

No to Reagan and Mondale! A UNITED VOTE FOR A LABOR PARTY!

Voting in the elections will not change the bourgeoisie and its system, but it can change the working class. Fighting for a united vote for a Labor Party by voting for working class parties on the ballot can begin to change the working class from a divided class without real leadership,

to a united class fighting for power.

Jackson's advisor says to write-in Jackson's name on election day (an empty gesture), but Jackson supports Mondale; or stay home. Since even the meager demands for Blacks were defeated at the Democratic Convention why should

they vote for Democrats at all?

We call on youth and workers to take a positive step to their own party, a Labor Party, by voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidates wherever they appear on the ballot because they are for a Labor Party.

Build a Labor Party Now!

A Fighting Platform to Unite the Working Class

No to Reagan and Mondale! A United Vote for a Labor Party November 6!

Thousands of youth and workers oppose both Reagan, Mondale and the Republican and Democratic parties because they are racist and anti-working class. Now is the time to organize these youth and workers, unite them, build an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats, a Labor Party based on the power of the unions to fight for political power. Staying home is no answer to the oppressors' parties and candidates, nor is voting for Mondale as a lesser evil. A united vote for working class parties is a step to the Labor Party and political independence.

Jobs For All!

Brigades for useful public works, funded with public funds, controlled by the unions. Divide work among all workers; a sliding scale of hours. Unionize all: students, unemployed, part-time and low-paid workers. Get back concessions. Unlimited cost-of-living allowances. An industry-wide auto strike. An all out fight for jobs for all is an immediate and burning necessity to save the young generation and the entirety of the working class from destruction. Jobs for all is the only real job security. Working class youth and workers must rely on their own strength, solidarity, and organizations — unions, to win jobs, through demonstrations, strikes, picketing and factory occupations. Neither the Republicans nor Democrats will do it for them; both oppose allocating one new cent for jobs.

Freedom For Blacks!

Freedom for Latinos, immigrants, all oppressed races and nationalities! Unionize Blacks to win decent jobs, schools, housing, recreational and cultural facilities. Form union defense guards to defend Blacks and others against racist attacks. Freedom for working class women. Defend the right to abortion on demand. Reagan's attacks on Blacks and Mondale's collaboration are aimed at crushing, isolating and dividing what has been the most militant sector of the working class. Youth and workers of all races and nationalities must fight for the unions to defend Blacks' rights and unionize Blacks. The unions must reach out to the whole working class or they will cease to exist. Blacks won freedom from outright slavery through the Civil War, but it was not until Blacks began to organize themselves that they began to win decent jobs, wages and schools. Blacks and workers of all races and nationalities must rely on their own strength, solidarity and political struggle to defend their rights, not on the Republicans, Democrats, Congress, city governments or the courts.

Solidarity with Nicaragua!

Solidarity with all oppressed nations! Volunteers, arms and other material aid to defend Nicaragua against US attacks. A union boycott of all supplies to the "contras" and all reactionary dictatorships in Central America and the Caribbean. Confiscate war profits. Expropriate all industries that traffic in war. Youth and

workers of Nicaragua are fighting for the same things we are: jobs, schools, housing, hospitals, freedom from imperialist oppression. We must defend them against the US's attacks. With a united struggle we will be able to bring down imperialism and establish fraternal relations between workers and oppressed peoples of all countries.

Workers Control of the Banks and Basic Industry!

Expropriate the banks and basic industry. If the owners of the banks and basic industry are unable to provide society with its most basic needs, jobs, wages, schools, housing, if they can do nothing but squander society's resources for their own personal gain, then they have no right to retain control of this property. The working class must do so.

A United Working Class Front

A United Working Class Front to achieve these goals! Demonstrations, strikes, picketing, the occupation of factories, the formation of workers committees and coordinating committees, leading to a general strike, the destruction of the imperialist state and the establishment of a workers government. The working class must rely on its own power to achieve its goals. It must be prepared to do away with the parasitical imperialists and establish its own government as part of the hemispheric struggle for a United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

US Racists Out of Grenada!

Demonstrate!

October 27 — Detroit

October 25 is the anniversary of the invasion and occupation of Grenada by US imperialism. It is a time to build the widest possible mobilization against the continued occupation of Grenada. National demonstrations on October 27 should be a means to weld together the Black movement against racial oppression in the US with the revolution of the workers and peasants in the Caribbean and Central America, to strengthen the basis for a Labor Party to satisfy the demands and desires of the working class.

