

The Fight in the Unions and the Elections

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

On July 20, two stories were front-page news in papers all over the country:

1) that the number of Americans classified as poor by the government rose by 2.2 million (7.4%) in 1981, giving the nation its highest poverty rate since 1967;

2) Chrysler Corporation announced that it had made a profit of \$106.9 million in the second quarter, its largest quarterly profit in 5½ years.

We think there is a connection here. We think that the policy of concessions that began with the fraudulent campaign to "save Chrysler" has borne its fruit in the two news stories: wealth for the great capitalist corporations, increased poverty for the workers and the oppressed.

As we said before, the Trotskyist Organization takes the position that the recent upsurge in the working class — taking the form not only of a bitterly fought strike wave but, most importantly, of the beginning of a break with the pro-imperialist trade union bureaucracy, a situation most clearly seen in the developing split in the UAW — is a fundamental fight against concessions and the whole capitalist attack.

The struggle in the UAW, as well as other unions, is reaching a crisis situation. Fraser and the rest of the UAW leadership

are going into the negotiations with Chrysler (the "concessions" contract expires on September 14) with the incredible call for "no more concessions"! This is like the fox yelling in the henhouse, "Don't give up your eggs!"

At the same time, the local contracts that were the chief focus of the opposition of UAW locals in GM plants are, by provision of the concessions contract, being kicked upstairs to Fraser if not successfully settled locally.

Picket line battles with cops, months-long strikes are taking shape all over the country — Rhode Island, Iowa, etc. How can we pull together these class fights, not only with each other, but with the fight against the bureaucracy in the UAW, the fight for the Special Convention?

The elections can enable us to not only centralize it organizationally, but to also give ourselves a political expression, a fight against Reagan's whole policy — including concessions.

This is especially important against the Democratic Party, which is trying to overcome its crisis by seizing on opposition to Reagan. The crisis of that party does not mean a natural move toward a labor party.

Quite to the contrary, it means that in

this crisis of capitalist politics, in the midst of a working class upsurge, all those who have supported the old order in the unions and the working class are now coming out even more feverishly for support to the Democratic Party. These forces are abandoning any pretense of independence and are openly wedding themselves to the Democrats. Not only has there been the emergence of the so-called Democratic Socialists of America, which claims it wants to "reform" the Democratic Party, not only has the Stalinist Communist Party USA come out for "support, critical support or outright, wholehearted support — whatever is necessary" to the Democrats, but AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland, Fraser and other bureaucrats have openly announced that they are staking everything on the Democratic Party. Thus, in Michigan, the bureaucrats support a Democrat for governor whose claim to fame is his role in "saving Chrysler" — imposing concessions.

So, on this issue not only are the lines clearly drawn, but the possibility exists of a political confrontation with the whole bureaucracy and all its agents in a fight in the 1982 elections. This would be a fight for the Workers Party.

In the last issue of *Truth*, we posed in

general terms the necessity for the opposition in the UAW (Locals Opposed to Concessions/LOC, the GM sub-council movement, as well as other forces like the United Front Caucus in Local 600 at Ford River Rouge) to take a stand for *union candidates* in the elections.

Now this fight must actually take shape. First, by candidates of organizations claiming to be working class submitting to the approval of union bodies. This concerns the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, while for its part the Trotskyist Organization will fight for there to be at least one union candidate, by itself taking the initiative to run, to seek support, etc. (In Michigan, this must take the form of a write-in vote. More details on this will appear in our next issue.)

Second, then the union groups themselves must run candidates as the situation allows or demands. Not only in Michigan, but also in Ohio, New Jersey, California, at least, the basis exists for such candidates.

In this way, we can *together* not only deepen the upsurge of the workers and raise it to a political level, but take real steps forward toward the General Strike to bring down Reagan, while building the leadership necessary for that fight.

Barnes & Co. Repudiate the Permanent Revolution

In his article, "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution" (*Writings, 1939-1940*), Leon Trotsky stated: "It may be said that the whole of Stalinism, taken on the theoretical plane, grew out of the criticism of the theory of the permanent revolution as it was formulated in 1905." And now, in a new and unprecedented development of the crisis of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Barnes leadership of this grouping that has for so long falsely claimed to be Trotskyist has taken this Stalinist road.

Jenness Attacks Trotskyism

Beginning last year, in the *International Socialist Review* section of *The Militant* (November 13, 1981), the Barnes leadership, in the guise of defending Lenin and Leninism, opened up an attack on Trotsky and his theory of the permanent revolution.

The theory of the permanent revolution alone correctly predicted the course of the Russian Revolution: because only the working class could lead it this would mean the revolution's becoming socialist and instituting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1924, when Stalin (and Zinoviev and Kamenev) sought to counterpose themselves to Trotsky, they raked up all his old, superseded differences with Lenin, in particular counterposing Lenin's inadequate theory of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" to the permanent revolution.

In the original *ISR* article, Barnes leadership figure Doug Jenness took exactly the same path, except that he dishonestly refused to even deal with the permanent revolution.

In a response in the *ISR* section (April 2, 1982), Ernest Mandel accepted this false "theoretical" framework, refusing to draw political conclusions. By pretending that Jenness and Barnes didn't know about

Trotsky's whole position, he helped set the stage for Jenness' all-out attack in the June 25 *ISR* section.

