

General Strike to Bring Down Reagan!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Just as the Chrysler contract was about to expire, UAW president Douglas Fraser announced a 24-hour contract extension. This maneuver, aimed at defusing the workers' readiness to fight, also showed that Chrysler had finally faced the fact that workers were no longer cowed by its threats.

The very next day, Chrysler workers went out anyway at key plants like Jefferson Avenue in Detroit and the Belvidere, Illinois, assembly plants where Chrysler's best-selling models are made.

At the same time, it was clear that the strike was directed against not only the company, but also against the UAW bureaucracy. This is shown not only by the violation of Fraser's extension — as well as the later refusal to go back to work despite the announcement of a settlement — but by some very specific facts.

In Belvidere, Tim Kaminski, head of the "Under the Wheels" caucus, denounced Fraser as a "double agent" because of his membership on Chrysler's board.

Local 1264 in Sterling Heights, Michigan, in a meeting attended by six times the normal turnout, voted unanimously for the resignation of the national UAW bargaining committee that negotiated the contract. This local and Local 1248, Brownstown Township, have initiated a petition calling on them to resign and Local 1248 has issued a petition calling on Fraser and Marc Stepp, Chrysler Division head, to resign.

And at the meeting of the Chrysler Council, composed of Local leaders, the vote for the contract was extraordinarily close: 262 to 249 (with "weighted voting"). This is much closer than the first vote in the GM Council last winter, a vote that forced Fraser to back down and try at Ford first.

This situation is reflected in Fraser's response to reporters' questions about what he would do if the contract were rejected: "I'll jump off that bridge when I come to it."

He better get a parachute. The contract itself — a last-minute recognition by Chrysler that Fraser could not sell out the workers on the company's terms, an attempt to give him *something* to split the ranks with — is in reality virtually nothing.

A one-year contract on "economic" issues — a wage increase if the company shows a profit, a limited resumption of COLA — together with a two-year "non-economic" pact (which includes a policy aimed at firing younger workers), is nothing but an attempt to try to disperse the workers mobilization and put off the "confrontation" that Fraser fears.

Even at this writing, the date for Local ratification meetings has not been set by Fraser, who wants time to work on the more backward workers and isolate the more militant.

The strike at Chrysler, the just-broken national railroad strike, the plethora of smaller strikes, all show a drive toward rejecting imperialism's policy of taking back everything the workers have gained in the last half century. This fight against concessions, against what people call "Reagonomics," is becoming obvious even to the most blind. Says *The New York Times* of September 17: "The conciliatory mood among many union members who made numerous wage and benefit concessions to employers in recent years has begun to evaporate, recent evidence sug-

gests."

The paper even quotes the president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, which is willing to settle for last year's terms, to this effect: "Employee groups are now saying, 'No more concessions' — that period is over."

Well, yes and no. The demand for concessions continues and will increase. What is over is the period in which workers, betrayed by leaderships that alone were "conciliatory," were unable to resist these concessions.

Growing demands for more by the capitalists — summed-up in the breaking of the railroad strike — are going to clash more and more with the workers' will for battle. That means that the road ahead is one of increasingly sharp class battles.

The primary reason the two capitalist parties ordered the engineers back to work is that a railroad strike posed, in the most graphic terms, precisely the *national strike in auto* that we called for in our last issue. Already, GM had shut down four plants. This clear demonstration of the power of the working class had to be nipped in the

bud.

It is clear, with the growing wave of strikes, with the increasingly blatant failure of the Democrats to regroup workers around them, that even a national strike in auto is not a set limit. All these questions — strikes, elections, etc. — point in the direction of a massive confrontation with the power of the capitalist class; of what we say has to be the *General Strike to bring down Reagan*.

But the fact that the Chrysler workers are still operating under Fraser's rules, the fact that the engineers did go back to work, shows the absolute necessity to build a fighting leadership in the course of this movement itself.

That has been the goal in our call for a Special Convention of the UAW. Today, the content of that proposal can be developed in very concrete ways, ways that can immediately mean a change in the situation for the workers.

Along the lines of the demand for the removal of the bargaining committee, we call for the formation of a *central strike committee* that will represent the

real leaders of the struggle, selected in action by the workers themselves. (That was the way Solidarnosc was built in Poland.)

We can start with the most militant plants and then spread — even beyond Chrysler.

At the same time, the organization of such bodies is an aggressive response to Fraser's stalling and dividing tactics. It unites the workers and gives them the initiative.

Also, we can now pose in a real way — not just loose talk — the organization of plant occupations, *sidown strikes*, as part of this same aggressive policy. If Chrysler threatens to shut down the plants, which is its ever ready club, then take the plants out of its hands!

Such actions, provided with the necessary defense bodies ("flying squadrons") can mean a beginning of a new stage. All those who hate Reagan will support such actions and will leap into the fight.

From there, "everything is possible."

No Votes for Strike-Breakers!

