



### Declaration of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

# The Battle in Auto Begins Right Now!

Autoworkers!

The so-called concessions demanded by the auto companies have been forced on you by the leadership of your union, by Douglas Fraser and his crew of class-collaborationist bureaucrats in the UAW.

#### What Concessions Mean

The attacks on you by the Reagan government, on the gains that the working people and the oppressed have gained over a half century of struggle, form the framework for the concessions demands.

The attempt by this same government to rearm American imperialism militarily and politically (reviving draft registration, intervention in Central America) is aimed at defeating the workers and peasants of the backward countries, of taking back the socialist conquests made by the workers in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. And it is aimed at making us the tools of imperialism in these assaults on our class brothers and sisters.

In the Great Depression, American imperialism received a terrible scare. It came within shouting distance of losing its wealth and its privileges in this, "its own" country. It was saved from that fate, that long overdue fate, not even by Roosevelt himself but by those who put themselves forward as leaders of the working class. The leaders of the new industrial unions (Walter Reuther and so on) and the so-called Communist Party channelled the militancy of the workers, of the oppressed, of the poor, of the youth, back into the Democratic Party, the chief support to the capitalist system.

And its final salvation was the slaughter of World War II and the failure of the European Revolution (because of the betrayal by the Kremlin-dominated Communist Parties there).

On this shoddy foundation, the imperialists raised the dream house of "American prosperity," where "everyone is middle class," where "the system works."

*Except now it doesn't!* The system is dying; it is dying all around the world — that is what Iran and Nicaragua and El Salvador, and, above all, Poland mean.

And it is dying right here, too. That is why the "American dream" is only a distant memory. That is why your children's schools get worse, that is why women and minorities have no rights. And it is above all why — after telling you for fifty years how much they were "giving" you, when really everything you got you had to fight for — they are now telling you how much you have to "give up" to them.

Yes, their system is dying. But will we allow them to take us down with them, like the slaves of ancient kings were slaughtered to follow their masters into death? That is unthinkable; we are not slaves! We are part of the international working class, which has begun already to remake the world and which will finish that task on the ruins of the old order, not buried beneath them.

So, will we *collaborate in our own exploitation*, will we not only accept the concessions already imposed, but reel back in endless retreat

from the endless string of demands that the capitalists make and the union bureaucrats enforce?

Already, as the new negotiations for another Chrysler contract approach, the auto barons in this company where concessions were supposed to save jobs, to preserve some gains, are *already* planning *more* layoffs (closing of Detroit Axle) and *more* demands for concessions (health care, especially). Look around at the whole range of fields and industries that is involved in this concessions attack.

#### Who Failed And Why

It has to be clear now that there is no compromise solution possible, any more than there was in Poland. It has to be clear now that there is no peaceful solution possible, any more than there was in Poland.

Now is the time to get rid of the stupid lie that if we give up something now, just so as to hang on, we will get it all back later, when the "good times," come back. Because, fundamentally, the "good times" are dead and gone. If a dying man gets up one day and staggers around, it only means the relapse will be even more brutal.

Why did the concessions pass in auto? Why are they passing, by and large, in other industries? It was not because a majority of workers really believed in and wanted them. No one, not even Fraser or the auto barons or Reagan, has had the nerve to try to pass that off.

Fundamentally, the concessions passed — and in any event with a large number of abstentions — because the bulk of the workers did not see an alternative. A minority, a very important minority, was willing to vote and vote again in opposition to concessions, but the majority has to see another answer, another way out, before it is ready to go into active opposition.

On the surface of course, there were plenty of leaders opposed to concessions. But when push came to shove, when the cards were down, they folded.

Why? Why did the trade union oppositionists, like the local leaders in LOC (Locals Opposed to Concessions) and the skilled trades leaders, cave in? Why did all the radicals and so-called revolutionaries suddenly lose their voices?

We stated before that in the 1930's the great upsurge of the working class was kept in bounds by the emerging trade union bureaucracy and by the Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Today's trade union oppositionists, the Pete Kellys and Al Gardners, are the orphans of the 1930's. Their entire program, all their slogans, are based on a dream-like vision of the "good old days." And in this way, they try to introduce into today's situation a policy that failed over a generation ago.

The so-called revolutionaries, whether they call themselves "Trotskyists" or Maoists or whatever, in reality are unable to separate themselves from Stalinism, from the *counterrevolutionary* policy of the actually existing Communist Party. And it has been the chief advocate of a peaceful and compromise solution — pressure on the union bureaucrats — in the fight against conces-

sions.

This is the leadership that the workers found themselves with. And it was on this basis that they were unable to take the offensive and roll back the concessions demands.

It is no accident that these same claimants to leadership have now vanished, are now struck dumb. The concessions are passed, the workers are defeated (that's what they say about Poland, too), there is nothing to be done.

#### We Offer The Alternative

But we disagree. Our party, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, section of the Fourth International, is the only one that offered an alternative — the *General Strike to bring down Reagan, building the Workers Party* to organize this action. That is, a new policy — one that matches the times — and a new leadership — one that can and will carry out this policy.

Not a single one of the other claimants to leadership would accept common action on this basis. That is why they are silent now. But we are not.

We know that now — at the very moment when everything seems to be over — is the time to begin to organize again. The autoworkers will resist the application of the concessions in a thousand different ways; they will resist new attacks. There is no more doubt about this than there is that spring will come, even if now it feels like winter.

The whole world of imperialism — its newspapers and TV, its politicians and bureaucrats, its tame radicals and revolutionaries — say that the concessions have brought peace to the auto industry. We don't think so. We think that the concessions will be the battleground of the new struggles. The concessions will prove to be double-edged; they will "bring not peace, but a sword."

A little over six months ago, on Solidarity Day, hundreds of thousands of workers and their allies marched in the streets of Washington, DC. The same bureaucrats who organized — for their own reasons — that protest against Reagan's attacks have now abandoned that fight even in word and are actually carrying out the same attacks. Which will triumph, the spirit of Solidarity Day and the inspiration of the Polish Revolution, or the sordid sell-outs of the bureaucracy?

Our program says clearly: "The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus," whether it belongs to the AFL-CIO or the Kremlin.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA offers an open struggle, a common fight, to anyone in the UAW, in the workers organizations, who agrees that our new policy has to be the General Strike, who agrees that we have to build a new leadership now.

Autoworkers, brothers and sisters!

The road lies open before us. The past is finished. What we decide and do now can change the whole world situation. The question is to begin. In that beginning, we offer wholeheartedly everything that we have to give.

April 4, 1982



## No Collaboration in Our Own Exploitation!

# For Workers Control and Workers Democracy

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Everyone knows what the situation is in auto today. *Concessions* don't just mean some "contract take-backs" as the trade union oppositionists and so-called "revolutionaries" say, they mean an all-out attack on everything the workers have gained.

### What They Mean

In the deepest sense, these attacks — playing off one plant against another, playing off older workers against younger, giving the company a free hand in "work rules" (that is, increasing the output of the workers), cutting benefits and wages for the sake of the "mutual survival" of the company and the workers (not to mention the "work quality circles," etc.) — can be summed up in one expression.

At its Sixth National Conference, held a little over a year ago, the Trotskyist Organization/USA put forward the slogan *no collaboration of the workers in their own exploitation* (see *Truth* #129).

This slogan, today even more than then, expresses the situation that exists and the fight that has to be made against it.

Getting the workers to "collaborate in their own exploitation," to become blood donors for the vampires of capitalism, attacks not just this or that wage level or working condition but the very existence of the working class as an independent class, as a class for itself.

This attack on its class independence is not just economic. No, most of all, it is political. It is aimed at subordinating the US working class to "its own" imperialist rulers, to getting it to side with them against the world revolution (thus, the hue and cry about "imports") and with preparing, on this basis, the crushing and virtual enslavement of the American working class.

That is why concessions, which began in auto for very particular reasons, are not restricted to that industry. Steel, trucking, retail trade, government employment, auto suppliers, airlines; you name it, the capitalists are demanding concessions and successfully extorting them with the help of the current bureaucratic leaders of the unions.

