

Forward from Solidarity Day to the General Strike!

Defend PATCO!



A SEA OF WORKERS. View of Solidarity Day crowd from the platform.

Full Coverage
of Solidarity Day

Pages 4 and 5

Hunger Strike Ends; Struggle Continues

The hunger strike in the vicious H-Block of Long Kesh prison in the British-ruled province of "Northern Ireland" has been called off by the current hunger strikers and by the leading nationalist organization, the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

Ten young men, ten revolutionary fighters, have died of starvation in this attempt to achieve the status of political prisoners, against the global imperialist policy of calling revolutionary struggle "terrorism," against the official British policy of "criminalisation" of political activity.

Beginning with Bobby Sands, whose struggle woke up the world, ten heroic figures have fallen in an open struggle against the cruelty and ruthlessness of the British imperialist ruling class, exemplified by Prime Minister Thatcher.

Let us call the roll: Bobby Sands (age 27), Francis Hughes (25), Raymond McCreech (24), Patrick O'Hara (25), Joseph McDonnell (30), Martin Hurson (26), Kevin Lynch (24), Kieran Doherty (25), Tom McIlwee (23), Michael Devine (27).

We support the decision to go off the hunger strike. Any tactic must be evaluated coolly and unemotionally in the light of its success. The hunger strike was not reaching its goals, valuable men were dying; it was time to change the policy. The Irish revolutionary organizations have used this tactic many times before, and it has not always succeeded.

But the failure of this tactic now raises even more sharply the fundamental questions that these organizations, the IRA especially, cannot answer. The prisoners went on hunger strike because the IRA leadership had no answer to their demands for a solution to the conditions they faced — the "blanket protest," in which prisoners refuse to wear prison uniform and do prison work, compounded by the vileness and brutality of the treatment given to them.

And now what? The IRA leadership still has no answers, not only to the question of "political status," but, more importantly, to the question of how the British are to be driven out of Ireland. Single combat and individual sacrifice have not, will not and cannot work. Only the masses can do this work, and it is the masses whom the IRA regards merely as a backdrop for its activities, at best as auxiliaries, as merely the "sea" in which the IRA "swims."

And the masses, in their hatred of British imperialist rule, of the exploitation and oppression to which it condemns them, will go into motion only when they see that the struggle is for their power against that of their rulers, when they see the socialist revolution as the goal and the means of their struggle. That is what the Fourth International stands for, in opposition to all the nationalist and pseudo-Trotskyist centrist groups in Ireland.

Bobby Sands and his men — he was "officer commanding" of the Republican prisoners — have not died in vain. The example they set of boundless courage and devotion has not been lost. The young people of "Northern Ireland" who went into the streets, the workers of the North and South of Ireland who elected the hunger strikers or their representatives to various bodies, the prisoners in other countries (Poland, Spain) who protest their conditions with hunger strikes, all those who see Ireland as their own battle ground now, will see to that.

TRUTH

Support *The White Paper*

More Testimony on "Spartacist"

"The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy — this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes 'Trotskyism.' It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International."

— *The Transitional Program*, founding program of the Fourth International, 1938.

Since 1938, the "deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers" against the Kremlin has been articulated — in the 1953 East German uprising, the "Prague Spring" and today, in its most acute form — the first permanent workers organization — "Solidarity" — the Polish workers union.

And also, in 1956, in the Hungarian Revolution. It's always called a revolution because a new workers power was created. The Stalinist regime was overthrown and the rule of the Workers Councils was established. This rule was crushed by the Kremlin's tanks. It is this revolution which is alive today in Poland, and beginning to come to life throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR.

The Spartacist League attacks the Solidarity union as "counterrevolution." So does the Kremlin. In the interview below with Butch Jenkins, an unemployed black autoworker from UAW Local 174, we hear how the Spartacist League also attacks Michel Varga. He was a leader of the Petofi Circle of intellectuals which made the call for the Hungarian Revolution;

he has been hounded by the Kremlin since 1956; and he joined the Fourth International in 1963.

But, unlike the Kremlin, the Spartacist League claims to be Trotskyist. And, thus, in the name of Trotskyism, it attacks *its essence* — the unity of the workers East and West for the international socialist revolution.

These slanderers must be driven from the workers movement.

We are publishing the interview below as part of our struggle to convene a Workers Tribunal in the U.S., a way to support



Michel Varga

the publication of *The White Paper*, also mentioned below. Here is how "Spartacist" tried to poison a young worker against the Fourth International, how it does Stalinism's work.

Question: Where did you first meet the Spartacist League?

as he gave its "last will and testament" at the second session of the historic Congress of the Polish free trade union "Solidarity."

"Thunderous applause," reported *The New York Times* (September 29, 1981) greeted this statement. Lipinski, although he represents the most moderate wing of the Polish workers movement, stated the truth. That is why it evoked such enthusiasm from the Congress' delegates.

Yes, the Polish workers are fighting for *real socialism*. And their fight is against that slander on socialism, what Lipinski correctly implies is no socialism at all, the bureaucratic dictatorship over the workers and their socialist conquests — *Stalinism*.

In a little over a year, the Polish workers have struck great blows at Stalinist rule and at its Kremlin headquarters. They have inspired new enthusiasm throughout the workers of the world — easily seen, for instance in the number of "Solidarnosc" symbols at Solidarity Day.

In response, the Kremlin has mobilized all its forces against them. It dare not yet attempt military force, but it is preparing it

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For the immediate future, TRUTH will continue to be published on a tri-weekly basis.

Answer: I first met them out on Mound Road in front of the UAW Local 869 hall during the last Chrysler contract vote. I met a young lady there.

Q: Did they contact you?

A: Yes, they called me later to come to meetings. After one phone conversation, they had a black guy call me. We had a discussion of a very touchy subject: the Klan and Nazis. Then they stopped calling me.

He told me about Michel Varga and that the reason your two groups (the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Spartacist League) did not get along very well was that the Spartacist League had more goals in relation to the Kremlin and their belief in what communism is.

Q: What did they say Michel Varga was doing in Hungary?

A: They said he was definitely against the people; he wasn't for the revolution. I think he was trying to say that Michel was trying to make some political and economic gains for himself.

Q: Once before, we talked about the slanders that had spread in the Black Panther Party (a black revolutionary party of the late 1960's). When you were a member in

the late '60's, a lot of lies were spread about different leaders which said that they were making money off the party, etc., and it hurt the movement.

So, what do you think should be done about these slanders against Michel Varga and the Fourth International?

