

USA, Grenada, Nicaragua — Defeat Reagan!

Stand Up for the Oppressed of the World!

Declaration of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Reagan's vicious invasion of Grenada is the latest step, the decisive step, in his plans for war against Nicaragua and the revolution in Central America. Every worker, militant and young person in the United States must understand that this means an attack on us. We must act against it now.

Meaning of Invasion

This brutal attack was protected by a mass of lies — about "restoring democracy" most of all, but also about Cuba, and even about the coup itself (Cuba denounced the killing of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of the radical petty bourgeois nationalist New Jewel Movement/NJM), which gave Reagan such a *pretext* for his action.

As for the lies about "American lives," this is the same old fake that Democrat Lyndon Johnson used in 1965 to invade the Dominican Republic, where a right-wing regime had been overthrown. But Johnson's lie was *big*: that 250 Americans had been "beheaded"!

Even more to the point, that invasion was the preparation for Johnson's massive escalation that same year, which made the Vietnam "conflict" into a full-blown war.

Nor is it an accident that this invasion took place only days after over 200 US Marines and others (as well as French troops) were killed in the Beirut truck-bombing. It is extremely curious, to say the least, that the compound was virtually unprotected. Pearl Harbor for World War II, the battleship *Maine* for the Spanish-American War, the Tonkin Gulf incident for Vietnam — all these and others have either been faked or allowed by US imperialism as excuses for war.

Many sincere people think the US should get out of Lebanon "to protect the boys." But others use the same reason for further involvement. The fact is, as they have just proved, the imperialists couldn't care less about a couple of hundred dead troops. There are plenty more where they came from — that's why draft registration was re-started.

Anyone who falls into this trap of debating how to "protect the boys" is not going to be able to understand what is going on. American imperialism is trying to extend its military power all over the world. It is doing so to protect imperialist profits and imperialist investments from the poor and the oppressed. Those imperialist interests, the so-called "national interests" of the US, are not our interests. Our interests, the interests of the workers, the poor, the oppressed, in this country are the same as those of imperialism's enemies all over the world.

An idea close to worrying about "the boys" is the one that says we should just worry about what is "happening at home." Our imperialist enemies don't go by this rule; they know that a victory abroad is a victory at home. And they are glad to encourage such blind, narrow ideas among American workers.

If we want to defeat Reagan at home, then we must understand now that defeating him abroad is a key part of that fight. And Nicaragua is going to be the battleground.

Imperialism's objection to tiny Grenada was not that it was "communist," which it wasn't. Its objection was that any country should stop taking orders. The Nicaraguan Revolution is much more important, has gone much farther, in that way than Grenada ever started to do. And Nicaragua marked the beginning of the development of the revolution all over Central America, especially in El Salvador. From the time he came into office, Reagan has been plotting against that revolution.

War and Revolution

Now the decisive point has come. As the Dominican Republic was to Vietnam, so Grenada is to Nicaragua. The *exact time* of massive war and invasion remains to be worked out, but it's only a *question of time*.

That is why this is a "bi-partisan" invasion. The Democrats didn't say peep. If Tip O'Neill now talks about "gunboat diplomacy," he kept his mouth shut before the invasion, when Reagan called him to the White House. But already he fears what is happening.

And well he (and Reagan) might. Over 6,000 US shock troops took days to conquer a little island and a few hundred Cuban workers. What a reception they will get in Nicaragua!

In this situation, we have to not only take part in every action against this policy (especially the November 12 demonstration in Washington), but we have to think clearly and act consciously.

The time for illusions is over. We are faced with an imperialist war and we need to function on that basis. As our readers know, *Truth* has repeatedly urged positive, concrete actions in

support of the revolution in Central America. A union boycott of US "aid" and shipments of arms, etc.; a campaign for arms and volunteers to the revolution, especially in Nicaragua. This now becomes a critical political question. Nicaragua is going to have to fight — only a few days ago, the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister came to Washington with another "peace" and "negotiations" proposal; Reagan spat on it. It's time to wake up, comrade Sandinistas: it's time to call for and open your country to international volunteers.