Jenness, on behalf of the whole Barnes leadership, takes up virtually every one of the lies, distortions and slanders that you can find in the voluminous anti-Trotskyist literature put out by the Kremlin and its stooges.

Thus: "Trotsky's centrist position on the organizational level reflected his political centrism." And let us not forget the old accusation that Trotsky "underestimated the peasantry." Jenness chimes in: "Trotsky, however, concentrated primarily on the backwardness of the peasants." And so on and so forth.

And what does this supposed "Trotskyist" say about the permanent revolution itself? "Trotsky's perspectives didn't represent a trend rooted in one of the fundamental classes. Rather, it (sic) was a centrist amalgamation of the positions of the two principal trends."

Not only is this a shameless Stalinist slander, it approaches the depths of political dishonesty. You would never know from Jenness that all these lies were answered by Trotsky himself in some of his best-known works: *The Permanent Revolution*, *The Third International After Lenin*, *History of the Russian Revolution* — just for starters.

The clear implication is that not only is the fundamental theoretical underpinning of our movement false, but virtually all of Trotsky's political and theoretical struggle against Stalinism is an anti-Leninist charade.

What Is At Stake

The political questions at stake are not only the most obvious: that the SWP finds the permanent revolution a severe obstacle to its support of petty bourgeois leaderships in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (from Nicaragua to Ghana). *The*

Guardian, an "independent" pro-Stalinist publication, can see this much: the SWP, it announced, "has been quietly dropping overboard some of its Trotskyist baggage."

Not so quietly, and much more fundamental.

When Joseph Hansen developed his revisionist ideas on the "workers and peasants/farmers government" twenty years ago, what was at stake was not just support to the Castro petty bourgeois "team." The real question was the betrayal of the Cuban Revolution to Stalinism.

The second key postulate of the permanent revolution is the *international* character of the socialist revolution, against Stalinism's reactionary justification of its own rule, "socialism in one country." When the SWP leadership *repudiates the permanent revolution* it is dotting all the i's and crossing all the t's in its refusal to defend the Polish Revolution, its call for a "mass Leninist International" (made up of non- and anti-Trotskyists), its praise of the Cuban, Vietnamese and now, *North Korean*, bureaucracies.

When the "Euro-Communist" faction of the Kremlin's international apparatus renounced Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat this was not just a formal question, even though the Stalinists had long ago abandoned both in practice. This step meant the opening up of a vicious anti-Leninist campaign aimed at disorienting the revolution.

Likewise, the open repudiation of the permanent revolution by the pseudo-Trotskyists is no formal question, either.

At the beginning of this year, the Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International issued its Manifesto, which openly stated: "It is midnight for Stalinism. It is the hour of the Fourth International."

Trotskyist Congress

Yes, at this moment of the break-up of Stalinism, the SWP leadership is aiming at the open, crude destruction of this party in a total capitulation to Stalinism. This capitulation is already taking shape as an unbridled anti-Trotskyist attack on the SWP's history, its traditions; itself soiling its very name with Stalinist filth.

Everyone knows the SWP is in deep organizational trouble. In itself, this is not positive. If the organizational decay of the SWP proceeds without a political alternative being built, this will only serve the interests of Stalinism.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International are preparing a Trotskyist Congress Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International. The fight for this Congress is not just a fight for our historic positions, it is above all a fight to organize the revolution: uniting the struggles in the Two Americas, extending the Polish Revolution, building the Workers Party in the US.

We are small compared to the SWP, even today. But the fight that we have taken up shows that our mobilization is building the alternative, will prevent a victory for Barnes and the Kremlin, will mean a victory for the Fourth International.

This fight, based on organizing the youth for the revolution and the party, has already borne fruit, and will continue to do so. A year ago, our organization waged a fight for a Workers Candidate in the Detroit mayoral election. The "big, famous" SWP refused to support this class fight, preferring to run "its own" candidate. Our policy of class mobilization enabled us to nearly defeat the SWP then (1,561 to 1,361 — a mere 200 votes!). And the fight we are making today, as shown in this same paper, is the road to the defeat of Barnes, the road of American Trotskyism.

TRUTH

Central Resolution of the Seventh National Conference

We reprint (slightly edited for publication) the Central Resolution of the Seventh National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA. The Conference, held July 17-18, marked the beginning of a new period of struggle of the TO.

A report on this Conference will appear soon in our paper. With this Central Resolution we open up the preparation of the American Conference in Lima, Peru, with the objective of the construction of the sections of the Fourth International in the Two Americas. This struggle directly concerns the workers and youth of the USA, because it is a question of building the revolutionary and proletarian leadership that can bring about the end of the entire imperialist system that dominates this hemisphere.

We call on you to join us in this fight.

TRUTH

I. The period since the Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization is one of the richest periods in terms of the political struggles and experiences and the actual advances of the party. It is a period that has also been marked by sharp and difficult political struggles both in the working class and within the party itself. These difficult political times are the reflection of an irreversible revolutionary turn which has been set in motion and that demands with great immediacy the construction of the revolutionary leadership, and of the fact that each advance is prepared only by the struggle against the tendencies that owe their existence to the past period of the party and the class struggle.

