

TRUTH

An Independent Party of the Oppressed and Exploited to . . . **BRING DOWN REAGAN!**

By MARGARET GUTTSALL
Reagan's ruthless invasion of Grenada and the Democrats' collaboration with it show once again that the poor, the oppressed and the working people need their own party to lead the struggle to bring down Reagan; to begin the revolutionary transformation of the US.

Thus the Trotskyist Organization calls on all oppressed and exploited young people to join it in a struggle to put *independent labor candidates* on the ballot in order to build this party and to build a large coalition of young people and workers who will select these candidates and fight to get the unions behind them. We plan to launch the fight for the 20,000 signatures necessary in Michigan and announce our own candidate for president to lead this struggle, at the Revolutionary Youth International Conference on November 25.

This struggle will be a revolutionary political struggle to mobilize the masses of oppressed and working people to bring down Reagan, to free them from the ruinous influence of the *bourgeois* leaders of the oppressed and exploited. For the more and more urgent an independent candidate and party of the laboring masses to bring down Reagan, the more an'

more these *bourgeois* leaders rant and rave against it.

Coleman Young declared that an independent candidate or party would split the anti-Reagan vote and insure his re-election. The *Michigan Chronicle*, a Black paper, carries on a constant campaign against independent candidate or party advocates as agents of Reagan!

These are lies.
The poor, the oppressed, the laboring people — this is the only class in this society that is actually fighting the Reagan regime with strikes, demonstrations, etc. An independent candidate and party of this class will unify, strengthen and expand these struggles.

On the contrary, it is precisely the bourgeois Democratic Party that is trying to *split* the workers' struggles against Reagan and channel a portion of them, and their votes, behind the Democratic Party. This party has opposed every concrete struggle against the Reagan regime and collaborated with Reagan in every attack on the poor and laboring people, from the budget cuts to the firing, arrest and imprisonment of the PATCO workers, to the invasion of Grenada! A vote for a Democrat is simply a vote for Reaganism without Reagan.

This is true of obviously reactionary candidates like Glenn and Mondale, and it is also true of Jackson. Jackson says openly that he doesn't plan to win the nomination; he plans to turn over his support to whoever does. He announced his candidacy a week after Reagan's invasion yet said nothing about it or the struggle against it. He addressed hundreds of workers in Flint yet said nothing in support of the Twinsburg auto workers' strike or the Greyhound bus drivers' strike. Like other Democrats, he claims to oppose Reagan, but never supports any working class struggles against him.

Other parties oppose Reagan and recognize that the Democrats will never lead a struggle against him, yet have done little about it. The Socialist Workers Party hasn't put forward a candidate for the first time in decades. The Internationalist Workers Party is buried deep in the Peace and Freedom Party that includes Democrats.

So if you want to build a mass mobilization to bring down Reagan, join the fight for an independent candidate and party of the oppressed and exploited. Join the fight to put this struggle on the ballot. Join the Revolutionary Youth International. You'll be joining the

worldwide revolution of the oppressed and exploited, from Nicaragua to Poland.

Working Conference, Friday, November 25. Be there!

THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

Argentina Elections

As we reported in our last issue, the recent elections in Argentina were won by the capitalist Radical Party (its official title is the Radical Civic Union). Its presidential candidate, Raul Alfonsin, outpulled Italo Luder, the candidate of the Peronist (Justicialist) Party, which — to a *certain* extent like the Democrats here — politically dominates the working class.

At this time, we do not have enough information to say how the workers voted.

The bourgeois politician, Alfonsin, like a number of others in Latin America, has in recent years formed close ties with the international Social Democracy. This is an attempt to give a reformist, working class veneer to very traditional parties whose ugly capitalist nature was all too obvious.

Argentina owes the imperialist banks 59 billion dollars. Paying this debt, even paying the interest on it, is impossible without squeezing the working class. Wage cuts, like those being legislated in Brazil, are going to be necessary. But the average wage of the Argentine worker is *ninety cents an hour* — half that in "low wage" Taiwan!

All the democratic talk in the world is not going to eliminate these facts. And from them flows the certainty of greater class conflicts in Argentina.

Grenada and Sanctions

Reagan just recently lessened or limited some of the economic sanctions that he had previously imposed on Poland.

This action mystified, or at least they said it did, American union bureaucrats, reporters and so on. After all, nothing has changed in Poland.

