

TRUTH

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If You Want Political Power . . .

Build a Labor Party Based on the Unions Now!

A great movement is arising against the capitalist rulers of this country. It can be seen in the fight against US intervention in Central America. It can be seen in the fight of black people for political power. It can be seen in the fight of workers against the attacks on their gains.

The Road To Be Taken

The force of this movement is behind the turnout at the August 27 March on Washington and the Labor Day demonstrations. But things are drawing to a head. Now this movement needs a clear goal and a firm leadership. We say that both these things are to be found in the building of a *Labor Party* — now!

Twenty years after the March on Washington the US government's own Census Bureau has to report that, according even to its own figures, 15% of the population (34.4 million people) lives in poverty. This is the highest figure since 1965. What does that say about the policies followed in the last two decades?

Once again, as in the early 1960's, American imperialism is already committed to a counterrevolutionary colonial war, with massive intervention only a few steps away. What does that say about the policies followed since Vietnam?

"We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and the Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote." That was not said today, but in Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech in 1963! What does that say about the policies followed since then?

In Detroit on August 16, Jesse Jackson said: "Who is the oppressor in Mississippi today? The Democratic Party." *Yes, yes, yes!*

But not just in Mississippi. No, the "Machine" in Chicago that blacks tried to fight through Harold Washington — that oppressor too is the Democra-

tic Party. The party that presided over the Vietnam War, that has allowed Reagan to attack Nicaragua, that has gone along with his attacks on all the gains of the poor and the working people — that oppressor too is the Democratic Party.

When the cry arises: "Run, Jesse, run!" it expresses that deep unconscious realization that the oppressor — first and foremost — is the Democratic Party. Jackson understands that on one level; that is why he is again talking about running as an independent candidate for president. But on the political level, Jackson wants to channel that drive into a futile attempt to "reform" the Democratic Party; "We must," he says, "renegotiate our relationship with" it.

But the lesson of every revolution from Chile to Poland is that you cannot "negotiate" with the oppressor. More, as we have already seen, it has been the continued reliance on the Democratic Party in the last two decades in this country that has brought us to the spot we are in now.

The Coalition That Is Needed

Now, once again, black people are in the forefront of the struggle, as they have been in the forefront of every fight against oppression for the last half century. But they know now, as they always do, that they cannot by themselves win. This understanding finds expression even in Jackson's call for a "rainbow coalition" of the oppressed.

Even John Jacob, head of the "moderate" Urban League, says that blacks are a "people without a party" and urges a "coalition" of blacks, Hispanics and poor whites.

But what is the decisive force that can make such a coalition real, can make it an irresistible force? *Everyone knows that force is the unions.*

The bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions has given only passive support to August 27. It has

sought to make the Labor Day rallies (misnamed "Solidarity Day III") into a means of pressure on the Democratic Party, part of the scam of a "labor" selection of a Democratic candidate to back in the primaries.

The line of battle is clear: it is to break the unions from the Democratic Party and from the leadership that ties them to it, the same leadership that resists a coalition of the oppressed. By this very fact, it is clear that any attempt to "negotiate" with the Democrats only sabotages this fight, it is clear that the only *real* independent campaign is one aimed at winning the trade unions.

The coalition of the oppressed, based on the massive social power of the unions, taking shape in a break from the Democratic Party — *this coalition can and will be nothing but the Labor Party!*

Independent Labor Candidate

The whole existing political situation in this country, the growing social and economic crisis, are driving the workers and the oppressed toward this solution. That is the real meaning of the drive for "independence" so obvious among blacks, although far from invisible among the workers in the unions.

The Labor Party is going to be built starting from this drive for consistent independence, if it is to be built. We think that the concrete link between today's spontaneous drive against the Democrats and tomorrow's mass party is the fight for an *independent labor candidate* for president.

Jesse Jackson has to be judged in terms of the stand he takes on this question, as do all those who claim to be for independence, against the union bureaucrats, and so on.

The road to political independence and power is the building of the Labor Party!

TRUTH

No to US Invasion of Central America!

The battleship *New Jersey*, and at least six other warships are now patrolling the Pacific waters off the western coast of Nicaragua. One ship has already interfered with a Soviet ship bound for Nicaragua.

The aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* and four other warships are patrolling the Caribbean waters off the eastern coast of Nicaragua. And 4,000 ground troops have arrived in Honduras to take part in "exercises" along the northern border of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua is almost surrounded.

At the same time, the US is entering into negotiations with the rebels in El Salvador aimed at getting them to lay down their arms and publicly discussing the "doability" of an invasion of Nicaragua.

According to one typically arrogant and overconfident Pentagon scum, Rear Admiral Eugene Carroll Jr., "We've finally picked somebody we can whip . . . we could dominate the political and military situation in Nicaragua within ten days of an invasion."

What is taking place is neither simply maneuvers, nor simply a show of force, but the first steps in an *actual* invasion of

Central America aimed at saving the falling Salvadoran dictatorship, eventually overthrowing the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and restoring Somozaist rule.

There will be at least 20,000 US troops involved in these steps in the coming weeks!

The Trotskyist Organization calls on all tendencies and organizations within the unions to join it in a fight to build an all out union boycott of this invasion of Central America.