In the Eighth World Congress and since, a political struggle has been led in every section of the Fourth International over the task of transforming the tremendous proletarian struggles which characterize this moment into the actual construction of the Fourth International, and over the means and methods of this construction. It is a struggle which has been led to build the Hamburg Rally and to center this open demarcation of forces for the building of a new revolutionary leadership around the building of the Revolutionary Youth International: in order to clarify that this revolutionary leadership, the building of the Fourth International, will not be based on a regroupment of the tendencies and militants of the fractured Stalinist and centrist parties, the best of whom will be won only on the basis of the independent struggle of our party to forge a leadership from the new generation of the proletarian youth, and in order to counterpose to the sterile and passive intervention in the struggle of the workers, the deepening, the enlargement and the centralization of these struggles in order to make the construction of the party an affair of the masses and the stake of the outcome of the revolutionary confrontations which are taking place.

And therefore, what is clearly posed in the present discussion in our conference is not the "general aim and line of the Fourth International" but the actual preparation of the American Revolution and the construction of the party which will lead and organize it.

What we saw in the massive demonstration on Solidarity Day, what we are seeing today in the split in the UAW, in the upsurge of the black liberation struggle, is the direct reflection of an irreversible turn set in motion by the Polish Revolution, at the most advanced point of this revolutionary period opened up by the Iranian and Nicaraguan Revolutions, and characterized by the break-up of the international apparatus of Stalinism, the increasing isolation of US imperialism at home and abroad, inter-imperialist rivalry, trade wars and economic crises without let-up, and the successive failure of every agreement between imperialism and Stalinism, and between the imperialist powers, set up after World War II — including the various attempts to patch up this framework in the years from 1974 to 1980 (human rights, normalization in Eastern Europe, democratization in Spain, institutionalization of the Latin American dictatorships).

"... By opening the struggle for the Workers Party... the Fourth International makes the building of its party into the business of the masses, which gives an intensified pace to its development. But the first stage of the battle for the Workers Party must be that of a Trotskyist Congress, rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International, in relation to the necessity to respond to the crisis and the bankruptcy of the SWP." (Central Resolution of the

Eighth World Congress)

If it is true that since the Eighth World Congress the definition and development of our fight for the Trotskyist Congress has not had much life to it, and it is true, these hesitations, however, do not concern the lack of a magical formula to explain what the Trotskyist Congress is. Rather it concerns the necessity of transforming the Trotskyist Organization/USA from the time of this Seventh National Conference to the time of our next National Congress, the Trotskyist Congress, into the American section rebuilt, and all that this implies. As one comrade has put it, "We are preparing the end of the existence of the Trotskyist Organization as such." And what does this mean but assuming fully the tasks which are in front of us, of realizing the construction of the party of the American Revolution. At the same time, we place no limits of an artificial character on how far the Trotskyist Congress can go in representing the construction of the proletarian party of the American working class against its historical domination by the bourgeoisie and its parties.

It makes absolutely no sense to search for a policy for reaching this objective outside of the confrontations which are being prepared and are taking place between imperialism and the workers and oppressed of North and South America. For then we might as well say that our differences with the SWP concern a list of various "positions" rather than the obstacle that this worshiper of bourgeois democracy and apologist for Stalinism represents to the de-

velopment of the American Revolution. Our policy must be predicated on the fact that the "irreversible" turn of revolution which was opened by the Polish Revolution is unfolding before our very eyes in this hemisphere, that it is going to pose ever more forcefully — in the confrontations between the American working class and its imperialist government and pro-imperialist trade union bureaucracy, and between the workers and peasants of Central and South America and "Yankee" imperialism and its comprador bourgeois servants — the essential unity of two proletariats.

velopment of the American Revolution. Our

policy must be predicated on the fact that the

"irreversible" turn of revolution which was

opened by the Polish Revolution is unfolding

before our very eyes in this hemisphere, that it

is going to pose ever more forcefully — in the

confrontations between the American working

class and its imperialist government and pro-

imperialist trade union bureaucracy, and be-

tween the workers and peasants of Central and

South America and "Yankee" imperialism and

its comprador bourgeois servants — the essen-

tial unity of two proletariats.

The struggle of each-proletariat, taking up its

own specific tasks and demands, feeds and nour-

ishes the development of the struggle of the other.

It is the struggle for the revolutionary and proleta-

rian leadership of the revolution in the Americas,

beginning by the rebuilding of the sections of the

Fourth International, that will determine the out-

come of the turn of the class struggle — proleta-

rian revolution and the seizure of power by the

working class, or imperialist war. This leadership

will be built in the confrontations between imper-

ialism and the workers and oppressed of both

continents, in the struggle for the permanent re-

volution and by the struggle against Stalinism and

its agent Castro, whose crisis is translated into

attempts to subordinate the struggle of the two

proletariats to a democratic stage, yielding the

way to the maintenance of imperialism, and by

attempts to isolate the proletariat of Latin America

from that of North America.

That is why the objective of the Fourth Inter-

national of building an American Conference in

A Period of War and Revolution

II. We have said that after Poland nothing can be the same. That the confrontation of the Polish workers with the Stalinist apparatus "conditions in an iron-like way the attitudes and the possibilities of each political leadership and tendency among the workers." We have said, "a whole series of confrontations will be inevitable between the revolution and the counterrevolution in other countries. The political face of Europe and of the world will change in the months and years to come." (Man-



ifesto of the Eighth World Congress).

