

Boycott South Africa!

a statement by Detroit mayoral candidate



Death to apartheid! 35,000 march in New York City.

By BARBARA PUTNAM

As a candidate in the Detroit elections who is running against the bosses and their parties, I call on Detroit working people to fight to the end for the rights and demands of the Black majority in South Africa, for freedom for Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, for an end to apartheid. The revolution in South Africa is as authentically working class as the Polish Revolution. It can awaken the awareness and consciousness of working people in the United States to the true role of their government and the system they live under.

What is happening in South Africa and what is happening to Blacks and working people in the United States are not separate. They both share a common denominator, namely the instrument of their oppression — the system of capitalism and imperialism, with the US government and the Reagan administration pulling the strings. Apartheid could not stand for one day were it not for the bipartisan support it has received from the Democratic and Republican parties for decades, and were it not in the economic interest of capitalist profits.

What is happening in South Africa is an upsurge of the masses from below, and it has frightened politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties so much

that, now at any rate, they are speaking out against apartheid. An incident that happened in Detroit shows this, and also shows how my campaign for Mayor of Detroit can make a difference.

On August 1 an anti-apartheid rally and march drew more than 2,000 participants. I was there and heard two speeches of two I was there and heard speeches of several different Black leaders.

One was Coleman Young, one of the most prominent and well-known Black politicians in America. He raised the slogans — freedom for Blacks in South Africa, freedom for Nelson Mandela — and then he said, "... the same rights for Black citizens of South Africa that George Washington fought for in 1776."

Evidently, his Honor forgot that George Washington was a slaveowner.

Not surprisingly, Young did not mention any practical steps to take to bring down apartheid. Young wouldn't. His campaign "war chest" of over \$2 million came from the backing of the same privileged class that profits from apartheid.

We should use the weapons of the workers and oppressed in this country to defend our brothers and sisters in Africa. Boycott South Africa! Death to apartheid!

The oppressed Black majority of South Africa sees a difference between the masses in the United States, and the capitalists and their two parties. We should too.

For Blacks in South Africa the role of the Democratic Party toward apartheid in South Africa is like the role of Black collaborators with the apartheid government. That is why they demonstrated against Edward Kennedy when he visited South Africa.

And if today we find among us yesterday's silent politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties, let us never forget they represent another class. Let us never allow them to contain the masses in South Africa or to stop the struggle of working people and Blacks in the United States. Most of all let us never abandon the ways and means of struggle that belong to the working class and let us build a workers party, a party of the masses here in the United States to lead those struggles.

Boycott South Africa!
Build a Labor Party!

VOTE

FOR

**BARBARA
PUTNAM**

**CANDIDATE FOR A
LABOR PARTY
IN THE
DETROIT ELECTIONS . . . 4**

1. The Trotskyist Organization is a working class organization that in all cases defends the interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie and its agents (the bankers, big businessmen, bosses; the army, police, courts; the Republican and Democratic Parties).

2. The Trotskyist Organization is fighting to build an independent working class party, a Labor Party, to fight for the demands of the working class against the bourgeoisie and its agents — for jobs, wages, decent working conditions, schools, housing; for freedom for Blacks, women, all oppressed; an end to US intervention; for union rights.

3. We are fighting to build a revolutionary working class leadership prepared to lead the working class in securing its demands by any means necessary — the occupation of the factories, the formation of a working class militia, the seizure of power through a popular uprising, the establishment of a workers government based on workers councils, and the expropriation of the banks and big business; in other words ... socialist revolution.

4. The Trotskyist Organization supports the struggle of the Black people, the Nicaraguan people and all oppressed people against US imperialism without conditions. We fight to mobilize the entirety of the working class in solidarity with them and to build working class parties to lead this fight.

5. We support the struggle of the Polish workers against the Kremlin bureaucracy, which oppresses the workers and collaborates with US imperialism in restoring imperialist exploitation. We fight to mobilize all workers in solidarity with them and to build working class parties to lead this fight.

6. The Trotskyist Organization is fighting to build an open Trotskyist Congress to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution, to lead the working class. We aim to do this by fighting for the interests of the working class in the mass working class movement and by training working class youth as working class leaders. This is the meaning of Trotskyism and why we call ourselves Trotskyists.

The Trotskyist Organization urges all groups of working class youth, working class women and working class men that want to collaborate in this struggle, to join the Trotskyist Organization and form Committees to lead the fight in neighborhoods, schools, factories and unions. Those who want to do this should write the Trotskyist Organization.