And that has two more implications. First, the unions are becoming less and less working class organizations, more and more organizations to beat the workers into line for the bosses. In other words, the working class is being deprived of the major tool that helped to shape it as a class and to express its own, independent, class demands.

Second, at the same time, large portions of the working class — those not in unions, those whom the unions are casting off as excess baggage — are being left undefended by the bulwark of the unions, are being driven into competition as individuals, one against the other. In turn, these people are being used against the remaining organized workers. The slogan of a class is "solidarity," is "workers of the world, unite!" The cry of atomized and isolated competitors is "every man for himself!"

### How To Fight

At the same time that our party put forward this key slogan, it also developed the way to fight for it. In this article, we want to take up these points again, make them come alive in the present situation and show the political conclusions that they lead to and that they need to be completed.

The first major question is *workers control over production*.

This means fundamentally that all the questions of the organization of the eco-

nomy, first at the level of the plant and then over increasingly higher areas, be removed from the hands of the capitalists and their managers and taken over by the workers, organized in their special bodies, committees, etc.

Let's break this general concept down and apply it to current problems.

First of all, there is massive unemployment in auto, as well as in other industries. Every laid-off autoworker, for starters, should be called back, with hours of those working reduce in proportion. *But this will be without any cut in pay.* "Thirty hours work for forty hours pay" is a good slogan, a good place to start.

A fight for this would also lead right away to direct battles over line speed, workloads and so on, that the capitalists put under the heading of "work rules," to be changed.

The figures on sales, production, costs, profits, etc., that the capitalists use to defend their demands for concessions are all *their secrets*. The union bureaucrats willingly accept as fact anything the capitalists tell them. But a fight to *open the books of the banks and the corporations* would show us where all the money goes, would show us who is needed and who is not.

In turn, the capitalists shut down plants and parts of plants at their whim, in order to throw us on the defensive, while the bureaucrats — some of whom, like Fraser, are even on the board of directors — beg to be told about it a little in advance. Just as with the other points, workers control of production means that such decisions will no longer be made by the capitalists at the expense of the workers.

*Factory occupations*, sitdown strikes, are the way to enforce our control over production, over our jobs and our lives, in such situations.

Take the question of automation and its new development, "robotics." The question is not new technology or not, the question is who will benefit from it. With capitalist control, not only does new technology mean more layoffs, it means more intensified work for those who are left. Under workers control, new technology would mean less work, less toil, relief from stress and fear.

### Workers Democracy

The second major question is *workers democracy*.

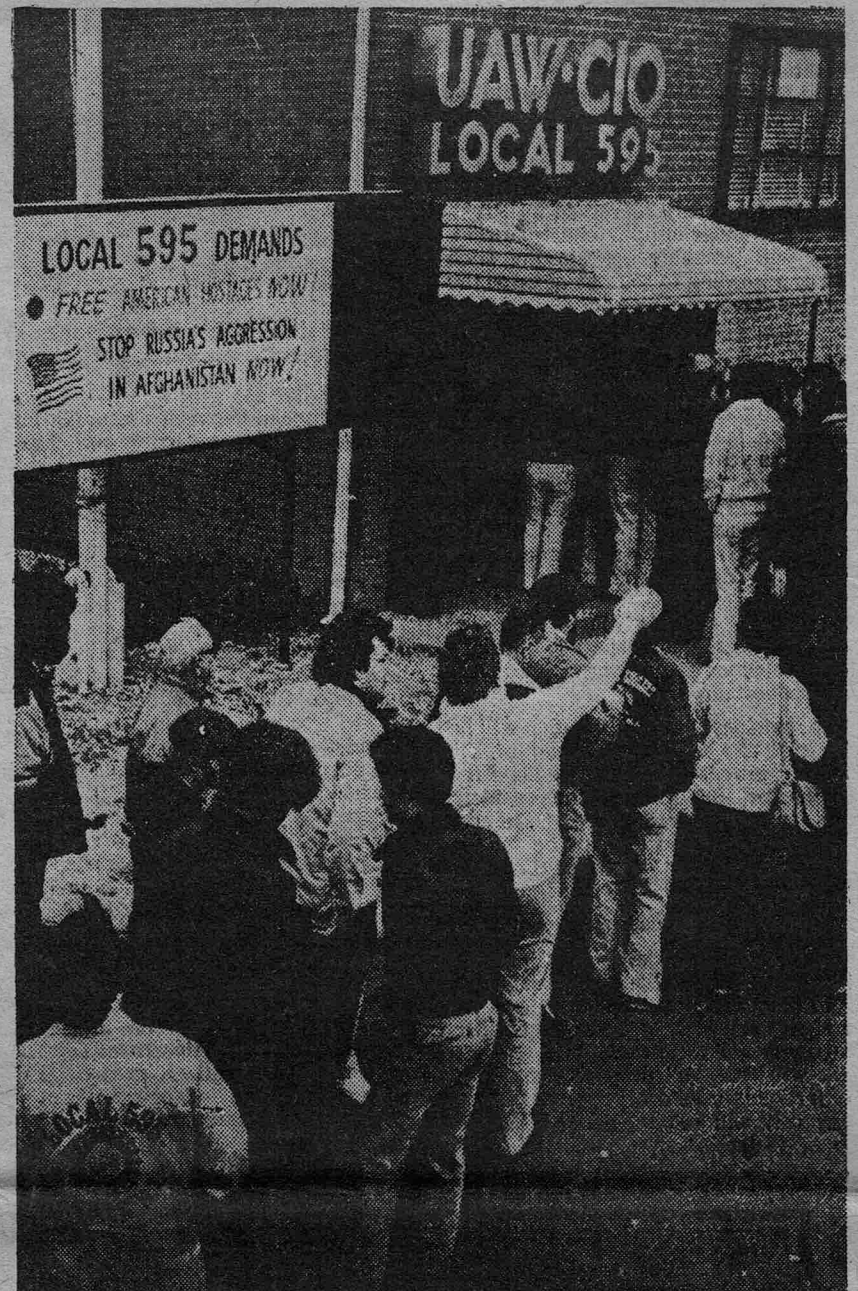
First of all, right today, this has a very sharp meaning in terms of *democracy in the unions*.

When the UAW bureaucracy, which has carefully created the image of the UAW as the most democratic of all possible unions, entered onto the road of trying to force concessions on the workers, it also had to dispense with its democratic front.

The ever so tolerant Fraser resorted to verbal abuse and implicit physical abuse against his opponents. The bureaucracy simply ignored the scheduled Special Bargaining Convention (what bargaining?). And it simply/postponed to a more convenient date the regular Constitutional Convention, in order to insure Fraser's *de facto* continuation in office. In turn, it has put more locals in receivership, stacked and packed the bargaining council meetings, and is doing its best to deprive locals of any say over their local contracts.

Can this attack on workers democracy be fought in the framework of the unions as they are now, saddled with the bureaucracy, respectful of "collective bargaining" and the class collaboration that means?

The ordinary framework of the unions



Class-collaboration's payoff: unemployment under US flag.

is incapable of assuming this responsibility. In fact, it works against it.

Workers control of production demands new forms for the workers to take charge of the factories. These organs — *factory councils* or committees, for example — are from the beginning different from the old bureaucratic set-up. Because they deal with the workers' direct needs, because they act immediately, they are and must be democratic from the very beginning; they must really be — despite all the abuse of those words — "rank and file" bodies. If they aren't, they simply won't last. Who needs extra-union bodies that act like the unions?

The concessions have passed in auto. Today, there is still much confusion among autoworkers, basically for the same reason that the concessions passed: the lack of a clear alternative.

We know, and autoworkers feel, too, that these concessions are not a peace, but the territory over which new battles will be fought. That's for sure!

We also know, from the whole experience of the international and American working class, that the battles will take shape around the issues of workers control and will tend in the direction of workers democracy.

### A New Leadership

But we also know that this time there can be no illusions in halfway solutions, in defensive measures, in stopping concessions in one place or another.

