

Central America . . .

US Out! Nothing to Negotiate!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

We Trotskyists have been campaigning for a united labor party slate in the delegate elections for the UAW national convention. We have done this in order to show workers how to get rid of the Fraser gang and move the struggle against concessions forward. But we have also had in the front of our minds that such a struggle, even if it were only partially successful at the UAW national convention, would spark a unified national movement in the unions, among unemployed and youth, for a labor party and a break with the liberal Democratic Party. Now we say that this same policy is the way to get the *US out of Central America!*

Fraser and other bureaucrats like him use their support of progressive causes like a crutch. Crippled and stung by the depth of the movement that has developed against concessions in the last year, bureaucrats are eager to speak for "peace." But just as the bureaucrats and Democratic Party liberals prepared the way for massive layoffs and concessions by engineering the Chrysler bailout plan and "peace" between workers and bosses, so today their pressure on the White House and the movement of workers and youth for "a peaceful solution" and negotiations in Central America, is designed to defeat the revolution in Central America with fire and blood.

Reagan is pursuing, step by step, the same policy that American imperialism took in Vietnam — despite all his statements to the contrary. An article in *Newsweek* quotes senior military officials who verify that the new push in El Salvador is modeled after the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program used in Vietnam. This policy included the Phoenix program of civilian murders and assassinations. Today Reagan must state that he is against US troops fighting the guerrillas, but these new initiatives are precisely aimed at legitimizing and preparing the way for the escalation of US involvement.

In fact, these new initiatives are based on the fact that a liberal opposition to US involvement from the Democratic Party is both expected and even useful to furthering the aims of US imperialism.

The response of Congressional liberals to Reagan's request for \$110 million more in aid for the El Salvadoran government shows this clearly. Though it was staged to look like a real opposition to Reagan, like the budget cuts and Democrats fake "opposition" to them,

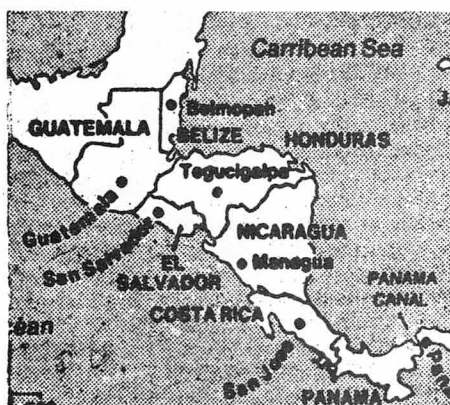
the reality is quite different. In fact, three Senators introduced a bill that offered \$23.5 million if Reagan would pursue negotiations between the guerrillas and the government. Thus the first battle with Reagan's new policy was not over whether or not to kill and murder the workers and peasants of El Salvador, but rather over how much to allocate for this task. For the liberals, the El Salvadoran government must be more efficient in its methods.

In the end, all three Congressional appropriations committees approved some type of increase in immediate military aid for El Salvador — and it is not even the end of the fiscal year. You can bet there will be more because the policy of Reagan in El Salvador has been failing.

Why can Reagan repeat the same policy a decade after its defeat in Vietnam? This can only happen because the massive movement that existed against the Vietnam war never succeeded in organizing a break of the American working class with the Democratic Party. To a large extent, this movement was in fact consciously separated from a direct mobilization of the working class and the unions. This was the result of a conscious policy of the parties and organizations that led the anti-war movement. That is why today it is so important not to repeat the same mistake, to begin right now to build a labor party and carry out a mobilization of the working class against Reagan and his plans.

Still today the policy of the pacifist and anti-war organizations is to pressure Reagan to negotiate through the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. This is unfortunately also the policy of the FDR-FMLN, the leadership of the guerrilla forces.

But the Democratic Party — Kennedy, Johnson — were the architects of the war in Vietnam; they began US in-



tervention in El Salvador. Reagan can accommodate this liberal opposition, he can use it.

If Reagan gets all the aid he has thus far asked for, his government will have spent more than \$370 million in the first half of 1983 alone to prop up the El Salvadoran government. This in a nation of only five million where per capita income is \$300 per year. Thus the "popular" government in El Salvador must be bankrolled to the tune of 25% the per capita income to maintain itself in power. And this is the government that the guerrillas are to open negotiations with. A government that has authority only because its terrorist activities among the general population are supported by US imperialism.

What Reagan is aiming for is the same kind of bloody massacre that imperialism engineered in Lebanon. He has convinced his puppet government in El Salvador to hold early elections. This is to provide a "democratic" cover for the deepening of US intervention in Central America. If the guerrillas agree to participate in the elections, then they would be massacred. (In El Salvador, a "right wing death squad" is just a government official in a new change of clothes.) The guerrillas have naturally refused such "elections." On the other hand by having a policy of pressure on the Democratic Party, by calling for

negotiations with US imperialism and its puppet government, which have no right whatsoever to claim to represent the workers and peasants of El Salvador, the guerrillas are drawn into Reagan's trap.

So the question is not, and never has been, "who is for peace and who is for war," but rather whose side are you on. That is why we Trotskyists are with the guerrillas against imperialism, why we are for arms and aid for them. But that is also why we are against negotiations that imply some legitimacy of US imperialism and its El Salvadoran regime of butchers, to American workers and youth. This is a dangerous policy because the guerrillas can only win if they are joined by a mobilization of the American working class against imperialism.

