slander campaign of the OCI which is continued in the United States by the Spartacist League.

These Stalinist slanders, which cannot in any case be passed off as one element of a mistaken policy, must either be condemned and fought against without equivocation, or they will be used — as they have been and still are used today against the Fourth International — in the service of Stalinism and in the tradition of Vichinsky, the chief prosecutor of the Moscow Trials.

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## Tens of thousands demonstrate in Washington, May 3

# Down With Reagan!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

Nobody, least of all the petty bourgeois leaderships in the anti-draft movement, expected the large turnout in Washington, DC, on May 3. The capitalist and radical press estimated the size of the crowd anywhere between 25,000 and 100,000. Taking police estimates (25,000) — which usually cut things in half — and the estimate of the organizers (People's Anti-War Mobilization/PAM) — who usually double things — (100,000), we come up with an estimate of 50,000. At any rate, it was the largest demonstration in "the nation's capital" since the time of the anti-war movement.

Without exception, from right to left, the strength of the movement was underestimated.

The demonstrators were mostly young students and young workers representing the new current of youth across the world marching toward the revolution. The many contingents represented many struggles: anti-draft, El Salvador solidarity; against the Reagan administration in its totality, all of its plans, calling into question its very existence.

They came by the van load, by the bus load, they hitch-hiked or bicycled, but they came to demonstrate against the Reagan regime, filling the streets, willing to put up with all kinds of inconveniences to make their point clear — complete dissatisfaction with the Reagan regime and its attacks on workers and youth, its plans to destroy the revolution in El Salvador.

Meanwhile, across the country on the West Coast, a similar demonstration of over 10,000 took place in San Francisco.

The first contingents in Washington rallied Saturday morning at 23rd and Constitution. There was an excitement in the air, a coming together of many forces; the machine began to assemble and strained to move forward.

We of the Trotskyist Organization/USA did our best work in those early hours. Armed with our paper, *Truth*, we fought for leadership of this movement. We met, went over our plans once again, then we began to *organize*.

Everything we had been discussing and fighting for in preparation of this moment took on flesh and blood reality. The most evident fact was what we have analyzed since our Sixth National Conference: the youth movement seeks a leadership that matches its objective character; its objective character is revolutionary, this movement must have a revolutionary leadership.

Seeing that this movement is in contradiction with its current petty bourgeois opportunist leaderships (PAM, created by the Workers World Party; the Socialist Workers Party, etc.) and *their* slogans, we fought to resolve this contradiction by giving it a political solution, to prevent the

Seeing that this movement is in contradiction with its current petty bourgeois

into harmless channels. The key to this fight is the *Emergency Conference of CARD* (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft).

This slogan is not determined by a desire to "save CARD." It flows from the need of this movement of the youth, a movement against the rearmament, especially the military rearmament, of imperialism, for a centralizing force, for a fighting leadership, for a real coalition of all the living forces engaged in this struggle. The Emergency Conference of CARD, based on a free and open discussion in this youth movement over the means and methods of struggle to realize the goals it has set: no draft, no U.S. intervention, an end to racist murders and to the attacks on the workers and youth. We offered to open up the pages of our newspaper to prepare this struggle, to insure it as a *political* and *nation-wide* combat.

Within an hour and a half, with only four of us working, we organized 14 new subscribers to *Truth* and sold 53 single copies.

The new subscribers represented collectives of youth seeking the solution to the political problems of the movement, its lack of a correct policy, of clear goals and strategy for victory. Everybody registered their disgust with the back-room maneuvers that took place before the demonstration: PAM with its coalition of cadavers overturning the decision of a national conference for a May 9 demonstration, the capitulation of the unrepresentative "steering committee" of CARD to this splitting tactic. Many told us they were disgusted that draft-age youth would not be speaking at the rally, instead of the liberals and leftovers who were.

What these youth could not know, by and large, was that the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had gone a step farther in these maneuvers. Far from being the "best builder" of the movement, the SWP engaged in a virtual *boycott* of the action, sending only a handful of newspaper distributors, discouraging participation by all others — including its own youth — and not lifting a finger to build the action.

These subscribers, though small in number, are highly representative of youth all around the country who want a complete solution. They represent the beginning of the re-orientation of the entire youth movement toward the conscious construction of a leadership determined and mandated to carry out the decision of the majority. The discussion has begun; the balance sheet of the past and current leaderships is being drawn. The road forward is posed: a break with opportunism, for workers democracy and a representative leadership.

The long march to the Pentagon began. Thousands more arrived. They kept com-

ing and coming as though there would be no end.

But there is no guarantee the movement will continue, that it will not be diverted into a movement solely of pressure on imperialism. A slogan such as "money for jobs not war" reflects such a misleading and diversionary policy. We don't want to advise the state on how to spend our money — we want to prepare the independent action of the working class and the youth to *overturn* imperialism.

After the May 3 demonstration, after the picture of strength and determination it

vealed, the movement can be satisfied only with a perspective for centralizing and inspiring its offensive.

This is the meaning of the Emergency Conference of CARD, which is not *restricted* to any single organization — CARD or PAM or any other — but which is a question of rearming this splendid movement for the revolution, against the rearmament of imperialism.

Join the fight for the Emergency Conference of CARD!

*Truth* is your forum!



May 3 demonstration.

## We must defend our movement!

During the May 3 rally at the Pentagon, followers of Korean holy man and CIA agent Sun Myung Moon held a "counter-demonstration" very close to our location. About 1,000 of them advanced on our rally, escorted by the police.

