

Labor Unity in the Elections: LABOR CANDIDATE!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

All working class youth and workers are concerned with the struggle for unity and independence against the Reagan regime, and rightly so. But the only way to actually achieve this is to *fight* for a Labor Candidate and a Labor Party in the current elections; to *build* a Labor Party Coalition to lead this struggle in the unions.

Democrats

Democratic Party politicians, AFL-CIO union leaders, NAACP leaders and the Communist Party all claim that the Democratic Party can unite the working class, that youth and workers should unite behind it. These claims are going to escalate now that the Democratic Party primaries are coming to an end and Jesse Jackson is adding his voice to the chorus. He recently met with the Democratic Party National Chairman and promised to stick with the Democratic Party Convention no matter what. He has also been focusing on the need to "heal" the Democratic Party in many of his campaign speeches.

But none of this is true. The Democratic Party will never unite the working class nor make it independent because *it does not represent the working class*. It does not even support the most elementary working class struggles, like Black workers struggle for political power, or the struggle to get back concessions or to stop the US invasion of Central America.

What it presents as class struggles that it *does* support — restrictions on imports, "saving Chrysler," etc. — are really scams to enrich a certain section of the bourgeoisie (bankers, businessmen) that hurt the working class. As we've said elsewhere, automakers are using the profits they've made through import restrictions and concessions to invest in technology and non-union plants and layoff even more workers.

In fact, what the Democratic Party does

represent is not the working class, but a certain section of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie that is *afraid* of a confrontation with the working class and would like to postpone it. Thus it is using its campaigns to *divert* the working class away from a real struggle against Reagan and, in this sense, to *divide* it. Jesse Jackson's campaign is the most striking example of this. He begins by denouncing the Democratic Party as the oppressor and ends by proclaiming his undying loyalty to it — "better to be broken-hearted than broken parted," he says.

Spontaneists

Many youth and workers sense that the Democratic Party doesn't really represent them and are thus reluctant to vote for it. But this disaffection with the Democratic Party will not by itself lead to a unified, independent working class alternative to it. On the contrary, the evolution of the Jackson campaign — from self-proclaimed opponents of the Democratic Party machine to partisans of unity with it — show that a certain section of the working class will always return to the Democratic Party if there is no alternative to it. And thus the working class will remain divided and subjugated.

Nevertheless, many parties that claim to represent a section of the oppressed population or the working class continue to base themselves on the spontaneous evolution of an alternative to the Democratic Party. Thus the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), the Communist Party, the Communist Workers Party, and the Workers World Party all support Jackson or other "left" Democrats on the grounds that these movements will ultimately lead to a break with the Democratic Party and the necessary unity and independence.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP) oppose this and advocate Labor Candidates and a Labor Party, but they support NBIPP and PFP on the grounds that *they* will inspire a split with

the Democratic Party and aid the construction of a Labor Party. But these parties are supporting the Democratic Party and the SWP and the IWP are doing nothing in their own campaigns to promote unity and independence of the working class and build a Labor Party today. Instead they're campaigning for socialism, something that can at best attract only a tiny fraction of the working class at the present moment.

Labor Unity

A fight for a Labor Candidate and a Labor Party, on the other hand, *can* attract the working class as a whole. It can unite the working class and make it independent because it's a fight for the interests of the working class as a whole, for its demands, its struggles and its organizations.

All tendencies for a Labor Candidate and a Labor Party should support the SWP's candidates for President and Vice President, Mel Mason and Andrea Gonzalez, since these will be the only candidates on the ballot in a large number of states that advocate these goals.

But support to these candidates must be a point of departure for a fight for a Labor Candidate and a Labor Party in the unions, for building a Labor Party Coalition in the unions. Building a Labor Party Coalition in the unions is the only way to overcome the Democrats and bureaucrats attempts to divide the working class. The workers will never be able to do so spontaneously.

Thus the Trotskyist Organization calls on all Labor Party tendencies, especially the SWP, to join in a common struggle in the unions, to organize joint committees to lead this struggle in the unions.

Labor Unity and Independence Against Reagan and Mondale!

Labor Candidate, Labor Party, Labor Party Coalition Now!

Stop Reagan's War!

In recent weeks, the Reagan's administration's drive toward war in Central America has produced responses from within the bourgeoisie and from the anti-war forces.

The April 23 *New York Times* carried a major article by key *Times* journalist Hedrick Smith. This article (reprinted widely in other papers) began: "The Pentagon is now in a position to assume a combat role in Central America should President Reagan give the order, in the view of military specialists and members of Congress." It went on to bring out every sign of US preparations, all of which have been in anti-war publications long ago and which the capitalist press had previously ignored.

The liberal wing of the capitalists now see Reagan as in a position to stage what they fear will be an adventure, and so they suddenly decide to make a big stink about it, in order to get their two cents worth in.

One interesting thing about the article is that it says the hard elements in the regime are the military, particularly General Paul F. Gorman, in charge of the US Southern Command headquartered in Panama. But it claims that the State Department under George Shultz is the dovish sector of the administration, with the CIA outflanking it — "Shultz has not stood up. He just floats along, particularly on Nicaragua," Smith quotes one of his sources as saying.

For a long time, in contrast, liberals have tried to present State and CIA as the hawks, while the wise Joint Chiefs of Staff dragged their heels. Either they are already trying to shift the blame before the war begins, or they want to channel discontent into a wild goose chase among the wings of the ruling class, or both.

What is the response from the anti-war forces? That depends on their class outlook, their dependence on one or another wing of the ruling class. It is not surprising that, with the elections only six months away, the petty bourgeois and pacifist forces are seeking to avoid any direct confrontations with the war course of US imperialism.

