

# To Bring Down Reagan, the Republicans . . . Break With the Democrats!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL  
Democratic Party Detroit Mayor Coleman Young once again attacked independent struggle against the Republicans and Democrats in interviews with the *Detroit Free Press*. He says such struggle, particularly building an independent political party, can only aid the Republicans.

This is a lie. And the examples that Young raises prove it. In fact, building an independent political party based on the power of the unions, a Labor Party, is the only way to bring down Reagan, the Republicans and their Democratic Party counterparts.

### 1972

Young refers to Jesse Jackson's proposal for an independent Black party at a Black political convention in Gary, Indiana in 1972 and says: "At that juncture the only entity that would have benefited from a black political party was the Republican party. It would have assured (sic) the re-election of Richard Nixon." He even suggested that the Republicans paid Jackson and his supporters to put forward this proposal! (*Detroit Free Press*, February 3, 1984)

But no one did form an independent party in 1972 and that was precisely why Nixon did win. Workers hated the Democratic Party for its war in Vietnam, inflation and police attacks on the anti-war and Black movements. But the unions put forward no alternative to it, so the workers were forced to abstain and Nixon won.

### 1948

Later Young refers to his own campaign for the Progressive Party and Henry Wallace in 1948. He concurs with *Free Press* columnist Hugh McDiarmid who says that this campaign helped the Republicans to win in Michigan with a 35,000 vote margin by taking 46,000 votes away from the Democrats. If more had voted for the Progressive Party in 1948, they say, the Republican presidential candidate would have won. (*Detroit Free Press*, February 9, 1984)

Now it is true that the Progressive Party did help the Republicans (and the Democrats) in 1948, but not in the way that Young says. It helped them by heading off, by detouring, the tremendous movement for a Labor Party that existed at that time in the unions, a movement that numbered in the tens of thousands in Detroit alone, that was based on two years of the largest strike wave in US history.

Again, workers hated the Democratic Party for prolonging World War II, laying off thousands of workers, cutting wages, and even proposing things like military discipline for workers, court-martialing and executing striking workers as deserters. But the Progressive Party maintained much the same program that the Democratic Party did and even supported Democrats for political and union offices. Thus it offered no alternative to the Democratic Party at the same time that it opposed the Labor Party struggle in the unions. This again forced workers to abstain and paved the way for the Republican near victory in 1948 and final victory in 1952.

### Facts

But these are the facts that Democratic Party leader Coleman Young would rather ignore, or twist when he isn't lying outright. He's doing the same thing today that he was in 1948, trying to maintain power for the bourgeoisie, the parasites that enrich themselves at the expense of the working class. This is why he keeps carping away at the struggle for an independent party, even though Jackson has said over and over that he's against it. This is why he has no qualms about slandering his opponents as paid Republican agents. Young is desperately afraid that the youth and the predominantly Black unions in Detroit will break with the Democratic Party and enter into the 1984 elections as an independent force, with their own party and their own candidates. And this will pull the rug out from under Coleman Young and all his rich friends, as well as Ronald Reagan.

### Unions

The labor unions are the only organizations

in this country that have the power to bring down Reagan and his Democratic Party counterparts like Young not only to mobilize the number of working class and lower middle class voters necessary to drive them out of office, but also to mobilize the working class to bring down the entirety of this regime and the racist, imperialist state that it represents.

The labor unions have been the leading and driving force in almost every attempt to rid this country of the racist and reactionary Republicans — the yahoos or "boobeisie" — from Herbert Hoover, to Dwight D. Eisenhower, to Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

The labor unions organized 500,000 workers in a demonstration against the Reagan regime in Washington, D.C., in September, 1981 — Solidarity Day. And they have led the only struggles that have taken place against the Reagan regime in the last four years that have scored any victories, like the telephone workers strike.

But today the labor unions are pledged to support the Democratic Party . . . and the Democratic Party is pledged to support Reagan. This is what makes the labor unions appear to be so weak, even reactionary and racist.

### Democrats

Democratic Party leader Walter Mondale himself declared on television that four out of five Democrats in Congress supported every measure Reagan took against the working class. And Democratic Party leader Coleman Young doesn't just support Reagan, he puts Reaganomics into practice in Detroit — lays off workers, cuts workers' wages, curtails even the most elementary social services, while he gives away millions of dollars to the banks and corporations in real estate and other scams like the "Ren Cen," the Grand Prix, the boxing match or just his friends. Who is responsible for infant mortality in Detroit?

What is more, the Democratic Party has obstinately refused any modification of its policy. They even refused to let Jackson, a loyal Democrat, have more representation at their national convention.

Yet the unions keep pouring resources into this party that keeps socking them in the face. And this has been going on since the 1940's. No wonder the unions are now reeling from the blows.

### Labor Party

The only way to solve this problem is to

build a political party based on the unions now, to free the unions from the Democratic Party and restore their independence and power.

Just because the AFL-CIO leadership wants to commit suicide by endorsing the Democratic presidential candidate before he's even been selected doesn't mean unions and union locals must do the same. On the contrary, an all out fight is necessary in every union local, city, state and national organization to reject this endorsement; to build a Labor Party Coalition based on the unions with an independent labor candidate for president; to put this coalition and its candidates on the ballot in order to reach the widest number of working people possible.