Suddenly the air was filled with the sound of police helicopters; apprehension gripped the crowd. The PAM speakers droned on as though nothing in particular was happening.

But this is what the movement faces! This is war! Clearly the organizers of the rally were not prepared.

The "Moonies," with crazed eyes and foaming mouths, were out to create a provocation that would enable the police to intervene against us.

We must defend our movement. Not

only in the political sense, by having a correct orientation, but also in the *military* sense of a conscious plan for the organization of a defense.

On their own initiative, the youth at last linked arms to block the "Moonies." But the great confusion created by the opportunist politics of the petty bourgeois leaderships at our rally was also sharply defined.

One youth cried out: "Let's sing 'Give Peace a Chance'!" No, we cannot "humanize" imperialism or its proto-fascist elements like the "Moonies"!

The fight for a working class policy that would inevitably mean a policy for defense is part of the fight for the Emergency Conference of CARD.

B.P.

# For the Socialist United States of Europe

## For a New Working Class Leadership

### Manifesto of the World Workers Conference

The following Manifesto was adopted as amended at the World Workers Conference in Madrid, Spain, on April 18 and 19. A report on the work of the Conference appeared in the last issue of our newspaper.

★ ★ ★

Assembled in the World Workers Conference at the initiative of the Fourth International, we — groups, organizations, parties, associations, committees, trade union factions and tendencies, unions and union branches — address this Manifesto to the working class of the whole world.

We have met in Madrid. In Madrid the masters of this world have also met: the Reagans and Brezhnevs, the capitalists and bureaucrats, the ministers, dictators and kings.

We have met in order to establish, in a centralized fashion, the conditions of the world working class response to the rearmament of the imperialists and Stalinists.

These people have met in the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" because the condition for the maintenance of their world order is based on the counterrevolutionary security and cooperation of the capitalists and bureaucrats in Europe.

Our conclusion is: the revolution has begun in Poland, its victorious outcome lies in the Socialist United States of Europe. This objective sums up all the possibilities for the victory of the revolution in every country because it means, above all, the end of the Stalinist leadership which has poisoned the international workers movement.

It means an active struggle to reverse the process of the disorganization of the workers ranks into which the crisis-ridden apparatus of the Kremlin seeks to draw the world proletariat.

It sums up the struggle for a new working class leadership of the world revolution.

We address ourselves to the workers, to the youth, to the oppressed peoples of the whole world, and we say that:

#### "The Revolution is the Locomotive of History"

It is the revolution which has put the old order of exploitation, of oppression and poverty, based on the collaboration of the imperialists and Stalinists, in crisis.

It is the revolution, coming from Iran, from Central America, which has broken out in the heart of Europe, in Poland, which is responsible for the defeat of the Conference of the Masters of the World in Madrid.

Their Conference has been one of crisis. Of political and economic crisis. Their old world is dying. There is galloping inflation, the European steel industry functions at 55% of its capacity, the crisis in auto is catastrophic. The political regimes which support this disorder are in constant convulsion. The Conference of capitalists and bureaucrats

has no other solution to this crisis than attacking, in premeditated fashion, the conquests and rights of the workers and oppressed peoples.

It is necessary for them to constantly increase the army of the unemployed, to attack working class and trade union rights and freedoms, to lower wages, to develop working class poverty in order to guarantee the rule of profit. Together with the bureaucrats of the workers movement, they want to insure these attacks by reinforcing the Sacred Union around the terrorist states, the army, police and legal system, the true expressions of bourgeois power.

It is necessary for them to open new markets, to insure raw materials at the lowest price. In agreement with the Kremlin, the imperialists seek to begin with the barbaric reconquest of the colonies, to bring about the murder of entire populations, to make each survivor nothing but a refugee serving only to swell the millions that already exist, to liquidate the fruits of a century of struggle for national independence.

It is necessary for them to insure the penetration of imperialist capital into the USSR and the other countries in which the bourgeoisie has been expropriated. They seek to insure the power of the bureaucratic caste of the Kremlin which opens the national boundaries to capital, which has isolated China, thus opening the road to capitalist penetration, by liquidating the working class opposition in these countries.

But the revolution has risen up!

The workers and oppressed peoples will not accept these attacks!

The people of the colonies have risen up!

The Polish workers have begun the revolution against Stalinism!

Strikes and working class resistance have broken through the regimes of the Sacred Union.

Capitalists and bureaucrats can no longer resolve anything around the conference table.

In crisis, in disorder and disarray, in haste and on the defensive, they have had to respond. Thus what was done in Afghanistan, in Iran, in Bolivia, in Central America, in Poland. Thus the failed coup d'état in Madrid itself.

That is their crisis.

Nothing will be resolved any longer through their peaceful collaboration.

The alternative is: war or revolution.

Because Stalinism is faced with the revolution in the countries in which it is in power. Its international apparatus is breaking up; its national agencies (Communist Parties) can no longer guarantee their hold over the masses for the benefit of the imperialist states. In order to defend itself from the working class revolution in Poland, Stalinism has had to open the gates even wider to imperialist capital and base itself on the ideological apparatus of capital, the Church. In order to guarantee its privileges, because what it most fears is the working class revolu-

tion, the bureaucracy, under the slogan of "peace," makes concession after concession to imperialism. And that only prepares war.