It's time to wake up here, too. The Socialist

Workers Party (SWP), for example, has been preaching negotiations for years. It also said the NJM was a "revolutionary proletarian leadership," giving *political support* to this standard "Third World" grouping whose predictable explosion the imperialists exploited, while the SWP could only cry about a "devastating blow."

The American Revolution, the revolution in the Americas, is now starting in earnest. There is no time to waste. In the unions, among the youth, prepare to fight to the end.

A New Agenda for Labor

America is a society ready to explode. Two great camps are lining up for battle — banker and janitor, industrialist and assembler, capitalists and workers. A recognition is growing even as the reality unfolds, that conditions of labor, of living, of families and the security of one's future will never be the same.

Labor and the trade unions will be drawn into the struggle, like it or not. As surely as the people of Grenada were given no choice but to face American guns, the American worker will have to face the militarization of its imperialist government.

The dedication of America's resources to wars of intervention will further erode the conditions of life of the working class. Built-in, structural unemployment — already eleven million! — will increase. The accumulation of wealth by the few and the impoverishment of the many will grow more pronounced. The crisis of the capitalist system will lead not only to class struggle, it will beget a generational struggle. The working class youth, making up today a full quarter of all unemployed, faced with a dying educational system, will be drafted for the shock troops of the militarists and the profits of the war-makers. The youth will be in the front ranks of the struggle for liberation, too.

Everywhere, the thinking worker must raise the call to his brothers and sisters to prepare for struggle, to break the passivity brought on by demagogic politicians eager to beat their chests over the bullying defeat of tiny Grenada.

Solidarity with the unemployed, the Black, the immigrant worker!

Solidarity with the worker and peasant under Reagan's iron boot!

Break with the Militarists and their Labor Lieutenants

The presence of Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, on the Kissinger Commission should now be clear to everyone. The Kissinger Commission is a tool for Reagan to make his intervention in Nicaragua and war in El Salvador a policy based on bi-partisan unity of the entire ruling class. Kirkland's presence on the commission is to tie labor to imperialist intervention in Central America. It is a continuation of (ex-UAW president) Doug Fraser's policy of tying the unions to the pursuit of capitalist profits — called "concessions" — *but in a situation far more grave than before*. The intervention of the US in Central America is not just "another Vietnam," it is the inauguration of a hemispheric war. The borders of

this war will not only be in Nicaragua or El Salvador, they will be in Argentina and Mexico, already at the doors of a revolutionary crisis. This war must and will be fought in America itself — against the trade unions, against Blacks, and against the youth.

Break with Capitalist Politics

In the face of this new situation, America is due for a period of economic shocks and political upheavals. Reagan's recovery is no more meaningful for the American working class than the much touted "land reform" in El Salvador is for the Salvadoran farmer. (The AFL-CIO through its collaboration with the CIA American Institute for Free Labor Development is part of this fraud.)

In one town in El Salvador, out of forty peasants who applied for ownership of the land they worked, twenty-seven were dragged out of their homes and murdered by soldiers. The rest fled and only one remains alive today.

While the situation in the United States is not yet that desperate, the unprecedented levels of permanent unemployed are a deadly menace. It creates the conditions for capitalists to close factories and break strikes at will, as with the Phelps Dodge copper strikers in Arizona who had to fight scabs protected by fully armed battalions of Arizona National Guard and State Police. It creates a well of desperation out of which not only capitalists, but also corrupt trade union leaders can recruit goon squads like the Brotherhood of Loyal Americans and Strong Teamsters (BLAST) that attacked a meeting of Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

Jobs for all must become the demand of workers everywhere, concretized by the division of working hours among all those available for employment and the recall of all laid off workers — with no cut in pay.