It is necessary to seize every possible opportunity to make this fight, from local meetings, elections, and conventions to strikes. This is the only way to defeat Reagan in 1984, to drive him out of office as a first step in bringing down the entirety of the racist, anti-working class regime that he represents.

Down with Reagan!

Build a Labor Party Coalition based on the unions!

Independent Labor Candidate for President!

## Put the Labor Party Coalition on the Ballot in Michigan!

All the preliminaries have now been completed, and the Trotskyist Organization is prepared to wage a fight to get the Labor Party Coalition on the ballot in Michigan.

Early in March (March 6-8), the Special Bargaining Convention of the UAW will take place in Detroit. As we point out in many articles, the question of the unions today is directly connected with the question of the Labor Party. For this reason, the Special Bargaining Convention will be the culmination of the first stage in the fight for the Labor Party Coalition.

To build up to this, we are engaging in open actions on February 18, 25 and March 3 to prepare it and gain the largest number of signatures.

Twenty thousand valid signatures is not an easy goal to reach. But we believe that the objective situation is such that it is possible to attain this goal by May 7, the deadline set by the state of Michigan.

Aside from these large weekend interventions, we will be appearing at key plants and schools in the area to reinforce this overall fight.

There are a number of requirements of a specific character listed by the state: we must get 100 signatures (of registered voters) from each of nine congressional districts, with not more than 35% of the total from one congressional district. IN the concrete situation, this means a fight in the city of

Detroit, especially in the 1st and 13th Congressional Districts, as well as others that touch on the city, and other key cities — Pontiac, Lansing, Ann Arbor, Flint, etc.

The TO assumes a large responsibility in undertaking this fight, but it neither can nor wants to assume the task alone. We are precisely fighting for a Labor Party Coalition. We have approached — without response — both the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Workers League.

Now, however, a fight must be made to involve trade union organizations. In the given case, two that come immediately to mind are the State Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), a grouping that opposes much of the policy of the state government in regard to public employees, as well as the movement loosely known as RAM — "Restore and More in '84" — in the UAW. There are also other possibilities, including the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), that, whether they like it or not, cannot avoid the question of the elections.

Aside from this, the TO will involve the maximum number of youth and workers with whom it is in contact.

If you want to work with us, you can contact us by writing to the address of *Truth*, or by calling 841-6154 in Detroit.

In just a few days' work, with very limited time and personnel, we have gained almost

**PETITION TO FORM NEW POLITICAL PARTY**

LABOR PARTY COALITION

STATE OF MICHIGAN

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200 signatures, with almost sixty of these coming from workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant. This shows that there is a real sentiment in the working class for action.

Based on these results, our intervention March 6-8 can be a leaping off point for a real advance.  
K.F.

### Petitioning Workshop

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1 PM • WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENT CENTER — HILBERRY C • ANTHONY WAYNE AND KIRBY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

## A New Typesetter for Truth!

With this issue, *Truth* returns to its four-page format and to a firm bi-weekly schedule. This represents a bold challenge by the Trotskyist Organization, one in which we want our readers and supporters to join.

In the last period, our dependence on outside sources to process our type had caused our costs on this score to almost triple over what they were only six months ago. That is, even a two-page paper cost more than a four-page previously.

We found this intolerable not only financially, but especially politically. Now more than ever, the policies of the Fourth Inter-

national must be heard.

For these reasons, we determined to buy a modern typesetter, which gives us — for a stable cost — the capacity to do not only the paper, but *The Fourth International*, as well as other materials.

Naturally, this represents an immense investment for a small organization. But it is not just an answer for the present; even more, it is a stake in the future.

To help support this initiative send your contributions/make payable to: TRUTH, P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232  
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# US, Israel — Out of Lebanon!

# THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

Muslim and Druse militia men began an assault on the US-Israeli-Gemayel regime's last stronghold, Souk al-Gharb, in Lebanon on February 16. At the same time, Reagan signed the plan to begin to evacuate US marines, now completely surrounded by hostile forces, to their ships.

The Muslim and Druse victory and the imminent fall of the Gemayel regime is a defeat for both Reagan and Israel, which together organized the Israeli invasion of Lebanon over a year ago in order to establish a regime completely subordinate to and loyal to US imperialism and its Zionist gendarme. It shows once again that all the military power in the world cannot maintain a reactionary and hated regime, like Gemayel's, forever.

But the battle is far from over. And it is up to the working class, especially in the unions, to turn this defeat for the Reagan regime into a rout.

Reagan continues to bomb Muslims and Druse. He wants to preserve US imperialist influence in Lebanon with a combination of UN troops, US troops and a continued presence in the government for Gemayel and his Phalangist forces. He has also reintroduced his plan for a "Palestinian state" subordinate to Jordan on the West Bank and is investigating the possibility of drawing Yasir Arafat's faction of the PLO into this betrayal. What is more, he is escalating, not decreasing, aid to reactionary forces in Central Americas. His

most recent proposal to Congress calls for quadrupling aid to the Salvadoran junta and lifting all restrictions on it.

