



## Class Unity Against Reagan!

Shortly after the elections Reagan wasted no time in escalating war on the working class. First Reagan began an "anti-communist" propaganda campaign designed to wear down and demoralize the worker and peasant revolution in Nicaragua, shortly after his advisors announced an extremely anti-working class budget proposal to be discussed by the Democratic Party dominated Congress in January where it will meet no serious opposition. The working class itself has to oppose Reagan and the racist, anti-working class attacks of the government by building its own party to fight for its own interests. An alliance for a Labor Party of all working class parties and organizations can change the relationship of the working class to the ruling class.

To cover up the anti-working class character of Reagan's budget cuts, his lawyers say that it would be wise to "include military reductions in Mr. Reagan's plan to make it credible." (*New York Times*, December 7, 1984). That is why there has been a debate over any cuts in military spending.

But Reagan's right-hand man, Defense Secretary Weinberger, has dug in his heels, insisting on an increase in military spending next year.

Medicare, Medicaid, Aid to Dependent Children, child nutrition programs, food stamps, housing assistance, public transportation, legal aid to the poor (to name a few) — all going down to Reagan's axe, including a 5% pay cut for Federal workers. It is clearly an attack on the standard of living of the working class and a new effort to attack the unions beginning with those closest to the inner workings of the government in order to discipline all the unions.

In response to Reagan's proposed city transit cuts in the budget proposal, Governor Cuomo of New York (a favored Democratic Party leader) said, "We'll do our fair share. We will not submit to this dagger-at-the-heart approach that is coming out of Washington." But his party *did* submit during the elections with Mondale adapting to Reagan's positions

— coming out for the invasion of Grenada, for a "quarantine of Nicaragua if it "exported revolution," for more defense spending, etc. And that is what will happen when Congress hears the proposal in January — only attempts to modify or make Reagan's plan more palatable.

Federal workers are not waiting to see what the Democrats will say to the proposal. Thousands of United Nations workers plan to walk off their jobs in a "worldwide day of solidarity" this week against budget cutting efforts that threaten their cost-of-living increases.

Our conclusion about the elections, Reagan's offensive on the working class and the capitulation of the Democratic Party is that there should be no further delay of working class parties taking the offensive and forming an alliance for a Labor Party. That is how the relationship of the working class to the attacks can change and that is how a program and leadership can be decided to unify the working class around its class interests.  
B.P.

## Blacks and the Labor Party

Blacks have been struggling to find a means for political power. The upsurge in the Chicago mayoral elections that sought to deal a death blow to the Democratic Party machine is one example and the fact that Jesse Jackson had to pass himself off as independent to get any support was another. In the face of the drive of Blacks toward independence are new attempts to keep them tied to the Democratic Party. Freedom for Blacks cannot be won outside building a strong working class party and using working class methods of struggle. The key for the Black struggle is the Labor Party.

Remnants of the Rainbow Coalition are regrouping and drawing their conclusions from the elections. Rev. Ben Chavis advocates an independent "rainbow" party. Jesse Jackson says he aims to build the Coalition as an independent political organization and involve both the Rain-



Teachers picketing in Chicago

bow Coalition and Citizen Education Program in the 1986 Congressional elections. But the leadership of these groups has not changed at all.

For example, Jackson is even more strongly opposed to the current Chicago Teachers strike of 28,000 than Operation PUSH and Harold Washington were opposed to the 38,000 predominantly Black workers who went on strike shortly after Washington took office as Mayor of Chicago. The issue is "community control" versus the strike. Strikes are an independent way for workers to fight for their interests and rights. But Jackson sees the workers and unions the same way as the Democratic Party does, as just another interest group to be played off against others.

Blacks who are driving toward a break with the Democratic Party are turning toward militant and working class forms of struggle, as in the Chicago Teachers strike. And simultaneously, Black Democrats are searching for new ways to keep them tied to the Democrats and have to appear more militant and independent (without doing anything unacceptable to the Reagan government).