That can be seen in a number of ways. In Chicago, for example, the traditional pacifist Mother's Day march will have *two* contingents this year. One contingent will confine itself to general "peace" slogans, while the other contingent will be based on anti-intervention slogans. This organizational division represents a political and class division, with the Trotskyist Organization (as well as Socialist Action and others) marching under the anti-intervention banner.

Recent events in Detroit show the same development. The steering committee of Detroit CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) formally came out *against* organizing a demonstration, counterposing to that "organizing activists" for art fairs and cultural events, etc. Now, on the simplest level, activists are not useful unless they are mobilizing others, so the idea is false even logically. But the reality is that a demonstration is a challenge to the ruling class, while musical evenings are not.

Despite this scandalous position, a coalition of forces that want to take action is being organized. At the same time, CISPES is becoming involved in an anti-war referendum for the Detroit city elections in 1985. The fact that no effort was made to accomplish a state-wide initiative for this year shows the pressure of the Democratic Party.

One positive sign is that on June 1, a meeting ("It's not only immoral, it's illegal") sponsored by CISPES and the National Lawyers Guild, which might have been almost useless, will take place at the hall of UAW Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) and will have a preponderance of union and worker speakers.

Build this meeting as an opportunity to involve workers and unions in the struggle against imperialist war. Use it to close off support, to any parties that support war, in the unions.

K.F.

Labor Unity in the Auto Contract Negotiations: AN AUTO-WIDE STRIKE!

Many auto workers are looking at industry profits and executive bonuses and are itching for a strike to get what they regard as their fair share. Many are even for an industry-wide strike to get back concessions and recall laid-off workers.

But these same workers do not see how to make this happen. They tend to hope against hope that pressure from the ranks will force the UAW national or local leadership to lead such a strike, to be very pessimistic about the possibilities of initiating such a strike, or both.

But neither optimism nor pessimism will lead to a strike in September and a victory for the working class.

Bieber and Co. have said over and over again that they want to avoid a strike at all costs and that their number one priority is electing Walter Mondale. And they have proved this by sabotaging strikes at Chrysler Canada, General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas, where Bieber cut off benefits to striking workers and forced another vote on a concessions contract precisely at the moment when the company threatened to hire scabs.

Anyone who still doubts this should listen to company and union spokesmen.

"Mondale will be their baby, and I'm pretty sure they wouldn't want to strike and hurt him," a company spokesman (*Detroit Free Press*, April 29, 1984).

"... A strike probably would hurt Mondale. 'But we wouldn't stop because of that' if the alternative is an inferior contract," a union spokesman (*Detroit Free Press*, April 29, 1984).

But since when have inferior contracts *for the ranks* bothered Bieber and Co.? In the same interview Bieber complains not about industry

profits and executive bonuses themselves, but about the fact that they are making it hard for him to sell his no struggle approach to the ranks!

The only way that the ranks of the UAW can assure a winning strike in September is to prepare it themselves today. How can they go about doing this?

1) *All tendencies for an industry-wide strike must unite and form a united front for such a strike.* Only a united front will have the authority and influence necessary to overcome the bureaucracy's anti-strike propaganda and machine and prepare the masses of UAW members for a strike. At the same time, this front will be a concrete alternative to the bureaucracy's leadership in the strike.

2) *They must put forward their own candidates for Congress and other offices and initiate a struggle throughout the UAW for a Labor Candidate and a Labor Party, to win the oppressed population to the union's side and fight for political power.*

To win a strike the union must have the support of the oppressed population — to provide moral and material support to striking workers, to close the door to strikebreaking and to put the company on the defensive. To do this, it must have its own candidates and party.

The company is already churning out propaganda aimed at turning people against the union in the event of a strike. Recent *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press* editorials called for a "responsible settlement" and blamed high wages for industry failures, unemployment and high prices. Both Mondale and Jackson are using the elections as a platform to spout the

wisdom of concessions. And everyone is saying that labor has *too much* influence.

What is more, a fight for a Labor Candidate is necessary to challenge UAW dependency on the Democratic Party and provide an alternative to it. Without such a fight many workers may succumb to the bureaucracy's propaganda according to which Father Mondale will provide all to good little UAW members and they don't have to bother with nasty old things like strikes anymore. This propaganda is dividing and weakening the ranks of the union. A fight for a Labor Candidate and a Labor Party will unite the union and strengthen its fighting spirit.

3) *Organize local strikes against any and every attempted layoff or plant closing in the form of working plant occupations.* Strikes in the form of working plant occupations, where all workers, including those slated for layoffs *keep on working* (at their own pace and with appropriate rest time, etc.), will show the company that the union is not going to make any deals in which any group of workers is sacrificed — no guaranteed jobs for some in exchange for reduced wages and the boot for others, etc. What is more, such strikes will train the union in the solidarity and militant struggle necessary for an industry-wide strike. They will strengthen the bonds between workers, rally the oppressed population to their side and show that the problem in America is not overpaid unionized workers who don't want to work, but profit-hungry capitalists who want to work a handful of workers to death and toss the rest into the streets to rot.

M.G.

Defend Kowalewski!

The Social-Democratic government of Francois Mitterrand is trying to expel Zbigniew Kowalewski, a leader of Solidarnosc in exile, from France. In addition to raising the importance of the defense of Polish exiles and the right of political asylum, this attempt shows the blatant collaboration of imperialism with the Kremlin and its attempt to crush the Polish Revolution.

The expulsion comes at a time when Jaruzelski's junta in Poland is unleashing a fierce repression to rid itself of Solidarnosc and stop a new offensive against the military dictatorship. In turn, this wave of repression reflects the pressures of imperialism on the Polish Revolution, and, in particular, the demands of the International Monetary Fund for "normalization" in Poland. The IMF is nothing but an arm of world imperialism.

