



A Labor Party Coalition Now!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Over 200,000 black and other working people marched in Washington, DC, on August 27, the twentieth anniversary of the initial march on Washington led by Martin Luther King which was followed by the Civil Rights Act.

While bourgeois commentators claimed that the march was made up of disparate elements without clear goals and thus implied that it was a *step backward* from the 1963 march, this is far from the truth.

What the marchers clearly wanted was *political power*. Jesse Jackson, the only black leader who has even talked about running for US president, received the loudest and most enthusiastic applause. Marchers responded to his speech by chanting "Run, Jesse, run!"

Blacks and many other workers have learned in the last twenty years that it is not enough to have laws promulgated "in their interest." They no longer trust the Republican or the Democratic Party to defend these interests. They want their own political power to do so. This was what the marchers in Washington, DC were really after. And in this sense it represented a *step forward* from the 1963 march.

If this was not clear, apparent, and totally undeniable for everyone, it is above all a result of the *crisis of leadership* of the working class, black and white.

A leadership is necessary to articulate the goals of the black people and other oppressed and exploited working people, to map out strategy and tactics to achieve these goals and mobilize the oppressed masses in accordance with them.

Yet the leadership of the powerful American labor movement was virtually absent from the march. It preferred to organize its own march on Labor Day along totally reactionary and nationalistic lines ("Domestic Content" legislation and "Buy American"), as it has nothing to offer to and is desperately afraid of the black people's struggle. Those labor leaders who were there refrained from putting forward their strategy — elect Walter Mondale — for fear that it would be openly rejected by the marchers, for Mondale is obviously bourgeois and not one of them.

Even Jesse Jackson did not say a word about his possible bid for the presidency, nor about the labor movement that is the only source of power in this country outside of the racist, imperialist state that now runs it.

Instead Jackson focused on getting people to register to vote and on inculcating illusions in the possibility of improving black's situation by electing more Democrats, particularly black Democrats, to public office.

Jackson said that black people won the right to vote with the 1963 march on Washington; the problem is that they haven't used this right. And he listed a series of states where the potential number of registered black voters far exceeds the number of Reagan's supporters. He referred to how David slew Goliath with a rock and said that the failure of blacks to use their votes to "slay Reagan" is like "rocks laying around." They have the vote, so they don't need "bloody revolution," he said.

The problem is this just isn't true. Democrats have been in power off and on for a century. There are more black Democrats in office than there have ever been. But the situation of blacks keeps deteriorating.

And when blacks mobilized in a massive fashion to elect Harold Washington mayor of Chicago, they were greeted with a violent reaction, led by the very Democratic Party that Jesse Jackson wants blacks to support — reactionary legislation, police attacks, racist mobs, etc. And now Washington himself, unable to confront the Democratic Party machine, has turned on his own supporters, laid them off, raised their taxes, etc.

Indeed, the last twenty years show that precisely what blacks need is revolution, that is, the destruction of this racist, imperialist state and its replacement with one based on the power of the workers in the factories, black and white. Instead of fac-

ing this fact, Jackson blames the blacks for not using their rights and calls on them to continue to elect members of the same party that has been oppressing them. This is what we're talking about when we talk about a crisis of working class leadership.

The Trotskyist Organization is fighting to resolve this crisis of leadership with a fight for a *Labor Party Coalition* in the 1984 elections. Black and other working people need their own political party based on their own power as workers in the factories to fight for political power. At the same time the fight for such a party will bring forth and train a new kind of leadership, one that bases itself upon and tries to improve the workers power and pre-

pare to confront and eliminate the oppressor — Republican and Democratic — rather than work with it.

A Labor Party Coalition can field as many candidates as possible and it can fight for the unions to put forward their own candidates, especially an independent labor candidate for US president. Such a candidate, even if initiated only by a small number of locals in a single city, could be a credible alternative to the Republicans and Democrats and get the ball rolling nationwide.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on all tendencies for a labor party and especially working class youth to join us in this fight.

Solidarity with Nicaragua!

A US warship hailed a Nicaraguan merchant ship off the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua in early September and threatened to destroy it if it refused to identify its cargo.

US troops in Honduras along the northern border of Nicaragua have begun to enlarge air strips and build communications centers and roads. And a whole group of US troops has been stationed in a strategic part of Honduras between Nicaragua and El Salvador and is beginning "exercises" aimed at cutting off shipments from Nicaragua to El Salvador.

At the same time, US Special Envoy Richard Stone is continuing his efforts get Salvadoran rebels to lay down their arms and participate in elections. Representatives of the rebels and the military junta met in Bogota, Columbia, on August 29.

These developments show that the US is continuing to attempt to isolate Nicaragua and that it is preparing for a protracted war. Adolfo Calero, leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the largest counterrevolutionary group, recently said: "If we don't win within a year, let the Marines take care of it." And the Sandinistas have begun to stock supplies in the countryside in anticipation of the US invading Nicaragua and their being forced to resume guerrilla warfare from the countryside.

The US invasion and occupation that is being planned will be at least the third such attack in Nicaragua's history. In 1856, a US businessman and his mercenary band invaded Nicaragua, took over and declared him president. US Marines invaded Nicaragua in 1912 and again in 1926 and remained until 1933.

