

TRUTH

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IF YOU WANT JOBS . . .

Youth Brigades for Public Works Projects! Vote for a Labor Party November 6!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The Democratic Party convention showed that working class youth who want jobs must organize a massive struggle for them themselves; they must build their own party to lead this fight.

The Democratic Party convention did not adopt one single proposal to provide jobs for working class youth or their families. On the contrary, it took "a more conservative economic stance than past Democratic platforms, proposing no new social or jobs programs" (*Detroit Free Press*, July 18, 1984).

The convention rejected a proposal to establish "quotas" to insure that Blacks get a fair share of jobs and upheld job discrimination within the Democratic Party itself. (It maintained the "runoff primary" policy that forces Black candidates in the South to get an absolute majority of the total votes cast, rather than simply the greatest number of votes, in order to be their party's candidate.)

And when Democratic Party leaders discussed jobs with 55 Black Democrats at a special meeting (called to involve them more deeply in the campaign), they were unable to come up with anything concrete (*Detroit Free Press*, August 31, 1984).

The Democratic Party convention was so indifferent and hostile to the needs of Blacks that many new Black Democratic Party convention delegates wound up *booing* old Black leaders who defended the Democratic Party policy, including Andrew Young and Coretta Scott King!

And Jesse Jackson, while agreeing to campaign for Walter Mondale this fall, is also trying to distance himself from the campaign. "I have not been attacking him, but I will always reserve the right to challenge and express my-

self . . . I haven't taken a vow of silence," said Jackson (*Detroit Free Press*, August 29, 1984).

Black Democratic Party leaders are reluctant to actively support the Democratic Party's campaign because they know that the Democratic Party has *absolutely nothing* to offer the masses of Black youth and workers, particularly when it comes to jobs. Yet these same leaders continue to support this party because *their jobs*, as politicians, functionaries, etc., depend on it.

Black working class youth and workers, however, have *absolutely nothing to gain* from the Democratic Party. It does not provide them with jobs now and it never will. Nor do they have anything to lose from its collapse, as do the Black Democratic Party politicians and functionaries.

Black youth and workers *do*, however, have *everything to gain* from a massive struggle for jobs, for youth brigades to carry out public works projects, for a division of work among all workers, for a working class party to lead this fight.

By winning the labor unions, the most powerful working class organizations to this fight, working class youth can insure the victory of the struggle and pull the rug out from under the Democratic Party and Reagan. Thus the fight for a working class party must be a fight for a Labor Party based on these unions.

The fight for jobs can begin today with a fight for city governments in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and other working class cities to provide funds for youth brigades controlled by the unions; with a fight in key union locals for a vote for a Labor Party in the coming elections, for a vote for working class candidates on the ballot, for union locals to put forward their own candidates, even as write-ins.

All working class organizations that claim to support this struggle, especially organizations that claim to be Trotskyist, like the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, Socialist Action, or the Internationalist Workers Party, must make a common struggle for these goals. These organizations can form an electoral alliance, put forward a slate of candidates and fight for key union locals to do the same in order to advance these goals. Even if the initial forces regrouped in such an alliance are small, even if the possibilities for putting forward candidates are limited, and even if the actual results in terms of votes are small, such a *working class alliance in these elections* will open the road to independent, mass action on the part of thousands.

This struggle will not be easy. Democratic Party trade union and Black leaders and their allies in the Communist Party and Workers World Party are working overtime to convince youth and workers that they have a stake in the Democratic Party, that they have something to lose if the Democratic Party loses.

And many working class organizations have capitulated to this pressure by refusing to enter into a political struggle with the Democratic Party in the elections and in the unions for a vote for a Labor Party. Socialist Workers Party candidates, Mason and Gonzalez, who always put their call for a Labor Party on the back burner, have now almost completely abandoned it.

But an energetic struggle on the part of Trotskyists, working class youth and their allies can overcome this pressure. After all, nothing worth fighting for ever comes easily.

Youth brigades for public works projects!
Vote for a Labor Party November 6!

The Death Penalty for Racist Terrorists

Five Ku Klux Klan members were charged with violating civil rights in Atlanta, Georgia in early August.

These Klansmen — Mailon Paul Wood, Kenneth E. Davis, Winford Wood, James K. Adams, and William L. Deering — gave Warren Cokley a fractured skull because he, a Black man, is married to a white woman. They also whipped Peggy Jo French, a white woman, with a belt, in the presence of her two children, because she associates with Black people.

The maximum penalty for these "civil rights violations" is ten years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

These racist, terrorist attacks on Blacks and whites, which are on the increase, are a direct result of the release of the Klansmen who murdered the Black and white Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina. And by charging these racist terrorists simply with civil rights violations, the Federal "Justice Department" is continuing the pattern of government protection of these criminals.

