

UAW Convention MUST Make A Change! LABOR PARTY NOW!

Workers at the Chicago Ford Torrence Assembly Plant have just rejected the company's offer of "life-time job guarantees" in exchange for changes in work rules. Twenty-nine thousand Caterpillar workers are still holding out against their company's demands for "concessions." And workers at Champion Spark Plugs agreed to sign a contract only after they won a wage increase.

These are just small signs of the tremendous will that exists within the UAW to defeat the policy of concessions and improve the workers' position.

Since the UAW signed its "historic agreement" with the Chrysler Corporation in 1979 permitting the corporation to close the Detroit Dodge Main Plant and pay workers at Chrysler less than other autoworkers in the interests of "saving" the corporation, large sections of the UAW, in many cases the majority, have rejected the policy of concessions. Forty percent of Ford workers voted against concessions in February, 1982. Forty-eight percent of GM workers voted against concessions in March, 1982. And most importantly, 83% of Chrysler workers voted against a contract that did not give them parity in October, 1982.

The question today is how to unleash and organize the tremendous power of the workers opposed to concessions, how to shake loose the bureaucracy that is holding them back, so that organized workers can begin to relieve the terrible suffering caused by the layoffs, wage cuts, school and hospital closings that have resulted from this "historic agreement" in the only way possible — by winning back the jobs, wages and everything else that the workers need in life. Not one single worker unemployed! Not one single concession! These must be the workers mottos.

We Trotskyists think that the only way to do this is with a struggle for a labor party now, for the unity of all labor party tendencies, throughout the UAW, in every local and especially at the coming UAW Convention (Dallas, Texas, May 15-20).

By fighting for a labor party, Trotskyists can fully rid workers of the illusion that they have anything to gain by remaining dependent upon the capitalists, by waiting for an economic upturn or the Democratic Party to relieve the suffering of the working class.

They can organize workers independently of the bosses and, most importantly, separate the workers from the bureaucrats and their supporters who have rendered the working class completely dependent upon the Democratic Party and signed the agreement with the Chrysler Corporation that has resulted in the near destruction of everything that workers have fought for — their jobs, homes, schools, hospitals, *their culture* — and forced workers, *the backbone of US industry*, to bow and scrape for hand outs of government cheese.

With a struggle for a labor party, Trotskyists, revolutionaries and class-conscious workers and youth can forge the kind of *truly independent leadership* necessary to make the slogans "Not one single worker unemployed! Not one single concession!" a reality through large battles in the factories and the streets.

A labor party is necessary to insure the workers' independence and thus their ability to combat and defeat the capitalists with meetings, committees, demonstrations, strikes, defense guards, etc., because it organizes all workers, organizations and unions *that want their own party*, that do not want to depend upon the capitalists to meet their needs.

A labor party will revitalize the UAW and all unions.

We Trotskyists think that this labor party must fight for the workers to take power and build socialism — for a workers government responsible to workers councils, for workers control of industry where all work is divided among all available workers and workers are paid in accordance with what they need, and for a workers militia to protect these gains.

Even the capitalists admit that the present "economic upturn" has had no effect on the unemployed (some upturn). And in the midst of this so-called upturn the press has just announced that a small bank in Union City that serves Puerto Ricans has become insolvent. We expect the next downturn to be even worse and the US to undergo the same sort of bankruptcy affecting the nations of Latin America such as Bolivia where workers are marching for "bread."

We think that the struggle for power and socialism will be necessary for the working class just to survive.

But we are fighting to unify all tendencies in the UAW for a labor party regardless of whether or not they are for power, whether or not they are for socialism, *no matter what direction they think the labor party should take*, because we want the largest possible struggle against the bosses and their agents in the UAW *now*. In the course of this struggle its direction will be decided.

We are the only tendency in the working class waging such a struggle for the labor party in the UAW, waging a struggle for *such unity* in the UAW in preparation of the UAW convention, in particular, for a united slate for a labor party against the Fraser bureaucracy.

All other opposition tendencies in the UAW, even those for a labor party, have refused to make a united campaign. Frank Lovell of the Socialist Workers Party even went so far as to say that the workers should basically ignore the convention and concentrate on the struggle on the local level. This is a ludicrous counterposition since the convention is made up of local delegates. He can only mean that workers should not try to deal with the problem of leadership on a local or national level.