A: Because this is a political question, it has to be dealt with by political means, there has to be some kind of political alternative.

One step would be to print about all the good he did; how many backers he had during the Hungarian Revolution. To put out publications to show that he was treated in an unjust way. That he was used as a scapegoat by this publication, (*Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League).

Q: That's an excellent point. This is why we relaunched the effort to publish The White Paper, a huge 300-page book with testimony from militants who've known and worked with Michel Varga through all the years, from the Commission of Inquiry into the Slanders against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

This testimony and the conclusions the Commission reached need to be published in English, so that we can really drive the Spartacist League as slanderers out of the workers movement.

Defeat "Spartacist" Counterrevolutionaries!

"The government accuses us of being anti-socialist. But what is socialism? Socialism is supposed to be a better system than the capitalist system. It is supposed to create a higher standard of living and give greater rights to its citizens... Socialism was to be the solving of the problems of the working class, the creation of conditions in which everyone could be fully developed.

But the socialism that was created was a socialism of mismanagement and inefficiency that brought about an economic catastrophe... It is a socialism of prisons, censorship and police. This socialism has been destroying us for thirty odd years as it has been destroying others.

It is this socialism that is anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary!

We are fighting for real socialism, a socialism in which democracy prevails."

So spoke Edward Lipinski, 92-year-old member of the oppositionist group KOR,

through slander, threats and blackmail.

One element of this "preparation" has at last come out of the woodwork in the U.S. In the September 25 issue of the newspaper of the "Spartacist League," this stooge group of the Kremlin yowls: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" Further, it calls for a picket line at the newly-opened press office of "Solidarity" to, in its shameless words, "protest counterrevolutionary Polish union Solidarnosc."

This is a call for an invasion of Poland. This is an apology in advance for such a crime against socialism and the working class. This is an attempt to cover up for the Kremlin's attacks. This is an attempt to keep American workers from defending the Polish Revolution.

This vile slander is not a mistaken political position, even a very mistaken one. This is the policy of a grouping which is nothing but a pawn of the Kremlin. A long time ago, we said this grouping was "the supply corps of the KGB." Now, "Spartacist," after a year of hemming and hawing, has shown its true colors, reveal-

ing that it is not a political organization — even a very weird one — but a front group for the Kremlin.

This attack on socialism, on the Fourth International — attempting to equate Trotskyism with this corruption — will not be permitted. Confront these traitors with their own words. Drive them out of your organizations.

Down with Stalinism!
Victory to the Polish Revolution!
TRUTH

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Our Fight in Solidarity Day

By BARBARA PUTNAM

There are so many rich experiences and lessons to be drawn from our intervention in Solidarity Day, the massive demonstration of hundreds of thousands of American workers against Reagan, that this brief article can only present the broad outlines of what was gained, and how it constructs the party of the working class.

We were presented with a great opportunity, an opportunity that did not get away. It was a great opportunity for developing and forming leaders of the working class struggle, in the midst of all the organizations and leadership of the American working class, 350,000 strong in Washington on September 19.

Our central gain was the formation of the youth of International Young Guard/USA, section of the Revolutionary Youth International, as leaders of their class. But this could not have taken place on Solidarity Day without the careful preparatory work that preceded it.

It was the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization/USA since its Sixth National Conference to place itself in the center of the workers struggle in the U.S. that laid the basis for what took place on Solidarity Day. It was the fight to place ourselves inside the struggle in the unions that guaranteed a successful intervention on Solidarity Day.

All of the young militants who went with us to Washington, DC, were won in the mobilization in the Mayoral Elections in Detroit for a Workers Candidate and in the united fight we made with other working class organizations against the Nazis, effectively stopping them from demonstrating in Detroit. These common activities, expressed also in the re-emergence of the newspaper of the youth, *International Young Guard*, prepared them for a larger field of combat.

Solidarity Day was the perfect training ground. On the way to Washington, we re-discussed what we were going to do. We decided that the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA would act together in a disciplined way to maximize our effectiveness in reaching advanced workers with our fight for the General Strike to bring down Reagan. *Truth* and the banner of the party presented the fight clearly to make it easy for workers to identify who we were and what we want to do. General Strike was the screaming headline of our paper and our banner.

That is why a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, youth group of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, marched with us under our banners.

For all this, it was not easy to sell our paper to workers. It meant a tough political struggle with each and every worker buying our press. A struggle to open up the paper as a forum for the preparation of the General Strike, a fight for subscribers in unions across the country who represent the backbone of the revolutionary party in construction.

We sold 122 individual copies of *Truth*, 3 subscriptions and 45 buttons supporting the Polish workers' struggle. One of our comrades had to work feverishly to keep the

supply up with the demand — there were more buyers than buttons!

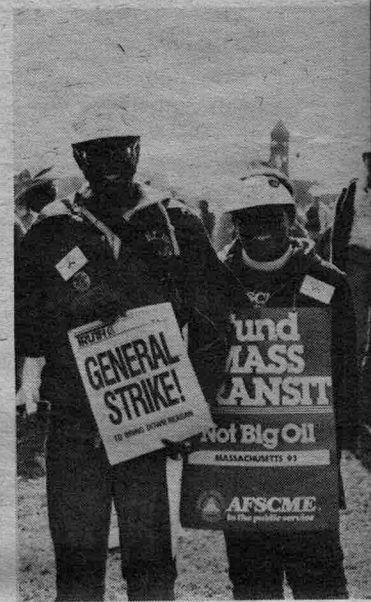
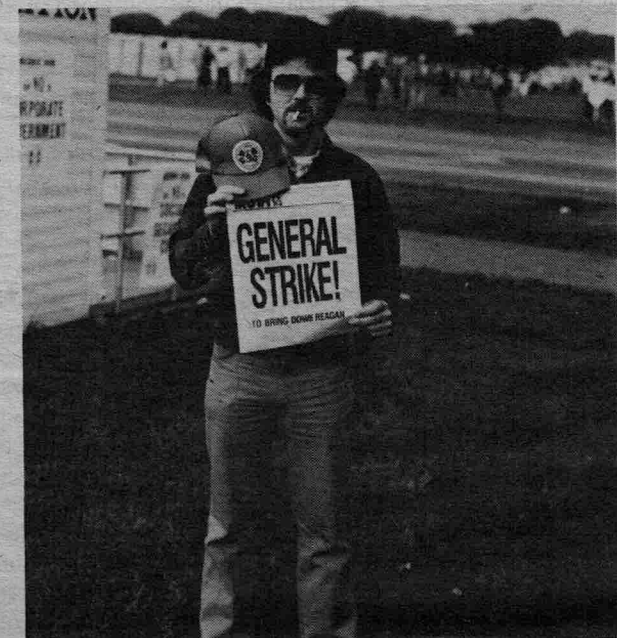
Each copy sale was an important weapon in bringing our ideas and methods of struggle to young workers. Solidarity Day, unlike the massive May 3 demonstration of youth opposing the draft and Reagan's intervention in El Salvador, was composed overwhelmingly of workers. This meant that our sales and subscriptions had a different character. The youth of May 3 are already broadly familiar with political methods of struggle and subscribe to the papers they most agree with. This is all new to the bulk of the young workers, who will come to see, in combat, the place of the workers press in organizing their struggle.

