

## Building the UAW Special Convention

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

On Friday, June 11, leaders of sixteen locals in GM assembly plants (UAW sub-councils 7A and 7B) met in Dearborn, Michigan, to continue their fight against the concessions being demanded in local contracts by General Motors.

At the same time, these leaders continued their opposition to the Fraser leadership of the UAW. This meeting, like the one held previously in Ohio at the instigation of the Lordstown local, was not "sanctioned" by Fraser.

### Critical Situation

Thus, this meeting represents a deepening of the development in the UAW toward a break, a split, with the bureaucratic leadership.

One oppositional leader put it this way: "I can't say we would go on strike. But at our last meeting we were mandated that if the international union didn't do something, we would all be down at Solidarity House picketing them."

But the situation is such, as is shown by the open opposition to Fraser himself, that *strikes are coming*. Not only in the GM plants, but also at Chrysler where the first concessions contract signed is due to expire.

In this situation, where a strike wave is developing throughout the working class, the opposition in the UAW needs to do more than protest and resist (picket Solidarity House). It needs to find a way to *unite and centralize* the fight that is already underway.

In our last issue, we put forward what we think is the answer to these needs: the *Special Convention of the UAW*, organized around and toward the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

As we said in our last issue, the fight for the Special Convention is not a parliamen-

tary or legalistic struggle around just holding the Constitutional Convention that Fraser has "postponed." It is *special* because it is a fight for workers democracy, for an answer to the crisis that faces not just the auto workers, but all workers, young people and the oppressed.

These are extreme times. Hundreds of thousands of auto workers are in the street, millions of youth have no future, the whole working class hates Reagan's attacks and war-mongering.

And so we think that the extreme proposals of the Special Convention and the General Strike are ideas whose time has come.

### Workers Democracy

The social dynamite of the General Strike is already accumulating. The task is to find the best way to charge it and set it off in order to blow the political situation in this country wide open.

Again, in our last issue, we compared the possibilities existing in the Special Convention as being like those that came to life in the first Congress of Solidarnosc ("Solidarity") last year in Poland. That is, the building of a mass *social movement* — because Solidarity was *more* than a union — into a working class political alternative.

But the Congress of Solidarnosc did not just happen, any more than the Special Convention will. That Congress was the result of a fight — from local strikes to general strikes, drawing in students, farmers, etc. — that began more than a year earlier.

All the struggles and strikes that are going on now have to become the basis for the Special Convention. The auto workers have to reach out to others, to defend them and unite the offensive. The "flying

squadrons" have to be reborn.

First of all, this means no illusions among auto workers. There must be strikes in GM, and they must be as prepared, united and coordinated as possible. The fight for a strike at Chrysler has to be counterposed to the leadership's latest scam: *four* UAW representatives on the Chrysler board — as if Fraser wasn't already one too many!

And this *demand*s a fight for workers democracy in the broadest sense. The present active opposition in the UAW is confined so far to local leaders and their supporters. Others in the union and the workers movement have been kept from participating in the fight, from putting forward their ideas, by methods that are exactly the same as the ones Fraser uses: from Roberts Rules to sergeants-at-arms to anti-communism. The Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting for workers democracy — not just at a future convention, but as the absolutely necessary means to build it.

Likewise, in the fight to prepare strikes and activities toward our goals, we are proposing joint activity — coordinating committees for strikes, inter-strike unity bodies, etc. — with all the existing oppositional organizations in the UAW. This is the way to bring workers democracy into the movement at the ground floor.

### Move Ahead

The road forward can offer all kinds of possibilities. The UAW leadership, in saying the sub-council meetings were not "sanctioned," stated that the official sub-council meetings will be held in Denver, June 28-29.

Fine! We are for carrying out this fight in every way in the union, through official as well as unofficial ways. A fight against concessions at the Denver meeting, a fight

to repudiate the GM contract and those who arranged that sell-out, a fight to organize strike action, would mark the jumping-off point of a fight for the Special Convention. And this fight would immediately resound through the UAW.

Yes, because the UAW Constitution (Article 8, Section 4) provides that on the demand of fifteen locals from at least five states, the international leadership must organize a union-wide referendum on the calling of a Special Convention. So, at an official meeting, with locals formally represented, the drive for the Special Convention could really get off the ground. A defeat for Fraser there would have an impact that meetings of oppositionists by themselves cannot.

The unofficial meetings have laid the basis for this. Now it is time to go forward. The goal must not be for a number of local leaders to go to Denver and wage a protest under Fraser's ground rules. We have to go to Denver, or anywhere else, *as a force*.

The locals that are already in opposition should formally mandate their delegates to wage the fight for the Special Convention in Denver. In addition, every effort should be made to bring members of these locals — and supporters not in the given sub-councils, too — to Denver. In this way, we could prevent Fraser from riding roughshod over the delegates and using the official union's authority to break up the movement.