The Democratic Party has done nothing to combat this new attack on our brothers and sisters in the Middle East and elsewhere. Democratic Party House Speaker Tip O'Neill simply questioned whether or not Reagan's bombings, in which hundreds of people have been killed and wounded, including children, women and old men, were legal! The Democratic Party has been the strongest partisan of a negotiated solution in which the US preserves its influence without paying the price of stationing its own troops. And of course it signed the infamous Kissinger Report, an election-year pact in which the Democratic Party pledges to fully support Reagan's murderous policies in Central America.

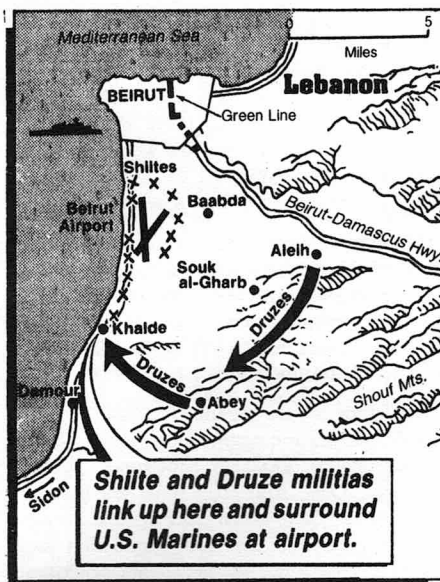
Even the Muslim, Druse and Syrian leaderships have indicated a willingness to come to terms with Reagan and Co. as long as their forces are adequately represented. They have rejected the particular "peace plan" put forward by Saudi Arabia calling for a simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces. But they have not rejected any and every form of agreement in which the US and Israel preserve their power in Lebanon.

The American working class must wage an implacable struggle for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all US and Israeli forces from Lebanon and elsewhere with an

independent labor candidate for US president and a boycott of supplies to these reactionary forces and their allies.

Bourgeois parties like the Democratic Party will never wage such a struggle because they profit from imperialist domination of the Middle East. The working class on the other hand has everything to gain and nothing to lose — solidarity with their brothers and sisters in the Middle East, a terrific blow against their common enemy, the murderous Reagan regime.

US, Israel — Total withdrawal now!  
M.G.



## Volunteers and the ENTC

While a majority of the solidarity movement, and unfortunately, the Sandinista government itself, is appealing to the Democratic Party and various diplomatic settlements like the "Contadora" Plan to hold off Reagan, the organizations that claim to be Trotskyist and who participated in the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference last summer took a different course. The "Resolution on Joint Work in the movement in solidarity with the Central American Revolution," marked a different course — placing "emphasis on solidarity campaigns in unions and on mass mobilizations in the streets" — toward a working class policy in defense of Central America. The Trotskyist Organization, which participated in this Conference and adopted the above resolution, maintains that this resolution should be a central focus of the work of the organizations that adhered to the ENTC.

### Joint Campaign

After the invasion of Grenada, the TO made a proposal to the organizations that participated in the ENTC for a joint campaign for volunteers to defend Nicaragua. The letter quoted a passage from the ENTC Resolution that called "for the formation of Internationalist Combat Brigades," and for "labor strikes, demonstrations, boycotts, etc., to stop US intervention!"

We concluded, "therefore, for our organizations it is not a question of a discussion, but rather of putting these agreements into action, integrating them into a common campaign." (November 17, 1983)

This remains our opinion. While we, like others who participated in the Conference, may disagree with this or that formulation, and while we might choose to say things differently, since we were and remain in fundamental a-

greement with the Resolutions adopted by the ENTC, we likewise remain committed to putting them into practice. And, even more so, when it comes to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, refusal to engage in a common front is tantamount to a gross violation of revolutionary responsibility. Why then have the Internationalist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Workers League and the Workers Socialist League failed to answer our proposal? Why have they failed, if their silence indicates a disagreement with the proposal, to put forward a counter-proposal?

### Importance

We can only conclude that they fail to comprehend the critical importance of this struggle.

Once again, the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution is the critical factor in the development of the revolution in Central America. Reagan's entire imperialist policy in Central America is predicated on achieving the overthrow of the gains of the workers and peasants of Nicaragua by force. Whatever appraisal one might have of the leadership of the Nicaraguan Revolution, the Sandinistas, this cannot be confused with the elementary responsibility to defend Nicaragua against US imperialism.

Why then a campaign for Volunteers to Defend Nicaragua? We expected that when the above mentioned organizations signified their agreement with the Resolution, that they understood what the agreements called for. Evidently, we are wrong. There was not, for example, even one disagreement raised by any organization at the ENTC to the formulation — "internationalist combat brigades." So, you are ready to defend Nicaragua with arms but you are opposed to integrating into this struggle other forms of direct action in support of Nicaragua? A truly ridiculous position.

A central campaign for all forms of direct aid to Nicaragua — military, technical, medical, union boycott, etc. — is sharpest possible declaration of a working class policy, that is, the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution independent of the diplomatic maneuvers of imperialism and Stalinism which can only place the Nicaraguan Revolution in more danger. And

besides, as the invasion of Grenada shows, now is the time for action, not just words.

In addition to the above reasons, there is also the fact that there are already several openings for developing such work. First, there is the call by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People for volunteer brigades to aid in harvesting the coffee crop in Nicaragua. More than 650 Americans have already participated in this three-month program. While this program falls short of what is really necessary (the NNSNP describes it as basically a public relations gimmick), it should nevertheless be supported as a step in the right direction. And the fact that this call was instigated directly from Managua can be an opening for insisting that the Sandinistas launch a serious call to the international proletariat for volunteers.