There is a relationship between the May 3 demonstration and Solidarity Day. In a certain sense, May 3 helped prepare Solidarity Day, helped to politicize and mobilize the workers. But we saw the same kind of political confusion among the workers as among the youth.

The workers, as we learned, are not a blind mass with one consciousness. No, they are what they are through their organizations, the unions, the political organizations and parties of the working class. For us, this spells *combat*, it meant we had to fight for a clear line against every current that retards the political consciousness of the workers.

In this context, 122 paper sales was a real victory. Though workers were not exactly snatching *Truth* out of our hands, the thinking section of the workers bought our paper; from PATCO, the UAW, the myriad unions present.

One young worker said, "I want ideas!" when he came up to buy *Truth*. This expresses where the consciousness of the advanced workers is. They are seeking for the ideas, the leadership that can unite their struggle against Reagan. And we were there



Scenes from Solidarity Day, with all the various elements from the working class to bring down Reagan evoked.

to provide this.

The political results of our combat on Solidarity Day are only beginning to reach fruition. The youth who went to Washington have just finished producing the next issue of their paper, *International Young Guard*, which is full of the impressions, understandings and the perspectives to carry the fight forward beyond Solidarity Day, the fight to win young workers to the construction of the party.

The political capital achieved in our in-

tervention on Solidarity Day gives a great impetus to the construction of the party, the formation of circles of International Young Guard/USA, the advancement and expansion of our press. The changes going on within our organizations as a result of our fight in Solidarity Day lay the basis for the rapid recruitment of workers and youth to the Fourth International. It means our organization is rapidly approaching the status of a political party, recognized as such by advanced workers and militants.

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How to Go Forward From Solidarity Day

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Solidarity Day was a great expression of opposition to Reagan and his attacks on the working class and the oppressed. It showed the depth and breadth of the hostility of the working class — and of its allies, for the workers were not in Washington by themselves — to this regime. This opposition, this hostility, the willingness to take part in a massive demonstration despite great material difficulties show that the workers and oppressed want to act.

Where To Go?

But where do we go from here? The trade union bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO who called this massive demonstration have no answer to this question. More exactly, they have an answer that they do not want to say out loud. They wanted this demonstration to be a base of support for reviving the Democratic Party. But they knew that this was not, to say the least, a popular idea. Thus, no Democratic or Republican politicians appeared openly on the platform in Washington. Thus, the bureaucrats spoke only in general terms.

Nonetheless, their answer is obvious: wait until 1982 and vote in a Democratic Congress. Oh joy! What a breath-taking perspective! A return to the good old days of the "Democratic majority" and the "friends of labor." It was the total and blatant bankruptcy of these good old days, of this fraud that hope lies with the liberal Democrats, that impelled some workers to vote for Reagan (more exactly, against Carter) and even more workers not to vote at all.

Solidarity Day was an unprecedented event. Not just because the AFL-CIO in all its hundred years had never before called a major demonstration, but above all because a huge mass of workers and oppressed have taken their first step in political activity, have left passivity behind. It would be no exaggeration to say that *hundreds of thousands* of workers took part in their first demonstration on Solidarity Day. They felt their own power, they saw their strength, they saw that they had allies. And these hundreds of thousands are directly in touch with *millions*.

What can be done with this great force, with this huge potential for social change?

The bureaucrats are afraid even to straightforwardly state their own position. They are afraid they have unleashed their own Frankenstein's monster. And so, by offering no solution to this vast movement which already exists, they hope to put it in a position where it will be faced with their only policy: vote for the Democrats.

In other words, in order to reach their goals, the bureaucrats have to leave this movement without a policy. They have to try to let it dissipate its energy, to let it stall and die at the side of the road.

No, we need a positive goal, one that can not only keep this movement alive, but inspire it. We need a goal that shows the direction we have to go and the methods we have to use to reach it.

Now, the bureaucrats are not alone in offering halfway or half-baked solutions. For instance, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which is the largest group in the United States that claims to be Trotskyist,

has emphasized in its newspaper, *The Militant*, both in the issue distributed on Solidarity Day, and in the issue following it, that the question is one of building a labor party.

It picked up on a slogan present at the march: "Solidarity Day — Only the Beginning." This parallels the tune that French workers beat out on their car horns following the victory of Socialist Party candidate Francois Mitterand in the presidential elections: "Ce n'est qu'un debut" — "It's only a beginning."

"Only the Beginning"?

But, as the French workers are learning, it takes a lot to go from the beginning to the end. And the leadership they still have wants to make the beginning into the end. It is no different in this country. Who is going to make the beginning into the first step on the road to victory? That is the question the SWP and *The Militant* do not even raise.

The SWP goes on and on about a labor party, about how nice it would be, about all the dandy things it could do — but it never once says how this party is going to come into being. On one level, this makes the labor party into just another good idea. But, on a more important level, it leaves the clear implication that this party can be built and can carry out its fight under the present leadership of the unions, the bureaucrats.

But these same bureaucrats are the ones responsible for the situation the working class and oppressed face, they are the ones who held Solidarity Day, *not to build a labor party*, but precisely to save the capitalist Democratic Party — not to mention their own hides.

At the same time, the SWP does not address the question that the bureaucrats answer only shamefacedly — how are we going to stop these attacks, how are we going to take the offensive? The bureaucrats' answer, though timid, is real: vote Democratic. The SWP's policy is to ignore this question and to call on these same bureaucrats to build a labor party. That is unreal.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is totally for an independent working class party, whether you call it a labor party, a workers party or some other name. But what we emphasize is that this party will not come into being on the basis of being created by a Congress of Labor called by the bureaucrats.

