

TRUTH

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Strike for Victory at Chrysler!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The Chrysler contract negotiated by UAW president Doug Fraser and vice-president Marc Stepp has been massively rejected by the Chrysler workers, in fact, by a margin of better than two to one. Now we have to go forward and win a victory for the whole working class.

REJECTION — of Fraser

At key plants in the Chrysler system, the votes were overwhelming: Twinsburg, Ohio, Local 122 — 2,315 to 316; Jefferson Avenue in Detroit, Local 7 (which Fraser had been counting on) — 3,129 to 1,787. At Local 869 in Warren, Michigan, the contract was rejected by a vote of 1,559 to 323; and the president of this Local was also the chairman of the UAW bargaining team! He had to admit that the 83% margin was "devastating."

Now this bureaucrat, Fraser, Stepp and all their supporters are trying to blame the defeat on Chrysler Corporation chairman Lee Iacocca, who supposedly talked too much about the company's "financial health." This is completely wrong; the vote is a rejection of the Fraser leadership.

That's what Fraser meant when he said, "I'll jump off that bridge when I come to it," when he was asked what he would do if the contract failed. One lower-ranking bureaucrat even had to admit there was a joke going around about Iacocca — that he should do the bargaining for the workers instead of Fraser; he could get them some money!

More importantly, this is only the second contract rejection in UAW history, and the last one was against Ford in 1947! This is a long time, to be sure, but there is something even more important about it. In 1947, the pro-imperialist machine of Walter Reuther was just getting its stranglehold on the UAW. Thirty-five years later, its decrepit heirs in the "administration caucus" find the ranks escaping from their control.

The workers have rejected the company, too, of course, but their repudiation of Fraser is what sets the stage for great events. For more than a generation, all kinds of "socialists" (Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Maoists, etc.) told workers that "the main enemy is the company, not the union." Now it is clear that in order to fight the company you first have to fight the bureaucrats who are running the union in the company's interest.

Take Over the Strike!

Fraser and Co. did not dare to try to steal the vote; they feared the consequences of that even more than a rejection by itself. They have been defeated on this question. But make no mistake about it — as long as Fraser and his fellow bureaucrats run the union, they are going to try to turn this first victory for the workers into a defeat.

They will try to prevent a strike. They will try to isolate strikes that take place. They will try to break strikes (as they did in 1973 at Mack Avenue). They will side with the company in closing down plants in order to blackmail the workers.

Even more, these pro-imperialist bureaucrats will turn to their friends in the imperialist Democratic Party, which virtually runs Detroit and which plays a key role nationally.

Won't Detroit mayor Democrat Cole-

man Young (himself a seeker of concessions) use his cops on the picket lines? Won't Democrat James Blanchard (who as a Congressman helped put together the first Chrysler concessions deal) tell you that a strike is "bad for Michigan" and will hurt his chances to be elected governor against the Republican caveman, Headlee? Won't the bureaucrats tell you to count on electing more Democrats, and that this is the only way to stop "Reagonomics" — and then, *later*, you can think about striking, after the "economy has recovered"?

There is no room for illusions, brothers and sisters. In order to win, a new leadership has to be built against the trade union bureaucrats and the Democrats *in the course of the struggle itself!*

A Candidate for Victory

Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant on the east side of Detroit lies entirely within the 13th Congressional District, represented in Washington by George Crockett. But has Crockett lent the slightest support or given any evidence at all of even any interest in the fate of the Chrysler workers, many of whom also live in his district?

Which Candidate?

No, George Crockett prefers to spend his time entering remarks hostile to Reagan into the Congressional Record. But he has nothing to say to those who are taking on "Reagonomics" in action. No, George Crockett prefers to spend his time supporting Blanchard for Governor (who brags about his role in imposing the original concessions at Chrysler). He has nothing to say to those who are trying to smash that deal for good.

There is *only one* candidate in the 13th Congressional District who supports the Chrysler workers, as well as the struggles of the workers, youth and oppressed in general. That is *not* Democrat George Crockett, and it sure isn't the Republican candidate.

Barbara Putnam is the candidate the Trotskyist Organization/USA has selected to run in the 13th Congressional District as a practical example, in particular, of the need for the unions to fight in the elections with *union candidates*.

Even more important, she is the *only* candidate whose campaign is based on *organizing* the struggle of the Chrysler workers for victory — not just some

The Trotskyist Organization/USA has been the only party that said concessions were not the end of the road, but the beginning of the battle. It is the only party that said there *would* be a strike at Chrysler. On the basis of this policy, it puts forward this *program for victory* — not as some recommendations, but as the platform with which it is organizing and fighting.

1) *Shut Chrysler Down!* No delays, no "rotating" strikes, no "guerrilla warfare" or "Apache tactics," etc. Mass picketing protected by union defense guards!

2) *Elect a Central Strike Committee!* Support it with strike committees, etc., in every plant. No trust in the current leadership.