In this way, even the official meeting could already outline and foreshadow what the Special Convention is.

*Strike against concessions; toward the General Strike!*

*Out with the Fraser leadership!*

*Organize the Special Convention of the UAW!*

## Victory to the Palestinian Revolution!

Declaration of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, long planned and prepared, is an attempt to crush the Palestinian Revolution in blood. American imperialism is fully behind the Zionists in this goal.

Workers and youth, the poor and the oppressed in the United States have to oppose this invasion with all their force, dealing in this way a real blow to Reagan.

At this moment, the battle for Beirut is posed. Without any hesitation, we declare that if the Zionists and their American backers attempt to conquer the city, they will be met with a ferocious resistance from the PLO. The outcome of this battle is not only in doubt militarily, despite the technical superiority (air power, etc.) of the Israelis, it is in doubt politically.

Every time the Zionists have scored a military victory — 1956, 1967, 1973 — it has increasingly isolated them politically in the world *and* from their own population at home.

Already today, there is large-scale opposition in Israel to the attempt by Begin, Sharon and others (with the passive support of the Labor Party) to annex the West Bank through the means of military occupation and terrorist "settlers."

In addition, the fact that Israel's war

machine is a massive drain on the economy increasingly drives workers into opposition.

The invasion of Lebanon — the excuse for it, the shooting of the Israeli ambassador to London by *anti-PLO* Arabs, is a transparent fraud — has all the signs of intensifying these problems for Zionism. There are already indications that the losses among Israeli troops alone may be high enough to give pause to illusions in easy triumphs over the supposedly "primitive" Arabs. In turn, the Israeli government



must try to play down — for domestic purposes as well — the brutality and loss of life that its invasion has cost Lebanon.

In turn, the invasion exposes all the social forces in the Middle East. After all the cheap talk, the Palestinians stand alone. The Soviet Union is most responsi-

ble for this, with Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, etc., all only too willing to see the PLO — if not crushed — at least reduced to a small force dependent on one of the capitalist/feudal Arab states.

And American imperialism, which has interests in the Middle East (preserving imperialist rule) that are not the *same* as

those of Israel (expansion of Greater Israel), finds itself compelled to support this attempt on the life of the revolution, even though it fears the outcome in political terms may not be to its liking.

Two years ago, the US set Iraq against revolutionary Iran. "Abadan is burning,"

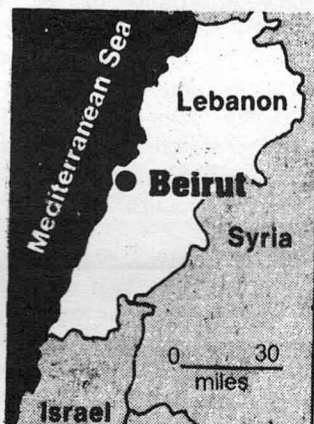
gloated the bourgeois press over the attack on the center of Iran's oil wealth and its working class. But today, despite everything — including the rule of the reactionary Khomeini — the revolution has proved strong enough to utterly defeat Iraq. Now Haig warns of the "dangers" flowing from this.

And he and Reagan see all too well the dangers flowing from the Lebanon invasion. They fear that what will emerge is not a defeated PLO and a Lebanon that is an Israeli client state, but a new upsurge of the revolution in the Middle East and — they fear — elsewhere.

The battle for Beirut — military or political — may well become the "Stalingrad" not of the "Arabs," but of the Palestinian Revolution, dealing a bitter defeat to the previously unvanquished armies of Zionism.

We have every interest in seeing and aiding in this defeat. No aid to Israel! No US intervention in the Middle East!

All American opponents of Reagan should mobilize in support of the Palestinian Revolution in demonstrations and all other actions.



# Communist Parties' Break-Up and Hamburg

In January of this year, the Fourth International stated in its Manifesto for 1982, adopted at its Eighth World Congress (see *The Fourth International*, #96-97). "... Be prepared for a decisive turn on the terrain of the leadership of the class: the international apparatus of the Kremlin, its parties, are heading toward their break-up."

In early May, the Polish workers and youth showed that they were not crushed, and that the second stage of the revolution had begun.

## Spanish CP

On June 9, Santiago Carrillo, Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and virtual creator of "Euro-Communism" — which supposedly criticizes the Kremlin from the point of view of democracy and human rights — had to resign under pressure.

The immediate cause of this action — the PCE's bad showing in elections in the Andalusia region — is only a reflection of the fact that this party is increasingly in grave trouble. Already, its supposedly independent fellow party in Catalonia, the PSUC has split from it.

But the political origins of the resignation of Carrillo lie in the Polish Revolution and in the questions of the revolution everywhere that it has unleashed.