Because bourgeois "democracy," which more and more is reduced to free speech for those leaders of the workers movement who defend the imperialist state, will no longer be of any use to the extent that these leaders demonstrate their bankruptcy. It is the capitalist, terrorist, dictatorial and bonapartist state, no longer basing itself on anything but the force of the army and police, which will be on the order of the day. As such, it is already supported by the Communist Parties.

The "national bourgeoisies" have been unable to insure the imperialist order in the ex-colonies. Military reconquest, by fire and steel, with ferocious dictatorships, remains the solution for the bourgeoisies of the imperialist metropolitan centers.

It is along this road that imperialism will impose collaboration on the Kremlin. Already Brezhnev has said "Everything is negotiable."

Only the revolution can prevent imperialist barbarism. Yes to the revolution! The working class revolution!

We take as our own the slogan of Karl Liebknecht: "If you want peace, prepare the revolution!"

#### Workers of the World, Unite!

The revolution, the crisis and convulsions, the class struggle are breaking up the Stalinist and reformist apparatuses that lead the workers movement. Thus it is a question of the CPs, of the German SPD and the British Labour Party.

But they seek to involve the whole workers movement in their dislocation. They leave behind them the results of decades of bourgeois prejudices and of counterrevolutionary activity in the workers movement. They leave behind democratic and pacifist illusions; they leave behind racism, chauvinism and distrust of the youth. Above all, they leave behind working class disorganization, with a disoriented youth, at a time of great class confrontations.

Thus behind them come the Ayatollahs in Iran, the Church in Poland, the national bourgeoisies in Central America.

This is the result of years and years of collaboration by the heads of the workers movement in the capitalist countries, of their respect for and acceptance of the world order, of the "peaceful coexistence," of the capitalists and bureaucrats.

This is the result of years of activity of putting pressure on imperialism and Stalinism for the "full application of the Helsinki accords."

We, who have met in the World Workers Conference to rally the forces of the reorganization of the workers movement, decide to boycott all the decisions, work and results of the CSCE. That is, we will take no part in their application, we will cause no working class mobilization to depend on pressure on its participants, we consider as a condition

for the advance of the working class the most complete independence from the capitalists and bureaucrats, we will struggle against all the decisions they have made.

In this way, on the basis of the most complete independence from the Masters of the World, the WWC takes up the struggle for the reorganization of the world workers movement.

The signers of this Manifesto come from different backgrounds. We have come together in order to go beyond the present crisis of the leaderships of the workers movement and to advance toward its resolution in an active struggle for the revolution, in the course of which the program and methods of proletarian struggle will be clarified in order to provide the proletariat with the revolutionary leadership demanded by the situation.

Because it is not only a question of discussions.

Because it is a question of clarifying programs in revolutionary struggle.

Because it is a question of a balance sheet of the Stalinist leadership which has dominated the workers movement for decades.

Because this balance has been brought to a mass level, beginning with the Polish Revolution which is confronting the bureaucratic apparatus of the Kremlin.

We consider that the resolution of the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat, of every country, is the same as the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe!

This combat slogan is that of the workers of the whole world. It is also ours, the slogan of those of us who are fighting in Africa, Asia and the Americas, because it is a question of definitively settling accounts with the Kremlin bureaucracy through revolution.

Brezhnev has told Reagan "everything is negotiable" in order to hand over the masses of Iran and Central America to imperialist attacks in exchange for the possibility of intervening militarily in Poland.

The struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe is the struggle to unite the revolution against imperialism with the revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy.

In this fight, we assert the world unity of the revolution against those who claim to substitute for it the struggle between three worlds ("socialist," "capitalist" and "third" worlds), isolating each national proletariat from its class brothers, in particular in the semi-colonies.

The class struggle is worldwide: capitalists against workers! It is summed up in Europe in opposition to Stalinism, the agency of imperialism, and to the European bourgeoisies on which U.S. imperialism bases itself for the pillage of the semi-colonies.

The struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe (where the workers are most concentrated, organized and experienced through the course of numerous re-

# ed States of Europe! Leadership of the Revolution!

volutionary struggles) also means affirming *the proletariat* as the only consistently revolutionary class. It is in the fight for its power that all the oppressed layers and peoples of Europe can be rallied to destroy the repressive national boundaries, the oppressive centralist states and to found a fraternal union of peoples based on the power of the workers councils.

This is also the combat for the European proletariat to declare its independence from the imperialist national state by extending its hand to the peoples of the semi-colonies. It is the combat for the unity of the peoples of the semi-colonies with the workers of Europe in order to wage the struggle for national liberation in total independence from the "national bourgeoisies" subjected to imperialism in the semi-colonies; subjected directly or through its Stalinist or Social Democratic agencies.

Our fighting slogans, to continue the revolution begun in Poland, are: *Germany United by Workers Councils! Socialist United States of Europe!*

## "The Chief Enemy is at Home": General Strike!

Basing ourselves on the experience of decades of working class struggle and on the recent working class struggle in Poland, we decide to take up, in a coordinated fashion, in each of our countries, the struggle for the *General Strike*.

We call on the workers and youth to join this fight. The experience of the last few years shows that through the methods of bourgeois democracy, of peaceful pressure and negotiations, of class collaboration, nothing has been obtained. On the contrary, imperialism has based itself on the democratic phrases of the workers leaders in order to strengthen its military and police arsenal. It has attacked the workers rights and freedoms. The conquest of workers rights, of the most immediate demands, of the most elementary trade union rights, is the same as the struggle for all the working class sectors to enter into the fight against the state, the same as the struggle for the revolution.

