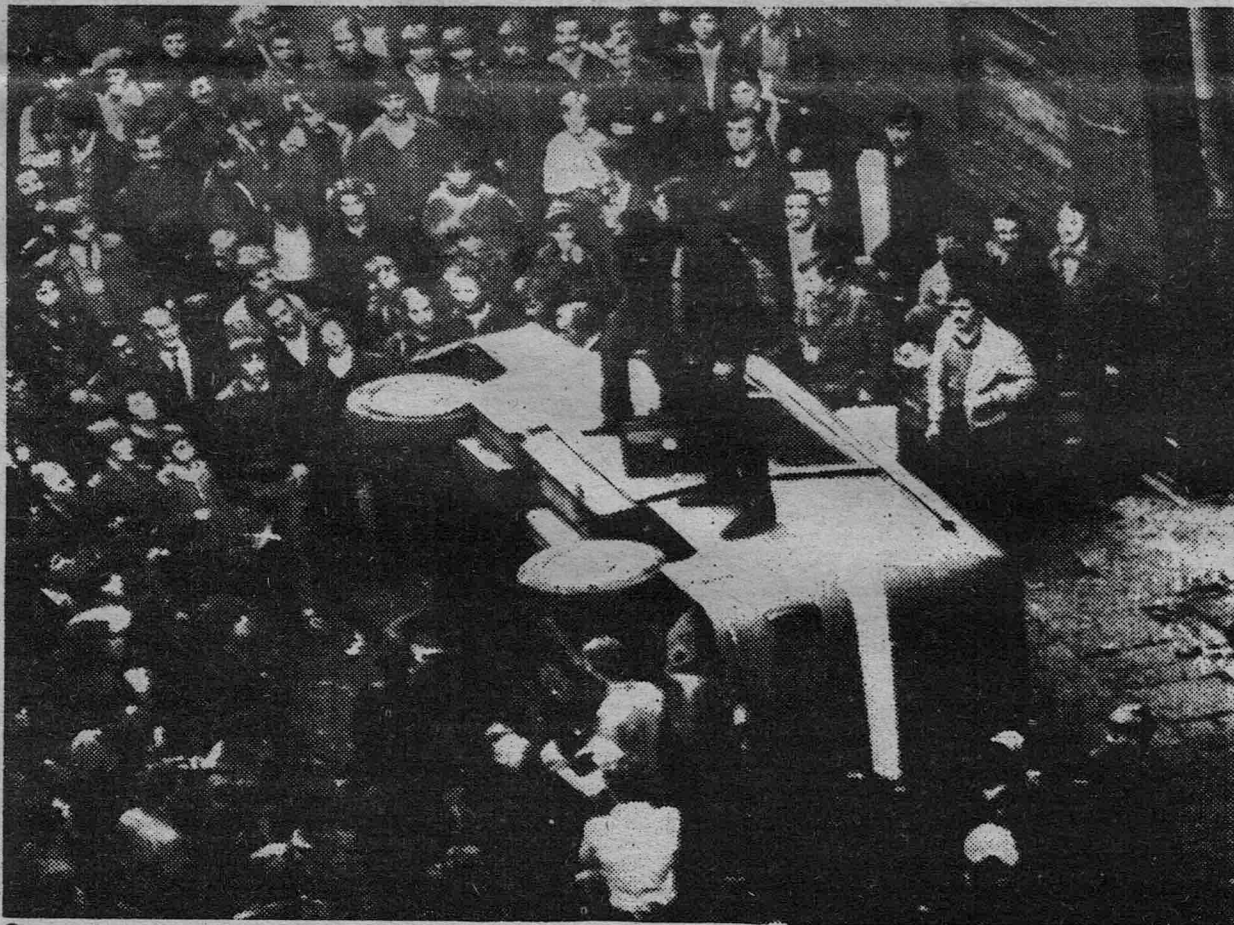


PATCO Strikers and Polish Workers . . .

And Now . . .

“Reagan Recession”

We Need The General Strike!



Scene from confrontation between Polish workers and Stalinist cops in Katowice.

Down With the Terrorist State!

Stop the Weatherman Frame-Up!

Back Page

So now there is the “Reagan Recession.”

In the first place, as far as the lives of the workers and youth go, this is virtually a matter of statistics. What does it matter if one month the raw numbers pass a certain line and thus mean “recession,” when the rest of the time they hover just above it?

The real question here is that American imperialism, “the richest country in the world,” etc., etc., is no longer capable of giving any real gains to the working class. In fact, since 1964, the standard of living of the working class has stagnated. Now it is starting to head visibly downhill.

Is this the fault of some inexplicable “economic crisis”? Is it going to be cured by Reagan’s budget cut/tax cut schemes? In both cases, the answer is “no,” and for the same reasons.

Imperialism is a dying system. In order to survive it has to feed off the living. This means an attack on all the gains the workers — and not only the workers, but the poor, the youth, minorities and even elements of the middle classes — have seized from the imperialists in their struggles.

That is the meaning of Reagan’s statement that he “expects” unemployment to rise to eight percent next year — as if he were “expecting” a snowstorm in January. No, these people are *planning* more unemployment, more wage cuts, more strike-breaking and union-busting, more “concessions,” more attacks on all social programs. They are planning for the “rearmament” — in their own words — of American imperialism, for war and counterrevolution.

When Reagan and his advisers state that they are going to take care of only the “destitute,” they mean that they are out to make many more precisely “destitute.” That is, they hope to strip us of everything we have gained in all our struggles.

No, the “Reagan Recession” is not some objective fact, coming like a cloud out of the West. It is the sign and the demonstration that all the populist demagoguery about “jobs” and “economic recovery” are shown for what they always were — empty phrases intended to hide a direct attack on the workers, their organizations and their potential allies.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA has consistently put forward the General Strike to bring down Reagan as the only answer to these attacks. Now more than ever, it is the only possible response.

Why? Because the “Reagan Recession” shows not only the attack by the ruling class, but also the resistance by the American workers. If there were no resistance, if the Reagan program was meeting no opposition, then the capitalists could begin to celebrate a “recovery” of sorts, of their profits, of their political position. That is not the case.

So we have a “recession” which represents the present state of the battle between the classes, in which neither decisively has the upper hand. That is what Reagan is continually trying to get, with the attack on PATCO, for example.

Solidarity Day showed the level of resistance by the American working class. But now we have to pass from resistance to the offensive. To end the “Reagan Recession” we have to end the present stalemate, we have to end Reagan. That means the organization, in every struggle, around every possible focus, of the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

El Salvador — "Negotiations"?

"Everything is negotiable." So spoke Kremlin leader Brezhnev at the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. This has become the *slogan* of every retreating current that exists in the shadow of the Kremlin.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador have carried this policy to the extreme. Echoing the Stalinist Castro, who said, "Nicaragua will not be another Cuba" — that the bourgeoisie will not be expropriated there — they are in essence saying, in their recent public declarations, that El Salvador will not be another Nicaragua — that the junta will not be overthrown there.