The PCE is divided over Poland because the Kremlin has built up its "pro-Soviet" faction. But it is the revolution and its

development that makes these divisions burning issues every day.

The strike wave in Spain (led in part by the "pro-Soviets"), the question of the fascists and their attempted coup — all these mean the development of the revolution. And it is these questions that rend and tear the PCE more intensely every day.

Carrillo maintains enough control of the apparatus to have his resignation refused. But that means that Marcelino Camacho, head of the Workers Commissions (the union led by the PCE), who was one of the most fervent of those who sought Carrillo's resignation, has himself resigned all his party posts. That means a deepening division between the party and the union.

But this drive toward the break-up of the Stalinist parties is by no means limited to Europe.

## American CP

In the United States, where the Communist Party as a whole has long been one of the most "pro-Soviet" in the world, this drive also expresses itself.

For instance, in the recent mobilization for the UN demonstration, the Kremlin had a single goal, building an alliance with the sector of the American ruling class that would be most willing to have "peaceful coexistence." On that basis, the CPUSA got its orders: "Peace" and "peace" alone was to be its slogan; no mention of El Salvador, no mention of, in fact, all that

the liberals agree on with Reagan.

The CP did its duty. Everywhere it opposed any attempt to raise other political questions in the "peace" movement, questions of war and revolution.

But that meant in turn that a whole section of radicals around the CP, and in some cases very close to it for a long time (for example, Ben Chavis), were driven to break with its iron control of the June 12 Coalition.

This is the origin and the significance of the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition. Even though an agreement was patched together for June 12, at the actual rally the CP and liberal forces again kept Chavis and others from speaking.

Nor is this development restricted to the CP's periphery. On April 23 through 25, the CP held its "Second Extraordinary Conference" (the first was in 1933) in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The reason for this "Extraordinary Conference"? In December, CP leader Gus Hall and the CP's Central Committee adopted the tried-and-true Stalinist election policy: support Democrats. Against a Reaganite, says the CP, "if a bourgeois politician who is running against him/her is not 'evil,' we must give support, critical support or outright, wholehearted support — whatever is necessary — to achieve our overall goal."

The problem is that this didn't go over well at all with a section of the CP membership. "Some comrades," said Hall in

April, "have interpreted the tactical shift to mean that we give up the fight for Communist candidates." And these people are attacked for having "drawn the wrong conclusion that for the time being we will put the campaign for political independence in moth balls."

Aside from the fact that the CP put political independence "in moth balls" in 1936, it is clear that the "Extraordinary Conference" was necessary to whip CP members into line.

But that was even before the events in Poland in May and the split in the ranks of its supporters around June 12!

The significance of the Hamburg Rally lies in the fact that it is a regroupment of the youth to build a new leadership. In good measure, this is based on the break-up of the Stalinist apparatus and the immense liberation of forces for the revolution that flows from it.

CP members and supporters opposed to "peace" in the air and candidates who are only not "evil," have to make a choice for the revolution, to break with Stalinism. All those who have left the CP without making this break — the isolated PL, the copycat CLP, the pitiful Social Democrats of DSA like Steve Max and Dorothy Healey — have failed miserably.

Hamburg is the means for honest militants in and around the CP to find their place in the revolution.

K.F.

## Greetings from Malcolm X Circle

*Greetings from the Malcolm X Circle of the RYI to the Hamburg Rally*

We, youth of the Malcolm X Circle of the RYI from Detroit in the United States send our greetings to the youth and militants assembled in the Hamburg Rally.

Ours is a special contribution because we are training and educating ourselves to lead our class in the very heart of world imperialism, — we, black youth who come from the ranks of the most oppressed in this nation within a nation, of black people, workers and poor people; we say to you that we are engaged in combat to stop Reagan's plans to crush the revolution in El Salvador, of destroying the workers' unions.

We have learned that the key to successful recruitment, to successful actions, is our press. We collectively decide *what we will say* and find the sharper and clearer we are, the more our organization grows, in members, in financial support, in influence.

We are the first new leaders to emerge from our class, to join the RYI, to consciously struggle with workers for the Workers Party, where the power to decide will be in the hands of the workers and not in the hands of the rich — to prepare with them a General Strike.

Our organization planned and carried out a rally at our high school, Kettering, in the center of black Detroit, based on the fight for the General Strike, like the Polish workers, as the means to bring down Reagan and to give a great impulsion to the construction of the Workers Party. Forty to fifty young students joined the rally with great energy because it showed them the road to their freedom, the way that they can get jobs and impose their demands.

From this rally we went with militants of the Fourth International to the Ford

Rouge plant to win workers to fight with us. This represents a real breakthrough in our country because the youth have long been separated from the source of power that is in the working class. Now, youth and workers together will forge the Workers Party. We will reach those workers who are fighting concessions to build a new leadership in the new wave of strikes and "illegal" meetings against concessions.

