

NO TO MONDALE!

Reaganism without Reagan!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

At a recent Service Employees International Union (SEIU) convention in the Detroit area, the union president referred to Walter Mondale, a Democratic candidate for president, as "our member" and as an "honorary union member." And hundreds of other union officials are saying similar things in a desperate effort to mobilize the reluctant ranks behind Mondale.

But Mondale is not "our member." He is not a "union man." He does not represent the unions or the working class as a whole. He represents the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, the banks and big businessmen, just like Reagan.

Mondale claims to be for peace, yet he supported the war in Vietnam until 1969; he supported Carter's invasion of Iran; Carter's support to the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza; Reagan's dispatch of troops to Lebanon as well as Reagan's invasion of Grenada. He opposes immediate withdrawal of all US forces from Central America and in a debate published in *The New York Times* March 12 characterized this as "irresponsible."

In the same debate he said he wants to increase the military budget by 4% each year. He also said that the lesson of Vietnam is not that the US should not use violence against others to get its way, but that it should do so more wisely, more judiciously. Thus he criticized Reagan's mining of Nicaraguan harbors not in principle, but as "clumsy" and "not well-thought-out." He wants the US to channel aid to El Salvador through Jose Napoleon Duarte, the head of the military junta under which the death squads were developed in the first place.



Walter Mondale, Democratic Party candidate for president, says: "I can say no to labor when I have to..."

Mondale says he will be a "people's president," yet he took part in the Carter regime under which unemployment reached 11.8% for blacks, inflation reached 12% a year, and miners on strike against proposed wage cuts were ordered back to work. Under Carter and Mondale, factory closings, beginning with the Chrysler Dodge Main plant in the summer of 1979, became commonplace and draft registration was reinstated.

Only weeks after Carter and Mondale were elected Carter declared: "Anyone who thought

I could do much about unemployment was naive." In 1978 he declared: "Let me be blunt about this point, I am asking American workers to accept a lower rate of wage increases." And with this Carter and Mondale instituted the "voluntary wage-price controls."

The Carter-Mondale regime was so anti-union, so anti-working class, that one AFL-CIO top leader was forced to declare: "It still is, as it always has been, them versus us. Call it class struggle, call it corporate power versus the people, call it the establishment over all. But no one should have any delusions about who we are and who they are. We're the workers who want a bigger share of what they have and they don't want to give it up."

Doug Fraser, UAW head himself, said: "Our biggest mistake was thinking we won in 1976" (when Carter and Mondale were elected).

Why then are the same people pushing the same capitalist candidates and capitalist party again? Is Mondale different from Carter? Has he changed? We don't think so.

Mondale claims to be for civil rights, but he won't even support the civil rights of Blacks in his own party. He said Jesse Jackson's demands for delegates to the Democratic Party Convention in proportion to his percentage of the popular vote was like wanting to change the rules in the middle of a football game. He supported Richard J. Daley, an open racist, against Harold Washington for Mayor of Chicago, and he said that the main reason that unemployment was higher among Blacks was that not enough Blacks owned businesses and hired other Blacks! Talk about separate but

equal: Mondale is the typical integrationist who wants it everywhere but his neighborhood!

Mondale claims to be for the unions, but he opposed the miners, opposed PATCO, opposed the railroad workers and did nothing to stop other Democrats from trying to bust the Phelps Dodge and Greyhound strikes. His only proposals are import restrictions and a \$30 billion increase in social services. But import restrictions have been in effect for years and have done nothing to stop unemployment and \$30 billion is a drop in the bucket compared to what Reagan has already cut. Mondale is for unions, like he's for civil rights — as long as no one uses them.

Youth! Workers! Let's not make the same mistake that was made in 1976 and 1980! Let's not support a candidate and a party that do not represent the unions, the working class. Let's not support a candidate and a party that represent the capitalist class.

Mondale is going to bring us nothing but *Reaganism without Reagan*. The only thing that distinguishes him from Reagan is his rhetoric. He wants to deceive youth and workers, to draw them into his anti-working class schemes. Thus he claims to represent them while he plots their demise, whereas Reagan gave up on this tactic long ago.

To finish with Reagan and Reaganism, both open and disguised, the unions and workers must put forward their own candidate and build their own party — a Labor Candidate, a Labor Party. No one else will do it for them.

It's time to look reality in the face. Let's not deceive ourselves.

BUILD A LABOR PARTY COALITION!

Mason for President; Labor Candidates for Congress!

Many tendencies claim to be for a Labor Party and a Labor Candidate, but it is not enough to be for them. It is necessary to actually begin to build a Labor Party by uniting all forces for a Labor Party, in the unions, in a Labor Party Coalition.

This Coalition will be a material force that fights for the independence and unity of the unions against the bosses, their Republican and Democratic Parties and their agents in the unions.

In order to build a Labor Party Coalition in the unions today, it is necessary to have a concrete alternative to the union bureaucrats and their endorsement of Mondale and other Democrats. Thus all tendencies for a Labor Party and a Labor Candidate should support Mel Mason and Andrea Gonzalez for president and vice-president from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and the only candidates who advocate a Labor Party who will be on the ballot in a large number of states.

Labor Party tendencies should also fight for union locals to put forward their own candidates for Congress and build Labor Party committees in union locals to lead the struggle for locals to endorse Mason and Gonzalez and put forward Labor Candidates for Congress.