What we are witnessing today is the unfolding of this perspective. In the face of these massive convulsions and shocks, it is not so strange that in the party still exists a tendency to define our policy in terms of the "dangers," or the "fragility" of the situation. This is the tendency which the Fourth International fought in its Eighth World Congress and in the preparation of the Rally in Hamburg.

The election of Thatcher, of Reagan, the coup in Bolivia, declaration of martial law in Poland, the concessions imposed on the UAW — all these things that might have been defeats at one moment in history — are now only attestments to the monumental failures, political crises and convulsions that stalk the imperialist regimes and the Stalinist apparatus. These are the times that revolutions are born in, born with great pain and convulsive struggles against the forces of the counterrevolution.

After the renewal of the Polish Revolution in the spring of 1982, the Europe of the imperialist and bureaucrats is in shambles. In France the CP-SP government faces a massive strike wave. Reagan arrives in Bonn and is met by hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, the center of the city had to be wrapped in barbed wire to protest him. In Britain, the fruit of Thatcher's military adventure is a National Railway strike threatening to develop into a general strike. In Italy there is a general strike now going on, and the seeds of one developing in Greece.

The war in the Malvinas, the decrepit attempt

by Castro to propose a National Union

around the dictatorship in the face of the blows of the masses, illustrate perfectly the collapse of peaceful coexistence in the Two Americas. Above all the Malvinas war can unite the continent against imperialism and the dictatorships. The Argentine junta, once a centerpiece of Reagan's foreign policy, has been struck a fatal blow by the mobilizations after the British occupation of the Malvinas.

In Bolivia, the working class is beginning to reconstitute itself, and the elections in El Salvador, exposed as a massive fraud, have only intensified the development of the revolution in Central America and the support for it in the United States. In Brazil, the Workers Party now numbering more than 400,000, is preparing for a confrontation with the dictatorship in November. And in the United States, while Reagan's government experiences one political crisis after another (the implications of which have not been missed by the national TV networks that are celebrating "Watergate"), the pro-imperialist trade union bureaucracy is facing a split in the unions which is a clear and deep expression of a movement of the ranks against concessions and for workers democracy. In the face of all of this, Reagan has to face a test of power in the 1982 elections, the fact of which may very well signal his early exit.

These shocks and political convulsions are what characterize the situation as the revolutionary turn opened up in Poland continues to deepen. It is what characterizes the daily life of the working class as well, which is making it increasingly restless and combative every day. This is the nature of the class struggle which underlies the development of the situation since the massive demonstration on Solidarity Day. After the declaration of martial law in Poland, the bourgeoisie and the Fraser leadership of the UAW used this brief respite in the class struggle to impose a totally new framework of concessions and union dictatorship on the auto workers, and now, as we stated, that framework is the setting for an open split in the UAW and a renewed strike wave against agreements laid down only months ago.

And we said at the Eighth World Congress, these tremendous convulsions are being expressed in the Stalinist apparatus and in the opportunist parties that during the years after 1968 waged a fierce campaign against Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We can see in full bloom in the United States that now the class struggle is "being brought into the heart of these parties." The new campaign in the Communist Party USA against militants who reject the Kremlin-inspired policy of supporting the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections is taking place at a moment when, despite the fact that illusions still exist in the Democratic Party in the working class, it is incapable of resurrecting itself from the debacle of Carter's years and its historic agent, the trade union bureaucracy, is going to be rent apart by a movement in the trade unions that poses with each new turn the necessity for the class independence of American workers and the party and means of struggle to realize that independence.

And this movement is also going to open up a proletarian road for the struggle of blacks for their independence and their rights. By fighting unequivocally for workers rights and the special demands of black workers — equality, political rights and social programs — that represent clear conquests of the working class as a whole, the Trotskyist Organization opens up the perspective of the workers socialist revolution as the only guarantee of self-determination and equality for blacks.

The world crisis of the international apparatus of the Kremlin is already being supplemented with fresh fuel in the development of the revolution in Central and Latin America, compromising its historic agent, Castro, and reaching into all of its attempts to maintain the shattered remains of peaceful coexistence in the two American continents.

And the effects of this are already well developed in the different tendencies that exist in the SWP, as well as its subordination to the CP (as was shown in the June 12 demonstration) and increasing isolation from the working class and the youth. Each new blow of the revolution opens up a new line of fracture in the opportunists. This is the case with the Malvinas where the SWP, after having hitched its wagon to the Castroite line developed in the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Havana, is si-

And the effects of this are already well developed in the different tendencies that exist in the SWP, as well as its subordination to the CP (as was shown in the June 12 demonstration) and increasing isolation from the working class and the youth. Each new blow of the revolution opens up a new line of fracture in the opportunists. This is the case with the Malvinas where the SWP, after having hitched its wagon to the Castroite line developed in the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Havana, is si-

And the effects of this are already well developed in the different tendencies that exist in the SWP, as well as its subordination to the CP (as was shown in the June 12 demonstration) and increasing isolation from the working class and the youth. Each new blow of the revolution opens up a new line of fracture in the opportunists. This is the case with the Malvinas where the SWP, after having hitched its wagon to the Castroite line developed in the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Havana, is si-

And the effects of this are already well developed in the different tendencies that exist in the SWP, as well as its subordination to the CP (as was shown in the June 12 demonstration) and increasing isolation from the working class and the youth. Each new blow of the revolution opens up a new line of fracture in the opportunists. This is the case with the Malvinas where the SWP, after having hitched its wagon to the Castroite line developed in the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Havana, is si-

And the effects of this are already well developed in the different tendencies that exist in the SWP, as well as its subordination to the CP (as was shown in the June 12 demonstration) and increasing isolation from the working class and the youth. Each new blow of the revolution opens up a new line of fracture in the opportunists. This is the case with the Malvinas where the SWP, after having hitched its wagon to the Castroite line developed in the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Havana, is si-

of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

lent and shamed by the mobilization against the junta after its defeat. It is evident as well in the parties that were spin-offs of the crisis of the Fourth International such as the Thornett group in the USA, the Revolutionary Workers League.