Our organization went to the "disarmament" rally of nearly a million in New York on June 12, and we were the only organization there fighting to disarm Reagan through the organized power of the working class. In the march we chanted "Disarm Reagan, fight for your rights, win with the power of the General Strike!" against the conciliatory slogans that only protest against nuclear arms, hoping Reagan will stop.

We said to the youth, "If you want peace, prepare the revolution!" We asked them to join us in working to arm the guerrillas of El Salvador locked in battle with the forces of imperialism. The Communist Party is stalling for time, are attempting to spread confusion in the ranks of the youth to make them believe that peaceful protest will mean change. The Stalinists who organized the "disarmament" rally are the same forces who are ready to send the Russian tanks against the Polish workers.

We know the Polish workers are fighting for their lives and trying to take their freedom. We know that their victory is our victory.

*Against Stalinism!* All youth in Hamburg, *join the RYI!* Together we will ensure the victory of the Polish workers, together we will build the leading center of the working class — without the youth, the world will vanish!

## Our Fight in June 12

The June 12 march and rally in New York City was one of the largest anti-war marches in US history, more than 750,000 according to official estimates, which are usually grossly underestimated. But, far more important than the size of the demonstration — for size alone does not determine the character of an action — was its content. The organizers of the march, mainly composed of the Communist Party USA and its front groups and a rainbow of pacifist organizations, set the focus of the march as "a bilateral freeze and reduction of nuclear stockpiles," and "money for human needs, not weapons."

On the other hand, it was clear that the June 12 Coalition did not have much authority in the march itself, because the slogans which contingents marched under were many and varied.

The Malcolm X Circle of International Young Guard/USA and the Trotskyist Organization/USA marched under a banner that read, "Arms to the Guerrillas!" We distributed the latest issue of *Truth* which carried the headline, "If you want peace, prepare the revolution."

Our objective was not only to counterpose the preparation of the revolution to pacifism and reformism, but to organize support for the International Rally in Hamburg, Germany, called by the Revolutionary Youth International and the Fourth International for the building of a new revolutionary leadership.

Only sporadically did the marshals of the march try to enforce the political line of the Stalinists and pacifists, and then only very timidly. In fact, despite the broad range of the political spectrum at this march, it had more of the character of an anti-Reagan demonstration than the character it was designed to have — general disarmament.

We arrived early at the assembly points in downtown Manhattan to distribute *Truth* and to sell subscriptions, and to organize our contingent for the march. Within half an hour, the streets were so full that it was nearly impossible to even walk. Nevertheless, in many instances, the banner we carried made the difference between our contingent being perceived as merely one small contingent among others, blending into the background, so to speak, and being recognized as a distinct political alternative by the youth who were marching around us.

For example, two young Venezuelan students from New York walked up to us and said, "We were looking for some comrades of ours from the University but we couldn't find them, so we saw your banner and decided to join your contingent." And in the march itself, many around us took up our chants and slogans which were strictly designed to differentiate between the two opposing camps which were present in this demonstration — bourgeois and proletarians.

That is not to say that the intervention of our contingent was easy, however. In fact, on several planes the march presented us with some difficult political decisions. Overall, the central weakness of our intervention was that there was a tendency, both in the preparation of the contingent and in the march itself, to see the intervention as merely a series of activities and events — meet here, go there, do this, etc. What was necessary however, as became clear in the march itself, was not this but rather a clear political understanding of each goal and organizational plan which the party had indeed prepared. Only this can allow the maximum flexibility in tactics.

Instead, what happened at the march was too much an attempt to mechanically follow the plans made beforehand without preserving their content. For instance, when it became clear that distribution at the assembly points was going to become very difficult, the best decision probably would have been to proceed immediately to the rally, where the contingent as a whole could have maximized the sales of subscriptions, thereby organizing permanent links with youth, and contacts to the party and its construction.

The fact that these lessons have already begun to be drawn out in the TO/USA and in the Malcolm X Circle means that, rather than viewing them as mistakes, they have become an acquisition of the intervention in the June 12 demonstration. Adding to this, the fact that the youth of the Malcolm X Circle have been encouraged by the mobilization for Hamburg and the intervention in the June 12 action to further build the IYG/USA and to prepare and sharpen their political struggle for the Hamburg Rally itself, tells us that overall the intervention was a positive advance for building Hamburg.

D.H.

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# An Organizational Policy for the Working Class

In April, the Fourth International decided to concentrate its work in preparation of the international youth meeting in Hamburg for a new international leadership and freedom for Workers Poland, on the construction of Revolutionary Youth International circles among working class youth.

## Building Circles of the RYI

We decided to do this because we determined that the working class youth represent the only massive force that is ready to fight today for the revolution under the banner of the Fourth International and thus it, unlike the various factions of the Stalinist apparatus and centrist groupings, represents the basis for the new international workers leadership.