Not only the capitalists, but some workers as well will say such a scheme is unrealistic. But how could full employment ever be achieved under a system that is dedicated to wars of intervention, which is diseased with waste and corruption, and where productivity increases only through fewer and fewer workers doing more work. Only the struggle will decide what is realistic and what is not.

A New Agenda for Labor

The whole crisis of American society is summed up by a crisis of leadership. From one side or another, everyone is aware of the powerlessness of the two parties, Republican and Democratic.

But today, more than ever before, Blacks, working men and women, and youth are awakening to the fact that in all their history they have never had a party to call their own. It is because the Republican and Democratic parties are capitalist parties, defending capitalist politics. The advanced worker knows that a working class party must emerge in order for anything to change.

We Trotskyists are building such a party. We are building a Labor Party Coalition to run labor candidates for president and other offices in the 1984 elections against the Democrats and Republicans. A Coalition to be built in the trade unions to renew the leadership from top to bottom. A Coalition that is open to all who want to break from capitalist politics.

This must be labor's new agenda. A Labor Party that fights:

— For an independent labor candidate for president in the 1984 elections! No support to Mondale! Down with Reagan!

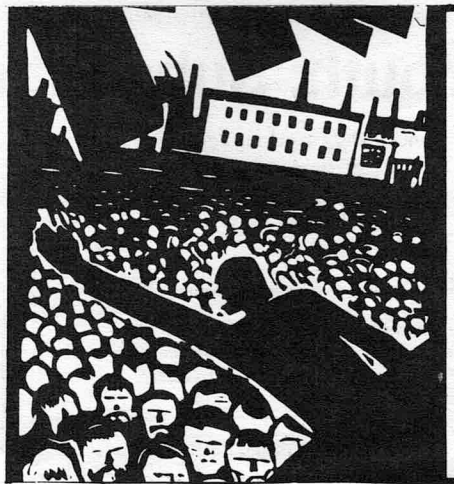
— For Jobs for All! A sliding scale of working hours: divide up the work among all labor and unemployed with no cut in pay. A living wage for everyone.

— For workers control over production, work rules, and disciplinary actions! No to threats of factory closings, confiscation of closing factories.

— For a union boycott of all arms destined to be used against workers and farmers of countries under US intervention! Kirkland off Reagan's commission! Volunteers and aid for Nicaragua from trade unions and workers organizations!

This is a call to build a fighting workers' party. A Labor Party that will not only show its face in elections but one which will show its face every day working to organize and unite the entire working class against Reagan and his criminal interventions. It is a party to fight, as the Polish workers have, and as Nicaraguan workers have, with weapons that only the working class possesses. We demand that the trade unions organize a *General Strike to Bring Down Reagan* and impose our demands.

With this whole fight, the Trotskyists open up the preparation of a new stage in the class struggle. We call on workers and youth to join us in rebuilding the revolutionary leadership of the American working class by building a Trotskyist Congress. And we call on all workers and their organizations, whether you are for the socialist revolution or not, to take up a fight for the common demands that we have put forward in building a Labor Party Coalition.



Conference for Young Fighters

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FOR AN OPEN TROTSKYIST CONGRESS TO REBUILD THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A significant number of young people have begun to turn to Trotskyism as the only tendency capable of guiding the working and oppressed masses.

Yet there are several organizations that claim to be Trotskyist. Each has its own policy that it calls Trotskyist. And the largest of these, the Socialist Workers Party, appears to be the farthest from basic Trotskyist principles.

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA, Section

(Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, was founded in 1975 to overcome this problem; to lead a struggle to clearly differentiate Trotskyism from various centrist or intermediary tendencies that masquerade under its name; to train a new generation of revolutionaries capable of guiding the American working class in the foundation of its own party and the fight for power; in other words, to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

We call on youth turning toward Trotskyism, as well as youth and workers fighting for a Labor Party, to join us in this struggle, in particular, in preparing and building an open Trotskyist Congress to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. This page is especially dedicated to this struggle. It is open to any militant or tendency that wants to contribute to it.

