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A Partisan, Working Class Movement to Defend Nicaraguan, South African Revolutions!

A Labor Front Against Reagan to Build a ...

Inside: Declaration of the Trotskyist Organization on the April 20 March

# Declaration ...

On April 20, over 15,000 people, including trade unionists representing tens of thousands of workers, will be marching against Reagan and his policies — against US intervention in Central America, against US support to apartheid, for jobs, peace and justice.

The Trotskyist Organization will be in Washington fighting to lead this struggle forward:

- For a partisan, working class movement to defend the Nicaraguan and South African revolutions;
- A Labor Front against Reagan to build a Labor Party;
- No to subordinating the independent mobilization of the working class to forming a front with the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (and all tendencies in the imperialist, bourgeois Democratic Party).

This means a fight today to stop all union support to the imperialist parties, for Labor candidates to fight for workers' demands in local elections and for union volunteers, arms and other material aid for Nicaragua with a union boycott of all supplies to the contras and the apartheid regime.

The working class is the only class with a solution to the problems of this society. It can disarm the imperialists, initiate a massive program of public works here and abroad, divide work among all workers, provide a living wave for all, expropriate the banks and large

# South Africa

No matter how brutal, how reactionary and racist the South African apartheid regime is. Reagan justifies it. On the March 21 anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, 61 Blacks were shot down in cold blood by the South African police at a funeral procession. According to Reagan, the Blacks who were killed brought it on themselves. Even in the face of nervous reports that the killings were clearly unprovoked in any way, Reagan said. "I think to put it that way, that they were simply killed and that the violence was coming totally from the law-and-order side, ignores the fact that there was rioting going on on behalf of others there."

No Reagan, there was no "rioting" but there is a revolution going on in South Africa, a class war that embraces the vast majority of the population, and it will not stop until it smashes the apartheid state power. Democrats (and some Republicans) who lament the killings in South Africa with crocodile tears know apartheid is doomed.

But only those definitely on the side of the revolution in South Africa can help the Black workers win. In the mobilization for the April 20 march on Washington we call on you to take the side of the revolution, to support practical aid to the Black workers of South Africa, a union boycott of all supplies to the apartheid government.

Down with Reagan! Down with Apartheid! B.P. corporations and help the small merchants and farmers.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, or the other hand, has no solution to the problems of this society. In fact, it is part of the problem, because it is basically a bourgeois tendency.

The "freeze" was initiated by a certain section of the Democratic Party in order to divert the working class away from a struggle against the real threat, which is not nuclear war between the two "super powers." but conventional imperialist war between the major capitalist powers for new markets. And this war is being prepared today through the attempts to crush the revolutions in Nicaragua, Poland and elsewhere.

The "freeze" is for US surveillance of other countries, especially the USSR. It is for military spending. It is for the weak and vacillating bourgeois Democratic Party. It has entered into the movement against US intervention for the sole purpose of undermining it and exploiting it.

Nevertheless, since the Cleveland Conference that initiated the April 20 march, the independent mobilization of the working class has been subordinated to forming an alliance with the bourgeois "freeze campaign."

Leading working class parties, particularly Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, opposed a common fight to stop all union support to the imperialist parties, for Labor candidates, for union volunteers, arms and other forms of material aid for Nicaragua, on the grounds that this would exclude and alienate people who still support the Democratic Party or who are not yet ready for such militant struggle, particularly the "freeze."

This adaptation to the bourgeois "freeze campaign" and the Democratic Party as a whole before the elections paved the way for a total capitulation after them. SA. FIT and others were upset by the large turnout for Reagan, the small turnout for Mondale and working class candidates, and lost confidence in the working class. Thus they turned over the leadership of the April 20 struggle to the bourgeois "freeze campaign" and to CISPES (which was openly hostile to the Cleveland Conference), which in turn did everything in their power to destroy the April 20 mobilization as any kind of independent, working class mobilization (the call, the failure to publish any literature or buttons until the last minute, the refusal to advertise union and working class political endorsers, the allocation of funds, bourgeois and petty bourgeois speakers at raffies, the exclusion of working class parties from local steering committees. etc.). This is what accounts for the contradictory character of the April 20 mobilization: an independent, working class mobilization, hemmed in and undermined by bourgeois and petry bourgeois tendencies supported (actively or passively) by working class parties (SA, FIT, SWP and, of course, the CP).