Labor and the Democrats

With the defeat of Mondale, the Democratic Party has turned more and more openly against the support of so-called "special interest groups," in other words, the unions and Blacks. In addition, the Democrats have turned to supporting Reagan's policy of CIA terrorism and intervention in Central America. At the same time the Jackson forces in the Democratic Party which were seen (mistakenly) by many as a force independent of the mainline Democratic Party have been practically silent after Mondale's defeat.

Immediately following the massive march on Washington, D.C., April 20, the Democrats voted against appropriations for CIA activity in Nicaragua. Only one month later, the House, where the Democrats hold a majority, approved resumption of aid to the murderous CIA-backed *contras*. This followed support to a major foreign aid package of Reagan's in May.

This virtual stampede of moderate Democrats to the Reaganite camp has been accompanied by the retreat of Jesse Jackson and his Rainbow Coalition. In New York City, where Jackson received his largest support, the Rainbow Coalition will not run a candidate against one of the most racist anti-labor Mayors in the country — Mayor Koch.

For their part, labor leaders have, if anything, strengthened their servile relationship with the Democrats. Despite being kicked in the face by prominent Democrats and blamed for the loss to Reagan, union officialdom has endorsed the notion that what workers need is more compromise with the capitalists. A national conference in Bal Harbour, Florida, issued a report calling for, among other things:

- Negotiating barebones contracts that give all the companies more leeway in all aspects of worker compensation.
- Unions would provide services and benefits to non-members, becoming more like government agencies than workers organizations.
- Providing for associate members who would have lesser benefits and rights than full union members.
- Using lobbying activity and advertising in place of militant strike action.
- Making the unions less of a partici-

patory organization, meaning union members would find their leadership and the apparatus they paid for even less approachable.

These new "innovative" ideas are nothing but the worst form of deeper class collaboration. It is the weakness and cowardice of the trade union bureaucrats that has driven the membership in trade unions down from 35% in 1954 to less than 19% today. These new concessions represent an endorsement of the new plan of the Democrats to de-emphasize their relationship with the trade unions.

The AFL-CIO report says "confrontation and conflict are wasteful," and cites the need to maintain capitalist profits. It reports, "American workers ... are ambivalent in their attitudes toward unions."

Following the lead of his mentors in the Democratic Party, Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, also effectively endorsed Reagan's terrorist policy in Central America by circulating a decree to all AFL-CIO unions that they must not participate in any actions that protest US intervention in Central America. Just as in the Vietnam War, the encrusted union officialdom is lining up behind imperialism.

But things are different now than then. Though union oppositions have been sporadic and inconsistent in their fight against official trade union policies of concessions, there have been major shakeups in several key unions including the auto workers and the Teamsters. This summer, more than 40,000 workers have been involved in strikes against concessions. And in addition, the April 20 demonstration in Washington, D.C. drew significant trade union support.

All of this points out the importance of building a Labor Party. The betrayal of workers by the trade union bureaucracy has produced nothing but defeats and new attacks on the gains of American workers while giving aid to the racists and dictators of the world. Not only the trade union themselves need to be renewed with a fresh fighting leadership, but the working class in its entirety, organized and unorganized, needs its own party to organize its forces and unite all the sectors of the class against the bosses and their parties.

It is time for a Labor Party!
TRUTH

For a National Strike of Chrysler



Striking Teamster car haulers in Detroit try to stop a truck from delivering cars.

The contract between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Chrysler Corporation expires on October 15. Talks between the union and the company formally opened August 12. But the struggle around this contract has been going on since 1984.

The Chrysler contract comes on the heels of strikes by Teamster car haulers, by Wheeling-Pittsburgh steel workers, communication workers and other industries involving more than 40,000 workers. All of the strikes were directed against concessions.

The profits for Chrysler last year were 2.4 billion. In 1978 the number of cars built per worker was 10. In 1983 it was 19. It was solely from the extra work of the workers that Chrysler made its profits.

The workers are making it clear that they want their share of these profits. Chrysler workers across the country are demanding: 1) parity, that is, the same wages as Ford and GM workers (about \$1.25 more an hour); 2) an end to the blatant disregard for the current contract, including extensive violations of work rules, unfair disciplining and speed-up.

Chrysler's Preparations

Chrysler has prepared for this confrontation with the workers in the following ways:

Earlier this summer, Chrysler negotiated a contract with Dayton workers containing a two-tiered wage system. New employees will take a 57% cut in wages and no COLA for the life of the contract.

At the Sterling Heights Assembly plant just outside Detroit the local agreement includes drastic reductions in the number of job classifications.

And, in a particularly vicious plan,

Chrysler is hiring part-time workers at \$5.50 an hour with no benefits while thousands of full-time workers are on layoff. At the Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant in Detroit these workers account for over 10% of the current workforce.