In this framework, the Mitterrand government takes its place in doing the dirty work for imperialism, at the same time aiding the Kremlin to crush the exiled leaders of Solidarnosc. Kowalewski would certainly face imprisonment and trial for his activities in Poland, if not worse.

Kowalewski, age 41, was president in 1980 of the Inter-enterprise Strike Committee (MKS) of the city of Lodz. He was a delegate to the First Congress of Solidarnosc in Gdansk in the fall of 1981, and fought there for a working class strategy, against conciliation, and for workers control of production as opposed to Walesa, Kuron and others. Together with leaders from Silesia and Lodz he formed a tendency called the "fundamentalists" who were partisans of the class struggle and workers power.

At the time the military coup took place in Poland, he was in France organizing for Soli-

darnosc abroad. After the coup he organized the Coordination Committee of Solidarnosc in France. When the Committee essentially split in December of 1982, Kowalewski led the wing that opposed the "moderates," that is, those who sought an understanding with the junta and were influenced by the Catholic Church.

Kowalewski's tendency proposes to prepare the General Strike in Poland to bring down the junta. It is therefore no accident that he should be the first to be singled out for this repression by Mitterrand, representing as he does the most militant wing of Solidarnosc and the Polish Revolution.

La Verite, newspaper of the French section of the Fourth International, the LOR, also reports that the Mitterrand government is trying to close down the Committee of Solidarnosc in France.

The official notice of "invitation to quit France" came from the police district where Kowalewski resides. In justifying this criminal act, the police created a new "criteria" for foreign exiles. Kowalewski was told he was being expelled due to the absence of sufficient means for personal existence. A pure pretext for his expulsion, made even more obvious by the fact that such a category never before existed.

Several sections of the Fourth International have begun open defense campaigns — including the Revolutionary Workers League of France (LOR), the Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain (POR), and the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), together with the Trotskyist Organization of the USA

which calls on US organizations to join in Kowalewski's defense.

Dozens of trade unions, journalists, and intellectuals have signed petitions circulated in Spain and France. Those who wish to sign and support the campaign may write to the TO/USA or to:

Collective for Support to Zbigniew Kowalewski
c/o Catherine Delay
25 Rue d'Enghien
75010 Paris, France
Stop the expulsion of Kowalewski!
Defend the right to political asylum!
D.M.

Send
Statements of
Support to:
Catherine Delay
25 rue d'Enghien
75010 Paris, France

Once Again, for a United Labor Party Fight in Michigan

In *Truth* No. 182, published April 9, we said that we thought it was too late for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to get the almost 20,000 valid signatures necessary to get on the ballot as a party in Michigan. We also proposed that the SWP and the Trotskyist Organization put forward a common slate, including the SWP's presidential candidates, and make a common suit for ballot status as independents.

The SWP, once again, has not bothered to reply to the letter. But we did read in a *Militant*, dated April 20, that in two weeks the SWP collected more than 16,000 signatures. We read in a leaflet, distributed April 23, that the SWP had collected 30,000 signatures. And we read in the *Detroit Free Press*, dated April 26, that the SWP had filed petitions with over 30,000 signatures on April 25, in Lansing.

Needless to say, we were quite surprised to read this figures. Our assessment that it was too late for the SWP to get the necessary signatures was based on information from the SWP itself, as well as our own experience.

When the SWP successfully petitioned to get on the ballot in 1982 it seemed to us that it took many months, and involved an energetic mobilization with many teams of militants, appeals in *The Militant*, etc. Yet when we talked with a SWP branch leader, Tim Craine, at an SWP forum on March 10, the branch had not even gotten its petitions yet and Tim Craine was very pessimistic about being able to get on the ballot. "Hasn't Workers World already been everywhere?" he asked.

When we went to an SWP forum for Mel Mason on March 29, there was no one there. And in the course of petitioning to put a Labor Party Coalition on the ballot we encountered the SWP and people who had signed for it only once, while we encountered Workers World and people who had signed for it numerous times. Workers World has been petitioning

almost six months and just filed petitions with 30,000 signatures itself.

In any event, filing these petitions is not a response to our letter and the fact that the SWP has managed to do so doesn't vitiate the need for a *common struggle* in the elections to *actually build a Labor Party movement in the unions*.

1) *Filing these petitions does not necessarily guarantee ballot status for the SWP.* Republicans and Democrats are doing everything they can to keep independent working class parties off the ballot. One has to be very careful when petitioning to avoid things they might use to throw out petitions. Even then they might throw them out. We don't know whether the SWP's petitions will pass inspection or not. We certainly hope so. We think all restrictions on ballot status should be lifted. But it may still be necessary to sue for ballot status.

2) *Even if the SWP does gain ballot status as a party through filing these petitions it will mean nothing without an actual struggle to unite Labor Party forces in the unions, build Labor Party caucuses and win the unions as a whole to the Labor Party fight.*

The future of the working class depends on its unity and independence and it must have its own party to achieve this. Yet precisely at a moment when more and more workers are looking for an alternative, the Democratic Party, AFL-CIO bureaucracy, and petty bourgeois and Stalinist politicians of various stripes (CP, CWP, WWP, etc.) join forces to prevent this, to divert the working class away from a real struggle against Reagan, away from a Labor Party fight, and back into the Democratic Party via Jackson.

The SWP, the Trotskyist Organization, the Revolutionary Workers League all oppose this. They are for a Labor Party. They must join forces and build a Labor Party movement in the clearest, largest and most unified fashion possible.

The SWP, the TO and the RWL all have influence in the unions in Michigan. Their influence is not the same; the SWP is a much larger organization on a national scale than either the TO or the RWL. But how much larger the influence of all organizations would be if we

were to *unite forces*, if workers at GM, Ford, Chrysler and General Dynamics saw only two alternatives — the Democratic Party and its supporters and the Labor Party movement and its.