The General Strike is the only serious working class response because it unites all the proletarians against the plans of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, it means the entry *en masse* of all the working class layers onto the political scene, it is the classical beginning of the revolution.

"The emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves." Only the coming out in broad daylight of the oppressed against their oppressor can begin the revolution.

That was true in Poland, it was also true in Iran and Nicaragua. No armed group, no active minority, can take the place of the entry into action of the masses without which no revolution is possible.

In the General Strike, the masses try to organize themselves in the broadest fashion

fashion in order to embrace all the layers in struggle. Here they form their trade union central, there their strike or factory committees, there again their inter-factory strike committees. We will struggle in the preparation of the General Strike to create the conditions for the emergence of these organs, to guarantee their independence in struggle, in extend their power from the factory to the city, from their national centralization to the concentrated struggle against the state power of the capitalists or bureaucrats.

It is on this basis that the independent organs of workers power can be built: the *factory committees* and *workers councils*.

Thus, in Poland, the *General Strike* has given birth to the inter-factory strike committees which have become the regional and fundamental organs of "Solidarnosc." We propose to all working class forces that they form a united front for a government responsible to these organs produced by the general strike.

In the same way, in Spain, where the recent attempt at a coup d'état shows the inability of the "democrats" of any variety to guarantee working class rights, it is the General Strike to bring down the monarchy which can guarantee and win rights at the same time that it opens up the possibility of forming a *Workers Cortes of factory delegates*, counterposed to the monarchist Cortés, hostage to the Francoist army.

This struggle, which we decide to take up also in France, Northern Europe, England and Germany, is likewise valid in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

It is necessary because the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class. Its entrance into the struggle determines the character of the revolution and its outcome. Guerrilla warfare in the countryside has never led the poor peasantry anywhere but into submission to the national bourgeoisies, that is, to defeat. The alliance of the poor peasantry with the proletariat in the General Strike is the condition for independence from the national bourgeoisies.

This fundamental struggle for the General Strike is already facing a formidable attempt at disorganization of the workers ranks on the part of Stalinism. In order to take up the struggle collectively, the proletariat needs its class organizations, the unions. The crisis-ridden Stalinist apparatus wants to bring about the break-up of the working class organizations in its own break-up. Its policy of division has produced the loss of half the militants of the French union federation, the CGT (1,300,000 in five years).

The struggle for the General Strike is at the same time the fight to reorganize the working class, to regenerate its organizations through the youth. The success of this struggle depends on the advance of the struggle for a new working class leadership against Stalinism.

## The Defense of the Revolution is the Condition for its Extension

The revolution has begun in Iran, in Nicaragua and El Salvador, in Poland. There is where it is most threatened. The condition for its victory, for its defense, is its development. On the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe depends the victory in Poland. On the struggle for the Socialist United States of Central America depends the victory in El Salvador and Nicaragua. On the struggle for its extension to the Middle East, to North Africa, to all of Africa (for a Union of Workers and Peasants Republics of Africa), depends the victory in Iran.

That is why throughout the world, as an integral part of the struggle to bring down our own bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, we will develop the international campaigns in defense of the revolutions in Poland and Central America as follows:

*Stop the armed threats of the Kremlin against the revolution in Poland!*

The fake "truce" of Jaruzelski with Walesa has been the occasion for a selective repressive attack on the working class sectors who do not accept bureaucratic domination. Its meaning is the division of the working class and the annihilation of its most combative sectors. It prepares the entry of the Kremlin's tanks.

Thus we struggle for and call on all the workers and youth to struggle for:

*The immediate liberation of Ziembinski!*

*The liberation of Moczulski and his KPN comrades!*

*The defense of the KOR from repression!*

*The defense of "Solidarity"!*

These slogans must rally the organized workers in every country. Already some unions and union branches have adopted them; we call for the struggle everywhere for the workers unions to involve themselves in this mobilization and to head toward the formation of an international commission of trade unions and trade union branches in defense of the free trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

In the USSR and Eastern Europe — because the preparations for crushing the Polish workers are accompanied by increased repression and by assassinations against the free trade unions in the USSR (SMOT), in Rumania (SLOMR) and in Bulgaria.

We say: *Free Klebanov! The whole truth about the disappearance of Paraschiv!*

We promise to continue an international tour of meetings with Fainberg (SMOT), the representatives of the SLOMR and of "Solidarity" in all the countries from which we come.

*Stop the imperialist threats against the Salvadoran Revolution!*

Reagan has decided to engage all the forces of U.S. imperialism to stop the extension of the revolution in Central America, its victory in El Salvador.

Not only has Brezhnev declared that he is giving him a free hand, but all the European bourgeoisies are interested in an

imperialist reaction. We therefore reject any attempt aimed at defeat, at making the international mobilization in defense of the Salvadoran Revolution depend on diplomatic pressure.

It is the working class mobilization which can *stop U.S. intervention!*

It is the working class mobilization which can help to *bring down the military dictatorship.*

At the same time that the participants in this Conference engaged in the anti-draft struggle in the USA wage the struggle to prevent U.S. imperialist intervention, we will struggle in all countries for the *working class boycott — economic and military — of the Salvadoran junta!*

In this struggle, we will draw the balance sheet — and we seek to draw it with the committees engaged in the struggle against the Latin American dictatorships — of the bankruptcy of all isolated national methods, of all methods other than the boycott.