3) *Spread the Strike!* Reach out to

the unemployed, to the youth, to other union members — above all to the workers at Ford and GM.

4) *No Blackmail! Plant Occupations!* Don't allow any plants to be closed. Sit down in them until you win!

5) *Special Convention of the UAW!* Take power completely away from Fraser and his cronies. Unite the auto workers.

6) *Union Candidates in the Elections!* Vote for working class candidates, not the Democrats (or Republicans). Start to build a Workers Party.

7) *Down With Reagan!* Prepare the General Strike to bring down the source of the attacks on the workers.

That is the road to victory.

more money, but a sharp defeat for concessions, for those who organized them, and for Reagan himself.

Yes, while the liberal hope, Ted Kennedy, votes to break the railroad engineers' strike, while George Crockett is nowhere to be found when it comes time to join the lonely *seventeen* members of the US House who voted against this bill, Barbara Putnam has been fighting at Jefferson, on the teachers' picket lines, etc., to turn the situation at Chrysler into the beginning of a *political offensive* by the American workers.

In 1973, as a member of UAW Local 235 (Chevy Gear and Axle), Barbara Putnam was one of the hundreds of Detroit auto workers who joined the sit-down at Chrysler's Mack Avenue stamping plant. She was one of those militants who had their plant occupation broken by — the cops? No, by Douglas Fraser himself at the head of a thousand member goon squad of bureaucrats, an action aimed at preventing a victorious Chrysler strike then, and that laid the groundwork for the later concessions attack.

Which Party?

Barbara was not then a member of our party, the Fourth International (represented politically in the US by the Trotskyist Organization). But it was such bitter experiences that led her to the conclusion that a *revolutionary leadership* was needed to wage the fight not just against the companies, but against the traitors in the workers movement (Fraser, etc.) and against the capitalist government itself (Reagan).

The Meaning of Gdansk

The Polish Parliament has just convened to outlaw Solidarnosc, the Polish workers union, and police have just arrested several more underground union leaders.

Up until now, Jaruzelski's Stalinist military junta had simply "suspended" Solidarnosc's activities. Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski claims that the regime had been planning to eventually fully restore Solidarnosc's rights, but that its leadership had been uncooperative.

This is a reference to the repeated attempts of the Stalinists since the December 13 coup to split Solidarnosc by

involving a section of the leadership in reconstituting the union as a "pure trade union" and "cleansing it" of "extremist elements" that want to fight for power and overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Catholic Church has supported these attempts with its own "Theses," calling for Solidarnosc to limit itself to trade union struggle and purge itself of extremists. While some sections of the underground have even indicated support to the Church Theses, none have been willing to actually sit down with the Kremlin and its puppets.

But why is it that bigger organizations than ours, parties that claim to be "socialist" and even "Trotskyist," are nowhere to be found in this fight? The Communist Party is big enough at Jefferson to put out "Jefferson Worker," but it is absent from the elections — because it supports Crockett! (Which is also why "Jefferson Worker" has no battle perspective.)

And the Socialist Workers Party, trailing behind the CP? Oh no, it doesn't support Crockett and the Democrats; it just refuses to run anyone against him! And it likewise refuses to offer any policy for victory at Chrysler.

The fight in the elections is *inextricably* linked to the fight in the unions: these are the battlegrounds of the fight between the workers' mobilization and those who stand in its way. The Chrysler strike cannot be won as a union or economic battle alone. Abstention or neutrality in the elections, never mind voting Democratic, leave a whole front open for our enemies to exploit.

Look at the platform in the article above. It closes with "Down with Reagan!" That is how our fight has to close, too. The terrain for this battle is in the elections *and* the strikes. That is why the platform also poses, under the point on union candidates, the need to build a *Workers Party*, starting today.

Take up this fight today. No vote for the strike-breaking Democrats! Vote (write-in) for Barbara Putnam, candidate of the Trotskyist Organization in the 13th Congressional District! K.F.

It is this refusal to stab their comrades in the back, a manifestation of the tremendous strength of Solidarnosc shown at the August 31 demonstrations, that the Kremlin terms "uncooperative."

Ronald Reagan responded to the Stalinists' ban with a speech "in defense of Solidarnosc," which ended with "Let Poland be Poland," and a decision to drop Poland as a "favored nation."

Reagan claims to defend Solidarnosc and Poland against the Kremlin, but in reality he is attacking the revolution. He

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The Meaning of Gdansk

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is attempting to identify the revolution in Poland with his own imperialist regime and, in so doing, isolate the revolution from the workers of the world and politically disarm it in face of the Kremlin. The Kremlin plans to invade Poland in the name of the struggle against imperialism, as it did in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

These developments show the importance of the struggle for Freedom for Workers Poland, for Freedom for Political Parties in Poland, especially the Trotskyists, and for an international workers demonstration in Gdansk on December 13 under this banner.