Reagan and the Democrats have been denouncing the Soviet Union and communism for days now, since the Soviet Union shot down a South Korean airliner that entered into its territory with 269 passengers.

The newspapers have been full of proclamations about the barbarous character of the Soviet Union and communism, pictures of the dead people, interviews with their families, and, most recently, detailed descriptions of the remains of the passengers now washing up on Japanese shores.

This is not a manifestation of the US's concern for human rights, it is simply one more step in an elaborate provocation against the working class designed to gain information on the Soviet Union's defenses and justify Reagan's military build-up, support to right wing dictatorships and deployment of US troops in Lebanon and Central America,

The leadership of the American labor movement has taken a completely nationalist and pacifist attitude in face of these attacks on our fellow workers in Nicaragua. Lane Kirkland, a shame and disgrace to the labor movement, remains on the Reagan-Kissinger war board hearing "testimony" on US policy in Central America. The most "progressive" union leaders are putting up a completely phony opposition to Reagan's attacks.

The UAW, in the most recent issue of *Solidarity*, says: "Unless these changes are made in U.S. policy . . . the risk of our involvement in a regional war is real. UAW members who want to ease that risk should write their Representatives and Senators. Polls show most Americans oppose Reagan's Central American policies; letters to Washington can help make Congress aware of those growing sentiments."

When the US has already begun the war, when Congress has already proven itself unable and unwilling to oppose it, such pseudo-opposition can only be characterized as running interference for Reagan.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is the only large organization that has taken any initiative against Reagan's attacks. It has initiated a National Neighborhood Protest Campaign that will culminate in a march on Washington on November 12. But even this campaign is to be carried out under the ambiguous slogan "No Vietnam War in Central America" and is aimed at pressuring the US. "This campaign will generate a constant and escalating pressure on policy makers, not only through letters and

phone calls to their offices, but through public and visible expressions of neighborhood opposition to escalating intervention."

The problem is that the Vietnam War in Central America is already here. The US is carrying on a huge propaganda campaign against Nicaragua to justify this war. You can't mobilize people against this war without defending Nicaragua.

American workers aren't pacifists. They aren't going to march out of sheer abhorrence of war. They know that sometimes war is necessary. Nor are they selfish. They aren't going to march just because money is being spent on war and not on them. They know that sometimes you have to sacrifice for what you believe in.

No, the only reason that they are going to march is because they see that their class interests are at stake; that fellow workers and poor farmers are under attack because they are fighting for the simple right to direct their own nation in opposition to US banks and corporations; that the only way that workers in Nicaragua or anywhere else in this hemisphere are going to get anything is if they wage a unified struggle against US imperialism.

Thus Trotskyists are fighting for *solidarity with Nicaragua* in words and deeds, for a boycott of supplies to US forces and their allies beginning with the Dodge Truck Plant in Warren, Michigan now shipping trucks to El Salvador.

This is the kind of political struggle necessary to mobilize large numbers of people against the US's attacks in the coming weeks.

M.G.

Punish the US, not the USSR!

which are, needless to say, involved in the murders of hundreds of people every day.

The South Korean airliner did not simply "stray" into Soviet airspace, nor was it disabled, unable to receive or send any messages. If this were the case, either the US or Japan, both of which carefully followed the plane's course, would have tried to intercept it themselves or contact the Soviet Union. And even if these things were unsuccessful, the plane itself would have responded to the Soviet Union's efforts to intercept it, which everyone now admits took place (after having dishonestly claimed that the Soviet pilot's warning shots were shots aimed at downing the plane).

No. The US, and possibly Japan and South Korea as well, sent this plane to the Soviet Union to try to photograph the military installations where the USSR is now producing weapons aimed at countering the MX. If they

are successful, Reagan's plan will be rendered obsolete and he and his friends will lose millions of dollars. Reagan used a commercial liner full of passengers to try to corner the USSR, to force it to choose between allowing the spy plane to proceed or shooting it down, an act that would inevitably be and has been, followed by a barrage of imperialist propaganda and attacks.

How convenient for the US. At the moment that it is deploying more and more troops across the globe to combat "communism," "communists" shoot down 269 innocent men, women and children.

This is not the first time the US engineered such a provocation or set up. Roosevelt maneuvered for months to provoke Japan into attacking Pearl Harbor in order to provide himself with an excuse for launching a war

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FOR AN OPEN TROTSKYIST CONGRESS TO REBUILD THE US

The Labor Party Coalition and the Trotskyists

There is a deep political awakening taking place in the American working class. In past elections, capitalist politicians could depend on a large abstention among blacks, unemployed, and youth. But in the recent Chicago mayoral elections it was this sector that defeated the Daley machine and that is now registering to vote in record numbers. And increasingly, strikes and labor confrontations are more bitter and large numbers of workers are questioning the logic of concessions.

Fearful of this process breaking out of control of the capitalist parties, many working class leaders — black leaders, trade union officials and even parties that claim to be revolutionary — are presenting the working class with a false "independence," that is, reform of the Democratic Party. Jesse Jackson calls for an independent black candidate, but refuses to go so

far as to break from the Democratic Party, which will never nominate a black for President. The AFL-CIO is pushing unions to endorse Democrats earlier than ever before, supposedly to give labor more "pull" with elected Democrats.