Right now, all the Democratic candidates for every office that you can think of are telling workers, the oppressed, the poor and young people to vote for them because they are in opposition to Reagan and "Reagonomics." *What a sick joke!*

Just one year after Reagan broke the PATCO strike (with a strategy prepared in Democrat Jimmy Carter's administration), he has just broken the railroad engineers' strike. Reagan has not changed.

But these Democratic "opponents" of his, these "fighters" against "Reagonomics" — what did they do? We know that a year ago they let Reagan get away with smashing PATCO (they and the union bureaucrats that support them). But this time around they have changed.

No, this time they didn't let him get away with it. *This time they actively supported him!*

Despite the fact that the engineers had already gone through the legally required (and notoriously anti-labor) "cooling-off period," the Democrats gave Reagan his emergency legislation imposing a contract settlement on the strikers. This bill passed virtually overnight in a Congress that usually takes weeks to pass a motion to adjourn.

In the Senate, where there was supposed to be a filibuster — to the point that it couldn't even vote on the debt ceiling — the liberals conducting the filibuster arranged a slight suspension of the rules to pass this strike-breaking legislation.

And in the House, which is controlled by the Democrats — the "friends of labor" again this year — the bill passed by a vote of 383 to 17! Some "friends"!

Virtually all the Michigan House Democrats, in office because of the UAW, voted for it — with the exception of cagey George Crockett, who didn't vote, and Democratic gubernatorial candidate James Blanchard (put forward in the leading anti-Reagan role), who was conveniently away campaigning.

All the great liberals, all the anti-Reaganites, all the members of the

"workingmen's party" — all lined up with Reagan on a decisive working class issue. All these people who are seeking your votes as opponents of Reagan and his plans showed their real colors.

PATCO is now not an isolated and forgotten incident, it is a precedent. The breaking of the engineers' strike establishes a policy shared by *both* capitalist parties.

The engineers' strike is part of a massive movement aimed at stopping the

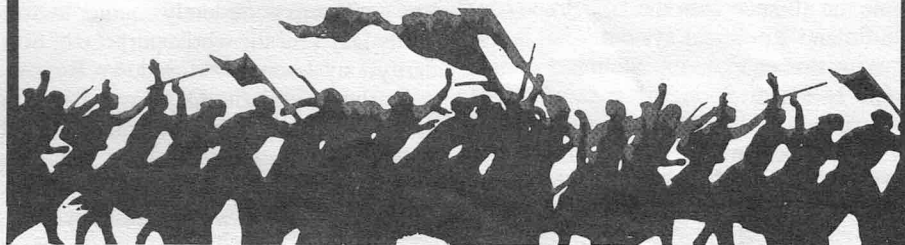
whole policy of Reagan. But the Democrats have just shown clearly that a vote for them in the elections is not part of that fight. In fact, it goes against it.

Yes, a fight in the elections! But on the same basis as the strikes and other actions — a fight against Reagan and all his supporters. We think this means a fight for union candidates in the way it is posed in the platform on this page. That is the road to victory!

TRUTH

Platform for union candidates

- 1. No Concessions!**
The fight against Reagan's attacks means a refusal to lower the living standards of the workers.
- 2. Defend and build the strikes!**
All over the country, workers are fighting concessions through strike actions. From South Dakota to Rhode Island, and right here in Detroit, this fight is going on now.
- 3. A new leadership in the unions!**
Douglas Fraser, like the rest of the top union bureaucrats, is owned lock, stock and barrel by the companies. Defend all the opposition groups in the unions.
- 4. Carry the fight into the elections!**
This movement has a chance to reach out in the elections, outside individual unions, to the unorganized and unemployed and the youth and to build a real mass movement, like Solidarnosc ("Solidarity") in Poland.
- 5. No vote for the Democrats or Republicans!**
The end of the road for these two parties can be seen all around us. They have nothing to offer! The attempt to regroup workers and youth around the Democrats — for them to "fight" Reagan, what a laugh! — is a desperate stunt that can only fail and in fact help Reagan out.
- 6. Build the Workers Party!**
All kinds of people are for it, but they see it as something far off. Union candidates in these elections are the building blocks of this party.



Down with Stalinist Trials!

The Global
Conflict

Underground Solidarnosc ("Solidarity") organized demonstrations against martial law throughout Poland on August 31, the second anniversary of the founding of Solidarnosc.

According to Polish Stalinist officials at least 65,000 people in fifty-four different cities in thirty-four different provinces, including working men, women and children, participated in the demonstrations. Twenty thousand gathered in Warsaw. Workers at the Nowa Huta steel mill went on strike.

These are the largest demonstrations that have taken place in Poland since Jaruzelski's coup d'etat and declaration of state of war last December 13. They are a tremendous victory for the workers.

Jaruzelski's regime waged a bitter campaign to prevent the demonstrations, with threatening messages broadcast daily over the TV, large numbers of police patrolling the streets, and raids on union offices.

The regime responded to this victory with vicious attacks on the demonstrations. At least five people were killed, hundreds wounded, and over 4000 arrested. And it has just initiated charges and trials against leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and the Workers Defense Committee (KOR).