Nevertheless, our struggle for a united slate for a labor party has already provoked the development of an independent candidate for delegate to the UAW convention who is for a labor party — Fox Davis of

UAW Local 7 at Chrysler's Detroit Jefferson Avenue Plant.

This is a very important step forward for autoworkers *precisely because it is a step forward in the development of a new leadership that is truly independent*, that can defend and advance the interests of the workers because it is beholden to no one but the workers, unlike candidates for the Democratic Party or candidates that our neutral.

Thus workers must not only *elect Fox Davis*, the candidate for a labor party, to be a delegate to the UAW convention, but also must demand that all delegates to the UAW convention support the foundation of a labor party and that the UAW convention take all measures necessary to found a labor party. And of course opposition and labor party tendencies in the UAW have an obligation to work together to make this happen now.

The political struggle that will take place for and against the labor party in preparation of the UAW convention and at the UAW convention itself, for and against *workers independence*, will be the prelude to the massive battles in the factories and the streets that will not only restore all that the workers have lost but also raise them to new heights.

A labor party now!

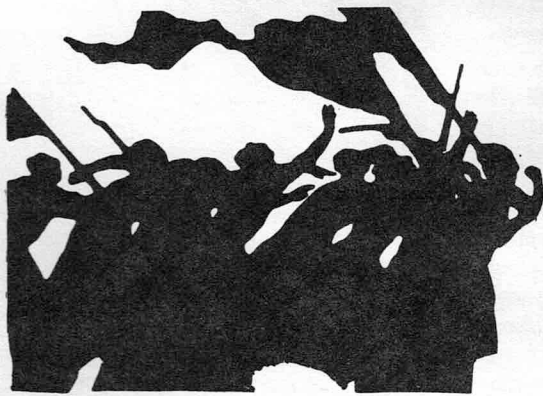
Not one single worker unemployed!

Not one single concession!

MARGARET GUTTSALL

A Fighting Platform for the UAW Convention

- A LABOR PARTY NOW!
- NOT ONE SINGLE WORKER UNEMPLOYED!
- NOT ONE SINGLE CONCESSION!



Thousands of UAW members have already rejected the Fraser leadership's policy of concessions. Millions of workers have rejected its policy of supporting the Democratic Party by refusing to turn out for Kennedy and Carter in 1980 and various Democratic Party candidates in 1982. Yet Fraser and Co. and his successor Owen Bieber continue to try to force this bankrupt and cowardly policy on the workers. UAW members can no longer accept this. The whole future is at stake. The UAW convention must make a change. The UAW must be independent. Demand that all delegates support the struggle for a labor party and that the UAW convention take all measures necessary to found a labor party. Elect a leadership to carry this out. This is the first step necessary to restore what the workers have lost. Not one single worker unemployed! Not one single concession!

ELECT A CANDIDATE FOR A LABOR PARTY!

as Delegate to the UAW Convention!

**ELECT FOX DAVIS, UAW LOCAL 7,
Chrysler Detroit Jefferson Avenue Plant — [Interview Inside!]**

Why a Trotskyist Congress?

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Organizational Resolution recently adopted by the 8th National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization set as an objective holding a *Trotskyist Congress* by the fall of 1984, to rebuild the Trotskyist party in the US. This time frame is neither artificial, nor fixed to the exact date, because it is intended to represent much more the content that the Trotskyist Congress must have. It must be open and it must be based on the implantation of Trotskyism in the working class.

We underlined with this objective, intentionally, the importance of the 1984 elections and the times we are in *today*. Because as far as we can see they are closely linked. In order for Trotskyists to play a significant role in what promises to be a major test for the American proletariat, it is necessary to prepare today the worker vanguard that, even if a minority, will be able to play a decisive role tomorrow.

In order to do that it is critical that one have a Marxist understanding of the objective situation. The most common trait of centrism is that it is always prostrated before each new turn of events, always tagging along behind the present consciousness of the working class, never ahead of it. In a period of revolutionary confrontations, where the mood of the masses or the tempo of events might change drastically in a matter of weeks, this centrist trait is deadly.

In the 8th National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization we characterized the present period as a *preparatory* one. That characterization has proved to be particularly important in all our decisions regarding the task of building the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

For example, in recent weeks there has been a sustained barrage of propaganda from the Reagan administration about "the upturn." There have been limited recalls of workers in auto and other industries.

But because of the nature of the period we are in, not only will the fundamental trend be down, not up, but even the extremely weak "recovery" (if it even develops to that) will only exacerbate the next decline.