But something changed in the Americas. Reagan invaded Grenada with only token opposition from Castro and not even that from the Kremlin. The Stalinists had recognized that Grenada lay in imperialism's "sphere of interest." In exchange for little Grenada, Reagan made a little concession to Poland's being in the Kremlin's "sphere of interest"!

This promises greater betrayals by Stalinism in Central America for a free hand in Eastern Europe. And it shows the futility of thinking Reagan supports Polish freedom.

Bolivian Trotskyists

We have just received the latest issue of *Insurreccion* ("Insurrection"), paper of the Committee for Rebuilding the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International.

Of particular interest is the call in the paper for a "Congress to rebuild the POR" (Partido Obrero Revolucionario/Revolutionary Workers Party — *Truth*).

Insurreccion concludes: "We cannot claim to resolve the problem that the workers call 'the division of the Trotskyists,' without carrying out consistently the fight abandoned by the POR-Masas (of Guillermo Lora — *Truth*) in 1972 in the rebuilding of the Fourth International . . . and continuing the struggle as an international party, independent of Stalinism, and not as an appendage of this counterrevolutionary bureaucracy as the pseudo-Trotskyists do."

A Practical Struggle to Defend Nicaragua

Castro's capitulation to the US invasion of Grenada shows that the oppressed and working people of the Americas cannot rely on him or the Communist Parties to defend them against imperialism in the violent confrontations ahead. They must develop their own struggle in defense of Nicaragua and build a new leadership based on it.

Castro discussed the impending invasion with both the US and Grenada, yet did nothing to alert the workers of the world to it nor to prepare them to defend Grenada.

When General Houston Austin asked Castro to send troops to repel the impending invasion Castro replied: ". . . the unfortunate developments in Grenada render the useless sacrifice entailed by the dispatching of such reinforcements in a struggle against the United States morally impossible before our people and the world."

On the day of the invasion, when Grenadian and Cuban workers were fighting the imperialist troops, Castro wrote the US government: "It is a battle against small forces that — while they cannot militarily resist the overwhelming superiority of the US forces are losing the battle and even sacrificing themselves — are nonetheless in a position to inflict a costly moral defeat . . ." Thus he made it clear to the US that he intended to

leave these workers on their own and not send reinforcements.

What is more, on October 26, immediately following the invasion of Grenada, Castro declared that in the event of a *US invasion of Nicaragua*, Cuba would not be able to give any direct naval or air assistance. And according to *The New York Times*, Castro has been holding talks with Eden Pastora and other counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua. "The officials (of the counterrevolutionary Democratic Revolutionary Alliance — *Truth*) predicted further contacts despite what they said was distrust on both sides and protests to Cuba by Nicaraguan leaders (our emphasis — *Truth*). 'Our project is a historic compromise,' one said. 'We believe the Cubans recognize the need for reconciliation in Nicaragua.'"

No doubt the Socialist Workers Party and other apologists for the Kremlin bureaucrats will deny all this or make up some excuse for it. But this won't change the fact that to continue to follow Castro and his policy means losing the struggle against imperialism in the Americas. And we have no intention of doing so, especially now, when the oppressed and exploited are rising up in one country after another (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, etc.), when imperialism is on the de-

fensive.

Now more than ever it is necessary to develop the struggle for volunteers to defend Nicaragua throughout the Americas, to make this struggle a *practical struggle* — to sign up young people and workers who want to defend Nicaragua by any means necessary, to persuade the Sandinistas to open their borders to such volunteers, to raise funds to finance this work.

The Internationalist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Workers League and others all came out for volunteers at the Emergency Trotskyist Conference. We think it's time to pass from words to deeds. We hope they'll agree.

Organizing teams of internationalist volunteers to defend Nicaragua will not only give material aid to Nicaragua, it will inspire the millions of Nicaraguans who will be in daily, armed battles with imperialism. It will inspire workers, in the US and other countries, capable of boycotting supplies to the enemy. In short, it will help to revolutionize the working class, imbue it with a new, internationalist spirit, and forge a new leadership that bases itself on the simple principles: "An injury to one is an injury to all"; "Workers of the world, unite." M.G.

Twinsburg: Strike Against Forced Overtime

Three thousand two hundred auto workers struck against mandatory overtime and bad working conditions at Chrysler's Twinsburg, Ohio plant on November 1. Workers had been working seven days a week for eight months and the 36 minutes of relief time had been cut to twenty.

Six days later Chrysler was forced to grant the workers two days off after fourteen consecutive working days and restore the relief time.