Reagan cannot carry out this attack without some cooperation from American unions. Weapons and other equipment must be produced and transported. Troops must be fed, clothed, transported and constantly supplied. This is why Reagan included Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO head, on his war board led by Henry Kissinger. He hopes to involve the unions in this invasion in the name of the struggle against "totalitarian communism" or at least to nullify union opposition to the invasion.

But a number of unions, particularly the UAW at its recent convention, have already taken a position against US sup-

port to the Salvadoran dictatorship and harassment of Nicaragua. Now is the time to pass from words to deeds, not only by forcing Kirkland off this war board, but also by boycotting all shipments of men and materials destined to serve this invasion.

Our readers report that the Dodge Truck plant in Detroit is producing parts that are being shipped to El Salvador. The fight to build the boycott could begin with a fight for this local to refuse to handle these goods.

This invasion constitutes an attack on every American worker. Not simply because the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador are workers, peasants and poor people fighting for decent jobs, wages, living conditions and their own organizations and their own government, just like American workers (and in this sense for true *communism* where the bounties of the world are shared in *common*). Not simply because this invasion will be used to further subjugate American workers, to bind their unions to the state and further reduce their standard of living in the "national interest." But above all because the strug-

gle taking place in this hemisphere, in the cities of Santiago, Buenos Aires, La Paz, Managua, Chicago and Detroit, is one struggle.

It may appear that there are a whole series of struggles taking place — in Santiago against Pinochet, in Managua against the Somozaists, in Chicago against the "Machine." In reality this is one struggle — one working class struggle against the US banks and corporations and the governments that serve them — one mass, one whole.

This is why Reagan is invading Central America. He wants to divide the struggle, dismember the working class, pick off El Salvador and Nicaragua and then proceed to the rest of the working class in Central, South and North America.

And this is why North American workers must defend Nicaragua and the Salvadoran rebels with a boycott of this invasion. For we are part of this larger, *class* struggle, not part of this nation. Thus what we are talking about is not charity, or even simply solidarity, but *self defense*.
M.G.

FOR AN OPEN TROTSKYIST CONGRESS TO REBUILD THE US Black Liberation Needs Working Class Party

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Once again the struggle for the freedom of American blacks is center stage in the political situation. A new mobilization is taking up where the civil rights movement left off nearly twenty years ago. At that time a powerful upsurge of blacks challenged the racist Jim Crow system in the South, spilling over into the Northern black ghettos as well. Inherent in that upsurge was the contradiction between the particularly violent forms that the struggle took — cities like Birmingham and Little Rock were practically transformed into armed camps — and the main line black leadership that emerged from that upsurge — Martin Luther King and his policy of non-violent direct action by blacks.

Today, that contradiction is being expressed in a new situation by a split among black leaders and elected officials over whether or not to support a black candidate for president of the United States in 1984. Furthermore, this debate is clearly in response to a new upsurge of blacks in the ghettos of America against their deepened poverty and the attack on black gains under the Reagan administration.

The sharpest expression of this upsurge so far has been the campaign and election of Harold Washington for Mayor of Chicago. Washington ran on the Democratic Party ticket, but more importantly, he ran as an opponent of the Daley machine in Chicago. The massive numbers of blacks who were registered to vote and who mobilized to elect Washington was much more an attempt to strike a blow at the racist machine in Chicago than a revival of Democratic Party prospects for the 1984 elections.

Nevertheless, this upsurge raises anew the question of what road blacks must take to win their freedom — through the Democratic Party or independent of it. And if independent of it, where to go from a break with the Democratic Party.

The Trotskyist Organization supported Ed Warren, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, in the Chicago election. We saw the possibility, in supporting a candidate of a working class organization, to prepare blacks in Chicago for the situation they would face if Washington were elected and to raise the necessity of building a labor party representing and fighting for blacks as the most oppressed sector of the American working class.

We said then: "Washington is incapable not only of meeting the real demands of his supporters . . . but every step he takes is directed against the real drive of the workers who support him." (*Truth* #162)

Washington has in fact confirmed this. Already he is putting forward an "austerity" program that is practically indistinguishable from the policies of his predecessor, Jane Byrne, including tax increases, layoffs and attacks on the wages of construction workers and others.

But Washington's attacks after the Chicago elections has not resulted in demoralization or anything of the kind among blacks, far from it. In fact, there has been massive support at a grass roots level for an independent black candidate in the 1984 presidential elections. Jesse Jackson, who initially raised this proposal, has been greeted by shouts of "Run, Jesse, run!" at rallies throughout the South.

Taken as a whole, this new upsurge is the leading expression of a drive by the working class for a break from the Democratic Party. As such it represents an attempt by blacks to come to terms with a policy, represented popularly by Martin Luther King, that has proved totally inadequate in meeting the attack on black gains under Reagan.

A sharp expression of the inadequacy of that policy is the fact that black leaders are today completely split over the proposal of Jesse Jackson for an independent black candidate in 1984. Even though Jackson himself has moved from advocating an independent campaign to a very careful approach to the Democratic Party to support a black candidate, leaders such as Mayors Coleman Young of Detroit and Andrew Young of Atlanta are openly and strongly opposing even Jackson's cautious "feeling out" of the Democrats.

