

Central America: Prepare for Confrontation

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

On June 28, when a reporter asked Reagan if he promised never to send US troops to Central America, Reagan answered: "... it's an old saying that the president should never say never."

Shortly thereafter, he appointed Richard B. Stone as special ambassador to Central America. Stone just went to Central America and tried to initiate talks with the Salvadoran rebels aimed at involving them in the elections that the US and its agents are planning for December. The rebels refused to talk with Stone, unfortunately not on principle, but for what they called "procedural reasons."

While these developments may appear accidental or even contradictory (talks of war, talks of peace), they are not. They are part of a deliberate plan to strengthen, enlarge and mobilize the forces of the Reagan regime that will support massive US intervention in Central America and that will neutralize and crush the inevitable working class opposition to it.

The working class must prepare now to confront these forces in the factories, the unions and the streets.

In the last issues of *Truth* we have said that Reagan *has* to intervene with troops in Central America because workers and peasants in this region, especially Nicaragua and El Salvador, have risen up, overthrown the US's agent, Anastasio Somoza, and are threatening US banks' and corporations' property and profits.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that because Reagan *has* to intervene, that he is going to do so in an adventurist fashion, without regard to the thinking of the American people, without any support among the American people and without any plan to suppress the inevitable working class opposition to such an intervention.

Reagan's statement "never say never" shows that he *is* acquiring support for sending troops. He would not say this if he were not.

This assessment is confirmed by a recent *New York Times*/CBS poll. This poll shows that while the vast majority continues to oppose sending troops "even to prevent a 'Communist takeover,'" a substantial minority is *for* sending troops (32% for troops; 43% for advisors; 49% for tripling aid).

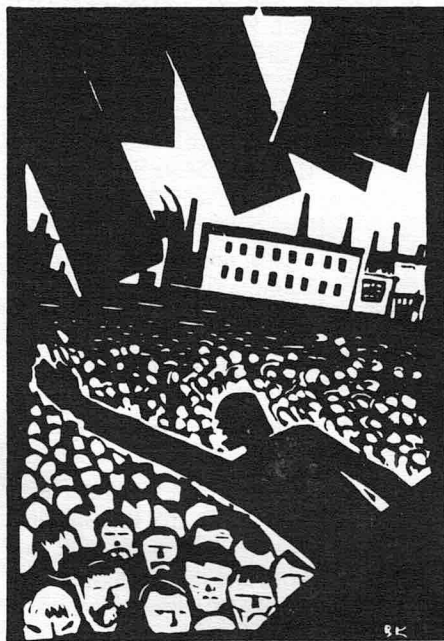
Reagan does *not* need a majority to send troops. He needs an *active* minority that is prepared to confront and suppress the majority.

At the same time, Reagan's statement shows that his minority is not yet sufficiently prepared or large. If it were, he would not be just talking. This was the purpose of Stone's trip — to politically prepare and enlarge Reagan's minority by providing a *political rationale* for troops in Central America.

This rationale can be developed in a number of ways. If the rebels refuse to participate in talks or elections the US can argue that they have no respect for democracy and thus must be suppressed, that troops are necessary to do this.

If the rebels agree to talks or elections, so much the better. The US can argue that *even* the rebels think that the US is a reasonable force that can be dealt with through democratic means, that troops are necessary to defend this process against terrorists, fanatics, etc.

In any case, the United States is obviously *not* going to intervene in Central America in the name of defending US banks' property and profits against the poor workers and peasants of Central



From Art of the October Revolution

America. Nobody would support it.

It is going to do so in the name of defending democracy against the violence of the right and the left, against totalitarianism, against the "danger of a Communist takeover."

The US would like to send troops in the name of the UN or a coalition of states with the endorsement of the rebels. It may have to settle for sending them in the name of the Organization of American States (OAS) or in its own name.

Exactly how the situation shapes up depends on the class struggle. The more and more the working class separates itself from any intervention of US troops for any purpose, in any form, the more the Reagan regime will be reduced to a far-fetched rationale and sending troops in the name of the US alone, thus limiting his support and its aggressiveness.

The more and more the working class goes along with the notion that it is possi-

ble to come to terms with the US, that the US and its troops might in some way defend democracy, the wider Reagan's rationale, support, etc.

In any case, sending troops to Central America will be accompanied by a wave of reactionary propaganda and activity as were the Korean war, the Vietnam war, and the recent attacks on Iran. Reagan will have to confront the working class and not simply with ideology. He will have to try to discipline the unions; to try to isolate and suppress those that rebel; to try to isolate, imprison and wipe out any leadership capable of mounting opposition to this.

Reagan intends to make intervention with troops in Central America the spearhead of his attack on all workers and their organizations.

This is why we say that the working class must be prepared to confront Reagan and his supporters over Central America. The working class has nothing to fear from such a confrontation. Indeed, it can make Central America Reagan's Waterloo and put itself in a position to overthrow the imperialist state and begin to build a society in which workers can be truly free.