This position came out clearly in the statement the FDR-FMLN submitted — with Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega as their sponsor — to the imperialist-managed United Nations. (Reported in *Intercontinental Press*; October 19, 1981). Essentially, this statement was a declara-

tion of their intention to carry on negotiations ("a dialogue") with the Salvadoran junta.

In one breath, they said the masses had no other recourse than "armed struggle" and that "our desire is for peace." But, nonetheless, they have found another "legitimate means" — to drop their guerrilla warfare policy in favor of participation in the government.

This is not an original idea. When the FDR-FMLN went begging to the White House for negotiations, to control the revolutionary masses, Reagan told them — "Talk to the junta." And so they are.

Their hopes were buoyed in this useless enterprise by the public statements made by the governments of France and Mexico declaring the FDR-FMLN "a representative political force." Their strategy now for a "political solution" rests on the words of the heads of state of "other governments" against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and against the junta, not on the

revolutionary initiative of the masses of youth, workers and peasants.

This betrayal is called "a fresh diplomatic initiative" by the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in its journal *Intercontinental Press*. But what else can be expected from those who refer to the Castro bureaucracy as "better than the Bolsheviks," and to the Sandinistas of Nicaragua as their sister organization?

With difficulty, the SWP tries to differentiate the position of the FDR-FMLN from that of Reagan and junta head Duarte who have called for "free elections" in El Salvador — in the framework of martial law and complete censorship.

In order to disarm the revolution, Duarte places a condition on these "free elections" — any group that "puts down its arms" can participate.

The FDR-FMLN have not yet dared to call for the masses to disarm themselves; that decision remains for the "talks" with

the junta, because, after all, for them, "everything is negotiable."

BARBARA PUTNAM

Truth Results

All People's Congress	63
Bus Terminal	4
Ford River Rouge Plant	3
IYG Meeting	4
Other	2
PATCO	100
Total	176

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Sadat, Imperialism and the Middle East

The assassination of Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat caused a great outcry of mourning in Washington and the other imperialist capitals. But, in the Middle East, in the Arab countries and those around them, his death was greeted.

American workers and youth are being told that they, too, along with the imperialists, have lost a "good friend," a "peacemaker." But if Sadat was really such a figure, why no mourning in his own country or in the whole region that he was supposedly bringing "peace" to?

In reality, Sadat was a tool of imperialism in its counterrevolutionary intervention in the Middle East. In reality, Sadat's policy meant, not peace, but an increased amount of direct military presence in the region by imperialism. In reality, it meant more and more *violent* suppression of the peoples of the Middle East.

First of all, there is the fraud of the 1979 "Camp David agreement," Sadat's main contribution to imperialist "peace" in the region. By signing a separate peace with the Zionist state of Israel, Sadat at the same time undertook the settling of the "Palestinian question" by Egypt and Israel, without regard to the wishes of the Palestinians themselves. That is why there has been not only no progress at all on "Palestinian autonomy" (the empty phrase by which outside parties presume to settle the right of "self-rule" of a people), but there has been in fact an *increase* in Zionist armed settlement of the West Bank, an increase in expulsions, an increase in land grabs, an increase in terrorization of the population.

At the same time, this so-called "framework for peace" has been, as we said it would be, a *framework for counter-revolution*. It has been the axis not only of direct U.S. military intervention in the region (arms sales, bases, the provocations against Libya, etc.), but also of the continuing campaign against the Palestinians, against their right to self-determination.

The Saudi "peace plan," the increasing rapprochement of Yasser Arafat's PLO with imperialism on the line of a Palestinian "mini-state" and the attempts to isolate and remove the more radical elements are the fruits of Camp David.

So much for "peace."

Ronald Reagan, Alexander Haig and other such peace-loving types have used the assassination of Sadat as a new pretext for direct military intervention in the region. The Senate vote on the 8.5 billion dollar arms sale to the reactionary Saudi ruling family (which involved more than just the AWACS radar planes) was pushed to victory by Reagan's emphasis on the need for the U.S. to have more "friends" in the Middle East, since the last one had just been bumped off.

Even before Sadat's death, Reagan declared on October 1: "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran." In other words, the goal of arming the Saudis is not aimed at Israel but at the threat of revolution in the Middle East.

That is the basis for all the actions of U.S. imperialism in the region. That is the basis for the attacks on Libya, for the arming of the military dictatorship in the Sudan, for support to Sadat (this man of "peace" had ordered the arrest of thousands in an attempt to crush opposition to his rule just a little while before he was killed), for shipping arms to Iraq in its

war against Iran.

That is also what lies behind the maneuvers scheduled for this month, including coordinated operations with Egypt, Somalia, the Sudan and Oman. They are a threat, and a practical step to the reality, of an open military attack on anyone in the Middle East who opposes imperialism.

Now that Sadat has joined the Shah, his



Sadat, Begin, Carter at Camp David

old friend and fellow U.S. ally, in Paradise, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has announced that the U.S. will support to the end the new government of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt: "We consider that relationship absolutely vital to our interests in the region and treat it accordingly."

These increased activities of the U.S. in counterrevolutionary intervention throughout the region, in face of the Ira-

nian and world revolutions, has somewhat upset the old relationships. In particular, Israel is no longer viewed by the U.S. rulers as the only card it has to play in the region; now it is just first among equals.

This has especially frightened the Zionist rulers, who know perfectly well that the imperialists have no love for the Jews (it was they who allowed Hitler to kill the six million). They fear that they can even be abandoned by imperialism, if it decides its "interests" lie elsewhere.

That is why the Begin government and the U.S. "Israel lobby" tried so hard to defeat the AWACS sale (showing, in passing, that the Zionists have no real strength outside imperialism). That is why the reactionary Arik Sharon, chief architect of the occupation of the West Bank, blew the whistle on the U.S.-Iraq arms trade. The Zionists are fighting for every bit of influence.

But the U.S. has already recognized that it has a "special relationship" with Israel, including a "military" one. The Zionists' pressure on imperialism is to gain better terms in the shifting circumstances. Their policy remains the same as Reagan's — counterrevolution.

The American workers and youth have been signed up to "defend" the Saudis, Mubarak and the Zionists by Reagan. But they won't buy it.

K.F.

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Defense of PATCO Reaches Critical Stage

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The defense of PATCO is now and has been the central task of developing the struggle to bring down the Reagan government and turn back his attacks. The strike is now in a critical, if not extremely desperate, stage. If the initiative is to be seized to turn the attack on PATCO into a full scale rout for the Reagan administration, an objective which is still possible, *it must be done now*. The next few weeks will be decisive, either the situation must be completely turned around, or the strike will be lost.

A Federal Appeals Court has removed an injunction against the government's decertification of PATCO which prevented the decree from taking effect. The action came after the Federal Labor Relations Board voted 2 to 1 to uphold the government's decertification of the air traffic controllers' union.

The one dissenting member of the FLRB said that if the union did not immediately return to work he would change his vote. The PATCO leadership has officially ended the strike and called for a return to work. The PATCO leadership claims that this move will help the appeals process in the courts.

Lesson number one is, this strike won't be won in the courts. All these maneuvers must be rejected in favor of a working class mobilization to break the isolation of the PATCO strike.

The PATCO strike has been *betrayed*, betrayed by the passivity of the trade union bureaucrats. Despite their rhetoric, they have done nothing.