There are also independent initiatives to supply medical aid to El Salvador (Medical Aid for El Salvador, sponsored by several prominent personalities) that might be approached in regard to a campaign for volunteers to defend Nicaragua.

And most importantly, there are certainly many trade union locals that could be approached to adopt resolutions calling for a union boycott. The TO has already had some initial success in gaining signatures of working class youth in Detroit in support of this campaign, and as we proposed in our letter, this support could be centralized by sending delegations to the Nicaraguan embassy and consulates calling for a campaign for volunteers.

In short, our proposal is concrete and we have already begun to see that it is capable of winning larger support. And now, more than ever is the time to put forward such a campaign, before a US invasion of Nicaragua takes place. Furthermore, the struggle around the 1984 elections for working class candidates offers a perfect opportunity to give this campaign a real mass character.

Attention, comrades! The agreements reached at the ENTC are not just words on paper — they are agreements to be put into action.

Volunteers!  
D.M.

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### Morocco and Tunisia

In early January, hunger riots broke out in key cities in Tunisia. Just days later, similar disturbances occurred in Morocco. Both Morocco and Tunisia are semi-colonial countries located in North Africa, in the region known in general as the Maghreb.

Governments like those of Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba and Morocco's King Hassan II claim to lead independent nations, to represent the people. But in reality, they represent the interests of the foreign capitalists (especially French, but also American) who still exploit these countries — even if they do not rule them *directly* anymore.

The foreign debt of Morocco is eleven billion dollars, 90% of the country's Gross Domestic Product. Meanwhile wages have been frozen for two years. Even according to the imperialist World Bank, more than 50% of the population lives "on the verge of absolute poverty." And more than nine million people have an average daily income of less than forty-two cents!

To try to squeeze even more out of the peasants and workers, more to glut themselves and meet the greed of the banks, Bourguiba and Hassan tried to raise prices on basic necessities, especially food.

This desperate situation is what drove the people of both countries into the streets. As many as 200 were killed in Morocco, as many as 100 in Tunisia. But in both countries also, the price increases were repealed.

French and US imperialism support and arm Hassan and Bourguiba (the US has big bases in Morocco). Right now, with US support, Hassan is trying to put down a nationalist rebellion in the Western Sahara. A fight against American imperialism — at home — is the best assistance we can give to the "wretched of the earth."

### Talbot Strike in France

In response to an attack on their rights, their gains and their jobs, mostly immigrant workers waged a fierce strike battle in December 1983 and January of this year at the Talbot (Peugeot) plant in Poissy, outside Paris.

The strike was extremely important because it marked an attempt by the French capitalist class to begin a policy in the French auto industry like the one called "concessions" in the US — massive layoffs, wage cuts, etc. The workers of Talbot, by *occupying the factory* and rejecting this policy, have opened up a road of struggle that was betrayed in the US.

At the same time, the Mitterrand government that approved 1,900 layoffs is a coalition of the Socialist and Communist Parties, parties that claim to represent the workers' interests. And the major union federations, the CFDT and the CGT, are led, respectively, by these same parties.

That meant that the majority of the CGT in the plant supported the government's plans, leaving only the local branch of the CFDT to weakly support the workers.

On January 5, the immigrant workers stood up to an attack by over a thousand right-wing goons, foremen and members of the so-called "union," the CSL (really a right-wing company union). But the CFDT capitulated and called on the cops — whom the workers had fought previously — to evacuate the plant.

Our French section, the LOR (Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League) intervened constantly in the strike, calling for a general strike and also helping to organize actions in defense of immigrants. The political conclusion the LOR pointed out was the need to form a Workers Opposition to the Mitterrand government. This united front was posed first of all to LO (Lutte Ouvrière/Workers Struggle) and to the LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Communist League), two groups claiming to be Trotskyist. In the strike itself, LO begged off on the grounds that it didn't "have a single militant in Talbot," and the LCR preferred to work in the CFDT.

In the coming battles in France, the LOR is in an increasingly good position.

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

A significant number of young people have begun to turn to Trotskyism as the only tendency capable of guiding the working and oppressed masses. Yet there are several organizations that claim to be Trotskyist. Each has its own policy that it calls Trotskyist. And the largest of these, the Socialist Workers Party, appears to be the far-

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

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

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

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

## Castro is Playing the Kremlin's Game

By DAVID MARK

Since the beginning of the Polish Revolution and the turn of the class struggle on an international scale that it brought about, *Truth* has shown that the policy of the international apparatus of Stalinism impels it to seek an agreement with US imperialism in the Americas. The nature of that agreement, in the interest of Stalinism and its historical role as a counter-revolutionary agent of world imperialism, would be to block the expansion and deepening of the revolutionary process begun in Central America. But the implications of such a policy go much further than the problems of the revolution in Central America. It is directly linked to questions of the American Revolution itself, and even the international proletariat as a whole.