Some tendencies may object to endorsing Mason and Gonzalez on the grounds that these candidates are for socialism. Others may disagree with other aspects of their program (as our readers know, the Trotskyist Organization does). But workers should support Mason and Gonzalez, whether they are for socialism or not, whether they agree with their full program or not, because Mason and Gonzalez do advocate a Labor Party, albeit in a half-hearted fashion, and they are the only candidates for president and vice president to do so. Reagan and Mondale obviously do not. And all the other parties and candidates that claim to represent

the working class — the Communist Party, the Workers World Party — are using their campaigns to build the Democratic Party, either openly or through the Jackson campaign.

Thus a fight for Mason and Gonzalez in union locals, as the only candidates for a Labor Party and a Labor Candidate, can build a Labor Party Coalition, organize the unions independently of the bosses and unite them. Then it will be possible for the unions to decide in what direction they wish to take the country.



Mel Mason, candidate for president who advocates a Labor Party and member of the Socialist Workers Party

Without this, the unions will remain subordinated to the bosses and divided.

Others may object to supporting Mason and Gonzalez on the grounds that these candidates cannot win the election, that we will still have four more years of Reagan (or Mondale). And this is true in a certain sense. But a fight for these candidates, because they advocate a Labor Party, can prepare the working class to confront and defeat whichever bourgeois candidate is elected and get the masses on its side. In this sense, building support for Mason and Gonzalez in union locals is the only way that the working class can win this election.

Still others may think that it is enough to support Mason and Gonzalez and vote for them in November, that there is no point in fighting for union locals to endorse them, to put forward Labor Candidates for Congress, or build Labor Party committees to lead this struggle in union locals. And this is the SWP's

position. Thus it tends to mention a Labor Party in passing, makes little effort to make its campaign attractive to union locals, and refuses to unite with other working class organizations to build the struggle. Instead it orients toward petty bourgeois organizations like the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

But support for Mason and Gonzalez, or a vote for Mason and Gonzalez, without a fight in union locals will change nothing. It will be just an impotent protest that will become smaller and smaller.

Now is the time to break with this policy, build a Labor Party Coalition.

All out for Mason-Gonzalez in the unions! Labor Candidates for Congress! Labor Party Committees! This is the Trotskyist position.

M.G.

SOLIDARITY
with TOLEDO AUTO PARTS Workers!

Defeat the Injunction!
Mass Picketing!

RALLY IN TOLEDO, JUNE 3
COUNTY COURTHOUSE, 2 PM
— More on the Back Page —

Which Road for Working Class Jackson Supporters?

Continue the Struggle or Follow Jackson?

By DAVID MARK

As the Democratic Party's National Convention nears, and the primary campaigns come to an end, it is becoming clearer and clearer that Jesse Jackson will not be the nominee of the Democratic Party. While we made that prediction some time ago, based on the capitalist nature of the Democratic Party, it is now an indisputable fact. This may be a harsh reality for some Jackson supporters, but it is not necessarily the most important conclusion to be drawn from the Jackson campaign.

In fact, the process of accommodation and compromise to the mainline Democratic Party apparatus has been going on for some time. The latest expression of this is the deal with the Southern Democrats over runoff elections in Southern primaries.

Runoff Elections

Runoff elections are held in many Southern states in Democratic primaries. Even if a Black candidate wins the most votes in a primary election, unless it is an absolute majority, he would have to face another election in order to win. Thus the white vote can always dominate the Black vote. In addition, when such rules have been reviewed previously by the Justice Department, they have been found in violation of the Voting Rights Act designed especially to protect Blacks in Southern states.

Initially, Jackson had filed a court case against the runoff primaries and stated that he would make a floor fight over the issue at the Democratic National Convention in August. That threat, as with many others Jackson has made in the course of his campaign, has now been dropped.

Instead, Jackson has agreed to the formation of a "blue ribbon committee" by the Democratic Party to study the issue of runoff primaries. In other words, the matter has been shelved to accommodate Southern Democrats.

Jackson said, "I am far more concerned about the principle of equity and parity than the strategy to achieve it." That may sound nice, but "principles" without "strategies to achieve" them don't put meat on the table.

Jackson Mends Fences

Jackson has successively given up principles for rhetoric. But in doing so, he has gained the respect of some old enemies. Detroit Mayor Coleman Young now says he sees Jackson as the "Black spokesman" in America. So from being the "bad boy" of Black Democrats, the one who threatened to split the party and upset the appellation of stalwarts like Young, Jackson has now become the great healer for the Democratic Party.

That is just fine if you intended to support Mondale in the November elections anyway. Blacks and others who supported Jackson as an alternative candidate had better start thinking now what they are going to do in the November elections.

Young's endorsement of Jackson paves the way for a typical "deal." The kind of rotten deal that Blacks and the working class have gotten from the Democratic Party all along — at best, nothing but tokenism.

There is a betrayal here, too. Jackson's rhetoric aside, his campaign has evoked support from a real movement that exists among Blacks for political power and the defense of their rights. A movement that looked for an alternative to the Democratic Party that had betrayed Blacks' demands time and time again. But Jackson's campaign has turned out no different than that of any other so-called "progressive" Democrat. In the end it has given in to compromise with the mainline Democratic Party and left its supporters with the demoralizing prospect of voting for Walter Mondale in November.