This strike came only weeks after Chrysler and the UAW signed a national agreement that was hailed as a restoration of all that the Chrysler workers had lost.

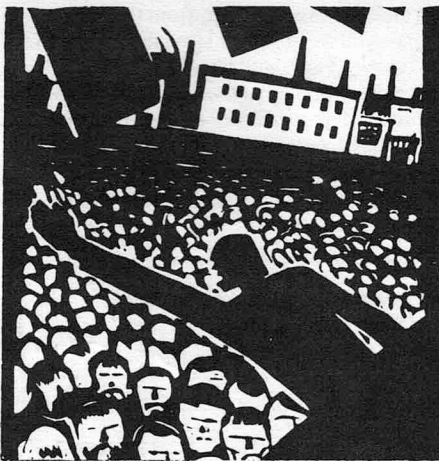
The gains of this strike are small but significant. They show that the conditions under which auto workers and others are being forced to work are not inevitable, they are the result of the UAW bureaucracy policy of collaboration with the corporations. And they show that even with a minimal struggle like the one at Twinsburg that didn't even involve the majority of auto workers, it is possible to begin to reverse

the situation.

While the UAW leadership will try to use such local strikes to dissipate the workers' energies, the auto workers must use them to organize a general strike by electing strike committees based on the ranks, organizing mass pick-

eting and delegations to bring out other plants.

No mandatory overtime; recall laid off workers; general strike! This must be the cry throughout the UAW and all unions! M.G.



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Truth: Published by the Trotskyist Organization/USA
Address: P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232
Subscription Rates: North America: Introductory — 6 issues for \$1; Regular — 24 issues for \$6; Supporting — \$24 issues for \$15. Inquire for other rates, including institutional rates.
Editorial Board: Kevin FitzPatrick; Margaret Guttshall, Editor; David Heffelfinger; Barbara Putnam.

FOR AN OPEN TROTSKYIST CONGRESS TO REBUILD THE US SECTION OF THE FOURTH 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 farthest from basic Trotskyist principles.

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA, Section

(Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, was founded in 1975 to overcome this problem: to lead a struggle to clearly differentiate Trotskyism from various centrist or intermediary tendencies that masquerade under its name; to train a new generation of revolutionaries capable of guiding the American working class in the foundation of its own party and the fight for power; in other words, to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

We call on youth turning toward Trotskyism, as well as youth and workers fighting for a Labor Party, to join us in this struggle, in particular, in preparing and building an open Trotskyist Congress to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. This page is especially dedicated to this struggle. It is open to any militant or tendency that wants to contribute to it.

What is the Internationalist Workers Party?

The Internationalist Workers Party, a part of the International Workers League led by Nahuel Moreno, broke with the United Secretariat and now claims to represent an alternative to its liquidationist policies. We don't think so and show why in the following article. However, we don't think that these differences, however fundamental they are, should stand in the way of a common struggle to carry out decisions of the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference. It is in such a struggle that the validity of the different programs will be tested. Truth

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

As our readers are aware, in recent months our paper has paid quite a bit of attention to the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP). What is the point of our concern with the IWP and the international current to which it politically adheres? We want to answer this question (at least in broad outline) in this article.

Argentine Trotskyism

The IWP is the organization in the United States that is in sympathy with the International Workers League (IWL; Spanish initials, LIT). The LIT is an international center led by Nahuel Moreno, the acknowledged head of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores/Socialist Workers Party). The PST, in turn, is the key party in the LIT, which has sections in a number of countries, especially in Latin America. The LIT puts itself forward as the largest Trotskyist current in the world.

The origins of the LIT go back more than thirty years in Argentina. The Pabloite-dominated Third World Congress of the Fourth International (the last held before the break with these revisionists) refused to recognize the group led by Moreno as a section. Instead, it gave recognition to a grouping led by an individual calling himself Juan Posadas.

With the issuance of the "Open Letter" by the US Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1953, an open break was made with the Pabloites. The new International Committee set up by the "orthodox Trotskyists" at that time was quickly joined by the Moreno grouping.

In 1955, Juan Peron's bonapartist/populist regime in Argentina was overthrown by the military. At that time, and even earlier, the Morenoites had decided that the way to fight for the leadership of the working class was to enter the Peronist organizations. This included even the PSRN (Partido Socialista de la Revolucion Nacional/Socialist Party of the National Revolution), the "left" Peronist party. Ultimately, this orientation took shape in the grouping organized around the paper *Palabra Obrera* ("Workers Word").