Even factory councils or sitdown strikes in one plant can be victorious only if they form part of a general plan, a generalized offensive. Otherwise, like a military operation, the enemy will isolate our position, defeat our potential supporters and then return to defeat us. That is the lesson to be drawn from what happened at GM, what has hap-

pened in hundreds of contract rejections.

Skirmishes and single battles are important in a campaign, but our tactics have to be part of a strategy.

The strategy that the Trotskyist Organization/USA has consistently fought for is the *General Strike to bring down Reagan*. This strategy organizes the class independence of the workers in a flat-out confrontation with the capitalist class. It gives class independence its necessary political conclusion, the downfall of the regime and, yes, the opening up of the pre-revolutionary situation.

From the moment the battles begin, we have to know where we are going: toward the General Strike.

A strategy means a leadership. In putting forward the General Strike, our party is also putting itself forward as a leadership. We have no false modesty about that. That is our responsibility.

But, at the same time, precisely because our policy is that of a small minority, only the most advanced section, of the working class, we do not say we already are *the* leadership.

Without the new revolutionary leadership, there will not only not be a General Strike, the battles that are taken up will be defeated.

So, in fighting for the General Strike, in fighting for everything it implies, we are also posing openly the building of the necessary leadership in the struggle itself.

The workers who are preparing to fight right now, the members of groups who are troubled about their organizations' passivity, will have a chance to test our policy in action, to test it against the policy of others, to see if the Workers Party that so many are calling for can be anything other than the policy and the organization of the Fourth International.

# Theses: For a Trotskyist Congress Rebuilding

*"It is midnight for Stalinism; it is the hour of the Fourth International!"*

## I.

The crisis of US imperialism, which deepens every day, is developing in direct proportion to the collapse of the international apparatus of the Kremlin. It proceeds in relation to the development of a new stage of the world revolution, opened up by the revolution in Iran and Nicaragua, and fully blossoming with the beginning of the Polish Revolution in 1980.

The tempo of developments and the profound and fundamental character of this crisis absolutely excludes any peaceful period, and necessitates a frontal attack on the powerful American working class, an attack that has already begun. This in turn is opening up an irreparable crisis of the two political parties and the trade union bureaucracy, and consequently of the very foundations of American democracy itself. On this basis, all those tendencies in the working class that thrived on illusions in a peaceful and democratic interlude are overwhelmed by the turn of events.

This situation makes possible, in fact necessitates, an immediate resolution of the crisis of leadership of the proletariat. Only Trotskyism has the ability to respond to this situation, because only Trotskyism has succeeded in forging a world center of the revolution against Stalinism.

It is, therefore, with confidence in the new generation of militant youth and workers and in the ability of the party that continues the fight of Lenin to lead them forward, as well as with a sense of urgency, that the Trotskyist Organization/USA opens up a struggle for the Trotskyist Congress Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International, based on the decision of our Eighth World Congress. We make an open call to the youth, the working class and to all the tendencies and parties which comprise them, to join the battle for this crucial objective. The publication of these *Theses* is intended to launch the debate and the struggle necessary to achieve it.

## II.

After Poland nothing can ever be the same. In Poland today, the revolution has begun; it is the beginning of the revolution throughout Europe. And because it is here, in divided Europe, that the post-World War II order of imperialism and Stalinism was based, every corner of the globe will be affected. Already, the repercussions of Poland and the consequent unprecedented crisis of Stalinism are reverberating throughout Europe. It is impossible to go back to "peaceful coexistence."

Many would bury the Polish Revolution. But Poland will not be buried so easily. Its significance is this: whereas the degeneration of the Russian October Revolution was the basis upon which a whole period of working class revolutions was stopped and a whole generation of workers and youth cut off from the revolution, Poland, taking up where the October Revolution was stopped, announces the renewal of the era of October.

Consciously or unconsciously, this has been the inspiration for millions of workers who have been attentively watching the revolution in Poland, and who have taken up the slogans of the Polish workers in their demonstrations and strikes. It is this that moved a half-million American workers to take up the slogans of the Polish workers on Solidarity Day in Washington, DC. And they are still watching.

## III.

The martial law imposed by a coup d'état has failed. The movement of ten million Polish workers cannot be crushed by the military junta of Jaruzelski. Worker resistance and the reorganization of Solidarity has continued from day one of martial law.

The PUWP, the Polish Communist Party, is completely fragmented. In fact, the military takeover was a recognition of the break-up of the PUWP as well as a means to purge it thoroughly. The next inevitable stage of the Polish Revolution is intervention by the Kremlin.

The Communist Parties of Western Europe, notably the bankrupt "Euro-Communist" wing, are already in open crisis. It has become necessary for the Kremlin to undertake the reorganization of the CP's, as it did with the PUWP in Poland, around the pro-Soviet factions. The intervention of the Kremlin in Poland will set loose a whole series of splits and fractures in its international apparatus. Nevertheless, the Kremlin must intervene.

From this fracture of the Stalinist parties, a historical crisis of its apparatus will take place on a scale not seen since World War II. It will shake to its foundations every vacillating current in the workers movement, particularly the centrist usurpers of Trotskyism. The historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat and the resolution of this crisis will become the stake of millions of workers and youth, the stake of every struggle in every part of the globe.

## IV.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was once the Trotskyist party, the party of the Fourth International, in America. Its present defense of Castroism and hesitation before the Polish Revolution speaks for twenty years of abandonment of Trotskyism and the Fourth International. For years before the 1980 beginning of the Polish Revolution, the SWP characterized the attempts to build the party of the political revolution in Poland as "ultraleft." It preferred to rest on the oppositions in Poland who wanted to reform the Stalinist bureaucracy. The attack on Leninism waged by the "Euro-Communist" leaders — Carrillo, Berlinguer — was welcomed by the SWP and the United Secretariat as the "democratization" of the Stalinist apparatus. In reality, this attack on Leninism has only brought the class struggle into the heart of the CP's, as it has provoked a debate also in the SWP. Yes, the CP's are being reorganized and split, but it is the "Euro-Communist" wing which is being destroyed between the hammer of the Polish Revolution and the anvil of the Kremlin. It is the dislocation of the Stalinist apparatus which is provoking the crisis within the SWP, and it is not accidental that Poland is at the heart of the debate, because Poland is at the heart of everything of importance in the class struggle.

A Trotskyist party in the heart of imperialism must be a party against Stalinism and Castroism. The defense of the socialist conquests is the development of the world revolution and the construction of its party — that is where the line between Trotskyism and Stalinism has always stood.

The Barnes leadership of the SWP tries to counter the growing pressure in the working class, and consequently in the SWP itself, for the active defense of Poland with a shallow maneuver: with Poland for reformism or with Castro for the revolution. But this maneuver cannot last long because what is at stake in Poland is the renewal of the October Revolution, which has not by any means run its course, against Stalinism, and what is at stake with Castroism is the degeneration of the October Revolution and the necessary balance sheet of all the guerrillaist and petty bourgeois nationalist currents that have led astray a generation of working class militants in Latin America. We should put the matter honestly: for the revolution with all its contradictions, or for Castroism and the dissolution and dispersal of militants who cannot find their way out of the twists and turns of centrism.

Today, certain sections of the Cuban bureaucracy are pretending to distance themselves from a Kremlin intervention in Poland. No doubt the SWP will present this

as proof of the revolutionary character of the Cuban bureaucracy. In fact, the sole purpose of this maneuver is to allow the Cuban bureaucracy to openly support imperialism in Latin America.

Since 1963, when the SWP broke with the International Committee and rejoined the International Secretariat, which was formed on the basis of the pro-Stalinist faction of Pabloism, thus forming the so-called United Secretariat, the SWP cannot have been considered as the party of the Fourth International in America. Yet it remains the largest and best known party here which claims to be Trotskyist. Precisely because of this, and because of the central place that the SWP once had in the Fourth International, it is also the central obstacle to the rebuilding of the American section of the Fourth International.

Every fundamental acquisition of the SWP for the American working class has either been liquidated or an attempt at its liquidation is rapidly underway.

With his proposal for a "new International," with Castro, the FSLN, etc., Barnes is preparing to abandon even the formal pretense of adherence to the Fourth International and its traditions.