The revolution that has begun in Poland is a continuation of the *world workers revolution* that began in Russia in 1917 with the Bolshevik seizure of power, the confiscation of the capitalists' factories and the establishment of centralized planning controlled by the workers councils.

The revolution in Poland constitutes the renovation of this first revolution which has been taken over by the Stalinist bureaucracy, corrupted, suppressed and nearly destroyed.

This nature of the revolution in Poland is manifest in the workers demands: for control of production, workers democracy and the elimination of the bureaucracy and its privileges.

The problem is that the revolution in Poland is not recognized as such by workers in America, Europe or Poland and thus workers are not prepared to defend the revolution and fight for power in opposition to the Kremlin and its tanks, which, by crushing the workers, will only make way for unprecedented imperialist exploitation.

This is not a consequence of the incapacity of the workers but a consequence of the political and practical attack on the revolution and its party. The partisans of this attack include not only Reagan, the Kremlin, and tendencies like the Spartacist League and Workers World, which openly attack the revolution as a bourgeois counterrevolution. They also include tendencies like the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Workers League which claim to support the revolution but do not actively defend it and oppose unequivocal freedom for political parties in Poland for fear that this will encourage an imperialist restoration.

Such a policy lends credence to the imperialists' and the Kremlin's claims. This lack of confidence in the working class, in its ability to discern parties that truly represent it from parties that do not, shows the extent to which these "friends of the Polish workers" are under the influence of Stalinism.

At the same time imperialism and the Kremlin attack the Polish Revolution as a bourgeois counterrevolution, all their efforts to crush the revolution have been directed at preventing it from breaking out of the framework of a trade union or democratic struggle and developing clearly in the direction of a political struggle for power in the name of the working class.

Thus it was when the Polish workers began to see that the continued existence of Solidarnosc was in conflict with Stalinist power in Poland and began to prepare to confront it — by joining political parties and tendencies, forming workers self-management groups and transforming the Gdansk Congress from a simple trade union congress into a veritable Workers Parliament — that the Kremlin began to prepare the coup d'état that suppressed Solidarnosc last December 13.

Then when the Kremlin's puppets saw they would not be able to crush Solidarnosc, they began to try to involve a section of it in reconstituting it

as a simple trade union, as we said above, and opened up a tremendous slander campaign against our party.

First the Stalinists said the revolution was a Trotskyist plot. Then they tried to link our party with an attempted assassination of the pope and later with the Kremlin's secret police. Knowing the Polish workers tied to Catholicism and their hatred of the Kremlin's secret police, the Stalinists hoped this would be enough to isolate our party from the workers.

These attempts to limit the struggle in Poland to a trade union or democratic struggle and isolate our party, which will only make way for the Kremlin's

"Forum" for a Centrist Bloc

We have already taken up both the new stage in the crisis of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) represented by the Barnes' leadership's repudiation of the theory of the permanent revolution, as well as the attempt to come to Barnes' aid in an opportunist regroupment that proposes a "discussion" instead of a fight (see *Truth* #150 and #151).

This centrist bloc was originally composed of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL — linked to Alan Thorne's Workers Socialist League in Britain and its "Trotskyist International Liaison Committee") and ex-SWP'er David Keil, with the SWP tame opposition and the Barnes leadership itself as silent partners. Now it has taken a more definite form and branched out to include some prospective associates.

Keil has started to publish a periodical named (appropriately enough for a "discussion") *Forum*. Its first effort is the full text (part of which was published earlier by the RWL) of a document that opposes the Barnesite attack on the permanent revolution from the standpoint of purely formal orthodoxy, that carefully avoids drawing any political conclusions.

This article by SWP member Les Evans (who was one of the chief writers on *Intercontinental Press* when the late Joseph Hansen ran it) is, Keil assures us, "published . . . without the author's permission or that of his party."

With this "Forum pamphlet," Keil sends out a cover letter that merits close examination. The Evans piece is "the first of a series of articles we will publish to further the discussion and debate among those who consider themselves Trotskyists and others in the workers movement who say that capitalism cannot be reformed."

If this reminds you forcibly of the "all-inclusive party" (not to mention Barnes' new "mass Leninist International"), it is not accidental. Keil goes on to say: "This discussion . . . will contribute to the building of . . . a future mass revolutionary workers party that will be united in action while allowing conflicting points of view to be expressed within it."

Thus, from the beginning, this clearing house for the centrist bloc sets a framework for the "discussion" — a repudiation (implicit) of the Bolshevik party, a repudiation (explicit) of the need to build it now. It is no surprise, then, that *Forum*, which will be "the format for most future discussion articles," is going to be "a quarterly newsletter" (our emphasis). David Keil spent fifteen years in the SWP doing his best to forestall a revolutionary opposition, and nobody is going to rush him at this late date.