Furthermore, the fact that Fidel Castro has been the agent of these negotiations with US imperialism, for the Kremlin, gets to the heart of a debate that is taking place today among organizations that claim to represent Trotskyism. The Socialist Workers Party, which is trying to rid itself of all its Trotskyist traditions, maintains that Castro is a revolutionary of the status of the greatest Marxists. Socialist Action, the organization formed of militants and tendencies that were purged by the Barnes leadership of the SWP, originally opposed elements of Barnes's policy on Castroism and now occupy an intermediate place — Castro has made a few mistakes but in no case can he be considered as representing Stalinism. The point therefore, is not so much when or how these negotiations will reach a conclusion, but rather that they represent an ongoing policy of Stalinism and that Castro has faithfully carried out this counter-revolutionary policy. And because of this, arming the American proletariat against the fiction of Castro's "independence" from Stalinism is a key element of rebuilding the Trotskyist party in the US.

### Negotiations

The position of the Kremlin, which has been repeated in various versions by Castro, in regard to Central America, is quite clear. For example, *Truth* published excerpts from an interview with Victor Volsky, director of the Latin American Institute in Moscow, where he stated: "Cuba 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" (*London Guardian*, April 27, 1983).

In the typical diplomatic language that Stalinist bureaucrats employ, this statement, and many other like them, can be summed up as a guarantee that the Kremlin will not interfere if the US invades Nicaragua. And these statements are intended to pressure the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran guerrillas to reach an accord with the US respecting its imperialist exploitation of the Western Hemisphere. And, as a by-product, they encourage the US to undertake such an invasion.

Similarly, Castro has acknowledged his full participation in the Kremlin's policy. He himself made a similar statement in regard to a possible invasion of Nicaragua the day after the US invaded Grenada. And this could hardly be chalked up as bad timing by Fidel. Castro has held talks with Eden Pastora, a former Sandinista who has joined the ranks of the "contras," and he answered a request for troops to defend Grenada by terming it "a useless sacrifice."

That is all one thing. But the events surrounding the "suicide" of Cayetano Carpio, a leader of the Salvadoran guerrillas and implacable opponent of negotiations, shows the unmistakable hand of the Kremlin. In *Truth* #177 we published the twisted accounts that have been given by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) to explain the murder of Ana Maria, and the "suicide" of Cayetano Carpio. We will not repeat here the facts that lead to the despicable conclusion that, at the least, the deaths of these two fighters are being utilized by factions of the FMLN to precisely support a turn toward the policy of Castro and the Kremlin for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador. But an article that appeared recently in *The New Republic*, a maga-

zine that increasingly reflects the views of the mainline Democratic Party, sheds more light on the exact forms that negotiations with US imperialism have taken and brings up again the events surrounding Cayetano Carpio's death.

### A Revealing Article

The author of this article, Luis Burstin, is a Costa Rican newspaper editor and TV commentator, and held a cabinet post in his country as Minister of Information. He describes his own political affiliations as a Zionist and supporter of Social Democracy. He is, in other words, a bourgeois, and a perfect example of the types that are involved with the Contadora Plan of several Latin American countries to obtain a negotiated settlement in Central America. (Castro has also endorsed this plan.)

Moreover, Burstin is not an unknown personality. The week before his article appeared in *The New Republic*, he had an article on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times*.

What is interesting is first that the article, entitled "My talks with the Cubans," appears now in a relatively important bourgeois journal, and secondly that Burstin's account coincides with many key developments that have taken place in the ongoing process of negotiations between imperialism and Castro.

Without realizing the connection, Burstin's article confirms that the Kremlin began putting out "feelers" in the diplomatic community soon after the declaration of martial law in Poland. He relates an initial conversation with Manuel Mora, general secretary of the Communist Party of Costa Rica, on December 28, 1981 only fifteen days after the coup.

Of Mora's credentials, Burstin writes, "He also has — as far as these things are known — the complete confidence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Mora, therefore, can be considered a trusted functionary of the Stalinist apparatus. He tells Burstin, "Fidel Castro and I are working to convince the Central American revolutionaries not to commit errors which could explode and spread war to all of Central America. Some 'companeros' especially among the Salvadoran guerrillas, didn't understand this because they are a little 'dogmatic.' But we will continue to try to convince them."

Burstin then tells of several trips to Cuba and his attempts to function as an intermediary between the Cubans and the US State Department. The US, according to Burstin's account, while willing to take anything they could get from the Cubans in the way of compromise, were unwilling to make any firm agreements.

On one occasion, in May of 1983, Burstin is speaking with Jose Arbez and other members of a delegation from the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, and he says, "... the leaders of the Salvadoran guerrillas told me in San Jose that the only solution was a military one, with absolutely no negotiations."

Arbez asks, "Who said all of that?"

Burstin, "Carpio, for example."

Quoting from Burstin's article:

"'Quien lo suicido?' I asked: Who 'suicided' him? The Cubans seemed to appreciate this black humor. They were not unaware that Carpio's death might make it easier for them to cut a deal with the United States."

Thus, while everyone, including the go-betweens of the bourgeoisie, is aware of the friction between Cayetano Carpio and the Kremlin's policy, represented by Castro, the SWP has carefully chosen to hide this fact from the working class movement. Not to mention the fact that it has already given three different

versions of Cayetano's "suicide" without bothering to explain any of them.

Finally, shortly after the invasion of Grenada, Burstin was again contacted and given a new proposal, and this one with the definite stamp of approval of the Kremlin. In part, it reads:

"The Soviet Union has an obligation to help toward world peace and this they will not obtain by meddling, directly or indirectly, in an area which the United States considers vital to its security . . ."