Thus regardless of the outcome of the SWP's petitioning we propose that the SWP and the TO (and other Labor Party tendencies) put forward a common slate, that the SWP support the TO's effort to get representatives of the Labor Party fight on the ballot in the 14th Congressional District, and that we all enter into a common fight to build Labor Candidates and Labor Party committees and caucuses in UAW locals in Michigan.

If we undertake this enterprise together, it will be a great victory for the working class and we will soon win whole locals to our side and all our organizations will grow.

If the SWP continues to simply put forward its own candidates and ignore other tendencies, the SWP will remain isolated, not only from other tendencies, but also from the masses of workers. It will continue to shrink in size and influence.

Think it over comrades. There is still plenty of time for a common fight.
M.G.

Build a
Labor Party
Press!
Subscribe to
Truth!
Introductory
Subscription: \$1

TO SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH:

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

Introductory Subscription, 6 issues for \$1; Regular Subscription, 24 issues for \$6
 Supporting Subscription, 24 issues for \$15.

Name _____

Address _____

School/Union/Organization _____

THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

Dominican Republic

At the end of April, a mass upsurge took place in the Dominican Republic (which shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with Haiti), culminating in a general strike on April 25.

The upsurge began on April 23, after a 24-hour strike called by, in part, ex-president Juan Bosch's Dominican Party of Liberation (PLD) in protest of massive price increases ordered by the government under pressure from the imperialist International Monetary Fund (IMF), which demanded them as a condition for a loan of \$599 million.

The Dominican Republic was the site of a 1965 invasion by 42,000 US Marines, at the order of President Lyndon Johnson, who was attempting to forestall the development of a similar popular upsurge into a revolution. This invasion also served as a precedent and dry run for the US escalation of the Vietnam War.

Given the fact of Reagan's invasion of the small island of Grenada for similar reasons, together with his schemes against the revolutions in Central America, a possibility exists that the US may try to intervene again.

Juan Bosch, who was for many years a strictly bourgeois politician, has recently stated that socialism is the inevitable and necessary development of the needs of the poor of that region for democracy and social justice. Unfortunately, Bosch's conversion remains tied to the perspectives of Castroism, and thus cannot open up a way out for the masses.

May Day in Poland, Again

Once again, on May 1 (International Labor Day) and on May 3 (a Polish national holiday) supporters of the free trade union Solidarnosc — "Solidarity" — went out into the streets successfully.

While the numbers of actual demonstrators were lower than last year, those who demonstrated did so in the face of open threats of violent repression by the secret police.

Two things are clear.

One, that the reactionary Jaruzelski regime has shown once again that it has not crushed Solidarnosc, has not succeeded in "normalizing" the country, and that it rules only by force and the threat of force.

Two, because the intervention took place despite the repression, because Radio Solidarnosc was once again on the air, because even Lech Walesa could march right in front of the reviewing stand *with the obvious complicity of the crowd*, it is clear that what is lacking in Poland is not the spirit of resistance, but a political program and leadership that is capable of giving direction to the aspirations of the masses.

That is the fight that the Fourth International has taken and is taking up in Poland, by building its section, the RLRP (Revolutionary Workers League of Poland) as the party that will lead the workers' re-conquest of power from the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Is Libya Guilty?

Everyone remembers the hue and cry about "uncivilized behavior" and "violations of international law" that flowed so freely at the time of the seizure of the US Embassy in Iran (which was indeed a "den of spics") at the peak of the revolution.

Very strange that none of this talk of principles accompanied the blatant attempt to invade the Libyan Embassy in London, under the pretext of shots being fired from it at a crowd of demonstrators, shots that killed a British woman cop. The imperialists have one standard for themselves, and quite another for those who they consider to be "subject," inferior peoples — like Libyans and Iranians.

We do not support Muammar Khadaffi, the head of the Libyan regime, politically. He is, just as much as any other bourgeois ruler, a barrier to the victory of socialism. But we have to state that the campaign against him by Reagan and Thatcher — US and British imperialism — ranging from the fake "Libyan hit squad," to the brazen invasion of Libyan waters (the Gulf of Sidra), to this latest series of charges, are motivated *not by Khadaffi's bad politics*, but by the fact, the simple fact, that he will not take orders from the imperialists.

Did someone flip out inside the embassy, or was it a frame-up by a government that has historically specialized in them? We don't know today, but we certainly are not going to give the slightest credence up front to Scotland Yard and the British ruling class.

TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA
NATIONAL OFFICE
P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232
CHICAGO
P.O. Box 388334, Chicago, IL 60638
DETROIT
P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232

TRUTH
Published by the Trotskyist Organization/USA
ADDRESS
P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232

EDITORIAL BOARD: Kevin FitzPatrick, Editor, Margaret Guttshall, David Mark, Barbara Putnam
SUBSCRIPTION RATES: North America, Introductory — 6 issues for \$1; Regular — 24 issues for \$6; Supporting — 24 issues for \$15. Inquire for other rates, including institutional rates.

An Open Trotskyist Congress to Rebuild the US Section of the 4th International

A significant number of young people have begun to turn to Trotskyism as the only tendency capable of guiding the working and oppressed masses.

Yet there are several organizations that claim to be Trotskyist. Each has its own policy that it calls Trotskyist. And the largest of these, the Socialist Workers Party, appears to be the far-

thest from basic Trotskyist principles.

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, was founded in 1975 to overcome this problem, to lead a struggle to clearly differentiate Trotskyism from various centrist or intermediary tendencies that masquerade under its name; to train

a new generation of revolutionaries capable of guiding the American working class in the foundation of its own party and the fight for power, in other words, to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

We call on youth turning toward Trotskyism, as well as youth and workers fighting for a Labor

Party, to join us in this struggle, in particular, in preparing and building an open Trotskyist Congress to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. This page is especially dedicated to this struggle. It is open to any militant or tendency that wants to contribute to it.