The success of the demonstrations and Jaruzelski's response show that Solidarnosc is headed straight for a large-scale confrontation not only with the Jaruzelski regime which will never last, but above all with the Kremlin and its tanks.

Solidarnosc and the Kremlin cannot co-exist. Solidarnosc originated in defense of workers' interests. The bureaucracy originated in opposition to them. The fact that sections of Solidarnosc say they would prefer Western democracy and that the bureaucracy says it wants socialism, does not change the objective nature of the two organisms. Nor does the fact that the leadership of Solidarnosc is carrying forward the mobilization in the interests of a "dialogue" aimed at reaching a "national accord." The interests of the two bodies are irreconcilable. There will be no such accord.

The outcome of the conflict between Solidarnosc and the Kremlin and its tanks depends entirely on the position of the international working class, of the unions. The Kremlin apparatus might be able to successfully confront even 10 million Polish workers, but it cannot withstand the onslaught of the international working class.

This is why the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Youth International and youth gathered in Hamburg, Germany this summer decided to wage a struggle in unions on an international scale for freedom for workers Poland and to centralize this with a "march on Gdansk," a demonstration of union and youth delegates in Gdansk, on December 13, the anniversary of the coup d'etat. This date without a doubt will be marked by massive workers' demonstrations inside Poland.

This demonstration will show the world that we consider the Polish Revolution our own and are ready to stand by it.

This mobilization, this demonstration, demand a political struggle in the unions in defense of Solidarnosc in opposition to the Kremlin's preparations for the invasion.

The Kremlin and its puppets have charged the KPN and KOR leaders with treason in an effort to split Solidarnosc, to pave the way for trials against the Trotskyists and revolutionaries, and then, in fact, against the entirety of Solidarnosc.

KPN leaders are charged with: "setting up an illegal organization financed and inspired by foreign centers of political subversion hostile to Poland to weaken the defense capability of the country, undermine the alliance with the USSR and topple Poland's political system."

With this charge, the Stalinists aim to begin to smear Solidarnosc as a tool of imperialism and in so doing to isolate it from workers in the West fighting imperialism and prepare the rationale for the entrance of Kremlin tanks into Warsaw.

The working class cannot accept this maneuver. It must defend its right to political parties and its right to freely choose its political parties. It cannot allow the Kremlin to make its decisions for it. Thus workers must defend the KPN and the KOR against the Kremlin, whether they agree with the KPN and KOR programs or not (we do not because they are tied to Western democracy and the church, but we think it is the right of the workers to decide for themselves).

It is neither the KPN nor the KOR and still less Solidarnosc which are the agents of US imperialism. The Kremlin and Jaruzelski have borrowed over 23 billion from Western banks and are now trying to starve Polish workers in order to raise the money to pay the interest on this debt and

the debt itself. They have increased prices by 100% since the coup d'etat and reintroduced Saturday work.

Solidarnosc arose in opposition to this imperialist attack on the Polish working class carried out by the Kremlin and its puppets. Its victory over the Kremlin will open the door to the workers revolution throughout Europe and America. But if Solidarnosc is crushed the Polish working class will be prostrate before the demands of US imperialism and its banks.

American workers must reject the Kremlin's maneuver in words and deeds.

Free KPN and KOR leaders now!

Down with the Stalinist trials!

Union delegates in Gdansk December 13!

M.G.

A True Solidarity Day II

On Solidarity Day, September 19, 1981, thousands of workers from across the US marched in Washington, D.C., in defense of PATCO, the air-traffic controllers union, and in opposition to Reagan and his policies.

At that time, Lane Kirkland, in his speech to the crowd assembled in Washington, called for workers to continue the struggle with a "Solidarity Day II," November 2, 1982, by going to the polls and voting out Reagan's men, by voting for "labor-backed candidates."

Who are these "labor-backed candidates"? They are, in fact, bosses' candidates, Democratic Party candidates, including the likes of James Blanchard, a leading architect of the Chrysler Pact that slashed Chrysler workers' wages three years ago.

We are for a Solidarity Day II, but Kirkland Solidarity Day II is not a Solidarity Day II at all. It is a Zero Solidarity Day. It runs completely counter to Solidarity Day I.

First of all, Solidarity Day I was based on the independent mobilization of masses of workers, especially in defense of PATCO. Thousands of workers collected funds for PATCO, joined its picket lines, boycotted the air lines. This mobilization was expressed in Labor Day demonstrations throughout the country prior to Solidarity Day.

Kirkland's call to workers to go off to the polls, one by one, with a list of candidates, is in itself atomizing, not unifying, which is the whole meaning of solidarity.

What is more, Solidarity Day was characterized by *hostility* to the Democratic Party. Not one Democratic Party politician was permitted to speak on the platform in Washington, D.C. And when Mondale, Carter's vice-president, tried to speak in San Francisco, he was booed down.

Kirkland is obviously hoping that American workers have short memories, that two years of Reagan and the Republicans have made them forget how bad four years of Carter and the Democrats were.

But they do not. Large numbers of American workers will no longer be mobilized to support Democrats. The sole consequence of attempting to do so is to split the movement already under way, expressed in strikes and demonstrations, against Reagan.