Poli himself banked on winning the strike in the courts and on the basis that the air traffic system wouldn't function. But the courts are on Reagan's side and scabs have always been able to make the capitalists' factories run. The air traffic system runs badly, yes, and dangerously — but what does Reagan care? He is out to break the unions.

William Winpisinger, "socialist" president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), has made plenty of empty threats — but the fact is his union is still crossing PATCO picket lines.

The list could go on. If this strike is to be won it must be led by the ranks. All unions and working class organizations must join in common action to defend the PATCO strike. Several actions, in Los Angeles and New York, have shut down airports.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA believes that this can be the basis for a united front of all working class organizations to turn the situation around. Delegations must be organized to force locals of the Machinists union and all other unions involved in the air traffic system to honor the picket lines and join in mass picketing.

Workers committees must be formed to support the national work stoppage proposed by three state AFL-CIO councils and win the support of their locals. The national work stoppage is not an end in itself, but it can be a step towards organizing a General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The decertification of PATCO must not be allowed to pass, leaving the matter to appeals to the bourgeois courts. This latest attack is an opportunity to turn the strike around. The opportunity must be seized!

There have been other opportunities.

The first was the firing of PATCO workers by Reagan. This was a gamble by the government. An immediate response by the PATCO leadership and the unions could have forced Reagan to back down in the first few days.

But the response was lukewarm at best. Once Reagan knew that the other unions would give only token support to PATCO (this was stated in the press by leaders of the AFL-CIO who were then meeting in Chicago) and that Poli intended to rely on the lack of skilled scabs to replace air traffic controllers, he hardened his stance. For the first time since World War II, military personnel were used to break a strike. Beware, workers, this is a precedent which will be used again.

The second opportunity came after the demonstration of over 350,000 workers on Solidarity Day. What an irreparable blow it would have been to Reagan for a call to have been launched on Solidarity Day for a national work stoppage defending PATCO and the right of all unions to strike. That would have set in motion the entire American working class. Reagan undoubtedly would have been forced to retreat.

And that is exactly what the trade union bureaucrats are afraid of. They could see the tremendous militancy set in motion by Solidarity Day, despite all their efforts to play down its preparation. That day gave a hint to American workers of the power they possess. Power which the bureaucrats know could be used against them.

For the bureaucrats the reason for Solidarity Day is clear. "Maybe our friends will get some spine," said Doug Fraser, president of the UAW. "Our friends" means the Democratic Party.

But a revival of the Democratic Party, which is the perspective of many pseudo-revolutionary organizations today, would

Down With the Voorhis Act!

(The Voorhis Act is a reactionary law enacted by Roosevelt's "New Deal" government in 1940. It followed, not accidentally, the foundation of the Fourth International by two years and prepared America's entry into World War II by legitimizing the repression of political rights for workers organizations.)

The law requires that an organization register with the Attorney General lists of all supporters and financial contributors, and that all its publications, internal and external, be open to inspection by the government. The law singles out organizations that advocate the "overthrow of the Government" and are "affiliated directly or indirectly with . . . an international political organization."

The Trotskyist Organization/USA details below in a letter to *The Militant*, paper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), its position in relation to the brief filed by the SWP against this law. We support this initiative and intend to try to develop the campaign against the Voorhis Act as an open fight in the working class.

We call on working class organizations, unions and individual militants to join such a campaign.)

signify a retreat for the working class.

An advance would be a workers party, which if it existed today as an alternative could have led the struggle against Reagan from the beginning.

The fact that such a party does not exist cannot, however, be used as an excuse for supporting the trade union bureaucracy (because it exists), or for passivity in the present period, which is one of class battles and confrontation.

Who will lead? This question is posed acutely today in the PATCO strike as in every struggle.

The united front can provide a temporary solution to the problem, as it can in the present situation. The Socialist Workers Party recently changed its line on the PATCO strike to support the initiatives of the ranks against the bureaucrats. The working class must seize hold of every such opening to forge a class front in its battles. It is even possible that the bureaucrats could be forced to submit, for the moment, to a class front.

But the workers party is not a united front. The workers party must represent everywhere and at all times the interests of the entire working class and all of its sectors, organized and unorganized, against its oppressors.

In this sense, the construction of the workers party, taken as the tasks of organizing the revolution and the class struggle around a workers leadership, is posed as a necessity very concretely in the PATCO strike and in every coming struggle. And through common action and great battles, the program and nature of the workers party can be clarified.

The defense of PATCO, through the General Strike, can therefore open up the entire political situation in the United States to the advantage of the workers.



PATCO leader, Steven Wallaert, shackled like a slave.

eternally poised over the SWP's head to actual prosecution under an unconstitutional statute . . ."

Actually, comrades, that statement is quite untrue and gives the dangerous illusion that the government and its political police are just "paper tigers."

In reality, there is no doubt that the FBI would prefer prosecution under a law that had been declared constitutional by a Federal judge. Given the present situation, the open use of the courts and the judicial framework for "hanging" the unions and workers organizations, such an outcome is a definite possibility. The chances of such a negative outcome are only increased by focusing the campaign on legal arguments rather than on a mobilization in the working class.

We therefore intend to concentrate our efforts in developing such a mobilization. We are, of course, open to any proposals you may have for joint collaboration.

Revolutionary greetings,
David Heffelfinger, for the
Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/
USA

cc. National Committee of the SWP

The Militant

14 Charles Lane
New York, NY 10014

Dear Comrades:

We fully support the challenge to the Voorhis Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act that the SWP has made in Federal court. Nor can it be denied that the law is certainly a violation of any democratic interpretation of the First Amendment right to political association.

Such a lawsuit can serve as a focus for a mobilization in the working class, concentrated in the unions and among working class organizations against these reactionary laws. Every militant worker will understand the necessity for battling these reactionary laws — as easily as they can understand the necessity to defeat the increased repression against workers rights by the Reagan administration.

As we have stated, the brief that the SWP has filed in Federal court can be a focus for a mobilization in the working class. *But in no way can it replace such a mobilization.*

In the October 23 issue of *The Militant* where you report the filing of a brief against these two reactionary laws, it quotes the brief as stating, "Evidently the defendants prefer the threat of prosecution

The Polish Workers Prove . . .

The Russian Revolution Is Alive Today!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

On the night of November 7, 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia — under the Bolshevik Party, headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leon Trotsky — took power from the capitalists and the landlords and began the world revolution.

Significance

For the first time in history, the oppressed and the exploited had begun to establish a social system that would ensure their rule, that would make the end of poverty and class society.

This *October Revolution* (so called because the Russian calendar in use then was as behind the times as the social system) is sixty-four years old. For all those years, its enemies, the enemies of the oppressed and exploited, have tried to tell those whom they rule that the Russian Revolution was a failure, that it led only to worse things, that it and the hopes it had raised were dead.

These are lies. *The Russian Revolution is alive today!*

From Central America to Iran, it is alive. Never, in the entire history of the world, has there been a period of revolutions that can even begin to compare with the one that began in 1917. The Russian Revolution did not flare up and burn out, like an isolated flame in the dark. It set a fire that has never gone out. After ebbs and flows, after victories and defeats, the world revolution continues today. Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador — these are not individual events, they are the latest developments of the process set in motion in 1917. Within the lifetime of still-living men and women, the world has been changed — and it continues to be.

Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador also signal something else. They are the signs that a new offensive in the world revolution is underway, that a period of flow, of advance, is underway.

There is a fourth revolution that, even more than these three, shows both the continued existence of the Russian Revolution and the nature of the current period.

It is the Polish Revolution, which began in August 1980 and deepens more every day, heading more and more directly to the decisive confrontation, that we mean.

What makes the Polish Revolution so critical? Why does it not exist as just one more name to add to the list of current revolutions?

The Russian Revolution was not just a date in history, a time when one small group replaced another. For the first time in history, the masses (how the capitalists and their hangers-on sneer at that word!) took power into their own hands and began to transform the world. Such a change cannot be wiped out by mere replacements of revolutionary elements by reactionary bureaucrats. Such setbacks can be the road to total counterrevolution only if the masses themselves can be crushed, their gains destroyed, their consciousness of them eradicated.

Imperialist counterrevolution has never been able to do this. Even its agents, the Stalinist bureaucrats of the so-called "Communist Parties," rule over the *socialist conquests* of the revolution and rest on them. The bureaucrats' role is to prepare the victory of counterrevolution, but if it should

conquer, it would dispense with their services.

Socialist Conquests

There are those who tell us that they are Marxists, socialists, revolutionaries, even communists, and still try to tell us that the Russian Revolution failed, that the capitalists won, that all the work of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky went for nothing.

These analysts of "state capitalism" or "bureaucratic collectivism" tell us that masses have been living under "red fascism" for generations. But our party, the Fourth International, which carries on the work of Bolshevism, says that: "The socialist conquests live in the consciousness of the masses."

The nationalization of the means of production, the expropriation of the capitalist class, are not mere forms filled with old content, they are not "fetishes." That is not the case because the masses feel that these are *their* conquests, their *socialist conquests*.

It is not possible to explain the great mobilization of the Polish workers — developing from 1956 on — if you think they have been ruled over and exploited by a "new class" for thirty years. The Polish Revolution can be understood and fought for only as the mobilization of the masses to defend, to extend and to take direct control of their conquests, to take back the political power that Stalinism usurped.

The deformed workers states of Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, etc.) exist because of the force of the Russian Revolution, of the continuity of the world revolution, even against and in spite of Stalinist betrayal.

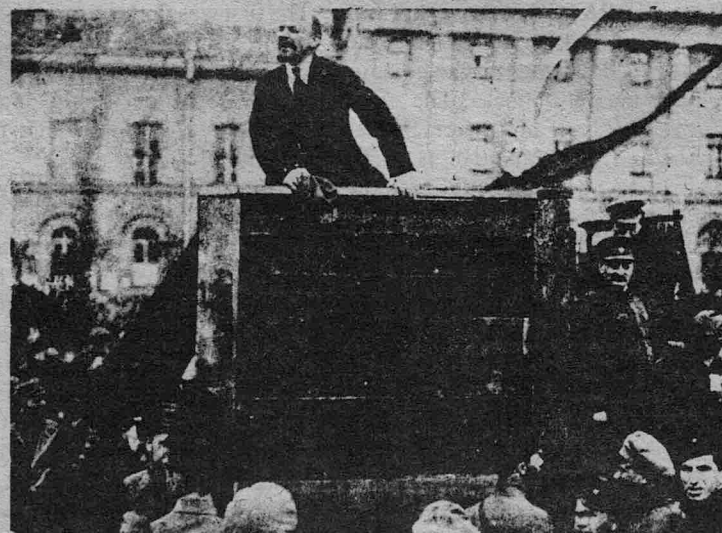
The Polish Revolution thus represents the direct development of the gains of the Russian Revolution, a direct threat to the Stalinists who betrayed it.

Why do we say the Russian Revolution is alive today? Look to Poland, and you will see ten million answers.

But what about the current period, why is Poland special there?

The world revolution, despite upsurges and revolts everywhere, has been kept from total victory because of an alliance against it, what we call a "Holy Alliance" after the counterrevolutionary pact of 1815, between Stalinism and its imperialist masters. This alliance is worldwide, but its heart and its root lie in the division of Europe and the European working class after World War II. This was the basis for the "postwar stabilization" on which the counterrevolution has rested for a generation.

The European Revolution means the destruction of that alliance. And the European Revolution has begun in Poland! This is the case not just because of the broad continental impact of such a revolution, but above all because of the fact that the Polish Revolution is a direct blow against the rule of Stalinism in Eastern Europe. That is why the Kremlin reacts with such vicious panic. And the fall of the Kremlin's domination in the East means the end of imperialist domination, not just in the West but all over Europe, and the world. It means its isolation before the workers of its own countries.



Lenin speaking; Trotsky on steps.

Lessons

Beyond this, the Polish Revolution brings out the essential lessons — and the key lesson — of the Russian Revolution.

First of all, to the astonishment of the imperialists and their press agents (an astonishment concealed by feeble jokes) it is the *working class* that is making this revolution, just as Marx and Lenin and Trotsky said. Already, enthusiasm for the "Polish workers" has faded in the face of PATCO, Solidarity Day and so on.

Second, which the bourgeois press consciously ignores, in Poland — as in Russia in 1917 — *the workers have organized their own independent bodies as fighting political organs*. In Russia, they were "soviets" (councils); in Poland, they are the MKZs and the MKSs (inter-factory councils). These bodies are organs through which the workers fight and, potentially and already in action, exercise their power. No, the capitalists don't want the idea of organs of workers power to get spread around.

Third, as Lenin demonstrated in his pamphlet, *The State and Revolution*, and in the Russian Revolution, the old regime, its armed power, its state cannot be reformed. It has to be smashed and replaced by a new state, the workers state — in this case, violently "un-deformed." All the attempts at "renewal" of Stalinist rule run up against the revolution.

Fourth, the General Strike, as in February 1917, in the July Days, in the fight against

Kornilov in the Russian Revolution, is the means and method of the development and organization of the revolutionary masses.

And, finally, the party. The Russian Revolution triumphed because it was led by a revolutionary Marxist party, the Bolshevik Party. Without that, it would have been allowed to run down and then been crushed. Today, in Poland, this is the missing element.

But it is not missing in the sense that it is in Iran and Central America. Even before its rebuilding, the Fourth International set about building parties in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe. Our party, the Fourth International, has a Polish section, the Revolutionary Workers League. In this sense, the party is unique because all the other claimants to Trotskyism have not laid this groundwork. Our party has its organ *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle"), which is widely distributed in Poland. It is growing rapidly, especially among the youth and it has played, already, a major role in events.

Just as the Bolsheviks fought for the revolution under the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" so our Polish section is building itself with the slogan of "A United Front for a Government Responsible to the Workers Councils."

The lessons of the Russian Revolution are being put into action today by the party that has fought to defend it and develop its gains, the Fourth International.