What are the lessons of Poland on this score? Thousands upon thousands of workers, youth and oppressed wore something on Solidarity Day that bore the word and symbol "Solidarnosc," the name of the Polish free trade union. This is a fight with which they identify and which has inspired them.

The Polish workers movement did not develop on the basis of official gatherings called by the official leaderships. The whole movement developed as a revolt against the bureaucrats, not only the ruling caste, but especially against its agents in the unions. The Polish workers have not yet built their own party — that is one of their problems — but they are clearly on



Part of the crowd, with our banners visible.

the road to creating a *political alternative* to bureaucratic Stalinist rule.

The key to the development of this political alternative has been the *General Strike*. It had been the weapon and the means with which the Polish workers have at every step developed their fight.

We need to build a *political alternative* in this country, too. The bureaucrats' alternative — the Democratic Party — is no alternative at all. The alternative of the SWP — the labor party — begs the question.

The General Strike

The question of how to stop the attacks and how to go on the offensive, the question of the goal that our movement needs both have the same answer — *bring down Reagan!* And the General Strike will be the method through which this goal can be achieved — *General Strike to bring down Reagan!*

And that is the basis on which we can go forward to building a workers party in this country. All the independent organs that are created in and by the General Strike, all the leaders who will come to the fore — these are the elements of a Congress of Labor that will really represent a change, a political transformation of the American landscape marked by the emergence of a working class party.

But how will we get there? Isn't this prospect just another good idea, one more appealing than the SWP's labor party, but no more real?

If it were just a question of words, of slogans, that would be true. But the General Strike to bring down Reagan is, first of all, the centralization of what already exists. It is a way to direct the opposition to Reagan that is already underway and to give it a clear political goal. It is a way to give a direction and coherence and unity to all the different movements — blacks, youth, etc. — that exist outside the direct influence of the unions but that look to them and follow when they lead.

What is the next step in this fight? How can we concretely fight Reagan and at the same time begin a mobilization that will lead to a confrontation with the bureaucrats over the nature and fate of the unions?

Both at Solidarity Day and in the prepara-

tions for it a major role was played by the striking air traffic controllers. Their union, PATCO, was given a place of honor in the various marches. These are nice gestures, but empty ones. Because, despite all the talk, despite all the gestures, the trade union bureaucrats have not engaged in one *act* of solidarity with these strikers. The stakes are still high. If Reagan can bust a union and get away with it, the bureaucrats — the ones the SWP wants to lead a labor party — will have allowed a blow to be struck against the workers that will make Solidarity Day not a beginning, but just a possibility that was not developed.

The Next Step

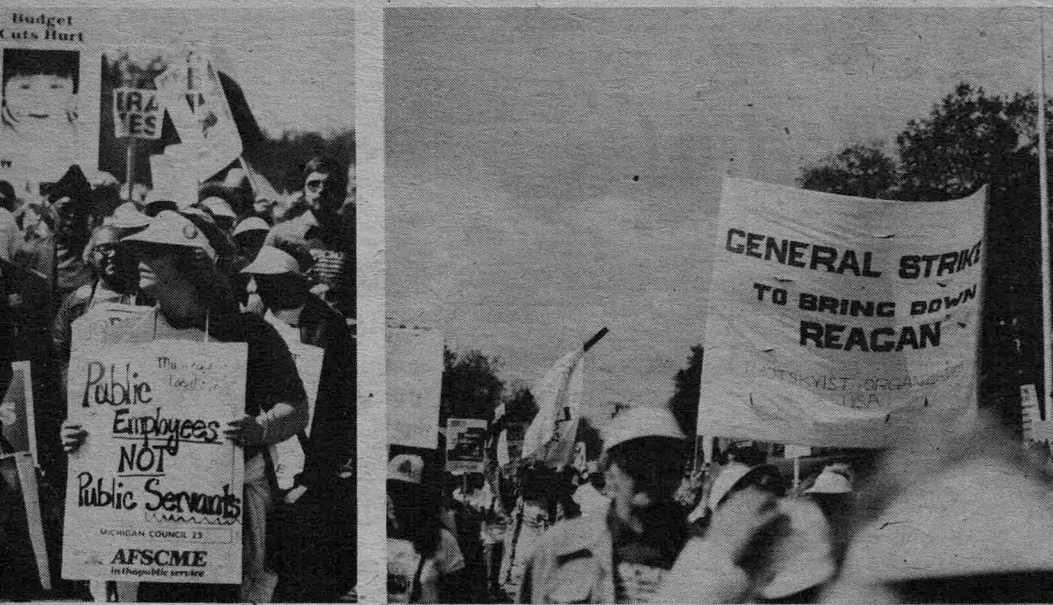
What is the next step, what is the fight for the General Strike today? It is the fight for unions in the airline industry to respect the picket lines of PATCO. Don't cross picket lines — is that so much to ask?

If that happens, if other unions through demonstrations and other actions support these first unions, if the call for a one-day work stoppage is carried into action, Reagan will be forced to beat a hasty retreat. His weakness will be exposed, our strength will be revealed. This will mark a change in the relationship of forces between them and us; it will raise the General Strike to the level of a practical activity whose potential has already been shown.

The SWP, for instance, which so earnestly calls for a labor party, has not said one word about respecting PATCO's picket lines. Here, too, it lines up with the bureaucrats in leaving the movement without a goal, in laying it open to dispersion and demoralization.

PATCO is an urgent question; in a few days from this writing Reagan's attempted decertification of it will be ruled on. But behind it in line come even greater questions — and even more important unions. The drive for *more* "concessions" in auto is already shaping up in the form of "early bargaining" for the 1982 contract; the GM bargaining team has already been elected and the Ford one will soon follow.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA offers an open fight to all militants and organizations that wish to engage in a common struggle to defend PATCO. That is the way forward from Solidarity Day.



...s that made it up, also showing the response that our call for the General Strike

What Solidarity Day Meant

Solidarity Day, September 19, was an unprecedented event. In response to the first call ever by the AFL-CIO for a national demonstration, over 350,000 workers and their allies poured into the streets of Washington, DC, to protest against Reagan's attacks on the working class, against his attempts to rearm imperialism.

A Sea of Workers

This vast mobilization, one of the largest in American history, exceeded only by a few of the demonstrations at the peak of the anti-war movement, was far larger than the bureaucrats who called it had anticipated. They had hoped for 100,000 — enough to show they were not powerless, not too many to "get out of control." It also was much bigger than the official police estimate of 240,000-260,000 — a figure that excluded the many who came on their own, even by hitch-hiking, to act against Reagan.