While we cannot know exactly who "suicided" Cayetano Carpio (the nature of these negotiations, after all, dictates that they be kept under wraps), so many coincidences are not possible. And there are the facts themselves: Castro has acted in the interests of Moscow always, certainly in the case of Poland. After the invasion of Grenada, Castro demonstratively pulled Cubans out of Nicaragua. The FMLN has *itself* linked its change of policy on negotiations to the "suicide" of Cayetano Carpio. Nicaragua is attempting to accommodate the bourgeois opposition under pressure from Castro.

### New International

Where then does this leave Barnes's proposal for a "New International" with Castro and the Sandinistas?

It is a service for the international apparatus of Stalinism — for which the international proletariat will pay dearly if a new Trotskyist party of the American proletariat is not forged. For what counts is not whether or not these "negotiations" ever realize an agreement with imperialism, but the fact that they represent a policy that is being developed at all levels to block the advance of the revolution in Central America and to prevent the break of the American working class from its own imperialist bourgeoisie. It is the policy of supporting the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil," it is the policy of tying the "peace" movement to pressure campaigns on Congress and the two bourgeois parties. It is the policy of Stalinism, carried out by an international apparatus, of which Castro is a trusted member.

The struggle for a Trotskyist Congress rebuilding the American section of the Fourth International, must be a struggle to the end against the myth of Castro's fictitious "independence" from the Kremlin.

**"'Quien lo suicido?' I asked: Who 'suicided' him? The Cubans seemed to appreciate this black humor. They were not unaware that Carpio's death might make it easier for them to cut a deal with the United States.'"**

## Debate Concerning Tasks in Poland

The Trotskyist Organization has just published the English edition of *Fourth International* Nos. 108, 109, the organ of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

This issue contains documents of a debate taking place within our Polish section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, concerning the lessons of the Polish Revolution and our tasks today.

This is one of the first times that the Fourth International has publicized a debate taking place in one of its sections. We are doing so because we think this debate will help clarify the tasks of the working class with respect to the Polish Revolution and build its leadership.

Tadeusz W., takes the position that the Stalinist bureaucracy is essentially a centrist bureaucracy, "guardian (for its own political needs) of the workers' conquests of the October Revolution on the one hand, and agent (for the same need) of imperialism on the other."

He characterizes Solidarnosc as a "chariot attached to horses that wanted to pull in opposite directions" — the working class toward political revolution; the church and the petty bourgeoisie toward social counterrevolution. Hence he says that no revolution is really tak-

ing place in Poland, there is only a revolutionary situation, and the party must be careful about advocating freedom for all political parties and independence for Poland for fear that this will be used by the bourgeois counterrevolution.

Josef Goldberg takes the position that it is the Stalinist bureaucracy, more than any other force, that is fostering the bourgeois counter-revolution. "... who is developing the anti-communist campaign?" he asks. "The bureau-

cracy or the leadership of Solidarnosc?" But comrades, any man in his right mind will say if the USSR is communism I'm against it! Who made the Church hierarchy . . . bearer of the bourgeoisie's worst ideology, play such a role in Poland? . . . They are expressions of the Stalinist apparatus's restorationist policy." He argues that a revolution is taking place in Poland, that it is expressed in Solidarnosc, albeit with a contradictory leadership, and that it is the Polish section's responsibility to defend and advance this revolution with a fight for freedom for political parties, freedom for Workers Poland and the construction of a leadership that reflects its revolutionary, working class character.

This is just a small taste of the debate. We urge readers to write for a copy of *Fourth International* Nos. 108, 109 and read the documents in their entirety. M.G.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

# THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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## POLAND TODAY

Debate on the Lessons and Perspectives of the Revolution

Yesterday, Today, Perspectives  
Document of Tadeusz W.

**JUST OUT — WRITE TRUTH!**

# The Auto Workers and the Labor Party!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

A new and major battle in the class struggle is already on the horizon. On September 14, the contracts of the United Auto Workers (UAW) with General Motors and Ford are going to expire. The fight for a Labor Party is the key element in preparing a victorious strike.

## The Real Question

On March 6-8, the UAW will hold its Special Bargaining Convention in Detroit. This gathering is supposed to pull together and put forward the demands of the workers for the coming contracts. The old contracts are ones based on the "concessions" given to the auto companies (and Reagan) by the bureaucrats of the UAW.

Right now, the whole patchwork of these sell-out contracts is coming apart. First, they have not guaranteed jobs — there are still over 100,000 auto workers on "indefinite layoff" (and this doesn't even count those who will never get back, who have lost their recall rights), and massive overtime continues (at the highest levels since the 1940's). Second, all the agreements connected with these contracts — Quality of Work Life circles, "lifetime job security," etc. — have been repudiated or rejected by key locals.

But the companies continue to demand more, to increase cutbacks and "restructuring." And government statistics reveal that for the second three-month period in a row, wage gains are at

historically low levels.

The final example of all in this is the secret report, which recently surfaced, made to GM personnel directors.

This report gives the lie not only to the empty hopes of the UAW bureaucracy, but even to its leaders themselves.