A certain section of workers will be determined to continue an independent mobilization, while another section will be persuaded to hold off and try to get Democrats in office in the hopes that they will ameliorate the situation. Such a split in the ranks of the workers will result in Reagan and his men remaining in power.

Thus in another way Kirkland's Solidarity Day II runs completely counter to Solidarity Day I for the whole purpose of Solidarity Day I was to bring down Reagan.

Further, Solidarity Day I was based on the Polish Revolution, on "Solidarity with Solidarity," the Polish workers union. In demonstrations which led up to it, like the railroad workers demonstration, workers

carried signs like, "Learn to speak Polish." On Solidarity Day itself, hundreds of workers wore Solidarnosc T-shirts or Solidarnosc buttons. Many speakers were forced to indicate support for Solidarnosc.

What does Kirkland's Solidarity Day II, this year, a year later, have to say or do about the Polish Revolution, about Solidarnosc, about 10 million Polish workers? Absolutely nothing.

In fact, Kirkland would rather that American workers forget all about Solidarnosc for with the Gdansk Congress, Solidarnosc began to transform itself from a trade union into a real Workers Congress or Parliament. It began to take up all the fundamental questions of what Poland will be like and to affirm that Poland will be Workers Poland, not Stalinist Poland. The December 13 coup d'etat was a vain attempt to suppress this struggle. The recent demonstrations show that the question of who will prevail in Poland is going to be decided in a massive and violent confrontation.

Kirkland would rather that American workers forget about all this because more and more the same situation is developing in the US — the workers on one side, the imperialist bosses and their lackies on the other, locked in irreconcilable conflict. Look at the beef processors' strike or the suppression of the railroad workers' strike. These things show that the conflict in the US is going to be settled in the same way as the conflict in Poland.

We are for Solidarity Day II, but a true Solidarity Day II. This means an independent mobilization of the working class — a fight for a national strike in auto, for union candidates in the 1982 elections, for freedom for Workers Poland, for union support to the march on Gdansk, the December 13 demonstration in Gdansk.

This means a fight against the American Communist Party's attempt to "redwash" Kirkland Solidarity Day II. The American CP, in its pre-Labor Day issue of its journal, the *Daily World*, proclaimed: "Labor needs its own candidates." It then proceeded to present Kirkland's campaign for "labor-backed candidates" as if this was an expression of the struggle for labor to have its own candidates. The CP proceeded to pick through Kirkland's long list of candidates, which even it was forced to admit included some virulently anti-labor candidates, in an effort to single out one or two that had some progressive positions on one or two questions.

What a scam! Support for "labor-backed candidates" is in reality just another name for supporting boss-backed candidates, Democratic Party candidates. Here as in Poland the Communist Party tries to keep the workers under the bosses' thumbs.

Let's make November 2 and December 13 real Solidarity Days with union votes for union candidates on November 2 and union delegates supporting freedom for Workers Poland in Gdansk, Poland on December 13.

M.G.

Marcos Visits Reagan

Ferdinand Marcos, dictator of the Philippines, visited the US in mid-September. He was looking to make a deal for more US aid — to repress the Filipino people — in return for continued US use of military and naval facilities in that country (Clark Air Base, Subic Bay). In turn, these bases serve to help repress the oppressed throughout Asia (and even in the Middle East).

Marcos feels right at home with Reagan. Last year, after he "won" a rigged election, Vice-President George Bush congratulated him on his "adherence to democratic principles and to democratic processes." This "adherence" was demonstrated by nine years of martial law (just like today in Poland) prior to the fake election.

The whole world knows that Marcos tortures and kills. But on his visit to Reagan, he brushed it all off: Amnesty International is "misinformed," it was all due to "irresponsible journalism."

Just prior to his trip, Marcos announced a "secret plot" to kill him, organize a nation-wide general strike and take over the country. So, only a little more than a year after martial law was "ended," a new state of emergency went into effect. The "democratization" scam had collapsed in face of the upsurge of the workers and youth of the Philippines.

Sixty-eight people, mostly labor leaders, are now under indictment. With that under his belt, Marcos is qualified to visit Reagan, the union-buster (PATCO) and strike-breaker (railroad engineers).

Marcos wants over a half-billion dollars in aid and rent for bases. You know out of whose hide that is going to come, and whose hide is going to feel it.

"Democracy" in Bolivia?

In 1980, in order to prevent a mass upsurge by the workers of Bolivia, the military staged a coup and organized a brutal attack on the workers organizations.

Despite all the hopes of imperialism, this vicious assault still did not succeed in breaking the Bolivian proletariat. Beginning with a general strike last fall, the situation for the military dictatorship grew steadily worse. The officers were playing musical chairs with being president.

But now the music has stopped for good. A nation-wide general strike organized by the central trade union federation, the COB, paralyzed the country and drove the dictatorship to recall the Congress that it had disbanded in 1980, as well as Herman Siles Zuazo, the elected president.

But is this what the Bolivian workers were fighting for, the return of a democratic capitalist government that will try to use this facade to carry out the same imperialist policy as the dictatorship?