Even so, these great numbers barely tapped the reservoir of discontent and opposition. The lists for buses and trains were filled weeks before the demonstration itself, when many people had not yet even heard of it. And the bureaucrats and their supporters in the various liberal organizations actually did very little to build the action in a massive way — it was organized almost by word of mouth.

Thus, the size of the demonstration itself is a political question. It shows the great potential for building a mass movement against Reagan, it shows that the unions, when they act, can accomplish great things — but it also shows that the present leadership of the unions is unwilling and unable to exploit this to the fullest.

In this great crowd, you can find the vast complexity and richness of the American working class. And you could also find the different levels of consciousness that exist in our class. There were many workers whose political views were close to those of the bureaucrats. There were many more older workers than in any other demonstration. There were workers who, even as they went into action against Reagan, still maintained anti-communist prejudices.

But, already, in the great change that they were making by taking the long trip to Washington, these ideas from the past were already being destroyed by the present. Thus, when one Southern worker wouldn't buy *Truth* because it has a hammer and sickle on the front, another — who had already bought the paper — challenged him, saying: "I don't care if it's a communist paper. Reagan scares me a lot more than the Russians do."

Another worker, a fifty-year-old carpenter, was quoted in the September 20 *New York Times*: "I thought the protest marches were for kids who had too much time on their hands. The kids would come down here, have riots, smoke marijuana and tear down the system." That's what you would expect from a middle-aged, white, skilled worker.

But there was this same worker in the streets of Washington on Solidarity Day, adding: "I'm angry and disappointed. This is America. This Government is supposed

to represent the people back home. They're trying to put the working man down. They're trying to make this a different kind of country."

The times they are a-changin'.

Solidarity Day represented a clear class line. It divided the working class and its allies from their supposed friends, from the supposed opponents of Reagan who are not. That is why the bourgeois liberal *New York Times*, in the same issue as the interview above, openly attacked Solidarity Day in a column by James Reston, leading light of this newspaper and of liberal public opinion.

Class Independence

This liberal, counting himself among those "who opposed Mr. Reagan's election and doubted the policies on which he was elected," then started to complain about the fact that Reagan was in trouble, trouble especially shown by Solidarity Day:

... We'll not have an Imperial Presidency, but an Impotent Presidency, precisely at the point when we need "solidarity" not merely in the unions but in the country ...

... If the President's economic program is rejected even before it has time to work ... you have to wonder how Mr. Reagan can govern effectively for the next three years ...

... He's the only President we have ... what kind of Presidency will we have until the middle of the 1980's?

At least, on Solidarity Day in Washington, with union masses screaming in the sunshine on the Mall, one wonders what "solidarity" means — is it for the unions or for the union of the nation?

We reprint this extensive quotation so that our readers can see the *class* "solidarity" of a Reston with a Reagan in face of a manifestation, as Solidarity Day was, of proletarian *class independence*. Poor Reston, trying to trot out the dead horse of "national unity" in face of over 350,000 workers and youth!

Yes, *class independence* was the overwhelming characteristic of this demonstration. That is why the bureaucrats, despite their open support to the bourgeois parties, did not *dare* to have Democratic or Republican party speakers on the platform.

The weakness of the demonstration was that class independence was not expressed consciously on the platform, in terms of goals and strategy, but was expressed only unconsciously among the workers present off the platform and — in this same crowd — consciously only by the banners and intervention of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA.

Class independence was the reason for the widespread signs of support to the Polish workers at this demonstration. The logo "Solidarnosc" appeared everywhere, with workers buying T-shirts and buttons bearing it like they were going out of style.

With Solidarity Day the American workers have begun to take the Polish road. K.F.

How to Prepare the Eighth World Congress

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The discussion period and practical preparation of the Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International, to be held in late December, has begun.

The success of our World Congress is both crucial for and worthy of the direct support of the working class. Crucial because the revolutionary battles have begun, now they have to be organized. Worthy because the Fourth International is the only revolutionary, workers international.

The Congress is our highest body. Through it, the entire party and all the layers of workers around us will be involved in deciding the course of the party for the next period.

On both the theoretical and practical plane, *Truth* must become the instrument of not only the party itself, but also of our readers, to prepare the Eighth World Congress. We state now that the pages of our press are open for this struggle.

Our efforts cannot remain on the level of good ideas on paper.

To a large extent, this will depend on the fund-raising drive launched by the Trotskyist Organization/USA, to insure the preparation of the Eighth World Congress, while maintaining all our present acquisitions — a regular press, the ability to intervene in important workers struggles like Solidarity Day, the English edition of our international journal, *The Fourth International*, and the development of our campaigns. All of which, unfortunately, require money.

We take our Congress seriously, and therefore we take our goal of \$2,000 seriously. We expect the working class to do the same — the measure of our worth is the extent to which we accomplish what we set out to do.

For example, to send a real delegation to the Congress, one that is composed not only of experienced party leaders but also of young leaders who have come forward in the battles of their class, say a delegation of five, would cost a minimum of \$2500. Only such a delegation can insure the fullest participation of the party and all the workers and youth around it in the Eighth World Congress.

But in order to reach this goal we cannot take a "business as usual" attitude. If we were to try to raise this amount of money through regular sales of our press we would have to sell 250,000 copies. A number which is a bit beyond us at the moment, unfortunately.

So we are making a special effort with every means at our disposal to raise money from outside our normal financial resources.

There will be several different aspects to the development of this campaign, different fund-raising events.

But the most important is the International Workers Fund, built by monthly pledges of workers and militants who are not members of the party, but who want to support it.

Buy a piece of stock in a revolutionary future and make your pledge today.

SWP Attacks Iranian Revolutionaries

Defend the Mojahedin!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Last June, the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI) decided to declare war on the Khomeini regime. Since then, Iranian militants have organized dozens of attacks on police stations, court houses and mosques.

Among these attacks may have been the assassinations of Ayatollah Beheshti, who was head of the ruling Islamic Republican Party, President Rajai and Prime Minister Bahonar. No one has said for sure.

The Mojahedin have also organized daily, armed demonstrations demanding an end to the persecution of the Mojahedin and the Fedayeen. Some of these demonstrations have numbered 500,000. Most of this work has been led and organized by the Mojahedin.

This expresses the continued existence of the revolution in Iran, which overthrew the Shah just three years ago. The People's Mojahedin is a revolutionary organization, fighting on behalf of the workers and oppressed. Dozens of whose members died in combat against the Shah. The Khomeini regime is a miserable dictatorship which has capitulated to U.S. imperialism in returning its spies ("the hostages"), proven itself incapable of defending Iran against imperialist-backed Iraq and persecuted and murdered many of Iran's best fighters — the members of the Mojahedin and the Fedayeen.

