

# Reagan Will Have to Intervene!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

From the first attempts of US imperialism to prepare war in Central America there has been a massive opposition among American youth and workers. Carter's order to begin draft registration resulted in a series of demonstrations larger than any since the invasion of Cambodia in 1970. The election of Ronald Reagan signified the intent of the American ruling class to put forward a hard line against the working class at home and abroad; in particular, it represented a commitment to crush the revolution in Central America by brute military force.

Up until now, nine-tenths of the energy of the youth and workers in opposition to US intervention has been channeled into putting pressure on the ruling class itself, through the Democratic Party and congressional liberals, to end US involvement. That must change. A dramatic escalation of US intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua is inevitable and it will be a basis for a confrontation with the working class that will determine the conditions under which the workers and youth will fight in the future. American workers and youth must organize now to stop the sending of troops to Central America.

### Intervention

The pace of Reagan's war preparations has quickened dramatically in the last months. First there was the announcement of plans to carry out a Vietnam-style scorched-earth policy against the civilian population in El Salvador. Then the congressional battle over new appropriations for military intervention in El Salvador and the toppling of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua served to rally the war hawks around Reagan and to make a sham compromise with liberals that would allow the preparations for war to continue. Reagan has been able to use his liberal opponents in Congress quite effectively as a screen for carrying forward the escalation of US intervention.

He has made it clear that US military intervention must be escalated immediately. In a speech to Cuban exiles in Miami two weeks ago he said, "If those trying to throw roadblocks in our path succeed and interpose themselves at a time when a crisis could still be averted, the American people will know who is responsible and judge them accordingly." It was, as well, a way of calling his liberal opponents' bluff, for the Democrats are just as afraid of the victory of the revolution in Central America as Reagan is, but have less spine in the face of opposition in the US.

Last week, in testimony before Congress, CIA director William Casey and Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas Enders, purposely "leaked" a plan for toppling the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. The plan involved a three-pronged assault on Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, in late 1983, under the combined forces of ex-Somozaist butchers now operating from American-supported camps in Honduras, and counterrevolutionary defectors from the Sandinista government itself, led by "Commander Zero," Eden Pastora.

On the same day, Barry Goldwater, appearing on TV, called for Reagan to reverse his policy and threatened the direct intervention of US troops in Central America. He then quoted Lt. General Wallace H. Nutting, US commander for Latin

America, from an interview the previous day where Nutting called for a "commitment without limit," to crush the revolution in Central America.

The conjuncture of these events is not accidental. In fact, they are orchestrated from the White House. They are designed to prepare the conditions for a rapid escalation of US intervention in Central America.

Imperialism is pushing for war because neither the plan for a negotiated settlement put forward by Lopez Portillo, Mexico's ex-president, and supported by Democratic liberals, nor the US-supported aggression against and isolation of Nicaragua, have been able to stop the revolution in Central America. And despite the virtual genocide committed against the people of El Salvador, the guerrillas continue to maintain the initiative.

### Take the Initiative

Certainly, an intervention by US troops in Central America would provoke a massive response in the streets by the youth, and quite likely, there would also be an opposition in the unions. But to wait for the official act itself to begin to organize support to Nicaragua and the guerrillas in El Salvador would be to enter the battle when it was already in its final stages. If the American working class and youth begin today to organize, in the unions, and in the streets, in direct support and aid to Nicaragua and the guerrillas in El Salvador that would be the most powerful weapon at the disposal of the people of Central America against US imperialism and its troops.

Furthermore, Reagan is fully conscious of the opposition that a direct military intervention would provoke. It is precisely for that reason, together with the real possibility of a collapse of the US-supported butchers in El Salvador, that Reagan sees the present moment as being so critical. For him and for the American ruling class, there is the very real danger that a massive upsurge against US intervention could result in a realignment of political forces to the advantage of the working class, if it were to take place at the time of the 1984 elections. Here we are not talking about a victory of the Democrats — even they will be compromised to some extent by intervention — but rather of a politicization and radicalization of the working class and the youth that would seek an outlet against the two-party system. It is just such an outcome, and far more, that can be envisioned if it is prepared now.

### New Leadership

First, this necessitates a sustained campaign of revolutionary propaganda

directed against the "peace" plans supported by Democratic liberals and a vast majority of the present leadership of the anti-war movement. Our motto must remain, *if you want peace, prepare the revolution.*

The American working class must understand that a new leadership is necessary, a revolutionary leadership. The present leaderships of the anti-war movement, from the Barnes leadership of the Socialist Workers Party to the Workers World Party, which is behind the Peoples Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), are thoroughly corrupted by their support to Stalinism. The Kremlin itself has already sold the revolution in Central America to imperialism in exchange for a freer hand in Poland. The "peace" that they prepare in El Salvador and Nicaragua is with US imperialism, it can only pacify the working class and play into Reagan's hands to support these initiatives.