First, we can say this because American imperialism is tied by a thousand threads to the crisis of the smallest nations in the world — precisely because of its imperialist role. If Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil are going bankrupt, that means America's imperialists are going bankrupt. And, at the same time, this necessitates even more the imperialists' intervention in Latin America — only accelerating its crisis.

But even more importantly, if the working class in response to an unprecedented economic crisis has already taken the first steps toward reorganizing its forces, and this is the conclusion that we drew at our 8th National Conference, then an upturn is only going to increase its combativity. A worker that eats better, fights better. It is going to mean more strikes, more demonstrations, and even more bitter struggles between capitalists and workers. And in turn because the only way that the capitalists can have even a weak recovery is by the even deeper pauperization of the working class, it means that the combativity of the working class is going to further undercut any upturn.

But by themselves the actions of the workers are not a solution. What the working class is really searching for is a new leadership.

And that is what we mean when we say that this is a preparatory period, because not only has the response of the working class to the unprecedented attacks on it been combative, even more importantly it has taken a very definite form of splits and crises in the apparatuses, and attempts by the workers to replace the apparatuses.

Even the specific forms that this search for a new leadership is taking are not transcendental. For example, when GM tried to extract concessions from its workers a



wing of the leadership of the UAW broke openly with Doug Fraser and formed the opposition Locals Opposed to Concessions. But this formation was still very much tied to the old bureaucracy and the timid oppositions that had existed for decades in the UAW.

Later, however, there was an illegal sub-council called in Lordstown, Ohio. This already showed a more open break from the old trade union opposition (even though not complete) and an open challenge to Fraser.

So what we said in the Political Resolution of our 8th National Conference, that "the economic crisis and all the experiences of the workers, all that they have learned in this past period, is making them search for a new leadership," was based on a Marxist, materialist appreciation of the objective situation.

And that is why the Trotskyist Congress, from our point of view, can neither be thought of as a far distant task, nor as one that is limited to a regroupment of those who already consider themselves Trotskyist. Besides, it is absolutely ludicrous to

consider the rebuilding of the Trotskyist Party as an organizational task, when the attack of the Barnes leadership of the SWP aimed at liquidating Trotskyism is an inherently political one.

Furthermore, the liquidationist perspective of Barnes, outlined in his speech to the National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, is clearly based on the possibility of "reinforcing the apparatuses," and therefore implies a completely different situation. And this perspective itself, which does not in any way correspond to the present situation, the tasks, or the consciousness of the masses, is exacerbating the SWP's crisis and its isolation from the working class.

And this raises a second question. How can Trotskyists base themselves on the current situation in order to surmount the crisis of the Fourth International and rebuild the Trotskyist party against liquidationist centrism?

This immediately underlines the importance of the struggle for the Labor Party. Trotskyists should take the lead in building a Labor Party in order to train a proletarian vanguard. And in this sense too the rebuilding of the Trotskyist party in the US must assume the most important acquisition of American Trotskyism — the struggle for a proletarian party.

Internationally, the Polish Revolution was the watershed of this new turn of the class struggle, as well as the focal point of the crisis of Stalinism, and hence centrism. And not accidentally, Barnes' perspective of the reinforcement of the Stalinist apparatus, necessitates his position that the Polish workers "have gone beyond the limitations of communist criticism."

Interestingly enough, this new turn really took shape in the US with the massive demonstration on Solidarity Day and was directly linked to the development of the Polish Revolution.

In that Solidarity Day, the Trotskyist Organization intervened with a banner headline that read "General Strike!" And that slogan was completely founded in the actual situation — one-half million workers engaging in a political demonstration against the Reagan government in solidarity with the Polish workers, and their general strike.

But in no way, either then nor now, can

the party be based on some conception of the spontaneous evolution of the Leninist party from the actions of the workers. Not to mention that there has been an actual development to the situation since Solidarity Day that makes even clearer the importance of the Labor Party slogan.

For Trotskyists, the battle is not finished with the demand for the Labor Party, *but the Trotskyists will be in the thick of the battle for the workers leadership*, if they adopt this struggle as their own.

In this sense, one cannot say that the fight for the Labor Party by itself is the end of a delimitation against liquidationist centrism. This is why there must be a conscious struggle over the balance sheet of the liquidationist crisis of the SWP and the crisis of the Fourth International. That is why there must be a conscious struggle to rebuild the Trotskyist party — a Trotskyist Congress. But this clarification of the nature and program of the party must be one which answers the objective situation, the period we are in, and the struggle of millions of workers.