# **MX Missiles**

The US Congress just voted 219-213 in favor of producing the MX missile weapons system and appropriating \$1.5 billion for it. Those who voted in favor were Republicans and 61 Democrats. Even those who voted against the MX did so, not because they were opposed in principle to devoting the resources of this country to blowing up the peoples of the world but, because they thought the MX would not be an effective weapon. Said leading Democrat. Tip O'Neill: "It is expensive... It is vulnerable to attack... We do not need it."

This shows that "the Freeze" — the campaign to "freeze the US-USSR arms race," initiated by the Democratic Party left wing, the Kremlin, and the American Communist Party — is a failure. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party imperialist politicians will ever "freeze" the imperialists arms build up, much less disarm the imperialists and allocate the resources of this country to the working class.

Moreover, this campaign is an attack on the Soviet Union. Why should the US, the largest imperialist power in the world, have the right to monitor anybody else, especially the Soviet Union, which is a product of a workers' revolution, a workers' state, albeit an extremely degenerated one run by a privileged and dictatorial bureaucracy?

Trotskyists, on the other hand, struggle in defense of the working class in the US and the USSR against imperialism and the bureaucraev.

"Not one man and not one penny for the bourgeois government!

"Not an armaments program but a program of useful public works!

"... Military training and arming of workers and farmers ... Creation of military schools for the training of commanders among the toilers ... Substitution for the standing army of a people's militia ..."

(From The Transitional Program of the Fourth International).
M.G.

The Trotskyist Organization is lighting to resolve this contradiction in favor of the working class with a political struggle for a partisan, working class movement to defend the revolutions, for a Labor Front against Reagan to build a Labor Party. We call on all working class militants and organizations to join us, especially Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency.

In Socialist Action you complain about the coalition national office's attempt to subotage the struggle. What did you expect? You reap what you sow, comrades. Without your support this bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces would not have gotten into the position that they are in. Now is the time to break with this policy. This is the Trotskyist position. Join us!

Secretariat Trotskyist Organization April 14, 1985

# April 20 — What Should We Do Now?

By FRED MICHAELS

The demonstration on April 20 represents a powerful and positive step forward for the workers and oppressed of the US, Nicaragua and South Africa against their common enemy, the Reagan administration. This demonstration, with the support of hundreds of trade union locals representing tens of thousands of workers, marks a new stage in the movement against US intervention in Central America.

For the movement to go forward, for these new working class forces to grow in size and influence, the movement must build a *Labor* Front Against Reagan —

- Concrete Acts of Solidarity with the workers of Nicaragua and South Africa such as national demonstrations, a union boycott of aid to the contras and South Africa, volunteers and aid for Nicaragua.
- A program of useful public works, not an arms program.
- Active Solidarity with Striking US Workers, Labor Candidates for mayor in New York City and Detroit.

· A Labor Party.

One opportunity for making this struggle would be an open democratic Conference of the anti-intervention movement. Such a conference should discuss and decide on a course of action. The conference should be based on the principle of one person, one vote, open to all participants and held in a working class stronghold such as Chicago or Detroit.

Such a conference has already been decided upon. The initiator of the April 20 demonstration, the Emergency National Conference Against US Military Intervention in Central America/the Caribbean held in Cleveland last September, elected a Continuations Committee that was mandated to call such a conference after the April 20 action. We call on this committee to carry out its mandate and organize such a conference as soon as possible.

But, the most important point to be discussed at this demonstration, in the movement, is: What is the movement to do now?

We put forward the proposal for a Labor Front Against Reagan in response to another policy, a different direction posed most sharply in the mobilization for April 20 and even in the demonstration itself: What will the movement do if it continues to *orient toward* the Democratic Party left-wing, represented at the rally by Jesse Jackson, Marion Barry, etc.?

Jesse Jackson is currently the leader of the left-wing of the Democratic Party. He supported Walter Mondale for president against Reagan — Walter "US troops liberated Grenada" Mondale; Walter "budget cuts against the poor" Mondale.

Jesse Jackson, whether he runs as an "independent" or in the Democratic Party, has proven that he supports capitalism. In his 15 or more years as a Black leader in Chicago he never *once* supported a strike by workers against the capitalists — not steel workers, not auto workers, and most recently, not the Chicago teachers.

