

TRUTH

Stop AFL-CIO Support to Mondale, All Democrats! Labor Party, Labor Candidates!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL
Walter Mondale, the candidate of the Democratic Party machine and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy for president, whose nomination everyone said was inevitable only weeks ago, has now lost the Democratic Party primary and caucus elections in three out of four states.

His stunning defeats in New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont shows that even union workers who consider themselves active Democrats, a minority of union and all workers, do not want the Democratic Party, whether they realize it or not, for this is what Walter Mondale represents. Moreover, these same union members are not going to be bludgeoned or cajoled into following the Democratic Party machine/AFL-CIO bureaucracy line.

Now is the time to wage an all out fight in union locals to reject the AFL-CIO endorsement of Mondale and all Democrats; to build a true Labor Party Coalition with a true Labor Candidate for president. If the unions continue to tie their fate to Mondale's sinking ship, then they are going to go down with it.

Mondale

When the New Hampshire primary returns first came in, bourgeois commentators said that New Hampshire voters voted against Mondale because he was too tied to "special interests like organized labor" and they referred to Glenn's and Hart's challenge to Mondale to distinguish himself from "organized labor" in some way.

Now a certain section of small businessmen and middle-class professionals hostile to the working class obviously voted against Mondale for this reason. But why did 50% of unionized workers, especially young workers, vote against Mondale? Why didn't they vote for Glenn who has been the main partisan of attacks on Mondale for "overpromising to special interests like labor"?

Upon closer examination one finds that what bothered New Hampshire voters about Mondale was not so much his ties to "organized labor," but his ties to the Democratic Party Carter regime, in which he was the vice president, and which workers, along with the oppressed population in general, rejected in 1978, when thousands marched in defense of striking miners that Carter had ordered back to work, carrying signs saying, "Down with Shah Carter."

Now even bourgeois commentators have been forced to admit this. "Voters weary of the old politics," says a *Detroit Free Press* editorial and no doubt editorials throughout the country. Moreover, this problem was exacerbated by a campaign that shows Mondale as what he is — a typical bourgeois wearing a red "alligator" sweater, playing tennis, and joking that he would fire an opponent who had just scored a point. "You want blue-collar votes, you don't show yourself all spiffed up playing tennis and joking about firing people," said a Mondale labor organizer.

Hart

But do workers and the oppressed sections of the lower middle classes want Gary Hart? Hardly, even if they may think they do at the moment. Hart's advantage over Mondale, Glenn and even Jackson is that he is relatively unknown. Throughout the primary he called for "a new generation of leadership," "politics of the future, not of the past," and avoided expounding upon his political program which differs little from Mondale's, or Reagan's for that matter.

Hart wants to "reform the military," to streamline it, to make it a more effective fighting force, more mobile, and he calls this a peace plan. He wants to negotiate agreements in which "management guarantees labor x number of jobs; labor guarantees to management it will not demand wage increases until those industries begin to show a profit." This "new idea" is nothing but government-enforced concessions on a national basis, the same idea that is ruining auto, steel and other workers throughout the country.

The more and more workers get to know Gary Hart, the more and more they will reject him, just as they rejected Kennedy, Johnson, McGovern and Carter before him, all of whom

also tried to cover up their anti-working class, bourgeois programs with a lot of Madison Avenue verbiage about new leadership, new politics, and new ideas. It is simply matter of time before working class voters see through Hart as well.

An Alternative

But as long as there is no alternative to the bourgeois Democratic Party and its bourgeois candidates that truly represents the working class, then the workers disaffection with

this party is going to take the form of going from candidate to candidate. And the reactionary Republican Party is going to take advantage of the confusion, disorganization and divisions that inevitably result in the working class in such a situation, to impose the most reactionary candidates and programs on the working class.

This is why union locals must break with the Democratic Party now, reject the AFL-CIO endorsement of Mondale and all Democrats and build a Labor Party Coalition based on the

unions with a Labor Candidate for president to unite the working class, to mobilize it against the Reagan regime. This means a fight today to get union locals, especially those opposed to the AFL-CIO's reactionary policies, involved in the struggle to put the Labor Party Coalition and Candidates on the ballot in Michigan and Illinois.

Four more years of Reagan or Labor Party. These are the only alternatives before the working class!

Smash GM's Plans with a Labor Party!

Nearly 2,000 workers demonstrated outside the United Automobile Workers (UAW) Bargaining Convention in Detroit on March 7.

In past years demonstrations at the Bargaining Convention have been routine affairs limited largely to union officials, their friends and a few retirees. And this one looked like it was going to be the same. But as the demonstration grew in size it also grew in militancy.

Many workers came from GM locals in Pontiac and Flint. And some came from as far away as Indiana. They carried signs demanding, "Restore and More," "No Forced Overtime," "Recall All Laid-off workers" and sang "Solidarity Forever." It was clear that they were determined to get back what they lost and that they weren't entirely confident that the UAW leadership, assembled at the Bargaining Convention, was going to do it for them, since it already gave up so much without even making a fight.

The workers' determination shows that now is the time to prepare an all-out struggle against GM, Ford and Chrysler in the only way possible — with a Labor Party Coalition based on the unions and a Labor Candidate for president. This is the only way to prepare an effective strike.

GM

GM, one of the largest corporations in the entire world, is preparing war on the UAW and all working people. GM Vice-President Alfred Warren's strategy document, which recently fell into union hands, calls not only for more concessions in wages, benefits, hours and working conditions, including elimination of annual wage increases, COLA, reductions in medical and unemployment benefits and the reduction of the workforce by 80,000. It also calls for the virtual elimination of the union as a national organization that defends the workers.