What is at the heart of the evolution of the entire situation is not the "dangers" inherent in these confrontations, but the possibilities for the independent construction of the party led and organized by the Trotskyist Organization and based on the construction, formation and engagement in the proletarian arena of the new generation of the working class youth. This conditions everything. True, today the Trotskyist Organization is only a handful, but it can determine the first stages of the construction of the workers party, and through that, transform itself and determine the course of the American Revolution.

Our Methods

III. In the course of the preparation of the Hamburg Rally the Trotskyist Organization has made a marked advance. Not the least of these acquisitions has been the construction of the Malcolm X Circle and the struggle for the International Workers Fund. However, what fundamentally allowed these advances to have the conditions in which to develop, was the reorganization of the leadership of the TO around the elaboration of a policy through our journal, *Truth*. This reorganization also allowed the leadership to go beyond the perspective in the "Theses" issued in *Truth*, which tended to miss the significance of opposition to Reagan's imperialist intervention in El Salvador in the American working class, and which pose the Trotskyist Congress too much as a regroupment plain and simple.

"Activism, like opportunism, deprecates the central task of propaganda. It turns its back on the opportunists in place of combatting them energetically. It postpones constantly the patient tasks of the construction of the party (recruitment, formation, organization) and attempts to substitute for them ever larger doses of precipitation and improvisation. In place of occupying himself with what to do, all that preoccupies the activist, is who, with whom, where and how many" (Resolution of the Special Conference of the PORE.)

But the period we have entered will not tolerate such conditions for long. It is the task of this Conference, and of the leadership elected by it, to arm the party to carry out the patient, firm and inherently political work of propaganda, organization and recruitment, and it is the job of the responsible of every committee to see that the work of formation and regular centralization of results are developed in a systematic way.

In the years in which the Fourth International was relatively isolated and faced a tremendous reactionary ideological attack on Leninism led by the Euro-Communist wing of the Stalinist apparatus and the opportunists, we were accustomed to determining our policy by the errors of the latter, or reverting to activism by investing the working class youth with some special ideological purity, which naturally led to ignoring the struggle against the opportunists. That is how sectarianism toward the working class and adaptation to the opportunists go hand in hand.

Adaptationism always ends up, however, by avoiding the struggle against opportunism, just as in the case of the split in the UAW all the efforts of the Stalinists and the opportunists are going to be concentrated in preventing this split in the UAW and the strikes from taking a political road.

Our policy must be determined by the necessity to incorporate the struggle of the workers and the youth into the struggle against opportunism and the construction of the workers party.

Our Tasks

IV. The split that is opening up in the UAW and that is already beginning to develop in other industrial unions, including in the Steelworkers around McBride's agreement to negotiate concessions and in the Miners union around the elections which are coming up, is of capital importance for the fight for the Trotskyist Congress, and consequently for the American Conference in Lima at the end of 1982. It represents the unfolding of the perspective that was put forward by the Seventh and Eighth World Congresses of the

Fourth International of the strategic task of the break of the American working class from the bourgeoisie and the construction of the Workers Party. It is the axis around which the strikes and actions of the workers are going to deepen and broaden. The basis upon which the Trotskyist Organization will be able to centralize this movement for the class independence of the unions toward the building of the workers party is through the construction of the Circles of the Revolutionary Youth International, forging the working class youth into a force organizing the workers' initiatives, renewing and reinvigorating the ranks of the workers movement and fighting to construct their party. It is this independent construction of the party by the massive building of the Revolutionary Youth International that will permit the Trotskyist Organization to undertake serious work toward the SWP, the main obstacle in the way of the rebuilding of the Fourth International, as well as toward other centrist tendencies.

Special Convention of the UAW!

A Convention of the ranks to forge the union into a weapon of the working class!

Strike against concessions! Toward the General Strike!

The movement in the UAW and other major industrial unions to reclaim the unions as organizations of class struggle rather than class collaboration, and the beginning of a new strike wave against concessions, are one and the same movement. In January, when the concessions were imposed, the working class did not see the alternative with which to fight, now, their daily lives and existence turned upside down, they are trying to forge their unions into the instrument of that alternative — class independence.

The strategic goal and aim of our tactics and our propaganda must be to broaden this movement, to lead in the unions this movement against the pro-imperialist trade union bureaucracy, to give it a conscious political direction toward the workers revolution and to unify the whole class around it. This is the means by which we can make the fight for the Workers Party an affair of the masses, not just dozens.