Robinson, Conyers, Crockett and other liberal Black Democrats have been demonstrating and getting arrested over the release of Black South African trade union leaders. We support anything at all that will genuinely help Blacks in their struggle against the imperialist order but the demonstrations by members of Congress are completely acceptable to this government. Proof that these actions are acceptable is that 35 conservative Republican members of Congress met with a South African ambassador last week saying they were prepared to support sanctions on the apartheid regime in South Africa (*Detroit Free Press*, December 9, 1984).

These tactics are related to those used by Jackson in the elections, "I'm independent/I'm a Democrat." Some of the working class parties who played any role in the elections gave into this and gave up their independence, openly supporting Jackson (the Workers World Party, Communist Workers Party). In fact, Jackson's campaign became a touchstone for most working class parties. Even the Socialist Workers Party that has traditionally been for a Labor Party did not put forward their candidates, Mason and Gonzalez for president and vice-president until it had become clear that Jackson's campaign was on the ropes. They raised no criticism of Jackson until after he had completely capitulated and supported Mondale following the defeat of the Rainbow Coalition at the Democratic Party Convention.

In spite of the SWP's bravado now: "The Socialist Workers Party ran the only campaign calling for independent working class political action in the elections," they acted like stone sectarians not even allowing expelled oppositionists of their own party to support their candidates. They would not concretize the campaign as a struggle to make a Labor Party come into existence. They refused our proposal and struggle to form a Coalition for a Labor

## Free Karen Norman!

The rally for Karen Norman on the eve of her trial showed once again that the way to *insure* victory for Karen over the police, prosecutors and judges is to build an independent working class mobilization to demand that they drop the charges and to open the defense committee to all working class organizations to lead this fight.

Working class militants cannot rely on a judge or jury to acquit Karen Norman, nor on the enthusiasm of a few supporters. A united, working class fight is necessary.

Every working class organization and individual that spoke at the rally said that the charges against Karen Norman are completely false, without any foundation. In fact, Karen Norman was *raped twice*: first by the man who literally, physically raped her, whom she killed; then by the police, prosecutors and judges who arrested her, chained her to a hospital table, imprisoned her for over a month and then vilified her in the local press in preparation for trial and life in prison.

Everyone, including Karen's lawyer, Marjorie Cohen, said that the police, prosecutors and judges are *prejudiced against* working class women forced to resort to violence to defend themselves and thus, in this sense, that they cannot provide Karen Norman with a fair trial.

And everyone said that the movement in defense of Karen Norman was essential, that it was largely a working class movement. And Mozie Stroble, a woman active in the civil rights movement and the Attica prisoners defense committee, even called on people to picket the court house until Karen is free, just like they did in the Attica case, and she received tremendous applause.

But so far, the Karen Norman Defense

Committee is not planning anything like this. On the contrary, it is orienting itself toward *getting a fair trial* and toward forming an alliance with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberals.

Majorie Cohen said the committee does not want any publicity, it does not want a lot of people in the court room, it does not want people to wear buttons, carry signs, etc. It does not want the jury to feel like it is in the middle of a political struggle, like it is being pressured in any way.

But this *is* a political struggle, a class struggle — a working class woman and her supporters versus the bourgeois police, court authorities and their supporters. The bourgeoisie has been applying *pressure* to Karen Norman, her family, friends, supporters and the entirety of the working class in Detroit on this question for months. An independent, working class mobilization is necessary to overcome *this* pressure — not only to win over the jury, but also to force authorities to withdraw the charges.

Just because a jury is favorable to a defendant does not mean that the defendant will win. The judge calls the shots in the court room, not the jury. And only an independent, working class mobilization can overcome the power of a bourgeois judge.

To the extent that working class militants pursue this struggle, Karen's victory will be assured. To the extent that they do not, it will be in question.

Victory to Karen Norman!  
Demand that the state drop the charges!  
All out for the trial!  
Open the Defense Committee now!