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

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

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Poland: Confrontation Must Be Prepared

The October 18 meeting of the Polish Communist Party (PUWP) ousted Stanislaw Kania as party chief. Kania himself has been in office only thirteen months. The new party chief is General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is already both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense. Thus, the new party boss concentrates all the effective power of the Stalinist bureaucracy in his hands.

This move reflects the tremendous crisis of the Stalinist apparatus in Poland, a crisis which is provoked by the inability of the moderate and reformist leadership of "Solidarity," Lech Walesa, to contain the Polish workers' mobilization. The Polish workers retain the initiative despite the appeals of the Walesa for calm. Certainly, this is to their credit, for "calm" is what the Polish bureaucrats and the Kremlin are looking for in order to intervene to smash the workers' freedoms and "Solidarity."

The changes in the top leadership of the PUWP make clear that the Kremlin and the bureaucrats are actively preparing the confrontation in Poland with the working class.

The same Central Committee also proposed a series of measures to do away with the gains won by "Solidarity" over the last year. These included a suspension of the right to strike, ending agreements made in the Gdansk Accords last year, tighter control over the news media — thus abrogating certain liberties won by "Solidarity" recently — and several expulsions of party members considered favorable to "Solidarity."

These measures disprove the theory that the PUWP can be reformed. This theory was at the root of support for the Gdansk Accords which forced "Solidarity" to recognize the "leading role of the Communist Party."

But, at the same time it is clear that the Polish workers need a party.

The Fourth International is turning all of its attention to the construction in Poland of the party of the political revolution. This means that we reject the conception that the confrontation with the Kremlin can either be avoided or swept under the rug as a problem for the indefinite future. Put another way, the struggle cannot remain at the present stage very long, no matter how many strikes the Polish workers can build. Nor can "Solidarity" confront the Kremlin with its present leadership, which tries to act as a brake on the mobilization of the workers.

An ominous sign of the direction of the struggle was given last week when the government dispatched troops to cities across Poland to counter "Solidarity's" one-hour national work stoppage. The incident in Southern Poland where miners were attacked by "unknown" provocateurs throwing mustard gas shows that the government, in the typical Stalinist manner, is working in less than open ways to provoke a confrontation with the Polish workers, waiting for a situation where their forces are disorganized.

The central objective therefore must be to construct the party to prepare the confrontation with the Kremlin, given that this stage of the Polish Revolution is inevitable.

The Fourth International prepares this party today, its section exists and fights in



Polish workers have taken up the fight for free trade unions throughout Eastern Europe.

Poland.

American workers cannot stand aside from this struggle, nor is it enough to simply say that the American working class can defend the Polish Revolution by making the American Revolution.

"Solidarity" Congress

The recent Congress of "Solidarity" launched an important call to the independent unions of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Observers at the Congress, which was to have been an affair of a few days, report that when this resolution was offered to the Congress there was literally an explosion of support from the delegates present. Delegates were immediately on their feet chanting and applauding the call, the first time "Solidarity" has openly made initiatives to extend the free trade union into other countries of the socialist conquests.

This call offers an important opening to break the isolation of the Polish Revolution. First, because it poses very clearly the necessity that the political revolution cannot be confined to Poland, but must develop throughout Eastern Europe and be united with the social revolution in Western Europe. And second, because it offers a fight around which unions in the West can actively defend the Polish workers.

The isolation of the Polish Revolution is not only very clearly the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it is also very clearly the policy of U.S. imperialism and Reagan. There has been a distinct change in the policy of the U.S. government from the first days of the Polish workers' movement, when the bourgeoisie was surprised by the force of this movement, to today. Now the State Department line is that the Polish workers are asking for too much (sound familiar?) and just plain asking for it. This is also the line of the trade union bureaucracy in the U.S.

Proof of this line is the fact that when Vladimiar Borisov asked for a visa to the United States to take part in a tour being organized by the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA, the State Department insisted that he renounce any tie to Communism (that's Communism meaning Bolshevism, not Stalinism). Borisov is a leader of SMOT, the free trade union in the USSR.

Using the call of the "Solidarity" Congress, it is necessary to develop a real campaign in the American unions for the defense of independent unions. This campaign

can be the basis for continuing the organization of the tour of "Solidarity" SMOT in the U.S. which has already been organized with great success in France, Sweden and Spain.

But this campaign must develop as a means to lay bare the nature of the U.S. trade unions. That is, the struggle to break the unions from their policy of concessions in order that they be truly "independent" working class organizations. Therefore, the call of the Congress of "Solidarity" can be a real weapon not only in defense of the Polish workers, but also a weapon in the hands of American workers.

D.H.

Budapest, 1956 by Balazs Nagy

This polemic has just been published by the PORE, the Spanish section of the Fourth International. It defends the working class character of the Hungarian Revolution against both the imperialists and the Stalinists who term it a bourgeois counterrevolution. It shows that it was the workers, organized in their councils, especially the young workers, who played the leading role in the revolution.

Balazs Nagy, whose party name is Michel Varga, was a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth in the '40's and '50's. He opposed the Stalinist trial of Rajk and thus was suspended and then expelled from the Communist Party, first as an "imperialist spy" and then as an "anti-Soviet nationalist." He joined the opposition around Imre Nagy, was a secretary of the Petofi Club, took part in the revolution in 1956, and was an organizer of the armed, underground resistance "Movement of October 23." He went into exile in November, later becoming a Trotskyist. Other leaders of the revolution, like Imre Nagy, were executed by the Stalinists.

All readers who read Spanish should get this book. It will show you why the Hungarian Revolution and Michel Varga are despised and slandered by all the enemies of the working class and freedom.

M.G.

Budapest, 1956
by Balazs Nagy (Michel Varga)

An authoritative, inside account of the Hungarian Revolution and the formation of the Budapest Central Workers Council.

Send \$4.00 for each copy wanted to:

TRUTH
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(In Spanish Only)

Class Struggle at All Peoples' Congress

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA fought for a one-day work stoppage in defense of PATCO at the All Peoples' Congress (APC) held in Cobo Hall, Detroit, October 16-18.

PATCO and Poland

We began Friday evening and continued Saturday morning and afternoon, asking people to endorse our resolution and to subscribe to and distribute *Truth* and *International Young Guard*. We wore PATCO T-shirts to call attention to the struggle.

Again and again we raised the example of the Polish shipyard workers' strike, how defense of this strike was a catalyst for the General Strike which brought down Polish Stalinist leader Edward Gierek in August 1980.

A work stoppage in defense of PATCO here in the U.S. can not only defend the right to strike and the existence of the unions themselves against Reagan's terrorist attacks, it can also be a decisive step in organizing the General Strike, in confronting and destroying the Reagan regime.

PATCO is the first union to actively confront Reagan. If others join, it can finish him. Nothing could be more beneficial for all workers and oppressed peoples.

Thus our struggle, even though our forces were small, attracted the revolutionary and working class wing of the APC. We convinced over 60 people — including youth from California and New York, union members from AFSCME and PATCO, and members of the Iranian Mojahedin and the Freedom Socialist Party — to endorse our resolution. We convinced the Health and Safety Workshop to adopt a motion in favor of a one-day work stoppage.