The workers' demands are linked to the concessions of 1979 and 1981. In elections held earlier this year, the incumbent leaderships were thrown out in a majority of the locals. The workers elected slates not identified with concessions.

This is an important factor in the upcoming negotiations. These new leaders represent, in some way, the rising anger of the workers. They refused Chrysler's "offer" for early negotiations in exchange for a "no strike" pledge. And their re-election depends on their success in defending the workers' interests.

Local 7

At the Jefferson Assembly plant Local No. 7 in Detroit, workers rejected the incumbents and elected Wolf Lawrence and others from the PULL slate that has been supported by the Communist Party.

The Jefferson workers have expressed the link between the struggle to win back concessions and the current contract round through militant strike actions as well.

Chrysler has been violating the local agreement governing work rules and discipline. Grievances have piled up. There was no progress on resolving them until hundreds of workers showed up for a union meeting authorizing a strike vote over local grievances on April 28.

On May 23 second shift workers sat down on the job, an action triggered by the company's refusal to pay holiday pay on time. The entire second shift was sent home. Sixty workers may face discipline

for this action.

This is the second wildcat at the Jefferson plant in a year. Last fall workers walked out over the unfair disciplining of a worker.

National Strike Against Chrysler

It is clear that the Chrysler workers are willing to fight for their demands. But how to win them? We say:

A united front to win back concessions! A national strike of Chrysler to win back concessions and stop the harassment! A national strike in the current situation may have to start with a local strike that urges other locals (in the US and Canada) to join it. But whatever the form, there is no other way to win the workers' demands.

The Trotskyist Organization repeats its call and its commitment to work with any working class organization, trade union caucus, committee or local leaders who want to win back concessions with the only weapon that is available to the Chrysler workers — a national strike of Chrysler. Of course, there may be other proposals for action. But the main task is to prepare now for a national strike.

Join with us. It is a struggle in the interests not only of Chrysler workers, but the entire US working class.
F.M.

Jobs not Bombs!

By FRED MICHAELS

The Detroit Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice is organizing a demonstration on October 26 with the slogans, Jobs Not Bombs! Boycott South Africa not Nicaragua! Future issues of *Truth* will contain the time and place. We urge all our readers and all working class organizations to support it.

Jobs Not Bombs!

Young Black people must have jobs. In the Detroit area, the unemployment for young Blacks is 50% and over 30% for all Blacks. The situation will not change without building a movement to impose change.

We are marching to build a movement to stop spending money on armaments programs — more missiles, more tanks, more bombs — while the young people of this country are not given any serious future of productive work. We say not one more penny for guns and bombs until every single person in this country has a job at union wages.

NBIPP Meeting

By MARGARET GUTTSALL
The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) held a forum on "Violence on the Black Community" on July 14 in Detroit. The speakers at the forum were Tom Barrow (a capitalist candidate for Detroit Mayor), a representative of Congressman George Crockett (another bourgeois politician), Cecilia Henderson Jordan (a relative of Alleane Richardson, a 65-year-old Black woman murdered by Detroit police) and Kibwe Diarra (Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit Mayor). Barbara Putnam, a working class candidate for Detroit Mayor put forward by the Trotskyist Organization, asked to join the panel, but was not permitted to do so.

Almost every single person in the room, outside Barrow, Crockett's man and their entourage, was totally opposed to police violence against Blacks and to the Black politicians spearheading these attacks — Young and Barrow in Detroit, Goode in Philadelphia, etc. The audience applauded Cecilia Henderson Jordan when she denounced Young for covering up her aunt's murder. It applauded her when she denounced Goode for murdering the MOVE members in Philadelphia. It applauded when she denounced Barrow for calling for more police in Detroit, when she said this would lead only to more dead working class Blacks like her aunt. The audience applauded Kibwe Diarra when he said he would eliminate the police entirely if he were elected mayor. In fact, the audience was so favorable to Jordan and Diarra and so hostile to Barrow, that Barrow was finally forced to leave.

Nevertheless, the tendencies present — primarily the Socialist Workers Party, which seemed to have a majority in the local NBIPP chapter — took absolutely no steps to actually mobilize the masses of people in Detroit against the racist police violence and the capitalist politicians responsible for it like Young and Barrow. Barbara Putnam spoke from the floor in solidarity with the Richardson family and in favor of a common working class candidate for Detroit mayor to lead this struggle in the Detroit elections. She asked Kibwe Diarra where he stood on this, but he did not say a word. Even when another member of the Trotskyist Organization repeated the question, he remained silent. Indeed, this question — why not a single working class candidate to unite the work-

ing class against the bosses and their racist candidates — was the only question about which the panel had absolutely nothing to say. The panel answered every other question at length.