What Anti-War Policy for Trotskyists?

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

With the growing menace of open imperialist intervention in Central America, the question of the policy of Trotskyism on war becomes more and more acute.

Socialist Action's Criticisms

In this article, we are going to take up the position of Socialist Action. This is presented in "The Party's Default in the Struggle Against Imperialist War; for a return to our policy of the united front and for an end to sectarian abstention" by Lynn Henderson and Nat Weinstein (dated August 1983; published in *Socialist Action Information Bulletin*, February 1984).

The first thing that grabs the eye is the assumption — in the sub-title and in the first paragraph of the resolution — that "sectarian abstention" is today the key problem with the anti-war policy of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and that what is required is a simple "return" to the policy of yesteryear, that is, of the movement against the Vietnam War.

"Sectarian abstention" is basically nothing but a superficial description. It cannot and does not explain how the SWP got itself marginalized in the anti-war, anti-draft and anti-intervention movements. The SA leaders cannot do this because it would require a careful examination of the policy of the SWP during the Vietnam War, its actual nature and its outcome today.

SA bases itself against Barnes on the traditions of the SWP. Good, but what traditions? Those of Barnes and his clique themselves, or those of Cannon and Trotsky?

These latter traditions, the continuity of Leninism and Trotskyism, are counterposed to the policy pursued by Barnes and by the SWP (which even then was under his effective domination) in the 1960s and 1970s. Here again, where we see the cause of Barnes' actions today in his past policy, SA finds itself unable to explain politically the evolution of Barnes' positions.

Every militant of SA (and of other groups as well) should compare the anti-war policy of the SWP — then and now — to fundamental resolutions of the Fourth International on this question. "War and the Fourth International" (1934) and the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (1940) — which are published in Trotsky's *Writings* for those years — have no relationship to the policy pursued by the SWP.

In a certain sense, the SWP then was aware of this. It never once tried to make a connection, theoretical or political, between the traditions of Trotskyism and Leninism and the policies it was carrying out.

Facts, Not Legends

But the SA resolution continues this methodology. It does not deal with principles and with the real traditions of the SWP, but unquestioningly accepts the same framework — the "peace movement" of the '60s — that Barnes created and still works in.

The anti-war movement was completely through by 1973, and had been on the skids even then for a good two years. This gap of almost a dozen years means that a considerable portion of the membership of Socialist Action has itself no direct experience of that period. It is basically proceeding on the basis of stories about the "good old days." Perpetuating such legends cannot help train a revolutionary, a Trotskyist, leadership today.

The SA document explains — and this is one of those things everyone knows, but hardly anyone says — that CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) has practiced "... actual exclusion of the SWP from virtually all aspects of CISPES functioning." True, but why does the SWP swallow it?

CISPES is controlled, quite undemocratically, by forces in agreement with the political line of the Salvadoran FDR-FMLN. That political line, whether SA likes it or not, is based on Stalinist popular front politics, on the subordination of the interests of the workers and peasants to the Kremlin's (and Castro's, concretely) maneuverings with imperialism and its

local and native representatives.

The big, prestigious, experienced SWP meekly submitted to orders from the FDR-FMLN because it was politically incapable of mounting a fight against this essentially Stalinist line, a line that had no room for "Trots" of any kind at all.

These two lines — Trotskyist class independence and Stalinist popular front — are precisely the ones that are counterposed in the two resolutions of the Fourth International mentioned above. The refusal to take these resolutions into account flows from the adaptation to one policy and the rejection, unacknowledged, of the other.

We know that the anti-war movement of the '60s was a movement (we are speaking of the organized forces, not general sympathy) heavily dominated by representatives of the middle classes. These elements looked, by and large, to the liberal wing of the ruling class for political direction. In this situation, the smaller working class forces were in a situation of being torn between pursuing a very difficult course — fighting the war while seeking to involve greater and greater layers of workers, taking into account the middle classes' heterogeneous and unstable nature and seeking to at least neutralize its pro-bourgeois inclinations — or of passively adapting to what existed.

Popular Frontism

It was this latter course that the SWP (which had already gone over to Pablosism in 1963) followed. In the leadership of this movement, the SWP restricted its policy to demands and actions that would not break up this highly tenuous "coalition." In practice, this meant that demands were those that would not mean a political break with the liberals. It is in this classic sense (not as a term of abuse, but scientifically) that the organized anti-war movement — up to and including the National Peace Action Coalition — can correctly be described as a popular front. On this basis, the "Trotskyist" SWP — then and for the future — gave the game away politically to the Stalinists and their hangers-on.

It is well-known that the SWP put forward immediate withdrawal ("out now!") and mass demonstrations as the key questions on which a principled, anti-imperialist movement — independent of the bourgeoisie and its parties — could be and was built. On that narrow question of methods we have no real disagreements.

The point, the problem, is that this framework did not correspond to what actually happened. The SA document does not examine the facts, but trades on nostalgia — "the exemplary role of the party in the past" — to avoid a real assessment. It is very easy to criticize Barnes, and that is what the SA document is largely concerned with — a listing of errors and stupidities ("sectarian abstention") that the Barnes leadership has committed. But that by itself only serves to cover up the real picture of the SWP's past anti-war policy, and disarms militants who really need to know what went wrong then in order to fight today.

No bourgeois representative was ever excluded

RWL Evades Politics

Last November, the Trotskyist Organization wrote to the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), as well as other organizations, on the need to build a Labor Party Coalition in Michigan. Early in April, we finally received a response (or an attempt at a response) from the RWL.