The coup succeeded in 1980 because the workers were disarmed by their leaders' preaching of "democratization." In 1971, the Bolivian workers built a *Popular Assembly*, a soviet-type body that represented the power, the potential rule, of the workers and peasants. That is the road to follow.

The Fall of Schmidt

For thirteen years, the Social Democratic Party (in coalition with the small Free Democrats, a liberal group) ruled in West Germany (first under Willy Brandt and then under Helmut Schmidt). Now that is over.

The Free Democrats broke the coalition and have formed a new one with the right-wing Christian Democrats, immediately replacing Schmidt as prime minister with Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl. New elections are scheduled for March.

The fall of Schmidt marks — especially in Germany, the centerpiece of the post-war period — not just the end of a government but, with the Polish Revolution, the end of an era.

A New Leadership in the Americas!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

As part of its fight for a new working class leadership against Stalinism, the Fourth International is convoking an American Conference in Lima, Peru, for the end of 1982. The precise task which this Conference must take up is to delineate in the working class movement those forces and tendencies who want to build a leadership independent of Stalinism in the Americas. And this means building a leadership against Castro and the nationalist leaderships of the Sandinistas and the FDR-FMLN who depend on Castro.

In this sense, the mobilization for the American Conference will be based on the work already undertaken by the Fourth International to gather together a new current around the Polish Revolution and to forge this new current into a party to lead the conquest of power by the working class and oppressed of North and South America.

The construction of a leadership against Stalinism must be at the same time a fight in the mobilization of the working class. The Trotskyist Organization/USA, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, and the sympathizing group of the Fourth International in Peru, therefore prepare the American Conference in the unions and in the movement of the youth against imperialism, in the General Strike which is taking place in Bolivia, and against the anti-terrorist campaign of Beluande. Concretely, in the United States, the American Conference will be based on the fight of the Trotskyist Organization for union candidates in the 1982 elections against the policy of the American CP of supporting the Democratic Party.

For the preparation of this Conference we open the pages of *Truth* to the debate and clarification of the program and the nature of this new leadership. We call on our readers and all those forces seeking a road for the revolution in the Americas to take up this fight with us.

The key to the advance of the revolution in Central and South America, and to opening up the revolution in the USA, is the construction of a working class leadership independent of the bourgeoisie.

The question is this — is it possible to build a mass workers party which is a revolutionary party? Or is it necessary for the working class to pass through a prolonged stage of class collaboration, building first a reformist party on the model of the Labor Party of Great Britain, for example, and only then confront the treachery of its leaders and arrive at a truly revolutionary leadership. Or for the workers of Central and South America the question is posed this way — is it possible for a mass party, taking up the interests of the working class and the peasantry, to be a revolutionary leadership uncompromising in its attitude toward the national bourgeoisie and imperialism?

To answer yes to this question requires a conscious break with Stalinism, with its direct agent Castro, and with the pseudo-Trotskyist centers who have submitted to a Stalinist policy in the two Americas.

Workers Party

If we look today at the tremendous rapidity with which the revolution is developing in Latin America and South and Central America, if we look at the powerful movement which has developed in the American trade unions against Reagan's policies, there is a glaring contradiction between the strength of the workers mobilization and the numerical weakness of the Stalinist Communist Parties. But this contradiction is a product of a policy of class collaboration — supporting the Democratic Party is the US and the national bourgeoisies in Latin America — and not of a break of the working class on a conscious level with these parties.

In particular, the American working

class has never had the opportunity to break with Stalinism because the American Communist Party (CP) has never fought openly for an independent policy. That is not to say that the CP has not taken an important place in the American working class. It has strong support in the trade unions, as well as in the black movement. In the "peace movement," which it has been able to dominate, it is trying to submit the mobilization of the youth against war to diplomatic maneuvers between Washington and Moscow.

But in order to build its own party, to find its unity with the revolution and to take its place in the revolution, the American working class is going to have to confront Stalinism in open battle.

Castro

A class policy against imperialism, which we have raised in *Truth* before — a union boycott of the American-supported dictatorships in South and Central America, a concrete campaign of material aid and arms for the guerrillas in El Salvador, and finally the organization of a general strike to bring down Reagan — runs directly counter to the policy of Castro in Latin America.

Castro, and the Sandinistas and FDR-FMLN who depend on his policy, act as instrument of Stalinism. In essence carrying out the same policy of class collaboration that the American CP is today in the elections by supporting Democrats. They do not define themselves in relation to the revolution but rather in relation to the necessity of maintaining the national bourgeoisie, or the non-extension of the revolution in Central America, or the reconciliation with d'Aubuisson in El Salvador. Castro tried to convert the mobilization of Argentine workers against British

and US imperialism into a truce with the junta that has been responsible for the disappearance of more than 30,000 unionists and militants who oppose the dictatorship. And finally, they have never lifted one finger to organize the working class to unite with the revolution in Central America against imperialism.

Pseudo-Trotskyists

It would be better to ask the question this way — how will we ever be able to build a mass workers party without a revolutionary leadership against Stalinism?