And, it is the left-wing of the Democratic Party that has been the burial ground for nearly every union, civil rights, independent political action, anti-war, anti-imperialist movement since the 1930s.

#### Deal with Democrats

This left-wing has gained control of these movements because the organizers, the builders, the initiators, of these movements which in every case have been working class parties and militants — have consistently turned over these movements to the Democratic Party, left-wing, sacrificing working class independence.

The April 20 Coalition is composed of forces from two classes — the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. And, while the class lines in the coalition cannot be drawn along organizational lines, on the most important political event of the last year — the elections — the forces in the coalition fall into two distinct groupings. One group — the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, CISPES, and working class parties like the Communist

Party and the Workers World Party (All People's Congress) supported Jesse Jackson and the Democrats. The other group — Socialist Action (SA), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) as well as the Trotskyist Organization, opposed supporting the Democrats or Republicans and supported working class candidates and programs in the elections.

But SA, the SWP and FIT have decided that the policy to follow now is to include the Democratic Party left-wing in the coalition.

Why? This retreat is in fact their response to the re-election of Reagan, the low vote for Mondale and the other events surrounding the elections. The elections revealed the bankruptcy of the Mondale wing of the Democratic Party. Jesse Jackson himself was unable to deliver the Black voters and others he had excited initially, to Mondale. Thus, the possibility existed (and still exists) for a real mobilization for a Labor Party. These organizations shrank back from this sharpening of the class struggle — the bourgeoisie moving rightward and the working class attempting to reject Mondale and even Jackson, that is, the Democratic Party.

Before the elections, the SWP and SA denounced Jackson saying that "his positions

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# Volunteers to Nicaragua!

Managua, Nicaragua — According to Nicaraguan government reports, critical export crops of coffee, sugar and cotton dropped for the first time since the 1979 revolution. Agricultural Vice-Minister Hoffman blamed the losses on *contra* attacks against farm workers that resulted in over 300 deaths last year.

Scarcities of fertilizer, pesticides and spare parts for tractors also hurt the harvest effort. But, most critical was a *farm labor shortage*. This was caused by the necessity for the army to recruit and draft people to maintain its strength against the *contras*. The governent was forced to use prisoners and even mental patients in a effort to harvest the crops.

Hoffman called the harvest a "victory" given the adversities. But that does not change the impact on the Nicaraguan economy. The result of the lowered exports is increased foreign debt. This in turn means that greater pressure can be exerted by imperialist banks and US imperialism itself on the Nicaraguan Revolution.

These results show how important a large mass campaign for material aid and volunteers is in order to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. Such a campaign means: 1) volunteers to prepare fields and plant; 2) material aid — fertilizer, etc.: 3) volunteers to defend Nicaragua from contra attacks.

Such a campaign requires a committment from the Sandinista government to make it happen.

We have been engaged in building such a campaign for some time. One form this struggle took was becoming part of the work brigades organized by the Nicaragua Exchange. We were rejected by the Nicaragua Exchange because we criticized CISPES (!) and we wanted to expand and build the brigades beyond the restrictions the Exchange had established. (All correspondence available from *Truth*).

The results of the harvest, unfortunately, bear out the correctness of our struggle.

Now more than ever a mobilization is needed for concrete aid to Nicaragua. The April 20 demonstration, and the support it received from the trade unions, shows that the potential is there for a truly mass effort to defend Nicaragua from US imperialism and its contras.

We call on the Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, and any other organization that believes that the trade unions are the key to defending Nicaragua, to join with us in a common campaign of concrete aid and volunteers for Nicaragua.

# Workers Front vs. Popular Front

By DAVID MARK

The Emergency National Conference Against US Intervention in Central America/the Caribbean last September represented the potential of an active trade union stand against US imperialism — independent of the Democratic Party. But after the Conference, and, in particular, after the re-election of Reagan, there was a clear retreat into the arms of the Democratic Party on the part of the Continuations Committee elected by the Conference.

That the Nuclear Freeze movement should be the medium for taming the working class parties and the trade union activists who originally built the Emergency Conference is not accidental. It must be said that this movement is by its very nature subordinate to imperialist diplomacy and that for its existence virtually depends on the support of the Democratic Party.