In an interview in the *London Guardian* of April 27, Victor Volsky, director of the Latin American Institute in Moscow openly declares the Kremlin's treacherous neutrality: "For Nicaragua, we have a feeling of solidarity, but for the countries of the world socialist system, which of course includes Cuba, there is no limit to the principle of internationalism. Cuba, therefore is inviolate, Nicaragua — and anywhere else in Central America and the Caribbean for whom the Soviet Union expresses solidarity — is vulnerable and lies outside the Soviet shield."

The working class and the youth cannot remain neutral. Such a policy, which is in fact the one which the Kremlin has taken, and has been the basis for the compromises made to the bourgeoisie in Nicaragua itself by the Government of National Reconstruction, can lead only to defeat.

To the contrary, the Fourth International, all those who claim to represent Trotskyism, and all those who are opposed to the concessions made to the bourgeoisie by the Sandinistas must be unconditionally on the side of Nicaragua and the guerrillas in this time of war. It is necessary to do everything to support a military victory over imperialism in Central America.

### Direct Aid

Not only the oppressed masses in Central America, but also the American working class itself, would be strengthened a hundred fold by a *union boycott of all arms to the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras*. Such an action is linked directly to the struggle of American workers against concessions and unemployment. It would represent on the scale of millions of workers, not only a deadly

blow to Reagan's policies in Central America, but also a tremendous impulsion to the construction of a labor party under the best possible political conditions, a party against imperialism. The Trotskyist Organization calls on all union fractions of workers parties, on union militants and oppositions, to fight to organize a union boycott of arms to the butchers of Central America.

Secondly, it is necessary to launch a campaign of agitation for military and material aid to the Sandinistas and the guerrillas, in the spirit of the united front. The Trotskyist Organization proposes an international campaign for *volunteers to Nicaragua and arms to the guerrillas.*

Volunteers in the most direct sense to fight with the Sandinistas against the counterrevolutionary armies and those to come of US imperialism itself. Even if today the numbers of militants and workers who would fight are lessened under the impact of the pacifism of their leaderships, even if today the Sandinista government itself is mired in the process of negotiations and compromise, it is necessary to say that the interests of the masses of Central America together with those of the American working class can only be served by accepting the reality of the situation — war — and preparing to meet it. Such a campaign would have to include all forms of aid — material, and medical — coordinating the initiatives that have already been taken in this direction.

We have no illusions about the success of such a campaign. It depends completely on breaking the working class and the youth from their pacifist leaderships. It can be realized in the most direct sense — military volunteers to fight in Nicaragua — only with the agreement of the Sandinistas to accept military brigades. But we have no illusions about the stake of the confrontations that are coming either, a life and death struggle between oppressed peoples and imperialism, between capitalists and proletarians.

A victory of Nicaragua and the guerrillas over imperialism would make the conditions under which the coming battles are going to be fought immeasurably less difficult than would a defeat in Central America.

US imperialism has its troops and counterrevolutionary battalions, but it still cannot determine the course of the war, its resolve is shaken by every mobilization of the youth and the working class. The task is to prepare now the forces of the working class and the youth in the unions, in the streets, and in the unemployment lines to engage the battle on the most advantageous ground.

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# Central America, the Elections, and the SWP

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The Socialist Workers Party has long billed itself as the "best builder" of the anti-imperialist struggle, as the best defender of anti-imperialist revolutions, particularly in Cuba, Vietnam and now Central America.

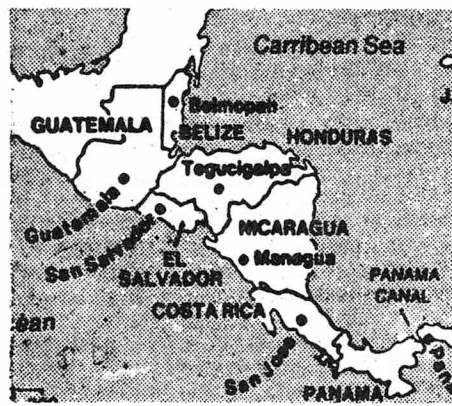
Elsewhere in *Truth* we have shown that its call for and tacit support to negotiations between imperialism and the rebel forces in Central America — now advocated by the Democratic Party, the Kremlin, Castro, the Sandinistas, and the FMLN — can only disarm youth and workers in face of Reagan's inevitable intervention. The SWP's policy for the 1984 elections is also completely opposed to the interests of the struggle against imperialism and the defense of the revolution in Central America.