In a letter dated April 2, the RWL Political Committee stated its views on the elections. Accompanying this letter was supplementary material on an RWL proposal to the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP) on the California elections. The IWP didn't buy it.

The RWL finds our proposal "not feasible at this time." In April, this is truly a profound understanding. In November, an answer would have been useful, which is why the RWL didn't answer.

This group is notorious for refusing to answer letters, return phone calls, etc. Likewise, despite its boasts about its size, it publishes a tiny paper on a monthly schedule that is not

maintained. Why? Because it dreads being pinned down to anything concrete, dreads putting down its line in black and white. This is characteristic of a radical circle, not of a working class political organization.

War and Revolution

Correspondingly, the SWP did not develop the revolutionary teachings of Lenin and Trotsky on war, but confined itself to the minimal questions of immediate withdrawal and mass actions. This left the radicalizing youth in a dead end, one that they fruitlessly tried to overcome through Maoism, etc. The collapse of SDS could hardly be matched by the — temporary — increase of the YSA's size and influence.

SA does not want to deal with this truth and thus it cannot answer why, less than a decade after Vietnam, the anti-war movement (especially the SWP element of it) finds itself at almost square one in terms of actively opposing imperialist war — the liberals playing a major role in confusing the population, the Stalinist and pro-Stalinist elements in a position to command, and the SWP on the fringes, shrinking organizationally and openly capitulating politically.

By not drawing a balance sheet, SA is trying to repeat this experience that has already — today — had a serious negative impact. Even worse, because it criticizes the SWP only super-

ficially and in the wrong direction, on one particular question it goes farther astray.

The SA resolution criticizes Barnes for his opposition to the nuclear "freeze." In fact, Barnes has yielded a lot to this scam, arguing for a "unilateral freeze," which is incredibly utopian. SA, however, is continuing the old line of the SWP in a social-pacifist direction. It denies the reality that this "movement," outside the liberal bourgeoisie and its pacifist and Stalinist assistants, does not really exist. It denies the reality that the organizational expressions of this "movement" are nothing but Democratic Party electoral fronts. And it does not deal with the fact that this "movement" was created by Democratic Party figures, and that its method in essence is the same as the Democrats' phony schemes of "reducing" the defense budget of American imperialism.

SA has to turn to the traditions of Trotsky and Lenin, to the fight in the working class organizations (and not to lightly condemning Barnes for "workerism"), or it will serve only to miseducate honest militants and help strengthen American imperialism for the next Vietnam, which the socialist revolution alone will prevent.

Fourth International!

New Issue!

Out now!

Write to Truth.

Barnes Isolates ... Himself

Since the exclusion, in early January, of the last remaining members and sympathizers of the oppositions in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which are now organized as Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, the SWP has instituted a policy of banning members of these tendencies, as well as unaffiliated individuals (all on a "list" published in the *Party Organizer*), from its forums and bookstores.

On the one hand, this could be interpreted as a stupid gesture by Barnes. If he bans those who say they want back in, why admit those, like the TO, who want to defeat the SWP? The forums and events would soon take place in splendid isolation.

But there are more important sides to this action. First, there is the fact that it shows, despite all the expulsions, that Barnes is still worried about the people left in the SWP. In

this sense, a concerted protest of this crude exclusionism could work against him, could help to awaken and sharpen doubts among those who are still misled — if, to be sure, not among the misleaders.

Second, this is not the only case of exclusion from forums Barnes has practiced, not the first faked story of "incidents" (asking questions and other political interventions) that he has used against opponents. But in the past, the militants who are now expelled swallowed this policy. But now they are called "disrupters," too. In this way, they can penetrate a little deeper into a critique of the "good old days" in the SWP.

The expelled militants are in a position to isolate Barnes and to expand their political knowledge. Will they do it?
K.F.

Third, blame the workers for the passivity and abstentionism of organizations that pretend to represent their interests. Why does the RWL think PFP is a golden prospect, while Michigan workers are hopeless? Because PFP is not working class, but full of radicals who are soul mates to the RWL. They feel themselves to be on the same wavelength.

Finally, as usual, despite closing the letter with a promise to contact a TO representative "over the coming week," despite our speaking to three RWL members about this letter, we have still not heard one more word from the RWL on the letter's proposal to meet and discuss the question of the elections.

Apparently, the leadership decided they had been much too rash to send us a letter while there was still a month left to work for ballot status. Better clam up and wait until it was absolutely, positively, too late to be caught doing anything.

K.F.

Chrysler Reaps Millions from Concessions!

The Chrysler Corporation just announced record profits — \$705.8 million for the first quarter of 1984, more than it earned throughout 1983. And according to some sources is about to pay over \$40,000 in bonuses to each of 1,300 different managers.

This while the UAW gave up at least \$1 billion in wages, while at least 28,000 Chrysler workers remain permanently laid-off, while the rest are forced to work at reduced wages and produce twice as many cars as they did before the layoffs! In 1980, Chrysler workers produced 10.2 cars per employee per year. Now they are forced to produce 19.3 cars per employee per year!

These figures show once again that the so-called Chrysler bail-out plan, initiated by Carter, Mondale, Iacocca and others, and including \$1 billion in concessions from the UAW, was nothing but *gangland-style blackmail, extortion*: "You give us money or we'll close you down." And like all extortion, it benefited only the bosses. In this case it just happened to be "legitimate" bosses rather than neighborhood racketeers.

Moreover, employed and unemployed Chrysler workers are only the most obvious victims of the unions' capitulation to this racket. The UAW's capitulation to the bosses' demands opened the door to similar demands throughout industry. Thousands of workers were forced to take wage freezes, cuts and layoffs in many different industries and among both organized and unorganized workers. The cities of Detroit and Flint have been reduced to virtual war zones with laid-off auto workers forced to scrape and hustle to feed themselves and their families. The UAW's capitulation to Chrysler's demands and the wage cuts and layoffs that followed, more than anything else, is responsible for the much publicized high infant mortality rate in Detroit.