GM wants to do away with a national wage agreement. It wants "contractual modification to provide for local approval of wage agreements." It wants: "At (the) local level, (to) replace the three-year cycle of formal bargaining with (a) continuing problem-solving process ('Living Agreement')."

What is this but the virtual dissolution of the union? What is more, it is clear in this document that GM expects the UAW leadership to force this program on the membership. It not only calls for "dialogues with Ephlin," UAW GM Department head, and time for Ephlin "to educate (the) secondary leadership . . . on profit sharing." It also calls for a series of workshops for the National Bargaining Council that will "focus on business needs as a reference point for future bargaining," a joint Union/Management conference that will come up with a joint statement of principles, and a joint Task Force on Bargaining.

This document shows that GM isn't going to be satisfied with a few concessions in dollars and cents. It wants the big concession, the union itself. It wants to virtually eliminate the union, as its Japanese competitors have done.

Union Strategy

Thus, the UAW too must prepare for all-out war on GM and the other companies, as it did nearly fifty years ago when workers who occupied GM's factories in Flint to gain union recognition said: "This was our Alamo."

But there is absolutely no way that the UAW can do this as long as it continues to pour millions of dollars and man-hours into the campaigns of the Democratic Party, a party that not only advocates that unions make concessions to "save corporations," but also actively engages in breaking strikes and unions. Both the PATCO and the Greyhound strikes were broken with the collaboration of Democratic Party judges and police chiefs. The Democratic Party governor of Arizona is still trying to break the USW copper strike with troops. And a Democratic Party judge in the Supreme Court (Byron White) just gave the Republicans the majority they needed to make it legal to declare bankruptcy and tear up a union contract.

The UAW Bargaining Convention reports that Detroit area membership is down 39.6%; overall membership down by 26.6%; the general fund is down nearly 50%; the union itself is laying off staff. And the union is pouring thousands of dollars and man-hours into an enemy party! GM is laughing all the way to the bank.

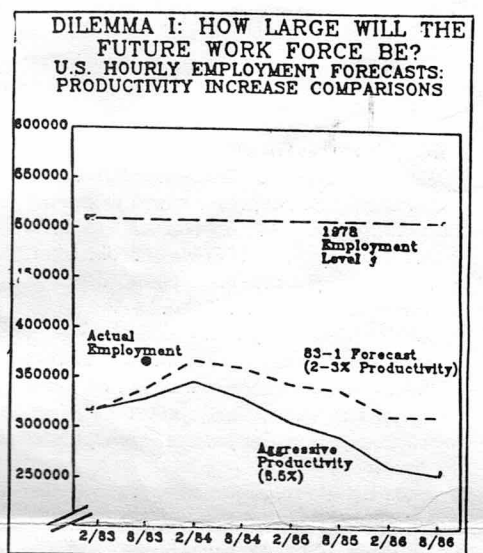


Chart from "GM Strategy Document" shows plans to lay-off 80,000 by 1986.

There is only one way to solve this problem. Reject UAW support to the Democratic Party. Build a Labor Party Coalition based on union locals with a Labor Candidate for president. By doing this the union will not only rid itself of a liability, the Democratic Party, it will strengthen the union. It will bring together workers now divided between Mondale, Hart, Jackson and others. It will allow the union to press its own demands before the "public" in the elections and win the oppressed population to its side against GM.

The Bureaucracy

But the UAW hasn't even begun to come to grips with what it is up against and how to fight it. The UAW bureaucracy has simply tried to dismiss GM's plans as "wishful thinking" or "stupid" and said that it would "as always — bargain on the basis of our members' needs and not the company's desires." But the Bargaining Convention, under its leadership, refused to adopt any concrete demands against GM on the grounds that it wants to be flexible. Flexible! With GM! This is nothing less than

Continued on back page

Workers and Peasants Government in El Salvador

Leaders of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador recently issued a call for a "Provisional Government of Broad Participation."

This government is to include virtually every political party but the fascist National Republican Alliance Party (ARENA) led by Roberto D'Aubuisson, and will thus, the FMLN-FDR says, bring an end to the civil war.

While the Socialist Workers Party says that this call is a "big step forward" and a reflection of the "increasing unity of the revolutionary forces," nothing could be further from the truth.

In the last months the guerrillas have won one victory after another in conflicts with the military dictatorship. The military dictatorship is so discredited, so incapable even of holding territory, that Reagan has had to call for quadrupling US aid to the dictatorship, and even the Republicans don't want to vote for it because it

looks like such a losing proposition.

But instead of taking advantage of this situation to advance the revolution and finish with the dictatorship, of which ARENA and D'Aubuisson are only a part, the FMLN-FDR is providing an opening for US imperialism. It has renewed its call for negotiations with the US and all parties and decided not to actively boycott the fake elections that the US, D'Aubuisson and the Christian Democrats are organizing. The proposal for a "Provisional Government of Broad Participation" is a further step on this road of capitulation and betrayal.

The FMLN-FDR proposal not only calls for preserving foreign investments and private property, i.e., imperialism. It also calls for the "restructuring of the governmental armed forces." "This process will culminate in the organization of a unified army, made up of the FLMN forces and the restructured governmental forces. Until then both armies will keep their own arms."

These are the same "governmental forces" that have protected and supplied D'Aubuisson and his death squads for years. Conciliation with them will only allow them to regroup their forces and recoup their losses.