First, it openly announces a policy of *no* wage increases, replacing them with phony "profit sharing." Second, it states GM's plans to cut existing jobs by 80,000 by 1986!

And to top it off, it speaks of letting UAW vice-president Donald Ephlin "educate secondary leadership and the regional sub-councils on profit sharing."

Sources described the bureaucrats as "devastated" and "shocked."

The auto companies are *wallowing* in profits — GM's best year in history (3.7 billion dollars in profits) was precisely 1983 and Ford's are at 1.86 billion dollars — and the bureaucrats are trying to *continue the policy of concessions!* Despite their "shock" they do this by trying to revive the QWL, "lifetime job" and other scams. They do this by doing nothing about the continuing attacks.

And, in terms of the Special Bargaining Convention, they do this by putting forward proposals that, under the cover of "no more concessions," mean exactly *no gains, no victory* over the companies. That is the meaning of all the bluster about no cuts in health care, about increasing pensions (so older workers will re-

tire) and the talk of a "small wage increase."

Fine, these bureaucrats are a bad lot. But how can we defeat them and their policy? To do that we have to understand what their policy is, why this grouping exists. Because it is not a question of personalities, of just changing faces at the top.

## Break with the Democrats

The leaders of the UAW today are the heirs of Walter Reuther, who consolidated his hold over the union (along with others like him in other unions) in the 1946-48 period. This dominance occurred through a defeat of the workers (worldwide and in the US) after the war. It took the form of an alliance with the *capitalist* Democratic Party, of a defeat of the movement for a Labor Party — very strong at the time. All in all, this meant that the workers were no longer an independent force, a class fighting for its own interests, but were subordinated to the *capitalist* class and its needs.

For a generation or so, this allowed small but steady gains for the organized workers. But by 1980, with the election of Reagan and his program of reaction and attack, this period was completely over. The bureaucrats and their policy represent a policy of dependence on the capitalists, and *all* they can do is retreat and retreat.

Now, today, we have to take up the thread that was lost in the 1940's, the thread of *class*

*independence*. No acceptance of the limitations of capitalism, no support to its parties — organize class independence in a conscious break with the Democrats, in building a *Labor Party!*

It is obvious to everyone that the contracts' expiration comes at the peak of the election campaign. And how can workers organize a fight against the capitalist class in the streets and plants while supporting it (one of its parties) in the elections? Of course, it can't be done.

A good contract could really be written on two sides of a sheet of paper. The wages, other points like insurance and so on could be outlined in a few lines — and the rest would be expressed by saying that *the union* (the organization of the workers) require a *different perspective* — a perspective of *class independence*.

The *weakness* of the union is that it is tied to the capitalists through the Democratic Party. The way to make it once again into a real workers' organization is to build a Labor Party, to attack the Achilles' heel of the bureaucrats — their support to the Democrats.

An independent labor candidate for US president on the ballot come September is the expression and guarantee of a real fight against the companies and the UAW bureaucrats. All the different groups and tendencies in the UAW have to confront this question.

That is what we will be bringing forcefully into the Special Bargaining Convention.

## Stop the Shutdowns in Steel!

The United Steel Workers union (USW) has arrived at a turning point. For over forty years it has relied on the steel corporations and the government to protect steel workers jobs, working to conditions and living standards. It has pledged to do everything in its power to help the corporations, from lobbying for import restrictions to agreeing not to strike nor even to let the membership vote on the contract — the infamous Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

Now the corporations and the government have pulled the rug out from under the union. The United States Steel Corporation plans to go ahead with closing down eight mills and permanently laying off 15,000 workers, while it buys up National Steel — a first step in "restructuring" the entire steel industry, a process that will sharply reduce steel production and sharply reduce the work force. At the same time, the Democratic Party governor of Arizona continues to deploy the National Guard and local police in vicious attacks against USW members on strike against copper companies in that state.

These developments show that the only way to carry forward the steel workers' struggle is to break completely with the policy of relying on the corporations and the government to protect the steel workers. The USW must rely on its own strength and power as a union: strengthen the bonds that unite steel workers and all working people.

## Stop the shutdowns

This means an all out fight to *stop the shutdowns* with a Labor Party based on the unions, an independent labor candidate for president, and sit-down strikes in the factories in question to prevent a lock-out. It means a fight to build a Labor Party Coalition in the USW based on this struggle, with its own candidates for local political and union offices — in other words, a new leadership for the USW.

The steel corporations and the government are interested in one thing and one thing alone, corporate profits. They cannot be trusted to protect the steel workers. The steel workers union on the other hand does have the power to protect the steel workers. It has to use that power. It can't permit United States Steel to drain the life blood from the workers and then throw them away like so much scrap metal.

If the USW initiates an all out fight to *stop the shutdowns*, puts forward its own candidates to wage this struggle in the elections and prepares the workers to refuse to leave the plants, it will receive tremendous support from the oppressed population in the steel towns, tired of being used, abused and discarded by the steel corporations.

But if no one takes up this struggle, if United States Steel is allowed to carry out these shutdowns without even so much as a murmur of protest, then this capitulation will open the door to a whole new round of attacks on the American working class, just as the capitulation to Chrysler's demands for concessions in

1979 opened the door to the current round.