The SWP is the largest party that consistently runs candidates against the Democratic and Republican parties who speak out against US intervention in Central America and in favor of the revolution. It is the only party that does so in a large number of cities.

However the conclusion of the SWP's propaganda is always to demonstrate against US intervention and to "vote socialist." The problem with this is twofold. First, it gives the impression that US intervention can be stopped through pressure, that it need not be defeated through confrontations that necessarily involve arms. Second, it limits organized opposition to US imperialism in elections to those who are willing to "vote socialist," still a small minority in the US.

Defeating the US intervention in Central America, driving the US out of Central America, requires *practical solidarity* with the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and El Salvador and the *largest possible* mobilization against US imperialism and its parties, Republican and Democratic.

This is why the Fourth International is



fighting for a union boycott of all aid to counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador, for volunteers for Nicaragua to give practical aid to the struggle, and for an independent labor candidate for US president in 1984.

## Improvements

In an apparent effort to resolve some of the problems of its policy, in particular its narrow appeal and its own isolation, the SWP has introduced some changes in the last few weeks. In the May 13 issue of *The Militant*, in an article by Mac Warren, the SWP called for a "Black, Latin, labor coalition" in the 1984 elections. In the May 20 issue, in an article by Malik Miah, it called for "independent Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and labor candidates" in the 1984 elections.

But these improvements only exacerbate the problems and reveal the true nature of the SWP.

First, the SWP's candidates' propaganda continues to be restricted to protesting US intervention in Central America and offers no practical action to take in solidarity with Central American workers and peasants.

Second, while the SWP obviously thinks that calling for a "Black, Latin, labor coalition" or "independent Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and

labor candidates" is more *realistic* than fighting for an independent labor candidate, nothing could be further from the truth.

Black and Latin leaders like Jesse Jackson and Tony Bonilla of League of United Latin American Citizens have been *talking* a lot about running Black and Latin candidates in the Democratic Party primaries. But precisely because Blacks and Latins as groups have little power, they must gravitate toward one class or the other, toward the capitalist class or toward the working class, toward the Democratic Party or toward the unions. This is why it is highly unlikely that an *independent* "Black, Latin, labor coalition" will ever be formed *outside* the Democratic Party or that independent Black, Puerto Rican or Mexican-American candidates will be established outside the Democratic Party.

Even if such a coalition does see the light of day, it will only serve to subordinate the working class to the petty bourgeois opposition within the Democratic Party, which is unwilling and unable to take any practical action in favor of Central America, and ultimately split. As for independent Black or Latin candidates, such candidates will only be positive to the extent that they work to win the unions, the majority of workers, away from the Democratic Party, that is, to the extent that they fight for labor candidates. Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American candidates *per se*, can only serve to split the forces opposed to US intervention in Central America.

## A Sharp Contrast

This policy (or rather combination of policies — who knows what the SWP will come up with next) contrasts sharply with the policy pursued by the SWP during the Korean War. At that time, the SWP was still part of the Fourth International, and was becoming involved in the struggle to

rebuild the International and form the International Committee in opposition to the Pabloite and Mandelite liquidationists. The SWP led an energetic struggle against US intervention in Korea, demanded that the US "Get Out of Korea," "Withdraw All Troops," fought for the unions to put forward their own candidates in elections, and *ran its own candidates* to advance these aims.

Today the SWP, now that it has split from the Fourth International and joined Pablo and Mandel, has far more in common with Cochran and Clarke, Pablo's and Mandel's counterparts in the SWP who opposed active intervention in the class struggle, wanted to retreat to "socialist propaganda," and opposed the SWP's election campaigns in favor of electoral blocs with Stalinists and other petty bourgeois forces.

And today socialists, revolutionaries, are in a far more advantageous position than they were in the early 1950s.

All forces opposed to US intervention in Central America, and above all those who claim to be socialist, must not only take all practical measures possible to defeat the intervention. They must fight in a unified fashion for the unions to break with Reagan and the Democrats and put forward their own candidate for president in 1984. Without the support of the working class, the imperialist giant will be crippled.

This is the policy of the Trotskyists fighting to fully resume and carry forward the SWP's earlier struggle, to clearly differentiate Trotskyism from intermediary tendencies in the working class and rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

# Central America and Poland

What is the relationship between the revolutions in Poland and Central America? There are two basic answers to this question.

The first is given by *all* the representatives of the old order — the imperialists, the Stalinists and their hangers-on. This answer is that there is a contradiction between the two. The Polish Revolution is against communism, the revolution in Central America is for it.