Despite all denials and evasions, it is clear that the Morenoites' work in the "sixty-two union organizations" was characterized by a political adaptation, not to say capitulation, to Peronism. *Palabra Obrera* carried a picture of Peron, together with the statement: "published under the discipline of General Peron and the Supreme Peronist Council."

The Decisive Stage

This very serious development was not decisive about the nature of the Moreno current. The victory of the Cuban Revolution placed all the Trotskyists before a great test: was Castroism the wave of the future?

Moreno, together with the leadership of the SWP, answered yes.

In the first place, he participated in the "reunification" with the Pabloites on this basis. And Castro's picture joined Peron's. SLATO (Secretariat for Latin-American Orthodox Trotskyism), which Moreno directed, had strong forces in Chile. But there the Argentine Luis Vitale liquidated the Trotskyist forces into the Castroite MIR, at the same time abandoning the positions won in the CUT trade union federation to the Stalinists and Socialists.

Moreno's Castroism was extremely deep. As we have pointed out in our articles on Chile, he had advocated complete fusion with Castro's proposed OLAS (Organization of Latin-American Solidarity), and accepting Castro's leadership in the perspective of "continental guerrilla war." Thus Moreno, writing in *Fifty Years of World Revolution*, could blandly state: "To sum up: Stalinism is the product of coun-

terrevolutionary pressure on a victorious workers' revolution; Maoism is the product of a provisional combination of counterrevolutionary Stalinism and the uneven development of the Chinese mass movement; Castroism is a direct result of the advance of the world revolution."

Here is the nub of the question. In Latin America above all, is it possible to represent Trotskyism — whose key programmatic point there is clearly the permanent revolution — by giving the political leadership to the "national bourgeoisie" (Peron) and to Stalinist forces in the struggle against imperialism? We think not.

The Aftermath

That is was not Trotskyism that Moreno represented in Argentina was proved by the events of 1969-76. Beginning with the semi-insurrection in Cordoba (the famous "Cordobazo") Argentina entered into a pre-revolutionary situation. But Moreno's response, exemplified by the fusion with Juan Carlos Coral's Social Democratic faction to form the PST, was to present the situation as one of a peaceful development and of a democratic solution. Thus Coral: "The constitution must be made into an adequate framework for the period of the transition to socialism" (*Intercontinental Press*; June 18, 1973). And this statement was addressed to Juan Peron himself!

If this statement sounds remarkably like the one put forward today by the Morenoites (see articles on Argentina in our last issue), this is not in the least accidental.

At this same time, Moreno was in a bloc with

the SWP against the guerrillaist orientation of the Mandel forces of the United Secretariat (USec/ the name taken by the "reunified" Pabloites). While this took on an "orthodox" coloration because it was directed against abandonment to petty bourgeois forces, this was purely superficial. Moreno himself, as we have seen, had gone about as far as he could go on this road.

Beginning in 1975, this Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (or, later, Faction/LTF) began to break up. Over the issues of Portugal and, especially, the Nicaraguan Revolution, Moreno split from the LTF and formed the Bolshevik Faction. This grouping claimed to represent an alternative to both the SWP and the Mandel forces. It is indubitable that on this basis it served as a pole of attraction for youth and militants seeking Trotskyism. Just prior to the USec's "Eleventh World Congress" the Bolshevik Faction split. But it immediately hooked up with Lambert's OCI to first form a "Parity Committee" and then the "Fourth International (International Committee)" — which in turn broke up. Political principles were, once again, far in the rear of organizational maneuvers.

In the US

This is the history of the LIT. When Morenoite forces emerged in the United States — "Sandinistas for Socialism," followed by the Revolutionary Workers Front and, today, the IWP — they were likewise able to present their program as an alternative to the SWP and the Mandelites. This situation actually enabled the IWP to put forward proposals and initiatives

that appeared to be more than promising.

The first of these was its 1982 election manifesto, while the second was its call for the ENTIC. If the second is lagging, taking on only the most formal aspects of a political struggle, the first has been abandoned.

At the center of this document was the call for a Labor Party. At the time, the question of the California Peace and Freedom Party, on the contrary, appeared only as a subordinate point. Was the PFP a "socialist" or "labor" organization that one might vote for? The IWP apparently felt so; we doubted it. But that question has now emerged as the key one.