There is so little new in centrist regroupments aimed at arriving at agreements with the opportunists and at

tanks, have been supported by the Church and the centrists, internationally and in Poland.

We already mentioned the Church's Theses. The Socialist Workers Party just published an article saying the struggle in Poland is a struggle, against martial law and solidarizing itself with Jacek Kuron's call for a general strike to get Jaruzelski to lift martial law in exchange for dropping a struggle for power.

Of course tendencies like this try to hide the Fourth International's struggle in Poland.

With an international workers demonstration in Gdansk on the anniversary of the coup d'état, we aim to show the work-

ers of the world and of Gdansk the true nature of the revolution, that its future lies in the struggle for power, that with such a struggle, supported by the workers of the world, that it will be possible to turn back the Kremlin's tanks. And we aim to regroup forces on an international scale and in Gdansk for this struggle.

The preparation of this demonstration passes through a political struggle against all the tendencies in the workers movement that pretend that there is another course. Forward to Gdansk, December 13.

comes the Quebec group that follows Pierre Lambert of the French ex-OCI. Now, the attempt by Lambert and Moreno to form an opportunist regroupment blew up late last year, but that is not the critical question. We want to emphasize Keil's eagerness for "discussion" with the Lambertists, who have slandered our comrade Michel Varga and our party as "KGB-CIA agents." This "discussion" becomes clearer all the time!

And, finally, there is the SWP itself, the keystone of the whole enterprise. Just as with the Evans article in particular, so with the SWP as a whole — willy-nilly, it forms part of the "discussion."

Here we come, unavoidably, to the heart of the matter. In face of the abandonment of the essence of Trotskyism by the SWP leadership, in face of the growing demands for a revolutionary leadership in this country and internationally, Keil (and his allies) put forward — a "discussion." Not a fight to keep Barnes from destroying the tradition of Trotskyism in America, not a fight to separate the revolutionaries from the opportunists, not a fight to organize the youth — no, a regroupment of centrists to preserve Barnes' position!

We have taken another course — *rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International in a Trotskyist Congress*. And that will give those who want to "discuss" something to really talk about. K.F.

attacking the Fourth International that Keil finds himself echoing some of his more notorious predecessors: "*Forum* will not be the paper of a new tendency competing with all the others, but will seek to publish a representative selection of views."

Writing against the Frank-Molinier group in 1935 (!), Trotsky analyzed such a statement:

"*La Commune* is not going to add itself to the multiplicity of tendencies in the workers movement . . ." What does this mean? If all the tendencies are wrong or insufficient, a new one has to be created, the true one, the correct one. If there are true and false tendencies, then the workers must be taught to distinguish among them. They must be called on to join the correct tendency to fight the false ones. But no, the initiators of *La Commune* . . . place themselves "above the battle." Such a procedure is absolutely unworthy of Marxists.

(This quotation is from *The Crisis of The French Section*, a book full of lessons for the fight against centrism, and a book translated in part by — David Keil.)

Similarly, Trotsky remarked: "*La Commune* does not want to multiply the tendencies, but it multiplies the mess." Here, too, Keil carries on.

On the back of the Evans pamphlet there is a list of four groups "whose views will be published," says Keil, adding: "This list is not exclusive; nor does the listing of a group imply that it has endorsed *Forum*."

Naturally, the RWL is on the list. So is the Moreno group in the US. Then

The Global Conflict

British Class Struggle

On September 22, millions of British workers participated in a Day of Action — a work stoppage of "one hour or more" called by the British union federation, the Trades Union Congress. This action against Prime Minister Thatcher's anti-working class plans produced mass demonstrations, including one of 120,000 in London. In these actions the British workers showed that the Malvinas War did not line them up behind Thatcher and that they are willing to fight.

The chief problems they face were manifest in the Conference of the British Labour Party in early October. At this Conference, while an empty vote for the elimination of all nuclear weapons from Britain passed, another measure aimed at expelling the "*Militant* tendency" (a pseudo-Trotskyist grouping) also passed. Both these votes, while doing nothing for or being directed against the interests of British workers, still threaten to split the Labour Party.

"Democracy" in Spain?

In early October, the Spanish government seized three right wing army officers and accused them of planning a military coup for October 27, a day before elections which are expected to result in the defeat of the present conservative government, which has fallen into disarray under the offensive of the masses, and in the victory of Felipe Gonzales' PSOE (Socialist Workers Party of Spain — a Social Democratic formation).

This new coup attempt shows just how far Spain has advanced on the "democratic road" since the last attempted coup on February 23, 1981.

Increasingly, the question in Spain which will win — fascism or the revolution? That is the fight that our Spanish section, the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain), seeks to lead in order for the workers to emerge victorious.