To do this, it must be politically prepared. This means a political fight for:

1. *US out of Central America* — Against all illusions in coming to terms with the US; dialogue, negotiations, political settlement, etc. The US does not defend democracy in Central America and it never will. Talk of coming to terms with it can only create illusions, confuse workers, dull their fighting spirit, split their ranks and pave the way for a blood bath as in Lebanon.

2. *Unconditional defense of Nicaragua* — Nicaraguan workers and peasants are fighting for bread and freedom. They have the right to develop their struggle in any direction they see fit, *including a communist direction*. It is not communism or com-

munist that rob workers of life and freedom in Central America or Poland. It is US imperialism and Kremlin bureaucrats who try to force the workers to come to terms with it.

3. *Boycott US supplies to US butchers in Central America* (El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, etc.); *Volunteers for Nicaragua* — A political position is worth nothing unless it is translated into deeds. Workers organizations must fight for the unions to undertake an all-out boycott of all movement of US money, machines and men to the likes of the Somocistas, D'Aubuisson, etc.

But the struggle cannot be limited to opposition to the US. Active support for Nicaragua is necessary, not only in the form of money and materials but also in the form of men. The US will be trying to recruit its troops from the ranks of unemployed workers and youth isolated from the working class and without any hope for the future. Workers can recruit their troops from these same ranks and offer them a real future. This means a fight for Nicaragua to accept working class support instead of pursuing an illusory peace with the US.

With such a political and practical struggle the working class will be able to confront and defeat the Reagan regime and its supporters. It will be able to differentiate its friends and its enemies in its own ranks and forge the kind of leadership necessary to lead it to power.

To advance this struggle, Trotskyists must be prepared to seize every opportunity to develop large actions against US intervention; to work with any and all forces opposed to US intervention, no matter how divergent, with the aim of building such actions.

In such a struggle, Trotskyists will be able to prepare workers to confront and defeat their enemies.

If you support Solidarnosc . . .

American workers have manifested their solidarity with the Polish workers and their union Solidarnosc hundreds of times. Thus American unions claim to support Solidarnosc and even to contribute thousands of dollars to Solidarnosc.

But where is money destined for Solidarnosc going? Is it actually reaching Solidarnosc, that is the working class fighters in the mines, the shipyards and factories?

Our Polish comrades, who have been working in Solidarity coordinating committees in France and Poland, have learned that it is not. Funds directed to Solidarnosc are going to the Church.

The Church has deliberately split Solidarnosc coordinating committees and taken their funds for its own purposes. In France, when the Church tendency split, it took 2-3 million francs (roughly \$250,000 to \$450,000) and left Kowalewski's committee, which works directly with the Regional Strike Committee of Wroclaw in Silesia, the most militant section of Solidarnosc and home of some of its most well-known leaders (like Frasnyniuk, now in prison), with virtually nothing.

And what are the Church's purposes? American workers caught a glimpse of them when the Church denounced and attempted to destroy the strike against Solidarnosc' "delegalization" last November 10. It got an even broader view when, following the Pope's trip to Poland, the editor of the Vatican's newspaper prematurely reported that Walesa had agreed

to resign as president of Solidarnosc in the interests of "national reconciliation."

But this man of the cloth jumped the gun. The Pope had intended to attempt to substitute himself for Solidarnosc, to gain Walesa's resignation and in so doing begin to replace the real, living Solidarnosc with a sort of spiritual Solidarnosc. But the Polish workers stood firm. No freedom without Solidarnosc.

Thus the Pope was forced to recognize the workers' right to unions, Walesa, and fired the editor. Now the Church will attempt to pursue its same goal, snuffing out Solidarnosc, in a different way: by trying to take over Solidarnosc and destroy it from within and create "unions" under its own leadership.

To press what demands in Poland? Again our Polish comrades have some interesting information. One of the main demands that the Pope and Glemp put forward in their talks with Jaruzelski was for the Church to have an eternal right to the tremendous amount of property that it has amassed in Poland. Another is the right to denationalize the factories and the land

and turn them over to "Polish people" living abroad so that they can make profits at the expense of the Polish worker.

The Polish Trotskyists, on the other hand, have fought consistently for a general strike to bring down the Stalinist military junta and win freedom for Solidarnosc and political parties as a first step in building a government responsible to Solidarnosc. This government will be able to organize the solidarity of workers in the USSR and Europe to confront the Kremlin's tanks.

The Trotskyists were the only working class political party to stand with the Polish workers on the anniversary of the coup d'etat, to fight for Solidarnosc demonstrations during the Pope's visit, and to fight for Solidarnosc to break entirely with the Church today.

So if you support Solidarnosc, support the Polish Trotskyists. We need hundreds of thousands of dollars to lead the struggle to victory. Make your contribution today. Checks payable to Truth, PO Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232. M.G.

Emergency Trotskyist Conference Report

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Trotskyist Conference: Significant Advance

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

On the weekend of June 25-26 the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference (ENTC) was convoked with the participation of five organizations and several independent militants.

The Trotskyist Organization participated in this Conference as part of the fight we have raised to rebuild the American section of the Fourth International. The content of the rebuilding we had given before in our call for a Trotskyist Congress, an open Congress to reclaim the proletarian and Trotskyist traditions of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The ENTC represented an important step toward this objective. From this point forward the rebuilding of the Trotskyist party in the United States has become a struggle, both theoretical and practical, which of necessity must occupy the central attention of all organizations, tendencies, and individual militants who claim Trotskyism as their banner in the US.