This proposal reflects not the increasing unity of revolutionary forces, but the Kremlin's and Castro's counterrevolutionary and divisive pressures to come to terms with US imperialism. And it takes place over the dead bodies of those who opposed this policy — Cayetano Carpio, for example — and in the wake of a vicious slander campaign against their supporters.

The working class cannot accept such a betrayal. It will lead to a bloody defeat like the one in Chile. It needs its own organization to build its own government, a Popular Assembly to build a Workers and Peasants Government, not a coalition with the enemy, a Popular Front. This is the struggle necessary today. M.G.

THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

It Is 1984, After All

Given that this is the year picked by George Orwell for the title of his novel about a gloomy future, there has been a lot of talk about various elements of the book. One frequently mentioned is Newspeak, the language the rulers use to spread confusion and lies — this was summarized in the slogans, "War is Peace. Slavery is Freedom" and so on.

Now the US government has chipped in with its own contribution. Disturbed by the impact in the US of reports of the murders by its death squads in El Salvador, imperialism has announced that the word "killing" will no longer be used. It will be replaced by: "unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life."

This was made public by Elliot Abrams, Under-Secretary of State of Human Rights, "War is Peace. Slavery is Freedom" — and Human Rights is . . . ?

The "New China"

With the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, the Chinese people began to destroy the vicious society that imperialism had made of their country. The *old China* of coolie labor, child slavery, prostitution, opium addiction, starvation and moral decay would die. A *new China* would be brought into being.

Since then, a Stalinist bureaucracy has consolidated itself at the top of a deformed workers state. The "new China" proceeded in uneasy lockstep with the political monopoly of the bureaucracy.

In the last few years, this bureaucracy (under Deng Xiaoping) has more and more opened China up to imperialist penetration, leading to an increasing social differentiation.

Now we read that the Chinese government is in the business of providing maid service for those who can afford it. Luxury for some, servility for others.

At the same time, we also learn that the number of executions has risen drastically in China in the last six months — between 5,000 and 6,000 people have been put to death, like something out of an old newsreel, by a bullet in the back of the head. Such a sudden rush of criminals (most of them black marketeers, profiteers, or gangsters and other old-fashioned criminal elements) shows the flourishing of capitalist tendencies; the old China is trying to conquer the new.

The Stalinist regime has no other real alternative than crude repression. At the same time as it has to acknowledge that its own children, the *hualua gongzhi* (playboys), live a life of riotous self-indulgence at the expense of the masses, it can only resort either to an empty campaign against "spiritual pollution" (for which it is itself responsible) or brutal examples of capital punishment.

Under the rule of the bureaucracy, the "old China" is coming back. To maintain the gains of the Chinese Revolution, to develop the "new China," the workers and peasants of that great nation must seize power in their own name and overthrow the Stalinist regime that is slowly strangling every gain they have made.

The Fate of the Tudeh

In recent months, the Stalinists of the Tudeh ("Masses") party — the name of the Iranian Communist Party — have fallen victim to the Islamic Republic of Khomeini that they for so long boosted uncritically.

It is not accidental that the HKE, the group favored by the American SWP, also finds its paper banned and its militants arrested now. Fools have said these forces were "mullah-lovers." Misleading in the extreme — they were tail-ending Stalinism in its prostration before Khomeini, in the name of the national democratic revolution. Corridor conversation in the SWP had it that the Salvadoran CP was working in harmony with Tudeh, but these recruits for the "New International" are no longer available.

Down with the Warsaw, Stalinist Trials!

The international apparatus of Stalinism is conducting a systematic, well-orchestrated campaign of "disinformation" against the Polish Solidarity union, in preparation for the trials of Solidarity leaders in Poland. Part of this campaign is a letter which appeared in the *Detroit Free Press*, February 13, 1984, entitled, "The true story of Solidarity hasn't been told." The letter was signed by Stanley Nowak.

What is even more interesting is the fact that the *Free Press* even chose to print this letter. After all, it was very long and, though the writer claimed to be an "expert," his credentials were very vague. He was, he said, "a former editor of a Polish paper," and had "attended the founding convention of Solidarity in Gdansk."

What follows is what you might call the "Moscow connection" where imperialism and the Kremlin both have the same interests — to see the death of the Polish Revolution. And as the content of the article shows, they both peddle the same dope too.

We are told that "individuals who had not been part of the strikes of 1980 and were not factory workers . . . offered their services to the strikers as advisors and were later promoted by them to the leadership of the union." This is Stalinist line number one. Solidarity, a union of ten million Polish workers was just a tool of "intellectuals" and "extremists." All those Polish workers we saw marching in the streets, those workers who made the Polish General Strike, they were just dupes. Next, Nowak relates his experiences at the First National Convention of Solidarity.

Furthermore, says Nowak, ". . . the extremist element imposed its leadership and orientation on the delegates." Nowak denounces the resolution passed at this Convention (with the direct participation of Polish Trotskyists we are proud to say) which appeal-

ed to workers throughout Eastern Europe. That is Stalinist lie number two, that the National Convention of Solidarity was dominated by "extremists," when in fact, it was a question of ten million worker "extremists" that showed their resolve to continue to fight.

Nowak claims that, "after that convention, workers began to withdraw their support of Solidarity and its collision course," and that, "voices from all sections of the population demanded government action." Oh really? Is that why the Kremlin had to organize a military coup in Poland? Is that why workers had to be shot before they would leave the streets?