The quick fix that these misleaders propose can win support, as it did in the Chicago elections, because voting for the Democratic Party is at least a *concrete* alternative to Reagan — even if it is a false alternative, and ultimately as destructive as heroin.

But the struggle for a Labor Party can also be concrete, can also offer a practical alternative to Reagan and both capitalist parties.

We Trotskyists have fought for independent labor candidates in the 1984 elections. We now intend to make that struggle even more concrete. We are launching a

campaign for a Labor Party Coalition in the 1984 elections. The first stage of this campaign will be based on gathering the endorsement of workers and their organizations to support and field candidates for a Labor Party, and preparing to meet the practical requirements for getting on the ballot.

However, the building of the Labor Party and a coalition for it, is not only an electoral tactic. That is why we are opening up the pages of our press to a full debate over the nature and program of the working class party. We believe the debate over the program can also be concrete, because that program must be applied at every available opportunity in the daily struggles of the working class. And this will be the type of active mobilization of workers and youth that we seek to lead by forming a coalition around the Labor

Party.

One of our readers might ask, quite correctly: "Why do you Trotskyists, socialists and revolutionaries advocate a Labor Party?"

At the top of this page you will see our slogan for a Trotskyist Congress. It is a call to build a revolutionary leadership of the working class. We fight for this goal in the most open manner, the Labor Party, even to the extent of working as a revolutionary minority within a working class coalition that may not yet agree with the program of socialist revolution, because it is in such a large and open struggle that we will win over the majority of the working class to Trotskyism. And this is what we aim to do, beginning with you, the reader. D.H.

The Youth and the Economic Crisis

As part of rebuilding the revolutionary leadership that is necessary for the working class, Trotskyists have always paid the greatest attention to winning the youth, women workers, and black workers to the Fourth International. The most important element of realizing the Trotskyist Congress, rebuilding the revolutionary leadership in the US, is the building of the Revolutionary Youth International, as a school of socialist revolution for the youth.

This struggle to train and educate new revolutionary forces among the most militant sectors of the working class is what separates us from other parties.

Nevertheless, we have to face the fact that working class youth, especially black youth and young women, are very isolated from the working class and even more so from the traditions of the revolutionary workers movement that our party, the Fourth International, represents. The present economic crisis of capitalism brings that fact home.

The newspapers have been full of the news of economic recovery for months.

But is that economic recovery ever going to reach the young working class? Don't bet on it.

In fact, after the last large recession in 1975, unemployment actually increased for three full years among black youth, while it was decreasing for the general workforce. This shows that the actual "recovery" took place largely on the basis of jobs for workers who had been previously employed and not on the basis of actually bringing young workers into the workforce. That trend will certainly be repeated in the present "recovery," which is far more fragile than the one in 1975, so much so that some capitalist economists are already predicting a new recession.

The tendency to destroy the most productive force under capitalism, the working class itself, is the mark of the death agony of capitalism. Added to the statistics, there are the less tangible effects of this decay — the decline in education and health care and the destruction of art and culture — which lead Trotskyists to say, "either socialism or barbarism": that is the choice. The young generation of the

working class feels the effects of this barbarism and decay the most.

In fact, unemployment among the youth, particularly among black youth in the central cities, has become so alarmingly high, almost 50% according to government statistics, that the government has had to offer some solutions.

In Michigan, which has the highest unemployment in the nation, the newly elected Democratic governor instituted a youth summer jobs corps. But the "jobs" were largely temporary, neither training the young workers for real jobs nor contributing anything to resolving the underlying economic crisis.

And then there is Reagan's youth minimum wage program. Not only does this program have all the makings of another Reagan scheme to enrich the capitalist class, it would also attempt to pit the youth against the working class as a whole, as a sort of reservoir for cheap, unorganized labor to be used against unions' and workers' wage demands.

In the major trade unions in the United States, in basic manufacturing and produc-

tion industries, workers below the age of twenty-five are becoming a rarity. While young workers tend to be the most militant fighters, they are isolated in a very material way from the workers movement. Overcoming that contradiction between the objective conditions that are overripe for revolution and the inexperience of the most militant sector of the working class, the youth, is a key task of the revolutionary party.

The Fourth International has written in its program the lines: "Open the door to the woman workers! Open the door to the youth!" It is making good on this slogan not only by training youth in the struggles of the working class as revolutionaries, it is fighting to build a massive and autonomous Revolutionary Youth International as an organization where the youth can learn by fighting their own battles. We are the only party that is making such a fight.

If you agree with the need for such an organization, then join the Trotskyists and help us build the Revolutionary Youth International in the US.

Copper Workers Fight Democratic Party

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

In a small mining town in Arizona, the essential features of a capitalist government are being exposed in a big way. On August 19, an invasion force larger than the present number of active US troops in El Salvador rolled into Morenci, Arizona, to help break the strike against the Phelps Dodge Corporation. Seven units of the Arizona National Guard, complete with automatic weapons, helicopters, armored personnel carriers and hundreds of Arizona State Police, were deployed to herd scab labor past copper workers' picket lines. The copper workers have been on strike since July 1.