The committees against the dictatorships in Chile, in Argentina, and in Bolivia can realize one thing: every government in the world has recognized the military juntas. Partial, national mobilizations, reduced to the demand for the non-recognition of the dictatorships on the part of the masters of this world, has not led to any result.

It is time, around the axis of the defense of the revolution in Central America, that all these committees unite with the working class unions and the organizations of dockers in broad *committees to boycott the Latin American dictatorships* under the slogan: *Not one cent, not one gun for the dictatorships!*

## We Remain Together to Continue the Struggle!

On the basis of agreement on this Manifesto, we decide to continue the fight for the reorganization of the workers ranks, for the clarification in struggle of the program and new working class leadership for the revolution.

We call on the workers, the youth, on groups and organizations to rally around this Manifesto and to join the *International Coordinating Committee* that we have decided to form and for which we have chosen a secretariat in order to continue the struggle.

*For the World Republic of Workers Councils!*

*For the Socialist United States of Europe!*

*Down with imperialism! Down with Stalinism!*

*Long live socialism!*

*For a new working class leadership of the revolution!*

Workers, youth, militants, groups, organizations, committees and unions: join the struggle to reorganize the workers movement around the axis of the revolution and around the cohesion of its vanguard!

# American Unions and the Polish Revolution

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

A large movement of American unions is developing in opposition to the Reagan regime and its austerity measures.

First the autoworkers, then the miners, then the railroad workers' union.

And from the ranks of this movement is arising the call: "Solidarity! Do like the Polish workers!" Hundreds of railroad workers wore "Solidarnosc" buttons at their recent demonstration in Washington.

This movement is not just a knee-jerk response to Reagan's policies. It is an expression of the workers revolution which has reached a high point in Poland.

American unions are on the verge of a fundamental rupture with the imperialist state, of a confrontation with this state. The only road forward for the unions is to organize this rupture to prepare this confrontation. This is the purpose of the Trotskyist Organization/USA's struggle for a Special Convention of the UAW, for a general strike to bring down the Reagan regime.

And the number of American workers wearing "Solidarnosc" buttons, saying "Here like in Poland!" is proof that American workers are seeking this road.

Yet interestingly enough, the more imminent this rupture of the unions from, and this confrontation of the unions with, the state, and the more popular the Polish road, the more widespread are the attempts to obfuscate it.

Everybody has his own "version" of the Polish Revolution.

The bosses and the trade union officials say: "What do you mean — do like the Polish workers? Polish workers are fighting to make Poland like America. They want free enterprise and collective bargaining. You already have those things."

Nothing could be farther from the truth than this "version" of the Polish Revolution.

Polish workers have long since taken all resources out of the hands of the bosses. Now they want them out of the hands of the bureaucrats. They want total control over the economy, production and foreign trade, not no control.

Indeed, one of the main demands of the strike was for such control. They want Poland to start producing what the workers need and stop producing to meet the demands of Western markets.

Such demands are in fundamental opposition to American imperialism. And this conflict between the Polish Revolution and American imperialism will grow stronger.

American bankers continue to collect exorbitant interest on loans to Poland, and they are demanding that the Polish bureaucracy impose even further austerity measures and reorient the economy toward the production of exports in order to repay the loans.

Polish workers will be no more willing to accept this in the future than they were last August.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) says the Polish Revolution is a series of reforms whose objective must be replacing the present bureaucratic struc-



Polish workers are engaged in a revolutionary struggle that shows the way forward to American workers.

ture in Poland with one that will enable the workers to exert direct control. They say the program of reform and the program of revolution are compatible.

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers . . ."

To break out of this, the workers have to do with the government what they have done with the trade unions—replace the bureaucratized structure with one that will enable them to exert direct control.

The program of political revolution, while taking the fight for reforms as a point of departure, represents a strategic approach that rejects the slightest confidence in the bureaucrats . . . (Intercontinental Press, April 20, 1981; reprinted in *The Militant*, May 8, 1981.)

We are happy that the SWP has finally recognized that there indeed is a revolution in Poland. Up until now it has characterized it simply as a movement for free trade unions, or democracy. And its sister organization in France, the LCR, has denounced us as "a tiny sect that sees the revolution everywhere" because we said last August that the general strike was the beginning of the Polish Revolution. (But now the "United Secretariat," to which the LCR and SWP belong, calls for "victory to the political revolution"!)

To present the revolution as a series of reforms, culminating in the *transfer* (how peaceful!) of power to the workers, is a total falsification which will only disarm the workers in the U.S. and in Poland.

A revolution is, in short . . . a revolution!

A revolution thus stands, *from the very beginning*, in total opposition to the existing order and to the policies and parties of reform of the existing order, whether the participants are fully aware of this or

not.

Its objective is the total destruction of the existing order and its state apparatus and, in the case of the workers revolution, its replacement with the power of the workers councils, not the "transfer of power to the workers" or the "replacement of a bureaucratized structure with one that the workers can control."

These formulations, which imply some sort of continuity, some sort of peaceful transition, between workers power and Stalinist power, are totally compatible with the liberal wing of the Polish Stalinist party which is trying to emasculate the revolution by integrating it into the Stalinist party . . . "horizontally."

At the recent Central Committee meeting of the Polish Communist Party, this wing intervened to make the party more "horizontal" and less "vertical," to give it a structure that will enable the workers to "control" it, in the vain hope that the workers will not take the necessary steps and destroy it and build their own party and government.