That is the problem with Jackson, his campaign really doesn't offer anything different from the typical Democratic "progressive." They always end up where they began — back in the arms of the good old boys of the Democratic Party.

An Alternative

And that is why we have fought for an alternative that represents a break with the Democratic Party — the Labor Party — and corresponds to the needs of the real movement for political power that exists today among Blacks and the working class in its entirety. Whatever form this struggle may take, no matter how far it may go by the time of the 1984 elections, it is the key to finding a political outlet for this movement.

On the other hand, whatever difficulties the fight for the Labor Party may encounter, we can at least be thankful that we will not have to travel the twisted road of those workers organizations that have supported Jackson. However, for the working class as a whole, these

organizations represent a capital problem, magnifying the effect that Jackson's dead-end campaign will have on the workers' consciousness and mood. From these organizations, one can expect three new forms of spontaneism in regard to the 1984 elections — abstention (whether an active boycott or not), support to Mondale, or a half-hearted attempt at independent candidates.

The Workers World Party, for example, has decided to play both sides of the fence. It supports Jackson, but runs its own candidates. Never mind that it has already walked the primrose path to the Democratic Party from which no workers organization in the American working class has ever been able to find its

Chicago: Unity with Racist Democrats Means More Attacks

By RICHARD TETRAULT

What do the racist attacks on a Black family on Chicago's southeast side, a conference of "white ethnics," and a Democratic Party "unity dinner" all have in common? For workers and young people, Blacks, Latinos, women and all workers, these incidents provide the undeniable truth that the Democratic Party is completely bankrupt and offers no hope for workers and the oppressed. It proves once again that the "reform movement" in Chicago is a sham and that what is needed is an independent direction.

In early April, Dudley Emmons, a Black man, moved his family into a comfortable home on a busy avenue in Chicago's 10th Ward. In the first four days of living in Ed Vrdolyak's ward (Vrdolyak is the head of the racist Democratic Party Machine), the Emmons family suffered attacks on their home and cars and were physically threatened. Finally their garage was burned to the ground. In response to the immediate outcry from the Black community, Vrdolyak dispatched a precinct captain door-to-door to ask the residents to leave the family alone. Now all white people are not racists, but Vrdolyak and his captains are taking no chances of overlooking anyone and perhaps winning a few recruits. As most people know, Ed Vrdolyak is chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party. This vote-buying, race-baiting, war-making party has the nerve to call itself the party of working people while it is directly responsible for fostering race hatred.

Dudley Emmons and his family moved from

way back to the main road. WWP's motto is "be prepared," they have their own candidates!

But, unfortunately, these opportunists, beside being misled and misleaders, still haven't realized that their little display of "independence," and their all-purpose election campaign, does not in the slightest way meet the needs of a movement that is straining at the bit to find a way to break out of the trap of the Democratic Party. A movement that by its scope and its historical implications is far too much for the WWP and its narrow concerns to handle. And here the WWP is not alone. Despite their formal adherence to the Labor Party — purely formal, and minimal to the point of being minuscule — the Socialist Workers Party

their rented home on South Ewing on April 24, just 16 days after having moved in.

As if on cue, a group of "white ethnics" held a conference at a downtown Chicago hotel on April 29. The conference, attended by about one thousand whites from the northwest and southwest sides, took place under the banner of "Save Our Neighborhoods, Save Our City Coalition." Some of the faces were new but the agenda was the same one we have heard from the racist, white middle classes for several decades. They allege that they are mistreated and cheated. Aside from the obvious, that these people own their own homes, many own additional rental property, have above average income, and through the likes of Vrdolyak control local politics. Thus one can hardly feel sympathy for these whiners. Only 15% of Black families own the homes they live in. Blacks are paid below average wages and unemployment among black youth is above 50% in some areas.

These "white ethnics" are the same ones who bolted from the Democratic Party to support Bernard Epton against Harold Washington in the last mayoral election. And this is the same group that enabled Ronald Reagan to take the presidency in 1980. And so the Democratic Party is especially interested in keeping these "white ethnics" happy this time around, and they have made no secret about it. The Democratic National Committee is conducting hearings in several cities in order to woo white ethnics, which it openly considers a critical swing voting bloc. Harold Washington, a truly loyal Democrat, testified at a hearing on May 5

also shares the fate of a typically opportunist campaign. It is completely isolated from the working class movement and, in particular, the Black movement that spawned the Harold Washington's and Jesse Jackson's, but which is now in sore need of an alternative.

What the American working class needs now is an obituary for the Democratic Party, a working class party to galvanize its fighting spirit — the Labor Party. This will be the solution after Jackson's exit at the Democratic National Convention. And it is the road to be taken by Jackson's working class supporters now!

in Chicago. He said: "It is in all of our best interests — all of us — to focus on the national Democratic Party to get rid of Mr. Reagan. We have to look through the chivalric and all this sloganizing . . ."

Although it is true that most workers want to get rid of Reagan, what hope can the Democrats offer? Who put the torch to Dudley Emmons' garage — in the backyard of the county Democratic Party chairman, in the Second Congressional District of well-known Black Democrat Gus Savage and in the city of that well-known reformer, Harold Washington? Attacks on Blacks and working people can only be carried out with the direct complicity of the Democratic Party. The theme is "party unity," and Harold Washington can often be seen embracing Ed Vrdolyak and making statements about healing the wounds. We are afraid that "unity" in this case means further attacks on the Black community and the working class in general.