It is, therefore, no longer possible to pose the question of Trotskyism in America as a task of reforming the SWP, as a proletarian militant might do in any party which had deviated from a revolutionary line. Rather it is necessary to rebuild the American section altogether. And this task, because it means taking the place, even surpassing the place, that the SWP once had in the American working class as the section of the Fourth International, is not a question of a limited factional maneuver toward the SWP. Rather it is a task of building the Trotskyist party. And, therefore, the Trotskyist Congress is both an answer to all the forces that are being set in motion by the process of the world revolution and a balance sheet of their struggles.

## V.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International was a decisive acquisition of the international working class. It was the rebuilding of a world center of the revolution, a center that did not rest, as the International Committee of the Fourth International had, on the federative strength of its national components, but rather based itself on the irreversible break in 1968 of a whole new generation of youth from Stalinism, in order to forge a world center of the revolution against the Stalinist usurpers of the October Revolution.

This break opened up a whole new period of the class struggle which marked the imminence of revolution and counterrevolution on the world scale. The International Committee itself recognized this fundamental advance and assigned itself the task of building the Revolutionary Youth International as the prelude to the holding of the Fourth Open Conference which would lead to the rebuilding of the Fourth International. This new advance of the revolution, expressed in the General Strike in France and the Prague Spring, allowed for a *qualitative* advance of the Fourth International. By organizing the revolutionary youth who were breaking from Stalinism, *en masse*, the Fourth International would appear once again as the leading center of the world revolution, clearly differentiating itself from the pro-Stalinist tendency of Pablo and Mandel that had tried to liquidate the International.

In the intervening years of 1968-76, the crisis of the Fourth International was deepened by the split of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain and the attempt to liquidate the International by the International Communist Organization (OCI) of France, even after the successful mobilization of 5,000 youth in Essen, Germany, who rallied for the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International, under the slogan of the Socialist United States of

Europe.

Without the break of the new generation of the youth in 1968 from Stalinism, the Fourth International would not have been able to be rebuilt. Nevertheless, its rebuilding in 1976 coincided with an exhaustion of the massive forces which had been unleashed by the youth in 1968 and had to be undertaken against a campaign of slander and physical attacks launched by the OCI. After this rebuilding the working class and the Fourth International had to face a ferocious wave of ideological reaction from the Communist Parties, their attack on Leninism, and from the centrist claimants to the banner of the Fourth International who participated in this attack.

This campaign, which shut the mobilization of the youth up in dead end movements — guerrillaism, terrorism, "autonomes" and reformism, struck at the very heart of the theoretical and militant conquests of the international working class. Nevertheless, the correctness of the decision to rebuild the Fourth International is confirmed by the actual developments which it foresaw and prepared, enabling it to build the Polish section of the Fourth International today in the center of the world revolution. And it is confirmed by the revolutionary confrontations which are going to open up the movement of the youth from the dead ends where they have been shut up in these last years, and which only the Fourth International is in a position to influence and develop.

This time the mobilization of the youth against Stalinism must be a mobilization for the Fourth International. Only the fresh renewal of the link of the Fourth International with the militant new period of revolution and its new generation of youth can open a positive outcome to the crisis of the Stalinist Communist parties and of the centrists who have tried to live in their shadow.

## VI.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA also traces its roots to 1968 and the break of the youth from Stalinism. Owing to the split of the SWP from the Fourth International and its role in the movement of the youth as the policeman of the left, a whole generation of American youth who were linking up with the revolution and breaking from Stalinism would have to traverse a road littered with the corpses of deserters from Bolshevism, including Shachtmanism, Maoism and anarchism, as well as the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP. No single tendency emerged in the United States to continue the fight for the rebuilding of the Fourth International that had direct links to the Fourth International itself. Even the tendency of the International Committee in the US led by Wohlforth, which opposed the SWP reunification with the pro-Stalinist International Secretariat and which succeeded in organizing a sizable sector of American youth, wound up in a dead end after the precipitous split of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain led by Healy.

The formation of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in February 1975 represented a first recognition of the necessity to rebuild the Fourth International in America. Later, the joining of the majority faction of the Class Struggle League to the Trotskyist Organization was based also on a fundamental recognition that the Fourth International was not "dead," existing "in spirit" in the proliferation of national Trotskyist parties and tendencies, but rather that it existed and fought through the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International, which continued the fight of the International Committee and its Third Conference, for its rebuilding. The Trotskyist Organization/USA fights today to rebuild the US section of the Fourth International.

Our call for a Trotskyist Congress Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International is a means through which those parties and tendencies, which are looking for an alternative to Stalinism and to the centrist claimants who live in its shadow,

# The American Section of the Fourth International

can undertake with the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International the construction of the Trotskyist party in America, the rebuilding of the Trotskyist party of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution. It is at the same time an open call to debate and clarification of the tasks of the American working class and the American Revolution.

## VII.

The historic perspective for the American working class to construct its own party, raised by Trotsky after the upsurge of industrial unionism, is a perspective for today. And it is an immediate perspective. The workers party, or labor party as some prefer to call it, is the central strategic task in front of the American Revolution. The European Revolution has begun in Poland, if it is to be victorious it must be extended on a world scale. For the world revolution to be victorious the American Revolution must triumph, and for American imperialism to fall the party of the working class and the revolutionary party leading the seizure of power must be one and the same.

Trotsky stated three possibilities for the course of development of the labor party: 1) The trade union bureaucracy would dominate and the labor party would have a reactionary character, serving only as a means to strangle the revolutionary workers; 2) the labor party would have a contradictory character, in which the Trotskyists would be able to fight for their program and for the development of a revolutionary party, and; 3) the Trotskyists would lead the formation of the workers party and in so doing win the most advanced workers to the program of the Fourth International and the revolutionary party. The entire perspective of Trotsky was based on striving for the third alternative.

"... The revolution has its own laws, of which the most important is this: it is only if the most active, conscious and devoted part of the class is organized in a party constituted to concentrate all the energies of the workers toward the seizure of power by the proletariat and the extension onto the world scale of the revolution, it is only in such conditions and only to the extent that these are realized, that the revolution can advance" (Manifesto of the Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International).

The party of the working class in the United States cannot avoid this law. All the various attempts to portray the construction of the workers party in the United States as an intermediary party are at the same time an expression of a dangerous hesitation before the revolution that has begun. To fail to see the decisive significance of Poland as the beginning of the European Revolution, to fail to see the counterrevolution preparing itself for the confrontations which are imminent, is to bury one's head in the sand.

The task of Trotskyists today is to open up the revolutionary crisis of US imperialism, basing themselves on the development of the world revolution and the experiences of the Polish Revolution. This is not only a question of a programmatic differentiation from Stalinism and the line of class collaboration, it is also the practical application of this program in the struggle of the class. The Trotskyist Congress no less can base itself on the experiences which it brings from the actual class struggle.

The construction of the workers party can be summarized as the construction of a party that represents the interests of the entire working class, organized and unorganized, black and white, as a class. Necessarily, the most important terrain of this struggle is in the powerful trade union movement of American workers, the only mass organizations which the American working class has. But at the same time the trade union framework of class collaboration, which is now serving as the fundamental instrument of attack on the workers' gains, and rights through the trade union bureaucracy, is the greatest brake on the development of the



Workers battle police during 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters' strike.

revolution.

This has been the terrain of delimitation between Trotskyism and Stalinism in America. The strongest point of influence of the Communist Party USA has been and is today in the trade unions. Its role, in keeping with the interests of the Kremlin, has been to prevent the break of the American workers with the framework of trade unionism and class collaboration. It is the same line which says today to American workers that they must moderate their struggle lest they end up starving like the Polish workers. The defense of Workers Poland is a fundamental means of regrouping and forming a new leadership for the unions in the US.

The Trotskyist Organization fights for the General Strike as the means to open up the revolutionary crisis of US imperialism. Therefore, the General Strike is also the touchstone for the clarification of the nature of the program and the nature of the workers party in a massive way. Who can envision the application of the transitional program in the present situation where the struggle of the working class is confined to economic demands and isolated strikes?