However, after the meeting, a number of people — including Vassie Brame (chairperson of the meeting), Steve Polard (militant in the anti-intervention movement) and Cecilia Henderson Jordan — said that they thought this proposal was a very good idea, that working class organizations really should unite and put up their own candidate against Young.

SWP representatives, on the other hand, after the meeting, told us, in individual conversations, that they did not think this would do any good, that in any event the SWP and the TO have differences and cannot work together on this question.

But these arguments are no arguments at all. They are completely ridiculous.

The SWP knows perfectly well that a common fight on the part of the SWP and the TO would be far more effective in mobilizing the workers against Young and the Democrats in these elections than separate fights. Everyone knows that. And that is precisely why the SWP does not want to do it.

It does not want a large mobilization against Young and the Democrats because this would bring it into conflict with its Democratic Party allies in the anti-intervention movement and trade union movements ... and with the Communist Party which supports the Democratic Party.

And this is the real difference between the SWP and the TO. The SWP places maintaining its ties with the Democratic Party and the Communist Party above the interests of the working class, above the independent mass mobilization of the working class against the racist police and their leader, Coleman Young.

Thus, in no sense, is the SWP's campaign a true socialist campaign because the fight for socialism in America begins with the fight to free the working class from the influence of the bosses, from all their parties and all their politicians — Republicans and Democrats, Reagan and Young.

The Trotskyist Organization asks all working class tendencies that are for a common fight against the bosses in these elections, for a single working class candidate, to endorse and vote for Barbara Putnam. Barbara is the only working class

candidate that has campaigned for this policy in this election. A large vote for Barbara will show working class organizations what workers in Detroit want — solidarity against the bosses, not division; a single working class candidate, not three!

Thirteen candidates, three classes

There are at least thirteen candidates for Detroit Mayor and sixty candidates for City Council. Almost everyone claims to be for "jobs" and "rehabilitating the neighborhoods." It seems as though it is very difficult for a worker to make a choice between all these candidates.

But if one takes a closer look, he can see that while there are thirteen different candidates for Detroit Mayor, there are only three different classes represented.

Coleman Young has the support of the capitalists in Detroit. Young has served the interests of the banks and big business in Detroit for over fifteen years, since Henry Ford II and New Detroit first financed him in an effort to put down the unprecedented rebellion among Black working people in the late 60s and early 70s.

Tom Barrow is owner of the "state's largest minority-owned accounting firm," in other words, he is a businessman, a boss.

William Benham, Clifford Brookins, Charles Costa, Walter Espy, Charles Gowman, Douglas Mallouk, John Savage II and William Tinsley are middle class or petty bourgeois candidates. Benham and Brookins are contractors. Costa is a landlord and paint store owner. Espy is a restaurant owner and teacher. Gowman is a social worker. Mallouk is a coordinator for the National Democratic Policy Committee that wants "Detroit auto factories (to) be converted to build ... laser-tipped MX missiles to defend against a Soviet first strike' ..." Savage is a former electrician who wants to "build more prisons ... and add 1,200 police officers." And Tinsley is a toolmaker who says who says "we're living in the last days before the coming of God's kingdom on earth" and that he wants to "try to move away from government-sponsored programs, into getting people to help themselves."

All of the above candidates would like to be where Young is, a rich parasite on the people of Detroit. They can only orient toward the capitalist class, as each of these candidates has done, some calling

ampaign

for more police and prisons, others calling for more business breaks and various scams, and some are cranks calling for fantastic proposals, like the "Kingdom of God."

Kibwe Diarra, Helen Halyard, and Barbara Putnam are working class candidates. Each is affiliated with a working class organization (Diarra — Socialist Workers Party, Halyard — Workers League, Putnam — Trotskyist Organization), each has taken part in the struggles of the working class for some time, and Diarra and Putnam are UAW members.

On the basis of this class analysis of the candidates, it is easier for workers to see who to vote for — not for the bosses candidate, not for a middle class candidate, but for a working class candidate. Workers solidarize themselves with fellow workers against the bosses in the factory, with neighbors against the police, with other striking workers and demonstrators against the bosses and the police. So must they solidarize themselves with or vote for working class candidates against the bosses candidates in elections.

But which working class candidate should workers vote for in this election? There are three. Here the question becomes more difficult. It is necessary to take a closer look at their programs.

Diarra, Halyard and Putnam are all for jobs, against concessions, against racist police attacks, against US intervention in Central America, against apartheid and for a Labor Party. What is the difference between them? Barbara Putnam is fighting for an alliance for a single working class candidate for Detroit Mayor, for solidarity against the bosses in this election. Diarra and Halyard are not. They are against this. Each has refused to enter into a common fight with other working class organizations in this election many others.