A clear alternative for all those forces that are for real change, for placing the interests of the working class above the plans of the capitalist politicians, means first of all a break from the so-called reforms of Harold Washington and the Democratic Party as a whole. This fight must be built in the unions, neighborhoods and in the schools. It must be an independent movement based on the working class struggle for its own power. And it must begin now with the fight for Labor Candidates in the elections against Reagan and the Democratic Party.

Movement in UAW Against Old Leaderships

Elections at one of the largest UAW locals, the River Rouge plant Local 600, took place in the first three days of May. At least in one case, in the Dearborn Assembly Plant, an incumbent, Hank Wilson, was defeated. Wilson had long tried to portray himself as a progressive, but in reality, offered only rhetoric to back this claim up. Given other developments in UAW Local elections, Wilson probably lost his post not because he was seen as a progressive, but rather because he was linked in the workers' minds with the whole UAW leadership that was responsible for the period where massive give-backs and concessions were made to the Big Three auto makers. And certainly, the workers were quite correct in making this association.

This trend in UAW local elections, the ousting of incumbents, was reported interestingly enough in the *Detroit News* on May 22 — on the Business page. This is significant since the *Detroit News* is basically the more conservative of the two Detroit newspapers, and the fact that it appeared on the Business page shows that the matter merited the attention of the Big Three.

According to the article, in northeastern Ohio, the presidents of six of seven UAW locals were ousted. Seven incumbents were voted out of Local 599, the huge Buick factory local in Flint. In addition to these examples, there were several others of a more isolated character, like Hank Wilson's in the Dearborn Assembly Plant of Local 600.

Even more interesting, some of the ousted incumbents have been leaders of the UAW opposition, Restore and More in '84 (RAM). Henry (Hank) Oginsky, former financial secretary of his local, was one of the losers in Flint. And Bob Weissman, president of the UAW's Twinsburg, Ohio, local, who was associated with the anti-concessions presidents, was also defeated.

Oginsky, reported in the article as having stated that a split had occurred in the anti-concessions forces in his local, stated, "These guys turned around and started a new group . . . The members should have been voting for us instead of against us. But some were think-

ing that the new young blood would fight harder."

In other words, these "progressives" were not defeated because they fought concessions, but because the workers believed they hadn't.

And there ought to be a lesson here for many of the oppositions in auto. In the Rouge DAP elections, the Trotskyist Organization supported the candidates of the United Front Caucus. Their results ranged from those of Lonnie Eskew, who lost a District Committeeman election: by only twelve votes, to those of Judy Wraight, who ran for president and received roughly 10% of the total vote. (Wraight was running as a laid-off worker).

More important however is the aim of the original slate, which unfortunately was presented more as a hodge-podge of trade union and transitional demands, rather than as a leadership with a coherent fighting strategy for auto workers. That is not a crime of the UFC alone, in fact it is typical of every opposition in auto. And that is the problem — how did the UFC show itself as being different from all the other oppositions in auto? For example, why wasn't a candidate put up against Bob King, the new president of Local 600, and Mike Ri-

naldi's supposedly progressive successor? In the past, the UFC has not confined itself to unit posts, so why now?

The fact is, the UFC's program for workers control, workers party, workers government, which we agree with in formal terms, is nothing but words on paper if they are not demands worth fighting for. Where is the UFC's fight for a workers party except on paper? In the DAP, the UFC ran against Hank Wilson, and that is good because Wilson was basically a rotten bureaucrat and nothing more, despite his pretensions. But why avoid King, who ran unopposed?

The fact is, a program no matter how many demands it contains, represents nothing if it is not a part of a fighting strategy for workers. That is not just our conclusion. That is also what auto workers concluded about the so-called "anti-concessions" presidents and local leaderships. It is easy to be "for" a workers party, it is hard to fight for it when the UAW bureaucracy and the so-called "progressives" are cramming the Democratic Party down workers' throats. But auto workers need the fight in reality, not on paper. D.M.

Defend the SWP . . . continued

those announcing new attacks. The key question was that the SWP was trying to pressure the Chicago police into acting. But it turned out that the Legion of Justice had been set up by the Chicago cops!

Similarly, around the same time, the SWP office in Los Angeles was fire-bombed by *gusanos* (counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles). Here again, the SWP confined itself to pressure tactics and public condemnations.

Interestingly enough, these two cities have been the sites of agreements between the police and civil liberties groups that have, as the SWP itself has said, *whitewashed* the "red squads" (that is, groups to spy on and set up political organizations for attack) of the two police departments. The long-run consequences of the

SWP's past policy have not been to weaken the police, but to weaken the fight against their violations of the rights of the working class.

Publicity, condemnations by other groups, individuals and so on, of the attacks are necessary and good. But they are far from enough. An active defense is necessary.

That is illustrated by the fact that the fire-bombing in Seattle was preceded by a series of nightly defacements of the office building with Nazi stickers. An aggressive and alert policy could have nipped the attacks in the bud and forestalled the arson.

The right wing attacks must be met with a forceful response, sending a message not only to the fascists, but to Reagan. K.F.

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 Crisis of the United Secretariat and the Way Out

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The open repudiation of Trotskyism by the Barnes leadership of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is an extremely dramatic development. But it is only the most graphic example of something larger, the open crisis of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec).