The crisis which has stalked the pseudo-Trotskyist centers from the moment of the upsurge of the revolution in Central America revolves precisely around this question. Only for them it is how to avoid building a party against Stalinism.

For the Barnes leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) it is a question of avoiding a break with twenty years of pro-Castroism by attacking the Permanent Revolution and proposing the liquidation of the SWP into a New International with Castro and the Sandinistas.

For the Moreno leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (PST) of Argentina, which is trying to occupy the space vacated by the SWP in Latin America, it is a question of how to avoid a balance sheet of his support to the Peronist governments which opened the road to the military assassins, by proposing a truce with the junta in the Malvinas War.

Polish Revolution

But whatever their disagreements over avoiding a confrontation with Stalinism, the pseudo-Trotskyists are all agreed in their perspective for the Polish Revolution. By this they can be readily identified. They are all agreed that American work-

ers, North and South, must not defend the Polish workers, using the excuse that this would play into the hands of imperialism. They were not too shy to "sign a truce" with the junta in Argentina, which was installed by imperialism. And they had no trouble at all, in effect, in signing a truce with Stalinism over Poland.

For it is precisely in finding their unity with the Polish Revolution, that they possibility exists for the American working class to confront its own bourgeoisie as an independent force, and in so doing to constitute its party against Stalinism as a massive working class leadership of the revolution.

It is here that the fight of the Fourth International to build a new leadership around the Polish Revolution, a new leadership against Stalinism, finds decisive importance for the working class of the two Americas.

The American Conference will delineate the working class forces who are against Stalinism in an open battle, like the Polish workers, against the Stalinist policy of class collaboration. It is this policy which has made the task of the construction of the Workers Party seem like a far off objective.

At the same time, the Conference will have the task of preparing the final stages of the fight for a Trotskyist Congress in the United States. In forging a leadership against Stalinism and pseudo-Trotskyism, the American Conference and the Trotskyist Congress which it will prepare will delineate the leadership of the Workers Party and insure that this fight can take on the proportions of a major conquest of the entire working class.

A Reply to Ben Chavis

In *Truth* No. 151 we published an interview with Ben Chavis, leader of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). Here is our reply.

Chavis took up a number of questions in his interview. We would like to respond only to the one that we consider most important.

Chavis says that the Republican and Democratic Parties are not in the interests of black people. Thus one of the aims of the NBIPP is to "involve them (black people) in an alternative mechanism in which they can participate. Not just in the electoral process."

We can certainly agree that neither Republicans nor the Democrats are in the interests of black people. But we will go further. We will say that the continued existence of the Republican and Democratic Parties is incompatible with the interests of black people, with the conquest of the rights of black people, including the right to self-determination, to their own nation, to their own state, should they so desire it.

This is not an arbitrary conclusion. It is a conclusion of the class struggle in the US. A revolution, a civil war, was necessary to free black people from slavery. The Democratic Party was on the wrong side of that war. The Republican Party abandoned it at the moment that it ran into conflict with the interests of Northern industrialists.

The class nature of these parties has not changed one iota since that time. Blacks still do not have the "forty acres and a mule" that each was promised. The only gains that they have made have been in conjunction with international working class uprisings, notably in the 30's and the 60's.

Thus we think it is necessary to consider

how to rid ourselves of these parties, how to destroy these parties, not how to create "an alternative mechanism" in which to participate in the political process alongside these parties.

And we think that the formation of a national black party is not suitable for this task because it does not bring together all the working class forces opposed to the Republican and Democratic Parties. It does not unify them. It leaves the white workers in the hands of the Democrats and thus leaves the Democratic Party intact.

The destruction of the Republican and Democratic Parties, which are imperialist parties, demands a centralized working

class party which maximizes the strength and unity of workers and oppressed peoples, not a series of separate parties for each nationality.

We are fighting for union candidates in the current elections in order to unite the struggle against Reagan and build this party. We would like to know what Chavis's and NBIPP's policies are for these elections. We think that if they are serious about bringing down Reagan and the Republican and Democratic Parties behind him, that they will want to join this struggle.

M.G.

FMLN-FDR Negotiations

Two recent articles in *The New York Times* suggest that leaders of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN-FDR) in El Salvador are ready to negotiate a truce with the government of d'Aubuisson.

In an August 27 interview conducted with Ruben Zamora, general secretary of the FDR, leaders of the FMLN-FDR say they are ready "to work for a political settlement." Furthermore, though they say some civil freedoms should be granted by the notorious butcher d'Aubuisson in order to begin such a process, Zamora stated the opposition leaders were not making their "political demands" a condition for negotiations to begin. Zamora also stated that guerrilla leaders were in agreement with the proposal (*The New York Times*, August 8, 1982).

The *Times* also reported that a "secret meeting" had taken place between Alvaro Magana, the provisional president of El Salvador (appointed by d'Aubuisson after

the rigged election of last March) and the Costa Rican Foreign Minister, Fernando Volio. The substance of the meeting was a proposal to open up negotiations for a "peaceful settlement" of the guerrilla war. The article states that previous contact had taken place before the "secret meeting" between Guillermo Ungo, who heads the FDR, and the President of Costa Rica.