## Revolutionary Unity

The other answer is given most clearly by the Fourth International, but is also expressed in a hundred ways by youth, workers and militants: they are the same struggle, the struggle to end this old order worldwide.

How can we express even more clearly this unity; and not only express it, but organize it?

The Polish Revolution is the greatest and clearest expression of the crisis of Stalinism, the breaking of the Kremlin's hold over the workers. Since the end of World War II, this has been the greatest barrier to the revolution, the greatest aid — through the Kremlin's collaboration with imperialism — to continued imperialist domination of the world.

In Central America, this crisis of Stalinism also finds an expression. The Communist Parties directly have not only not led the revolutions, the forces who have (Sandinistas, etc.) in many cases represent those who left the Communist Parties or were never attracted to them.

But this did not represent a conscious break with Stalinism, but a more or less pragmatic rejection of its particular expressions in Central America.

This sets up a great contradiction. On the one hand, the revolutions have gone as far as they have because the Kremlin was unable to strangle them at birth. At the

same time, because of the limited nature of the rejection of Stalinism, these groups and movements have still not risen to the level of the tasks the revolution demands.

On the basis of this political weakness, the Kremlin finds points of support, points from which to bargain with imperialism over the revolution.

The greatest expression of the weakness of the Central American leaderships is their reliance on and trust in Castroism, which presents itself to them with all the prestige of the Cuban Revolution ("the first free territory in the Americas") while it carries out *slavishly* the political line of the Kremlin.

This is how the Kremlin's policy of limiting the revolution has been introduced into Central America. To the point that Nicaragua finds itself confronted with a virtual invasion by elements backed by the US and by the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, while Castro had told the leaders they could prevent such an outcome by restraining the revolution.

In El Salvador, it has been expressed by the constant search for a "peaceful solution" that would reproduce the course imposed on Nicaragua, with the added menace of a complete betrayal.

## Decisive Moment

At this moment, things are coming to a head. With the continued development of the Polish Revolution, the Kremlin desperately needs to strike a bargain with imperialism. With the continued development of the revolution in Central America, US imperialism desperately needs to be able to strike freely.

On the agenda, therefore, as the US sets its course more openly toward intervention, is the sell-out by the Kremlin — in exchange for a free hand in Poland. This has been expressed openly by the Kremlin's declarations that it will not send

troops to, or otherwise defend, Nicaragua. It is outside its sphere of influence.

And for respecting this "right" of US imperialism, it expects a similar respect for *its own* sphere of influence, Eastern Europe.

What can break through this conspiracy? To be sure, great battles are going to be fought in Central America; the question of the fate of the revolution is not going to be settled anymore simply by the Kremlin's capitulation. This cannot be over-emphasized.

But the most helpful development for the revolution in Central America would be a decisive defeat for Stalinism, a defeat

that would liberate enormous forces in Central America and throughout the world for the revolution.

The battleground for this desirable outcome was and remains Poland. It is the source not only of the Kremlin's immediate anguish, but of a fundamental development that can change the international political situation drastically.

The fight for the victory of the Polish Revolution is, therefore, not only not counterposed to victory in Central America, it is an important condition for it.

In Poland, as in Central America, the decisive question for the fate of the revolution is its leadership.

Here also, Poland presents us with an advantage lacked by Central America. There is a section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), in that country. To be sure, it is still small and struggling. But it has already played a disproportionate role in the development of the revolution, it has a reputation, experience.

The existence of this section is the result of painful, difficult work over a long period. It required a publication, the organizing of trips, the securing of means of communication and contact. All that work, with the great advance it secured, required money. Even more today, with the situation both urgent and favorable, the rapid growth of the section, with all that this will mean for the revolution in Poland and, therefore, in Central America, demands more financial aid.

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## Hold the Trotskyist Conference as Planned!

## The Freeze

The United States Congress recently passed a resolution calling on the United States and the Soviet Union to "freeze" production of nuclear weapons. This is the latest in a series of bourgeois institutions, including the Catholic Bishops Conference, that have adopted such resolutions.

While many parties that claim to represent the working class say such resolutions represent victories for the struggle against imperialism, this is not true. In fact, they represent efforts on the part of liberal imperialism to protect the imperialist state.

Calling on the United States and the Soviet Union to freeze production of nuclear weapons implies that they both represent the same threat to the working class. As Trotskyists, we are the last to minimize the crimes of the Kremlin bureaucracy against the working class and, hence, against human civilization. But its crimes have not, do not, and never will consist in its production of nuclear weapons.

The imperialists, above all the United States, no longer capable of maximizing their profits by introducing new technology, now aim to maintain their profits by maximizing the exploitation of the worker and peasant. They enslaved and intend to re-enslave whole peoples and nations in order to enable them to do so. This is the origin of weapons and war in this epoch.