It is the method of regroupment and unprincipled combinationism that hides the balance sheet and necessary differentiation from liquidationist centrism. And here too, the proletariat, at least Trotskyists, ought to have drawn some conclusions from recent experience.

For all the "Trotskyist regroupments" of the past years, each one ending more disastrously than the last, have not been based on some inherent trait of Trotskyism that prevents an international party. Rather these regroupments have failed because they too were based on a conception of the reinforcement of the existing apparatuses and avoided a balance sheet of the crisis of the Fourth International. And therefore these regroupments were completely isolated from the new generation of proletarians who were searching for an alternative.

Thus our objective of building the Trotskyist Congress and rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International against liquidationist centrism, together with the time frame we have set — by the 1984 elections — is a complete break with the method of these past "Trotskyist regroupments."

held by this party in the proletariat.

Hence the clarification by our Bolivian Committee of its task as that of rebuilding the POR directly confronts these political problems that have burning importance for the situation today in Bolivia. Already the Bolivian Committee has begun to take up a struggle against the government of Hernan Siles Zuazo, who was installed with the permission of the former military butchers in Bolivia — with the direct aim of heading off a revolutionary explosion of the Bolivian working class. Zuazo's government has integrated the COB and the Bolivian Communist Party into a government of National Union.

Its slogans have been:

No confidence, no truce with the Siles Government!

Prepare the General Strike for a sliding scale!

Punish the Butchers!

Rebuild the POR of Bolivia

In October, *Truth* reported on the appearance of the first edition of *Insurreccion*, the journal of the Bolivian Committee of the Fourth International. This tremendous acquisition of the Bolivian proletariat has marked a new stage in the construction of the party. In recent months the Bolivian Committee has begun a struggle to rebuild the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario — Masas) of Bolivia. The importance of this struggle should not be underestimated.

In many ways the balance sheet of the struggle of the POR of Bolivia is at the center of the struggle to surmount the crisis of the Fourth International in North and South America. The POR went farther than any other section of the Fourth International in developing the struggle for power in Latin America. It was directly responsible for building the Popular Assemblies of Bolivian workers and peasants in 1971. At the



same time, its alliance with General Torres in the "anti-imperialist front" and its abandonment of the fight to rebuild the Fourth International had as its consequence the development of six organizations that claim to represent the POR — none having the influence once

Free the Eight Uruguayan Unionists

Eight Uruguayan unionists have been arrested by the military dictatorship. Among them are Roberto Rodriguez Suarez, Ulises Marshall Nigro Ortiz, Jorge Frutos Oliva, Alicia Locatelli Miserochi, Maria Cecilia Duffau Echevarren, Jose Bruzzone, Miguel Matos Fanguio.

Their "crime" is fighting to rebuild trade unions declared illegal in 1973 by the reactionary dictatorship. The eight unionists were arrested in March and April of 1982. At first the government tried to deny that they were being held. Now, however, after pressure by organizations and unions, the government

has been forced to admit that they are in prison.

Telegrams and messages of support should be sent to the Committee to Free the Eight Uruguayan Union Leaders c/o Susana Fernandez, P.O. Box 27421, Los Angeles, CA 90027.

Interview with Fox Davis

The Labor Party — “One mass, one whole.”

The interview below is with Fox Davis, a member of UAW Local 7 at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant in Detroit. His responses, those of a worker who has seen the betrayals of the Fraser leadership in action, express the development of a layer of advanced workers who are seeking the road of a political fight.

TRUTH

Question: You are running for delegate to the coming UAW Convention. Why are you for a united slate for a labor party?

Answer: Mainly because I want everyone to be one mass, one whole. Being united, everybody can contribute what they want to do, instead of everybody doing something individually. The great thing about it

is everybody can have a say-so on their own free will, can express what they feel.

Q: What does the labor party mean to you? What do other workers think?

A: It means a lot! It means I'm not only fighting a battle by myself. A labor party is getting a whole mass together on one or two ideas and build those ideas into reality. You need to have a whole bunch of people to make something work.

The other workers are for a labor party, but they are getting misled by the opposition. Either they don't know, or they think they know, what's happening, but they don't get the full information from the union, the company and the newspapers.

The other workers feel as if they do not have anything to fight for or with. It's as if you had a car with no gas, you won't go anywhere; or as if it would be a worthless cause to agree for something you won't get.