The war launched on the Khomeini regime is an attempt to defend the revolution, a revolution whose best fighters are being imprisoned and murdered by Khomeini while he capitulates to and compromises with imperialism and its Iraqi agents. Thus we whole heartedly support the Mojahedin's struggle against Khomeini, despite the differences in our policies.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, has opened up a miserable campaign of slander against the Mojahedin.

In an editorial in the September 11 issue of *The Militant*, the SWP characterizes the Mojahedin's struggle as "terrorism against the Iranian people." It says this campaign is a cover for an "imperialist destabilization campaign" and lumps the Mojahedin together with reactionary supporters of the Shah, such as Admiral Kamal Habibolahi, Shahpour Bahktiar and the Shah's son and liberal bourgeois such as Bani-Sadr.

As for Khomeini, it complains only that he's proven himself incapable of defending his government or the revolution. "The government's only solution to terrorism," it complains, "is to carry out hundreds of executions."

At first glance the SWP's slanders are outrageous. Assassinating police and dictators is "terrorism against the Iranian people," "a cover for imperialist destabilization," but mass executions of hundreds of revolutionary fighters (and no one denies that the Mojahedin have been and are revolutionary fighters), is just a bad way to respond to terrorism.

The Mojahedin are in league with imperialism, but the Khomeini regime is what? Just misguided?

Let's look a little more closely. The SWP says this campaign is "terrorism against the Iranian people." But what



Scene from the Iranian Revolution, which still continues.

have been the targets of the campaign?

In one struggle reported in *The Christian Science Monitor*, a man walked into a police station and asked for a glass of water, someone called and said the man had planted a bomb, and when the Pasdaran (the so-called "Revolutionary Guards") cleared out and into the streets, the Mojahedin mowed them down. Hardly "terrorism against the Iranian people."

In another conflict the Mojahedin organized a demonstration, circled it with armed guard and then opened fire when the Pasdaran attacked it. Again, hardly "terrorism against the Iranian people," unless, of course, you think the Pasdaran represent the Iranian people, a difficult argument for anyone to make.

The New York Times, *The Christian Science Monitor* and *Inprecor*, the publication of the SWP's "co-thinkers" in Europe, all report that the Mojahedin have increasing and massive support among the Iranian people. That sections of the current regime have supported them and that Khomeini has been forced to make them "public enemy number one" is proof of their strength among the Iranian people.

The SWP says that the attacks on the Khomeini regime are an "imperialist destabilization campaign," yet it never proves this. It never even offers any evidence. Its only argument is sheer police logic. *The Intercontinental Press* of October 5 says the U.S. is against Khomeini therefore it must be attempting to destabilize the regime. The wave of attacks on the regime have been very sophisticated and successful, therefore they must have been carried out with the help of the CIA.

This is a frameup if there ever was one.

Finally, the SWP claims that the Mojahedin is simply "a petty-bourgeois group that carried out guerrilla actions against the shah" and, later, "a force aligned with imperialism." This is the most dishonest of all.

In fact the Mojahedin was founded by youth in the early sixties opposed to the bourgeois National Front's, in particular the Liberation Movement of Iran's, compromise with imperialism represented by the Shah.

They believed that true Islam means a

classless society and have defended Marxism against imperialism.

Their first action, an attack on the Tehran electrical works, was designed to disrupt the celebration of 2500 years of the Persian Empire. In the course of their struggle against the Shah, at least 73 of their members were either executed, tortured to death, or "shot while trying to escape."

They put forward the slogans "Down with the Shah" and later "Death to the Shah" which the SWP denounced as "ultraleft."

During the insurrection in January 1979, the Mojahedin sent reinforcements to the cadets and technicians who mutinied at the main military base in Tehran in order to beat back the Imperial Guard. They won, the army collapsed, and they went on to open up the prisons, police stations, armories and military bases in Tehran. This, while SWP members were just brushing off their passports in order to return "triumphant" to Tehran after the fighting was over.

After the fall of the shah and the installation of the Khomeini regime the Mojahedin continued the struggle, unlike the SWP. They refused to accept Khomeini's leadership or to give up their arms. They sent organizers into factories and teams to fight alongside the oppressed nationalities. During the presidential elections they put forward Massoud Rajavi who was later excluded from the list because he was "un-Islamic."

This is why Khomeini and the Pasdaran have persecuted the Mojahedin just as the shah did. On May 2, 1981 the Mojahedin wrote a letter protesting this treatment, the suppression of their publication, the imprisonment, torture and execution of their members. Needless to say, Khomeini did not respond. The Mojahedin's decision to launch a war against the Khomeini regime was nothing but a decision to take the offensive against his attempt to destroy the revolution.

The SWP gets to the crux of the matter when they say, "Revolutionary socialists are not for the overthrow of the current capitalist government in Iran by Bani-Sadr, Bakhtiar, the Mujahadeen or any other forces aligned with imperialism."

Since they have already define being for the overthrow of Khomeini as begin ipso facto pro-imperialist, it's a closed circle.

There is only one other party of any significance that's taken such a staunch position in favor of Khomeini, the Stalinist Tudeh Party. Even the European social democrats have bailed out. In an interview cited by the SWP's sister organization, the head of the Tudeh party, Kianuri, says:

Even if our formation were to be outlawed and our members persecuted, we would continue to defend the line of Imam Khomeini, which is to battle imperialism and its local agents, the 'liberals' and 'Maoists.' Our position in this regard is not based either on partisan considerations or on tactical maneuvers. Our support to the revolution is of a strategic order.

Thus Kianuri thinks that Massoud Rajavi, leader of the Mojahedin, and Bani-Sadr should be "locked up together in a psychiatric hospital" and "young people mixed up by the Mujahadeen propaganda should be reeducated in labor camps."

The SWP's support to Khomeini and slanders of the Mojahedin are not an accident, nor are they a result of a misunderstanding of the role of religion in general or Khomeini in particular. They result from support to Stalinism.

When the Tudeh supported the shah the SWP denounced the movement developing under the banner "Down with the Shah" as "ultraleft."

When Tudeh wanted to "solve the hostage crisis" so did the SWP.

As Tudeh explains that Marxism and Islam are quite compatible, the SWP explains that "the Islamic ideology of the workers and peasants expresses their hatred of imperialism."