M.G.

## UAW Split

We oppose the proposed split of the Canadian auto workers from the UAW to form a separate union because it would weaken the union. Understandably, the 100,000 Canadian auto workers were utterly disgusted by the chauvinist efforts of Bieber and Co., the leadership of the UAW in the US, to terminate their strike. But instead of a break with the UAW, a break with the Bieber leadership is in order.

What would strengthen the union is a struggle for the autonomy of the union from the Canadian and US state. In the US a *united front to get back concessions* could build a national strike and a Labor Party strengthening the working class and its ties with the militant Canadian auto workers.

The Canadian auto workers national strike of GM and the Chrysler Jefferson Avenue wildcat strike show that when auto workers fight they make progress. Canadian auto workers won much more than their American counterparts who did not strike and Chrysler Jefferson Avenue workers won full reinstatement of a workers suspended for striking a foreman.

The best way to carry this struggle forward is to launch a fight for a *united front to get back concessions* Chrysler now. Chrysler workers were the first to take concessions in the US. They can also be the first to get them back.

The UAW leadership will never lead this struggle. This is the first thing to realize. Every contract it has negotiated since 1979 has been a step back for auto workers. Even after Chrysler, Ford and GM publicly claimed record profits, the UAW leadership still forced auto workers to take concessions.

What is more, the UAW leadership uses and will continue to use its considerable power to block any struggle to get back concessions, just as it attempted to sabotage the Canadian auto workers strike.

When thousands of GM workers voted down the recent contract, Bieber announced that he would not go back to the bargaining table, that the workers would have to strike. In other words, Bieber went on strike against the UAW. The workers had no choice but to vote the contract up or enter into a strike with a leadership bound and determined to do it in.

Thus the only way to get back concessions and overcome the power of the UAW bureaucracy that is imposing them is to build a united front of all working class tendencies ready to fight to get them back ... against the companies and the bureaucracy.

Many tendencies that are opposed to concessions have forces within the UAW — "Restore and More," the International Socialists, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Action, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, the Revolutionary Workers League. Yet up until now they have been waiting for the bureaucracy to change its policy or for the workers to overcome it on their own. What happened with GM shows this will not happen. The proposed split of the UAW underlines the urgency of working class organizations uniting to lead the fight.  
M.G.

Party to present independent working class candidates based on uniting the working class parties for that objective and a fight in the unions.

Their campaign was a failure and now their party is in deeper crisis. They created a confusion by calling for a "labor and/or Black Party." The Labor Party is a working class leadership and the Black Party such as they propose opens no new vistas for Blacks or the rest of the working class and tends to dovetail with efforts such as those to resuscitate the Rainbow Coalition.

Moreover, a Black Party such as the one they propose already exists, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). They play down a Labor Party, which incidentally, would naturally be led by Black workers, and make their call for a Black Party a central slogan without ever mentioning NBIPP. It has a thoroughly reformist leadership which supported Harold Washington in the Mayoral elections in Chicago 100%. NBIPP refused to support Ed Warren, the SWP's Mayoral candidate, even though the SWP had been working with its leadership for years and finally, NBIPP expelled the SWP. Calls for a Black Party only detour the most advanced elements of the working class, Black workers, from building an effective class instrument of political struggle, a Labor Party. The task remains a fight for an alliance of working class parties to make it happen.



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

For more than two decades after its foundation in 1938, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) represented the best revolutionary traditions of the American and international working class. The Barnes leadership, whose infamous statement that in 10 years no one would call themselves a Trotskyist inaugurated a purge of the SWP, represents a complete break with those revolutionary traditions.

But the expelled oppositionists, the Fourth In-

ternationalist Tendency and Socialist Action, do not draw the conclusions of this purge to the end — that Barnes' "turn" has its roots in the 1963 reunification with the international current led by Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel. Barnes' anti-Trotskyist turn represents not so much a break with the United Secretariat, as a break in face of the upsurge of the working class struggle on an international scale — Iran, Nicaragua, and Poland. It is the rise of the revolution that makes his

anti-Trotskyist turn such a critical question for all those who claim to represent Trotskyism.