It is vitally important for the movement against US intervention to change its course. *US out of Central America! Butchers have no right to negotiate anything!*

But even these slogans will be empty if they are not tied to an independent mobilization of the working class to force the US out.

We propose a fight in all unions, and particularly in the upcoming UAW National Convention, to take all measures necessary to stop US intervention in El Salvador, and to come to the aid of the guerrillas who are fighting a discredited and murderous regime supported by the bosses' government. We propose a total boycott of aid to the government of El Salvador and the organizations of workers' committees in the defense and transport industries to enforce this boycott. And most importantly, we propose the building of a labor party to unite the unions, unemployed and the oppressed in a struggle to bring down Reagan and stop this government's criminal intervention in Central America.

UAW Convention: Labor Party Now!

"The changing of the guard at the UAW is not being marched off with the same precision as in the past . . .

"Today, company labor relations executives fret that the UAW leaders of tomorrow will be more vulnerable to internal union political struggles."

So writes the pro-business *Detroit News* (March 27, 1983) in a two-page article on the upcoming Constitutional Convention of the UAW, which will be held in Dallas, Texas, May 15-20.

Yes, this convention is the most important since Walter Reuther put a stranglehold on the union in 1946. The obvious facts are important enough — seven out of twenty-six regional directors to be replaced (three in the Detroit area alone), the fact that after this convention there will be no one on the International Executive Board (the union's top leadership) who was on it when Reuther died in 1970.

The capitalists and the bureaucrats

themselves are very worried about this transition from the last of those who were steeled in the class battles of the 1930s and 1940s to people who are basically office-holders. *Who is Owen Bieber?!*

But much more is at stake than a change of faces. We Trotskyists have always said that the unions need a new leadership, *but a new leadership based on a new policy.*

That is what we have been fighting for in seeking to win workers and opposition groups in the UAW to our proposal for a united slate for a labor party. At press time, we don't know the results of the election at Jefferson, where Fox Davis is running on this basis.

But we do know that this fight cannot be confined to one or several locals. It has to be carried through to the end. It has to be brought into the UAW convention itself, in whatever form we can do it.

Therefore, we want to reaffirm our call for a united slate at the convention, against the "administration caucus" of Fraser-Bieber, on the clear basis of a fight for a labor party.

A labor party now!

Not a single worker unemployed!

Not a single concession!

Chicago: Vote Labor Party, Vote Warren!

The Chicago mayoral election is upon us. Some people want to stand on the sidelines and speculate: who will win, what will happen then?

This is completely fruitless. It is necessary to fight, not to look into crystal balls.

Harold Washington is in the race only because the working class, especially the black working class, wants to break with the Democratic Party, wants to smash the Machine and the vicious racism and exploitation it represents.

This upsurge has produced a reaction by the ruling class — whose tool the Machine is — against the workers.

Washington is incapable not only of

meeting the real demands of his supporters (his "austerity program"), not only of fighting reaction (his astonishment at Byrne's stab in the back), but every step he takes is directed against the real drive of the workers who support him.

Yes, because he is trying to tie them to the same Democratic Party they are fighting against! He is trying to say that it can be "pressured" or "reformed" or something — so that somehow the oppressed can have a voice.

That is a vile lie. There is only one party — a labor party — that can represent the poor, the workers, the youth.

That is what we have to fight for in this election — a labor party! No vote

for Washington! No vote for those who want to fasten the chains on the working class!

The first step toward building the party of the political independence of the working class is to vote for the only working class candidate, Ed Warren of the Socialist Workers Party.

Whatever the results of the election, it is those who take this step who will really be deciding what will happen. Today, they may be few. But those who act now count far more than those who stand aside or speculate.

Build the labor party!

Why We Rebuilt the Fourth International

From *La Aurora*, translated by Margaret Gutshall

"The crisis of the Fourth International had a decisive impact on the class struggle in the last thirty years. Whoever doubts this must ask himself: What other Marxist explanation can be given for the fact that the workers' offensives, including the revolutions, the most varied mass movements, and the crisis of Stalinism, each time more bitter, have not led to decisive workers' victories? . . ."

So begins the series "Why We Rebuilt the Fourth International," by Anibal Ramos, published recently in *La Aurora*, journal of the Spanish section of the Fourth International.

The author goes on to explain that since the death of Lenin, revolutionaries have been engaged in a struggle to continue the first workers' revolution in opposition to Stalinism, a struggle of Bolshevism against Stalinism, and that the problems of this struggle, upon which depends the future of the revolution, were exacerbated by the Stalinist assassination of Trotsky, which permitted a crisis to develop within the Fourth International, wherein a section of its leadership (Pablo-Mandel) capitulated to Stalinism and began to attempt to destroy the Fourth International — in theory, politics, and practice, expelling sections, obliging sections to enter into Stalinist parties, splitting other sections.

The struggle to rebuild the Fourth International has been the struggle to overcome this crisis as part of the struggle to overcome the crisis of leadership of the proletariat in its entirety. The first article in this series explains that the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International actually began with the first Trotskyist militants who opposed Pablo's and Mandel's attacks in 1950 and began to regroup themselves in the International Committee, even though they did not realize it at the time, nor even speak of rebuilding. They assured the continuity of the struggle of the Fourth International but they did not have a clear perspective for overcoming its crisis. "In reality, there were two conceptions: one of getting together all those who claimed to be Trotskyist; the other, clearly differentiating the true Trotskyists from the centrists, and on this basis building the Trotskyists energetically through the Stalinist crisis and particularly among the youth."