This "alliance" of the Freeze and the forces from the Emergency Conference was first of all a political alliance with the Democratic Party, and not an attempt to "broaden the action" as it was sold. For if the Continuations Committee elected by the Emergency Conference was interested in broadening the support for April 20, it would not have gone to the Freeze, which at the very moment of the Conference was holding a pitifully underattended rival meeting of its own. Instead, it would have continued the invaluable work in the trade unions it had begun to take up, extending this work to the unemployed, to Black neighborhoods, and to working class youth.

### The Class Question

Around the Emergency Conference, a debate was already fomenting in organizations claiming Trotskyism and in other working class parties. In this light, an article by David Keil in the Fall 1984 issue of Workers Review is particularly interesting. While noting the divisions that exist, not only between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the oppositions expelled by Barnes but also within the oppositions. Keil goes on to defend the majority position of Socialist Action for "a broad non-exclusive movement." It is in fact precisely this policy that has led to subordinating the militancy and working class character of April 20, including trade union work, to reaching middle class milieus - the Church, pacifists, the Freeze and finally, the Democratic Party.

The problem in the debate, is that rather than starting from a rejection of the strategy and tactics employed by the SWP in the movement against the Vietnam War — it begins from its defense. Keil's position "... building a 'multi-class' antiwar movement, as Pedro Camejo urged, in a 1983 interview, is in Lenin's tradition," is the type of argument

that the SWP used to defend its work in that movement. Keil proposes a "multi-class movement" to "expose" the Democrats. This is a more orthodox sounding position than that of say, the Communist Party, or the Democratic Socialists of America — who slavishly appeal to the Democrats to stop Reagan's war drive — but it ends up coming out to the same thing.

Keil's argument, however, is seriously skewed. While it is correct to support tactics that would expose the nature of the American bourgeoisie and the treacherous leaderships of the working class, to do so by a strategy of subordination to the Democratic Party is most definitely not Lenin's policy. Keil goes so far as to point out that Lenin sought joint work with the Mensheviks and social patriots to "expose" them — but misses the central



point that despite their bourgeois policy, the Social Democrats were and are today working class parties. In the United States, where the Democratic Party has a long history of betrayal, of imperialist adventures, and is a bourgeois party in a country which has never had an experience with a mass workers party, it is a question of a class line. In other words, Keil has understood the logic of Lenin's position but has thrown out the class question.

If the issue of workers front or popular front, Labor Party or Democratic Party, is put in the front of the debate — instead of the confusing issue of a "broad movement," than the debate becomes sharp, the perspectives become clear and the necessary steps can be taken to put the anti-intervention movement back on its feet.

Remember that the representatives of the Nuclear Freeze and of the pacifists were not invited into the April 20 Coalition to be "exposed." Quite the contrary, they and the Democrats were brought in to "legitimize" the action. This is the language of class compromise. To "expose" it is necessary first to have a firm working class policy.

And why is it that Jesse Jackson, and the entire array of traitors from the Democratic Party who are speaking at the rally (indeed, they are practically the only speakers) did not attend the Emergency Conference? Could it be because it had too much the aura of a working class, trade union affair? Fortunately for Jackson, the "multi-class" proponents in the April 20 Coalition took care of that so Jackson and other Democrats could gain the limelight they seek.

The pacifists, closely tied to the so-called "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party, play into the hands of the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie. Already, in the April 20 Coalition, they, with other pro-Democratic Party forces, are playing the role of policemen of the working classp parties. It has been these pro-Democratic Party forces that demanded that working class parties not be listed as endorsers of April 20, in the tradition of the most reactionary anti-communists. And meekly, the working class organizations, parties and trade unions, without whose initiative there never would have been an April 20, agreed not to even be mentioned as builders of the march. (The call adopted by the national coalition does not even mention the trade unions.)

### Labor Party and Workers United Front

The perspective raised by the Trotskyist Organization at the Emergency Conference, which received over 40 votes to place it on the floor for discussion, of a Workers Front to Defend Nicaragua, is the perspective for building a large anti-imperialist movement because in reality, only a determined workers movement can lead the rest of the wavering and half-hearted petty bourgeois elements against US imperialism.

Whether Democrats speak at rallies per se, or whether they speak at all, is not the issue. The real issue, clearly revealed by the events since the Emergency Conference, is whether to light the imperialist Democratic Party or to lean on it. That is why we raised the real issue of building a Labor Party at the Conference.