In contrast to the cookbook definition that is offered up for public consumption, it is becoming clearer every day, in Morenci, Arizona, and in strikes like it across the country, that the capitalist state is neither neutral nor fair. By "state" we refer to the essential features of governments stripped of all their window dressing and decorations. The modern capitalist state, which we live under, arose on the basis of the splitting of society into classes — working class of wage earners and unemployed, and capitalist class of bankers and corporate monopolies. And it exists to defend the interests solely of the capitalist class.

As the Phelps Dodge strike shows, the essential features of this state are a standing army, police, and prisons; in a word, institutions of class repression. In some cases, however, the capitalist state has to

appear to rise above classes to preserve order. That has been the privileged role for the capitalist Democratic Party for more than four decades. To convince the working class, with the help of their union misleaders, that they have "friends" in the capitalist government.

The Democratic Governor of Arizona, Bruce Babbitt, whose executive order dispatched the National Guard against the copper workers, was elected as a "friend of labor" in 1982. After the mine was reopened with scab labor, Babbitt was reported to have said, "I guess we showed them our teeth." So much for labor's "friends" in the Democratic Party.

Indeed, increasingly the capitalist state is "showing its teeth" against the working class. The Phelps Dodge strike is not an isolated case.

The Chrysler "bail-out" plan, which traded off federally-backed loans for government-backed concessions from workers in wage cuts and working conditions, legitimized a whole pattern of concessions that reversed trade union gains in major industries.

In Detroit, there is a perfect example right now of where the concessions game and government guarantees will get workers. Mayor Young, a Democrat and a black mayor of a predominantly black city, extracted major concessions two years ago from city unions. In return, the city workers were to have gotten their first raise this summer of a paltry 6%. Now Young is refusing to give the raise and

instituting layoffs.

In the past, going along with the trade union bureaucracy's support of the Democratic Party and labor-government cooperation appeared to be a good alternative to American workers.

But with class antagonisms deepening, that is with capitalists demanding more concessions while workers strike for economic survival, the government is utilizing its repressive forces against the working class to the hilt. In the course of this process, the Democratic Party is being thrown into a deep political crisis because it is more and more being called upon to discipline the working class.

The conditions for building a Labor Party, representing strictly the interests of the working class, are already overripe. And right from the beginning, the Labor Party ought to emblazon in its program the demand for a *Workers Government* and champion powerful means for the working class to defend, and ultimately bring down, the capitalist state — *workers defense guards* and the *general strike*.

Such a program is the only answer for today's struggles for the Phelps Dodge copper workers and for unions as a whole. *The trade unions must be truly independent of the government* in order to fight back.

The present leadership of the trade unions, thoroughly bureaucratic, is a disgrace and a grave danger to the workers' cause. The national leadership of the unions representing the copper workers in the

Phelps Dodge strike has done nothing to mobilize other unions to defend the strikers beyond relief funds. Like the PATCO strikers, they are allowed to be isolated and defeated.

Meanwhile, bureaucrats like Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, sit on Reagan's War Board lending trade union endorsement to a whole new escalation of government repression of the working class — military intervention in Central America. As isolated as they may seem, the copper strikers and Salvadoran workers have a lot in common. Phelps Dodge rakes in super-profits from its operations in El Salvador under the protection of a US-backed right wing military dictatorship.

So you have the same corporations pulling the strings of the capitalist government — whether it is in Morenci, Arizona or in the villages of El Salvador. Indeed, it was reported that the copper strikers, many of whom were veterans of the Vietnam War, were answering the phones to their headquarters by saying, "Welcome to Da Nang."

That is what the Labor Party must prepare the American working class and its trade unions for — a virtual war with the capitalists and their government. And in the course of that preparation, a new leadership of the trade unions, one that is not an appendage of the Democratic Party and the government, must be selected.



The Lessons of Chile — Today

Part II — Why No Party?

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Many militants are familiar with Trotsky's statement that for the victory of the proletarian revolution "three conditions are required: a party; once more a party; again a party!" Similarly, when the struggle of the Chilean workers was crushed, many wise "socialists" reaffirmed the need for a "Leninist party."

The Cover-Up

Reproduced (reduced) on this page is the cover of the September 24, 1973, issue of *Intercontinental Press* (then edited by the late Joseph Hansen), the "international" publication of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). This statement — "Chile: There Was No Revolutionary Party" — which tries to present itself as the height of wisdom, in fact expresses political bankruptcy. This truism, this banality, begs the question of why "there was no revolutionary party." And the question is begged because answering it would condemn the SWP and its international supporters in particular.

If you were to open a book called *Fifty Years of World Revolution* (published by the SWP in 1968) you would find, on the page listing the authors of the various articles within it, the following reference: "LUIS VITALE is a well-known Chilean Revolutionary Marxist, a leader of the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR)." And thereby hangs a tale.