Crisis and Way Out

This is increasingly unable to be contained, bursting out in the positions taken by, for example (as we have reported) the USec's Australian, Spanish and Mexican sections. These positions strip away even the veneer of pseudo-Trotskyism that the USec has tried to maintain.

The USec, from its 1963 "Reunification Congress" until today, has been an unprincipled regroupment of forces who have broken with the program of Trotskyism, and who have set up a confusionist center as an obstacle to the fulfillment of the tasks of the Fourth International.

The present crisis of the USec is the ultimate manifestation of this essential character. The chickens have truly come home to roost.

As part of this crisis, there has been the emergence of breaks away from the consequences of the USec's Pabloite course. That is the nature of, for example, Socialist Action (SA) and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), which basically represent what was the anti-Barnes opposition inside the SWP.

But these organizations have only reacted to and reflected this crisis; they have not opened up a way out of it. This is summed up in the fact that they maintain that the USec is the Fourth International. And this false position is all the more striking because it is simply asserted. These groups have not even tried to justify it; they simply mention it in passing, as if it were something self-evident.

But a suppressed contradiction is nonetheless a contradiction, and will find an expression. This is most sharply expressed today by the need of SA, in particular, to pass over in silence the blatant crudities of other USec groups, crudities that are of the same type that it denounced in the SWP.

The most recent example of this is that, in Chicago at least, the presentation by Rosario Ibarra de la Piedra (who is associated with the USec's Mexican PRT) was not followed by any discussion period. Is it coincidental that this incident took place just at the time (see *Truth* #183) that the PRT's call for support to Jesse Jackson had emerged?

There is a horrible example of what the failure to break — on a fundamental political basis — with the USec will mean. Let SA and FIT profit from the lessons of the existence of Nahuel Moreno's International Workers League (IWL).

What Is the IWL?

The IWL is the product of the split of the Bolshevik Faction from the USec (in 1979, at the time of its "Eleventh World Congress"). Moreno presented this split as a balance sheet of and an alternative to the USec. But, as our Spanish section has pointed out: "Moreno belongs to this category of 'leaders' who do not cease to make all kinds of self-criticisms accompanying the sharpest turns in his political position, and forgetting every morning what he said the night before . . . The 'self-criticisms' of Moreno defend a line of zig-zags and adventures."

Thus, today, four years after the "break," we find the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP), the US supporter of the IWL, explicitly placing itself in a common framework with the USec. "What," it asks, "is Socialist Action's position about the majority of the Fourth International, that is a part of the International Workers League?" (*Working Class Opposition*, April 1984; emphasis in original.)

And the May issue of the same paper persists: "Both SA and our organization consider themselves to be a part of the same revolutionary Marxist current."

This is the context in which the IWL has itself maintained every opportunist element of the USec, from the centrist regroupment of MAS in Argentina, to the rapprochement with Stalinism in Spain, to combinations with petty

bourgeois democrats (Peace and Freedom Party) in the US.

Like the SWP, Moreno's Argentine organization had been part of the International Committee (IC), which had organized the fight against Pabloite betrayal of the Fourth International. As we have pointed out before (*Truth* #181), the IC organizations were still subject to opportunist errors. The struggle against the 1963 "reunification" marked a decisive turn in this situation. By rejecting this struggle, Moreno prepared all his future capitulations (including to the Castroism that he now claims to oppose) by refusing to break from his opportunist policy in the IC's early period.

And the USec cannot be defended except by engaging in incredible contortions to try to confuse this issue.

In his report in the *Trotskyist Bulletin* (the only issue of the publication of the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference scuttled by the IWP), IWP leader Mark Elliot blandly stated: "Some comrades present at the Conference referred to rumors of a supposed capitulation of the PST to Peronism in the 1950s . . .

"Our delegate to the ENTC explained that in that period, some thirty years ago, the PST didn't exist. Its leader Nahuel Moreno would have been a mere youth . . . We didn't enter the Peronist party nor did we practice entryism in it."

Opportunism Will Out

But there is an *unimpeachable* source who emphatically indicates otherwise: "At that time the Trotskyists had entered the Partido Socialista de la Revolucion Nacional [PSRN — Socialist Party of the National Revolution]. Perreya and I were on the executive committee of the party, which included other currents and was headed by the Dickman group . . . (Peron always had his door open to the Dickman group.)"

So wrote . . . Nahuel Moreno, in the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* of July 22, 1974 (brackets by IP).

And the "mere youth" fiction is likewise disposed of. Speaking of the late Argentine Trotskyist Mateo Fossa, Moreno says: "We met around 1942 in the Liga Obrera Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Workers League]. I had joined this group after being expelled from the PORS [Workers Party of the Socialist Revolution], which embraced all the old Trotskyists" (*IP*; August 6, 1973; *IP* brackets, emphasis added).

Aside from its comic aspect, this way of proceeding is necessary for the IWP. It has to try to construct a continuum of revolutionary policy to cover a history of opportunism. And this history is inseparable from two things: first, Moreno's joining the USec, and persisting in this up to today; second (and inextricably connected with it), Moreno's alliance with Barnes' SWP, especially in terms of the electoralist course in Argentina and the pacifist opposition to guerrillaism.

The IWL cannot separate itself from this past, even though it would like to. For SA and the FIT, the question is not yet resolved. There are positive aspects in these groups' existence. But these positive aspects can be developed only on the basis of an all-out fight to re-evaluate the experience of the SWP's reunification with the Pabloites, taking shape as the USec.