A number of Black and other working class organizations call for a demonstration in downtown Detroit October 27 to coincide with a larger demonstration on the same day in New York for *US Out of Grenada!* Black youth and workers must be involved because it is *their* demonstration!

The invasion and occupation of Grenada was a military means to show Blacks and workers who is boss! Reagan targeted Grenada, a tiny island peopled almost entirely by Blacks, to try to make a comeback after the blow he suffered in Beirut. The goal was to use the



Grenadian youth

takeover of Grenada, headed by the radical New Jewel Movement, as a stepping stone to attack Nicaragua.

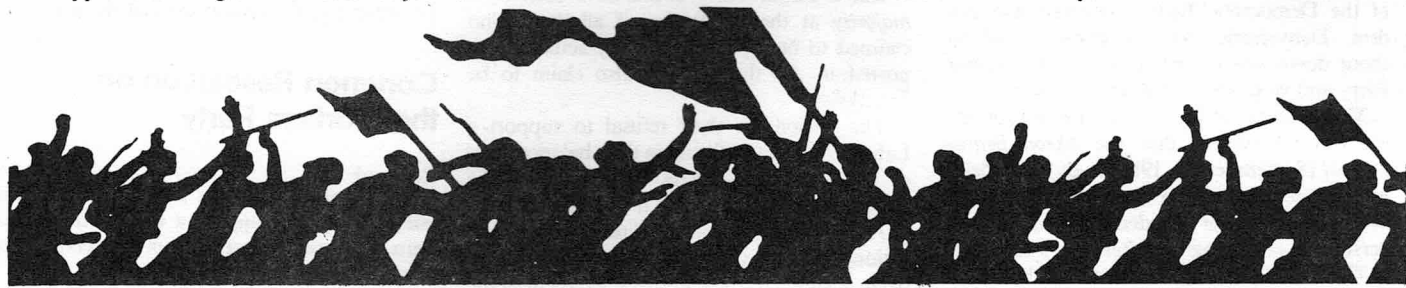
Under the pretext of a bogus rescue mission of US medical students and an alleged call from Grenada's bordering enemies, Reagan steamed into Grenada with 6,000 troops. But it took them weeks to disarm Black Grenadian youth and workers who bravely defended their right to choose their own government, arms in hand, against the imperialist invaders. A few Cuban construction workers who happened to be there were offered as proof that the Soviets and Cuba were taking over Grenada and so "democracy" was imposed on the end of a bayonet.

Mondale and the Democrats have proven they are no friends of Blacks. They approved \$28 million for the right-wing *contras* working to defeat the revolution of workers and peasants in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Now Mondale praises Reagan's takeover of Grenada and calls for a "quarantine" of Nicaragua. He apes Reagan's militarism in a desperate attempt to close the gap in the election polls.

Clearly, Blacks are in politics to stay but they will not stay in the Democratic Party. There is an inseparable link between the revolution and the Black movement. That is the meaning of the Chicago Mayoral elections and the Jackson campaign. But Washington and Jackson only delayed the threatened split with the Democratic Party.

Demonstrating on October 27 is a way to open an avenue of practical support to the Black and Latin peoples of Central America and the Caribbean trying to overturn imperialist domination, and in turn, strengthens the Black movement headed toward a break with the Democratic Party. Vote against Mondale — vote for a Labor Party in the elections!

US Out of Grenada!
Volunteers, arms and aid to Nicaragua!
Demonstrate October 27, Downtown Detroit
TRUTH



Auto: Don't Waffle — Fight!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

Black auto workers at the Lakewood, Georgia Assembly Plant were the first to vote down the UAW/GM pact. Since then, nearly all large GM locals have roundly rejected the pact. Bieber and Co.'s PR campaign over "job security" provisions as a great "historic" victory are failing — now they are launching a campaign of disinformation saying the pact is being rejected because of dues assessments on profit-sharing. Untrue!

The main reason auto workers are defeating the pact is for the same reason hundreds of resolutions to regain concessions hit the floor at the UAW Bargaining Convention last March — they want to get back concessions and the pact does not do that.