Meaning of Split

Malcolm X once said of the Democratic Party, "If the black man in these Southern states had his full voting rights, the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C., which means the key Democrats in Washington, D.C., would lose their seats. The Democratic Party itself would lose its power." (April 3, 1964)

Indeed, if blacks had their "full voting rights," meaning the ability to be represented by a government that fought for their interests

as the most oppressed sector of the working class, those who feel the greatest burden of unemployment, who are the prime targets of police bullets, and who are the first to be sent to fight the wars of American imperialism, then the Democratic Party, as a capitalist party, would have lost its power.

Coleman Young knows this. Andrew Young knows this. Because they are beholden to the Democratic Party that put them in office as defenders of capitalism. They know this so well that the idea of a rift in the Democratic Party over a black candidate scares them to death. And that is why they oppose even Jackson's hesitant campaign within the Democratic Party.

Thus the contradiction between King's non-violent policy and the violence of the racist capitalist state was and is really a contradiction of a deeper character. It is a contradiction between the struggle of blacks for equality under capitalism, within a capitalist party, and the fact that in winning their equality blacks would be playing the role of the most advanced guard of the working class, carrying with them the interests and demands of the working class in its entirety.

In fact, it is not accidental that Martin Luther King was murdered only when his movement threatened to get out of the control of capitalist institutions like the Democratic Party. King was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee, when he went to speak to the lowest rung on the capitalist totem pole, black sanitation workers who were on strike — and a strike is violence to the capitalist class. King's assassination was therefore directly linked to the development of a working class mobilization among blacks.

We Trotskyists say to blacks who support Jesse Jackson, even with the best of intentions — *build a labor party!* Build a party that represents your interests. Such a party, if it came about today, would undoubtedly be 90% black in composition, and 100% working class in its program. That is also why we call for an *independent labor* candidate, because the key issue for blacks in the 1984 elections is a break from the Democratic Party. Only that can enable the movement to go forward.

But there is another question that remains to be taken up. That is the proposal for a black party. Is there a place for a party of a transitional character that would represent a break from the Democratic Party, but would take up the special demands of blacks as an oppressed minority? This is not a question of the right of blacks to build their own organizations, a right that American Trotskyists have everywhere and always defended. Nor is it a hypothetical question, because those, like the Socialist Workers Party, who advocate such a party as a bridge to blacks have to face the fact that such a party already exists. That is, they have to look at the evolution of the National Black Independent Political Party.

The Trotskyist Organization said at the time of the formation of NBIPP that, despite the fact that it professed to be an independent party, the program and the leadership of NBIPP were reformist. Nevertheless, we pointed out that if NBIPP drew the logical conclusions of its independent stance it would very quickly become confronted with the task of building a workers party. Unfortunately, the reverse occurred. NBIPP's reformist program succeeded in overcoming its independence. So that, despite the years of work that the SWP put into building NBIPP without ever once even raising a struggle against its reformist program, NBIPP did not even support the SWP's candidate in the Chicago elections against Harold Washington, a Democrat.

The least that black workers could ask of NBIPP is that it *lead*. But in the case of the Chicago elections, it failed even to do that — never mind the fact that basically it had chosen

to abstain at a time when blacks were politically mobilized, breaking the pattern of recent elections.

But, in a statement issued *after* the election was over by NBIPP national co-chairpersons, Ron Daniels and Elsa Brown, NBIPP basically endorses the campaign of Harold Washington:

"The National Black Independent Political Party would like to extend its congratulations to our Brothers and Sisters . . . for their success on Tuesday April 12, 1983."

Furthermore, in speaking of the ". . . climax of this Black revolt on April 12 . . ." NBIPP makes clear that in its view, the election of a Democrat was the highest point of blacks' mobilization. Thus, far from showing the need for an independent black party, NBIPP shows the impossibility of a half-way party — between the working class and the capitalist parties.

Indeed, we do not see how it could have been any other way. For the moment that a black organization arises to champion the break from the Democratic Party and begins to fight for black workers, the moment it begins to mobilize the unemployed and factory workers and fights the passivity and tokenism of trade union leaders, it would become in the eyes of the American working class, the working class party.

Blacks and Trotskyism

Our fight, as Trotskyists, is to insure a labor party that will represent a break with the capitalist parties by building its revolutionary leadership today.

The election of a Democrat in 1984 and the sweeping of Reagan and his cohorts out of office, even the election of a black Democrat, would certainly provoke a deeper political crisis of American capitalism. But it would not resolve anything.

There would still be the aggravation of the economic crisis of world imperialism which depends on the rhythm and tempo of the revolution in the smallest countries of the world far more than the policies of American government, as powerful as it is. And the objective

ripening of the economic crisis, together with the political impotence of liberalism, or what passes for it today, would mean a tremendous embitterment of the class struggle — the expectation of "better times" by blacks and workers leading them to more active struggle, and the ruination of the American middle class, giving a foundation to the proponents of racist and fascist solutions.