For example, both SA and the FIT (in their declaration as the Opposition Bloc in the SWP) state that they agree with the "reunification" documents and the 1946 Theses on the American Revolution. We think there is a pronounced contradiction here, one that has to be brought out and developed.

Interestingly enough, the IWP felt compelled (in the same report we cited) to specifically denounce these Theses: "The SWP characterized the post-war period in the US as a revolutionary period and announced great opportunities which would open up for building the SWP as a mass party . . . Slowly the party degenerated into national Trotskyism."

It was Pablo's American followers, Cochran-Clarke, who specifically denounced the American Theses as part of their open campaign to "junk the old Trotskyism." This campaign was carried into action in 1963 and is being finished by Barnes. On this question, the IWP finds itself, willy-nilly, on the side of Cochran, Shachtman, Goldman-Morrow — an interesting string of complete opportunists. And all we get (with the typical contemptuous ignorance of the IWP) is a distorted version of Tim Wohlforth's attack, which itself expressed the inability of Healy to correctly pose the need to rebuild the US section of the Fourth International.

A Choice To Be Made

We don't have to abstractly defend every document ever passed by the SWP. But James P. Cannon motivated the Theses in a fundamental sense: "In short, we have worked and

struggled to build a party fit to lead a revolution in the United States . . . But only now, for the first time, has it been incorporated in a programmatic document of the party. That is what is new in our 'Theses on the American Revolution.' We are now stating explicitly what before was implied" ("The Coming American Revolution," in *Speeches for Socialism*, p. 383).

The attempt to dismiss the American Theses in passing, which involves taking a stand against this "programmatic document," is an attempt to smuggle in another policy — in this case, the USec platform of Pabloite anti-Trotskyism.

The IWP probably thought it was merely getting in a cheap shot at the SWP. But, unintentionally, it revealed that it does not stand on the traditions, heritage and gains of American Trotskyism. Instead, once again, it stands on the position of support to Pabloism and the USec.

But SA and FIT want to stand in both places at once, something that leads to very awkward and unbalanced actions. There is a question of "either/or" for these two organizations, one that they have so far tried to avoid answering. But this cannot go on indefinitely.

Either the two groups take a stand on the traditions of American Trotskyism — the American Theses — or they leave them as empty verbiage and actually base themselves on the "reunification" documents. Either the revolutionary party in the United States, or the "blunted instrument" and "unconscious Trotskyists." Either a complete break with the politics of the USec, or the inevitable return to essentially the politics of Barnes.

These alternatives take shape in two courses. One course is continuing that taken so far, for example, by SA: a course that is increasingly hard to distinguish from that of a dozen other "radical" groups, not to mention that of the SWP, even today.

The other course is toward the Trotskyist Congress. That represents a clear resolution of the contradiction in favor of American Trotskyism. It means taking the traditions of American Trotskyism and developing them — especially with the Labor Party tactic — into a concrete platform for the revolution today, a clear differentiation from centrism and opportunism.

And, on this basis, the Trotskyist Congress can found a party that will be a worthy successor to the struggle of the old SWP.

For a Labor Party, a Labor Press

Many youth and workers like the idea of a Labor Party, but they are reluctant to buy *Truth* and still more to subscribe. But to build an independent Labor Party you have to have an independent labor paper.

The fight for a Labor Party is a fight for the independence of the unions and the class as a whole. This means they must have their own positions, policies, strategy and tactics. They

have to have their own struggle. And there is no way to do this if workers do not have their own paper.

Every day the bosses publish reams and reams of propaganda against the workers and their struggle. Read the editorials, the "news" in the daily papers. Catch their slant. And, more often than not, the union papers just echo this stuff.

We are fighting to build a paper — and a party — that represents the working class, serves its interests, a real workers paper. And we need your support.

Your subscription will support *Truth* financially, extend its circulation and provide you

with material to fight for your class. Subscribe today.

M.G.



Mel Mason, candidate for president who advocates a Labor Party and member of the Socialist Workers Party

Summer Schedule

Preparations for the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International and summer vacations oblige us to publish *Truth* less frequently. *Truth* will be published on the following dates: June 27, July 25, and August 29. We will return to biweekly publication in September.
The Editorial Board

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Defeat Injunction Against Toledo Auto Workers!

Thousands of UAW members shut down the AP Parts Company in a pitched battle with police in Toledo on May 22.

AP Parts tried to cut workers' total wages and benefits from \$20.5 per hour to \$14.5 per hour. When the workers refused to make these concessions and went on strike, the company hired scabs to replace them. UAW Local 14, which has only a few hundred members, responded by mobilizing UAW locals throughout the area who rallied around the plant (estimates range from 700 to 5,000 workers).

The management and the scabs were afraid to come out and called the police who attacked picketing workers. Nevertheless, the plant remained closed for two days. AP Parts has just gotten an injunction limiting pickets to four per gate and reopened the plant, but the battle is far from over.

This is the first time that auto workers have succeeded in organizing a mass struggle against concessions since the companies, the Carter-Mondale regime and the union bureaucrats first forced Chrysler workers to make concessions (including the shut-down of the Detroit Dodge Main plant, many other plants and wage and benefit cuts) in the summer of 1979 and isolated every union that opposed this policy (PATCO, Greyhound, Phelps Dodge, McDonnell-Douglas, etc.).