The Kremlin bureaucracy's crime is that it has taken over and is using the resources of the first revolution and state established in opposition to the imperialist system — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — to maintain the imperialist system, in America and Europe, especially Central America and Poland.

Thus the solution to the problem of weapons and war is not to try to pressure the "two superpowers" not to battle it out, but to overthrow the imperialist states and the pro-imperialist Kremlin bureaucracy that supports them.

## Cayetano Carpio

The Sandinista government in Managua recently announced the Nelida Anaya Montes, leader of the left wing of the Salvadoran guerrillas and outspoken opponent of negotiations, was assassinated by a fellow guerrilla who had political differences with her and was convinced by an imperialist agent that assassinating her was the way to deal with these differences. Further, that Cayetano Carpio, an 80-year-old veteran of the struggle in El Salvador and also a leader of the left wing and opponent of negotiations, committed suicide upon learning of these events.

While the Socialist Workers Party claims that not one fact has been introduced to dispute this scenario, it must be said that not one fact has been introduced to prove it.

An imperialist agent killing a leader of the revolution is not at all surprising. A man like Cayetano Carpio however, who has seen death all around him, committing suicide, seems very strange. We are going to need a lot of facts to be convinced of that.

On the other hand, we would not be in the least surprised to learn that the Kremlin was behind the assassination of both. The Kremlin has promised US imperialism that it will not intervene in Central America even if the US sends troops and that it wants negotiations with the US to stabilize the situation. Cayetano Carpio and "Ana Maria" were obstacles to this. And, if it was the Kremlin, it would not be the first time that it or its predecessors assassinated workers' leaders who were obstacles to their good relations with imperialism. Andres Nin, Spain, 1937; Leon Sedov, France, 1938; Leon Trotsky, Mexico, 1940; Che Guevara, Bolivia, 1967. And these are only the most well known.

In recent issues of *Truth* we have reprinted the open letter of the Internationalist Workers Party calling for an Emergency National Trotskyist Conference on June 25-26, in Los Angeles, together with the response of the Trotskyist Organization accepting the invitation extended by the IWP. There have also appeared several articles concerned with developing a balance sheet of the crisis of the Fourth International and taking up, in a fraternal fashion, the points of difference that we have seen among the organizations and tendencies that are charting a course away from the liquidationist revisionism of the Barnes leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In the course of the preparation of the Emergency National Conference, it has come to our attention, unfortunately through indirect means, that some of the participating organizations wish to postpone the Conference until after the National Convention of the SWP. We believe that this proposal, no doubt motivated by the best of intentions, would be a step backward from the process of rebuilding the Trotskyist Party in the US.

There is, of course, the possibility that the normal time of the SWP National Convention, August of this summer, may not even be maintained by Barnes for strictly factional reasons. That would make a postponement one of an indefinite character. In which case, the political initiative for an *Emergency* conference would be completely lost.

Moreover, postponement would only serve to aid Barnes. It could very well lead to a recapitulation of the disastrous course of the Internationalist Tendency, which split with Barnes and Hansen only to ally itself with the Mandel wing of the United Secretariat. These militants were then summarily abandoned by Mandel, some becoming completely demoralized, and others being dispersed to various anti-Trotskyist organizations such as the Marceyite Workers World Party.

Certainly these are only possibilities. But they are possibilities founded on sound political judgement and experience. Moreover, we believe there is an inherent confusion over the precise aims of the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference (ENTC), and over the method of the rebuilding of the Fourth International which is contained in the proposal to postpone a first step in the rebuilding of the US section of the Fourth International, that has already been too long in coming.

We support with both hands the earliest possible convocation of the ENTC, in particular, we propose to maintain the June 25-26 date. To that end, and to clarify to the end the political basis of the rebuilding of the Trotskyist party in America, we are publishing the following editorial.

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The Emergency National Trotskyist Conference can represent an historic step forward in rebuilding the Trotskyist party in the United States. The very fact that we must have a Conference, as the call of the IWP says, "... to guarantee the organizational, methodological and programmatic continuity of the Fourth International," is an admission that in the whole crisis of leadership of the international proletariat, the resolution of the crisis of the Fourth International is its most important part. The whole purpose of such a Conference must therefore be to lay out a road independent of Barnes and Mandel, and all the failed "reunifications" of the past, in order to implant Trotskyism in the working class. That is, its purpose is to overcome the political and practical consequences of *Pabloism* through a frank and loyal debate, and by joint action "... for participants to test their seriousness, de-

lication and program." (IWP Call, March 3, 1983)

In the response of the Trotskyist Organization to the call of the IWP for the ENTC, we stated our opposition to the proposal for a Trotskyist United Front. We did so because in all frankness we were reminded of the policy under which Latin American Trotskyists were incorporated into an "anti-imperialist revolutionary front," whose policy subordinated the Trotskyists to the petty bourgeois nationalists, and Stalinism. But a united front of Trotskyists need not necessarily be this. Indeed, we think it can be an indispensable part of rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International, and would be a very positive outcome of the ENTC.