In fact, Luis Vitale was the most prominent leader of Chilean Trotskyism. But in 1964-65, under the impetus of the pro-Castroite policy of the "reunified" United Secretariat (USec) and with the support of the SWP and its close co-worker in Latin America, Nahuel Moreno of Argentina, Vitale had liquidated the Chilean organization into the amorphous and politically confused MIR.

This policy was expressed by Moreno in this way: "This means loyal and disciplined recognition of the leadership of OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity — K.F.), recogni-

tion of the disciplined and centralized character which the struggle and its Latin American organization must have, and most of all the need to maintain direct contact with the Cuban leadership, which is the unchallenged leadership of the continental civil war and of OLAS. It also means our unconditional entry into its armed detachments."

To be sure, this was presented as a way to build a revolutionary instrument. But the party is first a *program* on which the organization is constructed. And the program of the MIR was guerrilla warfare — basically Castroism with a touch of Maoism. It was not based on the working class, and had virtually no orientation toward it.

In addition, far from winning the young members of the MIR to Trotskyism, Vitale and his associates were isolated by the Castroites and put on the fringes of the movement.

Thus, in 1970, at the time of the election of Allende, there was no organization, even a small one, that could orient itself in the situation and direct the workers and peasants toward their own power. The bulk of the MIR itself had called for a boycott of the elections, thus leaving the masses in the hands of the Stalinists of the Communist Party and the reformists of the Socialist Party. Allende's election then threw the MIR into complete confusion, with part of it opposing the *Unidad Popular* (UP) government, while another section helped to provide the members of Allende's personal bodyguard.

First reason why there was no party: the USec and SWP prevented the formation of a Trotskyist nucleus in the period before 1970.

No Popular Front?

Not only was the MIR in confusion, but the forces of the USec in virtual unanimity sought to hide the nature of Allende's government. Thus, the Belgian publication of Ernest Mandel, remarking on the positions of Stalinist leader Luis Corvalan, could only say: "We are far from denying the need for tactical and temporary alliances with bourgeois forces." As if that was what the UP consisted of!

Pursuing this line, *La Gauche* continued: "Above all, we know the vital necessity in cases of alliances with bourgeois parties of bolstering the activity of all the working class organizations through united action in a proletarian united front." Since the Pabloites never questioned the nature of the UP itself, they were incapable of fighting against it and were reduced to speculations on tactics within it.

Similarly, in an article published in *IP* just after Allende's election, but written before it, the Argentine Alfredo Garcia stated: "No 'popular front' is in the cards. . . . The *Unidad Popular* is a vestigial form of collaboration

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American workers didn't want. The Eisenhower regime framed-up and executed Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for stealing the secret of the atom bomb, a secret that couldn't be and never was stolen, in order to justify its witch-hunt in the unions and war on Korea.

Sending 269 people to probable death over the USSR is one more proof that this government will stop at nothing to maintain its domination of the world and must be eliminated. The USSR's crime is that it continues to call for peace with this monstrosity and suppress the working class in the interests of such "peace," not that it shot down this plane, which it had every right to do.

The imperialist agents who engineered this provocation must be found, tried, and punished. The sanctions against the USSR must be lifted.

M.G.

Nicaraguan Ambassador

On August 19, Antonio Jarquin, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States, spoke in Detroit to an audience of about 400.

Unfortunately, Jarquin did not present a defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution in terms that could mobilize the oppressed, workers and militants in the US. Instead, he presented — over and over again — the official "peace" line of the Sandinista government.

Many questions gave him the opportunity to link the fight in Nicaragua with the fight here, but he basically evaded them all. One questioner asked him if the Nicaraguan government would prefer a Democratic president to Reagan, even though Carter had also pursued an aggressive policy. Jarquin's response — that the Government of National Reconstruction thought it could "live peacefully with any US president" — was typical.

This lack of revolutionary intentions was reflected by the audience, which contained virtually no one but Detroit radicals and leftists — especially members and supporters of the Communist Party. They are the ones who want to hear this non-struggle position, at the same time sparking no interest among the workers with this policy. A second meeting in a Latin neighborhood did not bring out a single resident.

This passivity was in contrast to a right wing attack on the meeting. While it was easily repulsed, it showed the confrontational nature of the situation that the "left" and Jarquin try to ignore.

Members of the Trotskyist Organization were able to give our letter (*Truth* #170) calling for the opening of Nicaragua to international volunteers directly to the ambassador.

K.F.



with a superstructural section of the bourgeoisie. The existence of such a formation is dangerous in itself but by no means fatal." Here we have the popular front hidden behind sociological jargon.

Even three years later, in an article published in the SWP's *International Socialist Review* after the coup but written prior to it, Ernesto Gonzales, editor of Moreno's *Revista de America*, stated that the UP was *not* a popular front, but a "national front." Here again, in order to hide simple reality, we find verbal obscurantism: "We recognize that there are Popular Front elements in the *Unidad Popular*, and that to the extent that the Allende government comes closer to Kerenskyism, these traits will become sharper. . . ."

"The undeniable concessions granted to the workers by the Allende government give it a bonapartist character *sui generis*, but at the same time, by being so dependent on the political and trade union workers' organizations, its role as arbiter between imperialism and the exploited masses weakens in order to acquire Kerenskyist traits."