Although Magana denied the "secret meeting," he said that a proposal to form a "multi-party commission" to pursue negotiations for the guerrillas of the FMLN to lay down their arms would be a future priority of the El Salvadoran government of d'Aubuisson.

If these reports are true, they are all the more troubling since any such negotiations would only play into the hands of US imperialism and Reagan's attempts to crush the revolution in Central America.

D.H.

US, Israel Out of Lebanon!

International Workers Boycott of Israel!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

On September 16 Israel invaded West Beirut. Under its watchful eye, Israeli-led militiamen and Lebanese Phalangists (fascists) massacred at least 1500 Palestinian men, women and children trapped in the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps.

According to a woman who survived the massacre, interviewed in the Lebanese Communist Party newspaper, Israeli officers inside the camps were heard ordering: "Kill them all." And according to *The New York Times* reporter Thomas Friedman, Israeli soldiers sat outside the camps reading magazines and listening to music as shots and screams issued from the interior.

This is not indiscriminate violence, "overkill." It is part of a systematic policy of terrorizing and wiping out the Palestinians that began with the inception of the state of Israel — the massacre at Deir Yassin, Tel-Zataar. The list goes on and on. The maintenance of the imperialist order in the Middle East, of the Zionist state, demands the obliteration of the Palestinians.

As thousands of people have declared, the US is responsible for this massacre, not only because it has supported and armed Israel in general. The US approved of Israel's invasion of West Beirut. It approved of Ariel Sharon's (Israeli Defense Minister) plan to "clean up" the area, to wipe out "guerrillas in civilian clothing" that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) allegedly left behind.

All the calls for inquiries from Washington and Tel Aviv are nothing but smokescreens. For while various politicians in the US and Israel are pointing their fingers at the next guy and bemoaning the fate of the Palestinians, Israel and its Phalangist friends are continuing to persecute, imprison, torture and kill Palestinians in West Beirut and elsewhere.

According to the American Communist Party newspaper the football stadium in West Beirut has been transformed into a vast internment camp and Israeli officials continue to round up Palestinian men ("PLO members in disguise") and take them there for "questioning."

But the responsibility for the massacre only begins with the US, Israel and the Phalangists. The Kremlin and the leadership of the PLO especially Yasir Arafat, are also responsible.

The Kremlin and the PLO leadership advised the Palestinians to trust the US to protect them from Israel and the Phalangists. The PLO pulled out of West Beirut, called it a victory, and said that this would save lives (see *Truth* No. 151).

Now that this self-delusion has been shattered, the Kremlin and the PLO are compounding the crime. They are calling for a return of US troops, for the US to keep its promise.

When asked whether he regretted leaving West Beirut, Arafat simply said: "My regret is over one matter only — the word of honor of three great countries." He demanded that the US, France and Italy return their troops.

In fact, US troops in Lebanon will only be used to protect the Israeli and Lebanese fascist states from the wrath of the Palestinians, Jews, and oppressed Lebanese, just as the British troops sent to Ireland to "protect the Irish Catholics" only protected the reactionary Ulster regime from the Irish Catholics.

The Kremlin has gone still further. Brezhnev sent greetings to Amin Gemayel, leader of the Phalangist Party who has just replaced Bashir Gemayel as president of Lebanon, wishing the Lebanese people "success." This is the brother of the same man and the leader of the same party that organized the massacre at Tel-Zataar and whose troops took part in the massacre at the Shatila and Sabra camps last week. The Lebanese Communist Party has just issued a call for a united front of all Lebanese to drive out the

Israelis, when Lebanese Phalangists in cooperation with the Israelis, just murdered hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese.

Just as the United States' policy serves to maintain the imperialist order in the Middle East so does the Kremlin's. Brezhnev spelled this out in his peace plan which calls for the recognition of the state of Israel and the formation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Even if this state were to see the light of

Let the educators be educated!

Since our first Conference, held September 4, the Detroit Committee of the Trotskyist Organization/USA has launched a fight for Union Candidates and a Workers Vote in the general elections; for a National Strike of Auto and a Special Convention of the UAW, now, to finish with Fraser and reclaim the union.

The Detroit Committee elected a new leadership and decided to form two cells focused around the areas of our greatest political advances, particularly on the east side of Detroit, where we had the most support in our campaign for a Workers Candidate for Mayor of Detroit, and where we built the first circle of International Young Guard/USA through a struggle to win the youth to fight in the unions for the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The theme of our Conference could have been, in the words of Karl Marx: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

In all our work, at the Detroit Teachers picket lines, at Ford River Rouge fighting for the United Front Caucus (an opposition grouping) to have a union candidate, at Jefferson Assembly (Local 7 of the UAW), among working class youth to form circles of International Young Guard, in the workers movement in Detroit, its rallies, meetings, etc., this same theme prevails.