Those who... of the worker war ag... its pol... bureau... intend... call for... centrist... of the... the unk... tion a... "ultra... themse... than... organiz... workin... Just... nationa... organiz... ary Yo... so mus... the US... of the youth in the RYI in the US.

## LETTERS

SCB Room 277, on Feb. 13. We urge individuals and organizations who defend these militants, to attend, your support and discuss what we can do to free them.

Fred V.  
Trotskyist Organization,  
U.S.

## DIDN'T REALIZE

In regard to Fred Vitale's (Trotskyist Organization) letter (DMT, Feb. 4-1)

Dear Mr. Vitale:

I never realized that political right the United States included armed robbery and murder. Questions:

1. When and how did these right... of the youth in the RYI in the US.

## VIII.

To begin the discussion, to begin the common struggle for the Trotskyist Congress, it is necessary to set out the boundaries of what constitutes a proletarian method of political clarification and what constitutes a break with it. All the regroupments that have attempted to block the development of the Fourth International after its rebuilding have revolved around the

acceptance of the campaign of Stalinist slander launched originally by the International Communist Organization (OCI) of France against Michel Varga, a leader of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution of the Workers Councils and of the International Committee. In fact, these slanders have already been prevented from having their desired effect — the Fourth International has succeeded in building the Polish section of the FI against the slanderers of its Eastern European militants. But the method has not been defeated. It is a method which even now is being refined by the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to stop the construction of the Fourth International. It is the same struggle which Trotsky had to lead against the Moscow Trials and the slanders against Trotskyism and the Left Opposition.

These methods have nothing to do with a deviation from a correct line, but rather represent a complete break with proletarian methods. The trademark of the opportunist regroupments attempted by Healy, by the OCI and by the SWP has become this break. The slanders against Michel Varga, Healy's attempt to link the American SWP to the FBI, the denunciation of the Simon Bolivar Brigade by the SWP to the Sandinistas, are expressions of the vilest attacks on Trotskyism by the Stalinist apparatus. Likewise, the Spartacist League, which has continued these slanders in the United States, has placed itself completely outside the workers movement. To begin the discussion it is necessary to break with the Stalinist slanders.

## IX.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes to the militants of the SWP, and to all the tendencies in the working class and the youth who are looking for a road independent of Stalinism, let us launch the struggle for the Trotskyist Congress with one common objective. For a massive mobilization in the movements of the workers and youth for the active defense and extension of the Polish Revolution.

The Fourth International is organizing this struggle right now in order to build the new leadership of the revolution, under the slogans:

*Freedom for Workers Poland*

*For a New Revolutionary Leadership*

Our objective is to base the turn of our World Party, organizing the revolution, on the new generation of workers and youth who are breaking from Stalinism. *From Stalinism — to the Fourth International*: that must be our goal.

To the militants of the SWP — the revolution has begun in Poland. In the framework of this common struggle, we will prepare the opening up of the American Revolution. This is the means to clarify the discussion — the struggle against Stalinism for which the Fourth International was founded.

To the youth who oppose the draft and war, and to the workers who are ready to finish with Reagan — the greatest gift to Reagan would be the crushing of the Polish Revolution by the tanks of the Kremlin. *This time, the tanks shall not pass!*

Rebuild the Trotskyist Party of the Fourth International in America!

To build the party of the American Revolution — defend Workers Poland!

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.

- Solidarnosc  
 We Are All Polish Workers  
 Poland Won't Be A Czechoslovakia  
 Todos Somos Obreros Polacos  
 General Strike!

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Pay/Send To: Truth; PO Box 07066; Detroit, MI 48207

## Black Liberation Today

# Terrorist State vs. Black People

By FRED VITALE

In the last year, there has been a growing wave of police terror directed against blacks. This wave has been developed directly and indirectly by the counterrevolutionary policies of the Reagan regime.

## Terrorist State

"Terrorism" is something we hear about a lot these days. The "terrorists," we are told, are supposed to be the revolutionaries, while the military junta in El Salvador or the British troops in Ireland are the "peace-keeping," "democratic" forces.

But these governments are the real terrorists. It is they who exercise the power of the army, police, courts and prisons in a systematic campaign to intimidate all those who would demand freedom, the right to determine their own future.

The terror unleashed by the US isn't just against foreign peoples. In the US there is systematic terror against the black community. The imperialist politicians, black and white, in the Democratic and Republican Parties, would like us to believe that these are "misunderstandings," or at worst, "isolated incidents." But a series of incidents, which form a consistent pattern, is a campaign of terror.

- Ernest Lacey, 22, died in police custody in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on July 17, 1981. He had gone to the store when he was stopped by three tactical squad cops for questioning in a rape case. The cops claimed a struggle took place. Lacey, handcuffed, with a cop's knee in his back and on the ground, died.

He was found to be innocent of the rape charge. The cops were suspended, with pay (!).

On December 12, charges of reckless homicide were dismissed against the three cops. Several demonstrations protesting both the murder and the dismissal of charges have occurred.

- Ron Settles, 21, a local college football star, was found hanged in his cell on June 2, 1981, in Signal Hill, California (just outside Los Angeles), after being arrested for speeding. The cops claimed he "resisted arrest," and was "on drugs." Family and friends said that the first charge was completely out of character, and the coroner, in three different tests, found no drugs in his body.

An inquiry occurred, marked by a finding of a coroner's jury that he "died at the hands of another." Yet, because the evidence against the cops was "circumstantial," all charges were dropped. The inquiry also turned up an "abnormal number" of complaints of police brutality in Signal Hill.

- On December 11, 1981, sixteen-year-old Columbus Williams was shot by an undercover cop in Gainesville, Florida. Blacks at the scene said that the cop stood over Columbus and shot him. Blacks rebelled in Gainesville for the next two days, attacking squad cars and breaking windows.

- A GI, Lynn Jackson, was found hanging from a tree near Social Circle, Georgia, on December 8. The grass under the body was burned on December 9. And, although he had injured his leg in a car accident the day before, the coroner's jury claimed he climbed 20 feet up a tree to kill himself. Thus, the authorities concluded it was "suicide," after the state had first tried to claim he was murdered by his family for insurance money (!). A large protest march occurred against the verdict, while 400 Ku Klux Klaners marched in support of it.

- In Chicago on February 9, 1982, two cops were shot to death. For the next six days, the black community lived in a "war zone," according to Jesse Jackson, director of Operation PUSH. Blacks were harassed, verbally abused, indiscriminately "patted down," and

Cook County Bar Association, which represents over 600 black attorneys, and even the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (the black cops association), protested the actions. These two groups received 190 charges of police brutality for those six days, Operation PUSH — 40, and even the Chicago police department's Office of Professional Standards received 18! (It said it already had "a backlog of cases" going back to 1973).

## Rights

The terrorist state of US imperialism, by consistently supporting the cops, encourages them to increase this terror. But most importantly, the cops and the state which they defend are attempting to make all blacks feel that *they are never safe* and that *there is no place to go* to be free of the terror. The state wants to take away from blacks, in practice, the rights that the rest of the population enjoy in theory, so that all rights can be *legally* taken away in the future.

This campaign of terror has taken a concentrated form in attacks on black militants who speak out and organize against the oppression of their people.

- Militants arrested around the Nyack, New York, Brink's truck robbery (see *Truth* #140 through #144) have been beaten and one has been murdered by the cops. Some are being denied medical treatment and communications with the outside world. Almost all are black, and all are declared fighters for an independent black nation.

- Mumia Abu Jamal, 27, a Philadelphia

radio reporter, was charged December 16 with the murder of a cop. Jamal was beaten and is still being held without bail. The cop that was killed was struggling with Jamal's brother-in-law when Jamal came over to investigate. He was apparently drawn into the conflict.

Police claim that the cop was shot by Jamal's gun but police ballistics have been unable to prove that true.

Jamal has been labelled by the newspapers as a "self-avowed revolutionary," "radical," "member of a Rastafarian cult," "dreadlocked radio reporter," all in the effort to justify the beatings and arrest, and to build up the prosecution's shaky case against Jamal.