The call to the ENTC itself was initiated by the International Workers Party (IWP), sympathizing section of the International Workers League. This organization traces its origins to the Bolshevik Faction of the United Secretariat. The TO gives credit where credit is due — the IWP(FI) hosted a conference of open and frank debate.

Also attending the Conference were delegates from the Proletarian Tasks Tendency (PTT), Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), and Chicago Workers Video (CWV) as well as several observers and independent militants many of whom were former members of the SWP.

United Front

The concrete advances of the Conference were summarized in the agreements reached prior to and during two days of meetings. All of the documents will be available publicly, but we summarize the main agreements here:

— The call preceding the Conference launched by the IWP(FI), stated that given the break of the Barnes leadership with "... the SWP's last remaining organizational, methodological, and political ties with Trotskyism ...", that "... all organizations and militants who consider themselves to be Trotskyists and members of the Fourth International have the obligation to guarantee the organizational, methodological and programmatic continuity of the Fourth International."

— The "Resolution on Joint Work in the Movement in Solidarity with the Central American Revolution" stated the important principle of "unconditional defense of Nicaragua ... unconditional defense of the Salvadorean and Guatemalan guerrilla movements ..." and raised the necessity of the defense of Trotskyist organizations in Central America. It also raised the demand for the *boycott of arms* to the puppet regimes of US imperialism and stated, "... the participants of the ENTC should place emphasis on solidarity campaigns in unions and on mass mobilizations in the streets."

— A resolution on common action to defend the Polish workers was adopted that stated the need to defend Solidarity against Stalinism, committed all ENTC participants to "... carry out all necessary activities in solidarity with the Polish workers and in defense of Solidarity," and raised the demand to free all political prisoners and to defend the Trotskyists in Poland.

— A resolution was adopted directed in particular against the "Spartacist" League (SL), opposing methods of Stalinist slander and physical attacks as alien to the workers movement and Workers Democracy. (Our readers are directed also to past issues of *Truth* exposing the campaign of Stalinist slander taken up by the SL against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.)

The content of these proposals for common work go beyond mere acts of solidarity. They represent the formative stages of a platform for Trotskyism in the class struggle of today and a conscious response to the crisis of the SWP and the attack on



From The Militant of the 1930s

Jack Barnes in his speech "Their Trotsky and Ours." On the basis of these points of agreement, not only can the political struggle to clarify the balance sheet and perspectives for Trotskyism continue, but also the process of rebuilding can set its roots in the actual implantation of Trotskyism in the working class.

Crisis in the SWP

In the preparation of the ENTC the TO stated the fallacy of allowing the factional struggle in the SWP to develop spontaneously (see *Truth* #166).

Flowing from this it should also be clear that neither do we intend to play the role of gleeful cheerleaders. In and of itself, there is nothing positive about the fact that a party that once represented the pillar of the Fourth International, the closest collaborators of Trotsky himself, should be wracked by a political crisis produced by a leadership intent on liquidating the last vestiges of Trotskyism in the SWP. It is an attack on the consciousness of the working class as a whole.

The statements of former members of the SWP participating in the Conference definitely bore this out. They spoke of the defensive character of the struggle against Barnes, of the fact that much of the fight is being carried out on the basis of opposition to the bureaucratic nature of this leadership.

This discussion brought out the speed with which Barnes is moving to expel or intimidate into silence all opposition, and the fact that many SWP militants are fighting just to survive reprisals.

It also showed the difficulty of the oppositionists in the SWP to confront the Barnes leadership politically. Even given that this leadership is clearly intent on moving rapidly to expel all oppositions, it is crucial for the rebuilding of the American section of the Fourth International that the outcome of the crisis in the SWP be clarity, not confusion.

Outside of a balance sheet on the fundamental questions — the nature of Stalinism, the permanent revolution, the roots of the crisis in the Fourth International — Barnes has the advantage. He can base his attack on more than twenty years of confusion and obfuscation of the struggle against Pabloism and centrism. The abandonment of this struggle by the SWP was itself based on the "theory" that Pabloism only represented a tendency of bureaucratism and bad tactics in the Fourth International. To recapitulate the struggle against Pablo's heirs today on the same superficial and fallacious basis would spell disaster.

Those who defend Trotskyism today must take upon their own shoulders the education and training of young militants of the SWP who have been systematically miseducated by the Barnes leadership.

At the heart of the discussion over the balance sheet of the crisis of the Fourth International is the question of which road to take. In its discussion document presented to the ENTC, the TO stated, "The rebuilding of the US section of the Fourth International is therefore not simply a regroupment of organizations and tenden-

cies that now claim Trotskyism, it is also the implantation of Trotskyism in the working class and the defense of the Trotskyist program and traditions for the working class."