In the US, we decided to make our goal the formation of two RYI circles, one in Detroit and one in Chicago, with representatives of each to be delegates to the Hamburg meeting.

The struggle to realize this goal has demanded many changes in our organizational policy — from publishing *The Fourth International* to writing down in advance just what we want to say to win pledges to the Workers Fund.

We would like to draw out these changes and their significance here, for what is involved is not a pragmatic search for "something that works," nor an internal affair of the Trotskyist Organization, but the elaboration of an organizational policy for the working class — a policy of the reorganization of the working class around a new revolutionary leadership, in face of the attempts of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists in crisis to split, disperse and destroy the working class as an organized force. It is a policy of the construction of the International, of the party, of recruiting, training and organizing the young generation of the working class, of making them Bolsheviks, in short of a *Return to Lenin*, of doing what Lenin and his comrades did between 1903 and 1917.

Thus we decided to:

- assume responsibility for translating and publishing *The Fourth International* in English, rather than waiting for the center to acquire sufficient resources; organize systematic distribution and discussion of *The Fourth International* in the party, among subscribers and RYI members in order to train ourselves and other youth and workers in the policy and methods of the International.

- concentrate our work on the preparation of *Truth*, rather than on internal resolutions and individual discussions. This has permitted us to deal with political problems in a centralized fashion and to put forward solutions to these problems in an open fashion, directed toward the masses.
- establish a separate technical committee with its primary responsibility the publication of the press in order to assure its timely publication, so that this does not conflict with the distribution and discussion of the press.

- concentrate distribution of the press in central distributions in which all party members participate and where what exactly will be said is decided in advance. This permits us to concentrate our forces, organize youth and workers around one line and learn from what we do.

## Gains Made

- pay particular attention to distribution of the press among working class youth, door-to-door in working class

neighborhoods, in a systematic fashion. This has enabled the party to really become involved in the life, struggles and problems of the working class youth and to carry out a political struggle with the youth in a clear and patient fashion.

- Over and over again the youth brought up the problem of crime in the neighborhoods and their lack of jobs. As a result of the party's involvement in these problems it has been able to put forward its program — wages for young students, dividing up all available work among all available to work, the General Strike to impose these demands and bring down Reagan — as the solution to these problems, and to recruit on this basis.

- involve youth from the beginning in the political struggle of the party at the factories and with worker subscribers. This has enabled the party to make clear what it wants — a new workers leadership, to combat the isolation of the youth from the workers and begin to train the youth as the new leaders of the working class.

- carefully prepare all RYI circle meetings with the press, to write down in advance exactly what we want to say to the youth, to focus these presentations on the discussion of the press, rather than confine them to generalities and improvisations.

This has permitted the party to organize the youth around one line, to provoke serious political discussion among them and to, again, learn from its experiences. One RYI circle meeting lasted nearly three

hours. Youth discussed at length the problems they saw, what they imagined the General Strike would look like, how they thought they could make it happen. Beginning from this, the party was able to clarify the nature of the General Strike as a revolutionary action aimed at a confrontation with and the destruction of the powers-that-be, rather than as a reformist action aimed at pressuring the government into changing. This armed the youth to make a political fight with the workers against the Stalinists and centrists who are trying to lull the workers to sleep.

## Building the Party

- visit subscribers on a regular basis with the aim of recruiting them to the party and persuading them to make pledges to the Workers Fund for the International.

This has enabled us to develop our gains rather than allow them to be wasted away. We decided to present ourselves to our subscribers as representatives of the International fighting to build the new leadership based on Workers Poland, to lead workers throughout the world in General Strikes to win their demands and bring down the regimes oppressing them. We did this to emphasize what distinguishes our party and *Truth* from all others in the US.

On this basis, not only did a number make pledges, but also, in this brief period, three people have applied for candidate membership in the Trotskyist

Organization.

But the battle has just begun. The application of these decisions is still very uneven. The results are still modest. But already we have built one circle in Detroit with a strong leadership. We are preparing this leadership to participate in the Hamburg meeting and we have already raised, in only one week, \$50 toward financing this delegation. We have also won new subscribers and new regular donors to the Workers Fund for the International.

Now more than ever, it is necessary to strengthen the character of the Trotskyist Organization and the Malcolm X Circle as representatives of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International, in theory and in fact. It was this kind of leadership that was necessary to bring down the Czar in Russia in 1917 as Lenin did. It is this kind of leadership that is necessary to bring down our "Czar," Ronald Reagan, as we want to do. It is this kind of leadership that is necessary to finish with the Kremlin as the Polish workers want to do. And it is this kind of leadership that the Fourth International will be fighting to build in the Hamburg Rally.