But at the same time, a united front of Trotskyists around concrete proposals, such as the fight for the labor party and an independent labor candidate in the 1984 elections, and such as the defense of the revolution in Central America against US intervention, is a tactic, a tool, for carrying out a delineation of Trotskyism against the liquidationist course of Barnes in the working class. It is a basis for taking up the all-important question that the proposed agenda of the ENTC includes, that is, "A balance sheet of the liquidationist crisis of the SWP."

On the other hand, the proposal to postpone the ENTC contains within it at least the embryo of an idea that the crisis in the SWP will resolve itself. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the National Convention of the SWP is held in August. Let us further assume that there is a split at the Convention and the oppositions in the SWP are expelled. Would this then make the holding of an ENTC after the Convention a more favorable situation?

No! It would in fact be the worst possible situation in which to begin the political clarification and to reach agreement on united work.

Barnes would then have been free to deepen his attack on Trotskyism, to further muddle the stake of the battles in 1953, and 1963 as "differences over the internal methods of leadership in the Fourth International." He would be free to carry forward the liquidation of the SWP, and some militants in the SWP-YSA, particularly the younger less experienced comrades, would either be lost to Barnes or demoralized by the internal struggle and lost to Trotskyism. To the opposition, in the absence of the political clarification that the ENTC could bring, the United Secretariat and Mandel could begin to look like an alternative to Barnes.

It is necessary to be very frank, all these possibilities are based on very real political confusions that exist today and that are not going to be spontaneously resolved. That is the first Leninist principle of the construction of the revolutionary party — reject spontaneism.

Already much time has been lost. The organizations that are invited to the ENTC come from completely different experiences and by different roads to try to resolve the crisis in Trotskyism. They include oppositionists from the SWP itself, organizations which came out of the crisis of the Workers League and the WRP, and our own organization which developed out of the fight to rebuild the Fourth International in 1976. There is the IWP itself which came out of the United Secretariat and the crisis which developed in it after the upsurge of the revolution in Central America.

When the TO received the call for an Emergency National Trotskyist Conference, we replied as soon as possible accepting the invitation. Months before we had proposed a common campaign for a labor party to the IWP and a meeting between leaderships to begin to clarify the nature and program of the party on the

basis of a common struggle. Only shortly before we received the IWP's invitation, we had signed, together with the Proletarian Tasks Tendency (PTT), and others, a joint appeal for a campaign for a labor party around the 1984 elections. And after accepting the invitation, we began to prepare a series in *Truth* to clarify our balance sheet of the crisis in the SWP. With the exception of the comrades of the Chicago Workers Video organization, we have not however, heard the slightest response, or seen the slightest discussion in the press of the other organizations, including the IWP itself.

This, by itself, underlines for us the hesitancy with which the organizations enter into the preparation of the ENTC. Why the hesitancy?

Of course, there will be differences, and some will be of a very fundamental character. But, in the present situation, where the nature and program of Trotskyism is alive with answers to the problems faced by the workers and oppressed in their struggles, isn't the very fact that we are Trotskyists trying to rebuild the Trotskyist party in the United States, a more than sufficient basis to work together, to carry on openly a frank and fraternal discussion?

To us, postponing the ENTC, can only reinforce these hesitations and revert to "private" discussions, temporal political realignments, maneuvers, etc. We must hold the ENTC even if it is only a first step forward.

Furthermore, we propose that all the organizations begin now to overcome the delay in the preparation of the Conference. We appeal to the IWP, as the host organization for the Conference, to insure the proper conditions, political and organizational, for the success of the ENTC.

In particular, we propose the following measures:

1. Agreement with the proposal of the IWP that each organization in the Conference be represented by the vote of one delegate, and that the agenda be the one originally proposed in the IWP call.

2. That under the point on the agenda, "A balance sheet of the liquidationist crisis of the SWP," the participants in the Conference be accorded all possible means, including circulation of written documents, liberal time limits for interventions, to put forward their balance sheet of the crisis in the SWP. Furthermore, though reaching agreement on this point is obviously highly desirable, it should be taken, as the IWP has indicated in its call, "... as the end result of a process of maturation and discussion of the differences between the various organizations ..."