In short, the political horizon is characterized by the imminence of revolution, bitter class confrontations and the testing, under these conditions, of every leadership that claims to be for the freedom and independence of blacks. It takes little foresight to see that Jesse Jackson, and NBIPP, have already failed the test before the confrontation has even reached its peak. And because of this, the building of the revolutionary, proletarian party is the *immediate* and *concrete* task that is capable of expressing the needs of the present upsurge.

The forces for achieving this task will come from Marxism and the renewed militancy that is taking shape among black workers in the trade unions, from the unemployed in the urban population, and from dispossessed black youth.

The proletarian party will furnish the instrument for blacks to confront racism among white workers and make a selection of the leadership that is required for the coming struggles. That is where the most fertile ground for smashing racism and the capitalist system that upholds it exists today — in the uniting of the program of Marxism with the most cohesive and politically active sector of the working class, the black proletariat.



SWP Oberlin Conference

From July 30 through August 6, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held an "educational" conference at Oberlin, Ohio. As readers of *Truth* will recall, this took the place of the constitutionally-mandated party convention.

The Trotskyist Organization intervened in the first two days of this conference. Despite unusually restrictive (even for the Barnesites) "ground rules" and constant cloudbursts that occurred at strategic moments, we succeeded in selling sixteen copies of our paper and in distributing almost 300 leaflets, thus reaching a large proportion of those attending.

The conference was relatively well-attended, including by members of the opposition tendencies. The two leading opposition groups, headed by Nat Weinstein and George Breitman respectively, reportedly formed an "Opposition Bloc" at the May plenum of the SWP's National Committee (NC). It appears that SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes is developing his factional tactics with great care, as usual.

On the one hand, he continues the expulsions and cancels the convention, also finally publishing his notorious speech on "Their Trotsky and Ours." (This appears in the significantly named magazine, *The New International*, which the Barnesites shamefacedly wouldn't sell us.)

But, on the other hand, in his speech at the NC itself (published in two issues of *The Militant*), Barnes returned to "orthodox" formulations and statements long unseen in that paper. Similarly, the Oberlin conference was open to all. Barnes has every reason, and every experience, to see that by slowing down the pace toward the split, while yielding nothing on essentials, he maintains the upper hand.

As we have pointed out, Barnes was moving defensively when he cancelled the convention. These new steps reinforce that estimation. But Barnes can be defeated only by taking the offensive against him.

And that means a *political offensive*.

Unfortunately, that is not yet happening. The formation of the Opposition Bloc, from all indications, seems to mean a more open reliance on the Mandel wing of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat. And there was very little visible indication at Oberlin of an openness to another perspective.

This other perspective, that of the Trotskyist Congress rebuilding the US section of the Fourth International, is what the Trotskyist Organization stands for and brought to Oberlin. That was not only the burden of the leaflet we distributed, not only the point of the article in *Truth* on the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference, but is, in fact, the substance of all our political activity.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International in the US cannot be a question of pulling together discontented elements in the old organizations, combining them with exiled elements outside the calling this forced mixture a "regroupment." But, implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) that is the content of the ideas of the oppositionists inside the SWP and those who observe it from the outside. A realignment around Mandel is not anything new, it is a "regroupment" on a reduced scale.

Against this perspective is the fight to win and train the most advanced elements in the youth — naturally, including those in organizations — around the fight for a labor party. This is the fight that is shaping up very concretely now in the preparation of the 1984 elections. But if the oppositionists in the SWP remain aloof from this battle, substituting for it what seem to be easier and more attractive maneuvers with Mandel . . . then they, like so many other oppositions in the SWP, will totally vanish. And the game — whose goal is to destroy the SWP — will go to Barnes, with the help (as usual) of Mandel.

That is the reality that is now posed.

K.F.

The Lessons of Chile — Today

Part I — No "Peaceful Road"

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

September 11 marks the tenth anniversary of the armed forces' seizure of power in Chile. This coup d'état overthrew the legally elected Allende government and installed the brutal military dictatorship still headed by General Augusto Pinochet.

Significance Today

But in the last few months this regime has been shaken by massive protests around one slogan: "Out with Pinochet!" These protests led to shootings this month, while June was marked by a copper workers' strike that brought about a four-day general strike.

While the 1973 coup was part of a series of vicious blows aimed at crushing the working class in the "Southern Cone" — Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, etc. — the new upsurge in Chile is part of a mobilization that threatens the overthrow of all the pro-imperialist regimes in the area.

What makes the situation even sharper is the fact that the revolution is even more advanced in Central America. In both cases, the impact is already being felt in the United States itself.

When Reagan (who has fully supported Pinochet) set up his "bipartisan commission" on Central America, it was not at all surprising that he picked Henry Kissinger to head it. As Seymour Hersh's recent book, *The Price of Power*, reminds us, Kissinger was the chief advocate within the Nixon regime of "destabilizing" the Allende government. When Allende was elected, Kissinger declared: "I don't see why we need stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

When the coup took place, Pinochet obligingly vowed to "exterminate Marxism." Kissinger understands all too well the meaning of the chant by the Chilean youth: "Somoza's gone, now it's Pinochet's turn."

On this anniversary of the bloody coup, we are not concerned with memorializing a date, but with drawing out all the lessons of Chile for the struggles of today.