We can foresee that this movement reclaiming the unions for the working class is going to be the instrument of the centralization and uniting of the strike wave which has begun, and thus the line of intervention for impulsing these struggles toward the General Strike. And therefore we will fight for the formation of union coordinating committees, committees for the organization of unemployed workers, as the content of the struggle we wage for the Special Convention. It is true this movement may begin to take on very quickly the character of a general social upheaval through the unions, raising the necessity of formulating special demands for its centralization as the Congress of Labor, as well as the necessity of industry-wide national strikes. But in the weeks and months ahead it will be the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization in auto, where it is most important and advantageous to incorporate these struggles into the fight against the Stalinists and opportunists and the construction of the party, that will determine the overall role of leadership that we can play.

Furthermore, this implies that the party seize on every opportunity to build the Special Convention and that it lead thereby this split in the UAW. It is not a question of counterposing the Convention to the sub-council meetings and union formations that are opposing themselves to Fraser, but of centralizing their class unity toward a specific objective. It is our independent political fight that will allow for the maximum flexibility in tactics, in particular the united front, toward other tendencies and workers organizations in the unions.

*For union candidates in the 1982 elections!
A Workers Vote!*

The natural complement of this struggle is a campaign for workers candidates in the 1982 elections. Because in this movement is clearly posed the possibility to bring down Reagan through the political strike. It is a question of giving an impetus to this movement in the unions and combatting the class collaborationist programs that are being put forward to try to divert this movement into raising a zombie, the Democratic Party, from the dead.

Tactically, we are behind in the development of such a campaign, in the sense that we may not be able at this point to get on the ballot; however, that does not restrict us either from developing this campaign in a very large and open fashion, as we did in the campaign for a workers candidate in Detroit, or in running our own candidates with-



out a spot on the ballot. It is our independent political struggle that is going to determine the sharpness of our tactical intervention.

US out of El Salvador!

Union boycott of the Latin American puppet dictatorships!

Arms and aid to the guerrillas!

Not one youth, not one cent for the bourgeois government!

A program of useful public works!

To the extent that this movement in the unions develops toward class independence from Reagan and the American bourgeoisie, it is also going to develop the essential proletarian unity of the American working class with its brothers and sisters in South and Central America. Already, there is a stirring and an awakening of sentiment in the working class against imperialism, which is explosively manifest in the massive demonstrations of the youth against war and the military. The Trotskyist Organization must begin to map out plans for building sections not only in the US, but also in Central and South America, especially El Salvador and Argentina.

It is true that the Communist Party USA is behind the attempts to steer the struggle of the youth away from the proletarian revolution. But however grand they may be, these initiatives still are of a defensive character. As surely as the confrontation with the Kremlin is inevitable in Poland, the Communist Party is not going to gain hegemony over this movement without a confrontation with the American working class driving toward its class independence.

We prepare this clash not only through our fight in the youth movement and the unions but also by the struggle against Castroism and the American CP's attempts to stop the proletarian and permanent revolution in North and South America, through our journals *Truth* and *The Fourth International*. This requires a break with the activist intervention in the peace movement as was manifest in the June 12 demonstration by the lack of political struggle around our journal.

Toward the working class youth!

*Build the circles of International Young Guard!
For the Return to Lenin!*

On the basis of its initial advances, the Trotskyist Organization must fight for a Conference of the Circles of the RYI in November 1982. This objective will not be developed in reality except by incorporating the youth into the proletarian struggle. For the youth, there is no separate road or movement, there is only the proletarian revolution. By the formation of the youth in the proletarian arena alongside the Fourth International, the fight for the Conference of Circles of the RYI will be a fight to Return to Lenin.

If it is indeed the case that the youth are the most combative and come to the struggle without the bad methods and false programs of the opportunists, it is nonetheless necessary to form them as revolutionaries. Their illusions are just as strong as the illusions of the working class as a whole. The instrument of their formation is the party, and the methods and means of achieving it is through their autonomous incorporation into the struggle to construct the party.

More than anywhere else it is necessary to

reject spontaneism and activism in the party in order to form the working class youth. And along with this to reject a certain administrative method which goes along with them, whereby the Circles are envisioned as arenas in which party members expound.

As we have seen, in reality the construction of circles of the Revolutionary Youth International requires not only the entire effort of the party, but also a method characterized by precision of formulation, firmness of orientation and patience. And it is the struggle to actually build the circles as autonomous organizations that really constitutes the basis for a massive growth of the RYI.

An immediate objective must be the construction of a circle of IYG/USA in Chicago, built in the working class districts and led by capable comrades sent from the party in Detroit.

International Young Guard, the journal, must be set on its feet again and become the journal of the circles of IYG.

Militants from the centrist and confusionist organizations are not going to be won except by the example of the construction of the party set by the TO and reinvigorated by the mobilization of the youth at its side.

In the first place, the combat against the opportunists takes place in the working class, but activism has interpreted this to mean either attending the meetings of the centrists with little to say, or depending on a process of osmosis to transmit our struggle to them. Adaptation envisions the construction of the party and the Trotskyist Organization as a regroupment based on an orientation toward the cadres already decrepit with the methods of opportunism. But the struggle against the opportunists is our fight in the working class because it is the struggle against the programs the working class must confront. It is developed through revolutionary propaganda and agitation, precise and well thought out tactics, and taken up as the regular work of the construction of the party.