Right before this incident occurred, black poet and fighter Sonia Sanchez was harassed and threatened at her home by the FBI in connection with the Nyack robbery.

A few days later, on December 21, Jamal's brother's-in-law vending stand downtown was burned down, while police stood idly by.

- Lest anyone think these attacks are confined to "fringe groups" and individuals, two members of the Communist Party USA were arrested in Gainesville, Georgia, on February 1. They were forced off an Amtrak train by Gainesville police after attending a meeting of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (NAARPR), in New Orleans. Charlene Mitchell, executive secretary of the NAARPR and her husband Mike Welch (who is white), were arrested for "drunkenness" and "resisting arrest." In summing up its case at

the end of the trial, the prosecution said that the "Alliance" was what the case was all about. A motion by the prosecution to "put the Alliance" on trial next, was overturned by the judge!

They have been convicted of the charges by a jury of eleven whites and one black, fined \$305 each and given suspended sentences of eleven months. The judge openly sided with the prosecution instructing the jury, "You can find 'em guilty on all charges" Under protest from defense attorneys, he was forced to change his instructions.

Do these really sound like a string of "isolated" incidents? No!

## The Situation

Why, you might ask, is this campaign developing now?

Because the black movement of the 60's was never defeated. And now, as the Reagan regime tries to settle accounts around the globe with the workers movement, with the movements of oppressed nations and peoples, it must settle accounts in the US as well. Furthermore, the reformist leaders, which US imperialism relied on to control the movement, are losing all credibility in the face of the revolutionary upsurge marked by Iran, Nicaragua and Poland. A renewal of the black movement is taking place.

It is this movement, this people, that the terror of the state is directed against. The terror of this state will only end when the black movement, along with its ally, the working class, takes away the power from this state and places it in its own hands.

## El Salvador and the New Leadership

On March 27 and March 28, two events took place which illustrate the present situation of the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution in El Salvador and the need for a new revolutionary leadership.

On March 27, demonstrations called by "peace" and Central American support groups — especially CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador — and backed up by Stalinism and pseudo-Trotskyism, took place in a number of US cities.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA intervened both in the central demonstration in Washington, DC, and in a regional action in Chicago.

Despite the massive opposition to US involvement — a *New York Times* poll says 63% of Americans are opposed, with the figure 76% among blacks — and despite the massive turnout last May 3, both actions were relatively small — no more than 20,000 in Washington, about 1,500 in Chicago.

We reject the conclusion that opposition to imperialism is limited to a small minority. There are no facts to support such a view. Instead, we see the limited turn-out as a result of the policies of the leadership of this movement — who are the leaders of CISPES, what are they for; whom are they responsible to? — which is incapable of mobilizing the masses in opposition to the US government.

These demonstrations were called, supposedly, to protest the fraudulent US-sponsored elections in El Salvador the following day, March 28.

These elections present a similar picture. Only weeks before their occurrence, the government estimated that if 500,000 of the estimated 1.3 million eligible voters actually cast ballots, this would be a "victory." Likewise, the military dictatorship's stooge "president" Jose Nanoleon Duarte, stated:

"We are losing the fight with the guerrillas in the countryside."

But then, on March 28, in what the imperialist US government, the imperialist US press and the imperialist US observers present as a "triumph of democracy," we are told that over a million El Salvadorans voted "against terrorism."

We reject the conclusion that opposition to imperialism is limited to a small minority. There are no facts to support such a view. Instead, we see the election "results" as one of the most massive frauds

perpetrated since American politicians invented the phrase: "Vote early and often."

Against the Stalinist usurpers of the revolution. This break opened up a whole new class struggle which marked the beginning of revolution and counterrevolution on the world scale. The International committee itself recognized this fundamental advance and assigned itself the task of building the Revolutionary International as the prelude to the holding of the Fourth Open Conference which led to the rebuilding of the Fourth International. This new advance of the revolution expressed in the General Strike in France and the Prague Spring, allowed a qualitative advance of the Fourth International. By organizing the revolutionary path who were breaking from Stalinist *en masse*, the Fourth International will appear once again as the leading center of world revolution, clearly differentiating itself from the pro-Stalinist tendency.

We are supposed to believe that the guerrillas are an isolated, violent fringe, defeating the government only because of Cuban, Nicaraguan, Soviet, etc., aid. On the basis of the "results," the guerrillas were unable even to keep the population under their direct control from voting.

perpetrated since American politicians invented the phrase: "Vote early and often."

All this is ridiculous enough, but it is clear that the "gorillas" to whom US imperialism entrusted the stage-management of these elections badly overplayed their hand.

Because not only are we now supposed to believe that the population overwhelmingly rejects "terrorism," we are also faced with a surprising development: according to the "results" of this "triumph of democracy," a clear majority favors the two most right wing parties and rejects Duarte and his Christian Democrats!

Can anyone seriously believe that the two most popular parties in El Salvador are the one headed by what even a former US ambassador calls a "pathological killer" (Roberto d'Aubuisson, responsible for Archbishop Romero's assassination) and the one that stole the 1972 election from Duarte and was in power until the US-instigated coup of October 1979? This blows the US policy of "reform" sky high!

More importantly, the fantastic nature of the "results" raises another question: why weren't the guerrillas able to disrupt this farce?

At the very moment of these elections, negotiations were going full tilt between US imperialism, Castro, the Sandinistas and the El Salvadoran rebel leaders on the possibility of achieving a "political solution." That means an accommodation to US imperialism, a sell-out of the revolution, and complicity in trading off Central America for Poland.

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega is preaching peace at the UN; Alexander Haig says that the elections mean that the government can "hold out a hand of conciliation to those adversaries who are prepared to take part peacefully in the democratic process."

Doesn't this mean that part of the "political solution" was for the FMLN/FDR to permit these elections? K.F.

# SWP-YSA Militant Joins Fourth International

We are publishing below the statement of Jon Zent, a former member of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and of its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Beginning with the CARD Conference mentioned below, we entered into a process of political struggle with Jon, a process based on the fight for common action in defense of the gains and rights of the working class.

Particularly important in this struggle was the fight that we made in the Detroit mayoral elections for a common workers candidate, a fight the SWP rejected.

Around such concrete cases, as well as through the fight for the Polish Revolution and its extension throughout Europe, the boycott of the Madrid Conference, etc., a political clarification was developing. This development is what the SWP, unable to respond to politically, tried to cut off through the bureaucratic measures described below.

These measures failed. Jon Zent is a member of the Fourth International. The fight to rebuild its section in the US, to exceed even what the SWP represented at its best, will win many others.

## TRUTH

Until the first week of November 1981, I was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and a provisional member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

On the evening of Monday of that week, I received a telephone call. C.S., the Organizer of the Indianapolis chapter of the YSA, was calling to inform me that: a) the Executive Committee of the Indianapolis branch of the SWP had decided to revoke my provisional membership in the SWP, and b) the Executive Committee of the Indianapolis chapter of the YSA requested my immediate resignation from the YSA, unless I wished to face an expulsion "trial" on Saturday.

I joined the YSA on September 12, 1980, had served as a member of the chapter Executive Committee and, at the time of the call, was the chapter's financial director.

During my period of membership, I participated in several YSA events (1980

YSA Convention, 1981 SWP Convention, forums, etc.) and several other political actions (Indiana anti-draft convention; National CARD Conference in Detroit; May 17, 1981 anti-Reagan demonstration in South Bend, Indiana; Solidarity Day in Washington, DC; etc.).

Therefore, I asked: "Comrade C--t,

what is the reason for all this?" I was told that "certain comrades" objected to some of my "backward statements." These statements (sexist and anti-gay), common to all too many young working class Americans, had been made several months before and had been followed up by an educational discussion, with my meek but

sincere self-criticism afterward.

More honestly, I was also informed that there were objections to my "political differences" with the SWP, especially my support for the revolutionary, socialist reunification of Germany.

Now, Leonid Brezhnev might disagree with me, but I don't think that Lenin's and Trotsky's theories of Bolshevik organization call for expulsion of any comrades who have political differences with the party!