And this is why workers should vote for Barbara Putnam. Barbara is the only working class candidate in this election fighting for solidarity against the bosses, for a single working class candidate for Detroit mayor. And as every worker knows, working class solidarity, unity, is the only way the working class can achieve anything, from a blow against the bosses and their candidates in these elections, to jobs, to a Labor Party, to ... political power.

Can Barbara Putnam win the election? Yes she can. Because if a large number of workers vote for Barbara Putnam it will pave the way for the unity of the workers

against the bosses in the coming months and that will be a victory for the working class. It will be a victory that every worker (and every boss!) will feel, no matter who is in the Manooagian Mansion.

Reply to *Detroit News*



Barbara Putnam
Candidate for Detroit Mayor
member UAW Local 2071, clerical worker

(Reprinted below is a letter to the Editor of *The Detroit News* sent August 21.)

Dear Mr. Linder:

On July 6 an article appeared in your paper written by Bruce Alpert about the Mayoral elections, "Young Files for 4th Term." At the end of the article, Alpert mentioned others, including me, who had filed. I quote his article: "... Barbara Putnam, a member of the Trotskyite organization and a 'working class' candidate for mayor ..."

We told Mr. Alpert several times the correct spelling of our organization's name, Trotskyist Organization, but he deliberately misspelled it.

Worse than Mr. Alpert's intentional distortion of the name was the way he placed the working class in tongue-in-cheek quotes.

And this gets to the heart of the matter. To the Black workers and their families in Detroit, being part of the working class is no laughing matter. Their accumulated

Solidarity Against the Bosses!
One Workers Candidate for Mayor!
Vote for Barbara Putnam September 10!

labor and taxes and used to finance such projects as the RenCen, the riverfront, the People Mover fiasco and the like. In return, the bosses and bankers close their plants, move out of town and throw hundreds and thousands of members of the working class into the streets.

Politicians like Coleman Young and Tom Barrow are co-opted by the bosses and bankers to carry out *their* will. Our purpose in the campaign for a *working class* candidate for Mayor of Detroit is to show this.

Your newspaper's pitiful attempt to make light of the workers' cause, in a city that is known for its militant union history and legacy of struggle for Blacks and their rights, has only helped us. Everyday I hear working people commenting on the worthless garbage that the press publishes on their struggles, the distortions and lies. Now those who have not heard of Trotskyists before will know we are on the same side of the class division they are.

Furthermore, it has long been known in the workers movement that the epithet "Trotskyite" originated with the Stalinists of the Communist Party who have tried without success to destroy the ability of the working class to have independent parties and who murdered Trotsky in Mexico to undermine the newly established Fourth International.

Lastly, if your reporter should call for an interview, I will refuse to let him interview me because of the class bias inherent in his reporting. In my book, he's just another irresponsible "Alpertite."

Barbara Putnam
a working class candidate
for Mayor of Detroit and member
of the Trotskyist Organization

TO SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH:

Fill out this form and send it with the correct amount to Truth, P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232

- Introductory Subscription, 6 issues for \$1 Regular Subscription, 24 issues for \$6
 Supporting Subscription, 24 issues for \$15 (Make checks payable to the Trotskyist Organization)

Name _____

Address _____

School/Union/Organization _____

Letters to Truth

Dear comrades,

Two articles in your April 19 issue contributed to the indispensable discussion of socialist antiwar work. One, by David Mark, took to task an article I wrote, because I "defend(ed) the majority position of Socialist Action for 'a broad non-exclusive' movement." It appears that *Truth* favors an effort to convince the anti-intervention coalitions and groups to attack the Democratic Party by name and to build a movement that is "exclusive" of the Democratic Party.

It is impossible for any antiwar activist to defend the Democratic Party as a trustworthy vehicle for opposition to Washington's killing machine in Central America. At every chance they get, the Democratic politicians do their best to help Reagan intervene against the Central American revolution.

On the other hand, most of the 125,000 participants in April 20 probably either voted for Democrats in 1984 or hoped they'd win.

Truth states, "The demonstration on April 20 represents a powerful and positive step forward for the workers and oppressed . . ." You call for "an open democratic Conference of the anti-intervention movement . . . open to all participants." (Fred Michaels, *Truth*, April 19, 1985)

How "powerful" would April 20 have been if built by an *exclusive* coalition? 10,000 powerful? 5,000? 1,000?

How "open" would a conference of antiwar activists be that invited only people who don't vote Democratic? It would be open to only a few people — most of whom are in groups that don't even answer each other's letters. Such a "powerful" movement!

Truth suggests that a non-exclusive, multi-class antiwar movement is a popular front. But a popular front is an *electoral or governmental coalition*; the antiwar coalitions intervene not in an electoral race, but in a *bloody international war*.