This gibberish is what the SWP presented to its readers as an analysis.

Second reason why there was no party: the Pabloites of the USec were incapable of correctly orienting any revolutionary elements on the fundamental question of the nature of the UP government.

Again, the MIR

Meanwhile, the USec continued its total orientation to the MIR. Livio Maitan, Mandel's co-thinker, acknowledged this in a September 30, 1970, letter to Hugo Blanco: "The development of a line for Chile has thus far presented very grave difficulties, which is reflected, among other things, in the oscillations and internal crises of the MIR."

Furthermore, while the USec ridiculously stated that the MIR's "program is inspired by the theory of the permanent revolution and by a transitional strategy," the MIR was actually revealing in practice that this was far from true. While the masses were trying to build their own organizations, especially the *cordones industriales*, the MIR consciously counterposed to these bodies other ones that it controlled, the *commandos populares* ("popular commands"). Such activity goes against all the lessons of Bolshevism on the nature of workers councils and dual power.

The fundamental root of these confusions on the MIR lay in the USec's and SWP's persistent support to Castro. Thus, while Castro was touring Latin America and, even in the words of Hugo Blanco, making "capitulations to the bourgeois governments" of Peru and Chile, the USec never went beyond gripes about this behavior. The Pabloites refused to break with Castroism.

In this state of political confusion, the USec and SWP did nothing to build any independent organization in Chile. Indeed, until October 26, 1972, when Hugo Blanco arrived in Chile (and this was only after he was expelled from Argentina), there was not even a mention of a name. Only at this point do we hear of the *Partido Socialista Revolucionario* (PSR/Re-

volutionary Socialist Party).

That is, only at the very pinnacle of the revolutionary developments (the "October Days"), a full two years after Allende came to power and less than a year before the coup, the USec finally got around to organizing even a formally independent organization.

When Blanco did arrive, he basically continued the policy of relying on the MIR. Thus, he ignored the existence of the *cordones industriales* and reported rapturously on the small and isolated front organizations of the MIR. Only after the coup, after he had escaped to Sweden, did Blanco acknowledge the role of the *cordones*.

Third reason why there was no party: entrusting the leadership of the revolution to a petty bourgeois grouping and refusing to build anything until the last minute.

Then and Now

At that time, the forces that had constituted the alternative to the USec, the International Committee, fought this policy but were unable to overcome it.

The WRP of Britain split from the IC, and the French OCI began the process of itself dissolving all the lessons and gains of twenty years of struggle. In particular, this took the form in Latin America of stopping the struggle with the Bolivian POR and turning to an "Organizing Committee" in which "everyone could pursue their own policy."

In this situation, the forces that fought for the continuity that the IC represented (those now organized in the Fourth International rebuilt in 1976), attempted to draw a balance sheet of the struggle, define a correct policy, and form a section in Chile on this basis. While we initially won an organization of Chilean emigres to our struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, the Organizacion Marxista Revolucionaria, we were unable to fully break it from illusions in building a "democratic alliance" and it eventually split.

Today, the Fourth International is continuing the struggle to rebuild its American (in the broadest sense) sections, on the basis of a full understanding of all the lessons of the past — including the lessons of Chile.

Inside Chile itself, the crisis approaches with giant steps. The military regime has to formally end the "state of emergency" (martial law), but this has changed nothing in terms of the brutal repression exercised by the Pinochet dictatorship. This is fully shown by the fierce clashes taking place in the streets.

If, in 1973, the pseudo-Trotskyists and others could bemoan the "lack of a party," today the need to build a revolutionary party that can provide the Chilean masses with the leadership they need is cryingly obvious. But exactly the same forces that in 1973 talked idly and after the fact about what they prevented when it was needed are today still opposing this fight.

The SWP never mentions the need to build a party. More, it accepts completely the policy of "democratizations" put forward by bourgeois and popular front elements in Chile. But what really strikes us today is the incredible similarity between the SWP's support to liquidation into the MIR then and its policy of supporting leaderships (unquestioningly) like the FSLN, FMLN and, of course, Castro again, today. Today, the watchword is the "new International." But then the same policy was contained in the capitulation to OLAS, the supposed "new International" (it was put forward in such terms) of its day.

For Moreno, likewise, nothing has been learned. The MAS (Movement for Socialism) he is building in Argentina today not only approximates the policy of support to the MIR, but it corresponds *directly* to the policy of the anti-revolutionary Democratic Alliance in Chile.

The lessons of Chile today are to build the party now in irreconcilable struggle against democratic or popular front betrayals.

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Why Jesse Won't Run Independently

At numerous rallies and demonstrations all over the country, whenever the Reverend Jesse Jackson appears, the cry goes up: "Run, Jesse, run! Run, Jesse, run!" This expression of support for Jackson's proposed candidacy for president, particularly strong among blacks, is not a backhanded way of saying "pressure Walter Mondale: reform the Democratic Party." Instead, it is an incompletely articulated cry for political power and independence.