We Trotskyists, who disagree on these and other fundamental questions with the expelled oppositionists, are nevertheless not neutral in this factional struggle. If Barnes were to disperse the oppositionists as the International Tendency was, it would represent a failure to assimilate in the practical struggle against Barnes' anti-Trotskyism, the lessons of the past, so valuable and

necessary for today's struggle.

It is in this spirit that we call for a debate around the original documents of the reunification — presented in the pamphlet "Dynamics of the World Revolution Today."

Our Call for a Trotskyist Congress, which we renew here, is based not only on a struggle for the Labor Party, but also on rebuilding a revolutionary leadership of the American working class.

## Roots of the "New International"

By DAVID MARK

One month after their expulsion, the opposition bloc of the two public factions that are now known as the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) and Socialist Action (SA) issued a joint statement, "Sound the Alarm." In it they state, "It is time to sound the alert for our entire world movement. We call on all comrades to vigorously take up this struggle, to reject abandoning the Fourth International for a nonexistent 'new mass Leninist international' as the SWP leadership proposes. . . . It is vital that we confront this challenge to the program, and to the very existence of the Fourth International, and that we mobilize every comrade in this effort." (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, December 1983, page 7).

This was in September of 1983, one month after the expulsion of the opposition leaders from the SWP National Committee. Certainly the authors of this statement would agree that it had been some time since Barnes issued his proposal for a "new mass Leninist international." But would they say that this proposal was in fact more than twenty years old already?

Not only the proposal, but more importantly the basis of the proposal, was already fully developed in the course of the 1963 Reunification Congress of the SWP and the international current led by Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel.

### The Left Opposition

First, let us consider what would be a correct basis for calling for the formation of a new revolutionary international. The Fourth International itself which Barnes is ready to throw on the garbage heap was not formed without a prolonged and difficult struggle to reform the Third Communist International, the remnants of which are now part of the international and counterrevolutionary apparatus of Stalinism. Moreover, even after the decision had been taken to fight for a new international, Trotsky and the Left Opposition defended the long struggle they had made to reform the Communist International, known as the Comintern:

"... The orientation toward 'reform,' taken as a whole, was not a mistake; it represented a necessary stage in the development of the Marxist wing of the Comintern; it provided an opportunity for training cadres of Bolshevik-Leninists; and it did not pass without leaving its mark on the working class movement as a whole." (*It is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew*, Writings of Leon Trotsky 1932-33).

Only after the collapse of the German Communist Party before fascism, and the "complete strangulation of the Comintern and all of its parties" did the Left Opposition declare itself for a new international.

### No Basis for Barnes' "New International"

Barnes never pursued any comparable struggle in the history of the Fourth International. To the contrary, his leadership came to the forefront in a milieu of successive blocs and maneuvers to avoid any deep thoroughgoing political balance sheet in the United Secretariat. The "new radicalization," the theory of the revolutionary nature of guerrilla warfare, and the infatuation with Eurocommunism, to name a few, were alternately advanced and withdrawn without getting to the roots of the United Secretariat's revisionism. Even the dress rehearsal was played out in 1973 with the expulsion of the Internationalist Tendency, at first embraced by Mandel and then abandoned to maintain a facade of an international of Barnes and Mandel. If the present oppositionists see Barnes' turn today as unprincipled, they avoid the conclusions of such a position.

Moreover, it is not simply a question of the manner in which the Barnes leadership has advanced its proposal for a new international, it is also the fact that such a proposal would be unthinkable in comparison to the fight that was waged by the Left Opposition to reform the Comintern.

Now, the comrades of the FIT might say, "you see, we are correctly maintaining a factional struggle to reform the SWP!" And that is even one of the disputes, indeed according to the FIT, the reason for its separate existence, between the two main opposition groups. But unfortunately, the United Secretariat is not new to proposals for new internationals, it has in fact had more than twenty years to nurture a tendency like Barnes'.