Thus it can be a turning point in the class struggle, an end to the policy of concessions and the beginning of a working class offensive against the bosses. But everything depends upon the determination of the workers and the response of the rest of the UAW union locals.

An all out fight to defeat the injunction, continue the mass picketing and shut down AP Parts is imperative. Every UAW local in the country must support the strike, denounce the injunction, urge UAW Local 14 to continue the mass picketing and send telegrams, donations, mass delegations and car caravans to back them up. This is the only way to prepare a successful strike in the fall. If Toledo loses, every auto worker will lose, because the bosses will know that the UAW has not got the muscle to back up its demands.

Naturally the UAW bureaucracy will say that we cannot do this because it is "illegal." This is just what they said fifty years ago when Toledo Auto-Lite workers went on strike for union recognition, the company hired scabs to replace them and got a court injunction to protect the scabs and stop the picketing.

But if the workers had listened to them then, there would not even be a union. And if they listen to them now, there will not be a union.

Fifty years ago Toledo workers defeated the injunction. They sent a letter to the judge informing him of their intentions; they organized

thousands of workers, employed and unemployed, at their sides; they battled 10,000 national guardsmen . . . and they won.

Today it is necessary to do the same. It is not defiance of the injunction that is illegal. It is the injunction itself that is illegal, a violation of the elementary right of the worker to defend his livelihood in the only way possible in a capitalist society.

And today it is necessary to go beyond the Toledo Auto-Lite workers courageous struggle and put forward Labor Candidates to defend the struggle and begin to build a Labor Party to

fight for political power.

This is the road to victory.
Solidarity with Toledo AP Parts workers!
Defeat the injunction!
UAW locals, take your place in the struggle!
M.G.

A Message of Support

To UAW Local 14 and all its supporters!

Fellow workers!

We salute your tremendous and courageous struggle against AP Auto Parts and its attempt to cut your wages and take your jobs. Your struggle is an inspiration to workers everywhere, especially auto workers in Detroit forced to take concessions for five long years.

We condemn the bosses' injunction as an illegal violation of the workers' elementary democratic right to organize, promised in the first amendments to the Constitution. And we urge you to do everything in your power to defeat this illegal injunction and continue mass picketing, just as Toledo Auto-Lite workers did fifty years ago in their great battle for union recognition.

If you do this, if you hold out, UAW and other union locals will come to your aid and you will win. AP Auto Parts will be the Gettysburg of the war against concessions. We pledge to you our total support.

Solidarity forever.
The Trotskyist Organization of the USA
Detroit
May 25, 1984

Send Messages of Support to:
UAW Local 14,
1455 W. Alexis Rd.
Toledo, OH

How Toledo Workers won in 1934

In 1934, Toledo workers defied an injunction, organized thousands of workers, battled the National Guard, and finally won union recognition. Their struggle was one of three tremendous strikes that paved the way for the foundation of the CIO. Here is the letter they wrote to the judge informing him of their plans.

May 5, 1934

His Honor Judge Stuart
County Court House
Toledo, Ohio

Honorable Judge Stuart:

On Monday morning May 7, at the Auto-Lite plant, the Lucas County Unemployed League, in protest of the injunction issued by your court, will deliberately and specifically violate the injunction enjoining us from sympathetically picketing peacefully in support of the striking Auto Workers Federal Union.

We sincerely believe that this court intervention, preventing us from picketing, is an abrogation of our democratic rights, contrary to our constitutional liberties and contravenes the spirit and the letter of Section 7a of the NRA.

Further, we believe that the spirit and intent of this arbitrary injunction is another specific example of an organized movement to curtail the rights of all workers to organize, strike and picket effectively.

Therefore, with full knowledge of the principles involved and the possible consequences, we openly and publicly violate an injunction which, in our opinion, is a suppressive and oppressive act against all workers.

Sincerely yours,

Lucas County Unemployed League Anti-Injunction Committee
Sam Pollock, Secretary

March Against US Intervention in Central America

By DAVID MARK

American intervention in Central America has begun and is in fact well under way. Once again the Democratic Party has adopted Reagan's aid proposal for El Salvador. Only a mass movement independent of imperialism and the Democratic Party can stop US intervention.

The strategy of the Reagan administration is to intervene, step by step, creating pretexts where needed to introduce US troops. US troops become more deeply involved until finally a "tragedy" occurs. This will in turn serve as a basis for whipping up public opinion and full scale intervention is on.

Reagan's May 9 speech is a prime example — one lie after another put together to form one "big lie."

Reagan speaks of "our effort to promote democracy and economic well-being in the face of Cuban and Nicaraguan aggression," and says, "We do not start wars." Really?

In early May, an internal Reagan administration report was discovered that accused two right wing Salvadoran officers of engineering the murder of US land reform officials, even though the State Department put out an opposite statement for public consumption.

And the US is precisely "starting a war" in Central America. Congressional sources were reported in major newspapers to have come across a plan by the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the use of fighter bombers to "protect" US troops in Central America. Also, the army is requesting \$4.3 million for a permanent "contingency facility" in Honduras capable of handling US planes and housing US troops "indefinitely."

Even the World Court, a tool of world imperialism and the United Nations, has ruled against the US in the mining of Nicaraguan ports. (Although the court will impose no sanctions). Mining another nation's ports would seem to qualify for "starting a war."