Trotsky raised again and again in the thirties, in Germany, in France, in Spain, that it was the Popular Front that paved the way for fascism and the imperialist war. In the same way today, it is the subordination of the anti-intervention movement to the Democratic Party that paves the way for Reagan to intervene in Nicaragua, Not a "multi-class" movement, but a partisan, working class movement.

US Out of Central America! Workers United Front to Defend Nicaragua!

Labor Party!

# **Polish Workers and Gorbachev**

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The Jaruzelski military-police dictatorship in Poland is initiating a new round of repression in a desperate effort to stem the tide of working class revolt. On February 13, police arrested seven Solidarnosc leaders, including Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Adam Michnik, and Lech Walesa, who was immediately released.

On March 4, Polish state television broadcasters charged Lech Walesa with being an informer for the imperialist Radio Free Europe. On March 5, the state proceeded with price increases in basic foods averaging 35%, from 11% for milk, to 75% for tea. And on March 8, the Polish prosecutor's office issued summonses to Lech Walesa and three other union leaders to appear for questioning and possible charges of inciting public unrest and organizing illegal protests.

At the same time, Jaruzelski's colleagues in Moscow are extending the hand of friendship to the imperialists. The new leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, traveled to Britain during the miner's strike and met with Margaret Thatcher, the "Iron Lady" leading the bourgeoisie in crushing the miners. Thatcher concluded: "I like Mr. Gorbachev, We can do business together." And Gorbachev just responded positively to Reagan's request for a summit meeting in Washington. This is the first time this has happened since Reagan was elected in 1980!

American workers must oppose both the bureaucracy's repression of the Polish workers' leaders and the attempt to reach an agreement with Reagan. This policy may appear to be contradictory, but if we look at it in class terms, we will see that it is not. Almost everyone sees that the Kremlin bureaucracy's attacks on the Polish workers (carried out through Jaruzelski and others) are aimed at putting down the workers and maintaining the privileges and power of the bureaucracy. The same is true of the "peace initiatives" toward the US, which, after all, is not simply the US, any old country, but the bastion of world imperialism. Gorbachev is part of the faction in the Kremlin and Communist Parties that most wants to open Eastern Europe and the USSR to imperialist exploitation (as the Chinese are already doing at a rapid pace). He wants to begin with agriculture, break down large-scale, collective farming and develop a peasant class, and then proceed with distribution, develop a class of merchants to sell the farmers' products. And Gorbachev has already begun to experiment with this policy. He was responsible for agriculture under Brezhnev, second-in-command under Andropov, and initiated a policy of incentives to managers to produce the most, ic., exploit the workers the most.

No wonder Thatcher says: "We can do business together."

Freedom for the Solidarnose leaders!

Down with the Reagan-Gorbachev summit! Defend the socialist conquests in Poland and the USSR!

# April 20 ...

cannot be separated from his candidacy in the Democratic Party because they have the same basis — support for the capitalist system." (*The Militant*, June 15, 1984, p.8) "Jesse Jackson is a prisoner of the capitalist money bags which back the Democratic Party." (*Socialist Action*, April, 1984).

Now — not a word about Jesse Jackson, not a word about the dead-end of reforming the Democratic Party, not a word about warning the working class not to be deceived by the Democratic Party left-wing.

Thus, this policy has placed the movement in a defensive position vis-a-vis the Democratic Party, a party it must fight to win its demands. And this represents a setback.

For the movement to follow the policy of reaching out to the Democratic Party left wing means to turn the movement over to the ruling rich and destroy it.

Let us be concrete. Reagan has announced, for now, a temporary halt to his push for aid to the contras, after he was told by House Minority leader Michel that it was "dead in the water." Was it the hearings and debates of the Democratic Party left-wing that caused this change or the mobilization for April 20 in the trade unions and working class?

The time is now to say No! to the Jesse Jacksons and the Democratic Party left-wing. The time is now to say Yes! to the workers and poor of Nicaragua. South Africa of the US. A Labor Front Against Reagan!

Now is the time for a Labor Party. A Labor Party can be built today, based on the trade union support, based on the movement of young people. Black people and working class organizations, based on the strength of the Nicaraguan Revolution, the brewing revolution in South Africa and the struggle against the US around the world.

With such a policy the movement can go forward. Without such a policy, the movement will die in the Democratic Party. Join with us to insure the future of the movement, the future of the world.

Labor Front Against Reagan!