## False Policy

The policy put forward by the USW leadership, the old "Sadlowski" opposition and the tendencies that support them is not only false, it is destructive. It's a policy of increased *dependency* on the corporations and the government. In the first place, none of these call for *any* sort of struggle to actually *save* steel workers' jobs. Instead they call for *increased import restrictions*.

On the most superficial level, anyone with eyes in his head can see that this will do nothing. The government has restricted steel imports for years and this has led only to the present situation. What is worse, calling on the government to restrict imports, to give the American steel industry a greater share of the market, as a way of getting jobs, makes steel workers' jobs *dependent* on the fortunes of the steel corporations. If they do OK, OK for the steel workers. If not, tough luck. This is the logic that is decimating the working class and its unions.

Calling on the government to restrict imports is a pledge not to use the unions' power to defend the steel workers' jobs, to confront the corporations and force them to back down. Moreover, by focusing on products produced by workers of other races or nationalities as the problem, it undermines the solidarity of the steel workers, their union and all working people. Why shouldn't Northern workers restrict

imports from the South, white workers from Black workers, etc.?

Frank McKee, USW Secretary Treasurer, and Ron Weisen, member of the old "Sadlowski" opposition, both claim to represent an alternative to the old leadership and its policies and have been campaigning to get on the ballot in the coming union presidential elections. But neither has anything to offer to defend jobs and stop the shutdowns and both call for import restrictions.

Nevertheless, the International Socialists, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have all been supporting one or the other of these candidates. The SWP says workers can't do any better. But if those who claim to be socialists in the steel union fought for the independence of the union rather than adapted themselves to the old bankrupt leaderships and their policies, then the union would never have gotten into this situation in the first place.

Now is the time to break with the politics of dependency in the steel union, build the Labor Party Coalition to lead the fight against the shutdowns. If it's not possible to write in a candidate who represents this struggle in the coming elections, then workers should boycott these elections and demand new ones in which there is a real alternative — independence. This is the only way forward. The future of the union is at stake.

## A New Boss for the Kremlin

Yuri Andropov is dead, and Konstantin Chernenko has replaced him as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, effective head of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The view of the Trotskyists on this event differs fundamentally from that of all the capitalist politicians, media and "Sovietologists."

## Leninism or Stalinism?

In the first place, it is a serious error to believe this party, or the others like it around the world, are in any sense *communist*. They are in fact, *Stalinist* parties. And that makes all the difference.

When Andropov died, all the capitalist sources spoke of the "line of succession": Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov and now, as they would have it, Chernenko. This listing contains a profound deception.

And it is summed up in linking Lenin to Stalin.

Vladimir I. Lenin, together with Leon Trotsky, was the leader of the Russian Revolution of November 1917, which for the first time in history put power in the hands of the workers and their allies: the peasants, the oppressed and

the poor. Lenin had founded and built the Bolshevik Party that organized the revolution.

The leadership of Lenin was directed toward overthrowing capitalism all over the world, to the liberation of the human race. In this sense, he and his party represented the interests of the workers and could not exercise a dictatorship over them. Instead, through the workers councils (*soviets*), they governed in the workers' behalf: a *workers state*.

The early Soviet Union was isolated and poor, and it had been bled white by the Civil War instigated by the capitalists of many nations, as well as their own direct attacks. This led to the growth of a layer that, tired, frightened and narrow, sought to avoid the tasks of the world revolution. It began to look out for its own interests, *against* those of the workers. (For the best description of this, read Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*).

This *privileged bureaucracy* found a leader in Josef Stalin. After Lenin's death in 1924, a vast political struggle broke out between the reactionary Stalin-led forces ("Stalinists") and those led by Trotsky, who wanted to continue on Lenin's path. The same causes that led to

its emergence were responsible for the bureaucracy's victory. This great defeat of the workers led to the imposition of the dictatorship that the Soviet workers (and those in other countries with Stalinist bureaucracies) have to face. Only the *basic* conquests of the Russian Revolution were left, the workers were deprived of political power: the workers state became a *degenerated workers state*.

In the name of "socialism in one country" (which doesn't exist), the Stalinists sold out, betrayed and prevented revolution everywhere else in order to preserve their privileges by deals with the foreign capitalist (imperialists) ruling classes.

## The Link with Lenin

This is Chernenko's "line of succession," and he is a worthy representative of it. Already, as Reagan drives against the poor and oppressed in every country, Chernenko seeks to come to terms with him — to once again preserve the bureaucracy's privileges at the expense of the Soviet workers, the Polish workers and the exploited and oppressed from Central America to South Africa.

It is *our* line (that of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution founded by Trotsky; whose policy is represented in the US by the Trotskyist Organization) that links up with Lenin. Trotskyism is the continuity of Leninism today. As such, it is in fundamental conflict with Stalinism, which is an imperialist agent in the workers movement and in the workers state.

This battle is not historical; it is living. What policy to follow in Central America — that of Castroism (Stalinism) or socialist revolution (Trotskyism)? What policy in Poland — crushing the workers (Stalinism) or political revolution by the workers (Trotskyism)? *And what policy in the United States* — support to the Democrats (Stalinism) or a Labor Party (Trotskyism)?

How long Chernenko has to live, who spoke when, who sat where — all these are foolish questions. The fundamental question is the continuation of the Russian Revolution through the victory of the Fourth International.

K.F.