We ask all our readers who share this aim to join the Trotskyist Organization, make a pledge to the International Workers Fund and get involved in the struggle in these last days before the Hamburg Rally. M.G.

## Our Seventh National Conference

# Build the Workers Party

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Trotskyist Organization/USA will hold its Seventh National Conference July 17-18. Because this Conference is the highest decision making body of our national section, and therefore will decide our policies for the coming period, it has great importance for our readers and subscribers and for the workers and youth who are now working with us to build the Workers Party.

## Hamburg and Lima

Without a doubt, our Conference will benefit from and base its discussions on the gains that the Trotskyist Organization has been able to organize in building the International Rally in Hamburg, Germany. The most important of these is the construction of the Malcolm X Circle of International Young Guard/USA among working class youth on Detroit's East side.

This Conference will have an objective — to decide on a policy and a plan of action to prepare, with all the other sections of the Fourth International, the Trotskyist Conference in Lima, Peru. In doing so, we will draw heavily on the experiences and lessons of the mobilization for Hamburg. In particular the experiences that we have in common with the young militants of the Malcolm X Circle.

The significance of this objective is that while the revolution in Poland is the most advanced point of the revolution internationally, the shock waves from this struggle are reverberating throughout the world. Not only has the revolution in Central America, in Argentina, already begun, but it is also heading toward the borders of the United States. The Polish Revolution has signaled a vast change in the conditions of struggle of the working class internationally. It is the end of the "peaceful coexistence" of Washington and Moscow. The task of the Trotskyist Conference in Lima, and of our Seventh National Conference, will be to build the leadership of the revolution in the Two Americas.

This, too, will be based on the mobilization of the youth for a new revolutionary leadership and the building of the circles of International Young Guard/USA. But we do not mobilize the youth for the sake of separating them from the working class

struggle.

And here is where the struggle to organize the working class and build its party, comes together with the struggle within the party itself. For one of the tendencies we have had to fight against is the notion that simply bringing together the youth in various actions, meetings, etc., would clarify by itself the nature of the Workers Party that must be built.

## Build the Leadership

But there is no special magical quality to the youth. We orient ourselves to the youth, and above all the working class youth, simply because it is they who have come forward to travel the road of revolution, and because they begin this search for a revolutionary alternative free of the baggage that the pseudo-revolutionary apparatuses are weighed down by.

Thus, we organize and build the circles of International Young Guard/USA not as a substitute for overcoming the obstacles to building a revolutionary leadership, but rather in order to temper and forge a force among the new generation of fighters that can provide a clear banner for rallying the whole working class.

It is true that all the failed leaderships are up to their necks in splits and fractures before the developing revolution and the imminent confrontations between the working class and imperialism. And the best militants of these organizations will be won to the party that organizes the new generation of the working class. But the construction of the Workers Party is neither a question of a simple regrouping of militants and tendencies, nor of accumulating numbers of youth. Rather, our fight must be to forge a leadership from the young people who are joining the circles of IYG/USA in the actual organization of workers' strikes, demonstrations, and political confrontations that are going on.

This is the way in which the decisive contribution that we will bring to the Trotskyist Conference in Lima will be the fight to build the Workers Party, organizing the break of the American working class from the bourgeoisie and its agents in the trade unions.

From making the question of the revolu-

tionary leadership the major objective before all the problems facing the workers in their struggles, the Seventh National Conference must open up the actual preparation of the first objective in building the Workers Party — a Trotskyist Congress Rebuilding the American section of the Fourth International.

That is why the Seventh National Conference of the TO/USA must be prepared not only in the documents and the discussion in the Conference itself, but also in the neighborhoods, among our subscribers and in the Malcolm X Circle of IYG/USA. We must raise the true stake of every struggle that is going on, the need for a new revolutionary leadership.

We call on the youth of the Malcolm X Circle, the workers in the factories where we distribute *Truth* and our subscribers to build this leadership with us.

*Join the Trotskyist Organization!  
Build the Workers Party!*

## Solidarnosc-SMOT Tour

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, along with several other organizations, has been organizing a tour of representatives of the Polish union Solidarnosc and the independent workers trade union in the Soviet Union, SMOT.

The hoped-for date for the speaking tour to have begun was mid-June, but we have decided with other forces who are organizing the tour to postpone this in order to raise more money and to take advantage of openings for support for the tour in the trade unions.

While there are many in the working class movement who profess support to the Polish workers, few want to bring their struggle here.

But advances have been made. Militants in and around Workers Video in Chicago, and workers from the United Front Caucus at the Ford River Rouge factory in Detroit have supported and circulated an appeal to trade unions, in particular the UAW, to support the tour.

We have every reason to believe that these initial advances will result in success, and we call on all workers and working class organizations, in particular the trade unions, to support the tour with the militant resources at their disposal.