Rebuilding the Fourth International was actually discussed for the first time by the International Committee when the Socialist Workers Party, led by Hansen, and its Latin American associates, led by Moreno, split from the International Committee and joined the liquidators of the Fourth International. But the actual politics of the rebuilding were still not clear and the two perspectives continued to exist within the International Committee.

The foundation of the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International following Healy's (1971) and Lambert's (1972) abandonment of the struggle was a qualitative step forward in resolving this problem. The ILRFI was formed largely by young people who had been trained in the struggle against Stalinism, the "Pabloites," and the "Mandelites," and had seen the International grow and develop on this basis and thus were prepared to carry this struggle forward when Lambert abandoned it.

They fully discussed the question of rebuilding for the first time because they were convinced that the International could only advance with clarity. Confusion had already permitted two splits. They decided that the rebuilding had to be seen as part of the struggle for the leadership of the proletariat against Stalinism, not as a separate stage, and that it was above all a fight to differentiate Trotskyism from centrism in the class struggle and train new cadres on this basis, not a reunification of all who claim to be Trotskyist.

The cadres of the ILRFI even considered simply calling themselves the Fourth International because it was they who were continuing its struggle and it was most important to do this. But they decided against this because it had not yet been made clear to the working class that this was indeed the struggle of the Fourth International and many honest revolutionaries remained outside of it. Indeed, it was necessary for the International to base itself on traditions and sections of whole parties that had not yet been completely compromised with Stalinism. (In the US, THE SWP; in Bolivia, the POR; in England, the WRP; in France, the OCI.)

They decided to open up a struggle of differentiation within the working class and conclude it with the Fourth Open Conference Rebuilding the Fourth International, which had been interminably postponed by the International Committee.

In the second article in this series the author discusses how it was repeatedly necessary to make a fight for this orientation within the ILRFI itself, as the old perspective of "reunification" repeatedly arose as a result of a lack

of training of new cadres.

In this issue of *Truth* we are publishing the conclusion of the series that takes up the conclusion of the battle to rebuild the Fourth International and its limitations.

We think that readers concerned with the struggles of the workers in the last years and building the kind of leadership necessary to carry them to victory, especially the growing number of young people interested in Trotskyism, will find this article very interesting. M.G.



By ANIBAL RAMOS

The Rebuilding, Practical Task

The rebuilding—neither before nor after the 1976 Conference that formally proclaimed it—cannot be considered as a single act, but as a whole process integrated into the still larger process of the resolution of the crisis of leadership of the proletariat, defeating the Stalinist apparatus and building new workers parties. Until 1960-62, until a part of the "historic leaders" of the epoch of crisis (the American Hansen, followed by the Argentine Moreno) abandoned this struggle in order to unite with the post-war liquidators of the International, that is to say Mandel's group, the rebuilding was a process of attempts, both ideological and practical, to defend the program and national sections in a difficult situation. But after 1965, in a situation of the advance of the working class throughout the world, the rebuilding, as a process of struggle, entered into a preparatory, political phase: the struggle against the "Pabloite" revisionism of Pablo, Mandel, Hansen, etc., became an energetic clarification of the program and tasks of the Trotskyists in the revolutionary rising; the defense of sections became an active struggle to regroup the revolutionary vanguard against Stalinism (of the Kremlin) and centrism (of the false Trotskyists) . . . until 1971-72. In this stage, the other two "historic chiefs" of the crisis — Lambert and Healy — withdrew from the battle. Healy conceived of the International only as an appendage of his English group, rejecting the steps toward a rebuilding of the world leadership. Lambert oriented himself toward a new understanding with the liquidators (between 1973 and 1976, he tried it with Hansen; between 1976 and 1978, with Mandel; between 1978 and 1981, with Moreno; since 1982, once again with Mandel). We who continued the rebuilding, gave to this process a character no longer preparatory, but immediate and practical.

The Eve of the Rebuilding

It continued being a process. One of the decisive steps of the rebuilding was already accomplished in 1973, the constitution of a centralized world leadership, as it had been at the foundation in 1938. In 1974, it was already decided to undertake a broad world battle of political delimitation of Trotskyism in the workers' ranks and culminate it with an open conference that proclaims the rebuilding of the International as an accomplished fact, as a complete and irreversible rupture with the centrists.

In fact, if there is significance to speak of rebuilding (within a single process of struggle for the leadership of the proletariat) this significance refers to the mutual relations between the truly Trotskyist current (the Fourth International in the process of being rebuilt, although then it still did not call itself this, its true name), the centrist currents (all the leaderships arising from the process of crisis of the International), and the proletariat. Trotskyists, centrists and the proletariat. The process of rebuilding held significance in the

mutual relations between these three forces and in turn could not be independent from the necessities of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

What were these relations? The Trotskyists, beginning with the crisis of the 50s, had always remained detained in their implantation in the revolutionary masses, by a dependence, more or less direct, on the currents of a petty bourgeois character that had sought refuge under the banner of Trotskyism. Even in 1972, this was still the central problem. Lambert wanted to wait and adapt himself in his policy and in his organization to these intermediary groups. The revolution knocked at the door. The Trotskyists had few worker cadres. Stalinism launched, together with the bourgeoisie, a counterattack that combined the accentuation of class collaboration with threats and repression against revolutionaries. Lambert oscillated between two roads: 5000 youth meeting in Essen had shouted "Long live the Fourth International!"; but Lambert feared remaining isolated by the collaboration of the Kremlin and imperialism, if he did not unite with the centrists, with "their" cadres. Lambert capitulated. We had to take up the alternative.