The SWP hides the conflict between the Polish Revolution and the Kremlin, as well as the growing conflict between the revolution and its current leadership, particularly Walesa.

"The longer the struggle goes on, the more the workers of the world see, the higher the price Moscow will pay for any attempt to crush the Polish workers by military force," it says. This implies that the possibility of a Kremlin invasion will be reduced spontaneously with time, when in fact a military confrontation with the Kremlin is *absolutely inevitable*.

The SWP reduces the political differences within "Solidarnosc" to tactical differences, when in fact the differences con-

cern whether or not to go forward to a confrontation with the Kremlin, whether or not such a confrontation is inevitable.

Walesa and Company continue to pretend that the bureaucracy can be reformed, that a confrontation is not inevitable, and to attack those trying to prepare and organize this confrontation as troublemakers. In this way, they seek to disorganize the movement.

The SWP even implies that to speak about the threat of Kremlin troops or about the differences in "Solidarnosc" is part of an imperialist plot to weaken the struggle. But it is the SWP's ostrich policy that really does this.

No, this is not the version of the Polish Revolution that the American unions need or want. In fact, this "version" is an expression of the same politics of pressuring imperialism and the bureaucracy, of "reform" of imperialism and the bureaucracy, that have rendered the unions powerless and drastically reduced their membership.

No, doing like the Polish workers, fighting for special union conventions, for a general strike to bring down Reagan, means a fundamental rupture with these politics, it means a *confrontation* with the old order — aimed at its destruction and at the establishment of the total power of the workers councils.

There is no middle ground.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all workers organizations that want to "do like the Polish workers" to join us in building a tour of Polish and Soviet free trade unionists, to defend the free trade unions, and to open up a struggle within the American unions to clarify the road before them and prepare them to take it.

This is the task of revolutionaries.

**AFL-CIO calls for massive demonstration against Reagan's budget cuts. . .**

# Stop Reagan's concession plans! UAW Special Convention now!

By FRED VITALE

The AFL-CIO, the central union organization in the U.S., with 13 million members, voted on May 7 to organize a demonstration in Washington, DC, of all its member unions to protest Reagan's budget cuts. This call has not resulted from the fundamental disagreement of the AFL-CIO leadership with Reagan, but from the powerful movement of the unions against the "Chrysler syndrome," against concessions, against the rearmament of U.S. imperialism. All workers, but in particular autoworkers, must build massive contingents from their locals to march in Washington under the banner:

**Stop Reagan's concession plans!  
Special Convention of the UAW to  
organize working class action like  
the Polish workers!**

There is a powerful movement today in the unions against the "Chrysler syndrome" — the coal miners strike, which began by rejecting the concessions of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) leadership to the coal companies; the 20,000-strong railroad workers demonstration in Washington, DC, on April 29 against Reagan's plans to eliminate tens of thousands of railroad jobs; the movement in the UAW against concessions, in particular the growing sentiment for a Special Convention to stop the concessions.

This movement is revolutionary; its goals lead to an inevitable confrontation with the Reagan regime.

These "concessions" and "budget cuts" are not simply temporary problems of a "weak economy"; they are a key part of the effort of the capitalists and their Reagan regime to destroy the unions, to increase capitalist profits, in other words, to rearm U.S. imperialism to crush the workers revolution at home and around the world.

What conclusions can workers draw about their movement in the unions so far? How can they go forward?

The most important conclusion is that the unions must organize the *General Strike* to bring down Reagan, to open up the revolutionary crisis in the United States, just like the Polish workers are doing in their own country. This is the significance of the miners strike today.

As one railroad worker put it, it's time to start "speaking Polish," to build a massive strike movement to get rid of the source of the attacks, the Reagan regime.

The railroad workers in Washington chanted: "Strike! Strike!" as their union president, Fred Kroll, spoke. Thousands of them wore the "Solidarnosc" buttons of the Polish workers union. Indeed, in a letter sent out to the workers before the demonstration Kroll wrote, "it may indeed be necessary for us to call for a general strike sometime following this march in order to demonstrate how strongly you feel . . ."

Douglas Fraser, head of the United Auto Workers (UAW), has been forced to make similar remarks concerning the attack on the workers organized by the Reagan regime saying, ". . . maybe just what we're going to do in every single factory under the jurisdiction of our union (is) just lay down our tools and just stop working until we get somebody's attention."

These speeches mean only that the movement is becoming more and more powerful. These bureaucrats, at the same time that they made these speeches, capitulated in action to the Reagan regime and its plans.

The union heads of the railroad workers accepted the Reagan plan which passed Congress the day the workers demonstrated!

At the GM and Ford Council meetings held in Washington, DC, in March, and reported on in the latest issue of the UAW newspaper, *Solidarity*, the UAW bureaucracy passed resolutions which lay the framework for more conces-

sions.

"Any company attempts to discuss 'concessions' or 'restraints' will have to be discussed within a five-part framework . . ."

The UAW bureaucracy continually has tried to isolate the UAW from the movement against the "Chrysler syndrome" by saying that the "restructuring" of the auto industry is a "special problem" which can be resolved by "cutting imports," increasing the "domestic content" of cars and by lowering interest rates. But Reagan has cut imports, not to help the autoworkers, but to press for further concessions from the UAW.