We recruited another youth to International Young Guard/USA. And PATCO members decided to distribute *Truth*, taking a bundle of 100. "I wouldn't have distributed a paper like this a year ago, but the strike has changed my mind," said

one. Seven new people decided to subscribe to *Truth*, and we sold 63 copies of it.

Our struggle for a one-day work stoppage proved that the All Peoples' Congress is *not* a working class organization.

From the very beginning the APC leadership, composed largely of members of the Workers World Party and of PAM (its front group), tried to restrict the struggle. They tried to keep it away from participants, off the floor of the workshops and off the floor of the Congress.

They told us not to distribute our literature inside Cobo Hall. They charged \$50 for literature tables and insisted on screening all literature for these tables.

When we first raised the resolution in the workshop they said it wouldn't be in order until after the panel had finished. When the panel finished they said there wasn't enough time. Only when an AFSCME member from Milwaukee declared; "I challenge the chair," did they consent to the discussion in which a motion in favor of a one-day work stoppage was finally passed.

APC's Character

This same charade started again on Sunday morning, in the general meeting. We approached the platform twice to find out when the workshop resolutions might come up and the APC leadership refused even to speak to us.

So at one o'clock in the afternoon, after listening to speeches from the platform for the second day in a row, we joined the Revolutionary Workers League and the Republic of New Africa movement in chanting "open the mike."

The APC leadership then unleashed goon squads with walkie-talkies who called us racists and government agents. Some even tried to provoke a physical confrontation. Finally, they orchestrated a chorus of "The people united shall never be defeated," and closed the Congress.

At *no* point in the entire "Congress" were resolutions on anything in order.



APC is outside movement that Solidarity Day represented.

Workers World and PAM were so afraid of an open and organized split on class lines in the Congress that they preferred to turn it into a total farce and close it, rather than risk such a possibility.

The only time they ever responded to our resolution was in the workshop and in individual discussion. Here they argued that we shouldn't make a one-day work stoppage in defense of PATCO the focus of the APC's proposed "National Days of Resistance" because we shouldn't put the interests of one sector ahead of another. They said unions weren't any more important than any other organization. They said the APC didn't have the authority to organize such a work stoppage.

When we brought up the example of Poland, they said things like: "Solidarnosc's ties with the banks make me nervous" or, more openly, "Solidarnosc is counterrevolutionary."

When all these arguments failed to convince anyone but their own people, they demagogically accused us of trying to split and to destroy the Congress and spread rumors that we were in the pay of the government. One of their supporters from Chicago flew up to us at the end of the Congress and said if he found out for sure that we were working for the government he was going to "get us"!

(No wonder Workers World opposes the Polish Revolution. It is precisely this kind of vicious Stalinist slander and abuse that the Polish workers are fighting to do away with.)

At the same time, Workers World and PAM were completely incapable of advancing or rousing any enthusiasm for their own orientation — "Dump the Reagan Program," build an "All Peoples' Congress" with liberal Democrats and union bureaucrats.

They never defined the nature of the "National Days of Resistance," planned for next April and May (!), and made no plans for building them. The only action proposal — ours — was suppressed.

The APC had the air of a party thrown by a poor little rich girl to which nobody came. Huge, half-empty rooms with unused banners and placards. An APC staffer we overheard in the hall captured this

situation himself when he said, "All this for nothing?"

Our Answer

We could have written volumes about Workers World, PAM and their APC even before it happened. But nothing we could have said about their anti-working class, pro-Stalinist character could have been as convincing as their deeds.

This was affirmed by youth we met. One said a Workers World supporter from New York sounded like his uncle — a member of the Hungarian Stalinist party. Another said that if half the people at the APC knew that Workers World backed the Stalinist Kremlin against the Polish workers they wouldn't even be there.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA's struggle also showed that the workers party can be built in open, mass and concrete struggle, oriented toward accomplishing something real for the working class in its combat against Reagan.

While our results were limited, both in terms of necessities and possibilities, we were the only party that accomplished anything positive for the working class. It was the beginning of the end for Workers World. Other parties, like the Socialist Workers Party, that came only with general propaganda and weren't even prepared to take the floor, accomplished nothing.

These pacifist and literary conceptions of the construction of the party, which rely solely on propaganda and individual discussion, that dominated in the period of "peaceful coexistence" between imperialism and Stalinism, are being shown to be bankrupt as the working class approaches the revolutionary confrontation with the bourgeois states and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Everyone who supported the Trotskyists' struggle at the All Peoples' Congress should carry it forward in the unions and in all working class organizations. This is not only the way to defend PATCO and organize the general strike to bring down Reagan, but also the way to build the workers party that will insure that this struggle ends in the government of the workers councils.

Our Resolution at the APC

1. A one day work stoppage in defense of the air traffic controllers (PATCO) will be the focus of the National Day of Resistance.
2. A committee will be elected by the Congress to organize this struggle.

Submitted by Margaret Guttshall, Trotskyist Organization/USA

W. Hackett
Fr. J. Dickson
J. Everting
A. Stephens
S. Garner
M. White
F. Reyes
J. Robinson
P. Taylor
P. Driscoll
W. Verjuoir
T. Giering
M. Reeves

C. Andrews
J.R. Kolb
D. Tuckerman
M. Maren
T. Serrato
G. Wolfe
L. Rose
R. Sawyer
S. Cohen
B. Williams
G. Lofton
T. Pressp

B. Koenig
D. Latear
C. Henderson
H. Williams
K. Brown
M. Cloud
D. Lemp
C. Hall
N. Gregoropoulos
N. Klonowski
S. Nathan
M. Botts

R. Beatty
A. Davis
S. Perry
M. Hanif
S. Karimil
G. Coffman
C. Turner
M. Levin
A. Villsbon
R. Forbes
D. Sedacca
G. Wolfe

No Concessions in Auto! Defend PATCO!

By FRED VITALE

There had not been a broad mobilization of the United Auto Workers (UAW) for a long time until Solidarity Day. Over 30,000 UAW members marched with the 350,000 workers who demonstrated in Washington, DC, on September 19. Hundreds wore "No Concessions!" T-shirts.

PATCO

Solidarity Day was a day of solidarity above all with PATCO (Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization), whose 12,000 members have been fired by Reagan and which has been decertified. And on every worker's lips was: "Now we've started! What next?"

It's clear we must defend PATCO. Our demands are simple: these workers must get their jobs back; PATCO must be their union.

On October 14, Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW, spoke to a meeting of the National Ford Council. When asked whether the UAW would agree to a Chrysler "concessions" contract with Ford, he said, "It's too early to tell."

In fact what he means is, it's too early to say. He intends to give away an unprecedented package of concessions, allowing more plants to close, giving up holidays, etc. He is going to deepen the "Chrysler syndrome," extending it to Ford and General Motors.

The militant actions of the autoworkers

— from Solidarity Day to increased local strikes — are growing as the union leadership, while talking tougher and tougher, does less and less for autoworkers. Every autoworker knows there is virtually no defense of workers' rights on the shop floor, no perspective for stopping more plant closures, such as Michigan Casting of UAW Local 600, slated to be shut December 15. Now is the time for winning back the UAW as a union, as a *movement* that defends the workers by any means necessary.