The depraved cruelty of the coup, its shocking effects — depicted, for example, in the movie *Missing*, which also points up US involvement — dealt a tremendous blow to the workers and oppressed in Chile. As many as 20,000 killed (most *por ser obreros*; "for being workers"), as many as 200,000 without work. Over the years of Pinochet's reign, with murders and "disappearances" continuing, over 150,000 have been jailed or driven into exile. As late as May of this year, Amnesty International reported that torture continues routinely. And in 1982, there were 1,789 "political" arrests — triple the figure for 1981.

All working class parties and unions were outlawed; all democratic rights were crushed. As a result of this defeat, unemployment in Chile today is 30%, with real wages down 60% over the last ten years — with a 16% decline in the last year alone.

But all these consequences of the coup cannot be used as an excuse for not dealing with one fundamental question: how was it possible for the coup to happen?

The UP Comes To Power

In the presidential election of September 4, 1970, Salvador Allende received the largest proportion of the vote, 36.3%. Allende was the head of the Socialist Party and the candidate of the *Unidad Popular* (UP—"People's Unity"), made up of the SP, the Communist Party (CP), the capitalist Radical Party and some smaller groups.

The UP said that its electoral victory meant that there could be a "peaceful road to socialism." To say the least, that turned out to be false. And it was foreshadowed from the start by the UP's very nature.

The Transitional Program of the Fourth International says: "People's Fronts on the one hand — fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution." The UP was a classic example of such a *popular front*.

In 1964, the US government had spent twenty million dollars to defeat Allende and insure the victory of Eduardo Frei of the pro-imperialist Christian Democracy. But in 1970, although Allende had not won a majority, the Chilean Congress overwhelmingly (135-53) ratified his election on October 24 and he was inaugurated on November 4.

The first reaction of American imperialism (as in Kissinger's statement) was likewise expressed by the Chilean bourgeoisie. Almost

overnight, the stock market fell by 50%, capital fled the country and what a conservative Chilean journal called the country's "worst economic crisis in decades" was set in motion. On October 22, aiming at provoking a coup, the far right even assassinated General Rene Schneider, head of the armed forces.

But the bourgeoisie as a whole peacefully let Allende assume power. Why?

For the years just prior to the election, a great upsurge in the mass movement had been taking place. Peasant strikes rose from 648 in 1968 to 1,127 in 1969 and would rise to 1,580 in 1970. Land seizures showed a similar pattern. And the labor movement was also in an upsurge, with more than two million workdays lost to strikes in 1967 — a figure that rose to almost four million (3,955,000) in 1969.

The UP was created to divert this mass movement into a search for electoral victory rather than a revolutionary confrontation. Its relatively radical platform, which posed the "construction of socialism" as an eventual goal, was as one observer put it: "Not a program to win on, but a program to lose on." A program to assuage the masses, while legally excluding them from power. This is emphasized even more by the existence of a secret pact between Allende and Tomic, the Christian Democrat, to back the election winner in the Congressional ratification, even the far right candidate, Alessandri.

The only flaw in this scheme to swindle the oppressed was that Allende won. The strength of the movement was greater than the UP leaders themselves expected.

Betrayal Begins

In this new situation, the UP rapidly sought to assure the capitalists that it would protect their interests, not the interests of those who voted for it. Allende himself announced: "There will be no Marxist government in Chile." Further: "The future government of Chile will not be a Socialist government . . . The area of private property will be numerically the biggest."

The Stalinists of the CP, who had opposed even the verbal radicalism of the UP program, now chimed in. The poet Pablo Neruda, a leading CP figure, reassured the capitalists: "There's no reason at all to be uneasy. We have never claimed that we would form a socialist government on November 4."

So much for the UP's program!

At the same time, the question of the armed forces arose in the sharpest way. They would certainly oppose any steps toward socialism, and a section already wanted a coup. Allende, as part of the ratification negotiations, agreed not to lay a finger on this reactionary stronghold. In particular, he agreed not to permit the independent arming of the masses: "There will be no armed forces here other than . . . the army, the navy and the air force. I shall eliminate any others if they appear."

The CP again collaborated. Its General Secretary, Luis Corvalan, posed things in the clearest way: "The position that an armed confrontation is unavoidable — as some suggest — would require the formation of armed popular militias . . . In the present situation that would be equivalent to showing distrust in the army."

Such was the UP's "peaceful road."

From the time of Allende's inauguration through mid-1971, the UP was able to accomplish certain measures. There was a 20-30% increase in real wages, unemployment fell from 6.6% to 3.8%. Land reform was accelerated and many foreign holdings were nationalized. On this basis, the UP got 50.9% in the municipal elections of April 1971.

But the American corporations — ITT, Anaconda, Kennecott, Boise-Cascade — and banks were not about to accept the loss of their investments, which had produced a rate of return of 17.4% in 1968 (26% in mining the same year). At the same time, the UP measures had

not succeeded in pacifying the masses. The Chilean capitalists themselves now were next on the list for the workers.