To get job security auto workers will have to take advantage of the mobilization against the pact; make a working class vote against collusion with Mondale, (a central architect of concessions), and prepare a national strike of auto to get back concessions, to recall all the laid-off workers, divide up the work among all — this is a realistic perspective given the anti-collabora-

tion sentiments expressed in the ratification voting.

RAM ("Restore and More in '84"), the only large opposition in the UAW, has played a lamentable role. Although Pete Kelly, head of RAM voted against the pact as a member of the UAW Bargaining Committee, he and others made no fight against it at the Council Meeting in St. Louis. Fred Myers of RAM said, "We're not looking for a fight on the floor — we're looking for some answers." How can they pretend to lead the fight against Bieber's collaborationist policies if they have to ask him for answers? Their lame excuse was they lacked information and details. Early on Pete Kelly pledged not to make any fight until after the elections so as not to make Mondale pick sides with labor.

This waffling and disinformation about the vote is an attempt to set back the mobilization to regain concessions. A "No" vote must be backed up by a national strike of auto! Mondale is for the other side — vote working class November 6.

Vote for Mondale?
Vote for Nobody?
OR ...
Vote for a Labor Party?
Public Forum
Eastside YMCA-Detroit
10100 Harper (at Cadillac)
Saturday, October 20, 4 PM



Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International

Open the Road to the Blacks, the Youth, the Woman Worker

By DAVID MARK

The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International was held July 31 - August 4. Delegations were present from more than ten countries, including Poland, countries of Europe, the United States, Bolivia and the Caribbean. The discussion is summarized best by the following line from the Central Resolution of the Congress:

"The Ninth World Congress defines as such the fundamental orientation of the Fourth International: it is a matter of pursuing the battle begun by the rebuilding of the International, through a redoubled effort for its proletarian implantation . . ."

Our world party is centralist. We do not function like an endless talk shop. The Fourth International is a partisan of the working class and oppressed and an organizer of their struggles. That is why our World Congress was so important and vital to the party and its work. It was a time to evaluate all the campaigns and struggles that the party has been involved in, to review the outlook of the party, to decide on a course of action and finally, in the tradition of a centralist party to act.

The discussion and debate at our Ninth World Congress was passionate and forceful. In accordance with the rules of our party and the norms of our movement, a minority faction was formed that defended positions that were divergent from those of the outgoing international leadership. The substance of every discussion, as became clear by the end of the Congress, concerned problems and questions that are being debated by the whole of the workers movement. This is the manner in which the debate was conducted — a serious polemic of opposing positions in the workers movement coming at a decisive moment in the life of our world party and the global class struggle.

Crisis of Peaceful Coexistence

The method of Marxism is to debate strategy and tactics on the basis of a rigorous and exact understanding of the objective situation — the

relationship of forces between bosses and workers, the economic situation, the mood and consciousness of the working class — and this is where the debate at our Ninth World Congress began.

"The Ninth World Congress defines as such the fundamental orientation of the Fourth International: it is a matter of pursuing the battle begun by the rebuilding of the International, through a redoubled effort for its proletarian implantation . . ."

Central Resolution of the Ninth World Congress

The minority put forward the position that the collaboration of Stalinism and imperialism is being strengthened. But the majority position that the crisis of "peaceful coexistence" is irreversible and that the nature of the epoch is more and more being affirmed as one of war and revolution prevailed. In other words, the forms of collaboration established by Washington and Moscow for the last three decades — the division of Europe in the Yalta agreement, the "cold war" period, and detente — which we call the period of "peaceful coexistence," are at their end, and a new turn of the situation beginning with Nicaragua, the Iranian Revolution, and finally the Polish Revolution is opening up.

This crisis of "peaceful co-existence" has not only been shown in the upsurge of the revolution, the basis of the crisis, but has also resulted in splits and ideological confusion in the ranks of the working class movement. Perhaps nowhere is this analysis more clear than in the case of Poland when the entire working class

rose up to challenge the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, followed by a ferment of lessons and experiences and a clash of factions and tendencies in all parties. The Congress took special note of the development of the Polish Revolution, and especially the lessons of the Fourth International in building its party, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland.