Finally, we are told that "martial law restrictions have been lifted and amnesty has been declared for all former Solidarity activists." But that is the biggest lie of them all, because the purpose of Mr. Nowak's article, and countless others like it that are being published in other newspapers, is to blunt the impact that the upcoming trials in Poland of former Solidarity leaders and activists will have on American workers. Just as with the Moscow trials in the thirties, all the oppositionists are being labeled as "Trotskyists." And, of course, the Polish Trotskyists themselves are undergoing a fierce repression.

Who exactly is this Stanley Nowak (and all those concerned citizens like him) who the *Detroit Free Press* has seen fit to provide with a quarter of a page? Well, Stanley Nowak is indeed a former editor of a Polish newspaper. Specifically, he was editor of *Glos Ludowy*, the Polish language *Daily Worker*, newspaper of the Stalinist Communist Party USA. (This fact is not mentioned in the letter that appeared in the *Free Press*, it came from another letter written by an individual who knew Nowak's identity.)

And so it turns out that this letter, and numerous others like it are part and parcel of a full scale Stalinist "disinformation" campaign in

preparation for the trials of "Trotskyists" and other "extremists" in Poland. (For example, shortly after this letter appeared another letter to the *Free Press* appeared entitled, "Worry about American unions first," appeared thanking the *Free Press* for Nowak's letter and stating, "our attention shouldn't be on the Polish unions.")

This systematic disinformation coming from the Stalinist gangsters who declared martial law in Poland proves two things. First, that the Polish Revolution is still very much alive and, as well, so is Solidarity and the support for it among the Polish workers. The Stalinists must have great fear for the consequences of the upcoming trials to go to such lengths to spread lies to American workers.

And secondly, it proves that Stalinism is not just a vague idea, but rather that it is an international apparatus and a current that must be fought like the plague in the international workers movement.

If you would like to be part of the response to this campaign of disinformation, if you would like to build a large working class opposition to the upcoming trials in Poland then send your contributions to the International Workers Fund to aid the Polish Trotskyists and their fight against the trials.

D.M.

Support the Polish Trotskyists!

Send contributions, payable to Truth, to: Truth, P.O. Box 32546, Detroit, MI 48232

Defend the Democratic Right to Abortion!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The reactionary attack on abortion going on is really an attack on women that affects 3.3 million women each year, (the rate of unwanted pregnancies), most of whom are black, working class and poor. It is a way for the state to enforce the servitude of women. It is a way, above all, to maintain and reinforce certain relations between men and women, thus upholding the very basis of this society: the family, the working class family exploited by the bourgeoisie. What should simply be a personal question for women alone to decide as with any other simple medical procedure, has become a controversy involving the church and the state.

There is no controversy! Not even by the standards of the government itself: the Supreme Court abolished abortion-prohibition in 1973.

Up until about 1870 abortion was legal in the US, in fact before 1800 law in the European countries was indifferent to abortion — but gradually one nation after another began to enact abortion prohibition laws. This determination against abortion has its deepest roots in the class struggle. It coincides with the formation and rise of the working class. This was reflected in the early years of this century in that abortion-prohibition laws were established largely to satisfy the need of the bourgeoisie to have at its disposal a vast supply of labor for an expanding industrial society. There was never any religious debate, however, over when the "infusion of the soul" takes place, nor as far as the law was concerned, how many angels could dance on the head of a pin!

The '60s marked a renewed struggle against imperialism which naturally collided with the

reactionary statutes on abortion. An abortion reform movement began, culminating in the 1973 Supreme Court decision. Immediately afterwards groups sprang up on the inspiration of the Catholic Church (Right-to-Life) and a militant anti-abortion, anti-woman attack began to unfold, which eventually welded together an entire Right-to-Life League.

Right-to-Lifers have been allowed to pass restrictive measures in many states rendering the Supreme Court decision debatable — hence the current "controversy" on abortion. They have destroyed abortion clinics, stealing names of women who got abortions. Not even the Girl Scouts escape their wrath. Recently, in Detroit they carried on a public boycott of Girl Scout cookies because the Scouts were to have as part of a workshop a discussion of birth control which included a point on abortion. This is the type of "bipartisan effort" Reagan referred to in his State of Union Address, January 25.

Pandering to the religious fundamentalists, Reagan restated this essentially religious position on women in his speech, "During our first three years we have joined bipartisan efforts to restore protection of the law to unborn children" and "unless and until it can be proven that an unborn child is not a living human being, can we justify assuming without proof that it isn't?" (*New York Times*, January 26). The arguments of Reagan, the Right-to-Lifers and the Moral Majority argue that if we are allowed to have abortions today, tomorrow by nonsensical but inevitable steps, it will lead to Auschwitz and the gas chambers! Oddly enough this pious movement that wants women to "bear their shame before the world" is not that different from fascism.

One of the first things the Nazis did in 1933 was to completely outlaw abortion, making it a capital offense for both the woman and her abortionist — and for the same totally reactionary reason Reagan wants to outlaw it — keep women in the position of family slaves — barefoot and pregnant! On the other hand, the first workers state (Russia, 1917) abolished all

the old anti-abortion laws of the czar's courts in favor of free abortion on demand to help free women from domestic servitude. But under Stalin, laws outlawing abortion were revived as bad as those in bourgeois countries. This went along with a typically Stalinist campaign on the "joys of motherhood."

Karl Marx said long ago that the bourgeois state is nothing more than a vast committee to manage the affairs of the bourgeoisie. If they want workers, they pass laws against abortion in a misguided effort to increase the working population. If they need to appease the demands of social reform movements, they throw out anti-abortion laws. Now to subvert the threat of social revolution, they use the ominous Right-to-Life movement which strongly resembles Hitler's "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche" (Children, Church, Kitchen) campaign.