The Last Political Battle for the Rebuilding

Revolutionary cadres and parties must arise from centralized political delineation in the workers' offensive. The relations of the Fourth International with the class must change: instead of depending on regroupments of Trotskyist "cadres" or "leaderships" or "sections," they must come from a working class implantation of Trotskyism, above all beginning with its youth. The offensive of the last years of Francoism (it accelerated beginning in 1973), the Portuguese Revolution (1974-75) would supply the forces.

But "the dead pursues the living." Before the conference of the rebuilding met at the time planned, the struggle advanced among constant hesitations: the opposition to basing the rebuilding on a massive regroupment of young revolutionaries in an autonomous organization — a school of communism — was constant; the pressures for favoring contacts with centrist fractions continued sometime after the break with Lambert. Even the strongest section, the Spanish section, the PORE, created precisely at the expense of a large fraction from the LCR, tended to favor this road of fractional regroupments as a general method, and blocked the orientation toward the autonomous construction of a Revolutionary Youth International and toward the training of young leading cadres. The Conference of the Rebuilding of the Fourth International had to be postponed and in the political struggle that saved it there appeared a call that clarified still more the stake of the battle. We cite the most significant lines of the *Call* definitively published in 1975:

Right away it affirms: ". . . the class struggle has reached a crucial point in this fall of 1975: the revolution is imminent. The next months will be decisive."

Going on it poses: ". . . Where is the Bolshevik leadership with which the workers can confront once again the old world?" and, after going over the bankruptcy of Stalinism, its counterrevolutionary role in Portugal, Spain, its balance sheet in Chile, adds: "Workers, young fighters: On many occasions, in the moments of deception, you have turned toward the Trotskyists . . . but what you find under the name of 'Trotskyism' is a large confusion of diverse groups that contribute more to discrediting Bolshevism and the International than to the workers struggle."

"Against them, against the centrists, just as against the Stalinist and reformist apparatuses, it is necessary to raise unequivocally and again, the banner, the program of the new proletarian International. So that before the whole working class there appears clearly a new leading center of the revolution that is approaching: in this consists the rebuilding of the Fourth International."

"The rebuilding of the Fourth International is thus a demarcation."

The Foundation of the RYI in Berlin

Certainly, this same *Call* declared the Conference of the Rebuilding open and said that it would also be a regroupment of forces — with whatever origin and particularly claiming to be Trotskyist — that accept these political bases. But there could be no mistake on the fundamental problem: the "rebuilding" would not be any sort of negotiation of a program between people who have in common only the name Trotskyist or revolutionary, while they have different political bases and base themselves on different classes. From the point of view of the program and the leadership, the Fourth International already existed, it did not need any sort of "rebuilding" that consisted in dissolving its program and leadership formed by the continuity of its struggle. The regroupment of forces would not be closed, but open, but open

beginning from a clear demarcation against the centrists.

From this one can deduce that its openness toward the fractions of the centrists was not much,

nor decisive. What was decisive was, on the other hand, to be open toward the class and the youth. The framework was the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International. In Berlin, in 1975-76, a few dozen youth, at the foot of the wall that divides Europe under the imperialist and Stalinist powers, founded the autonomous International of young revolutionaries.

The results were very modest, above all out of proportion with the tasks of the political moment in which the entirety of the Iberian peninsula was seized with pre-revolutionary convulsions. But it was the result of real, difficult, differences within this same International on the eve of its rebuilding. The foundation of the RYI was a positive and important step, a political victory and a conquest. But it still had to acquire a mass militant character in the different countries. The objective situation would allow it to do so many times over: thousands of young workers and soldiers in the Portuguese streets; at the death of Franco, the Spanish working class youth politicized themselves en masse. The revolutionary strike of the summer of '76 in Poland approached. Was it necessary to delay, once again, the rebuilding of the Fourth International, awaiting its prior triumph in the development of the RYI?

The Fourth Conference Proclaims the Rebuilding

A similar method had postponed already even the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938. It is certain that at this late date, no one in the 30s disputed the "Trotskyist" triumph, but the foundation claimed the title of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat and affirmed: "outside these cadres there does not exist on this planet a single revolutionary current that truly merits this name." And outside they remained — all the centrist "cadres" worn out in the opposition to Stalinism, such as Nin and Landau (before being vilely assassinated by the Kremlin), Sneevliet and Vereecken, Brandt, Rosmer, and many others.

The foundation of the International in 1938 did not guarantee victory in the crisis that would provoke the march toward war — and it was not achieved — but, outside the struggle to obtain it, there was not the slightest possibility of pursuing the construction of a true revolutionary leadership. In 1975, the rebuilding (that is to say the break proclaimed unequivocally and irreversibly with the centrists, on the basis of a political demarcation and in order to penetrate profoundly into the workers' offensive) could not be a guarantee either of converting the Portuguese and Spanish crisis into a victorious revolution, but outside this struggle, there would not be possible, any selection of revolutionary proletarian cadres.