★ ★ ★

The Fourth International is at an historic juncture. Without any false modesty, it is we who are capable of transforming this period of war and revolution, characterized by the unprecedented crisis of the Stalinist apparatus and the hesitations before the revolution of the opportunist centers, into the construction of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution and the proletarian revolution. The revolution has begun in Europe, it is knocking on our door and we have nothing to feel but confidence in the possibilities which are before us.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on the youth of the working class and the workers in the great industrial workplaces to take up with us the construction of the leadership of the American Revolution, and a first objective in realizing it — the rebuilding of the Fourth International, the world party of the working class, in North and South America. The experiences and the lessons of this struggle will arm us for the construction of the Workers Party and the preparation of our revolution.

Long live the unity of the working class of the Two Americas!

Long live the instrument of this unity — the Fourth International!

Resolution of the Hamburg Rally

The International Rally of the Youth was held in Hamburg, Germany, on July 3 and 4. We are printing below the text of the draft resolution of that Rally.

The Rally was attended by youth from France, Spain, Finland, Norway, Eastern Europe, as well as by a group from the French West Indies and a militant from the island of Mauritius. In addition, Vladimir Borisov, a central leader abroad of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, played a role in the Rally.

A full report on the Rally will be published in the next issue of our paper, along with the substance of any amendments, etc. Likewise, in order to conclude this struggle and go forward, we will publish in that same issue our response to Chicago Workers Video on the Call for the Rally (see our last issue).

TRUTH

We parties, groups, representatives of organizations and young people from the Americas, Spain, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the USSR, Norway, Finland, Germany, France and the Antilles;

We who are meeting in Hamburg July 3 and 4 in an International Rally called by the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International,

Adopt the following resolution:

1) We decide to continue on with the March on Gdansk, of which this rally was a first step, by opening up the fight in the world workers movement for it to impose and carry out a demonstration in Gdansk on December 13, 1982.

One year after the coup d'etat that sought to liquidate Solidarnosc, the movement of ten million Polish workers, we are linking up with the coming offensive of the workers of Poland. This past year has shown the incapacity of the Kremlin's satellite bureaucracy to strangle Solidarnosc.

On the contrary, the battles in the mines and shipyards, which began the very day of the coup, have prepared the reorganization of Solidarnosc and the relaunching of the offensive, expressed by the Call for the General Strike made by the underground leaders in Warsaw and Wroclaw.

But this past year has also shown that the working class revolution in Poland permanently marks the international apparatus of the Kremlin as anti-worker in the consciousness of the living generations of the proletariat.

The international and European "order" that rested on the close collaboration of Washington and Moscow is breaking up because the Kremlin is in no position to insure the success of its work to wreck the working class revolutions.

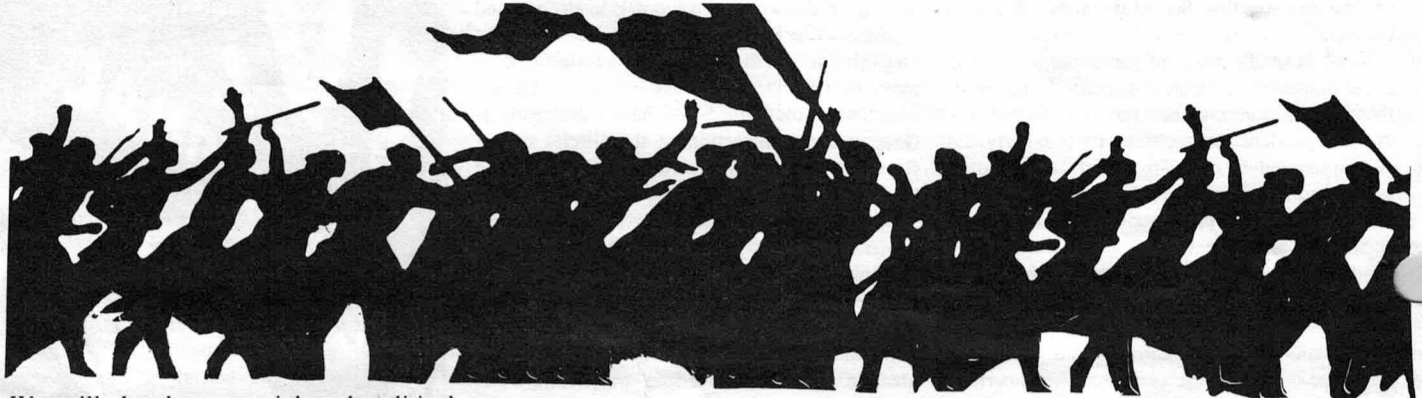
The international workers revolution has begun with Poland! All of Europe, the whole world, will be shaken by its consequences.

Because our immediate future is being played out in Poland, we say:

Long live the General Strike of the Polish workers!

Down with Jaruzelski's junta!
Freedom for Walesa and all the prisoners!

And we will take action on the international level to give aid and comfort on this path that the Polish workers have chosen.



We will develop material and political assistance to insure the victory of this first battle.

And we will prepare the next one. The Polish workers, in confronting Jaruzelski's junta, will immediately find themselves faced with the counterrevolutionary tanks of the Kremlin. From now on, since Solidarnosc has announced the General Strike for the fall, the world workers movement, the parties and trade unions, must prepare the international demonstration in Gdansk on December 13. In Eastern Europe and the USSR, the participants in this Rally commit themselves to fighting for the boycott of all troop movements and movement and supply of the Warsaw Pact armies against Poland.

This time, the tanks shall not pass!