Reagan's anti-abortion campaign is an especially malignant feature of the decline and final degeneration of imperialism. The toothless Democratic candidates are very careful about the abortion question, here or there cautiously paying lip service to legalized abortion. For instance, Jackson was originally *against* it but later reversed himself. Seeing that his position would not float with women, particularly those vast numbers in the work force whose potential strength and power is shaking up the White House's Holy Father, he decided it was more prudent to pay lip service. But all Democrats, including Jackson, uphold the state and the state itself is the problem.

Not a single right of the working class is secure under the bourgeoisie and its two parties. Defending rights gained over years of struggle and really stopping the false "controversy" over abortion requires a political and practical struggle without end on the part of those most affected by the attacks. Labor Candidates and a Labor Party Coalition in the elections represents the coming into being of a political party of the exploited and oppressed, a vehicle for deep and lasting change that truly addresses the forced subservience of women.

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

A significant number of young people have begun to turn to Trotskyism as the only tendency capable of guiding the working and oppressed masses.

Yet there are several organizations that claim to be Trotskyist. Each has its own policy that it calls Trotskyist. And the largest of these, the Socialist Workers Party, appears to be the far-

thest from basic Trotskyist principles.

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

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

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

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

The Positions of Socialist Action

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Since the group known as Socialist Action has been publicly active for some time now, we want to take up some of the most important issues concerning its positions.

Minor Issues — And Major

There are secondary, but important, points we do not have space to take up now: its curious position of support to the nuclear freeze "movement" (what movement?); its amnesia on past abuses of democratic centralism in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), with which SA's current leaders went along; the accusations (from several sources) that it worked hand in hand in San Francisco to restrain the militancy of the Greyhound strikers. We also find it significant that the Opposition Bloc could not hold together, so that the forces headed by Frank Lovell are publishing a *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*. But neither group says why.

This leads us to the two critical questions — Castroism and the United Secretariat (USec). SA bases itself on the 1963 reunification, including its agreement on Castroism.

Citing the SWP's glorification of the "Cuban CP, FSLN and the New Jewel Movement," Nat Weinstein (at the time of the 1981 pre-convention discussion) exclaimed: "One can only conclude from this that it is not necessary to build sections of the Fourth International there!" Perhaps a little disingenuous, especially after more than twenty years of support to Castro, but a correct point.

However, SA says Castro is not a Stalinist and it does not call for political revolution in Cuba. What will the section of the FI (which will be illegal, as are all tendencies there) do? Do the workers hold power or not? If they don't, won't the section organize them to win it, and won't this be the political revolution? If they do hold power, why do you want or need to build a section?

SA should look at the materials presented (*Intercontinental Press*; May 11, 1981) by Adolpho Gilly and others on how — using demagoguery and lies — the SWP and USec facilitated the Castroites' crushing of the Posadista group in Cuba, not for their strange views on nuclear war, etc., but because of the fact that they tried to organize the Cuban workers on the basis of the permanent revolution, because they really tried to build a section.

And what is the position of the USec in general on building sections?

In the January 1984 issue of *Socialist Action* there is an interview with the Pabloite Michel Lowy (who made a US tour under SA auspices) in which, referring to the Workers Party (PT) in Brazil, he says: "Revolutionary Marxists, organized around the newspaper, *En Tempo*, are active inside the PT. . . Their aim is not 'entrism' but to help transform the PT into a mass revolutionary party." This is a flat statement of the Pabloite "entrism *sui generis*" (of a unique type), which has been the standard way *not* to build a section, ever.

Further Examples

SA likewise seems enthusiastic about the USec's Mexican section, the PRT. In the *Intercontinental Press* of March 5, 1984, the PRT is quoted as directing some questions (finally!) to the Salvadoran FMLN on the three stories it has circulated about the deaths of Ana Maria

and Cayetano Carpio. But the PRT closes its statement thusly: "We affirm our commitment to the Salvadoran Revolution and to its vanguard [our emphasis — K.F.], the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR)." Who is building the Trotskyist party there?

And how about the USec's collaboration (along with the SWP) in the suppression of the Simon Bolivar Brigade (then still militants of the USec) in Nicaragua? How dare anyone challenge the leadership of the Sandinistas?

Likewise, we learn from *IP* (January 23, 1984) that Hugo Blanco in Peru has (basing himself on the example of the unity model of

Central America) announced: "Almost from its foundation, our party had conducted itself with a dogmatic and sectarian orientation in which the defense of revolutionary positions and party-building have been counterposed to united-front practices." This from the person who formed FOCEP and helped to channel an upsurge into the dead-end of a constituent assembly.

From Peter Camejo (ex-USec IEC member) we learn that the Australian SWP, a USec section, while in conflict with the American SWP, shares one key point with it: "In 1982, it decided to drop the label 'Trotskyist,' believing the term no longer adequate in a world in which there is more than one genuine revolu-

tionary current." (*North Star Newsletter*, February 1984).

And we understand that the Gonzales Moscoso POR (USec) in Bolivia is also disavowing the permanent revolution.

What we are witnessing is the rapid flowering of Pabloism throughout the entire United Secretariat, in which the American SWP is a particularly critical example; *the cancer has metastasized*.

If Socialist Action does not examine the entire politics of the split of 1953 and the reunification of 1963, it will not find the way to a healthy solution of the crisis of the SWP, the rebuilding of the US section of the Fourth International.

A Letter from a Former SWP Member

We are publishing below a letter from David Keil, and our response to it.