Significance

The campaign and election of Harold Washington in Chicago, which Jesse Jackson saw happen right in front of him, was the *first sign* of this drive to break with the Democratic Party, to try to find a political weapon. The massive increases in black voter registration and turnout, and now the spread of this development all over the nation, completely confirms what we wrote in *Truth* #163: "Chicago is not a repetition of Detroit, Cleveland, Gary, etc., it is an *anticipation* of great battles."

Indeed, when Jackson first began to talk about running for president, he consciously put heavy emphasis on doing so as an *independent*. At that time, running for the Democratic nomination was treated only as an alternative possibility.

That was how things were *presented*. From the very beginning, the whole objective of Jackson's campaign was to use the enthusiasm and energy among blacks for political power, for real independence, in order to betray it, to turn it against itself. Once Jackson began to attract this enthusiasm for *his* campaign, he began to carefully direct it more and more to a campaign *inside the Democratic Party*.

Now he has almost completely stopped talking about being an independent, except for an occasional flashback to preserve enthusiasm. In fact, at this moment, there is no guarantee that Jackson will even run as a Democrat. He might simply endorse one of the "Somnax six" and try to derail the movement that is so far identified with him before it really even gets going.

Many people have no great respect for Jesse Jackson the individual. All too many blacks identify him as a hustler, as an individual out only for himself. The hypocritical minister and the demagogic preacher are familiar figures.

That is all correct, as far as it goes. But it doesn't go nearly far enough. Jesse Jackson has also always played a political role, one that needs to be carefully examined.

In 1972, at the Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, Jackson favored an independent black party. But by 1980, when the National Black Independent Political Party (see article on this question in our last issue) was formed, Jackson no longer supported such an idea.

Thus, there had already been a development that indicated where Jackson was going long before his recent decision.

What Happened

Moreover, what exactly is the "black leadership family" that has endorsed Jackson's campaigning, even if not unanimously? It is a lot more than a few well-known names. Properly speaking, this body is the Coalition for 1984 Election Strategy. This group of *Democrats* first, blacks second, organized early this year to plan the role and increase the importance of blacks — that is, them — in the Democratic Party presidential selection process. In other words, a development very similar to the AFL-CIO's schemes of "endorsing" someone in the Democratic primaries in order to increase its own role and to help disorient workers. Here is where the first plans for voter registration and the "people's platform" were first laid out.

But the drive revealed in Chicago disorganized these schemes. Jackson and *some* others decided to try to capture this developing movement in order to better accomplish their original goals. But a significant sector of the original forces were frightened that playing to this movement was playing with fire. It might well get out of control.

It has been the mass movement itself, the real struggle of blacks, that has caused

this fracture among the black Democrats. It has been the decisive element in the course of events and, despite Jackson's efforts, it remains so.

As we said, while this movement remains far from clear on the full meaning of its own existence, no one dares to say that it has been stopped. The idea of these same fighters passively going over to Walter

Polish Workers Demonstrate

Tens of thousands of Polish workers demonstrated in the streets under the banner of their union Solidarnosc in at least nine different cities in Poland on August 31. This is the anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk Accords that recognized the union that has since been declared illegal.

The Jaruzelski regime had tried desperately to prevent the demonstrations with a slander campaign against Lech Walesa, union head; the arrest of underground Solidarnosc leader Wladyslaw Hardek whom it forced to recant and oppose the demonstrations on public television; and with a large show of police force at strategic points the morning of the planned demonstrations.

Nevertheless, it failed miserably. At least 3,000 workers joined Walesa in a march from his shipyard in Gdansk to the memorial to workers slain by police in 1970. At least 10,000 workers took part in a demonstration that began at the gates of the steel mill in Nowa Huta after the second shift and continued long into the night. Underground Solidarnosc's call for a boycott of public transportation during rush hour was quite effective in Gdansk and other cities.

Jaruzelski responded to Solidarnosc's show of force with tear gas, water cannon, truncheons and mass arrests. At least

Mondale is still ridiculous in the extreme.

This situation, so full of tension and contradiction, demands the greatest political clarity. Certain "revolutionary" organizations, like the Communist Workers Party, say they are "for Jackson." The problem is that Jesse Jackson, as we have seen, is *not* "for" the movement that is actually going on. No, his purpose is to

lead it into a dead end. There are many fighters for independence who support Jackson today. We have to show them that not only is their trust in Jackson misplaced, but that the road to what they truly want lies in the fight for a labor party, beginning with a fight for a Labor Party coalition in these elections. K.F.

1,427 were arrested in the course of the demonstrations. Martial law has been lifted but it has been replaced with a new set of laws that amount to the same thing.

Jaruzelski's response shows once again that freedom for Solidarnosc and the Jaruzelski regime, that is the Stalinist military junta, are completely incompatible. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church and Solidarnosc's leadership continue to call for talks between the two aimed at reconciliation.

Polish Cardinal Glemp issued a statement calling on the government to begin a dialogue "with all people through their authentic representatives" referring to Solidarnosc. This represents an effort on the part of the Church to assume leadership of Solidarnosc and divert it to its own ends, for the Church previously took a position for a "Solidarnosc of souls" and tried to supplant Solidarnosc as the representative of the Polish workers when it organized the Pope's trip and entertained asking Walesa to step down.