The bourgeois parties, especially the "liberal" Christian Democrats, went over to open opposition — in close collaboration with US imperialism. The capitalists used their remaining strongholds in the economy to sabotage the UP. Their control over *distribution* enabled them to create artificial shortages, a black market and inflationary speculation — as well as dire want for the masses.

The first open action of the right wing (instigated by the CIA working with reactionary gangs like *Patria y Libertad* — "Fatherland and Freedom") was the so-called "march of the empty pots," in which women from the wealthy areas of the cities — where there were no shortages — tried to use the capitalists' sabotage to blackmail the government. This took place in December 1971, at the time of Fidel Castro's visit, and was directed against "communism." But Castro confined himself to politically supporting the UP.

The Decisive Stage

Throughout 1972, the right wing continually tested the UP. Seeing that it would not mobilize the masses against them, the capitalists moved in October. A nation-wide owners' lockout begun by the truck-owners' *gremio* (association) set out to paralyze the economy. In these "October Days" the working class swung into action, bringing into the open its own bodies of workers power, especially the *cordones industriales* (workers' committees in the "industrial belts" of the cities). By taking control of closed factories, organizing distribution and transportation, these organs constituted elements of dual power — of a workers government against the capitalist one — and of a revolutionary way out of the crisis.

At this point, Allende made a deal with the right wing. "In effect," wrote a left-wing member of the SP, "he provided them with a face-saving way out . . . when they were already virtually defeated." In fact, it was then that Allende brought the heads of the armed forces *into his cabinet*, as a guarantee to the bourgeoisie! This appeasement failed: By December 1972, the inflation rate was 164%.

In the Congressional elections of March 4, 1973, the UP received 43.4% of the vote, thwarting the right wing's hopes of achieving a two-thirds majority — veto power over legislation and the ability to impeach Allende. At this moment, the whole capitalist class made a turn toward a coup as the only solution. This was signalled by the military's resignation from the cabinet on March 27. The right went into the streets.

The response of the masses to this was clear. But while they cried out in marches and demonstrations: "Create, create a popular militia . . . Workers to power!" Allende called the workers' attempts to take control of distribution a "provocation" and fiercely opposed the *tomas* ("take-overs") of capitalist property.

At the same time, Allende continued to protect and support the military. Although the US had cut off all economic aid to Chile, full contacts between the Chilean and US armed forces were maintained and encouraged. Attempts to organize soldiers were repressed, with Allende's own nephew being jailed for such activity. And a law on searches and seizures of arms led to a "veritable reign of terror" among the oppressed workers and peasants.

Forum Lessons of the Washington and Warren Campaigns

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Time was growing short. On June 29, a small armored detachment staged an abortive attack on the presidential palace. This *tancazo* failed, but it revealed to the right wing the passivity of the UP and the CUT union federation, which tied down the workers' attempts to respond massively.

On July 25, the attack escalated, with the truck-owners again striking. Through September 4 they would be joined by other business associations. Allende's response to the peril was to once again invite the military into the cabinet (August 10). While this soon collapsed, Allende and the UP did nothing about the August 5 arrest and torture of 100 sailors for having dared to say they would oppose a coup.

In late August, Allende appointed a new armed forces chief — Pinochet! Meanwhile, he assured everyone: "There will be no coup d'état and we will avoid a civil war." He continued this blind course to the end, announcing over the radio on the veryday of the coup: "I am awaiting now a decision from the army to defend the government."

Yesterday and Today

This course of prostration and passivity, which left the bulk of the workers unarmed — physically and politically — in face of the coup, led to Allende's own death: not as a martyr to the cause of socialism, but as a victim of the capitalist system he so stubbornly defended.

Meanwhile, the oppressed masses underwent the bloodbath that marked the triumph of what the right wing warmly called "unbridled free enterprise."

Now, as we have seen, ten years later time is up for Pinochet. Capitalist forces inside Chile and imperialist forces outside agree that his days are numbered. In this situation, the same forces that led to the defeat in 1973 are once again trying to channel the energy of the masses away from the revolution. But this re-edition of the popular front does not even promise a "peaceful road to socialism." No, its participants want to confine the fall of Pinochet into a mere "democratic solution."

Because not only are the old elements of the UP — the SP, the Radicals (and, as an unofficial partner, the CP) — in this alliance, but a leading role is being played by the same Christian Democrats who helped organize the coup, as well as the right wing National Party, the truck-owners and even elements of the military and *Patria y Libertad*!

Indeed, it is the Christian Democracy that is in the leadership of the copper miners' union (the CTC). The National Workers Command (CNT), established in May, is an organized link between the unions and the Christian Democracy. Also involved in the CNT is the union built by the American AFL-CIO as an anti-communist alternative, the Democratic Workers Union (UDT).

The real nature of the "democracy" this coalition wants can be seen in the political form the opposition takes. Now known as the *Alianza Democratica* (AD/"Democratic Alliance"), it is still generally referred to as the *multipartidaria* ("multi-party" alliance) — the same name given to the formation created in Argentina to prevent the fall of the junta from leading to socialist revolution.

The "Democratic Manifesto" of the AD calls only for an end to the state of emergency (martial law), legalizing political parties and a "social pact" between workers, employers and the government. Again, this was signed not only by the open rightists, but also by the Radicals and the *Convergencia Socialista* ("Socialist Convergence"), which includes the old UP elements except for the CP. While formally excluded, the Stalinists fully support this whole scheme.