Workers Party and Trade Unions

The Fourth International said in its 8th World Congress that the key to the revolution is the leadership. In fact, these are the opening lines of the Transitional Program, which supposedly is the program of all the tendencies which claim to represent Trotskyism. And if it is true for the proletariat of every country, then it is a hundred times true for the American working class, whose trade unions are among the most powerful in the world and yet, have never been able to go beyond a framework of class collaboration and support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The terms of this debate are known to every tendency in the American working class, and especially to those which claim to be Trotskyist. The Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization/USA have fought for the construction of the Workers Party in the United States, and have fought for this party as a leadership of the American revolution. Against this perspective, the American Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party have put forward different versions of the same policy — the CP's "Anti-Monopoly Peoples Party" and the SWP's "Labor Party" — a reformist party resting on the trade unions as they are.

Now, in front of the 1982 elections, when Reagan's government is in deep political crisis, there is tremendous resistance to his imperialist policies among the youth and workers, and most importantly, when a powerful movement against concessions has erupted in the trade unions, we have a right to ask the SWP — where is the Labor Party?

The entire situation begs for an answer to this question. During Reagan's election in 1980 trade union agreements granting concessions were being forced on every sector of the working class and a new era of labor peace was being heralded by the capitalists. The 1982 elections are taking place amid a general upheaval of the entire working class against concessions.

This mobilization has been most advanced in auto. The national agreement negotiated by Fraser, the president of the UAW, with General Motors passed by only a slim margin and was followed by union elections where local trade union leaders who had supported Fraser were thrown out of office *en masse*. In the spring, a series of union councils took place which were composed of delegates opposed to concessions from union locals all over the country. These councils were declared "illegal" by Fraser in the face of a split in the UAW leadership.

And finally, the national Chrysler agreement negotiated in September by Fraser has been rejected.

It is at such a moment that union bureaucrats, Stalinists, and pseudo-Trotskyists have found common ground on the question of the party, an agreement, in fact, to prevent the American working class from building its party and confronting the two-party system with the power of the working class organized as a class.

Reagan, the great anti-communist, referred to the stooges of the Kremlin in Poland as "bums" who should be "thrown out of office" after the junta of Jaruzelski declared Solidarnosc dissolved. But it is the faithful friends of these bums in the American Communist Party who are saving Reagan from being thrown out of office by openly supporting the attempt of the trade union bureaucracy to channel the mobilization in the trade unions into a vote for the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections. The "Anti-Monopoly Peoples Party" has become the pro-monopoly, imperialist Democratic Party in the 1982 elections.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA has fought this rotten alliance around the Democratic Party by raising a campaign

for union candidates in the 1982 elections. Because in order for the mobilization in the trade unions to go beyond the framework of class collaboration it must confront this rotten alliance around the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections.

We have put forward our own candidate in the Congressional elections and fought among autoworkers for the General Strike to bring down Reagan and for the auto locals to support our candidate in the 1982 elections as a means to forge a leadership of their mobilization. And in this campaign we have had to confront the passivity of the trade union opposition and the treachery of the American CP.

But we have yet to confront in this powerful mobilization in the trade unions, the proposed Labor Party of the SWP, because the campaign of the SWP in the 1982 elections exists in the shadows of the American CP and its support for the Democratic Party.

In a public meeting which took place in Detroit in support of the Palestinians, a militant of the TO/USA intervened to fight for a boycott of Israel in the unions and for this fight to be taken up in the elections against the imperialist Democratic Party. Seeing a candidate of the SWP in the audience, our militant proposed that the SWP make a fight for the local that their candidate is a member of, the Rouge Local 600 of Ford workers, to support this fight in the elections. The response of the SWP's candidate was to leave the meeting in haste, never to return. And this despite the fact that the Rouge Local had passed a resolution already against the Israeli intervention in Lebanon.

In essence, that is the nature of the Labor Party that the SWP is for. A party, to hide when the first great confrontations with American imperialism arrive, and a party which, if it ever saw

Union Candidate Struggle

As the struggle against concessions begins to extend into the arena of the upcoming elections, the question must be asked, "Shall we fight for our own candidates, workers candidates who will advance our demands or can we support the bosses' candidates, the choices of the pro-concessions labor bureaucrats — the Democratic Party candidates?"

Members of the Detroit Committee of the Trotskyist Organization/USA intervened in a demonstration in Youngstown, Ohio, on October 2, 1982. The demonstration was called ostensibly to protest the attacks being organized against the working class. It was our intent to not simply "participate" in the demonstration but above all to fight to build a leadership around a campaign for union candidates, to organize a workers vote in the upcoming elections.

The demonstration began at Federal Plaza in downtown Youngstown where approximately 500 workers and their families assembled. Democratic Party propaganda was abundant and like snakes from beneath rocks, Democratic Party hacks slithered about with their bags of "anti-Reagan" trickery. While the workers awaited the march to Stambaugh Auditorium, we were able to set up a literature table and began discussing with them concretely how to get rid of Reagan — in particular by developing the campaign for union candidates against the treacherous policy of supporting Democratic Party candidates. Secondly, and directly linked to this campaign, we discussed the preparation of a national strike in auto.