These coalitions are no more popular fronts than were the militias in Spain that fought Franco. The only difference between them is that there is no civil war in this country today and the antiwar movement therefore uses strictly peaceful methods. But it has a big moral effect today on the battlefields in Central America.

Just as the Bolsheviks concluded temporary alliances with capitalist forces from time to time on *military* questions, we have no choice but to make use of divisions

within our ruling class in order to slow down its war machine. That sometimes includes standing on the same platform with Democratic politicians and even inviting them to share the platform with other figures who have the support of antiwar constituencies.

Truth is correct to participate in this antiwar movement, to patiently contribute its views, and to promote the idea of a labor party when activists discuss who to vote for. (Enclosed is a small contribution in support of that work.)

Within the antiwar coalitions, however, a debate goes on every day whether to stay in the streets in mass ("non-exclusive") actions or to retreat to isolated activities and legislative lobbying.

You are not part of this debate. Your voice is needed there.

Comradely,
David Keil

(David Keil is an expelled oppositionist from the SWP who publishes *Forum*.)

Editor — What the article in the April 19 issues of *Truth* suggests is that the working class forces, unions, left organizations, stop hiding behind the Democrats with open-ended phrases like "broad non-exclusive movement." *Truth* did not advocate "an effort to convince the anti-intervention coalitions and groups to attack the Democratic Party," because it well understood the point of the coalitions was to mobilize opposition to US intervention. What *Truth* did fight was handing over the leadership of the April Action to the Freeze and forces close to the Democratic Party when in fact most of the footwork and organizing was done by working class tendencies.

Truth does believe that working class forces should act as a front in a multi-class coalition. This is articulated in the article "What is the place of the working class in a multi-class coalition?" in *Truth* No. 200.

As for how powerful the April 20 march could have been if it had been built by an exclusively working class coalition, that is, a coalition led by an open alliance of the major working class parties with coordinated outreach to trade unions and the Black and Latino community — we happen to believe that such a coalition would have been enormously more successful.

There is a difference between tailoring all one's effort into winning the endorsement of personalities, watering down slo-

gans to suit the reactionary notions of the mainline Democratic Party, etc., which happen to be the practice of those who defend a "non-exclusive movement," and building a movement that is based on work toward masses of workers, youth, and oppressed to end US intervention in Central America. *Truth* does not advocate an "exclusive" policy; it advocates a "partisan" working class policy.

Truth also thinks that the militias in Spain that fought Franco were led by a popular front and that precisely the problem was not that the POUM fought with the Republican forces, but rather that it did not advance an independent working class policy which separated the interests of the Spanish workers from the Popular Front. The analogy here to the Popular Front is not the coalitions, but rather the policy of relying on bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces rather than consciously working for the independence of the working class — even if it is necessary, as it is, to work with forces outside of the working class in certain situations.

We believe history teaches us that divisions within the ruling class are not favorable unless the forces of the working class are strong and class conscious. Reliance on divisions within the Democratic Party and the ruling class to get the US out of Central America would be fatal for Nicaragua.

Finally, *Truth* has been an active part of the debate and the work of building the anti-intervention movement. For the results of this work and reports on the concrete work we have undertaken we refer our readers to *Truth* which contains regular coverage of our practical work.



Trotskyist Organization-USA
National Office: P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232
Chicago: P.O. Box 388334, Chicago, IL 60638
Detroit: P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232

Truth: Published by the Trotskyist Organization
Address: P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232
Subscription Rates: North America: Introductory, 6 issues for \$1. Regular, 24 issues for \$6. Supporting, 24 issues for \$15. Inquire for other rates, including institutional rates.
Editorial Board: Margaret Gutfuss, David Mark, Barbara Putnam, editor.

For an open Trotskyist Congress

Democratic Centralism

For the Trotskyists who fought to maintain the continuity of the Fourth International and to rebuild it as a world center, one of the main gains of this struggle was the construction of an international leadership based on Democratic Centralism. This Leninist doctrine of the revolutionary party was embodied in the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938, in its living continuity with the Bolshevik party, and concretely in its statutes.

When, under the pressure of the war and the decimation of the Trotskyist leadership, including the assassination of Trotsky himself, the Fourth International emerged from World War II without a functioning international leadership, a struggle was begun to rebuild it. This struggle was led by the International Committee of the Fourth International against Pabloism, a pro-Stalinist tendency within the Fourth International.

Nevertheless, the IC itself retained a "federalist" character, that is, a federation of national Trotskyist parties, which it fought to overcome by rebuilding the Fourth International and implanting itself in the working class.