Workers Vote against Blanchard

Of all the attempts of union officialdom to resurrect the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections, the support of the pro-concessions Fraser bureaucracy of the UAW for Blanchard (for governor of Michigan) is the most despicable. Workers and youth must refuse to participate in this charade of Blanchard vs. Headlee (the Republican candidate) by refusing to support the Democratic Party and fighting for a union candidate against Fraser.

Supposedly, Blanchard is the "friend of labor" Democrat who is going to save Michigan workers, in particular blacks, from the racist and right-wing Headlee.

This is a little like a stand-up comedy routine. First of all because the idea that Blanchard is some kind of friend of labor is a joke. And second, because Headlee, as the "straight man" in the routine, would make Ronald Reagan look good. But the joke is on us, and not very funny either.

This is especially true for the unions. Blanchard was a key figure in negotiating the concessions under which auto workers, are now working. He is on record as having supported the crushing of PATCO. And Blanchard has been no friend of blacks or women workers either.

The Trotskyist Organization is fighting for the unions to mobilize against the Democratic Party, for a Workers Vote in the 1982 elections. We are running a candidate, Barbara Putnam, in the 13th Congressional District against George Crockett where we have the most influence in order to lead this fight.

At the present time, the Socialist Workers Party is the only working class party

day it would be nothing but another large refugee camp completely at the mercy of Israel.

We have said from the very beginning that neither Palestinians nor Jews will ever be free as long as the state of Israel exists. It originated as a tool of British, then US, imperialism to suppress the peoples of the Middle East, to involve Jews in this enterprise. The Shatila/Sabra massacre affirms this.

And we have said from the very begin-

We have found strong resistant tendencies in the workers movement to stop philosophizing about *what is*, and to take the first concrete steps to building the Workers Party.

At a teach-in around Lebanon held in Detroit, September 24-25, organized by the philosophers and "educators" of the workers movement — (nearly every organization in Detroit was part of a Coalition that organized it), there was endless discussion of the horrors of the Israeli government, the horrors of US imperialism. There were endless explanations, while outside the walls of those rooms the working class struggle raged — bitter strikes against concessions, a great outpouring of sympathy for the Palestinians, a deep hatred for the Reagan regime.

Let the educators be educated! We fought there and every place else for a turning point among the forces opposed to Reagan — for a mobilization around union candidates to confront the Democratic Party and any illusion that it can be reformed.

The passivity of the Coalition let a clique within it to predominate, led it to drag in a hack from the Democratic Party to speak on behalf of the great liberal Democrat for Congress in the 13th District of Detroit, George Crockett. They called this being "broad," "multi-class" and "multi-national." (We called it by its right name — *opportunism*, pure and simple).

running candidates for governor and lieutenant governor: Tim Craine and Elizabeth Ziers. Thus we call on workers to support these candidates against the bosses' candidates, to vote along class lines, vote for Craine and Ziers of the SWP against the Democratic Party candidates.

When we say Workers Vote we mean much more than pulling a lever at the ballot box. We mean a mobilization against the Chrysler agreement, around the Teachers strike, and all the strikes which are going on, to defeat Fraser and the Michigan AFL-CIO and their support for the Democratic Party.

For example, Tim Craine and Elizabeth Ziers are members of unions. As Craine points out in *The Militant*, Blanchard is against the right of teachers to strike. Then why not fight for union endorsement from the DFT and UAW in which Craine and Ziers are members? Because, unfortunately, the SWP does not want to take on the real issue in these elections, the support of the union bureaucrats for the Democratic Party, which is a conscious attempt on the

ning that there is one way to bring down the state of Israel — with an international workers boycott and a general strike to bring down Begin. The general strike initiated by Arabs in Israel in opposition to the massacre, the massive demonstrations of Jews against the massacre, and the extreme crisis of the Begin-Sharon regime prove that this was and is the only realistic perspective in the Middle East.

US, Begin, Sharon Out!
Boycott Israel!

At the same time, the rotten clique composed of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the International Socialists and others, excluded a working class organization from speaking for its stand against the Stalinists and the PLO and their decision to opt for the US "peace plan" which led to the bloodbath in Beirut.

This newly formed organization, the Arab Internationalist Proletarians, along with us and International Young Guard fought the presence of the Democratic Party (an imperialist party) against exclusion of working class organizations for their views and for a free discussion over what to do.

We found an echo among honest militants and youth present and are fighting for the Coalition to turn towards the working class and the unions, to organize in the unions a workers boycott of Israel, and to make a blow against imperialism in the elections.

By turning to the mass movement, constantly centralizing our results, we are recruiting new forces to International Young Guard, have doubled our paper sales in one week's time, have begun to gain influence and to expand in every sphere, above all in our ability to lead the youth as the means to change the situation in favor of the working class.
B.P.

bureaucrats' part to stop the strikes which are going on and blunt the potential split from Fraser's policies in the UAW. In this sense, there is very little difference between the Communist Party's campaign and the SWP's campaign.

The Trotskyist Organization insists that the SWP answer to the ranks of the unions. We are going to fight for the unions to break from Fraser and his support for Blanchard. We are going to fight to continue the offensive of Chrysler workers.
D.H.

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