Based on this clear policy to lead the working class, to organize in open struggle its rupture from the capitalist class and its parties, we were able to make

the light of day, would be in complete contradiction to the tasks of the preparation of the American Revolution.

Because the mobilization in the trade unions, however powerful it may be, will not by itself solve the problem of the construction of the party of the American Revolution.

This party will never be built without forging a leadership against Stalinism and the American Communist Party which has always diverted the mobilization of the American working class into the Democratic Party. And it is no accident that at the same time the CP is supporting the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections, it is proceeding with the liquidation of its youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, into a "broad-based grass roots movement against Reagan," which it makes perfectly clear in an article in *The Daily World*, will be an organization of pressure on the Democratic Party.

It is no accident because it is here among the working class youth that the fight for the leadership of the American Revolution and the construction of the Workers Party begins.

That is the fight of the Fourth International and it is our fight in the 1982 elections, for the massive organization of the working class youth who are in the front lines of the battle in the trade unions, and for whom the General Strike and the break of the workers mobilization from the trade union framework would represent a tremendous force of liberation.

The construction of the Revolutionary Youth International against Stalinism and its policy in the USA, and not the Labor Party of the SWP, is the key to building a leadership of the American Revolution and the measure of our fight in the trade unions for the Workers Party.

D.H.

progress toward building a workers leadership that can carry this rupture forward — toward the construction of a Workers Party.

A group from UAW Local 1714 was truly outspoken concerning auto and the necessity to throw out Fraser and the rest of the bureaucrats. A woman from the group bought a subscription to *Truth* and wanted to take up the fight to build a new leadership in the UAW. Workers from other groups, including the Association for Workplace Democracy and Inkwell Press, purchased subscriptions along with several individuals (a total of eight were sold). We also sold twenty-two single copies of *Truth*.

In these last weeks before the elections, the battle lines between the workers and the capitalist parties (Republican and Democratic) will be drawn more sharply. Events such as this one in Youngstown will be taking place throughout the country. But what they show more than anything are two separate and distinct tendencies. On the one hand there are tremendous mobilizations to consolidate power in the workers hands. Running contrary to this policy is a last-ditch effort to erect the Democratic Party as an obstacle to the workers really being able to bring down Reagan.

It is the workers themselves who will decide which path it will be, but we insist that this must begin with the selection of candidates which truly represent the workers and the elaboration of a policy to organize the entire working class. We call on our readers, old and new alike, to join this fight and to insure that Solidarity Day II events will signal the end of Reagan and the Democrats.

RICHARD TETRAULT

National Black Party Convention

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The second annual convention of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) was held on August 5-8. In fact, this convention marked a turn of NBIPP away from an "independent" political party.

In the first place, the convention, though it discussed NBIPP's election strategy, somehow failed to take any position on how blacks should vote or orient toward the 1982 elections. Formally speaking, NBIPP is against supporting the Democratic Party, but the failure of its Convention either to see the importance of the fight for a working class alternative or to take any stand at all on who blacks should be supporting in the 1982 elections, can only express a hesitation in the leadership of NBIPP to take on the labor-black coalition which is being forged against a powerful mobilization in the trade unions, to steer the working class and blacks into supporting the Democratic Party.

In fact, for blacks, who hate Reagan more than any other sector of the American working class, and with good reason, that is the worst possible thing to do. In fact, it is the Democratic Party and its friends in the labor bureaucracy who are the only ones capable of saving Reagan from a head-on confrontation with the working class and blacks in particular.

Equally bad, though the convention pronounced itself for a campaign for jobs and income, something you wouldn't have too much trouble getting black workers to fight for under the present circumstances, it put forward no alternative to the mainline black liberals who are trying to divert the struggle for jobs and income into a vote for Democrats in the elections.

At the root of the failure of NBIPP to take a stand on the 1982 elections is the impossibility for an independent Black party to exist in a sort of netherworld between the black working class and the liberal (and predominantly white) Democratic Party. It must go either one way or the other. Either to a party to prepare the revolution against an imperialist power which oppresses a national minority within its own boundaries or to the imperialist Democratic Party.

We don't think it should, in fact. The NBIPP is perhaps the best example of why it can't. We said we are ready at any moment to defend the right of blacks to independent political organizations and to unite with any such organization that wants to fight to bring down Reagan in the 1982 elections. This, necessarily, at the minimum, means a fight against the Democratic Party.

The problem is there is no room in the class struggle for a party which does not seek to win over the majority of the working class to take power away from the American imperialist ruling class. Such a party is what is required by blacks to end their oppression, and there is no question that blacks have been and will be in the fore front of the struggle to build that party.