Black Workers Break with Democrats!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Several recent developments show that the mobilization of Blacks and youth which began during the Chicago elections, followed by the demonstration in Washington, DC, on August 27 is becoming a confrontation of the entire working class with the capitalist parties, Democratic and Republican.

Detroit city workers recently rejected a tentative contract with the administration of Mayor Coleman Young by a margin of 2 to 1, despite the fact that leaders of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) had recommended acceptance. This followed Young's denial of a six percent raise to city workers due them from a contract negotiated two years ago, which deferred wage increases until July of last summer. Young, of course, is one of the most powerful Black leaders in the Democratic Party. But the lopsided vote for rejection shows that Detroit city workers, many of whom are Black workers, no longer support Young and his policies.

As we go to press, Detroit city workers have accepted a new agreement, which grants the six-percent wage boost.

At the same time, in Chicago, where the campaign of Harold Washington for mayor became a focus for a mobilization of Blacks and workers against the corrupt Daley machine, this mobilization is continuing toward its inevitable conclusion — a confrontation with Washington himself. Though a strike of 27,000 Chicago teachers and public workers has now come to an end, the supposed "neutrality" of

Harold Washington and Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH has convinced many workers who supported Washington that they made a mistake in voting for any representative of the Democratic Party.

In reality, Washington and Jackson were not neutral in any sense of the word, other than for public relations purposes. Jackson's Operation PUSH, for example, filed a court suit to end the strike, which, had it been granted, would have been used as a weapon against the strikers.

In a related development, Mel King, a Black candidate for mayor of Boston has won a spot in the general elections. More importantly, much of his support came from the white working class communities in Boston, only a few years ago a scene of bitter racial confrontations between Blacks and whites.

What these events show is not that racism has come to an end between Black and white workers, but they do show that the class nature of the attacks on Black and white workers, and hence, the class interests that both share, are coming to the forefront. Workers, Blacks, women workers and youth — the working class versus the capitalists and their parties, Republicans and Democrats — that is the fight that is shaping up.

In some cases racism is becoming more open and bitter — but it is also more clear that racism is coming from the ruling class. In Congressional debate over a proposed national holiday for Martin Luther King, Senator Jesse Helms and others in Congress who opposed the holiday made it clear that there is a growing wing of

Congress which is practically fascist in its hatred for Blacks. Even the liberals who supported the resolution used the occasion to rail against the evils of "communism." And Reagan, while supporting the resolution for pure political expediency, virtually disbanded the Civil Rights Commission by firing half of its members. In other words, the answer of liberal Democrats to the attack on Black and workers' rights is at best nothing but pure tokenism.

At the same time, Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign is rapidly becoming a non-campaign, though he announced last week he would make a decision by November 1. Jackson, who represents a wing of Blacks in the Democratic Party that wants to head off an explosion of the working class and Blacks by running Black candidates within the Democratic Party, is seeing his chances of getting any support in the Democratic Party diminish while his hostility to labor, as in Chicago, is becoming more apparent.

It is time to provide a vehicle to organize the struggles of youth and workers and give them a concrete alternative to the Democratic Party and pretenders like Jackson — a *Labor Party Coalition in the 1984 elections*.

Those who only pretend to represent the interests of Blacks and workers, but who refuse to break with the Democratic Party, are blunting the fight against their most deadly enemies — the Jesse Helms', and Ronald Reagans. While building a Labor Party Coalition is a campaign that can unify unions, unemployed, and youth

in a massive way, it is just as important to find and organize in the course of this campaign the new generation of working class youth who can rebuild the revolutionary leadership.

A revolutionary leadership that will not be separate from, but rather will be an integral part of, the fight for a Labor Party. The road ahead for American workers requires more than an electoral struggle, it requires a struggle just as violent and difficult as the people of Grenada, El Salvador, and Lebanon are facing under American guns and the imperialist plots of Ronald Reagan. But the 1984 elections can serve as a focus for the political awakening that is taking place in the American working class, by offering an alternative to the capitalist parties — if a revolutionary leadership is built now.