On the other hand there are all the other attempts at regroupments — the SWP and the OCI (1974-1975), the Parity Committee, not to mention the 1963 reunification itself — that have failed, not only in the most literal sense, but even more fundamentally, failed to resolve the political roots of the crisis of the Fourth International in the US. Indeed, they barely even approached them.

Though the ENTC did not resolve all these problems, it did represent a sound beginning and laid the basis in common action for putting the programs to the test in the class struggle. More importantly, the political struggle will be conducted openly, not behind closed doors, and based on principles, not on blocs and maneuvers. For example, the Conference decided that the discussion bulletin of the Conference (to be issued at least every four months), the *Trotskyist Bulletin*, will be a public bulletin.

The Party

It was to be expected then that the legacy of the crisis of the Fourth International would find its expression in the proposals for common work and the discussion over them. Basically, the differences were concentrated in the proposal for common electoral work toward the 1984 elections.

The original electoral resolution, which included both the proposal for working class candidates independent of the Democratic Party and a proposal for the implementation of this campaign by joining and building the California-based Peace and Freedom Party, was split. The IWP(FI), PTT, and CWV agreed to the proposal for joining and building the Peace and Freedom Party and the TO and the RWL agreed only with the first part of the resolution.

For its part, the TO has fought for some years to put forward independent labor candidates in elections, including in the Detroit mayoral elections, in the 1980 and 1982 presidential and congressional elections. In the recent delegate elections to the UAW National Convention we put forward a campaign for a united workers slate centered around the demand for a labor party. In addition, in the recent Chicago elections we actively worked with the Chicago branch of the SWP to organize a workers' vote for Ed Warren, once again putting forward the centrality of the fight for a labor party. Readers can refer to *Truth* for the concrete development, lessons and experiences of these campaigns.

On the one hand, the disagreement of the TO with the proposal to join and build the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) might appear to rest simply on a principled characterization of the PFP — it is not a working class party, but rather a radical petty bourgeois party. But there is more to it than that. Inherent in the proposal to join

and build the PFP, and to call this (incorrectly) a coalition for working class candidates, is the question of the very nature, not to mention the program, of the party we seek to build.

In reality, the position in support of building the PFP rests on a failure to assimilate the lessons of the crisis of the United Secretariat, and in particular, of the SWP itself.

It is founded on the idea, we believe, that the building of a revolutionary leadership must pass through the bankrupt Stalinist, reformist, and centrist parties. Thus in its proposal to the national planning meeting of the coalition, the IWP(FI) states: "No socialist left campaign can truly be unified unless these organizations have the political maturity to understand their responsibility as the four largest forces in the socialist left," referring to the Communist Party, the SWP, the Socialist Party and the Workers World Party.

Then it goes on to say, "... all of the socialist left parties without any exception agree on at least fifteen slogans ..." and cites as two of these: "The AFL-CIO must break with the parties which represent the employers ..." etc., and "Not a single vote for the Democrats and Republicans." At the very least, the CP definitely does not agree with these two key demands.

Thus from the imperative necessity of the unity of all the "big" parties, the actual failure of these leaderships to fight for class independence becomes the reverse — suddenly the CP becomes the champion of a break from the Democratic Party?

But despite a fundamental disagreement over the tactic to pursue in the 1984 elections, which will result in two different tactics being carried out by the organizations participating in the ENTC, we believe the Conference was an advance. Even in the case of the electoral tactic, it will put the organizations and their programs to the test in the living struggle. That is why the TO will uphold the agreements on common action that were achieved with all its strength, and that is why we call on all organizations, tendencies, and militants who are ready to defend Trotskyism to adhere to the united front that was reached at the Conference, and to join in the work and the political debate to realize the rebuilding of the Trotskyist party in the US.

Emergency Trotskyist Conference Documents

Preparatory documents published in *Trotskyist Correspondence* available now for \$3.50. Resolutions of conference published in *Trotskyist Bulletin* about to appear. Send your request and checks payable to Truth to: Truth, PO Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232.

Fourth International!

This issue of *Fourth International* includes a report on the Fourth International's delegation to Gdansk last December during the anniversary of the coup d'etat, and articles originally published in *Walka Klas*, the Polish Trotskyists' journal, and *Workers Unity*, a clandestine publication within Poland whose editorial board recently joined the Fourth International. It also includes a balance sheet of the Polish workers' struggle, a call in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, as well as balance sheets of Trotskyism in Bolivia and Argentina.

The Fourth International is the only tendency fighting to build the Trotskyist party in Poland today. Thus it brings incomparable experience, lessons and guidance not only to the struggle in Poland but also to the struggle in the Americas to rebuild the Trotskyist parties destroyed by the Pabloite and SWP capitulation to Stalinism.

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The Nicaraguan Revolution

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

July 19 is the fourth anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. On that day in 1979, two days after the hated dictator Somoza had fled the country, the population of Managua rose up massively once again. The popular militia and the residents of the working class neighborhoods seized the "bunker" (Somoza's final refuge) and distributed thousands of weapons. The National Guard, Somoza's private army of murderers, went to pieces and fled. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) entered the capital and installed the Junta of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction.