David Keil was recruited to the Socialist Workers Party out of the turbulent movement of the 1960's, and was for many years an active militant of that organization. Since his exclusion from the SWP, he has been the editor of *Forum*, which describes itself as a "socialist discussion newsletter." In general, the Trotskyist Organization has not been in harmony with the perspective represented by *Forum*. In that sense, the discussion that begins on this page is all the more interesting.

When you call for an open congress of Trotskyists, aren't you really calling for the eventual reunification of all the Trotskyist ideological currents — conditional only on a democratic discussion and the application of majority rule?

I hope you'll consider publishing this letter.

Comradely,
David Keil

Our Reply

March 6, 1984

Dear Comrade Keil:

We believe that your letter proposes a *real discussion*, a political struggle to truly clarify differences and to reach principled agreements. It is in that sense that we give our answers to the questions you ask.

First, this concerns the nature of the Trotskyist Congress — aren't we "really calling for an eventual reunification of all the Trotskyist ideological forces?" You are well aware of the way that Lenin, Trotsky and Cannon posed the issue of unity — *on what basis?* With the settling of this question, we will be able to hold the Trotskyist Congress.

We are against a conception of "regroupment" that says "unite first, discuss later." There is no discussion, and soon there is no unity. Indisputably, the Trotskyist Congress means a regroupment: a great regroupment took place in the form of the creation of the Communist Party in this country, likewise with the creation of the SWP. These regroupments were based on a clear differentiation of the revolutionaries (separating the wheat from the chaff) and on the mobilization and organization of the new generation of the working class. That is the way we have always posed the Trotskyist Congress.

Any other regroupment perspective would only repeat (as the most glaring example) the case of the United Secretariat. The question you pose of not "boycotting" (a red herring) the 1963 reunification for the sake of "an exchange of views that could have enabled those involved to correct their errors" is answered by the facts, including those you raise in your letter.

This position (that of Peng Shu-chih, by whom you were strongly influenced, in 1963; that of Moreno today, to justify both the USec and his bloc with Lambert) finds its first failure in the fact that the "reunification" was based on an *avoidance* of discussion. You are certainly aware that the SWP published only part of the documents presented by the British, and virtually none by the French. Moreover, the SWP refused to wait even until the scheduled International Committee conference of September 1963, arranging the "Reunification Congress" in a rush so as to present the IC with a split.

Nor did any discussion take place later, only a series of wrangles that arose precisely because of an absence of any fundamental clarification. The highest level of "discussion" reached — on the "Leninist strategy of party building" — was such a *shuck* that its chief proponents are today in the lead of liquidating into Stalinist and pro-Stalinist formations.

You state in your letter that Castroism is

in line with your announcement that the back page of *Truth* is "open to any militant or tendency that wants to contribute to it."

TRUTH

February 21, 1984
Truth

Dear comrades,

I'm writing you, as a former member of the Trotskyist Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party, in response to your open letter to Socialist Action. Most or all members of Socialist Action were in the TT before they were expelled from or driven out of the SWP.

Your proposal for an open Trotskyist Congress is a powerful one. You are also correct in warning that the course followed by the present United Secretariat leadership since the 1950s is the same one that has led the SWP to disaster and political liquidation.

The United Secretariat and Socialist Action call Castroism revolutionary, despite Castro's full allegiance to the Kremlin and to the so-called progressive elements in Latin American bourgeois politics. The Castroists in the leadership of the SWP merely draw the logical conclusion: if Castroism is revolutionary, then Trotskyism, a movement that relentlessly campaigns against capitalist politicians, capitalism and bureaucratic rule, must be ditched.

There are a few questions that you will still need to address, however, if you hope to win over Socialist Action comrades to your views.

One is the following: What common activities do you propose to Socialist Action beginning now, based on present points of agreement, such as opposition to US intervention in Central America and defense of political prisoners in Poland?

Another is this: suppose you're right to say that the 1963 Reunification, which brought the International Secretariat and the SWP together, was based on a mistaken program. Wasn't the reunification nevertheless a step forward in that it made possible an exchange of views that could have enabled those involved to correct their errors?

Would more splintering have had a healthier effect? Did those who boycotted the 1963 gathering build a better movement?

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POLAND TODAY
Debate on the Lessons and Perspectives of the Revolution

Yesterday, Today, Perspectives
Document of Tadeusz W.

JUST OUT — WRITE TRUTH!

What UAW Can Really Learn From Japanese

By DAVID MARK

It is not often that anything good airs on television. But once in a while there is an exception. "We are driven," a documentary on Nissan and the Japanese autoworker produced by Frontline, the public television news magazine, is such an exception. "We are driven," is the theme of Nissan's advertising (Datsun), and as this public TV documentary shows vividly, the Japanese autoworker is driven hard. The story is so educational, even though it is not an open exponent of the workers' cause, that it is worth telling some of it for *Truth* readers who may not be able to see it.

Nissan, you see, is a Japanese auto corporation on the scale of General Motors. It is the largest Japanese auto manufacturer and one of the largest internationally. And when American auto giants like GM, Ford and Chrysler talk about the "Japanese model," they are talking about Nissan. So if you want to know about what the "Japanese model" really is, then read on (and if you can, see "We are driven").

Right at the beginning the producers inform us that Nissan would not allow their workers to speak openly about their conditions. In practically all cases, secret meetings had to be arranged in order to interview Nissan workers and anonymity had to be guaranteed — in order to protect the workers' jobs.

The documentary opens with coverage of the grand opening of Nissan's new American manufacturing operation in Tennessee (non-union to this date). The employees are gathered in an auditorium, a band is playing patriotic (American) music. Behind a giant American flag an announcer is introducing Nissan's new line of Datsuns as the cars are paraded in front of the audience. Is this a glimpse of the future, or a facade to hide the past?