Q: If you could say one thing to other fighters against concessions, what would it be?

A: Keep on fighting!

There's a lot of people behind them. We have to keep struggling until we succeed. Strike, walk out — let them know we mean business. We don't have any more to give; they keep cutting back. When you don't have anything to give, you can't give

it, right? And if you mean what you say, it will show in the long run.

It is like a flower. You start from a small seed, and it will turn out to be a full-grown flower in time. So be that flower and keep growing; grow with the fight, the fight that not only you but other people are fighting also. The outcome of a struggle will be seen through you. And it will be the stepping stone for full power, the power we need as workers in this hard world of ours.

Keep on fighting, fight for unity, to keep what we, the people, hold so dearly: our homes, family, investments — and our pride!

Keep on fighting!

Defend the SWP

Declaration of the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization

The “Gelfand case,” a court suit brought by Arnold Gelfand to reinstate him as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is the latest in a series of moves by the Justice Department aimed at legitimizing and increasing the infiltration and break-up of revolutionary organizations. But this case has special importance for two reasons. First, because it is an attack on a party that once represented Trotskyism in the United States. Second, it is a trial of Trotskyism itself.

On the basis of the most elementary principles of working class unity and workers democracy, the SWP must be defended against this attack by the bourgeois state, and against the despicable role of the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary Party of Great Britain, who have deepened their slanderous cop attack on the SWP by becoming willing accomplices of the government. This is a serious charge, and one that we make without reservation — the WL and WRP must be condemned by every workers organization, they no longer can be considered as organizations on the side of the proletariat.

But there is a bitter irony to this case. A court suit is being orchestrated and financed by organizations that claim to be Trotskyist, against a party that has openly disavowed Trotskyism. In this sense, neither by its methods, nor by its own admission, is the Barnes leadership of the SWP capable of defending Trotskyism.

And make no mistake about it! The government is behind this attempt to drag the banner of Trotskyism, the arch enemy of capitalism, through the mud. Trotskyists must not let this happen. Without disassociating ourselves for one minute from the defense of the SWP, we believe that this case calls for, indeed demands, a full review of the policy of the proletariat against attacks and trials by the bourgeois state.

Two weeks ago the Justice Department issued new guidelines for domestic spying by the FBI. In brief, these new procedures call for infiltration of groups and organizations for the purpose of making “preliminary inquiries,” for the continued monitoring of organizations “of no immediate threat or harm,” and for probes of organizations that aid a “violence prone group.” It is a blanket edict for a witch-hunt against socialists made by an administration that is despised by the working class and knows it.

Thus the court suit brought by the SWP against the federal government for its infamous “Cointelpro” program has come full circle right back to where it began more than ten years ago. The policy behind this court suit, pursued the dangerous illusion that through strictly legal procedures, and by resting on the defense of bourgeois democracy, the government could be beaten. This policy of the Barnes leadership even offered the precedent for the Gelfand case when in 1974, in the course of the government trial the SWP turned over to federal authorities the names of expelled members of the pro-Mandel “Internationalist Tendency.”

Legal procedure, and the democracy of the bourgeoisie, have always, and will always, be rigged against the proletariat. In this case, the policy of the SWP has become a trap.

In October 1981 the SWP boasted of a brief filed in court against the Voorhis Act. It stated, “Evidently the defendants (the government) . . . prefer the threat of prosecution eternally poised over the SWP's head to actual prosecution under an unconstitutional statute . . .”

The Trotskyist Organization sent a letter to the SWP that fully supported the challenge to the Voorhis Act and called for a common struggle in the working class against it. We said then, that this passage in the brief, “. . . gives the dangerous illusion that the government and its political police are just ‘paper tigers.’” And further, “. . . there is no doubt that the FBI would prefer prosecution under a law that had been declared unconstitutional . . . the chances of such a negative outcome are only increased by focusing the campaign

on legal arguments rather than on a mobilization in the working class.”

Any Marxist could have made such a prediction — and now, with a terrible waste of militant resources, it has come true. We do not blame the SWP for the government's attacks. These in any case can be expected to take place. But we hold it responsible for the political policy it pursued, making a mockery of Trotskyism and Bolshevism.

In principle, a proletarian policy in the courts is no different than that in an election. It must be used as a tribune for socialism and the masses. Never would a Marxist conduct an election campaign with any intention other than to destroy bourgeois parliament and all illusions of the working class in it. This would be his purpose even if elected. But the whole policy of the SWP, and not just in the courts, has been predicated on the viability of parliamentary and bourgeois-democratic solutions. Thus an attempt to wage an offensive using bourgeois legalistic methods, has put

the SWP and the working class on the defensive against government spying.