From a common understanding of the objective situation the Congress went on to decide the strategy and tactics of the Fourth International. In the last several years, and this is especially true in the United States, there has been a real attack on class consciousness — anti-union legislation, attempts to turn back the rights of Blacks and women workers, and practically a complete break of the young generation with working class traditions and the working class movement. Our party itself is coming out a period of relative isolation after the setback of the revolution in Portugal in 1975 and a tremendous attack on Marxism by the Stalinist ideologues of "Euro-communism" (the last attempt to maintain the order of things under "peaceful co-existence.") For the working class as a whole, the last several years may seem like a series of convulsive events, ups and downs; for our party the attack of the ruling class, and in the US, of Ronald Reagan, is a symptom of the overall change in the situation. The good news is the rise in the struggle of the working class and the oppressed. Naturally, the exploiters of the world are not going to take it lying down.

United Front

The question of strategy then is to base the party on the turn of the class struggle toward an offensive not on the reaction of the capitalists and to bridge the gap between the understanding of the party and the understanding of the larger masses of workers. Naturally, the two are not the same.

The key importance of emphasizing the unity of action of the workers and oppressed against capital came out of this strategy. From

this need arose a generalized tactic of the *workers united front*. In the US, this tactic is just as applicable to the strategic task of the day facing the American working class — the building of their own party, a class conscious party against the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. As revolutionaries our job is to ensure a revolutionary program and revolutionary workers in this party. The tactic of the Labor Party, as Trotsky also raised it, is really a common struggle with the masses of workers for their own party, in the course of which we Trotskyists must convince the workers of our program for the capture of power by the working class and Socialism.

To The Masses

Our Ninth Congress would not have been complete if it had not discussed the importance of the working class composition of our party and winning the young generation of the working class to the Fourth International. Really, this discussion did not take place under any one specific point, but rather it developed under practically every one of them — as a conclusion to the Congress as a whole. A program, even the best intentioned program, needs to be affirmed in practice in the working class. Marxism is a living program. Putting the decisions of the Ninth World Congress to work is not like following a "how to . . ." book of instructions. What the Fourth International needs, and what it has begun to gain — from Poland to Bolivia — is rich experiences from regular contact with workers and youth from which it can draw conclusions and make its program exact. This underlines the importance of recruitment in the next period, especially the strategic importance of winning the new generation of young workers to the Fourth International. This will be the major test of the validity of the Ninth World Congress, its work, and its decisions.

In the coming weeks, *Truth* will continue to develop the lessons and struggles of our Ninth World Congress for our readers.

Too Soon For a Labor Party -- Or Is It Overdue?

By FRED VITALE

The Cleveland Conference Against US Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean showed that the time is ripe for mass demonstrations against US counterrevolution in Central America.

The conference was endorsed by 36 local union presidents. Over 600 people participated including 175 unionists from 42 unions. Thus it certainly has the authority to carry out the decisions it took: a week of actions October 20-28 marking the first anniversary of the invasion of Grenada; a picket line at federal buildings November 10; a national demonstration in the Spring in Washington, D.C.

But, even more, the Conference was rich in lessons for those who want a Labor Party.

First, the conference showed that the time is also ripe for a Labor Party.

Second, it showed that a Labor Party can only be built through a political struggle for an alliance for a Labor Party, *against* those who want to tie the movement to the Democratic Party. A Labor Party will not arise spontaneously.

Finally, many organizations that claim to be for a Labor Party (and also claim to be Trotskyist), did not support the fight for a Labor Party at the Conference. They did not because they think that the policy of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1960s and 1970s was correct.

This policy was not a Trotskyist policy, was not correct then and is not correct today.

Labor Party Alliance

The resolution of the Trotskyist Organization (see last issue of *Truth*) was a resolution for a "partisan movement" — defense of Nicaragua and a struggle for a Labor Party, with Labor Candidates in the upcoming elections.

Armed with this policy, we were able to organize discussions with dozens of militants Friday night and Saturday morning. We were able to reach an agreement with the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP) to put forward a common resolution for a workers party (printed below).

And we continued this struggle in the first set of workshops Saturday.

In the workshop "Union-Busting at Home and Trade Union Solidarity Abroad," workshop leaders explained how they were convincing their fellow workers to support Central American workers.

We spoke from the floor. "The struggle you have described is really positive. What do you think about running Labor Candidates in the

elections? The Democrats support union-busting . . ."