Interestingly, I was told that my conduct as financial director (my chief duty in the YSA), was "fine," and that it was *not* the reason for these decisions.

Other than this sudden outburst, I was given no reasons. I had to quit then and there or face trial on Saturday. Being deprived of my rights according to the Constitutions of the SWP and YSA — statement of the charges in writing at least one week before any action, etc. — and with the next few days completely occupied by work and school, as well as being stunned by this completely unexpected attack from an organization that I still believed in, I resigned from the YSA.

After all this, any past faith in the SWP-YSA's adherence to Marxism and Leninism and to Trotsky's Transitional Program was, to put it mildly, weakened.

Over the next few months, in trying to draw a balance sheet of these organizations, and in pursuing common work with the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA, I decided to join the Fourth International.

Inside the SWP/YSA, there are many other militants with similar "differences," with their own bitter experiences of the bureaucratic nature of the SWP-YSA leadership. They are all asking themselves a good question: Where is the SWP going?

More and more, the answer is obvious: toward Stalinism. All these militants who want to take up the fight for Trotskyism will, I think, have to follow the same path that I did and join the Fourth International.

Jon Zent  
TO/USA  
IYG/USA

## "Real Terrorists" — SWP-Style

Recently, I attended a forum on terrorism presented by the SWP in Indianapolis.

The first speaker was an older SWP member, whose speech left a lot of room for improvement. It consisted of much anti-Reagan rhetoric, some quotations from Lenin and Trotsky and even a plug for Joseph Hansen's *Leninist Strategy for Party Building in Latin America*.

The problem was that the speaker totally ignored the whole role of capitalist law as a main weapon of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, the speaker's glorification of the SWP's suit against the US Government almost gave the appearance that the greatest weapon of a socialist against the ruling class is "our" Constitution!

Along with this, the question of defending the Nyack Militants was completely ignored.

During the question-and-answer period, I asked the speaker to elaborate on ways to defend the Nyack Militants and to defeat the attack on democratic rights. He answered: "Frame-ups are a normal part of the capitalist legal system." I wholeheartedly agree with that statement. However, it doesn't have anything to do with the question.

I attempted to point this out, but the old "one militant-one

question" rule was in effect, with a vengeance.

After several SWP members asked questions like: "How do we get more information on this lawsuit?", a young Iranian militant asked whether the SWP viewed Khomeini or the Mojahedin as terrorist.

After a few minutes of hemming-and-hawing, the moderator, an SWP supporter, stated the obligatory pro-Khomeini remarks. He felt that Khomeini, like Stalin in the Soviet Union, represented "a tragic necessity of the revolution." Also, the Mojahedin's "terrorist campaign" resembled an "imperialist de-stabilization campaign."

If this line sounds familiar, it should. The Communist Party USA uses this type of reasoning to support Stalinist counterrevolution against Solidarnosc in Poland.

Indeed, a number of militants who attended the forum bought copies of *Truth*, attracted by coverage on Iran, Poland and defense of the right to revolution.

In conclusion, I'd like to state that there is only one way to fully defend the right to revolution in Poland, Iran, El Salvador, the US and elsewhere. Join the struggle to organize the General Strike! The road is long and winding, but the destination will be worth the effort.  
JON ZENT

## Defending the Right to Revolution

The  
**MetroTimes**

### LETTERS

#### DEFEND POLITICAL RIGHTS

Your coverage in the past of attacks on political rights in Detroit has been useful to those of us trying to exercise those rights.

I would like to call your attention to a very critical battle in the struggle to protect political rights. Several militants of the "Weather Underground," "Republic of New Africa" and the "Black Liberation Army" are accused of robbing a Brink's truck and killing two cops in Nyack, New York, Oct. 20 of last year.

Two defense committees have been formed:

The Coalition to Defend the  
October 20 Freedom Fighters  
P.O. Box 254  
Stuyvesant Station  
New York, NY 10009

National Committee to Defend the  
New African Freedom Fighters  
P.O. Box 1184  
Manhattan Station  
New York, NY 10027

A representative of the latter will speak at our forum at Wayne State University,

SCB Room 277, on Feb. 13. We urge all individuals and organizations who want to defend political rights, who want to defend these militants, to attend, voice your support and discuss what we can do to free them.

Fred Vitale  
Trotskyist Organization,  
U.S.A.

#### DIDN'T REALIZE

In regard to Fred Vitale's (Trotskyist Organization) letter (DMT, Feb. 4-18):

Dear Mr. Vitale:

I never realized that political rights in the United States included armed robbery and murder. Questions:

1. When and how did these rights originate in the United States?
2. What rights (political or otherwise) did the two murdered police officers have?
3. Are these rights included in the Constitution and Bill of Rights of other countries? Russia? Cuba?

Would like to see the answers to these questions in an upcoming issue of *Metro Times*. Surely others must be curious for an explanation also. Thank you very much.

Eric R. Hult  
Detroit

#### NAIVE?

Mr. Hult's letter (DMT, Feb. 18-March 4) is worthy of a Reaganite prosecutor, right down to the loaded questions.

Such a defender of the Constitution, of the Bill of Rights, seems to forget about "innocent until proven guilty." Not to mention that already two of those formally charged (Fulani, Sunni Ali, Eva Rosahn) have had to be released because the government's evidence was so obviously faked.

From Ireland to Palestine, from El Salvador to Poland, all fighters against the existing world order are labeled "terrorists." After Vietnam, Chile and Watergate, after Fred Hampton and Viola Liuzzo—isn't it clear who the real terrorists are? Is Mr. Hult really that naive?

To defend our rights from such attacks, we assert the fundamental democratic right—the right to revolution. Check out the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Hult, it says very dangerous things: ". . . when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (securing our 'inalienable rights'), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it. . ."

Fred Vitale for the  
Trotskyist Organization/U.S.A.

To the left, you will find reprinted three letters from an "alternative" newspaper in Detroit, the widely-circulated *Metro Times*.

These letters are useful because they show the fight the Trotskyist Organization/USA has made against state terrorism, in particular, around the defense of the Nyack Militants.

*The Metro Times* is a publication strongly under the influence of Social Democracy, particularly the current now organized as the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), but it does not acknowledge this publicly.

Nonetheless, that is why it cut part of the politics out of our first letter, published the reactionary letter, refused us space to develop a full response and, indeed, cut part of our second letter. It is not accidental that this final cut is the rest of the quotation from the Declaration of Independence: ". . . When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government."

The attacks on the supposed Nyack "terrorists" by the real terrorists show precisely the point of this statement. The use of hundreds of cops and FBI agents in New York City raids to arrest two more militants charged with the Nyack robbery, the torture and kidnapping of Solomon Brown from his prison cell in order to get, or imply the getting of, a "confidential source," are only the latest examples of this drive toward "absolute despotism."  
TRUTH

# TRUTH

For the Victory of El Salvador . . .

## Workers Poland Must Win!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Opposition to US imperialism's attacks on El Salvador continues to grow. According to a poll published in the *New York Times*, 63% of those polled oppose US intervention in El Salvador and 17% support the rebels. These figures are even higher among blacks and workers.

Obviously there is enough support in the US to finish with US imperialism and its murderous oppression of El Salvador and countries like it.

### Poland's Importance

But, strange as it may seem, the future of the struggle against US imperialism and thus the future of El Salvador depends not only on the attitude that youth, militants, and workers take toward them, but above all on the attitude that they take toward *Workers Poland*, the country whose struggle and conflict, Reagan claims, proves the superiority of imperialist democracy.

Workers Poland represents a social revolution and a political revolution — the expropriation of the capitalists, public ownership of the banks, the factories, transportation, etc., as well as a rupture and confrontation with the parasitical Stalinist bureaucracy which has been using these gains of the workers for its own benefit and oppressing the workers in Poland since 1945.

This working class, revolutionary and anti-Stalinist character is clear in a recent document adopted by the All-Poland Resistance Committee, formed by leaders of Solidarnosc who escaped arrest:

Since 1945, our nation has been oppressed by a so-called "people's government," whose responsibility, as that of the people's state, was to serve the nation. But in fact, the exploitation of society testifies to the wastefulness of their policies, which led to extreme poverty and a deep economic crisis. This was a result of the incompetence and dishonesty of the governing apparatus . . .