But NBIPP has definitely turned away from that and has taken a turn to the right. The proof of that is that the one resolution which it did pass prohibits militants from other political parties from holding national or regional offices in NBIPP. Specifically, Barbara Arswine, a national spokeswoman for NBIPP, stated at the convention that the activities of "leftists" had "disrupted" the party's work. (*The Guardian*; September 1, 1982).

So where does that leave NBIPP's leadership in the political spectrum?

Reagan's Intervention and Ours

What is the situation today in Central America? What can American workers and young people do about it?

When the upsurge in the Americas began, only Nicaragua had begun the revolutionary mobilization. Then it was joined by El Salvador. Today, both Guatemala and Honduras are entering into the fray, making the conflict in reality a regional one.

In particular, what is at stake in Nicaragua and El Salvador is the development and extension of the revolution and its defense from the attacks by American imperialism.

In recent weeks and months, the hostility of Reagan to Nicaragua has intensified. From political and economic pressure his regime has moved to open terrorist and military attacks.

"Incidents" multiply on the border between Nicaragua and Honduras, with the Honduran army (a client of Washington) clearly involved in supporting the terrorist bands, not only logistically but with direct participation.

And, at the same time, the US military presence in Honduras is rapidly growing: the usual "advisers" and so on.

Reagan and his stooges present all this as just a defensive reaction to "Nicaraguan aggression." The development of guerrilla activities in Honduras is not, according to imperialism, caused by the social structure or the repression, in Honduras, but by the malevolence of the Sandinista leadership of Nicaragua.

Likewise, the defensive armament of Nicaragua against the threats and actual incursions of American imperialism and its tools is presented as a "threat to peace" and as a justification for the Honduran build-up!

Inside Nicaragua itself, counterrevolutionary acts increase — ranging from isolated terrorist attacks to the armed clash in Masaya on August 16 in which two people were killed. This was a conscious provocation by the leadership of the Catholic Church. But it is necessary to say that the Sandinista leadership completely fell into this provocation. Unable to actually mobilize the masses, to carry out a real political struggle against imperialism and its agents, the Sandinista leadership is compelled into trying to "shock" the masses by creating "scandals" about its opponents, in this case, on the sexual activities of a right wing priest.

If there was any doubt at the time, there can now be no question that the "elections" in El Salvador in March were a complete failure. Can anyone seriously claim — as the war goes on, as the death toll of government terror rises, as the pitiful "land reform" is put in deep freeze — that this vicious charade had anything to do with "democracy" or "peace"?

The guerrillas of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) continue to be able to defeat the increasingly US-trained Salvadoran army, to take and hold territory, but their problems lie on the political level. While the guerrillas fight, the reformists, liberals and pro-Castro/Stalinist "political leadership" of the FDR (Revolutionary Democratic Front) continues to try to come to a "political solution" with Reagan and the Salvadoran terrorist government.

In Guatemala, meanwhile, that "born-again Christian" and military dictator, General Efraim Rios Montt, continues to intensify the slaughter of peasants in the hinterland, while reacting to the consolidation of the guerrilla forces in the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) with executions.

Whose Intervention?

Behind all this lies the policy of Reagan. He and Haig failed in their first attempt to simply crush the revolution in El Salvador and to isolate Nicaragua and make it yield. But imperialism has

only changed the forms of its intervention.

A single thread runs through all the promises and threats coming from Washington: "peace and stability" are supposedly the goals. But that is, of course, the role US imperialism has assumed in Lebanon. What it has already meant is massacre and the witchhunt after Palestinians and leftists.

As reported in the last issue of *Truth*, the FDR leadership continues to apply for peace to the US, even proposing calling off the war and returning to political existence under the control of the dictatorship. Naturally, Reagan does not discourage such talk. In fact, the most recent news is that he has endorsed a Venezuelan and Mexican proposal for "peace negotiations" in central Amer-

No More Beiruts!

By MARGARET GUTSHALL

As we go to press, the US and its Marines are presiding over the last stages of Israel's "peace offensive" — the invasion of Lebanon designed to wipe out the Palestinians, the so-called terrorists of the Middle East, as an organized force.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is gone. Split into pieces. Dispersed to a dozen different countries. The Shatila and Sabra camps, strongholds of the Palestinian liberation struggle in West Beirut, and thus in the world, have been crushed. Now, under the watchful eye of US Marines, the "Lebanese army" which was "too weak" to confront Israel, is going door-to-door searching for "troublemakers" (they cannot say "terrorists" anymore because they are obviously gone), "Palestinian combatants" (they cannot say "PLO members" anymore because they are gone, too), and "undocumented Palestinians." They cannot really say "Palestinians" for then it would be too obvious what has really been going on — a bloody, imperialist, racist pogrom; a witchhunt aimed at wiping out Palestinians as Palestinians. Yes. Just like the ones that the feudal kings and later the imperialists carried out against the Jews.