The Trotskyist Organization is forming such a leadership among working class youth in Detroit and Chicago. The working Conference of the Revolutionary Youth International on November 25 will be both the culmination of the ten week subscription campaign in High Schools and neighborhoods, and the launching point for establishing RYI Clubs in both cities. From here, young students, workers, and unemployed youth will take the teacher's part in their political education by working with the TO and campaigning for the Labor Party Coalition.

Young workers! Build the Labor Party Coalition!

Come to the RYI Conference November 25!

Argentina, MAS and the Party

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The October 30 election in Argentina, which resulted in the victory of the bourgeois Radical Party, is being presented as a "democratic" end to the military dictatorship that has ruled the country since 1976.

Pre-Revolutionary Situation

Instead, the election marks only a new development in the pre-revolutionary situation that began in the aftermath of the military's wretched failure in the Malvinas War in the spring of 1982.

In the last year, three general strikes have shaken the country. These actions, taken together with the wave of "economic" strikes, reflect the drive of the masses to act against their impoverishment and oppression. But, at the same time, these actions have remained largely under the control of the Peronist trade union bureaucrats and confined to the framework of "democratization" established by the Peronists with other bourgeois parties in the "Multipartidaria" (multi-party alliance). That is why the dictatorship has been able to leave "peacefully," even trying to grant itself an amnesty for the atrocities it has committed.

Throughout Latin America — from Chile to Uruguay to Bolivia to Brazil to Peru — to one degree or another, the revolutionary tide is coming in. But, as we showed in our articles on Chile (*Truth* #171 and #172), the revolutionary victory of the workers and oppressed depends on the existence and struggle of a *revolutionary leadership*; that is, a Trotskyist Party.

The most important grouping in Argentina laying claim to the banner of Trotskyism is the former PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores/Socialist Workers Party), whose acknowledged leader is Nahuel Moreno.

The first thing to note is that the PST no longer really exists. In its place has been erected a formation called MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo/Movement for Socialism), which was founded in September 1982. That is, precisely as the situation in Argentina moved closer to the decisive revolutionary questions, a party formation claiming to be Trotskyist dissolved itself.

We do not have a thing about names or forms; we always look at the content of any political organization. And this is where MAS most clearly fails the test. In the first place, MAS is defined in the organ of the US Morenites, the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP), as a "socialist front of Trotskyists and revolutionaries from different political backgrounds

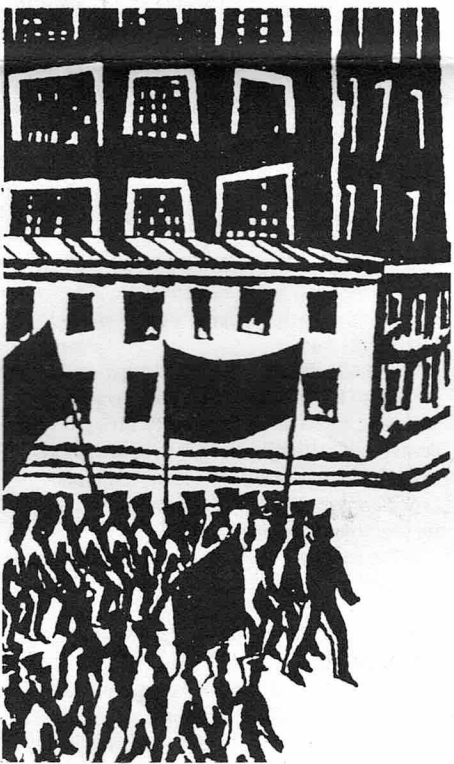
who have united under the slogan 'FOR A SOCIALIST ARGENTINA WITHOUT THE MILITARY OR CAPITALISTS' " (*Working Class Opposition*, May-June 1983). Likewise, an interview published in the organ of the Morenito international center, the International Workers League (*Correo Internacional*, February 1982) announces that: "We seek the unity of socialists in order to constitute the great Socialist Party," made up of "all the old militancies: of Peronism, of Radicalism, of Manriquism, of socialism of other currents."