All the centrists, including the pseudo-Trotskyists, said in 1973 that the key reason for the defeat was the lack of a revolutionary party. But what they did not address, what they cannot answer, is *why* there was no revolutionary party in Chile. That question, and its significance today, is what we will take up in our next issue.

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Working Class Youth!

A new generation of fighting working class youth is emerging today in the struggles against racist oppression, imperialist war and the capitulations of the old parties.

This generation, because of the position in which it finds itself (without jobs or any prospect of jobs) and because of the combativity and willingness to sacrifice that results from this (it has nothing to lose), constitutes a mass basis for the development of a new leadership of the working class.

To the extent that this new, young generation develops as the new leadership of the working class it will be able to free itself and the working class. Becoming the new leadership of the working class will provide the young generation with what it lacks — power to transform the situation. And the young generation can in turn provide the working class with what it lacks, a leadership willing to confront the oppressors and take the risks necessary in a fight for power.

But in order for the young generation of the working class to fulfill this destiny, it must be organized on a clear basis and trained to reach the working class and lead it to power, on the basis of the previous experiences of the working class in this struggle that now span nearly 150 years.

Without such clear organization and training the organizations that will emerge from the youth will not be able to confront the situation. They will founder, split and disintegrate or fall under Stalinist or centrist influence as did the organizations that emerged from the youth in the 1960s like the Black Panther Party, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers or Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It is not possible to assimilate over a century of working class struggle alone or overnight.

This is why the Trotskyist Organization has decided to undertake as its central activity a struggle to constitute and build Revolutionary Youth International circles or clubs in conjunction with other sections of the Fourth International in South America and Europe.

The common fight with youth to constitute a first club on the basis of a political document and with at least ten members will be a first step in providing youth with such clear organization and training.

To lay the basis for the foundation of this club, we have decided to initiate a campaign for 50 new working class youth subscribers to *Truth* over a ten-week period beginning September 1.

A working class understanding of the present situation; working class strategy and tactics with which to deal with it; this is the essential basis for the foundation of a Revolutionary Youth International Club and this is what *Truth* provides. *Truth* is a manual of working class struggle prepared by working class revolutionaries who have made it their business for nearly a decade to draw the lessons of the workers' struggles and formulate and elaborate working class policy, strategy and tactics with which to confront and overthrow the oppressive imperialist regime.

As Trotskyists, we think it is necessary to build a centralized, disciplined working class party to do this and that youth must enter into the party and the Trotskyist Organization that is fighting to build it today. But the significance of the party, of the Trotskyist Organization, is something that we think youth can only fully appreciate in a common struggle to clarify the tasks before youth and workers and carry them out.

If you want jobs and freedom, if you want to overturn the oppressive rulers who deny you those things, if you want to learn how to make this happen and forge yourself and your generation into the kind of leadership necessary for this struggle — subscribe to *Truth*.

**Working Class Youth!
Twelve Issues for One Dollar!**

Autoworkers Must Lead Fight

We reported in our last issue how the UAW bureaucrats were planning to push through a minimal contract at Chrysler, hoping to head off an explosion.

But, in the late July negotiations, Chrysler Corporation slapped them in the face. The company and friendly Lee Iacocca — who was invited to speak to the state AFL-CIO convention and who was hailed by UAW vice-president Marc Stepp as an excellent candidate for US president! — wouldn't even give them enough to meet their feeble requests.

But why? Here we are in the midst of a recovery, when the capitalists have more and more profits every day, and they still won't give a nickel — not even to prevent more demands later. If they won't do it now, will they ever?

Let's look at this recovery. As we said in *Truth* #164: "After almost four years of this attack (concessions — K.F.) . . . the capitalists have succeeded in raising the rate of exploitation enough to increase their profit margins. Thus, there is not so far any real growth, but only a shift in the distribution of wealth."

Now there is even more evidence to support this view. Labor contracts settled in the first half of this year provided for the

lowest wage increases in *fifteen years* (as long as statistics have been kept). They averaged only 2.7% over three years, with one-fourth of workers taking cuts and one-fifth gaining nothing. And these are the organized workers!

Conclusion: *this recovery is based solely on the concessions extorted from the working class; it has no organic character and, therefore, means not gains for workers, but more attacks.*

Signs of this are already evident. Housing starts have declined for the last two months, and on August 8 the major banks raised their prime lending rate to 11%, thus indicating a new rise in all interest rates. This recovery has already peaked and it's barely started.

That is why Iacocca sent Owen Bieber and Stepp away with long faces.

All over the country, instead of making gains, workers are fighting bitter battles against demands for more concessions.

This is evident in the Bell system strike; it is evident in the Continental Airlines strike, in many other strikes. It is evident in the threats to close Rouge Steel by Ford, in the attack on workers at Fremont by the GM-Toyota deal. The Phelps-Dodge copper strike in the Southwest is only the

latest strike that, like something out of a history book, has has to face the National Guard.