This effort to isolate the UAW from the rest of the unions battling the "Chrysler syndrome" is going on precisely because the autoworkers have fought it the longest; they have begun to draw conclusions in action which are significant for the entire movement. *This is the significance of the movement which has begun in the UAW for a Special Convention.*

This movement poses the need for the workers to win back their unions. A movement to develop a new working class program and leadership against the present leaders and their support to the "restructuring" of industry, that is, to the rearmament of U.S. imperialism. A movement which says that the workers power must be organized independently of these agents of the Reagan government in the unions. The means to stop the concessions is workers democracy — just like the Polish workers — who built their unions with democratic assemblies of delegates elected from the ranks, with strikes led and controlled by the workers.

This is the second important conclusion that flows from the first. The workers need to organize themselves independently to reconquer their unions, to organize the General Strike. They must

organize sit-down strikes, with the election of strike committees in factories slated to be "closed," such as the Ford Michigan Casting Plant in Flat Rock, Michigan.

Autoworkers need to create an organization to realize the Special Convention, to organize their fight to win back their union. In the struggle to organize strikes, to organize large contingents from the locals to demonstrations in Washington, in all their struggles, autoworkers must build *Committees for a UAW Special Convention*. Autoworkers must regroup all who want to fight the concessions, who want to organize action like the Polish workers. This is the key organizational goal before the autoworkers.

Ten local union presidents from the Flint-Detroit area called for a Special Convention to "discuss" UAW reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO. Autoworkers should support every real step towards a Special Convention. But this effort must be seen for what it is. These presidents put this motion forward at the same GM Council meeting where they agreed to a framework for more concessions! They tried to use the movement for a Special Convention as a means to further increase the isolation of the autoworkers by opposing reaffiliation. They are trying to turn the movement for a *Special Convention against the concessions* into a "discussion," in order to contain and destroy this movement.

No! They key to stopping Reagan's concession plans, to organizing action like the Polish workers, is organizing the movement in the unions independently.

Stop Reagan's concession plans —  
UAW Special Convention for working class action like the Polish workers—

Build Committees for a UAW Special Convention!

## "BE FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH"

On the eve of his execution, as John Brown lay in the jail of the slave-masters, he wrote his final letter: "John Brown writes to his children, be faithful unto death." The old man was as good as his word. Today, no one remembers the names of John Brown's legal executioners, but everyone remembers him — "his truth goes marching on."

The ultimate sacrifice of Bobby Sands and Frankie Hughes, with others yet awaiting it, shows once again the tremendous power of martyrdom, the unstoppable power of a movement which cannot be killed, a movement which grows and develops on the devotion of those who are willing to give up everything for it.

We are Trotskyists and this sacrifice is not alien to us. In the "isolators" and

camp of Stalin, in the "Gulag archipelago," the Soviet section of the Fourth International went to their deaths almost to a man, to a woman — and, yes, including by the method of the hunger strike.

But it is because of their deaths, because they would not surrender, that the Fourth International exists today.

We are materialists and as such we know only one immortality, the changes we have made in the world, the new lives we leave behind us transformed.

On that score, British imperialism has once again failed miserably. Long after Margaret Thatcher and her goons are nothing but footnotes to history, Bobby Sands and Frankie Hughes will live — in the hearts of the Irish people, in the communist future of the human race

which they have helped to build.

Bobby Sands was more than just another fighter against imperialism. He was the "officer commanding" of the republican prisoners in Long Kesh. He was, in other words, the leader of a tremendous struggle in incredible conditions of brutality and degradation against the attempt by the terrorist state to "criminalize" revolutionary struggle. He was an officer in the true sense of the word; someone who would not ask his men to do something he would not do himself, someone who did not simply give orders but who led.

Frankie Hughes was, as the bourgeois press has put it, "a legendary figure" for the Irish working class. As his brother stated: "Francis would wander through the fields waiting for the RUC

(Royal Ulster Constabulary/British imperialist police — *Truth*) to come along. When they did, he would challenge them and let fly with anything he had."

And now the disgusting liberals and opportunists creep out to say that the death of these men is "useless." There is nothing more *useless* than these gray, timid figures, these apostles of defeat and prostration.

We must take up the struggle for which these men died — the struggle against the terrorist state, the struggle for the defeat of imperialism. In that way their deaths and our lives will not be in vain.

KEVIN FITZPATRICK

## One World Army of the Youth for the Revolution

### RESOLUTION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA

#### I. ORGANIZE THE REVOLUTION

From the moment that Jimmy Carter reinstated draft registration, more than 25,000 youth responded with a march on Washington, DC.

Two weeks ago, more than 50,000 marched in Washington DC, and they clearly represented an even broader and more militant sector of the youth and a growth of the movement as a whole. Significantly, young high school students and unemployed youth were joined by delegations of young workers from the major unions. Young women were present in greater numbers.

And they marched for more than just the abolition of registration and the draft. In fact the character of the march and the slogans were clearly directed against the Reagan government and its attempts to rearm U.S. imperialism. It showed all the doubters that a movement of American youth in solidarity with the world revolution was an accomplished fact.

And present at this march was a new current of young workers, women, blacks, and high school students with one thing in common — they were looking for and thinking through the program and party to organize the revolution. They were looking for methods of struggle like the Polish workers, looking for an independent working class orientation — in short, for the workers socialist revolution.

Many young workers were present representing unions — yet all the official leaderships of the unions still support imperialism's plans in El Salvador. Tens of thousands of youth who had never been involved before in political struggle were present — yet not one youth spoke to the rally in a speakers list composed almost exclusively of Democrats and liberals. This shows the place that one army of the youth for the revolution, the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI), can play in renewing the leadership of the workers movement.