The other currents, in this terrain, have as a balance sheet a generalized demoralization of their cadres. The Fourth International, rebuilt, did not guarantee the victory and suffered the consequences of the bourgeois and Stalinist counterattack, but no other current can claim for itself today the lines of the program of the foundation of the International in 1938: "If our International is still numerically weak, it is strong in its doctrine, its program, and in the incomparable tempering of its leading cadres. Whoever does not see this today, let him step aside for the time being. Tomorrow it will be

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IWP Calls Emergency Conference

more evident."

The 1976 Conference voted a resolution declaring why it proclaimed the International rebuilt. These are the *considerations* drawn out in some lines.

The Fourth Conference considering:

"a) that throughout the world, and especially in Europe, the workers and oppressed masses launch such offensives . . .

"b) that the factor that can transform the current pre-revolutionary offensive into the international proletarian revolution and close the door to the counterrevolution is above all the political and practical affirmation of a world center of the revolutionary proletariat, differentiated by its program and by its action before the masses . . .

"c) that . . . a banner clearly deployed, a program unequivocally revolutionary (that of the seizure of power of the proletariat on the world scale) and a firm leadership are today factors of the workers' victory a thousand times more decisive than the number of forces in the first steps of the revolution . . .

"d) that . . . the revolution that begins in Spain is the crystallizing element of the entirety of the international evolution . . . and the determination of the vanguard . . . And on the basis of this struggle, the relations of the Spanish and world proletariat with the Fourth International can change in a radical manner . . .

"e) that all the centers that fraudulently claim to be the "Fourth International" . . . find themselves overcome by a situation in which they cannot respond . . . their bankruptcy is becoming visible and their forces are diminishing . . .

"f) that the combat to rebuild the party, the Fourth International, consists in a political and practical demarcation in the struggle of the masses . . .

"g) that in the last months . . . a fundamental differentiation has taken place in the ranks itself of the International League against tendencies and factions opposed to the rebuilding of the Fourth International . . . the defeat in the party of such factions . . . has constituted a cleansing of centrism from our ranks and, at the same time, a capital element in overcoming the crisis of the Fourth International and in its rebuilding . . .

"In consequence, the Fourth Conference concludes that the Fourth International is rebuilt as the world party of the socialist revolution . . ."

The Perspective Will Clarify the Limits

At the price of losing its sector that was most conciliatory toward the intermediary centrist tendencies between Stalinism and Trotskyism, the Fourth International proclaimed itself rebuilt. It was in the year 1976: it was the culmination of the workers' offensive of the 70s and the beginning of the era of Helsinki, of "Eurocommunism," of "terrorism" and "anti-terrorism." The workers' offensive had permitted arriving at the rebuilding, but the new leadership of the International was not going to be sufficiently strong, was not going to dispose of enough new cadres, to assure the workers' victory. The offensive was relaxing its rhythm and entered into a period of confusion. The weakest point of the rebuilding, which was the lack of a systematic policy of training young communist cadres in the action of the masses and in Marxism, was revealed as a decisive lack.

The rebuilding, that is to say the battle against the centrist usurpation of the Trotskyist banner, and against its consequences, has a significance in the combat for the leadership of the class. But this combat advanced then slowly and with difficulty until the Polish Revolution, in a climate of political confusion, of ideological reaction. For this reason, the conquests of the rebuilding have appeared obscure on the eve of a new stage of revolutionary convulsions. At the same time, the centrists (particularly Mandel) receive an injection of artificial life thanks to the "Eurocommunists" of the Kremlin apparatus who run to them in order to isolate Trotskyism. In the third place, through all sorts of *circumstantial alliances*, the groups of Mandel, Lambert, Novak, Moreno, Lora, etc., succeed in concealing the profound reality of the dispersion of "international centers" and their lack of an independent perspective. All these are episodic events. The *Polish Revolution* since 1980 again joins the offensive of the first years of the 70s and the rebuilding of 1976 will find its full justification and terrain to realize its tasks in this new turn in the world situation. At times the class struggle does not find a straight road, but the most direct route in the preparation of its vanguard passes through the rebuilding of 1976. It was not a definitive advance — few they are in the living struggle — but it was an irreversible rupture with the centrists in which will be based all advance toward the revolutionary masses.

TO ALL TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATIONS AND MILITANTS IN THE U.S.:

The Central Committee of the IWP (FI) has authorized the Political Bureau to issue the following statement.

Considering that:

1. The speech given by the SWP National Secretary on December 31, 1982 at the YSA National Conference in Chicago meant a definitive break with the SWP's last remaining organizational, methodological and political ties with Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

2. The declarations made by Jack Barnes are the culmination of more than a decade of liquidationist and revisionist policies which have been implemented by the clique that took over the SWP leadership.

3. Given this situation, all organizations and militants who consider themselves to be Trotskyists and members of the Fourth International have the obligation to guarantee the organizational, methodological and programmatic continuity of the Fourth International.

4. In this sense, the IWP (FI) must take the initiative and convoke an EMERGENCY NATIONAL TROTSKYIST CONFERENCE. Through the method of Workers' Democracy the Conference must reach agreements on the mechanisms necessary to continue the traditions of the Fourth International in the U.S.