TRUTH

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# TRUTH

To Make the Malvinas Argentina's . . .

## Down With the Junta!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The US and Britain have taken over the capital of Argentina's Malvinas Islands and declared victory in their war against Argentina.

### In Buenos Aires

But it is a hollow victory for the imperialists for as they celebrated in the streets of Washington, London and Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley), the Argentine people took to the streets of Buenos Aires to battle the ruling junta which was and is the bulwark of imperialism in Argentina.

People began assembling in the Plaza del Mayo in front of the Casa Rosada (similar to the White House) as soon as they heard that the junta had surrendered to the imperialists at Puerto Argentino.

They demanded guns to defend the Malvinas and denounced Galtieri, military dictator, head of the junta and president of Argentina, as a traitor.

The crowd grew to at least 10,000 and as the police attempted to disperse them with guns and tear gas the people shouted: "Cowards! Why don't you go to Malvinas and shoot at the British!"

As we go to press, the junta has already been forced to remove Galtieri. They have replaced him with General Cristino Nicolaides, a leader of the junta's campaign to wipe out militant youth, workers and revolutionaries.

Now is the time to finish with the entirety of the junta as a first step in a revolutionary offensive to destroy the imperialist puppet dictatorships throughout the "Southern Cone," Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay; establish workers and peasants governments to assure freedom for the people; begin to build a Socialist United States of Latin America and a United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

Thus the international working class, and especially the American workers, must not only boycott US supplies to Great Britain, and Great Britain itself, as several European workers parties have proposed, but also renew the struggle for a workers boycott of the Argentine junta.

The struggle has revealed that whatever goes to the junta, goes not against the US and Britain, but against the Argentine masses!

### New Leadership

This struggle calls for a new international leadership of the working class. Thus the Fourth International is preparing a continental conference of militants in Lima, Peru, to build this leadership. For just as the Argentine masses are pointing their finger at the junta and blaming it — quite correctly — for the defeat in Malvinas, the current leadership of the working class (the element that does not openly support US and British imperialism) is in the process of discovering the self-reform of a fascist junta and on this basis are organizing a truce with the junta.

While Argentine mothers maintained a picket of the Casa Rosada throughout the war under the banner, "The Malvinas are Argentina's, so are the disappeared," in reference to their sons and daughters assassinated and disposed of by the junta, Fidel Castro led a struggle within the "Nonaligned Movement" for support to Argentina against the US and Britain, invited Costa Mendez, representative of the junta, to speak as a representative of Argentina's struggle and remained silent about the junta's crimes.

Now the US Socialist Workers Party tells us that this junta of assassins has been transformed.

Today that same military junta is being forced to turn to the oppressed and exploited the world over . . .

Argentine military advisers have been pulled out of Central America . . . (it) has now donated 7,000 tons of wheat to flood-ravaged Nicaragua . . .

Costa Mendez . . . was forced to emphasize Argentina's common bonds with other semi-colonial countries . . .

After paying tribute to Cuba as the 'pride of the Caribbean,' . . . he traced the history of British colonial possession of the Malvinas . . .

The fact that Costa Mendez has spoken in this way is a reflection of the basic nature of the war over the Malvinas, and of the tremendous political pressures bearing down on the junta from Argentine working people . . .

These pressures have compelled the junta to ease up on its repression and to make diplomatic overtures to the Nonaligned Movement, Moscow, and even revolutionary Cuba . . .

So despite the regime's intentions, the character of the struggle for the Malvinas has driven it onto a collision course with its former allies . . .

Neither Castronorth the SWP says a word about struggling for workers rights under the junta, much less overthrowing it. The slogan (and the struggle!) "Down with the junta" is completely abandoned.

We were shocked when we heard people who call themselves Trotskyists talk about the self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But the self-reform of an imperialist puppet regime, of a fascist junta? This is really too much.

### Down with the Junta!

First, the conception of the metamorphosis of such a regime as a result of the anti-imperialist character of a war is completely anti-Marxist. For Marxists, the Argentine nation is an oppressed nation, its state an oppressed state and therefore a war between Argentina and the US and Britain, a war between an oppressed and an imperialist nation in which we naturally take the side of the former. But to proceed from this to say that the anti-imperialist nature of Argentina's war transforms the regime, which is in fact sabotaging it, into an anti-imperialist regime ("drives it into a collision course with its former allies") is sheer mysticism. How could such a thing occur? We are talking about real people in a real world. Because the Argentine dictators participate in a war with Britain, they suddenly transform themselves? Such a conception has as much to do with Marxism as Jesus rising from the dead.

Moreover, the events themselves prove the contrary. The junta was never prepared to mobilize the masses of Argentina or anyone else in Latin America in defense of the Malvinas against imperialism. When the British navy set sail to retake the Malvinas, the junta did absolutely nothing. The Argentine Navy didn't even leave the port. When the British attempted to land on the Malvinas the military took no initiative and only sent representatives to the UN! The junta did nothing when the British marched in Puerto Argentino and they are doing virtually nothing today, even though Britain is in an extremely weak position.