And as Tudeh proposes to send Mojahedin youth to slave labor camps, the SWP quickly explains that the Mojahedin is aligned with imperialism.

This stand has placed the SWP, along with Tudeh, completely outside the development of the revolution in Iran.

It is the elementary duty of every revolutionary to defend the Mojahedin against Khomeini's attacks and his Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist supporters.

Detroit Elections: The Final Balance Sheet

Having obtained the final, officially certified results from the September 15 Detroit primary, we can draw some final conclusions about our election campaign for a Workers Candidate for Mayor and about our fight to organize the Workers Vote in the elections.

In the first place, the official results are slightly more favorable to us than the original, morning-after, unofficial results were. While our vote total went down by 1, from 1,362 to 1,361, our vote percentage went up from .87% to .88%. Even more importantly the vote of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for Mayor, Phil Shannon, was cut sharply. The official tally shows the SWP's vote at 1,561, down from the unofficial 1,648. At the same time, its percentage fell from 1.06 to 1.01.

All this emphasizes even more strongly the point we made in our original assessment; the "big" SWP, with its well-known name, with years of running in Detroit elections, with the vote of the tired radicals of the city in its column, barely outpolled — by all of 200 votes! — the Trotskyist Organization/USA, which the SWP and these same tired radicals consistently label "small."

A detailed examination of the official results bears out the same conclusion, implies the same result — in the course of the campaign for the Workers Candidate, the Trotskyist Organization/USA became a force in Detroit to match the SWP. And this conclusion is borne out by the number of youth who have become active in International Young Guard/USA, while the SWP's Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) withers on the vine. (The age limit for SWP members in the YSA was just raised to 29!)

In comparing our vote across the city, we find that our vote roughly parallels that of the SWP. Thus, in three districts on the northeast side of Detroit where we did best, our vote was 77, 110 and 113. The SWP's vote in these same districts was, respectively, 82, 114 and 110. And this kind of relationship basically maintains itself throughout the rest of the city.

As far as the vote for City Council goes, Elizabeth Ziers of the SWP got .22% of the vote, the best of the "radicals" that were running, while Glen Janken of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) did very poorly, getting only .12%, finishing next to last out of thirty candidates.

Now we come to the anti-Trotskyist slanderers and Stalinist stooges of the "Spartacist League," whose two candidates got .20% and .18% respectively. This desperate grouping then tried to blow up the results a little, combining the vote of the two (as if two different blocs were voting) and then announcing that this figure was 2% of the total vote, neglecting to mention that each voter could vote for nine candidates for City Council, which thus made the votes cast in this area much larger than the total number of voters.

This was not the only example of its desperate nature. At Ford's River Rouge plant, both our posters and those of "Spartacist" were up around the plant. But at a certain point, a number of our posters were torn down, while those of

"Spartacist" were left untouched. Our posters were higher up, so someone had to go out of his way to single out ours. Ford Security or the Dearborn Police would have taken down all posters, quite legally. An individual right winger would hardly have been so selective or energetic.

So the finger of guilt points to "Spartacist," which in its complete disarray and complete capitulation to Stalinism (if "capitulation" is really the right word) around Poland, would hardly shrink at tearing down the posters of a working class organization. After all, suppose these posters belonged to the "counterrevolutionary" and "anti-Soviet" organization known as "Solidarnosc"?

In drawing a final balance sheet of our fight in the elections, it would be worthwhile to also include a tactical evaluation of our success. The fact that our "small"

organization could get on the ballot, could match the SWP's vote, as well as attract new militants, shows that the basic outlines of our plan were correct.

Nonetheless, there is no call to be smug. We made mistakes, which it is better to consider lessons learned than spilt milk to be cried over.

First of all, we underestimated the campaign of the bourgeois press against voting, telling the workers over and over again that Young was bound to win, so there was no point in voting. In fact, despite a much smaller turnout than last time (28% compared to 44%), the vote for working class candidates increased greatly (last election, the SWP got only 932 votes). With a large turnout, our vote would have increased at even a greater rate, once we got beyond those directly tied to the party apparatuses who carry a

decisive weight in low turnouts.

Second, we did not sufficiently put the SWP on the spot in regard to a single Workers Candidate. It was not forced to reveal itself clearly in front of its supporters and its own members.

There were also technical errors. We underestimated the number of brochures and posters that we could use and had to do this kind of thing again. But this is basically a function of inexperience.

Finally, we did not know — even in an approximate sense — how many votes we would get and where we would get them, in advance.

When the party is in a position to know where its strength lies, what it amounts to, who will vote for us and why, we will have succeeded in dominating the course of the revolution through organizing it. K.F.

A Democracy Lesson

They constantly tell you that the U.S. is a democracy, that here "the people rule." Since that's so, you shouldn't try to change the social system that exists here. But every once in a while, something turns up that sheds some light on the nature of our democracy.

The September 24 issue of *The New York Times* published an article about and a transcript of a 1971 conversation between then-president Richard Nixon and his chief aide, H.R. Haldeman.

This discussion occurred on the morning of May 5, 1971, during the "May Day" anti-war demonstrations, which followed by less than two weeks the most massive demonstration in U.S. history, the April 24 anti-war march on Washington.

And what was the president of the United States, guardian of democracy and leader of the free world, discussing?

In the words of the frightened, isolated Nixon, "guys who'll go in and knock their heads off." These "thugs" were to be provided by the bureaucratic heads of the Teamsters union. Replied Haldeman: "Sure. Murderers." And he later expanded on this theme:

"It's the regular strike-buster types and all that . . . and they're gonna beat the [obscenity] out of these people. And, uh, and hope they really hurt 'em. You know, I mean go in with some real — and smash some noses . . ."

This charming chat reveals a lot. It shows that Watergate was no "mistake." It shows, once again, the nature of Nixon, the man whom the ruling class keeps trying to make respectable. It shows what was probably the real origin of the so-called "hardhat" attacks on anti-war demonstrators in New York City.

Above all, it shows the real nature of American democracy, *bourgeois* demo-

cracy that means the class rule of the biggest capitalists over all the oppressed and workers. Behind all the civics class chatter lurk the "thugs" of Nixon.

As it turned out, Nixon decided to use "normal" means to attack May Day. That is, mass arrests by the official cops. These

tactics led to a legal victory and a monetary award for the demonstrators on grounds of their blatant illegality. (No one even knew about the "thugs.")

But what is smiling Ronald Reagan, heir to Nixon and head of our "democracy," thinking about after Solidarity Day? K.F.