In the Gelfand case, being tried by a Federal district judge well known for authorizing political surveillance of revolutionary organizations when she was president of the Los Angeles police commission, it is certainly necessary to take defensive measures in court. But it is also, and most importantly, necessary to say: *We will not comply with the hanging judge Pfaelzer!*

The Trotskyist Organization states now: we will never give up principles for the sake of illusory gains in the bourgeois courts. And while we defend the SWP without conditions against the government and its accomplices, we cannot defend the political policy that has put Trotskyism in such jeopardy.

As for the rotten finks of the WRP and WL, *Try the cop accomplices in the tribune of the proletariat!*

The Polish Revolution Develops

The recent demonstrations in Gdansk — of 2,000 workers and youth on March 13 (in regular protest to Jaruzelski's coup of December 13, 1981) and of another thousand the next day as a direct challenge to the cops — show *once again* that the Polish Revolution is not dead, but is striving to find its road and its leadership.

Political Struggle

That is what so frightens the regime and its ally, the Catholic Church. In an interesting division of labor, the dictatorship itself presented the rallies and clashes with police as a threat to the pope's visit, while the Church had called for workers to avoid the “political game.”

In recent weeks, the political struggle (not “game”) within the Polish working class has been developing. One of the most important aspects of this has been the recent adherence of the underground publication *Workers Unity* to the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), section of the Fourth International, and this paper's transformation into a publication of our party.

Our party is fighting in a favorable situation for the development of a revolutionary leadership. The struggle within Solidarnosc is taking the form of a struggle over policies. And this struggle in turn is taking shape in the formation of bodies that take up the question of leadership.

The MKO (Inter-regional Commission in Defense of the Trade Union Solidarnosc) stated, after the lack of success of the November 10 call for a general strike, that the TKK (the underground national leadership) was wrong to have called for this action because the ground was not sufficiently prepared, and that the TKK had shown a “lack of political imagination.”

In such a situation, the MKO stated that the case might exist where: “It would be our duty to create a single leadership and to transform ourselves into a national leadership center.”

The direction in which the MKO wants to go can also be seen in its appeal to the workers of the world: “Armed by the experience of the struggle, we will rise up again. But this time they won't be able to deceive us. Because it is no longer possible to have any agreement with the totalitarian regime . . .”

“Our victory will also be yours in the struggle for freedom, democracy and equality.”

The Road Forward

It is in this climate that the trials and other attacks are taking place. Indeed, it is why they are taking place. The Jaruzelski regime knows well that Solidarnosc, and the Polish Revolution, are alive and fighting.

This is what leads even Lech Walesa — no doubt under the impulsion, for example, of 2,000 youth and workers in Cracow who went into the streets shouting: “Down with the junta!” and “The new unions to the graveyard!” — to call for “harder tactics.” Walesa wants to pose these tactics as pressure on the regime — “We don't want to overthrow the authorities, but we have to be more determined in our actions.”

That is his position, and it is not new. But it only tries to adapt itself to the deeper currents of the revolution. That is why he stayed away from the March 14 action in Gdansk, saying that he feared a “provocation.”

Now the TKK itself has come out and openly announced that “the general strike is inevitable and will be our major

weapon.” The TKK, like Walesa, maintains its illusions in a “national accord,” even while its course heads in the opposite direction.

But, once again, the discussion within the working class draws a far more radical conclusion.

One underground publication, *Biuletyn Widkopolski*, states that: “We turned out to be unprepared as a whole (on a mass scale) to lead to its conclusion the working class revolution of 1980.” It then goes on to quote someone else — *Lenin* — on the fact that the old regime will never just “fall,” but has to be “pushed.”

Thus, Janusz Palubicki, head of the TZR (regional provisional leadership) in the area around Poznan, who has since been arrested, stated: “I am perhaps less tolerant than the Church on political questions. Maybe it's because I speak for those who have less to lose, but I do not believe in the possibility of converting scum, nor in the self-limitation of evil-doers . . . It is absurd to appeal to a bandit for an agreement.”

This is the way in which the Polish working class is fighting to achieve political clarity, to define the program and the leadership that it needs.