The junta could easily win back the Malvinas if it wanted to. Unemployment and inflation in Britain are incredible. There is tremendous opposition to the war. Already the costs of the war have strained the national budget and the US and Britain are questioning whether or not Britain has the financial wherewithal to maintain its position in the Malvinas, not to mention the political wherewithal, and whether or not the US can fill in for the positions that Britain assumed in NATO and has had to abandon to go after the Malvinas.

But from the beginning the junta's attempt to retake the Malvinas was nothing but a maneuver to try to save itself from the wrath of the Argentine masses, to forge



a little "national unity" in the hopes that the workers who had begun to take to the streets just weeks before the war would hesitate.

The Argentine masses didn't fall for this. The only ones who did are Castro, the Socialist Workers Party and the other Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist leaders who falsely claim to represent the working class against imperialism. But then Castro's relations with this bloody imperialist puppet junta have always been rather friendly.

These people, now snuggling up to this bulwark of imperialism, in the Southern Cone, are the same people who tell us that we cannot support the Polish workers organized in Solidarnosc because it is a counterrevolutionary agent of imperialism! Or, in the case of the SWP, that organizing an active campaign in defense of the Polish workers will play into the hands of imperialism!

Amazing! Heralding the miraculous transformation of fascists into anti-imperialists, that's fighting Reagan. But actively defending the Polish workers who are renovating the October Revolution against the Stalinist agents of imperialism, that's playing into Reagan's hands.

### Arms for the Guerrillas!

On April 16, 1982, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a declaration entitled: "Arms for the Guerrillas!"

The defeat of US imperialism and its junta in the recent elections expressed in an open way the new development of the class struggle in the Americas: the defeat of Reagan's policies and thus the imminent clash between the revolution in the Americas and Reagan.

The declaration which will be printed in the next issue of *The Fourth International*, developed the fundamental reason why American workers and youth must come to the aid of and unconditionally defend the guerrilla war being waged against the Salvadoran junta: because such a struggle lays the basis for uniting the forces in the Two Americas mobilized against US imperialism.

These forces are three: first, the guerrilla war in El Salvador, second, the relaunching of the workers struggles in Argentina, Chile and Bolivia. Third is the mobilization of the US workers and youth against Reagan's budget of austerity.

This mobilization in the US has now taken on a new character: a strike wave in its first stages. In other words, the US working class is placing itself on the road, along with the other two contingents, of the irreversible clash with Reagan.

Millions of workers and youth in the US support "Down with Reagan!"; they want to end the Reagan regime, but they do not raise this slogan in their demonstrations or

Isn't it clear that what motivates Castro and the SWP, be it in Argentina or Poland, is the profound desire to maintain the status quo, what ever it is, against the rising revolution which has no place for such elements. No doubt, as the mobilization in Argentina develops and it becomes increasingly clear that the junta cannot maintain power, Castro and the SWP will come up with some other allegedly radical solution to maintain the status quo — probably some sort of popular coalition government including representatives of the military, the bourgeoisie and the Peronist trade union leadership — and present it as an acquisition of the working class, as a reform.

The Fourth International, on the other hand, is fighting to lead the mobilization of the Argentine workers to bring down the junta and lead the workers to power, as a first step in destroying imperialism throughout the Southern Cone.

All who share this aim should take their place in the ranks of the Fourth International and in the preparation of the conference of militants in Lima, Peru, to organize this struggle.

The Malvinas will be Argentina's!

Down with the junta!

Workers to power!

strikes because they do not see what forces can be garnered for such a battle. This is what is at stake in the struggle to aid the Salvadoran Revolution.

This is an immediate struggle of arms for the guerrilla war, insuring its victory against the junta, as a foundation for the Salvadoran workers to organize the general strike to bring down the junta. This demand must become an integral part of the efforts of US workers to expand and centralize their strike movement in the General Strike to bring down Reagan. Thus the movement of US workers entering on the road of the clash with Reagan can be made a conscious development of the revolution in the Two Americas.

This is international solidarity, but not simply doing what the majority of the current leaders of the FDR ask for: diplomatic recognition for the FDR.

The Fourth International calls on workers around the world to struggle "with all their forces" for arms for the guerrilla war, because what is at stake is the revolution; because, as we are learning in the US, there can be no peace with Reagan, just as there can be no peace with Reagan's junta.

As the declaration states: "This struggle in which the proletariat of the USA must take the first place, must be accompanied by the unconditional defense of the guerrilla war against imperialism on the following basis: *Everything for the victory of the guerrillas! Arms to the guerrillas!*"

FRED VITALE