The other major international center which claims to represent Trotskyism, the United Secretariat, was formed on the basis of a reunification Congress in 1963 with the Pabloites it had fought against ten years before. It abandoned the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International as a world center and has functioned for all intents and purposes as a succession of blocs on a world scale.

Two recent events, the 12th World Congress of the USec and a split within the Internationalist Workers Party, illustrate the differences between the practice of Democratic Centralism and the practice of party building based on cliques, blocs, and maneuvers.

The IWP is a part of an international current which split from the USec in 1980 and is led by Nahuel Moreno, an Argentine. According to documents that have been made public by former members of the IWP, the leadership of this organization used slander and physical attacks against its own members in order to try to prevent the formation of an internal faction — now known as the Collective Leadership Faction of the IWP. Since these documents are public we are not going to review them here.

What is important from the point of view of Democratic Centralism is that the

charges are made by sincere militants, some of whom were new recruits to the IWP, and the fact that the decision of the "world congress" of the Moreno current was to legitimize the existence of two factions of the IWP based on geographic "territories."

While for any disciple of Leninism this practice would seem almost incredible, it is not that surprising given the history of Moreno (see past issues of *Truth*) and of the USec.

The recent 12th World Congress of the USec is a prime example. As we pointed out before in *Truth*, the decision of this world congress to recognize three factions of the USec in the United States, the two oppositions, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and Socialist Action, and the Barnes leadership of the SWP itself, was not only a retreat from the struggle against Barnes and his anti-Trotskyism, but was also a violation of the sixth statute of the Fourth International:

"In each country there can be but one single section of the Fourth International."

While these two events illustrate the particular case of the USec and its origins as a bloc between the Pabloites and the American SWP, there is a general confusion among all organizations that claim to represent Trotskyism on the validity of Democratic Centralism. But questioning Democratic Centralism is a false answer to the crisis of the Fourth International — which has been expressed on the organizational terrain by unprincipled blocs, by policies of slander and physical attacks against opponents. These latter are the tactics of Stalinism and the class enemy. Centralism of a workers organization based on internal democracy does not cause Stalinism and bureaucratism, rather it is the first victim of these deviations.

Today the unions and parties of the working class are plagued by gangsterism and bureaucratism. But, as with the case of Stalinism, these internal regimes are designed to block the development of genuinely revolutionary currents that want to fight the capitalist class. The organizational form of this betrayal can be either bureaucratic centralism or a party based on cliques and unprincipled blocs — but more often than not both forms necessarily exist side by side. To throw out Democratic Centralism is to accept the worst possible organizational regimes.

Centralism cannot be guaranteed by a "Robert's Rules of Order," but some rules

are more fundamental than others. Among the most important are the statutes of the Fourth International because they are based on the necessity of a collective international leadership and the development of strong national parties of the International.

The maintenance of a Leninist party, in line with the program of the Fourth International should not, in our viewpoint, be put in question. When we call for an open Trotskyist Congress to rebuild the US section of the Fourth International, we put the emphasis on "open" in terms of implantation in the working class, in terms of the united front and practical alliances with other parties that can build a basis for a common understanding of tasks, and we mean, quite naturally, that the tendencies and forces that will be involved in such a Congress cannot now be predicted.

But we do not consider the question of the program of the Fourth International, nor its statutes, nor its nature as a Leninist party to be questionable. For us it has been a valuable guide and an acquisition of the Fourth Open Congress rebuilding the Fourth International in 1976; it is a strength of our International that we do not want to give up.

TRUTH

Socialist Unity

Truth condemns in the strongest terms the veiled threats made against the organization Socialist Unity in the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. The threats are contained in an article "SWP condemns fraudulent use of party name." The article has the same juridical premise, characteristic of prosecutors not revolutionaries, as a previous attack on Socialist Action (SA).

The statement of the SWP claims that by considering themselves as public factions, the expelled oppositionists are making a "provocation" and aiding the police. This is slanderous. The fact is the oppositions are public factions of the SWP and the traditions of the international workers movement give them the right to say so.

The organization Socialist Unity was formed from a minority grouping within Socialist Action. While we have no direct contact with the organization, the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* states that the basis of the group's decision to leave SA included the question of Central America, the regroupment of the left in the United States, and internal organizational practices.

Global Conflict

South Africa

The State of Emergency declared by the apartheid government of South Africa has failed to stop Blacks from fighting against this racist government.

The National Union of Mineworkers, an all-Black union, has called for a national strike August 25 if union demands for wage hikes are not met. White mineworkers now receive roughly five times more money than Blacks. The union is also protesting the State of Emergency.

The State of Emergency was announced on July 20. *Intercontinental Press* reports that only days after the decree, 50,000 demonstrated for four hours near Johannesburg, and that shouts of "give us weapons" were heard. Street demonstrations have taken place in every part of South Africa, in regions where unrest has never been seen before by the apartheid government.