5. All Trotskyist opposition currents within the SWP, the comrades of the recently expelled Cannon-Trotsky faction, the more than 700 individuals who were expelled or separated from the SWP in the last period, and those who left the party because of the revisionist path it was taking should be specially invited to the Conference. This invitation is also extended to the SWP members, or for-

mer members, who agree with the idea of a National Conference although they may not belong to any internal current or grouping.

6. Organizations such as the RWL, the ITT sic (PTT), the TO and the CHWV should also be invited to the conference, as well as all other groups that claim to fight for the program, methods and traditions of the Fourth International.

7. The historic objective of the National Trotskyist Conference should be to build a united Trotskyist party in the U.S. It would be based on the Transitional Program, the First four Congresses of the Third International, the Theory of the Permanent Revolution and discussion, within the framework of Democratic Centralism, of a program to intervene in the Class Struggle in the U.S., and the formation of a centralized leadership.

8. However, the National Conference should take the above proposal (No. 7) as the end result of a process of maturation and discussion of the differences between the various organizations and individuals. At the same time that this process is going on there should be joint work in a Trotskyist United Front. Organizations and individuals should agree upon and carry out national campaigns and joint work in unions and among minorities.

9. This United Trotskyist Front will be a way for participants to test their seriousness, dedication and program. It will be an invaluable aid in the necessary processes of demarcation, fusions, agreements, discussion, polemics and in resolving existing differences.

10. We propose that the EMERGENCY NATIONAL TROTSKYIST CONFERENCE be developed within the framework of Workers' Democracy and the fraternal discussion of proposals

and differences. The immediate objective of the Conference should be to build a Trotskyist United Front on the national level.

On the basis of these general considerations, the IWP (FI) Political Bureau resolves to:

A. Call opposition tendencies within the SWP, its individual militants, and the above-named organizations to an EMERGENCY NATIONAL TROTSKYIST CONFERENCE to discuss this proposed agenda:

- A balance sheet of the liquidationist crisis of the SWP.

- The discussion of a program for unity of action among U.S. Trotskyist, to include the areas of International Solidarity, union, labor party, electoral and minority work.

- A discussion of the mechanisms necessary to implement agreements reached.

- The possibility of printing a national Trotskyist discussion bulletin which would cover all areas of remaining differences.

B. Propose that the National Conference be held in Los Angeles on June 25-26, 1983.

C. Invite the organizations mentioned to send one delegate each. Individuals who do not belong to any organization may also attend and present their points of view on any area discussed.

D. The IWP (FI) will guarantee a meeting place and lodging for all those attending the Conference. Transportation to and from Los Angeles is the responsibility of the organization or militant participating.

We await your favorable response to this proposal and send warm Trotskyist greetings.

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE IWP (FI)

Trotskyist Organization Welcomes Initiative

March 27, 1983

To the Central Committee of the Internationalist Workers Party

Dear comrades,

The Trotskyist Organization has received the statement of the Central Committee of the Internationalist Workers Party calling for an Emergency National Trotskyist Conference. We welcome this initiative as well as the affirmation that the Conference will be based on Workers Democracy. The Trotskyist Organization accepts the fraternal invitation extended by the CC of the IWP.

Long Live the Fourth International!
Rebuild its American Section!

The Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International in January, 1982, adopted an orientation for a Trotskyist Congress rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International. The Trotskyist Organization of the USA has fought openly for such a Congress. Our position is that it must be an open Congress — open to the tendencies and militants that have opposed Barnes' liquidationist plans and the organizations that want to rebuild the Trotskyist party in the US; that it must be based on a frank and loyal debate among Trotskyists over the crisis of the Fourth International and of the SWP, as well as the program and perspective for the American working class.

But, at the same time, we believe that the rebuilding of the US section of the Fourth International is based on the training of Trotskyist cadres among the new generation of proletarians.

In this vein, we agree that unity in action and the united front are indispensable tools for forging and rebuilding the Trotskyist party. And what does such a method say, after all, but that those who hold to it are confident that

Trotskyism will sink its roots deep into the working class in this period. The rebuilding of the Trotskyist party is not only an internal affair of Trotskyists — it must be based on an open struggle to define the nature and program of the party in a process of reorganization of the forces of the working class that has already begun in North and South America.

Thus, Trotskyists should take the lead in building and fighting for a working class party. This will not automatically resolve all the problems of the construction of the Trotskyist Party, but it will put Trotskyists in a better position to determine the future leadership of the Labor Party, to go as far as possible in making it a revolutionary leadership. An agreement to fight for a labor party now will give an even more open character to the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference. We have addressed this proposal to the IWP. Now more than ever its time has come.

The TO is organizing a campaign for a labor party around the election in the UAW of delegates for its National convention.

This convention, one of a key union in which an open opposition to concessions has been growing, is very important. Even if only a vocal minority of delegates and UAW members raises the fight for a labor party, it will have a powerful impact. We urge the IWP and all the tendencies that are for the labor party to join and build a united campaign for the labor party.

We believe the objective of Trotskyists should be, as you say, a "united Trotskyist party," even if we cannot attain it by June 25-26. In this sense we do not agree with the idea of a "Trotskyist United Front" and we want to say so now. We do not believe Trotskyism can be continued or maintained in the form of a front.