The social forces responsible for this victory were those of the urban proletariat especially of Managua, which had withstood an eighteen day siege by Somoza's troops in June that included indiscriminate bombing of working class neighborhoods, and the young, from the dispossessed urban and rural population, who strengthened the FSLN army in the last days.

It is against these forces and their counterparts in the US factories and urban ghettos, that Ronald Reagan and the class he represents — the US imperialist ruling class — prepares war. In the case of Nicaragua it is a shooting war designed to bring back Somozaism. In the case of the US working class, it is a political and economic attack that, in the logic of class conflict, will lead progressively to more bitter conflicts.

As in the case of every war against a revolution, it is necessary to take a side. And we Trotskyists have taken ours in the unconditional defense of Nicaragua against US imperialism. The development of the Nicaraguan Revolution after four years will itself furnish the proof of the correctness of this policy.

Dynamic of the Nicaraguan Revolution

This development can only be seen clearly in the relations between imperialism, the Kremlin, and the working class on a world scale. It is these forces that shaped the precise nature of the victory of July 19 and the subsequent development of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

On the part of US imperialism, its rape of Central America and its people for decades underlies the determination of the Nicaraguan masses to defeat the Yankee imperialists at all costs. On the part of the Kremlin and Stalinism, its collaboration with imperialism in preserving the status quo in the western hemisphere continually blunts the initiative of the masses and threatens the lifeblood of the revolution.

And, on the part of the proletariat, its countless sacrifices in striving for freedom in Nicaragua, together with the resistance of the US working class, especially the young, to the aims of their imperialist government, have seen to it that neither Reagan nor the Kremlin have yet been able to halt the revolution. Despite the contradictory development of the Nicaraguan Revolution, the initiative today remains with the masses.

The problem is this: while the proletariat has maintained up until now the initiative and its struggle, its leaderships do not base themselves on the masses but rather are dependent on the relations between imperialism and Stalinism.

At a certain moment, in the months preceding Somoza's fall, the relations between these two converged in a desire to prevent the Nicaraguan Revolution and the complete dissolution of the Somoza regime — through Carter and his policy of human rights, and through Castro acting as the representative of Stalinism.

Carter, up to the end, wanted to maintain a role for the National Guard and the remnants of the Somozaist regime. After Somoza fled the country, Francisco Urcuyo, his representative and a deputy in Congress, appealed to all combatants to lay down their arms and proposed according to American plans that he hold state power until presidential elections two years later. Two days later, the urban masses vetoed with arms the American plan

and deposed Urcuyo.

At the same time, Castro tried to find a form to maintain a link to the bourgeoisie also. First, after the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), which represented the anti-Somozaist bourgeoisie was totally discredited by negotiating with American imperialism in 1978, the United Peoples Movement, and finally the National Patriotic Front were formed to encompass sectors of the bourgeoisie including some that had been in the FAO. Secondly, after three tendencies of the FSLN were merged, including the "tercerista" tendency that had direct links with the FAO, the Stalinists finally gave the FSLN what it had earlier lacked — arms. Finally, even on the day of the Nicaraguan masses victory, Castro issued a statement urging the Sandinistas to maintain friendly relations with Washington.

It was the masses own independent initiatives — neighborhood coordinating committees, militias — that actually pushed the Nicaraguan Revolution forward and led to the fall of Somoza.

From this moment forward the Nicaraguan Revolution took its place in a chain of events that put an end to the post-war equilibrium established by imperialism in collaboration with the Kremlin. Iran, Nicaragua and then the Polish Revolution put an end to "peaceful coexistence."

Now US imperialism realized that the Kremlin and Castro were no longer capable of effectively fulfilling their part of the bargain and the American imperialist bourgeoisie demanded a stronger stand that was expressed by the election of Ronald Reagan and the end of Carter's policy of "human rights."

Sandinistas

This whole situation — the desire of US imperialism to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution and the inability of the Kremlin to contain it — took a particular expression in the leadership of the Nicaraguan Revolution, the Sandinistas, and the government they formed.

From the moment of its installation on the heels of the Managua insurrection, the Government of National Reconstruction was beholden to both imperialism through the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and to Castro and the Kremlin because of the isolation of Nicaragua by imperialism and the failure of the Sandinistas to deepen and extend the revolution by basing themselves on the masses.

From the beginning, the FSLN has been committed to a "pluralistic" economy. That has meant not only a beachhead for US imperialism to base itself on in Nicaragua, but also concretely the defection of former members of the GNR, Alfonso Robello and others to the ex-Somozaist forces, and even the split of Eden Pastora, Commander "Zero," from the Sandinistas to the counterrevolutionary forces. Neither of these defections has taught the Sandinistas anything because today they still remain intent on maintaining their alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In the very early days of the revolution that alliance led the Sandinistas to oppose strikes by workers against employers, peasant seizures of land and the demands of the masses for the execution of National Guard torturers. To this day, one of the major tasks of the democratic revolution, the re-distribution of land, remains unfulfilled with a majority still in the hands of the private sector.

More importantly, the Sandinistas, with Castro, have defined themselves by their opposition to the extension of the Nicaraguan Revolution in Central America — El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras. The Sandinistas are a leadership completely dependent on Castro, while at the same time the Kremlin has repeatedly made clear that it does not intend to intervene in the actual defense of Nicaragua. Thus Nicaragua finds itself in an infinitely more precarious position than Cuba.