2) We commit ourselves to drawing the lessons of, and to developing in Europe, the Polish Revolution.

The first lesson is that the "world equilibrium" is shattered. This equilibrium was based on the fact that the Kremlin was recognized as the leadership of the world workers movement. This is becoming ancient history. Imperialism in economic crisis can no longer count on this ally in order to get its anti-worker plans by "peacefully," which alone can insure its survival. It has to confront, with fire and steel, the workers who are rising up.

The Kremlin has no other solution than to silently accept, than to capitulate more and more shamefully to imperialism. That is what it has done around Argentina, that is what it has done with the Palestinians.

And while it retreats more each time before the imperialist demands, it tries to involve the world workers movement in its fall.

That is why it wages a fierce campaign for "peace" and "disarmament."

These cries of peace make one shudder.

"History will judge me, with my act I have saved world peace," said Jaruzelski the night of the coup, while the cops and tanks attacked the workers.

"Peace in Galilee," "Peace for Lebanon," thus Begin entitled his operation to liquidate the Palestinian people.

This is the peace of the dead. The "Pax Americana." This peace has a synonym: imperialist order.

Our slogan is: "If you want peace, prepare the revolution!" To do that, we are on the side of the Palestinian, Salvadoran and Polish fighters, of the Argentine workers.

We will carry out this campaign together around this slogan, concretely by fighting for the unions to organize:

The workers boycott of the Latin American dictatorships, compradores of imperialism! and the

Workers boycott of the State of Israel!

And we demand of all the workers unions, of all the governments that have recognized the Salvadoran guerrillas:

Arms for the Salvadoran guerrillas!

Arms against Reagan!

Because yes, it is war against Reagan!

Because yes, imperialism is preparing war. But you will not disarm it by holding all-inclusive marches for "peace and disarmament." Who will disarm it? Only the working class revolution can do that.

On the other hand, war is possible only on the basis of an overwhelming defeat of the workers movement. The alternatives war and revolution are being played out today in the confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution.

We want peace, so we are fighting for the revolution to be victorious!

3) We commit ourselves to fighting with the methods of independent working class mobilization for the power of the workers.

The same people who want to disarm the workers on the international scale with the slogan "peace," the Kremlin and the Catholic Church, are putting forward in every country where the revolution is taking its first steps a policy of disarming the workers before the regime.

"National Accord" in Poland, "negotiations" in El Salvador, "truce" and "democratic transition" in Argentina, "disarmament of the PLO" in Lebanon: in Poland the Church, elsewhere the Kremlin, try to head off the workers mobilization by putting forward so-called "negotiated solutions."

In every case, the proletariat or the peoples have to negotiate with a knife at their throats, with a gun at their heads, under bombing and with their own guns hung up. These are the "diplomatic solutions" of the governments of this world.

We counterpose to them the independent working class mobilization: *The General Strike in order to raise up workers committees, on the basis of which workers power can be built.*

That is the road that the Polish workers have chosen, that is our road. We counterpose it to all policies that tend to await from a better administration of the bourgeois state, or from the bureaucrats,

democratic improvements and ameliorations in the conditions of life.

Look at France. There you have a CP-SP government. For a year, it has preached social peace. The only concrete measures that it has taken have been giveaways in the millions to the bosses, the police strengthening of the state, the attack on rights, blocking wage increases and the development of an imperialist policy not only in the French colonies (TOM-DOM/Overseas Territories-Overseas Departments— translator), but also in Africa.

We will fight in our countries for the general strike as the way to win workers rights and demands. It is in the struggle for workers power, through the revolution, that the workers' conquests can be defended and developed.

4) We commit ourselves to building a new international working class leadership of the revolution.

Nothing is more urgent than this task.

This is the end of the international apparatus of the Kremlin as the world leadership of the workers. But it threatens to involve the whole workers movement in its death agony, because it still influences its old cadres brought up in the previous period. Its bankruptcy is irreparable because it has lost the youth, the future. It is this youth which it is a question of organizing, this new generation raised up in the struggles of Poland and El Salvador, which can constitute the massive force for involving the whole working class and for reorganizing its forces independently of and against Stalinism.

To do that, *with Workers Poland we are building the new international revolutionary leadership.*

We decide to integrate ourselves in the building of the Revolutionary Youth International as the autonomous framework of mobilization, organization and development of the youth for the raising up of a new revolutionary leadership.

The RYI was founded in front of the Berlin Wall in order to organize the youth of the East and the West against imperialism and Stalinism. We will fight with it in Germany, and throughout the world, for the revolutionary unification of Germany, by bringing our contribution to the building of a single section of the RYI for the Two Germanies.

We decide, in order to best carry out this resolution, to send one of our representatives to each session of the RYI's International Executive Committee.

TRUTH: Introductory Subscription, \$1 for 8 Issues

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Fill out this form and send it with \$1 to:
TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

TRUTH

Bi-Weekly Organ of the
Trotskyist Organization/USA

Editorial Board: Kevin FitzPatrick,
Editor; Margaret Guttshall, David
Heffelfinger, Barbara Putnam.

Subscription Rates: US and North
America: \$1 for eight issues
(introductory). \$3 for one year.
Inquire for all other rates, including
institutional rates.

Summer Schedule

For the summer, Truth is
being published on a
tri-weekly schedule. Our next
issue will be dated August 20.