And not only is the US financing and directing the activities of the Nicaraguan "contras," it is also now using special elite Salvadoran troops to intervene directly in Nicaragua. On May 3, a spokesman for the Reagan administration admitted that at least two air strikes (and probably many more) had been directed by the CIA, not the "contras," and that ground troops involved to provide logistics were Salvadoran. The US role in Nicaragua will deepen just as surely as the State Department fabrication factory will keep on churning out the "big lie."

The El Salvadoran elections, upon which Reagan bases his claims of democratization, were completely rigged and rife with fraud.

This much has been acknowledged by many sources — US produced voting lists were ignored, many votes were not counted, and the US had a major role through the CIA in backing Duarte. But more importantly, these elections have no influence over what happens in El Salvador. The civil war will decide. There is still the very real possibility of a military coup in El Salvador anyway. This is more or less openly being threatened by D'Aubuisson, the leader of the death squads and the right-wing ARENA party.

So what have the elections accomplished? Mainly they have served as a public relations ploy by Reagan to give the Democrats an ex-

cuse to cave in to all of Reagan's demands for aid to the Salvadoran military. And that is precisely what the Democrats did following the visit of Duarte to Washington. Even the most ardent "opponents" of Reagan's Central American policies embraced Duarte.

The fact is, Duarte has more than once played the role of covering for a military coup in El Salvador, serving as sort of a civilian puppet for the generals and Washington.

This is the reality in Central America — civil war, the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua against the regime supported by US imperialism. There are no interim solutions, only two sides. While this reality has not yet dawned on

most of the so-called peace movement in the US, there is at least beginning to take shape a wing of the movement that wants to base itself on militant actions and demonstrations, as opposed to the policy of putting pressure on the Democratic Party (which has supported Reagan's policies all along).

As unformed and unarticulated as the anti-intervention wing may be, the Trotskyist Organization will work with it, and with those militants and organizations that want to build mass demonstrations and actions independent of the Democratic Party. This is the basis upon which we are building with others in Detroit a demonstration on July 21.

An Independent Struggle Against Anti-Worker Repression

Here we are in the middle of what Reagan and all the capitalist media tell us is just a wonderful "economic recovery," and somehow there is no let-up on the attacks on the rights and living standards of the workers.

Greater and greater profits go hand in hand with demands for more and more concessions. And these are accompanied by violent repression on the one hand, and new legal attacks on the other.

The Arizona copper miners have been on strike since July of last year. On May 5, a solidarity march and rally was attacked by the Arizona state police, resulting in the arrests of at least twelve strikers and others. The governor of Arizona, Bruce Babbitt (fondly known as "Scab-it") is in control of the state police, of course, as well as of the National Guard, which

he then sent into the strike region for the second time. Babbitt is a Democrat, but no one has heard anything from "labor's candidate," Walter Mondale, against these vicious attacks, nor from Hart or Jackson.

The Militant of May 18 reports that Dr. Jorge O'Leary, a key strike supporter and physician to the miners, spoke at the rally, denouncing the AFL-CIO's passivity and, especially, its support to Democrats. "We need," he is quoted as saying, "to build our own party, a labor party based on the trade unions."

And this is a key question. It is the Democratic and Republican parties that are behind these attacks, like the Supreme Court's go awasn't a candidate put up against Bob King, the new president of Local 600, and Mike Ri-

(150 arrests in a little over a month) that San Jose city officials and police have refused to help the immigration cops, labeling the raid "discriminatory and inhumane"!

Brutal attacks are not confined to physical violence. The latest attack is the so-called "teen-wage" bill in Congress. This proposal to reduce the summer minimum wage for teenagers to \$2.50 an hour (!) is an attack both on youth and older workers, to set one against the other and to undermine the unions. This vicious proposal has been endorsed, among others, by the (heavily Democratic) National Conference of Black Mayors.

These attacks must be met by an independent mobilization of the working class in the streets and in political action.

Defend the SWP . . . c

those announcing new attacks. The key question was that the SWP was trying to pressure the Chicago police into acting. But it turned out that the Legion of Justice had been set up by the Chicago cops!

Similarly, around the same time, the SWP office in Los Angeles was fire-bombed by *gusanos* (counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles). Here again, the SWP confined itself to pressure tactics and public condemnations.

Interestingly enough, these two cities have been the sites of agreements between the police and civil liberties groups that have, as the SWP itself has said, *whitewashed* the "red squads" (that is, groups to spy on and set up political organizations for attack) of the two police departments. The long-run consequences of the

Defend the SWP Ag

In recent weeks, a series of attacks have been made on public offices and halls of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The Seattle headquarters was fire-bombed on April 26. On April 24, the Los Angeles SWP hall was likewise fire-bombed. And these incidents follow attacks in Atlanta, where the SWP campaign office was several times shot into.

Every worker, youth and militant has a great deal at stake in defending the SWP. The first and most obvious thing to note is that all these attacks follow the outrageous acquittal of the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan in the Greensboro murders of Communist Workers Party mem-

article).

The SWP, since its slide into centrism, has always responded to such attacks with strictly legal and public relations techniques. This was incorrect then, and it is dangerous now. In the early 1970s, for example, the SWP was the victim of serious attacks, including physical attacks on its members, in Chicago. These attacks were led by a right wing grouping calling itself the Legion of Justice. As the attacks increased, the SWP interspersed articles in its paper on how well the fight was going with

Continued on page 2