3. That at a minimum, under the point on a program for unity, the participants involved in the Conference arrive at an agreement for a united front in the 1984 elections to support working class candidates, and for a united front against US intervention in Central America. In fact, though not as delegated body, all of the organizations involved have already agreed in principle to such joint action.

4. That in all proceedings and under points of the agenda, "mechanisms necessary to implement agreements," and "Trotskyist discussion bulletin," the participants agree to adhere responsibly to the principles of Workers Democracy and the frank and fraternal debate of political differences.

In making these proposals we hope to show the comrades of all organizations and tendencies involved, that there is much that the ENTC can achieve, even at the most minimal level. We are, of course, more than ready to consider other proposals.

But above all, we want to say, *hold the conference as planned.*

*Truth*

# The Road to the RYI Today

An article in the last issue of *Truth* announced the coming Conference of Youth of the Fourth International (which has now been moved to Paris), to be held late this summer.

## Revolutionary Youth International

The forces in the International Committee who sought to continue the fight to rebuild the Fourth International took up the struggle for the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) — a mass, autonomous organization of the youth.

There were two basic reasons for the importance of this proposal. First, the situation of the youth. While they were in the forefront of every social struggle and revolutionary upsurge, they had no way to organize themselves, to develop, to become an organized force that could act effectively to insure the political independence — from the whole old order — that the youth strove to carry out in action.

Secondly, the fact that the Fourth International, in order to rebuild itself, had to rely on the fresh energies of the youth; while, at the same time, only it (because of its whole programmatic struggle) could in fact provide the political independence that the youth needed.

As we have pointed out, this fight culminated in the founding of the RYI in Berlin at the end of 1975. But, as we have also pointed out, this first basic advance, the premise for all future advances, coincided not only with an ebb in the revolutionary upsurge of 1974-75, but — even more — with an all-out attack on the consciousness of the workers (Eurocommunism and anti-Leninism, "human rights" and "anti-terrorism"). And this attack fell

even more heavily on the youth.

In this situation, the promise of the mass, autonomous RYI was unable to be fulfilled. The RYI could not be an organizational form into which the youth streamed, building the International.

The full significance of this became apparent only in the new turn in the international situation that began with the Iranian and Nicaraguan Revolutions, and whose high point was the Polish Revolution.

The Fourth International found that while this new upsurge offered enormous possibilities, marked especially by the reactivation of the youth, the past period of isolation had produced effects that restricted its ability to capitalize on these possibilities. The youth moved into action, but they continued to feel the effects of the past period — they could not simply shrug off the attacks as if they had never happened.

This contradictory situation demanded, all the more, therefore, the greatest effectiveness in political intervention in order to win and organize the youth. But the Fourth International found itself without sufficient and sufficiently-trained youth cadres to undertake this task with the necessary degree of success.

## Preparatory Period

In the present period of the international class struggle, which the Fourth International characterizes as a *preparatory period*, all these questions have to be, and can be, resolved.

For the revolution to triumph, the Fourth International must be at its head. It can do this only on the basis of implanting



itself in the struggles of the workers, beginning with the young generation. The preparatory nature of this period does not imply a period of tranquillity and rest, but one in which the social forces are accumulating and developing for great and decisive battles to come. And this development itself occurs along a line of struggle and conflict — the clashes in Poland, Chicago elections, etc.

Drawing all the lessons of the past, the Fourth International sees its concrete preparation for the coming decisive battles as consisting in training and developing the youth cadres of the Fourth International.

This is the key not only to the future, but to the present as well. In each struggle, the goal of our activity is above all to recruit, train and consolidate youth cadres. This is the chief path to the implantation of the Fourth International in the working class.

It is, at the same time, the path to the building of the RYI as the mass autonomous organization of the youth. As the class struggle develops, the need for the

RYI will become even more acute. But this objective need *cannot* be met — here the lessons of the past — simply by its existence. The youth all over the world are not going to sit down in their houses, on the job and in school, on the street-corner,

and puzzle out for themselves what the road to class independence is, that this leads to the RYI as the means of building the necessary international leadership, the world party.

This struggle and this conclusion have to be brought to them. Our task today is to train the first layers of this new youth leadership, to expand its influence, to increase its extent and to bring more and more youth into the fight for leadership.

This is the road to winning the masses. As we have said, this preparatory period is one that permits the training of the youth in the actual development of the class struggle, not outside it.

The circles of the youth, the building of which is the organizational expression of the training of youth cadres, are not isolated study groups. They are centers of debate, discussion and education that are tied directly to the actual fight, work and political activity of the youth. Neither activity nor education in sterile isolation, but the two in fruitful combination.