But in the very next issue of *Working Class Opposition* (August-September 1983) reality has been transformed: "The MAS is a workers party, a revolutionary party." And they don't even use mirrors!

Program and Party

But wishing will not make it so, and still less just saying. MAS is not a revolutionary party, it is not a Trotskyist party. And this is not a question of labels, but precisely of program. In the interview cited above, the MAS representative states: "The only proper and suitable procedure is to return to the Argentine people their sovereign capacity marked by the National Constitution, calling elections in the shortest possible time," and opening a "period of transition, during which the people, democratically, will project their own destiny toward a socialist Argentina." This proposal does not differ fundamentally from the bourgeois solution that took shape in the recent election. It did not depart from that bourgeois framework, and it armed no one against it.

Similarly, aside from the extremely general nature of the MAS slogan for a "Socialist Argentina," etc., this movement (quotations from MAS's *Solidaridad Socialista* of July 7 and September 8 appearing in *Intercontinental*



Press; October 31, 1983) puts forward slogans — for the "Second Independence" of Argentina and Latin America — and makes statements ("If the parties that come to power are not ready to confront imperialism and stop paying back the debt, the country and the people will be ruined so that the imperialist bankers can get fat.") that imply that the chief tasks are national and that there is a possibility of a capitalist sector's being able to "confront imperialism."

Moreno's method stands in glaring contrast to the method of Lenin in the Russian Revolution, where he not only differentiated the Bol-

shevik Party more and more strictly from all other formations, but also told the workers to trust only in themselves, to drive out bourgeois elements.

But Moreno's method is consistent: he has always been unable to clearly distinguish himself from bourgeois solutions. Thus, before the 1976 coup, the PST declared: "We unhesitatingly condemn any attempt at a coup designed to bring down the current government, which has been elected by a majority of the working class." It not only failed to see the difference between defending Peronism and opposing the right wing, it also declared: "The threat of a comeback by oligarchic-imperialist forces at their worst . . . is represented by a growing militarization of political life prompted fundamentally by the activity of the guerrillas and their mirror-image — the terrorists of the AAA and other organizations of the ultraright" (*Intercontinental Press*; October 28, 1974; emphasis added).

MAS in Argentina, Convergencia Socialista ("Socialist Convergence") in Brazil, Peace and Freedom Party ("For a Socialist America," by sheer coincidence) in the US: overall, a consistent tendency to avoid building the revolutionary party, to confine the workers and oppressed to "democratic" (capitalist) solutions when a clear revolutionary answer is needed.

This shows that it is necessary to rebuild the Trotskyist party in Argentina as elsewhere. And this demands a political and practical struggle to *eliminate* the Argentina militarists and establish a workers' government based on workers' committees in opposition to all illusions in a democratic and peaceful transition. In such a struggle, the cadre necessary to lead Argentine workers to power will be selected and trained.

Working Class Youth: Subscribe to Truth!

As we go to press, a total of 17 working class youth have gotten subscriptions to *Truth*. Regularly reading and thinking about what the revolutionary newspaper says is a good first step.

The second step is to act on the knowledge

gained. Marx said long ago: "The philosophers have all interpreted the world in different ways: the point, however, is to change it." And *changing the world* is what young people need and want to do.

Knowledge and action combined require *organization*. In order for what you know to be effective, it has to take on an organized, not a scattershot, approach.

To carry out this task, the Trotskyist Organization, which puts out *Truth*, is holding a Working Conference for youth on November 25, the Friday after Thanksgiving Day. In that way, you can learn more, learn how to put what you know to work, and build an organization that you can use for that work.

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