At the same time, this dependence on Stalinism is not dictated just by objective circumstances, for example, the isolation of Nicaragua. It is a dependence inherent

in the very nature of the Sandinista leadership — between the bourgeoisie and the working class. It is a dependence of choice, not of desperation.

Another Road

Nevertheless, the Nicaraguan Revolution has not been finished. The masses still retain the initiative and have pushed the revolution along at several stages further than the Sandinistas would have liked to have gone. That is why there remains today another road.

That road lies in the recognition that the first stage of the Nicaraguan Revolution, where some of the tasks of the democratic revolution have begun to be addressed — the campaign for literacy, expropriation of Somoza's lands — is inseparable from the second stage, the socialist revolution and the workers and peasants in power.

More than anything else the Nicaraguan Revolution and its advance is dependent on the international proletariat, on the extension of the revolution throughout Central America, up to and including in the heart of imperialism itself — the US.

With a campaign for the unconditional defense of Nicaragua, which the Fourth International calls on all workers and youth to join, it is possible to furnish the forces not only to break the conditions imposed on Nicaragua by imperialism and defeat it militarily but also to construct a new leadership for the Nicaraguan Revolution and break its dependence on Stalinism and Castro.

This leadership must fight for revolutionary measures to be taken against the imperialists' intervention:

Expropriation of the property of imperialism and of the bourgeoisie that work with the counterrevolution. Workers control. The land to the peasant.

Arming of the militias and workers and peasants committees. Centralization of their activity to defend the revolution.

Freedom of the press and association for the working class and peasantry. Unity in action against the counterrevolution.

Reinforce the revolution in Central America. Support the guerrillas in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. No deal with the military juntas. Toward the Federation of the Socialist Republics of Central America and the Caribbean.

"World Marxist Review"?

Recently, the Barnes leadership of the Socialist Workers Party has been mentioning favorably and publishing reprints from *World Marxist Review*.

Thus, the January 31, 1983, issue of *Intercontinental Press* prints a speech by Cuban leader Jesus Montane on "revolutionary perspectives in Latin America and the Caribbean," given at an "International Theoretical Conference" sponsored by *World Marxist Review*.

Then the June 27, 1983, issue of *IP* reprints an article by Raul Valdes Vivo on "revolutionary leadership in Cuba" directly from *World Marxist Review*.

But what is *World Marxist Review*?

Nothing but the English-language edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. And that is the international house organ of the Stalinist bureaucracy itself, published under the direct control of the International Department (headed by Boris Ponomarev) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. Valdes Vivo himself is on its editorial board.

Yes, when you get the word from Barnes on the Latin American revolution or the Cuban leadership, you're getting it straight from the Kremlin's mouth. K.F.

Note to Readers

Due to the summer holidays, *Truth* will not be appearing bi-weekly. No. 170 will appear August 26, No. 171 will appear

Class Independence and the Peace and Freedom Conference

On July 30-31, the California Peace and Freedom Party is hosting a National Conference (as preparation for a National Convention in November) to discuss "forming a united left and labor presidential ticket" in 1984.

The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization, US section (sympathizing) of the Fourth International, supports this initiative for a working class coalition in principle. In turn, therefore, it supports the conference, although it is not able to physically participate in it.

From the start, we have to say that the center of such an independent fight in the elections has to be the fight for a *labor party*, the organized expression of the political independence of the American workers and their unions from the capitalist parties.

This is the positive content of such an effort for an electoral coalition. The building of a labor party, even just the first steps forward in this fight, must be the outcome of this intervention in the elections. This is true not only of the ultimate outcome, but even of the preparatory steps. Any confusion on this question will seriously impede the possibility of making this intervention actually happen.

In this sense, then, the TO welcomes the decision to make the final determination on the ticket in November. This will enable all those participating to find out how the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) will be fighting in the elections and the possibilities of working with it.

While we have fundamental disagreements with the SWP, the fact remains that, virtually alone over the years, it has always run candidates independent of the Democrats and Republicans, that it has called for a labor party.

On the other hand, when we look at the list of organizations supporting the P&FP call, we see some that we have a few questions about.

In our opinion, for example, the Citizens Party is a small, "third" capitalist party, indistinguishable in program and class orientation from the other two parties of the bourgeoisie. Nor is the Peace and Freedom Party itself a working class party.

More importantly, both the Communist Party USA and the Workers World Party, at least, have not taken a principled stand on the question of no support to the Democrats. Both of them supported Democrat Harold Washington in the recent Chicago mayoral election. And the Washington campaign is *not* an example of the independent campaign that the workers and oppressed need in 1984. And, again, the Peace and Freedom Party itself, at least in the past, has also been willing to support "progressive" Democrats.

This question introduces ambiguity into the call for an "independent political campaign for a Socialist America." Can participation in it coexist with supporting completely dependent pawns of the capitalist parties?