There was a lesson in this massive demonstration. It was a condemnation of the opportunist orientation put forward at the National Conference of CARD (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft) which tried to restrict the movement of the youth to pressure on U.S. imperialism. An orientation which had other ramifications as well, including a major split only weeks after the CARD Conference that divided the forces of the youth between two different demonstrations.

In reality, the movement became broader because it became more revolutionary not because it became more acceptable to the liberals and Democrats who were paraded in front of the May 3 rally at the Pentagon.

And at the same time this demonstration was a vindication of the revolutionary line represented at the CARD Conference by youth who fought to organize a massive



Revolutionary Youth International at March 22, 1980, demonstration

movement of militant action against U.S. imperialism.

The parties representing this opportunist orientation — Communist Party/USA, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party — were incapable even of organizing a united demonstration. They are in crisis because they cling to the period of "peaceful coexistence" which has been made defunct by the advance of the revolution. So they find themselves either at the side of imperialist democracy or in defense of the Kremlin and its tanks, poised to strike at the Polish Revolution.

This desire to return to a period of "normalcy" (which never really existed) is translated into attempts to revive the good old days — "the sixties," without however answering why all the problems the youth fought to resolve at that time now return with such force.

Now, when the movement demands the most open forms of struggle, the opportunists try to suppress open discussion and debate. And this method, dishonestly put forward as a necessary evil to insure order, is expressed in bureaucratic maneuvers and back-room decision making.

Now, when the working class and the youth need the greatest unity of their struggles, the opportunists split and disperse the revolutionary energy of the youth and insist on "unity" with reactionary and anti-working class liberals and Democrats. In their eyes the entire movement must be subordinated to partial demands and reforms, and they never say that even these demands can never be realized under imperialism.

That is why we still talk of "the sixties" instead of a period we might refer to as the dark ages if the revolution had succeeded.

Are we in favor of mass demonstrations in the streets?

Yes, without question. But let these large manifestations be the launching point for revolutionary and working class methods of struggle! Organize the support

of unions to stop all shipments of guns and other support to the dictatorships propped up by imperialism. Take up the demands of the unions in order to generalize the opposition to Reagan and his rearmament of imperialism. Place in front of the whole movement an objective to win victory and finish with Reagan's regime — *the General Strike to bring down Reagan*.

Are we in favor of open coalitions and the united front around practical actions and objectives?

Yes indeed! And let every mobilization be organized independently and in the most open fashion. Let the massive demonstrations be the place for the debate and discussion of how to organize the support of larger sectors of workers and youth. Let every action be prepared by the most open forms of debate. So that every militant can say "this is my movement." So that *Workers Democracy* becomes the rule and the basis for unity in action.

#### II. BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL — WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The Fourth International has total confidence in the new generation of the proletariat. We feel no need for keeping its mobilization "under control." On the contrary, we fought to build the Revolutionary Youth International (founded in Berlin, Germany, in 1975) in order for the youth to clarify in action the program and party of the revolution. The RYI was founded and exists today in order to lead the mobilization of the youth — against imperialism and Stalinism, for the socialist revolution.

But in recognizing one fact we can see that it is necessary for the RYI to take a qualitative step forward. In all the mobilizations, all the strikes and all the revolutions, it is not the youth who are in the leadership, although it is their energy that fuels the revolution. Instead it is the Walezas and Khomeinis, the class-collaborationist and compromising tendencies, that dominate.

And so this becomes the general problem of the revolution. In other words, the construction of the party by regrouping all the forces who resist the dispersion and disorganization of the movement. And it is precisely the youth whose refusal to give in to the old way of things is fueling the revolution, who must be, in the words of Liebknecht, "the flame of the proletarian revolution" and the centerpiece for the construction of the new revolutionary leadership.

#### III. BUILD CIRCLES OF INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD/USA

The building of International Young Guard/USA, section of the RYI, is a radical break with the present youth "mini-parties," which are really only subordin-

ate to their parent organizations. Rather, it is the struggle to build one mass international youth army to lead and organize the revolutionary movement of the youth.

In the resolution of the Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, we said: "The youth are the centerpiece of a new revolutionary regroupment." By this statement we do not intend to say that the youth come to revolutionary ideas spontaneously. Rather, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to orient the construction of *International Young Guard/USA* through the fight to *Return to Lenin*, must become the leading fighter for the construction of circles of IYG/USA.

The beginnings of a real readership and subscriber network around *Truth*, work which has already begun with some success, can become a direct means through which the circles of International Young Guard/USA can be built. City or regional conferences, convoked on the basis of support for *Truth*, must be organized to win young subscribers to build the circles of International Young Guard/USA.

And this campaign on the part of the party can rapidly reinforce International Young Guard/USA as an autonomous organization of the youth even on the basis of circles in a few key cities. This construction of circles immediately opens up the material possibilities for the regular appearance of the journal of International Young Guard/USA and the development of its own apparatus.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes to International Young Guard/USA that this mobilization, which is crucial for the further development of the movement of the youth in the U.S., be the basis of the convocation of IYG's Fourth National Congress in the summer of 1981.

And further that the Congress be prepared on the International Executive Committee of the RYI with the publication of a central text of the Congress.

"the youth is the flame of the proletarian revolution!"



### INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

English Supplement

Write:  
P.O. Box 07066,  
Detroit, MI 48207