The scene changes. A line of police armed to the teeth blocks the path of a small contingent of Japanese autoworkers who are trying to picket Nissan's headquarters. A worker steps forward to the camera and speaks, "We can't make ends meet without working nightshift, overtime and holidays." What! A dissatisfied Japanese worker, surely, this must be an excep-

tion.

One of the things that sets this documentary apart from others is that it follows the story from start to finish. It is not the superficial news commentary we are so accustomed to seeing on TV. The story begins to unfold.

Japanese autoworkers were not always so cooperative as it seems. They once had a very militant union. In 1953, they organized a national strike of Nissan. The auto giant used everything it had to break the workers' strike. The company locked out the strikers immediately. Armed thugs were employed to attack workers' pickets. After four months, and with the Japanese autoworkers facing virtual starvation, the strike was broken. But that was just the beginning of a long "weeding out" process. Those workers who took a militant role in the strike never got back to work, and once the strike was over Nissan set about breaking the union, too. Workers who joined the new company union set up by Nissan received back pay, while those who refused went under financially and were constantly harassed. The era of "labor-management cooperation" did not take over until the autoworkers' militant union had been completely crushed. Today, the Nissan company union is the only "representation" that autoworkers have.

This "union" is so much of a company tool that the head of the Japanese autoworkers' union is often called "Nissan's second president." The vast majority of all shop stewards are also supervisors, and union officials are openly favored for company positions. When it comes time for "union elections," Nissan has a real neat system. The company and the union

sit down and decide who is going to run then, when it comes time to vote, the workers are grouped together at tables while union officials (90% of whom are also supervisors) look over their shoulders. It is not unusual for a worker who happens to mark the wrong candidate to be reprimanded on the spot. The documentary also interviewed an autoworker who was dragged outside and beaten for opposing the company union. For some strange reason, every single election for many years has been unanimous — for the company's slate. Voting on contracts is handled in a similar manner and the results are always unanimous.

There are a few other matters of interest too. For example, "Quality Control Circles," are not voluntary, as American autoworkers are led to believe. At Nissan, the worker must impress his or her foreman in order to get a raise. Nissan's contracts do not provide for equal pay for equal work, nor do they recognize seniority as the determining factor for pay.

At one point, a Nissan worker is interviewed and asked how he feels about the proliferation of robots at Nissan plants, he answers, "we have to keep up with the robots."

"We are driven," not only debunks the myth of the happy Japanese autoworker, it also shows that there is an opposition among the rank and file that is steadily growing. One such dissident is interviewed. He explains that working conditions at many of Nissan's plants are terrible. Especially bad are the conditions at plants that sub-contract (called "out-sourcing" in the US auto industry) for Nissan. The worker explains that, contrary to the picture that is painted by American newspa-

pers, underground workers' bulletins have a respectable circulation in Japanese auto factories and are produced secretly by rank and file workers. Nissan, he explains, has mandatory overtime, workers must lay out their tools before work begins and on their own time. As the documentary comes to a close, the worker relates a visit he paid once to an American automobile factory. "I visited a Chrysler plant, the workers . . . seemed to work in an atmosphere of freedom." Not many Chrysler workers would look at it that way, but then, compared to the Japanese autoworker, the Chrysler worker still has some rights and gains won through struggle intact.

There is, of course, an even larger story to be told than the documentary goes into. But, just seeing what the "Japanese model" really represents — a ferocious attack on workers rights and gains — puts a new light on such schemes as "Quality of Work Life" groups, the "restructuring" of basic industry, as well as making it very clear where all these schemes are headed. And though the documentary does not directly go into the anti-import campaign, it makes it pretty clear that it is the militancy and fight of autoworkers that is the determining factor in where things will go.

Of course, these are important questions in their own right, and ones that would strengthen "We are driven," considerably. But then, it is the lies and propaganda of the American media about the Japanese autoworker, which is all you usually see, that makes this documentary stand out.

Smash GM's Plans . . .

Continued from front page

an invitation to GM and the others to go for the throat.

More militant sections of the union like "Restore and More in '84" (RAM), an organization of local presidents, have denounced GM's

plans, issued demands and called for a strike. And naturally we defend these organizations, their demands, and their call for a strike, against the UAW bureaucracy. But the issue is not whether to strike or not to strike, but *how*

to prepare a successful strike. And how can the union prepare a successful strike when the union leadership is pouring the union's resources into the enemy's war chest? You don't see GM, Ford and Chrysler making contributions to the UAW's strike fund. You don't see them out campaigning for the UAW. Why is the UAW doing it for them and their party? *That is stupid.* We've written RAM about this, but it hasn't said a word.

Other forces present in the UAW, like the Socialist Workers Party, claim to be for a Labor Party but have completely adapted themselves to the bureaucracy and have refused to date to lead any practical struggle for it. They are suffering under the illusion that the UAW can lead a struggle against the largest corporation in the world running on one cylinder and dragging a two-hundred-ton trailer behind it.

A Fight

Fellow workers, comrades, a successful strike without a fight for a Labor Party Coalition and a Labor Candidate for president is impossible. Now is the time to make that fight, not sterile propaganda about the superiority of socialism. Anyone can aid the struggle by helping to put a Labor Party Coalition on the ballot or even by forming a Labor Party slate to run in local elections. This is the only way to once again bring GM to its knees, and all the others. M.G.