And the effects of this capitulation are not yet over. Chrysler and other automakers continue to use the profits they accrued through concessions to invest in new technologies and non-union plants in the US and abroad that will head to even more wage cuts and layoffs if the union doesn't change its position.

Nevertheless the Democrats and union bureaucrats continue to tout the Chrysler plan as a great gain for the working class.

"Today's announcement by Chrysler ... is further evidence that the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Act was the right action for Ohio and Indiana, thanks in part to the leadership of Walter Mondale in the fight to save Chrysler."

"Indiana today enjoys nearly 7,000 good-paying jobs (and Ohio more than 5,000) that would otherwise have been lost. Thousands

more are earning a living from paychecks Chrysler workers spend in Indiana or Ohio." — Owen Bieber, quoted in the *Detroit Free Press*, April 23, 1984.

But are these the alternatives for workers, jobs for a small number at reduced wages or no jobs at all?

We don't think so. This is blackmail, ex-

tortion and an attempt to split and destroy the union. Now is the time to realize this and take the offensive against the companies.

The union must fight for jobs for all, for the division of work among all workers, at pre-concessions wages and better. It must stop all support to the Democratic Party candidates of concessions and put forward its own candidates, build its own party. This is the way to defend jobs and wages.

M.G.

UAW Local 7: Get Back Concessions!

UAW Local 7 at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Plant is holding elections for local offices on May 23 and 24. Yet none of the major slates and candidates running in these elections represents a clear alternative to the current policy of the UAW leadership, a policy that has led to the decimation of Chrysler locals throughout the city.

Thus the Trotskyist Organization calls on workers at Local 7 to reject both the Progressive Caucus and the PULL Caucus slates and to begin to build a Labor Party Caucus to fight for leadership.

The Progressive Caucus, headed by the current local president, Charles Cook, continues to hold that the key to maintaining Chrysler workers' jobs is restrictions on imports, maintenance of concessions (in wages, work rules, and the number of men working), and electing Walter Mondale. Yet, as we say elsewhere, these measures have simply resulted in higher company profits that the company is using to invest in high technology, non-union plants and layoff more workers. Electing Mondale will mean more of the same. Cook also says that nothing can be done about the miserable conditions at the plant, particularly forced overtime leading to 70 hour weeks.

The PULL Caucus, headed by Wolf Lawrence, claims to oppose this leadership but says nothing about import restrictions, concessions, or Walter Mondale. It doesn't even put forward a concrete platform to deal with the conditions in the plant.

The PULL Caucus candidate, in a leaflet addressed to Jefferson workers says: "I'm not

going to touch on the problems of our plant right now, or the mess our local is in. You know many of the conditions as well as I do. What you're concerned with is, can I do a better job ... I would address myself to any problem ... I would come into the plant ..."

But he never says exactly what he will do about the problems. Is he against job combinations and eliminations or not? Is he against forced overtime or not? What does he intend to do about them? How about a strike?

Answers to these questions are the minimum that one can ask of a serious opposition to the local leadership.

Walter Lovelace, who once ran for delegate to the UAW Convention as part of the "Rank and File Slate," is also running for president. At the time of the delegate elections, Lovelace called for restoration of concessions, but he has not yet issued a platform and we don't know where he stands.

UAW Local 7 must take the offensive against the company, initiate a struggle to get back concessions, recall laid off workers, and prepare a nation-wide strike to impose these demands.

This demands a fight for Labor Candidates and a Labor Party leadership fully independent of the Democratic Party. For the Democratic Party will be the first to send the police against striking Chrysler workers fighting to get back concessions that the Democratic Party engineered.

Build a Labor Party Caucus now!
M.G.

Chicago: Down with the Democratic Party Machine

By DAVID MARK

Edward Vrdolyak, inheritor of the late Chicago Mayor Daley's machine, won re-election as Chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party in April ward committee elections, despite the hatred that Blacks and Latinos in the city of Chicago feel for the racist Machine he represents. Vrdolyak was opposed by a slate of the Black mayor of Chicago, Harold Washington. In addition to showing the hopeless futility of trying to fight the Machine within the Democratic Party, Vrdolyak's re-election proves that the only way to defeat the racist Democratic Party Machine in Chicago and continue the mobilization begun in the mayoral elections, is with a fight for labor candidates in the 1984 elections.

Bourgeois liberals are now complaining "Washington has twice failed in efforts against Vrdolyak ... In the process, say people who follow local politics, the mayor has ... spurred otherwise divided politicians against him and, to some extent, contributed to racial polarization in Chicago" (*Detroit Free Press*, April 25, 1984).

And Washington concurs: "I perhaps have spent too much time on Vrdolyak."

But Washington's answer, precisely because he represents the Democratic Party, which has had the historical role of preventing the working class and oppressed from building their own party, is accommodation.

And Washington's defense of his administration — 1) the local press has portrayed him as anti-white; 2) "Every damn city that Black mayors have inherited except Atlanta and Los Angeles have been bankrupt or close to it"; 3) he has reduced the budget deficit — only illustrates this more clearly.

First, he states the obvious. Who could expect the "local press," hardly defenders of truth and justice, to do otherwise. And yes, of course, Black mayors are only granted the crumbs of the capitalist table, precisely to blunt the mobilization of Blacks. And, finally, what is a "reduced budget deficit" but a code word for an attack on social services and the oppressed?

This is no defense. In fact, Washington's attempt to accommodate to Vrdolyak represents a real obstacle to the mobilization of Black workers that resulted in his election. This movement must find an outlet from the Democratic Party, an instrument to lead to the de-

feat of the Machine — in other words, a Labor Party.