In order to eliminate this problem, in order to insure the independence of the campaign, we propose that the conference make a clear statement against supporting *any* capitalist party candidate, *any* Democrat, under *any* conditions whatsoever. No support to the Democrats — no how, no way, nowhere!

This, and a clear statement on the labor party, are means to strengthen the actual independence of the coalition that is forming, by separating it from any equivocal, half-hearted and hostile elements in its midst.

Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization

July 17, 1983

September 16. From then on *Truth* will resume bi-weekly publication. The Editorial Board

What Kind of Independence in 1984?

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The 1984 presidential election is still more than a year away, but the noise and maneuvering and campaigning are already well under way. The basic cause for this early concern and activity is the drive by the working class to achieve political independence, to break with the Democratic Party.

Independent Fight

In our view, this drive has to take shape in a labor party. The best method for developing this fight today is the proposal we have made for an *independent labor candidate* for president in 1984.

The lackluster quality of the announced Democratic candidates — which reflects their lack of appeal to workers seeking political independence — and the lessons of the Chicago mayoral election — where Washington's victory was based on the workers' desire to defeat the Democratic Party — have made *independence* the watchword of the day. A critical examination of this independence can not only shine some light on the strings that tie much of it to the Democrats, but also illuminate a path for real independence — class independence — in 1984.

First, there is the example of the Reverend Jesse Jackson's ambiguous campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Is it a candidacy or a threat? Jackson's proposal and the support given to it by the so-called "black leadership family" reflect a very acute awareness of the discontent existing, particularly among blacks, with the Democratic Party's litany of broken promises and open support to Reagan. Jackson hopes that this discontent, this desire for independence, can be satisfied with a few rolling phrases and a deal with the Democratic apparatus.

An even sharper expression of this attempt to use the rhetoric of independence to maintain ties to the Democrats is manifest in the call for and existence of self-proclaimed "independent" ("anti-establishment," etc.) candidates in the Democratic Party. This is being supported and instigated by the Social Democrats of the Democratic Socialists of America

(DSA) and the Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP), two organizations wedded to the Democratic Party and its "reform."

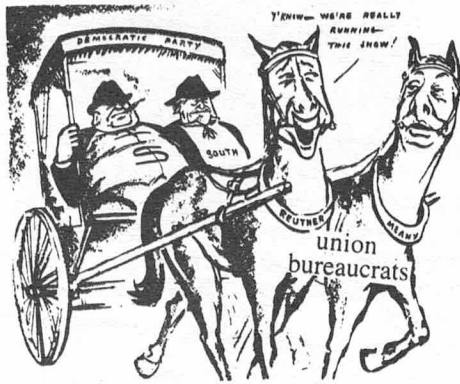
Linked with this is the attempt by the bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO to select one Democrat to back in the primaries. Naturally, this reflects a desire to strengthen the bureaucrats' hand in the Democratic Party but, more importantly, it is presented as a way in which labor can have a voice in the candidate and platform of the Democratic Party. When workers feel very strongly that this party is more and more alien to them, the significance of such a pitch is obvious.

Concrete Example

As we said, the mayoral election in Chicago was the most recent and sharpest expression of the drive for class political independence (it certainly woke Jackson up to the situation). It is not at all surprising that Chicago, one of the key cities of the American working class, should be where this outbreak occurred.

And it is no more surprising that right now an important development in this fight is going on there. As we noted in our last issue, a special election will be held August 23 for Washington's former Congressional seat. We stated then and we state again our support for the candidacy of Ed Warren of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Warren's campaign is the only one that represents a distinctly working class and independent fight, in particular for the labor party.

But this election has more than ordinary importance because one of the "independent"-inside-the-Democratic-Party campaigns is being waged in it. Charles Hayes, an international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and executive vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), is running such a campaign, emphasizing



From The Militant of the 1940s

particularly his ties to the labor movement.

Hayes' candidacy in the July 26 Democratic primary presented and presents fighters for the labor party with a real opportunity to make clear the true nature of this allegedly "independent" campaign. It would have been extremely useful to demand that Charles Hayes run as an *independent labor candidate!* Demand that he break from the Democratic Party!

It's impossible on the face of it to be an independent and a Democrat at the same time. He's willing to lose as a Democrat rather than break. Someone running as an "independent" candidate on the basis of being a labor leader, someone officially endorsed by the CBTU, *has no right to run as a Democrat!*

We think that this demand is a truly educational one. It puts right in front of the workers of Chicago the fundamental contradiction between being a Democrat and being an independent. It opens up a wide discussion on what the platform of a labor candidate should be. In this way, it makes the labor party a real and fighting issue in

the election.

In addition, this demand brings into the light of day the role of those who want to use Hayes' candidacy to salvage the Democratic Party — the trade union bureaucracy and the CP. It can uncover the meaning of the CBTU's call for labor candidates and raise the issue in a fundamental way.

Our Fight Today

On all these questions, this demand can only strengthen the Warren campaign, making it clear what the truly independent, working class fight is. A fight for the labor party today means finding such a tactic that *confronts* these "independent" frauds of the Democratic Party. Routine denunciations of the Democrats are not enough, not with the opportunities that exist today.