Today winning back the UAW, stopping the concessions, begins with defending PATCO. The UAW — which concentrates all the gains of the autoworkers — cannot be defended without defending PATCO, the union in the front lines. Fraser started the "concessions" ball rolling, the UAW can stop it.

How To Win

A Michigan PATCO Labor Support Committee exists and met for the first time on October 6. It includes, among others, Doug Fraser, Bob King (financial secretary of UAW Local 600) and Tom Turner (president of the Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO). It held a picket line at Metropolitan Airport outside of Detroit on October 11 and, with PATCO, had a total of 150 pickets.

Every step, however small, is valuable. We encourage and want to organize mass picketing at their airports. But if Doug Fraser can say only two days later that it's "too early to tell" if the UAW bureaucracy will make concessions to Ford, if Fraser, along with Bob King, has no proposal to stop the closing of Michigan Casting, then they plan nothing for the PATCO Support Committee but *symbolic gestures*, and not a fight at all. PATCO's picket lines are crossed every day by pilots, machinists, flight attendants, all members of the AFL-CIO. This must stop.

These same unions could mobilize tens of thousands to travel thousands of miles on buses to demonstrate in Washington. Surely they could mobilize at least that many to travel a few miles to the airports!

The truth is this Committee has accepted the framework of this strike imposed by the Reagan regime. It accepts Reagan's stand that the strike is "illegal" and therefore all that the unions can do is make symbolic gestures.

For Reagan, however, working class actions to defend the unions, win jobs and high wages are "illegal." His program is to dismember the U.S. labor movement.

Reagan must be brought down with a General Strike. And the first step towards a General Strike is a national work stoppage winning the PATCO workers back

their jobs, with their union representing them.

Action

The Minnesota AFL-CIO passed a resolution, "urging our state and national leaders to support and organize a nationwide work stoppage in support of PATCO." (Minnesota AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention; September 15, 1981). Not only the Minnesota, but the Virginia, Idaho and Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO have passed virtually the same resolution.

Such resolutions will not be carried into action by the people who passed them. The ranks must take the initiative to build a movement to organize the national work stoppage.

This is the fight that must grow now in the UAW. It can begin by collecting signatures of UAW workers who support a national work stoppage to return PATCO to its rightful place as the representative of the rehired air traffic controllers, bringing this support to the Michigan PATCO Labor Support Committee and making a political fight to implement this proposal there.

This is the way to continue the movement began with Solidarity Day, to deepen and extend the fight against concessions.

*Stop Concessions in Auto!
Defend PATCO!*

Cuba Pamphlet Re-Issued

We are reprinting below excerpts from the preface to the second edition of the *Truth* pamphlet, *A Centrist Apology for Stalinism*.

This pamphlet, through its revelation of the cover-up of Castroism performed by the late Socialist Workers Party leader, Joseph Hansen, helps to educate and arm militants against Stalinism and its agents in the workers movement.

TRUTH

A Centrist Apology for Stalinism was written more than three years ago as a polemical weapon against the book by Joseph Hansen, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*. One test which any Marxist applies to theory is the test of time. Does *A Centrist Apology for Stalinism* stand that test? We think so.

That is not to say that some elements of this pamphlet which first appeared as a series in *Truth*, are not outdated or even that upon reflection we would not clarify certain questions. Marxism is not a static method, and we ourselves have advanced in these three years.

Having said this, it is worthwhile pointing out some of the more striking predictions and contributions of this pamphlet, which, if anything, are even more true today than when the series first appeared in *Truth*.

First of all, the balance sheet of Castroism as a Stalinist, parasitic bureaucracy, which came to power as a petty bourgeois radical movement on the heels of the Cuban working class, has certainly been confirmed by the turn of events. The sup-

port of Castro for the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary attacks on the Polish Revolution shows that, with each advance of the world proletariat, Castroism reveals itself as a more deadly enemy of the working class.

Secondly, this balance sheet, which is based on a world view of Stalinism as the prime counterrevolutionary agent of imperialism in the workers movement, together with the Conference of the Two Americas mentioned in the pamphlet, has permitted the first regroupments toward the rebuilding of the Latin American sections of the Fourth International. In Peru, with the formation of a Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International and, in Bolivia, with the formation of the Bolivian Committee of the Fourth International.

Thirdly, the prediction that the Cuban question would erupt with great force in the United Secretariat (USec) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been borne out by the split of Moreno and his tendency in 1979 from the USec, and the recent formation in the SWP itself of two minority tendencies, which *The Militant* (newspaper of the SWP) has reported oppose the view that Castro is revolution-

ary. We do not gloat over these events. The Moreno position that Castro was a revolutionary in the beginning, only to become prey to certain anti-working class errors in the end, has only confused the central question. Castroism is Stalinism, the Fourth International was founded against Stalinism and its sections must be rebuilt in Latin America, including in Cuba,

against Castroism. Moreno's theory is only the flip side of the majority position in the SWP (Castroism is getting better and better), and both theories serve only to cover up the abandonment by both currents of the struggle against a pro-Stalinist tendency in the Fourth International — Pabloism — in 1963.

In this respect, we do not view the limitations of our pamphlet as serious, but rather as products of a necessary advance of the Fourth International in the midst of such great world events as the Polish Revolution, Nicaragua and Iran.

The struggle for the revolutionary party is not programmatic alone. These great events necessitate that the revolutionary regroupments leading to the rebuilding of the Fourth International in the Americas be made in function of organizing the revolution which is going on. That is why the Trotskyist Organization/USA has taken great pains to propose common action at every important moment as the only basis for revolutionary clarity. And so we think it absolutely necessary to add to the pamphlet the proposal that the militants of the SWP engage with us in the preparation of the American Revolution, concretely in the building of the General Strike. In the final analysis, the greatest service of American revolutionaries to their brothers and sisters in South and Central America is to bring about the fall of U.S. imperialism. For our part we are ready to listen to any proposals from the SWP to bring about such a desirable end.

In conclusion, there remain a few small matters to clear up. Joseph Hansen is no

longer a leader of the SWP, having died in 1979, but the present majority led by Barnes has, if anything, only deepened the theoretical and practical capitulations to Stalinism made by Hansen.

The Conference of the Two Americas, mentioned in the pamphlet, was held in Madrid, Spain, in the spring of 1980, one year after its original date. Its documents are available from *Truth*.

Truth

October 1981

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Defeat "Weatherman" Frame-Up!

Declaration of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

The terrorist state of U.S. imperialism — Reagan's FBI, CIA and cops — has organized a major attack on the working class and revolutionary movements in this country.

A massive *frame-up* has been created against the so-called "Weather Underground" (more loosely referred to as "Weatherman") as a way to present revolutionary politics and struggle against imperialist rule as "criminal" and "terrorist" activity.

There is only one group of political *criminals* and *terrorists* at large in the United States — the imperialist ruling class and its agents!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA declares: *we defend all those arrested!* We call for their freedom and for organizing a battle to bring down the actual terrorists and criminals.

What Is At Stake?