Steel Fight Demands Labor Party

By RICHARD TETRAULT

The Socialist Workers Party in the Gary-Chicago area held a public forum called "Steelworkers Under Attack: How can we Fight Back?" on February 19. The speakers included Alice Peurala, grievance committee member and one-time president of USWA Local 65 at US Steel South Works in Chicago, and Pat Grogan, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party and laid-off worker from South Works. Approximately twenty-five people came, most of whom were members of the SWP. Members of Socialist Action (the group formed by those expelled from the SWP) and the Revolutionary Socialist League were also present.

The presentations were rather lengthy and did not put forward any clear plan for defeating the plans of the steel barons to extract ever higher concessions and shutdown plants. Alice Peurala gave details of several failed attempts to save plants including concessions and worker-purchase plans. One point that she did make abundantly clear was the need for a new leadership, against the bureaucratic and collaborationist policies of the top leadership of the USWA and the whole trade union movement. Pat Grogan's presentation paralleled Peurala's on most points. She spoke in the most abstract terms about the necessity for the workers to decide what takes place in the plants, employing the vision of a society where workers control production. She concluded her presentation by saying that what is necessary is "political action," again without clarifying what form this struggle must take. What was particularly shameful about Grogan's presentation is that it did not once raise that the presidential elections will be the battleground for all these questions. This is particularly surprising given the fact that the SWP launched its presidential campaign well over two months ago, no secret to anyone in the room or in the workers movement.

The Trotskyist Organization intervened before the meeting, sold four copies of *Truth*, and in the meeting said very clearly that the road to workers control begins with an organized break from the Democratic Party and its policies. And this is why the elections are so important. The workers, unemployed and youth must enter into these elections as a class organized and independent, in order to confront the ruling class, the steel barons and their parties,

the Democrats and the Republicans. We say that break, that organized and independent expression, begins now in a conscious struggle to build a Labor Party. Everything else flows from this fight and not the other way around. So when Grogan and the SWP say, "we have to convince the government to nationalize the steel industry," we say that this or any other demand, can only be realized by the workers organized in their own party and utilizing their own methods of struggle. Counterposed to the "call" for nationalizations we put forward a fight: sitdown strikes to keep South Works open. Who will lead such a struggle? Undoubtedly, the most militant and dedicated workers, dedicated to their own class and interests.

The Trotskyist Organization's Chicago Organizing Committee is building a Labor Party Coalition based on the unions in order to orga-

nize these youth and workers in a break with the Democrats. We want to make a united struggle to put the SWP candidate, Mel Mason, on the ballot in Chicago and Gary, as the only candidate for a Labor Party, in order to build this coalition. Yet the SWP hasn't taken a step in this direction, much less answered our proposal for a common fight. And the Trotskyist Organization was the only organization that even brought up Mason's candidacy at the SWP's own meeting. This shows that the SWP's campaign to date is just a symbolic one, not a real fight for class independence against the Democratic Party and its agents in the unions.

But this is unacceptable. Symbols won't stop US Steel.

Build a Labor Party Coalition in Chicago. Put Mason on the ballot now.

Black Nationalists in the Slaveholders' Party

The traditional teaching of the late Elijah Muhammed's Nation of Islam (the so-called Black Muslims) is that the white man is a devil and the Black people have to separate from him (getting at least a separate state in the US). But Louis Farrakhan, who maintains both the name and the teaching of the Nation of Islam, has just come out in support of Jesse Jackson and has registered to vote (for the first time in his life) as a Democrat!

Black nationalism (as opposed to the current favoring integration into "white America") has always been very contradictory. Trotsky pointed out that Marcus Garvey's "Back-to-Africa" movement was "the expression of a mystic desire for a home in which they could be free of the domination of the whites, in which they themselves could control their own fate."

In this sense, Black nationalism concentrated an immense pool of revolutionary energy against the "white supremacy" and the racist state of US imperialism. By itself, however, nationalism often led to hopeless and passive ideas of a separate Black economy, of controlling the ghetto and so on.

When Malcolm X broke from the Nation of Islam, he began a course of orienting toward an all-out fight with imperialism. In beginning to organize the deepest aspirations of the oppressed, Malcolm was a deadly threat to US imper-

ialism.

Thus, Malcolm said: "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because . . . both parties have sold us out. Both parties are racist, and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican."

This was not a technical question. Malcolm had a framework in which he placed this opposition to both capitalist parties. "I believe," he said, "that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think it will be based upon the color of the skin, as Elijah Muhammed has taught it."

The fight that Malcolm was making would lead to his assassination, a murder that benefited only the racist, imperialist rulers of this country.

While Malcolm worked feverishly under the pressure of death, what was Louis Farrakhan doing? He was helping to create a moral climate for the murder, helping to create a cover-up for imperialism's assassination. Calling Malcolm an "international hobo," and demanding that he be made to "face the music," Farrakhan *obscenely* raved: "Such a man as

Malcolm is worthy of death!"

At the same time he registered as a Democrat, Farrakhan felt compelled to again denounce Malcolm as "a defector."

Malcolm X knew, and you should know, too, that *the Democratic Party was the party of the slaveholders!* The origin of the hold of the Democrats over white workers goes back to this time, when the "lords of the lash" used "anti-capitalist" demagoguery in order to make the working class a bargaining chip in their conflict with the Northern industrialists. Now the new slaveholders, the imperialists, who run that party are faced with the desire of *all* workers to break with it. It is at precisely this time that Jackson and Farrakhan try to build up the Democratic Party again — in the name of Black people!

Let Malcolm have the last word: "Any time you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promises that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that political party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race."

K.F.