The New York based radical weekly, *The Guardian*, while sharing Washington's viewpoint, nevertheless gave a very interesting eyewitness report of the April elections in Chicago:

"In one Black precinct on the West Side, regular Democratic precinct captains, assisted by Democratic election judges, were paying voters a record high \$50 each to cast their ballots in favor of the Machine's ward committee member choice."

Thus while Washington, an elected official, is constrained by the logic of his position to attack the economic conditions of Black workers, the Machine is doling out cash payments for votes! Who indeed wields political power in Chicago?

An even clearer example is the victory of Charles Hayes in the special election last year to fill Harold Washington's vacated seat in the First Congressional District. Hayes is a leader in the United Food and Commercial Workers union. Nevertheless, he completely betrays the unions by running as a Democrat, squandering away what support he might have from work-

ers by running in the bosses' party.

The Socialist Workers Party is running a candidate against Hayes in the 1984 elections — Ed Warren. And on class grounds the Trotskyist Organization is supporting him. But the nature of Warren's campaign is described by the SWP itself as "socialist education," which not only fails to answer the need for a united workers front, even worse, it puts forward the dangerous illusion that the struggle against Vrdolyak and the Machine is merely an educational experience. But if that is the case, it will be the workers of Chicago who will be "learned."

The Machine must be smashed! This means a break with the Democrats and on this basis, the broadest unity of working class forces to put forward Labor Candidates in the 1984 elections, a fight for a Labor Party Coalition.

These are the grounds on which the Trotskyist Organization has given support to the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, Mason and Gonzalez, in Illinois, and calls for a common slate of labor candidates with the SWP and other working class organizations in the First and Second Congressional Districts.

Millions for Democrats; Zero for Workers!

Figures released late last month show that the trade unions have spent more than 1.1 million dollars in support of Walter Mondale through the end of March. By comparison, spending by unions and corporations in the entire pre-convention period for the 1980 elections amounted to about \$650,000, according to government figures. Though we do not believe the figures for corporations (they do not include slush funds and other ways the capitalists have of hiding their contributions), clearly the unions have been sinking a lot of workers' hard-earned money into a losing cause — the Democratic Party. Moreover, this amount will grow even larger as the campaign develops, and the UAW has not even yet reported its figures.

Next to the AFL-CIO which has spent

about \$500,000, the United Steelworkers union has spent the most — \$272,000.

We are not at all against the unions spending money for political causes. In fact, we oppose all restrictions and laws that apply to trade union donations. It is the specific cause — Walter Mondale — that we oppose.

Only last month, 600 steelworkers struck Republic Steel's mill in Warren, Ohio for 24 hours to stop the company from replacing union workers with outside contractors. And, as plant after plant in steel has been closed in the last few years, we have to ask — workers, what are you getting back for all the money your union leaders are pouring into the Democratic Party?

So far, our tabulation numbers zero!
D.M.

Reagan's Anti-Terrorist Campaign

Kathy Boudin, on trial for the 1981 Brink's robbery, pleaded guilty on April 26 to charges of robbery and murder. Boudin's trial had become a showcase for Reagan's anti-terrorist campaign. And it is just for this reason, not to mention on principled grounds, that the Trotskyist Organization defended Boudin and others from the very beginning. Boudin's plea, which can only be labeled a retreat, nevertheless does not change the fact that the case was part of a campaign whipped up by the White House against "terrorism," in reality a preparation for attacks on workers' rights and working class organizations.

Moreover, these attacks have a design — streamlining the government for a confrontation with the US working class.

By any standard a kangaroo court, the Boudin trial is not the first attempt by the Reagan administration to whip up an anti-terrorist hysteria. Many of these involve out and out fabrications.

In December of 1981 the Reagan administration, through carefully orchestrated "leaks," made the headlines with stories of mythical "Libyan hit squads," which never materialized.

On Thanksgiving Day in 1983, sand trucks were placed in front of the White House to prevent "suicide truck bombs." As a result of this "threat" the White House is now defended by surface-to-air missiles.

And continuing the campaign, in December and January several major newsweeklies — *Time*, *Newsweek*, *US News and World Report*, — ran articles that stated that terrorism was soon going to strike with force inside the US itself.

But this is only the public relations side of the Reagan administration's real preparations that include various steps taken to engage domestic surveillance and attacks on working class organizations in the US.

In late April Reagan sent four bills to Congress intended to fight what the administration defines as "state terrorism." Even more important, the substance of these bills has already been put into effect by presidential decree, which has the force of law.

National Security Decision Directive 138, signed by Reagan April 3, allows US intelligence agents to use force against individuals or groups associated with various "terrorist countries." The Secretary of State's office will maintain a list of these countries.

In the past, the number of countries identified by the Reagan administration as "terrorist" was so long that it would probably be a convenient pretext to strike at any domestic opposition — though it will certainly only be used against working class organizations.

For example, Iran, Syria, North Korea, Libya, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, and East European countries are certainly on the list, since they have all been referred to at one time or another by the Reagan administration as "terrorist" countries.

But Directive 138 also provides for surveillance and prosecution of groups or individuals associated with "international terrorist organizations." That would include not only the FMLN in El Salvador, and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, but also the Fourth International, which have been so labeled by Reagan. Thus, the directive could be used against opponents of Reagan's interventionist policy in Central America and organizations which advocate socialist revolution in the US.

Once again, these latest attempts to streamline the capitalist state and its repressive apparatus show who the real terrorists are — US imperialism — and they show the necessity of an effective fight by the trade unions and working class organizations against all laws and restrictions that can be applied to legitimize police repression. This is after all the essential nature of the capitalist state — the government, the courts, and defense apparatus — a police arm of the capitalist class.

D.M.