Let us be clear. In defending all those arrested we are not raising for the moment the question even of the actual existence of the events — did they "do it" or not? No, we are defending actions by anyone that are aimed against imperialism. There is a class line at stake here. We will discuss with those on our side the wisdom of various policies. Toward those on the other side we remain, as Trotsky said, "the party of irreconcilable opposition."

Already many "radicals," "leftists" and so on are heading for the hills and crawling under the nearest rocks, denouncing those arrested as "criminals," proclaiming — very loudly — their own fervent opposition to "terrorism." Yet these same people, for instance, warmly supported the recent struggle of the Irish Republican prisoners in British jails. What did they think British imperialism charged Bobby Sands and Frankie Hughes and the others with — being "freedom fighters"? Hardly. The charges were the same as those against the "Weathermen": possession of weapons, possession of explosives, armed robbery, killing cops.

We cannot help thinking that the change of heart by our tame radicals is caused by their prostration before "their own" imperialism, before the "democratic" nature of its rule.

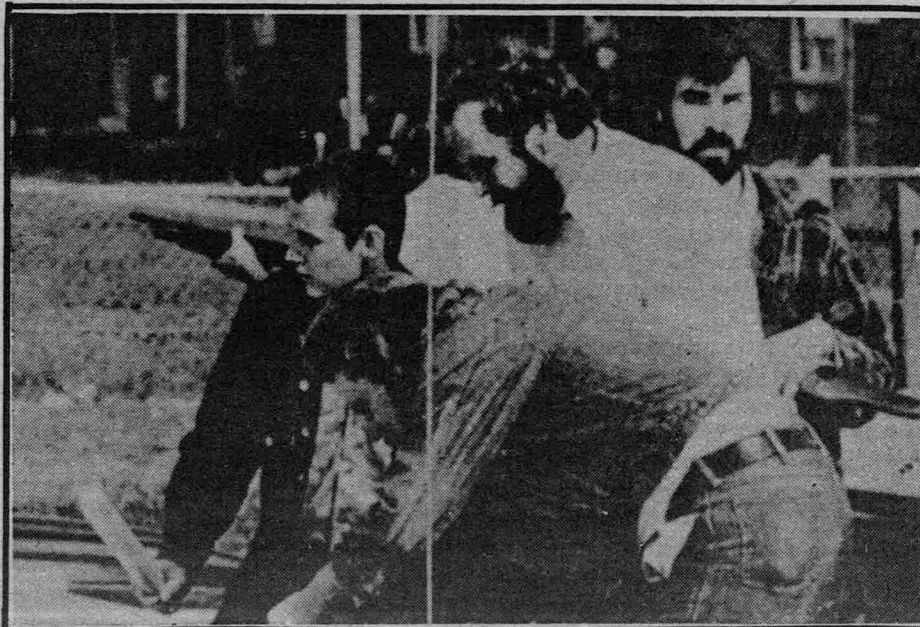
For our part, the only difference in our attitude toward "Weatherman" is that its lack of the strength and traditions of the IRA has made it an ideal target for an attack, an attack on *our* movement by "our" imperialism. In other words, the defense of the arrested militants is an even more important and urgent task.

The Frame-Up

As far the accusations themselves go, the whole thing stinks to high heaven of a deliberate police provocation. Five men allegedly open fire on an armored bank car, but three women (including Kathy Boudin and Judith Clark) are arrested

miles away. Militants from organizations as diverse as "Weatherman" and the conservative black nationalist "Republic of New Africa" are linked in an incredible amalgam by the cops. Militants are shot

big coincidence that this frame-up and the accusation against the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) followed by a few weeks the SWP's demand that the Voorhis Act (see p. 3) be abolished? Are we supposed to



The photo above shows Nazis and Klansmen preparing to shoot down five members of the Communist Workers Party — Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Mike Nathan, Bill Sampson and Sandi Smith — in Greensboro, North Carolina, on November 3, 1979.

The fascists, who were put up to their crime by a Treasury agent, who were allowed to do their work by local police, got off scot free. It is well to remember now, at the moment of an "anti-terrorist" witch-hunt, just who the real terrorists are.

TRUTH

down by the cops, while others suffer "abdominal trauma" which these same cops claim is a big puzzle to them. The bourgeois press reports, with a straight face, that one of those arrested had a bullet in his pocket that was fired from the gun of one of the killed armored car guards! What is he supposed to have done, snatched it out of the air?

But this attack is in no way limited to small, isolated organizations. They are the key to something bigger.

This can be seen in a small way in the fact that, at the end of the lists of bombs, weapons, etc., supposedly found in the supposed "safe houses" (read: apartments), the cops consistently include "radical literature." That sheds light on the cops' view of the "crimes" of these militants — chief among them being political opposition to American imperialism, expressed in open, public literature.

Far more important, this attack is aimed directly at the Fourth International. An Associated Press dispatch of October 21, reprinted in major newspapers, stated: "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette in New York said the bureau determined that Clark was the same Judith Clark who was in the Weather Underground and is now in the Socialist Workers Party."

Are we supposed to believe that it is all a

believe that it is just an accident that Leonard Boudin, Kathy's father, was the original lawyer in the SWP's suit against the U.S. government and that he had just filed a "friend of the court" brief supporting it?

Jobs for Youth!

Below we are reprinting the text of a leaflet used by International Young Guard/USA to build its demonstration for jobs for youth.

The date given in the last issue of our paper was changed, in order to provide it with a clearer political focus.

International Young Guard is taking the initiative in organizing a demonstration for jobs, and *against* the layoffs, concessions and cutbacks of Reagan and Young.

The fact that this is also Election Day in Detroit will enable youth to impose *their strength* to demand a PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS. The time is ripe for young people to take the situation into their own hands. You can make a difference on November 3 at 5:00 PM in front of the City-County Building.

The fight must be organized today. Meet to discuss and organize a full mobilization for the November 3 demonstration, on Sunday, November 1 at 2:00 PM

How To Fight

Through these attacks on the SWP and "Weatherman," Reagan's terrorist state is out to reimpose police-state laws like the Voorhis Act. (At this very moment, Reagan is trying to explicitly legalize CIA spying on U.S. groups.) The goal is to make the Fourth International illegal in the U.S., to cut American workers off from the world revolution and the leadership that they need.

That is a direct attack, not just on other organizations, but *on our party!*

The SWP has not just rightly denied that Judith Clark is a member, it has also gone out of its way to denounce "terrorism." Such a policy only plays into Reagan's hands.

Over a hundred years ago, the Knights of Labor announced a great principle, one that we must put into action now: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

In the last issue of *Truth*, in an article on Nixon's planned use of "thugs" against anti-war youth, we asked the question: "But what is smiling Ronald Reagan, heir to Nixon and head of our 'democracy,' thinking about after Solidarity Day?"

Now we know at least part of the answer. A working class upsurge is underway in this country and Reagan is desperately reacting against it. We have to base ourselves on this upsurge and take the offensive against the terrorist state. We have to energetically defend the arrested militants, at the same time linking this defense to the fight against the Voorhis Act. Every organization and every militant has to take a place in this fight.

**Defend the Arrested Militants!
Defeat the Voorhis Act!
Down with the Terrorist State!**

in the Student Center Building at Wayne State University.

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