The Fourth International calls and has called for the conscious preparation of the general strike in this light. Its goals must be to free all the political prisoners, to achieve the key question (posed by all the discussion) — *freedom for political parties* — and in this way to prepare the seizure of power by the working class.

K.F.

How Workers Can Fight in Chicago

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

On March 16, Chicago mayor Jane Byrne, defeated in the Democratic Party primary by Harold Washington, announced that she would run as a write-in candidate in the April 12 election.

The Mask Comes Off

So much for her promise of support to Washington! And so much for all the idle dreams about how the Machine would back Washington, etc., etc.

What (besides her own arrogance) is Byrne's motivation? Won't she actually split the white vote and let Washington win again?

Byrne's action follows the open defection of at least one Machine alderman, and the planned defection of several others, to

the Republican candidate. It is clear, then, that the Machine has its own narrow goals — preserving its own unity, preserving its own essential role in the Democratic Party.

But there is much more involved than this. The veteran Chicago journalist Mike Royko stated in a recent interview (*USA Today*; March 11, 1983): "Washington will probably win because he will increase his white vote." Byrne's step, far from splitting the white vote, is aimed at siphoning off just enough white support (from people who will not vote for the Republican) to deny Washington the election. This is purely a variation on the aldermen's tactics.

This latest development shows how determined the Machine and its master, the capitalist class, are to preserve their hold over the city. A Republican mayor, surrounded by the Machine in all other places, and himself strictly a capitalist politician, is a mere inconvenience compared to the urgency of defeating Washington, in fact, of isolating, defeating and politically demoralizing the black working class of Chicago, in particular, and all the oppressed.

Washington's touching trust in Byrne, now so ill-repaid, his hopeful statements that the Machine "is proper in its place," show once again that he is completely unable to actually lead a battle against the vicious racism and capitalist exploitation in Chicago.

This makes it all the more urgent for all workers and working class militants, for the youth and the oppressed, to take an independent path, to break decisively and consciously with the Democratic Party in all its forms.

Vote for the SWP!

Right now, today, this means voting for Ed Warren, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, who is the only working class candidate on the ballot. It means opening up this campaign into a fight for the labor party, the organized expression of the political independence of the workers.

In their own way, the Machine and the capitalist class are aware of the importance of the SWP campaign. That is why they offered that party and Warren a bribe (*The Militant*; March 11, 1983) to get out of the

election and let them have the SWP's spot on the ballot.

While the SWP vigorously denounces this, it does not even mention that in the last election — where Byrne's nomination represented the first crack in the Machine's armor — Roman Pucinski, a leading figure in the Machine, tried something very similar, even if less blatant. So it is clear that the SWP itself does not see the significance of the fact that its campaign is the only independent working class alternative.

Similarly, its statements in favor of a labor party — they are positive, because the SWP might well have retreated — are very general. They don't say how this labor party is to be built. They don't say what it has to do. And this vagueness is reinforced by the fact that the next issue of *The Militant* has nothing at all to say about Chicago.

Both Washington's campaign and the SWP's suffer from the same delusion — that this is an ordinary election.

But it isn't. Jane Byrne had a war chest of ten million dollars — but she lost. Such a result is possible only on the basis of a mobilization of the working class, a force that can sweep everything before it. And this great action faces a ferocious reaction. The current leadership of this upsurge, Washington, can only capitulate, surrender, collapse before this reaction.

That is the critical situation in which the labor party emerges as the only political solution. Organizing the largest vote possible for the SWP, which can take place only on the basis of a clear political struggle, is the key to building the labor party today.

A French Example

We have proposed a common front of all working class tendencies in the Chicago mayoral election — against the capitalist candidates, for the only working class candidate, Ed Warren of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The recent French municipal elections offer a good example of what can be done.

Our French section, the LOR (Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League), was able to make an agreement with the LCR (the French sister party of the SWP) and with LO (a current represented in the US by Spark), and to form part of the electoral slate already agreed to by those parties,

"The Voice of the Workers Against Austerity."

As part of the formal agreement, the LOR ran candidates in Creil (outside Paris) and in the 11th and 20th districts in Paris. In Creil, a meeting was held that drew 200 people, at which candidates from the three organizations, as well as a leading figure in LO, Arlette Laguilier, spoke.

Obviously, such unity in action was not easily obtained. But it shows that, in face of attacks on the working class, it can be done. We think this is clearly a good model for us in Chicago.