Walesa himself, in the course of a confrontation with Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the Gdansk shipyard said: "We do not want to ruin socialism, we do not want to take over power, we are not undermining alliances. We would like you to be seated at a table

with us to have talks on errors. We will jointly find solutions and safeguard ourselves against more distortions for the benefit of a better future of our fatherland."

The problem is that it is precisely power that the Polish workers must fight for. They must undermine Poland's alliance with the USSR; for this is not an alliance but a form of oppression. And they must establish a new alliance, one with the workers of the USSR aimed at the destruction of the oppressive Kremlin bureaucracy and the establishment of a free federation of workers socialist republics. Only then will it be possible to build socialism in Poland or the USSR, for neither can yet be called socialist by any stretch of the imagination.

This is what the Polish Trotskyists are fighting for with their newspaper *Walka Klas* and for a large leadership to carry this struggle forward. If you want freedom for Solidarnosc, if you want freedom for Workers Poland, we ask you to support this struggle by supporting the Polish Trotskyists. Pledge to the International Workers Fund. (Send checks to Truth, PO Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232.) M.G.

Marcos Killed Aquino

On August 21, Benigno Aquino, an opponent of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos returning to his homeland after a period of exile in the United States, was assassinated as he stepped off his plane in Manila.

Who Killed Him?

Marcos killed Aquino! This simple, obvious fact is being obscured by the imperialists and the imperialist press. *Eyewitness* accounts by a Japanese newsman and by Aquino's own bodyguards are treated by the US government and the capitalist news media only as another version of a confusing event, while the fabrications of the Marcos regime are given the greatest respect.

The regime's story is blatantly false. A single man, in an airport security area overflowing with troops and police, simply steps up and calmly shoots Aquino in the head without anyone's stopping him. *Then*, and only then, this person goes down in a hail of bullets that conveniently leave him dead.

This "dead assassin" story (like "shot while trying to escape") is one of the oldest lies practiced by the terrorist state of capitalism. This is how US demagogue Huey Long and Mafia figure Joe Colombo met their end, for example.

But the Japanese newsman and Aquino's bodyguards say that Marcos' troops killed Aquino at the very moment they took him off the plane. But Reagan, and US imperialism in general, are determined to hide this clearcut fact.

... And Why

Marcos is the stooge of US imperialism in the economically and strategically important Philippine Islands. His dictatorship exists first and foremost to protect the interests of the US imperialist ruling class in that country. Only secondarily does it serve the purpose of enriching him and his gang at the expense of the Filipino people.

Thus, the US government, the govern-

ment of this imperialist ruling class, wants to protect Marcos in order to continue protecting its own interests. He is theirs, and they take care of their own.

The fact that Aquino was himself a pro-imperialist capitalist politician is subordinate to this basic fact. Aquino wanted to go back home in order to build a "democratic" opposition to Marcos. In Aquino's view, this was the only alternative to a revolution. But, right now, this point of view is in a very small minority among our imperialist rulers. They want to crush the workers, peasants and oppressed around the world, not try to fool them with "reform." Such is the course they are following in Central America.

Thus, while Marcos is obviously guilty, the US will not abandon him — even if the Aquino killing was his own crazy idea — as long as it thinks it needs him. And no hypocrisy will be too much for it to swal-

low until then.

Reagan has refused to cancel his trip to the Philippines in November? That's nothing compared to vice-president George Bush embracing this torturer a few years ago while slobbering how "we love your adherence to democracy and the democratic process."

The killing of Aquino reveals Marcos' isolation and his panic in face of that. No one but his own stooges will serve on his fake "investigatory commission." If his regime was rapidly losing ground to the mass movement before, this new crime has only increased the size and fury of the opposition. Marcos' days are numbered, like those of so many other US puppets.

The struggle of the Filipino people against this US-backed regime, against this new act of brutality, is our struggle too. Marcos and Reagan are one. K.F.

Why Subscribe?

Young people who are interested in the struggle for a Labor Party Coalition or for Revolutionary Youth International Clubs ask us: "What should I do?" One of the first things that comes to their minds is: "Stand on street corners and talk to people."

But the first and most important thing is to subscribe to *Truth* read it, think about it, and begin to participate in our monthly readers' forums.

To build a Labor Party Coalition or a Revolutionary Youth International Club, it's not enough to be "for it." You have to be politically armed; be aware of and understand what is taking place in the world, especially the bourgeoisie's and opportunists' propaganda aimed at dominating the working class and its youth. And you have to be prepared to combat this propaganda.

This is what *Truth* takes up and this is

what you can learn from *Truth*.

In order to be fully prepared for the struggle, we think it is necessary to be part of the Trotskyist Organization itself. Within our organization, we take up the problems of the struggle in a far more intense and demanding fashion than we do even in *Truth* or our forums.

But we are happy to work with young people who want to learn how to build the Labor Party Coalition and Revolutionary Youth International Clubs, whether they want to join the Trotskyist Organization now or not. We are confident that in the course of this struggle the most dedicated youth will be convinced to take this step.

This is why we are offering *Truth* to working class youth for a special price — 12 issues for one dollar. If you want to learn how to fight . . . and how to win, subscribe today.

M.G.