The Polish nation was justified in acting against this deviation from the Polish Constitution and the fundamental principles of socialist development. This cannot be called counterrevolutionary.

Thus Workers Poland represents a revitalization of the workers revolution which began in October 1917 in Russia, not its death knell as the imperialists and the Stalinists claim. This revitalization, which will not be limited to Poland, but will spread throughout the Soviet Union, Europe and the Americas, is taking place through a rupture with, a confrontation with and the destruction of the Kremlin and its international apparatus, the national Communist Parties — the very apparatus that the imperialists and the Stalinists claim represents the October Revolution!

American youth, militants and workers fighting imperialism must follow the same road and *break now* with the Kremlin apparatus, the Communist Parties, for, as we shall see, the Kremlin is trying to exploit the struggle in the US just as it has tried to exploit Workers Poland.

### The Kremlin

The revitalization of the October Revolution in Poland has provoked open splits in the Kremlin apparatus in Europe, with former Euro-Communists going over to imperialism and others trying to regroup around the Kremlin. The Kremlin's imminent invasion of Poland (see *The Fourth International*, #96-97) will undoubtedly provoke more. Thus the Kremlin is trying desperately to reorganize its apparatus around the most pro-Kremlin factions

(called the "pro-Soviets" in Europe).

In order to accomplish this in Europe, in Portugal, Spain and France, the Stalinists have become *very militant in words* and have attacked the bourgeois governments. They have even placed themselves at the head of a number of very militant strikes, taking care not to let them get out of hand. At the same time they are intensifying their campaign against Workers Poland as "counterrevolutionary," trying to pave the way for the Kremlin's tanks.

*They are doing the same thing in the US.*

After doing their best to destroy all struggle against imperialism a year ago, at the CARD Conference and then with PAM and its maneuvers, the Stalinists and their coterie have decided to resume activity "against US intervention" and "in defense of El Salvador."

This initiative began with demonstrations against an alleged "imminent invasion of Cuba," which, interestingly enough, coincided with Jaruzelski's coup in Poland. It continued with "teach-ins" on El Salvador which turned out to be nothing but a forum for Arnaldo Ramos, FDR and FMLN leader. It just reached its high point with the March 27 demonstration in Washington, allegedly timed to oppose the fraudulent elections organized by the US in El Salvador.

In reality, this campaign has nothing to do with the struggle against imperialism in El Salvador. Let us be clear. These "mobilizations" have not even begun to involve the *millions* opposed to US imperialism. They have not attempted to do so. They have been strictly limited to political activists.

They have not resulted in one cent, in one gun for the Salvadoran rebels. Indeed the Stalinist leaders have proudly proclaimed that they are not giving any aid to the rebels. Brezhnev told Reagan a year ago that as far as he is concerned, in Europe as Central American and the Caribbean, "everything is negotiable." And Castro just sent the same message to Reagan. He just had a secret four-hour meeting with General Vernon A. Walters, former deputy director of the CIA and architect of US counterinsurgency in Vietnam. Indeed, the entire stated objective of these pseudo-mobilizations has been negotiations with imperialism.

No. This Stalinist activity, this attempt to control a mobilization, has nothing to do with the struggle against imperialism or defense of El Salvador. The sole purpose of this campaign is to *divert the attention* of the vanguard of the working class away from Jaruzelski's coup d'etat and the *Kremlin's imminent invasion of Workers Poland* and to blunt the impact of the Polish Revolution on the workers vanguard and to begin to shape up the Kremlin's shock troops for a confrontation with the *Trotskyists*, fighting to defend and extend the Polish revolution, to organize the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

### Stalinists Attack Poland

For, at the same time, the American CP, the most "pro-Soviet" of all, has stepped up its campaign against Workers Poland. The situation in Poland is no longer just a tragedy, an invasion, something to be avoided — this is what we heard in the beginning of January. Now we hear, more and more, that Solidarity is counterrevolutionary, that it must be crushed. These scabs even had the nerve to come to a forum allegedly in support of Solidarity, featuring Richard Knauf, KOR and Solidarity

Youth in  
Gdansk.  
Their victory  
means El  
Salvador's.



member, and peddle this trash.

Funny. They claim (falsely) that Solidarity is backed by the CIA and therefore counterrevolutionary, but Castro, who sits down with the CIA, well he's just a brilliant revolutionary tactician. They also offer the churches' support to Solidarity as proof that it is counterrevolutionary, but they offer the churches' support to the FDR and the FMLN as proof that they are building a really "broad-based" movement.

Needless to say, the pseudo-Trotskyists are playing a particularly corrupt role in this corrupt maneuver — Workers World and the Spartacist League march side-by-side with the Stalinists, trying to lend Trotsky's name to the invasion of Poland (does anyone still wonder why the Spartacist League always gets so much publicity?), and the SWP is there too, with "criticisms" on the last pages of *The Militant*.

No. Our differences with the Stalinists and their coterie in the struggle against US imperialism, in defense of El Salvador, is not simply a matter of "policy" — they are for negotiations, we are not.

Our difference is a *class* difference. They are trying to use legitimate concerns of American youth and workers, to cover for the suppression of the Polish workers, to prepare to crush it. When this goal is accomplished they will drop this movement like a hot potato and leave it to imperialism to pick up the pieces just as they did in Spain in 1936.

It is necessary to reorganize this movement on a revolutionary basis, to separate it from this cancerous organism which is Stalinism.

With Workers Poland, for a new revolutionary leadership!

No negotiations with imperialism!  
Toward the General Strike to Bring down Reagan!

Toward the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas!

### Hamburg Rally

This is the purpose of the international meeting of the youth that the Fourth International is organizing in Hamburg — to begin to bring together all youth, militants, workers, tendencies and organizations in the workers movement who are committed to this struggle, the struggle alongside Workers Poland for a new workers leadership against Stalinism.

There are those who will tell you that the Communist Parties in the Americas are not Stalinist, or that in this hemisphere Stalinism plays a revolutionary role, or that in certain instances it is forced to act in a revolutionary fashion.

Others will tell you that everything we have said about Stalinism is true,

but that, nevertheless, it is necessary to have a "united front against imperialism," to subordinate our "differences" with the Stalinists for the sake of a common struggle. In the course of the struggle we will expose them, or, even, when they capitulate to imperialism we will take over.

In reality this line is the centrists' justification for their own weakness, a weakness which they mistake for the weakness of the working class and the Fourth International.

The latest example of this mentality is the Socialist Workers Party's claim that the March 27 actions represent a "new anti-war movement, broader and larger than ever before."

In reality, the days of this "new anti-war movement" are numbered. First, because American youth and workers have a way of making even pseudo-mobilizations into real mobilizations as May 3 and Solidarity Day showed. But, even more important, this "new anti-war movement" will never survive the Kremlin's invasion of Poland. A section of it will go flying into the arms of imperialism, aghast at the Kremlin's atrocities, like the Susan Sontags of this world. Others will line up even more closely behind the Kremlin.

In a period of confrontation between the revolution and the counterrevolution there is no basis for a movement which does not take its place at the side of the revolution.

No. No "new anti-war movement" began to take shape on March 27. But another movement did. It is as yet still small, still barely visible, but it is more powerful than all the others. It is a movement for a new revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Through the political struggle that it waged under the banner "With Workers Poland, for the revolution! No negotiations with imperialism! Boycott the junta!", the Trotskyist Organization/USA made contact with many youth interested in taking the side of Workers Poland, in building a new leadership, youth with no stake in negotiations, many of whom have begun to read Trotsky, to try to determine for themselves what is Trotskyism. Nearly fifty bought *Fourth International* or *International Young Guard*.

The meeting in Hamburg will bring these youth together, initiate a debate, discussion, and plan to build this new leadership. All youth and militants who support El Salvador, who oppose US imperialism, should take a place in this struggle.

The future of El Salvador depends upon it. To be independent of imperialism, you have to be independent of Stalinism.