### Barnes and Pabloism

First of all this "new" proposal of Barnes is so similar in its material basis to the pro-Stalinist tendency of Michel Pablo, who wanted to physically annihilate the Fourth International by having its sections enter completely the parties of the Stalinist apparatus, that it is surprising the fact has not come out in the factional struggle. But that is because, the nature of the 1963 reunification, clearly revealed in the document, "Dynamics of the World Revolution Today," was to maintain Pablo's basic orientation toward the crisis in the Stalinist apparatus while papering over the worst aspects of the policy.

"The emergence of mass revolutionary forces led by parties or tendencies which have developed outside the realm of Stalinist control (Cuba, Algeria) has introduced a most powerful disintegrating element into international Stalinism, favoring the development of a revolutionary left wing." (*Dynamics of the World Revolution Today*, page 41).

Let us read this sentence from the central document of the 1963 reunification very carefully indeed. "Parties or tendencies . . . outside the realm of Stalinist control?" But this docu-

ment was adopted in 1963, after the fusion of the Castroist movement with the Stalinist PSP of Cuba in the Unified Party of the Socialist Revolution.

And it is from one falsehood to another from there, for spontaneously there is introduced "a most powerful disintegrating element into development of a revolutionary left wing." The Stalinist apparatus disintegrates before our very eyes and produces a *revolutionary* wing at that. Who indeed needs the Fourth International then, or for what . . . revolutionary consultants?

As luck would have it even the prognosis was wrong, for not only has a revolutionary wing never developed inside the Stalinist apparatus, but worse, when the PUWP, the Stalinist party in Poland, did almost "disintegrate" in face of the Polish workers, Castro was on the wrong side.

### Rebuild US Section of the Fourth International

And if the militants of the oppositions consider our conclusions, which we think are based on understanding certain sound principles, to be rhetorical, then continue reading with us to the next page where we find that.

"The appearance of more workers' states through further development of the colonial revolution, particularly in countries like Algeria, would help strengthen and enrich the international current of Castroism, give it longer range perspectives and help bring it closer to understanding the necessity for a new revolutionary Marxist international of mass parties" (*our emphasis*).

Surely Barnes' proposal must have been inspired by this very sentence. In fact, the whole rationale for Barnes' proposal is fully worked out in this document of the reunification: the idea that the Castroists were "unconscious Trotskyists," the line for "new mass revolutionary parties" being based on the "gravitation" of the Castroist-like tendencies and an

## Build an Alliance for a Labor Party!

### Lessons of 10 Years of Struggle

#### PUBLIC MEETING

10th Anniversary of the Founding of the Trotskyist Organization

Saturday, February 10, 1985  
Detroit



## Funds for Truth

The Trotskyist Organization has decided to buy its own press. This is a very important decision. It means that we will be *building* the Trotskyist Organization and its fight for the unity of the working class against the bourgeoisie, for a mass Labor Party and for a Trotskyist Congress to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International to lead this fight.

It means that we will be building the resources at our disposal by investing working class contributions in our own equipment, rather than dissipating them by paying a commercial printer. It means that we will be able to expand the *volume* of our propaganda — *Truth*, *Fourth International*, leaflets — without significantly expanding our costs. And this will tremendously strengthen the struggle for a Labor Party, which has been limited by the shortage of propaganda in favor of it.

We ask all subscribers and readers to support this struggle by making a contribution and a monthly pledge to the International Workers Fund. We need \$1000 to cover initial costs and approximately \$150 a month to cover payments. If all members, subscribers and readers make initial contributions and pledges of 1 to 4 hours pay per month, we will easily make this goal.

Invest in your own class, invest in a Labor Party, invest in the Trotskyists' press!

Make a pledge to the International Workers Fund!

(Make checks payable to Truth.)

M.G.

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