The training of these youth cadres of the Fourth International, the key to the mass RYI, demands the highest level of training — not just in local circles, not even on the national level alone, but on the international plane as well. That is the significance of the conference in Paris, an intensification and centralization of the work already undertaken.

K.F.

*doesn't argue against OP  
but how to make line in UAW*

# The Real Question at the UAW Convention

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

There were many important questions discussed at the recent UAW Constitutional Convention in Dallas. But the most important question, the one that could actually have put the others in a framework of reality, was not discussed — at least, not directly.

This question is the need for an *independent labor candidate* for US President in the 1984 elections.

## The Real Problem

Despite the wishes of the bureaucratic leadership of the UAW — the "administration caucus" of ex-UAW president Douglas Fraser and the heir to the throne, the new president, Owen Bieber — the question of the nature of the leadership was posed. This took place in two ways.

First, there was a discussion of the lack of democratic control over the election of the union's top officials. This is the real content of the fact that the question of a "referendum vote" — which, by itself, guarantees no more democracy than a convention vote; there are no gimmicks — caused heated discussion on the convention floor. This question even produced a split among opposition forces in the union between those close to the Communist Party (who consciously, and brazenly, sided with the bureaucracy) and those whom the CP has up to now worked with.

And second, despite the best efforts of Fraser-Bieber, there actually was an opposition candidate for president of the union. Henry "Hank" Wilson, of Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) ran, although withdrawing for the sake of "unity," in an action whose symbolic significance was that there is no "unity."

What is the chief cause, the real expression, of the fact that the UAW bureaucracy is working against the interests of the union's members?

It's not just the sell-outs, the concessions, the lack of internal democracy. These are *symptoms* of the fact that this bureaucracy is tied hand and foot to the capitalist class — concretely, to the Democratic Party.

The weakness of the opposition is link-

ed to its inability to address this central issue. Not only did it not pose it in terms of the elections to the convention (this is what we posed in terms of a united slate for a labor party), but the anti-concessions movement of last year (LOC, "illegal" sub council meetings, etc.) petered out in face of the 1982 elections.

An independent labor candidate is a very specific way to pose the question of the break with the Democratic Party, of building a labor party in the 1984 elections, which are already being frenziedly prepared by all the capitalist politicians.

An independent labor candidate would tear up, would derail, the schemes to divert the workers' hostility to capitalist politics into "reforming" the Democratic Party. What we saw in the Chicago elections is only a taste of what is developing around the 1984 presidential race. An independent labor candidate is the answer that was not found in Chicago.

## Road to Labor Party

Because a labor party in this country represents this *break* with the capitalist Democratic Party, it is not going to take shape in some nice, neat, peaceful, organic way. Its existence will not arise from a constitution, ward committees, officials,

etc., but from an action that expresses this necessary break. Not lining up behind some "lesser-evil" Democrat, but launching an independent fight in the elections.

While the independent labor candidate was not discussed by the convention, the bureaucrats' opposition to it was.

The clearest example of this was the speech by AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland. Kirkland put forward his plan for the AFL-CIO executive council to endorse a chosen Democrat before the presidential primaries. Aside from all the empty talk about "labor's voice," Kirkland gave the game away: "We have to pick a candidate who will be good for us and good for the Democratic Party." And when Kirkland says "us" he means the bureaucrats.

This anti-worker perspective was endorsed by Bieber and the rest of the Solidarity House gang.

In that light, the proposal by Fraser-Bieber for a national strategic planning board, which will be in charge of developing a "comprehensive, multiyear, overall industrial strategy" for the US, is more empty talk. Capitalist planning, to the extent that it exists, can only be directed against the workers. Real economic planning demands workers control and, even more, demands political power.

Similarly, the convention's vote against US aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship is weakened and compromised by support to the Democratic Party call for "negotiations." As we have pointed out, this policy seeks to disarm the revolution in order to attain the same goal as Reagan — de-

feating the workers and peasants of Central America.

The effective conclusion of the convention was Bieber's inaugural speech, in which he "militantly" announced that there would be no more concessions, and so on and so forth.

This speech is a tissue of lies. Only weeks ago, the UAW leadership signed a contract at Caterpillar that incorporated numerous concessions. Bieber and the rest now want to open negotiations on the Chrysler contract (which expires in January) in July. In this way, they hope to catch the workers off guard in order to make, at most, very minimal wage gains — and probably "work rules" concessions — that will, overall, increase exploitation and unemployment.

The fight against concessions can be a strong battleground — a necessary battleground — for the independent labor candidate. On this basis, auto workers can secure real gains at the same time as they make a fundamental political advance.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITED

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