TRUTH

Central America: Reagan Plans Mass Murder

In the last week the Reagan regime has begun to spell out what it wants to do with the 298 million dollars that it wants to back reactionary dictatorships in Central America.

Now that these dictatorships and their forces have been driven out of Nicaragua and entire regions of El Salvador, the Reagan regime wants to initiate a "rural pacification program" in the liberated zones of El Salvador like the one that the US used in Vietnam.

US officials say openly that this "rural pacification program" will begin with a "military sweep" of the countryside aimed at destroying rebel camps and "separating guerrillas from civilians" and conclude with an "economic redevelopment program" in which the army will remain in the areas and rebuild factories, hospitals, schools, etc.

The US says it wants to show Salvadorans that the army is "part of the solution, not part of the problem." Of course there may be some problems with this it says. "Separating civilians from the insurgents will be difficult at best and could result in an increase in human rights abuse."

"Rural pacification," "military sweep," and "economic redevelopment" are in reality nothing but different names for mass murder in the countryside and rebuilding the crumbling dictatorship on the bodies of the Salvadoran people.

Reagan's proposal for another set of elections overseen by the Organization of American States (OAS) has fooled no one.

Now that it has become absolutely clear that the US and its allies in Central America will not be able to crush the Salvadoran and other oppressed peoples of the region without full scale warfare, a whole series of people have come out in favor of various forms of negotiations with the rebels.

Republican Senators Mark O. Hatfield from Oregon and Nancy L. Kasse-

baum of Kansas are trying to make Senate approval of aid dependent upon "unconditional negotiations with all parties to the conflict."

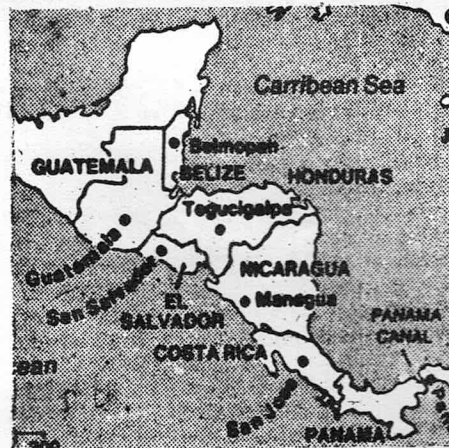
Social Democratic President of Spain Felipe Gonzales has called for a Central American "mini-conference" on "economic security and cooperation" such as the ones held in Europe and including the US and all other "parties to the conflict." He has also indicated his willingness to act as an intermediary between the US and Cuba in preparing such a conference.

Other Latin American nations like Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela have also proposed peace conferences.

These various individuals and governments have nothing in principle against the US's oppression of the peoples of Central America. Why have they waited for the rebels to begin to get the upper hand in El Salvador and for the regime to clearly begin to crumble to call for peace? Why didn't they call for peace months or years ago when people were being murdered by the government with impunity?

No, they have nothing in principle against Reagan's plans for mass murder. They are simply afraid that it will not work, that the rebels will win anyway, and that another display of US imperialism's bloodthirstiness will provoke terrible confrontations throughout South, Central and North America that they will not be able to control. This is what happened with Vietnam and this is why they mean when they say that they do not want another Vietnam.

Thus they aim to do with talks what Reagan aims to do with guns — disarm the Salvadoran rebels as a prelude to the disarmament of the entirety of the people opposed to US imperialism in the region and, in so doing, pave the way for the unchallenged rule of the imperialists and their assassins in Central America.



These proposals would have little legitimacy if it were not for the fact that the leadership of the movement against US intervention in Central America has already called for negotiations and that the leadership of the rebel forces in El Salvador and Nicaragua have offered over and over again to participate in negotiations aimed at arriving at a peaceful settlement.

Nevertheless, no matter what the specific evolution of the situation, no matter what the maneuvers of US imperialism and its allies are, no matter what the concessions of the leaderships of the movements in the US and Central America are, there will be no peace in Central America as long as US imperialism continues

to dominate it.

Peasants and workers will continue to be forced to take up arms against the landowners and militarists who attempt to enslave them.

Thus now more than ever a mobilization in the US to demand US out of Central America, disband the counterrevolutionary training camps, and support the peoples of Central America in everyway possible is necessary. All the different organizations concerned with Central America must unite with this objective. As we said in the last issue of *Truth*, the movement cannot take a principled position against US intervention and accord to it the right to negotiate at the same time. As the old saying goes, "Which side are you won?"

US Out of Central America Now!

M.G.

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