We expect the SWP to nominate its own candidates for president and vice-president. We think every working class organization should fight in the elections to the maximum extent possible, including common slates with other working class groups. But such candidacies, to be really effective, must not be campaigns for socialism as an abstraction. The labor party has to be not one more point in its platform, but the focus of its whole intervention. That means making the fight for an independent labor candidate the center of independent electoral activity.

These points are all the more important in terms of the AFL-CIO schemes. What all these proposals for "independent" campaigns are designed to hide, what all abstract "socialist" campaigns refuse to come to grips with, is the *continued hold of the Democratic Party over the unions.*

The AFL-CIO proposals present this hold as a positive benefit and propose to strengthen it in the guise, as we have seen, of giving the labor movement a hold on the Democratic Party. That's like being tangled up with a python and announcing, "It won't get away now!"

Prior to the December target date for this endorsement, the AFL-CIO is encouraging the affiliated unions to take part in the selection process. This is in reality a charade confined to Democratic candidates, deliberately turning off those who don't want to support Democrats. Here too, just as with the "independent" Democrat fakes, we have to find the points of support that can enable us to lead the break of the working class, especially in its mass organizations, the unions, from the Democratic Party.

Fights to demand that this "process" be opened up beyond the Democrats, for an independent choice; winning local unions to motions for an independent labor candidate: such steps to ensure the active and democratic participation of the ranks can bust this maneuver wide open and lay the groundwork for building the labor party.

The task of revolutionaries and socialists in these elections is not to repeat principles, but to make them come alive. "In the movement of the present," the communists "also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

When the capitalist class makes its electoral plans on such a defensive basis as "independence," the road is open for the working class to take the offensive. It is up to us to find the means to lead it onto that road.

Detroit: Drastic Action Necessary

Detroit is one of the critical cities for the American labor movement. Right now, there are several conflicts underway that are important and that can offer a road of battle for the unions.

Chrysler Contract

First, of course, there is the case of the UAW contract with Chrysler Corporation. For many weeks, the UAW bureaucrats have been talking about "re-opening" that contract early, well before its January 1984 expiration.

Marc Stepp and the rest say it should be done now, because Chrysler has profits now. But since these are the same people who went through all kinds of contortions last fall and winter to tell Chrysler workers that no money was available, the same people who would have gotten nothing for the American workers if the Canadians hadn't gone out on strike, it is a little hard to believe that they are now chomping at the bit to take money away from Lee Iacocca.

In fact, it is transparently obvious that they want to rush through a settlement that will mean minimum gains for the workers, besides heading off any kind of upsurge that might build up over a long period of negotiations. That is why even a hastily convoked meeting of local presidents voted in favor of early re-opening by only a narrow margin (25-20).

Stung by that, Stepp put off any further talk until the meeting of the Chrysler Council. Now, following the rigmarole of Iacocca's announcement of the early repayment of US-backed loans, the bureaucrats are back on the bandwagon.

An anonymous UAW official spelled it out: "The 160-member Chrysler bargaining council would meet in Detroit July 22 to discuss re-opening the contract. The tentative contract would then be presented to the same Chrysler council when it meets July 28-29 in Huntsville, Alabama" (*Detroit Free Press*; July 14, 1983). Cattle rustlers and other thieves always like to start a stampede.

Government Workers

At the same time, the city workers are facing a great betrayal. Two years ago, after a heavy battle, they were driven into accepting concessions on good measure by a promise of a 6% wage increase this year. When the contracts came up, black Democratic mayor Coleman Young refused to pay the promised increase.

This shows two things. First, that giving up something immediate for a promise of gains in the future — the basic lie behind concessions — is hopeless. Second, that the same bureaucrats who got workers to swallow that promise are now doing *nothing* to enforce it. They are, in fact, trying to create a feeling of helplessness, passivity, "you-can't-fight-city-hall" among the workers.

Not coincidentally, Wayne County (which includes Detroit) workers are now working four-day weeks (a 20% pay cut) on order of black Democratic county executive William Lucas. Many of the same unions represent both city and county workers.

And at Wayne State University, the employees (who, in essence, are also government workers) are being confronted with a stone wall by the university administration. Over a long period of empty "negotiations," it has not only given nothing, has not only unilaterally abrogated past gains, but has now withdrawn even its previous offer. "Budget-cutting" WSU president Adamany, in cahoots with "budget-cutting" Democratic governor Blanchard, is out to virtually provoke a losing strike, in which he can bust the

unions at the school.

In all these situations, the futility of trusting the Democratic Party, as well as the treacherous role of the union bureaucracy tied to that capitalist party, come through all too clearly. The need for drastic action, for radical methods, is obvious.

At the same time, much of the power of the workers lies in their numbers and in the unity of those numbers. The best answer to the current situation is a general strike of all the workers concerned — from Wayne State to Chrysler. What gives this extra validity is that many of the same unions represent these workers (UAW, public employee unions like AFSCME).

A general strike in Detroit would not only address the immediate situation in a fundamental way, but it would also represent a blow of national impact — first to the auto companies, even more to the whole Reagan policy of attacks on workers.

K.F.

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