# South Africa ...

world to see that it is the working class that will settle the question of racism.

Thami Mali, a leader of the Transvaal Province general strike, a Black South African unionist expresses the thinking going on in the working class and sees the struggle, not as one to pressure the corporations to divest but for the Black workers to take power. He said that his organization (FOSATU, Federation of South African Trade Unions that was one of the 37 mostly union organizations that formed the Stayaway Coalition in November to lead the general strike) "is for a just society that will be ruled by the working class."

... More than ever before," he said, "people have realized that their struggle at the factory floor will never be solved until the whole system of government has been changed. And student organizations have also realized that their problems in education will never be solved until the problems of the workers have been solved ... All these problems will be solved if we change the system of government," (Intercontinental Press, February 18, 1985).

Fighting to change the system of government also means a fight against US corporations in South Africa, not to ask them to stop investing in South Africa, but for the Black workers to take over industry to insure a decent standard of living.

US corporations not only reap the rewards of cheap labor in enormous profits, they also directly supplement the support of the US government for apartheid. General Motors in South Africa put out a secret statement in 1978 about its contingency plans should there be "civil unrest." GM stated that South African industry "is poorly prepared to handle industrial disruption and civil unrest" so that "the task of containing any such action is vested in the South African police with the tacitly acknowledged availability of military support should a situation warrant it." The racist conclusion was that Blacks in South Africa were unlikely to sustain any struggle because traditionally they "lack purpose" and that GM could rely on the white workers: "The White employee group would not be party to such action ("civil unrest") and could be relied on to take action to contain it ... pending the arrival of law enforcement authorities.

In South Africa there is no middle ground. The idea, peddled by the Black leaders and mayors that another, more "liberal" form of capitalist government can come into being is a dream. The workers must take power, and they must be supported by the world working class and its youth. Practical aid such as that undertaken in San Francisco last fall in response to the general strike in South Africa must be opened up and continued in all the unions. (The last week of November several hundred longshoremen refused to unload South African cargo from the Dutch freighter Nedlloyd Kimberly and fought restraining orders for a week facing times of \$10,000 per day - yet another example of bourgeois democraev as applied to the umons).

A Labor Front Against Reagan of youth, Blacks, all workers, with the goal of building a Labor Party and practical union aid to the South African Revolution will clear the mists of confusion spread by the pacifist Black leaders and do more than a million token arrests to raise the banner of revolution high in South Africa; the revolution that will spread to the Middle East, Europe, Poland, and the US

# From South Africa to the US — Down with racism!



By BARBARA PUTNAM

From South Africa to the United States there is a vast mobilization against racism. Against apartheid, or the policy of segregation and the institutionalization of the "superiority" of the white race over the Black in South

Africa, and at the same time against the reblossoming of Jim Crow in the US; lynchings in the South, "vigilante justice" and the revival of White Power groups and the KKK as well as against Reagan's racist domestic policies and the racist war on Central America.

On the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination, April 4, there were national demonstrations - at Columbia University in Manhattan, (site of a famous 1968 sit-in against the Vietnam War), which included an "encampment" around the administrative buildings demanding that the board of trustees divest itself of its \$33 million of holdings in companies that do business in South Africa; at Harvard University Rev. Jesse Jackson spoke against investment in South Africa to 4,000; in Washington where 4.000 more gathered in front of the South African Embassy led by the Black Mayor, Marion Barry; there were smaller events across the country and a key element of the April 20 march on Washington is support to the struggle against apartheid.

Youth attracted to the light against apartheid are misled to feel sorry for the Blacks in South Africa, misled by the US Black leaderships and their shadows on the left to believe that the aim of the struggle against apartheid in the US should be to ask the corporations in South Africa to give up their investments there. This prevents the youth from seeing the great potential of the revolutionary struggle of the Black working class in South Africa, the potential to raise up the workers of Europe, the Middle East, of Poland and of the United States against their imperialist oppressors.

Black leaders from Bishop Tutu to Jesse Jackson and the petty bourgeois leaders who trail after them *suppress* the significance of the revolutionary, working class struggle in South Africa and give the reactionaries time to rally behind apartheid as a diversion is created over divestment.

On November 5 and 6 of 1984 the largest general strike in South African history in the industrial centers along the coastal area near Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, began to shake the Botha apartheid regime to its foundations and began to make clear for the

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