Our two tendencies have a different

balance sheet of the crisis of the Fourth International. We stood with the International Committee in 1963 against the SWP and its abandonment of the Fourth International and of the fight that it correctly took up as a part of the International Committee against Pabloism in 1953. Later we stood with the International League — Rebuilder of the Fourth International, continuing the struggle of the International Committee. We rebuilt the Fourth International as a world center against Stalinism as the Fourth Conference declared in 1976. But we do not, of course, demand as a precondition that others accept our balance sheet. We are ready to enter into debate on this question, of such vital importance to Trotskyists, in a fraternal manner.

It is better for Trotskyists who have differences to fight for a party, and do everything in their power to build it, than to allow the balance sheet of these differences to become hidden in a front that would only lay the basis for new crises. And at the same time Trotskyists can, and should, enter into a formal agreement to build a campaign for a labor party. In this struggle to define the nature and program of the party in front of masses of workers and youth, Trotskyism will be a pole of attraction for all those who search for an alternative to Stalinism and liquidationist centrism.

Once again the TO welcomes the initiative of the IWP, and expresses its desire to enter into a common struggle to provide a firm basis for a united and rebuilt Trotskyist party.

We look forward to the Conference and send you,

Our warmest Trotskyist greetings,

David Heffelfinger,
National Secretary
Trotskyist Organization/USA

Notes

Fighting for the Labor Party

In the UAW

By BARBARA PUTNAM

This year's UAW Convention scheduled for May 15 in Dallas will be no routine affair. The old leadership is in full crisis and disarray brought about by their abject capitulation to concessions and the struggle against them. If the old leadership fears "factions," their fears are fully justified.

The main concern of the Convention is not this or that issue, but who will run the union. There are an overabundance of candidates for every post and the delegate elections have not been routine either. At the two locals where the Detroit Local Committee of the Trotskyist Organization is most active — Ford River Rouge, Local 600 and Chrysler Jefferson Assembly, Local 7 — this has been true. Local 600 had 165 nominees for the allowed 50 delegates and Local 7 had 36 nominees for 9 spots.

Our fight has been to get into the thick of the battle for a labor party, fighting for a united slate for a labor party. The results of this fight are modest but important. A worker at Jefferson Assembly, Fox Davis, is running as a candidate for a labor party. Our sales have steadily increased and we have developed agitational materials to reach the broadest layers of the workers and the groupings within the plants who have declared themselves against concessions. The target of this work is to turn the UAW Convention not only into a fight for a new leadership, but a certain kind of leadership, one that takes as its starting point a political party that belongs to the workers and no acceptance of concessions or layoffs.

Another result of the struggle we have led is that the United Front Caucus (an opposition grouping at Ford River Rouge, dominated by the Revolutionary Workers League, which incidentally claims to be Trotskyist when it is convenient) ran several candidates in response to our proposal for a united slate for a labor party.

However, they tried to negate the

meaning of such a fight by posing their candidates as simply "militant," without any definition. They also avoided telling us about their candidates so that it was not a joint struggle and they have not supported Fox Davis' campaign.

190 workers voted for one of their candidates, Judy Wraight. She came in 12th, almost got elected and indeed beat the unit president. Workers voted for her the same reason that Fox Davis is running as a Labor Party candidate; they want a new leadership of the union. All the organizations and groups opposed to concessions have to fight together in order to beat the bosses and bureaucrats. Isn't it clear?

This year the UAW Convention will be as explosively political as the Chicago mayoral race. We call out loudly to all oppositionists — let's work together to build the labor party now!!

In Chicago

By RICH TETRAULT

"Most black people in Chicago are just like me. They've known for a long time who they were going to vote for and nothing was going to change their minds." This was the response of Edward, a steelworker from the southside of Chicago, to the fight that the Trotskyist Organization is making in his neighborhood to build the Labor Party by fighting for an alternative in the elections.

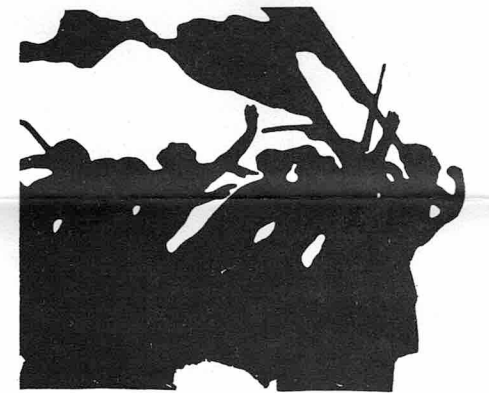
Edward is of course referring to Harold Washington who is the Democratic Party candidate for mayor in Chicago. If anyone was thinking that these elections were routine or just interesting from an electoral standpoint, then they haven't looked beneath the surface of what is clearly a struggle for the power of the workers and oppressed against the power and politics of the capitalists, which in Chicago is the Democratic Party machine.

The support that Washington has been able to accumulate leading up to and following his victory in the primary on

February 22 is not so much a tribute to his political fight or personal popularity but to the unquestionable desire of the city's black and oppressed population to deal a blow against Jane Byrne and the machine and the lack of a strong working class alternative. While Edward and others like him were determined to vote for Washington, they were also interested in fighting for a labor party, continuing to read *Truth* and work with the Trotskyist Organization.