The attacks of the South African state police have been vicious and brutal. Entire Black neighborhoods have been raided. Houses are searched and any household member may be considered suspect and arrested on the spot.

In addition, Black leaders report that death squads have been operating in several parts of the country.

The current mobilizations are much deeper than those in 1960 and 1976. In particular, Black workers and their organizations are playing a much more important role. More than 1 million Black workers participated in a two day general strike in the Johannesburg-Pretoria region in November of 1984. This was followed in that year by several more general strikes. Only two days before the State of Emergency was declared, a general strike shut down most of the factories of Pietermaritzburg.

Support for the African National Congress (ANC), the key organization that fights apartheid, has mushroomed, and a new coalition uniting community organizations, trade unions, student groups, and others has come into existence.

As of August 20 the apartheid government's own figures list more than two thousand arrested since imposition of the State of Emergency. Those arrested have no legal rights to a lawyer or due process. This same day more than 1,000 troops and police raided Soweto.

While the fact that the US Congress voted extremely limited sanctions against South Africa made headlines, little has

been said about the repeal of the Clark Amendment. The amendment had prevented the CIA from setting up secret armies in Angola. The act was repealed with the support of Democrats. The apartheid government invaded Angola recently.

October 11 is the day that has been set for antional anti-apartheid demonstrations in US cities by all major anti-apartheid forces.
D.M.

Europe

POLAND

Solidarity leaders, Wladyslaw Frasnjuk, Bogdan Lis and Adam Michnik received sentences from 2 to 3½ years for "fomenting disorder." Their crime was holding a planning meeting for a 15 minute general strike to protest food price increases.

The severity of the trial is directly proportional to the fear that the Polish Stalinist bureaucrats have of the working class. Despite the vicious repression, the underground movement of Polish workers continues to thrive.

BRITAIN

The Thatcher government, the government closest to that of Reagan, suffered yet another defeat as 48 parliamentary members of her party refused to support her bid for pay increases for senior Government employees.

The proposal to raise salaries for her cronies comes after the refusal of the government to support pay increases for nurses and teachers, and, after the government abolished the minimum wage for persons under 21.

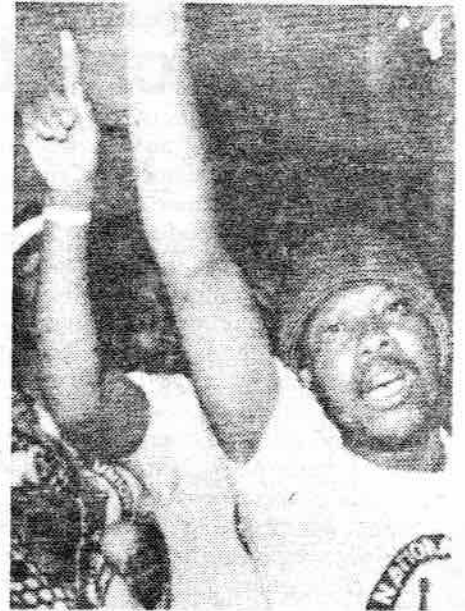
Thatcher's party is now third in popularity behind the Labour Party and the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance.

Central America

NICARAGUA

On August 6 over 30 Witness for Peace members and accompanying journalists were kidnapped by US-backed *contras*. They were monitoring the attacks by the *contras* along the Nicaraguan-Costa Rican border. They were freed the following day.

This kidnapping comes after Congress sent the *contras* a green light for such actions by approving \$27 million in aid. This kidnapping also comes after threats from the *contras* to kill these activists.



South African miners after strike vote

EL SALVADOR

FMLN rebels attacked El Salvador's largest prison and freed 149 political prisoners held by the US-backed dictatorship on July 12. The prison is located only two miles from the central city of San Salvador.

5397 Salvadoran soldiers have been killed by the FMLN in the past year. This figure matches the government figures for casualties almost exactly. It represents more than 10% of the Salvadoran armed forces.

The Caribbean

GUADELOUPE

After a six-day general strike in the French colony of Guadeloupe, pro-independence leader Georges Faisans was released from prison July 29.

The Mitterrand Socialist government was forced to release him from a French jail. He cannot leave France and return to Guadeloupe.

JAMAICA

For the first time in 45 years, the island of Jamaica was shut down with a general strike. Over 200,000 workers were involved. The strike lasted from June 24 to June 30.

Prime Minister Edward Seaga, a US puppet, is experiencing the lowest popularity ratings since he first took office in 1980. His government may be forced to call elections before 1989 when they are constitutionally required.