These people are being arrested, imprisoned in large camps and no doubt tortured and killed, although we are not now hearing about this for Reagan has appealed to the Lebanese army to carry out its crimes in "the proper manner," and "not to be too rough." He does not want to look as bad as Begin.

At the same time the US is continuing to prepare its own "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem." The Palestinians are finally going to have their own state: a "Palestinian-Jordanian Federation" under the heel of King Hussein of Jordan. Hussein, after massacring thousands of Palestinians who had fled to Jordan to escape Zionist persecution, has just generously granted amnesty to Palestinians accused of "crimes against the state" in order to "smooth over things" with the PLO and lay the basis for this "Federation."

In the last issue of *Truth* we said, and we repeat, this "Palestinian state," this "self-determination," will be nothing but a concentration camp for Palestinians. Our readers may think that this is a little melodramatic, but how else can we interpret the fact that simply being Palestinian in the Middle East has become a crime, just as being Jewish was a crime.

The irony of all this is that now that the US and Israel are well on the way to accomplishing their original aims in the invasion of Lebanon all the parties that capitulated to the imperialist attack on the Palestinian Revolution and covered for it (by claiming that the PLO's only alternatives were to withdraw or make a futile last stand; by applauding its with-

drawal and the presence of US troops as a victory or remaining silent about it), have suddenly rediscovered their principles. *They are now calling for a withdrawal of US troops.*

The Communist Party, of course, has "changed its line" without explanation. "US troops out" it now says, after it applauded the withdrawal of the PLO, the entrance of US troops and even called for them to come back and "fulfill their commitment" to the Palestinian people after the massacre at Shatila and Sabra.

The Socialist Workers Party has an elaborate explanation. It says that the PLO had no choice but to withdraw or to make a "futile last stand" which would have resulted in even more deaths than those at Shatila and Sabra: that getting Israel to agree to the "evacuation" of the PLO with the supervision of US troops was a victory.

"An analogy could be made to the organizers of a progressive demonstration," says the SWP, "who, faced with an attack by a superior force of armed rightist thugs, call on the police to defend the democratic rights of the demonstrators."

Now the situation has changed, however, the SWP claims. Reagan is taking advantage of the precedent set and has sent troops for a purpose not quite so progressive: supporting the Lebanese government designed to crush the Palestinians.

Funny how imperialist troops do imperialist things in Lebanon and demonstrations. The only thing that has changed is what the SWP thinks it can get away with. Now, after Shatila and Sabra, everyone sees that the US and Israel were up to no good so, of course, the SWP does too. But then now it is a little bit late.

We have said before and we say again that with an international struggle for a workers boycott of Israel, a general strike to bring down Begin, and a Constituent Assembly of Palestinians, Arabs and Jews, to establish a democratic, secular state, that the siege of Beirut would have become the last stand of the Zionists.

And this struggle is still on the order of the day. But instead of turning to the Jews, the PLO leadership, guided by the Kremlin and its centrist supporters like

ment of American workers and youth a living expression?

First, unconditional support to the revolutionary movements and Nicaragua from imperialist attack. No US intervention! Second, we can take up the fight against Reagan right here. Not just in our own national struggles, but by consciously opposing Reagan's policy with a revolutionary policy. That means a fight in the unions, first of all, not only for a *boycott of the dictatorships*, but even more a fight for *arms to the guerrillas!* That will be *our* intervention in Central America, our armed intervention to counter Reagan's, to take up the fight not just in his Central American "back yard" but right in his own house!

K.F.

the SWP, turned to US imperialism. And this is what enabled imperialism to crush Shatila and Sabra and round up Palestinians, as it is now doing, without even a fight.

Nothing is worse for the working class than to withdraw without even giving battle. In a battle, even if you do not win, you learn, you prepare for the future.

The SWP's erudite explanations are nothing but an attempt to cover for its own role in betraying the Palestinian cause.

It is high time to draw a balance sheet of the struggle in Lebanon and the role of the different leaderships in it for the liquidation of Palestinians in Lebanon is just a pilot project.

Reagan has found that he cannot crush the revolutions of oppressed peoples simply by attacking them with troops as he planned to do when he first came to office. He is now seeking the capitulation and cooperation of the Kremlin and other opportunist leaderships like that of the PLO. This is the significance if what has taken place in Lebanon and Reagan is bound to try it elsewhere. Indeed, he has already sent out feelers to the leadership of the guerrillas in El Salvador, looking for a similar sort of capitulation.

The working class must draw the conclusion. It is necessary to bring down Reagan and the entirety of the imperialist state. As long as the imperialists remain in power in the US, there will be more Beiruts, more Shatilas. It is necessary to break with the false leaderships which claim imperialism can bring peace — ever, anywhere, under any circumstances.

There is only one force on this planet which can bring peace: the American working class by bringing down this state and assuming power itself.

No more Beiruts!

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