If they were not prepared to cast a vote for the labor party in the elections by voting for the working class candidate Ed Warren of the Socialist Workers Party, it was not so much because of profound illusions in the Democratic Party but because of the weakness of the Warren campaign itself. The majority of people we talked with both downtown and on the south side were unaware that there was a working class candidate on the ballot. They had never heard of Warren. They had not seen his fight against the Machine. This makes the fight that we make today for the labor party for Warren in these elections, all the more significant.

Already a group of youth has agreed to meet and form a circle to fight for a labor party. And we intend to pursue the struggle for a vote for Warren in the elections. These gains and others like them will put us in a position to build the labor party in a massive way as the Edwards of Chicago change their minds as they inevitably will.



Not Again

In the last issue of *Truth*, we said that it was the Socialist Workers Party and its policy of opening itself up to the courts that had opened the door to the government's attempt to control its internal life using the infamous Gelfand suit.

Now that Gelfand's suit has been thrown out of court (which the court would have been forced to do years ago if the SWP had not hidden the government/Gelfand attack from the working class), the SWP says that it is now going to pursue Gelfand and Co. in court and use the judge's remarks in the case as testimony!

We are all for recovering court costs, but enough is enough!

The SWP says: "... (it) is not just going to go after Gelfand in this process, it is also going to ask the law firm that represented him to be held liable (our emphasis) ... The SWP never wanted this fight in court, but now that it has been confronted with it, the party will carry it through to the end ..."

The SWP says that it is the government that is behind this attack, but it does not believe it, otherwise it would stop trying to fight the imperialists' government, on the imperialists' terms, in the imperialists' courts, using imperialist witnesses. If the SWP decides to sue Gelfand and Co. in turn, this will once again open the SWP up to the same kind of internal investigation to which it has been subjected for the last four years and endanger the rest of the workers movement as well. The government and its accomplices like Gelfand and Co. must be pursued with a workers' mobilization.

France

In the most recent issue of *La Verite* our French comrades analyze the results of the recent French elections. They say that the gains of the right, to which the bourgeoisie in the US has so happily pointed, are in reality the result of the policy of the Mitterrand government that, by favoring large industry, has lost much of the support of the working class (a large percentage of which abstained) and pushed the petty bourgeoisie, crushed by the monopolies, to the right.

The common slate called "Workers Voice Against Austerity," initiated by Lutte Ouvriere and the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, in which our comrades took part in Paris, was not able to capitalize on this loss of support because it took a position of moral opposition to Mitterrand and did not encourage an active, practical mobilization (occupation of the factories, nationalization, etc.) and thus fostered abstentionism on the part of workers.

Our comrades are committed to changing this situation by training youth in a true Trotskyist policy.

Poland

The most recent reports from Poland say that Solidarnosc is using the Easter holidays in Poland to prepare a new mobilization.

Cards saying "Solidarnosc" are being sent. The churches have been used to set up displays documenting the workers' struggle and the government's repression. And a call has been issued for demonstrations on May 1.

These developments affirm the correctness of the Trotskyists' decision to pursue the struggle to prepare the general strike and win freedom for political parties this spring and form the leadership necessary to carry this out.

M.G.

Karl Marx

This year is the centennial of the death (March 14, 1883) of Karl Marx, one of the first and greatest fighters for the liberation of the working class.

Although he had been raised in a prosperous family, although he had a brilliant academic record, as a young man Marx came over to the side of the oppressed. When there had only begun to be a working class in the full sense of that word, Marx put all his talent, learning, energy, devotion — his genius — at its service.

What was his major contribution? It was not his writing, his organizing work; although he did plenty of that. No, his major contribution, which he was able to make because of his vast knowledge and intelligence, was to place the struggle of the workers on a scientific basis.

Even then, in the early 1840s, there were and had been many people who felt sorry for the workers, who wanted to improve their conditions. But to them the sad state the workers were in, the struggle of the workers themselves, were just more examples of that vague stirring for justice that can be found even in the Bible.

Marx showed that this was not true. He showed that the existence of the workers, as well as their exploitation and oppression, were produced by capitalism and its development. More, he showed that the workers' struggle to change their position in society flowed from this same development and led inevitably to the overthrow of capitalist rule by the workers, and the establishment — once and for all — of a society that would be without oppression or

poverty or injustice, because it would be a society without classes.

All the great ideas and theories of Marx — the materialist conception of history, the labor theory of value, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and many others — are the names we give to the ways in which this great work was brought about and carried out.

And Marx did not simply pronounce his ideas to a waiting world and then retire to other studies. From the beginning, he sought to make these ideas into weapons of the working class, to make the ideas not just reflect, but change, the world. The first clear expression of his basic views was the Communist Manifesto, which he and Frederick Engels wrote as the political program of an international organization of workers, the Communist League, on the eve of the revolutions of 1848.

All of Marx's life, in which he endured exile, poverty, sickness and persecution, was spent in educating and

training the working class for the historic role it has to play. That is the thread that runs from the building of the First International to the writing of *Capital*.

Today, armed with the party, the Fourth International that is based on the work of Marx, we stand on the eve of revolutions that will finally confirm the closing words of the Communist Manifesto: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. *Workers of the world, unite!*"

KEVIN FITZPATRICK

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