The labor party and the seizure of power by the workers are the only ultimate answer to capitalist crisis. The labor party, however, is not merely a party for elections (important as they are) but a party for the class war. The best way to build it in today's situation is to carry its perspective of class independence into action in these strikes.

Workers of the UAW, especially at Chrysler, can begin to do this. We have pointed out the importance of the city of Detroit in this battle: city and county workers, Wayne State workers — and now Bell strikers. And all these would follow the lead of the auto workers in an action that could bust the national situation wide open.

Organize a general strike in Detroit! — led by the auto workers, fought with the methods of the class struggle: mass picketing, sitdowns and factory occupations, defense guards. No capitalist recovery on the backs of the workers! All the gains we make, just like all those we have made, depend on our independent struggle. K.F.

Volunteers for Nicaragua!

To Antonio Jarquin, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States
Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, welcomes you to the United States and especially to Detroit.

As Trotskyists, we are in complete solidarity with your government against Reagan's attacks, carried out on behalf of the banks and corporations that run this country, in spite of our political differences with you.

We are ready to do everything in our power to defend your government against US troops. We think that it is the elementary duty of every working class organization to do the same, regardless of its political orientation.

We are initiating a struggle within the United Automobile Workers union (UAW) for a total boycott of all forces involved in the US invasion of Central America that is now beginning, as well as a struggle among working class youth and elsewhere for volunteers to go to Nicaragua and serve in the front ranks, the rear-guard and other capacities. We address you now to ask you to accept this support and open your country to such volunteers.

The US arrogantly claims that it . . . could dominate the political and military

situation in Nicaragua within ten days of an invasion." "We could put us a Berlin Wall around those little countries," says one. "Latin American troops don't have heart . . ." says another. "They'll give in."

In this way the US hopes to pressure Nicaragua into giving up without a fight, to pressure the Sandinistas into abandoning their posts and accepting the US troops that will eventually overthrow them and restore the rule of the Somozaists, as it was able to do with the PLO in Beirut, Lebanon.

The Kremlin and Castro have added their voices to this chorus, the Kremlin declaring that Nicaragua is outside its sphere of influence and Castro declaring that he will withdraw his advisors from Nicaragua if the US will withdraw its from El Salvador. Even your own government responded to Reagan's warships by offering to discuss cutting off arms to El Salvador. And everyone is trying to pressure the Salvadoran rebels into negotiating with the US.

All this is done as if the only choices before Nicaragua are to go it alone or to concede. This is the same way it was put in Beirut — a suicidal battle in which the PLO would be destroyed or accepting US troops.

Who Are the Polish Trotskyists?

On Saturday, July 9, in the city of Amiens (in Northern France), Stefan Palka had his car forced off the road by two men who — *speaking Polish and calling him by name* — attacked and robbed him. Three days later, his papers were anonymously returned. The attack followed several trips by Palka to the Polish Consulate to request a visa for France for his wife and two children.

Stefan Palka is the former chairman of the Silesian miners' organization of Solidarnosc and is now a member of the Coordinating Committee of the Solidarity (Solidarnosc) Union in France, headed by Zbigniew Kowalewski.

And, even more important, he is a militant of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), section of the Fourth International.

Workers, youth and militants in the US who support Solidarnosc and the Polish workers can see that the attacks by the Polish secret police, even in France, show the importance of our section.

One of the major gains of the former International Committee (IC), which fought the Pabloite forces that betrayed Trotskyism, was for the first time since the

extermination of the Russian Opposition — and the post-war persecutions — the Fourth International united the struggle for the social revolution in the West and the political revolution in the East in its ranks. In this way, the Fourth International began to once again physically establish its links with the October Revolution.

An important number of the student militants of 1968, who had been driven out of Poland by the anti-Semitic campaign of the Stalinist bureaucracy, were won to this perspective. After opposing the destruction of the IC, they began to publish *Walka Klas* ("Class Struggle") and founded the RLRP in exile.

From the very beginning of the upsurge in August 1980, with the Gdansk strikes, the Polish Trotskyists pointed out that a *revolution* was underway. The objective drive of the workers was to recapture political power from the bureaucracy — the political revolution.

On this basis, they alone opposed the Gdansk Accords and called on the workers to break them, point out that accepting the "leading role of the party" (Stalinist) and "existing alliances" (with the Kremlin) meant undermining the actual goals of the

struggle. The Polish Trotskyists advocated the general strike to bring down the regime, building a government based on and responsible to the workers councils (MKZs, etc.).

At the first Congress of Solidarnosc, it was the Polish Trotskyists who put forward the famous motion to appeal to and support the workers of the other Eastern European countries. At this time also, seeing the Congress as a workers parliament, they advocated a government responsible to Solidarnosc.

For this activity, before and after the coup, they have been frequently denounced in the Stalinist press, from the official CP daily, *Trybuna Ludu*, to a whole range of other publications. Particularly galling to the Stalinists is the work carried on in Poland by Stefan Bekier, who was one of those driven out after 1968, which resulted in his arrest and expulsion from the country.

Today the Polish Trotskyists continue their fight for the victory of the Polish Revolution. For more information, or to make a contribution to their work, write/make payable to: *Truth*; PO Box 32546; Detroit, MI 48232.