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TRUTH

International Young Guard/USA Advances

By RICH TETRAULT

In the past several weeks, there has been a real change in the character of International Young Guard/USA, the American section of the Revolutionary Youth International.

Since the Fourth World Congress of the RYI in July 1979, there has been a determined effort on the part of all the national sections of the RYI to build the only revolutionary organization of the youth in the world as an army, a world army.

Enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution!

This perspective for the youth has been developed and deepened in every meeting, in every publication, in every intervention of the RYI.

A recent pamphlet of the RYI, soon to be published in English, details the fight to organize the workers revolution against capitalism. It shows how the preparation of the European Revolution is an immediate task, characterized by the Polish Revolution and its development on a world scale.

In the U.S., the heartland of the capitalist-imperialist apparatus, the struggle for the revolution demands an open confrontation of workers and youth with the Reagan regime.

International Young Guard/USA is waging such a battle. Throughout the summer, along with the Trotskyist Organization/USA, IYG/USA waged a campaign for a workers candidate for mayor of Detroit. The campaign was organized along the lines of an open fight against Ronald Reagan and Coleman Young, Mayor of Detroit.

Several young people were won to IYG/USA in this fight because it was evident that it counterposed the question of workers power to Reagan's budget plans and Young's big-city bailout scheme.

Yes, Coleman Young who before Reagan's election referred to him as "old prune," is busily kissing-up to old prune. This kingpin of the Democratic Party, which says it is for the working

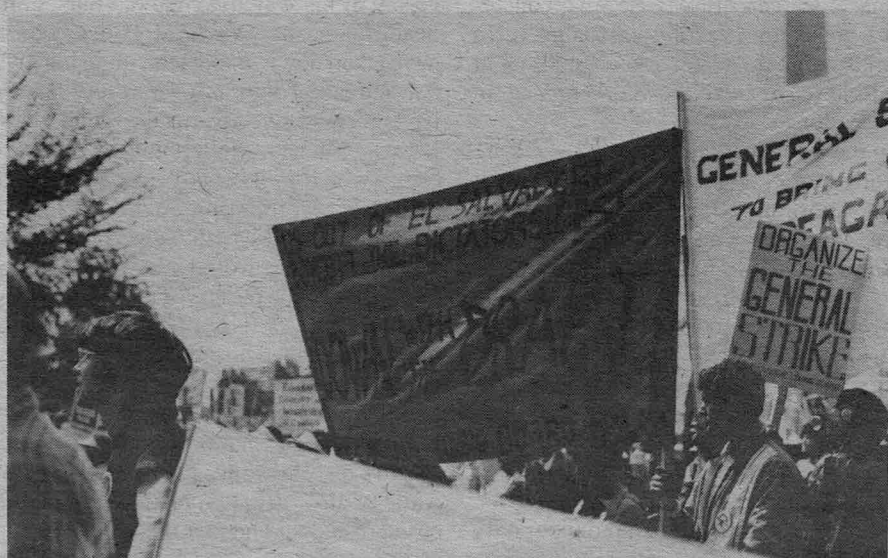
man, has repeatedly shown that he is for defending capitalist interests above all else. He defended Reagan against the PATCO workers, he has slandered the Detroit city workers, and is busily trying to get a piece of Reagan's massive defense budget money to help "save Detroit." All this and more from the "friends of labor."

The youth are leading the confrontation against such "friends" and the class enemies of the more obvious types. We stated earlier in the article that there has been a real change in the character of IYG/USA. This is due to the fact that a whole new situation is opening up in front of us and the youth who have been recruited in this situation represent a priceless asset to its further development.

With these new people, the influence of IYG/USA has quadrupled. Even more, we have earned a reputation as the only organization in this country that is devoted to organizing and leading the youth against imperialism.

Perhaps most important is the resumed production of *International Young Guard*, U.S. organ of the Revolutionary Youth International. Beginning with issue No. 27, August 1981, we have returned to a monthly production schedule. *International Young Guard* represents a real youth paper. It is discussed, written, produced, distributed and financed by members of IYG/USA themselves. This is key for a successful youth organization — where the youth feel their independence and are able to develop as young revolutionaries, as young Leninists.

It is this independent character that led a contingent of International Young Guard/USA to Washington, DC, on September 19 for Solidarity Day. The contingent marched under its own banners, drawing the link between the youth and the necessity of the unions to take revolutionary action against U.S. imperialism. The main banner stated *DOWN WITH THE DRAFT* and called for a boycott of the Salvadoran dictatorship by American



Part of IYG/USA contingent at Solidarity Day.

workers through their unions. Posters of IYG/USA said, *Imperialism No! Stalinism No! Socialism Yes, Yes, Yes!* and *Organize the General Strike!*

There can be no cooperation with imperialism — only revolutionary struggle to bring it down.

International Young Guard/USA is committed to this struggle to the very end. The latest issue of *International Young Guard*, No. 28, October 1981, shows this commitment in action and in the shape of Leninist formation. The paper develops the political significance of Leninism for today's youth and draws a balance sheet of its work. The paper also provides and de-

velops concrete proposals for the youth to take action, to assert their independence against imperialism and the methods of Stalinism.

With all the doors open to the youth in the present situation, International Young Guard/USA and the Trotskyist Organization/USA are preparing an educational which will address the question of building the party and of forming new cadres to lead it.

In addition, IYG/USA is planning to intervene regularly in the schools, placing all of these activities in the mobilization to prepare the Fifth World Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International.

IYG Demonstration

International Young Guard/USA calls on all workers, youth and unemployed to join in a demonstration against the current situation of jobs among youth. The statistics prove that unemployment among Detroit's young people is at a rising 25%. Black youth alone is up to 55%.

International Young Guard/USA is taking the lead in organizing this demonstration because we want to show other young people that there is a youth organization responding to these attacks, and also an organization they can join that will actually do something instead of just talking about how bad things are in the world today.

International Young Guard/USA fights for a policy — a revolutionary policy — a policy against Reagan and his hatchet man in Detroit, Coleman Young. There is a deep crisis in the capitalist system. It's proven every day by the layoffs and concessions being forced upon the city workers. We must take it upon ourselves to change that system, to fight for a revolutionary alternative, to fight for true Workers Democracy. These are only a few reasons why you should march in solidarity with the militants of International Young Guard on October 20, at 11:00 in front of the City-County Building. Organize is the key word here; we must organize and bring down Reagan and his im-

perialist puppets once and for all. For more information on the demonstration contact International Young Guard at the P.O. Box listed on this page.
Sue Froschheiser X



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