The Labor Party, for the IWP, is now only one point among many in the platform of the PFP. Moreover, while the manifesto states: "We need to immediately begin to build a LABOR PARTY," and puts forward a "united socialist and labor slate in 1984" as a "FIRST CONCRETE STEP TOWARDS BUILDING A LABOR PARTY," this has now been replaced by a national PFP campaign. And IWP leader Leon Perez has said that this is because the Labor Party is "abstract."

But most importantly, and this is why we feel it is necessary to take up the IWP, we do not want the rebuilding of the Trotskyist Party in the US to become one point among many. To the contrary, the events in the US, in Central America, and in Argentina itself demand that the struggle for a revolutionary leadership, against the past centrist policy of adaptation to petty bourgeois and anti-working class forces (which Moreno represents), must now come to the forefront over all other questions.

Farrell Dobbs: 1907-1983

On October 31, 1983, Farrell Dobbs died at the age of seventy-six. We record this as a biological fact, but the man we knew ceased to exist long ago.

Forced by the Great Depression to work in the coal yards of Minneapolis, Dobbs found himself in the company of some of the most important pioneer Trotskyists — men like Vincent Raymond Dunne and Karl Skoglund.

Like other young people in those times he became a fighter for the rights of the workers, for unions. Dobbs participated in the great class battles that made Minneapolis a union town.

But because those militant and victorious strikes were led by the Trotskyists, Dobbs was able to go beyond most of those who radicalized in the 1930's. He became more than a trade union militant. He became a revolutionary, a Trotskyist, himself.

On that basis, Dobbs was able to become a major figure in the drive that made the antiquated Teamsters union of that time into the mass union it is today. Even Jimmy Hoffa had

to acknowledge that this success, and much more, was due to Farrell Dobbs.

Dobbs could do this work because he was a revolutionary. And because he was a revolutionary, he could turn his back on the soft life of a union official and go to work for the Trotskyist party (then the Socialist Workers Party—SWP). The workers need unions, but they need a revolutionary party even more.

Dobbs was trade union secretary of the SWP, organizational secretary, editor of its newspaper (*The Militant*). He was one of the eighteen Trotskyists sent to prison by the Roosevelt administration for opposing World War II and the union bureaucrats' support of it. At the height of the Cold War, he became national Secretary of the SWP and, in the teeth of imperialist reaction, he was four times the SWP's presidential candidate.

That was the man we knew.

But, under the pressure of isolation and in the midst of the political confusion that it fostered, Farrell Dobbs began to turn against what he had started out to do. He led the

capitulation in the SWP to Castroism after the Cuban Revolution triumphed. Once an advocate of the break with the Pabloite traitors to Trotskyism, he became an architect of the 1963 "reunification" with them.

And it was Dobbs, together with the late Tom Kerry, who brought the grouping around Jack Barnes into the central leadership of the SWP, promoted them and handed the SWP over to them.

At the recent SWP "educational conference" (in place of a convention) Dobbs stood cheerfully on the same platform with Barnes, giving lectures on "labor history" with an anti-Trotskyist bias.

From young revolutionary to old anti-Trotskyist; the clearest conclusion can be borrowed from Art Preis' description in *Labor Giant Step* of the young union militants who became old labor fakers: "The men they were then would have spit on the men they were to become."

K.F.

Young Readers' Forum

Young people came out for the Young Readers' Forum in Detroit, November 4. It was about the Chilean and other Latin workers' struggles. It is hard to organize young people who are disorganized and disoriented but the forum showed that it is possible to organize them on a political and revolutionary basis. Soon many more youth will begin to awaken.

On the basis of a militant and firm fight for youth subscriptions (we won 15 these last weeks) the formation of a Labor Party as a concrete alternative through building a Labor Party Coalition has begun to take on flesh and blood, as has the construction of a club of the RYI in Detroit. Young black high school stu-

dents participated in the discussion, making proposals for how to reach the broadest layers of the working class and win them to a Labor Party and break from the Democrats and bureaucrats. This came as a conclusion to the meeting and involved an understanding of the snares and defeats the Chilean workers have faced and how we can learn from their experiences as well as of recent struggles of the TO for working class candidates.

One young woman pointed out that the youth have no kind of organization, that the workers at least have unions. In response, the main speaker, Kevin FitzPatrick, said that the youth club would be a kind of "union of the youth."

Since the forum we continue to gain youth subscribers and are now preparing a Conference of young subscribers scheduled for November 25 to fight to get a labor party coalition on the ballot and form a revolutionary youth club.

BARBARA PUTNAM

YOUNG READERS' FORUM

Nicaragua: Our Revolution

January, 1984

Exact date, time, and place to be announced.

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