Workers there responded with support for it. Carl Edelman, of UAW Local 1250, Brook Park, said that he had once run as an independent for the school board. Joe Lindemuth, president of United Steel Workers Local 2265, said that he thought that the time was ripe for American workingmen to have their own party. Bud Schulte, a picket captain in a strike outside of Minneapolis, said later that he was voting for Mel Mason, the SWP presidential candidate who is for a Labor Party.

There was a second set of workshops after the presentation of the resolutions. In the workshop on "Movements of Women, Senior Citizens, and Ethnic Minorities," the isolation of the Democratic Party supporters was evident. Democratic Party supporters tried to shout down one of our speakers for a Labor Party and were shouted down themselves.

The isolation of Democratic Party supporters was so evident that the *Akron Beacon Journal* (September 16, 1984) said: "One delegate urged the coalition to support Democrat Walter Mondale for president. He was the only person booed during the afternoon's session."

The Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Workers League called a caucus meeting Saturday evening to build support for a workers party. Even though only a handful of young people attended the Conference, virtually *all* of them attended this caucus meeting, as well as representatives of several organizations.

The evening session began with votes on whether resolutions would reach the floor. The Trotskyist Organization's resolution and the common resolution for a workers party got 42 and 50 votes respectively (not enough to remain on the floor).

Thus we supported another resolution against the Democratic Party, submitted by the Anti-Imperialist Group, as a step in the right direction. And this resolution did get enough votes to reach the floor.

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And at the caucus meeting for supporters of this resolution after the Conference, we fought for forming an alliance to continue the struggle for a workers party. The Trotskyist Organization and the RWL voted together for this resolution.

This support for a Labor Party would never have appeared without a political struggle for a Labor Party. It was this struggle that gave birth to an alliance and this alliance was able to extend the struggle and organize support for the Labor Party. This is the dialectic of the struggle for the Labor Party today.

Socialist Workers Party's Policy

But a Labor Party could have received a *majority* at the Conference if all those who claimed to be for a Labor Party actually supported it. All these forces also claim to be Trotskyist.

The reason for their refusal to support a Labor Party can be found in their balance sheet of the Socialist Workers Party's role in the 1960s and 1970s. They think it was 100% correct.

A spokesperson for the Trotskyist Organization said: "At this Conference there are two balance sheets of the anti-war movement of the 60s. One says it was 100% correct; the other, that it was good, but inadequate . . . I submit to you that if we had built a Labor Party in the 60s, we would not be here now, we would be free . . ."

What was necessary in 1968?

After the experiences of the ghetto rebellions, the sit-ins, the student movement, all of which culminated in the 1968 Democratic Party Convention; the 67-day-long GM strike and the national wildcat strike of postal workers in 1970, all the elements necessary to form a Labor Party were present. All that was lacking was someone to supply the energy to forge these elements together.

Instead, the SWP, at this critical moment, fought in the movement for a place for the Democratic Party. It weakened the indepen-

dence of the movement. It refused to fight for a Labor Party. All the elements remain dispersed and the movement limped back into the Democratic Party and died.

Today, after much bitter struggle, these same elements are appearing on the political scene. Without a correct balance sheet of the SWP's policy in the 1960s, it is not possible for those who claim to be Trotskyist to fight for a Labor Party today. With the SWP's policy it will always be "too soon."

Today the question for the movement is: will we build it so that it grows, becomes more independent, more powerful, more capable of resolving the issues of war and peace? We say yes — if we fight to build an alliance for a Labor Party. The support is there. It needs to be organized. Cleveland showed the way.

Common Resolution on the Workers Party

Resolved:

1. This conference rejects all activity which implies or explicitly supports a vote for the Democrats. Defeating Reagan cannot be accomplished through the Democratic Party.

2. This conference calls on the unions and the organizations of the oppressed to end their support for the Democrats and instead build a workers party.

3. Union members will attempt to organize their unions to help build a nation-wide congress of labor and the oppressed, the main purpose of which would be to organize a workers party.

4. Stop all union support to the Democratic Party now! Put forward local union candidates for office as well as independent Black, Latino and other minority candidates (even as write-ins).

Margaret Guttschall, Trotskyist Organization
Revolutionary Workers League
Fred Vitale, July 21 Coalition
Leon Perez, Internationalist Workers Party

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