There is one way to put a stop to these crimes, *the death penalty for racist terrorists*. And there is one way to see that it is carried out, by forming independent committees to lead the struggle. The "Justice Department" certainly cannot be trusted with justice. It inspires these criminals.

M.G.

Workers Candidates on the Ballot in Michigan

The State of Michigan is actively trying to exclude the Socialist Workers Party from the ballot for the November elections by challenging the validity of the signatures that the SWP collected.

The Trotskyist Organization sent a telegram to the Election Commission denouncing this attack on the democratic rights of a working class organization. We think the SWP and all working class organizations have a right to be on the ballot, whether they have collected one signature or one million signatures.

But the problem is not simply the exclusion of the SWP. It is the exclusion of virtually all working class organizations. Thus a common fight for a working class alternative on the November ballot is imperative.

Parties are forced to collect an inordinate number of signatures that are then subjected to inordinate and totally arbitrary scrutiny. There is no provision for independent candidates at all, even though this has been ruled unconstitutional. And write-ins are extremely complicated.

Thus an all out fight on the part of all working class organizations against the Republicans and the Democrats election commission is an absolute necessity. At this point this struggle can take different forms: a fight to overturn the election board's decision concerning the SWP, a fight for ballot status as independents (a suit) or even a write-in campaign. What is essential is that it be a *a common, working class fight in the unions*.

We have said this over and over again in the last months. Yet the SWP and other organizations in the area each continue to pursue their own, go-it-alone course, and with great difficulty as we predicted.

Now is the time to break with this policy and pursue a class policy. Will Michigan workers get to pick between Republicans, Democrats and various organizations that support them? Or will there be a class alternative on the November ballot? The choice is up to you.

TRUTH

**A Workers Front
to Defend
the Nicaraguan
Revolution!**

Over . . .

No to UAW Support to Mondale!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

Bieber and Co. have finally, after much stalling, chosen GM as the possible strike target for the UAW. They are playing a losing hand and have brought the UAW to near collapse with their program of "No imports, domestic-content legislation, and *elect Mondale*." If workers want to win, take hold of the possibilities inherent in the contract round, now is the time for a Labor Party — for Labor Candidates in the elections and a national strike of auto as a prelude to bringing all the concession mongers of America to their knees.

There are several contracts expiring around the same dates: the postal workers, the UAW and the United Mine Workers. What an opportunity for working class struggle! But the watchword of the union heads is: "Don't make waves for Mondale." And look where this has led!

Bieber and Co. kept auto workers confused about who would be struck, when, etc. to drag out the time so the workers would not be prepared for *any* kind of strike by the September 14 deadline. And, "analysts say GM's financial strength is so imposing that the firm would be able to take a strike rather than agree to contract terms it doesn't like" (*Detroit News*, September 7, 1984).

Arbitration (postal workers union), averting strikes (UMW), and rendering strike action harmless (UAW) — what a strategy for beating concessions, for answering the government and company drive to break, gut and replace the unions! But this is the strategy of the pro-Mondale forces in the unions.

Naturally, the government and the auto barons are armed to the teeth in this situation.

GM put out a poisonous document last spring that would eliminate 60,000 to 120,000 jobs. They would replace wage increases and COLA (Cost of Living Adjustments) with so-called "profit-sharing," make workers pay more of their own medical expenses, cutback on the number of workers doing certain jobs. Already they follow the guidelines established by the government that made the postal union accept a two-tier wage system — paying new hires 80% or less wages than those of current workers. What's to stop any of this according to the strategy of the pro-Mondale bureaucrats?

Right now, 37 indictments have been made of AP Parts workers and 30 more workers have been arrested on strike-based charges. Thomas Joseph of the Boilermakers Union was convicted of "aggravated riot" for participation in the strike. What did the UAW bureaucrats propose in defense of the AP Parts workers? They are for some fund-raising activities.

The objective situation shows that the companies and the government have no intention of letting up on their bent to destroy the union. It also shows the workers are ready and willing to fight but are systematically held back and betrayed by the bureaucrats and forces claiming to represent them. Then the workers must have leadership that matches their militancy.

Where would a Labor Party lead the unions? In the first place, Labor Candidates would have the effect of awakening the impulse of the workers to tear down the old and rebuild on a new basis that matches the needs and interests of the great majority. There would be no concern about "cooling it" for Mondale's benefit because they would have real spokespeople capable of organizing political and practical

support for any strike action or need of the working class. Labor Candidates would be for the unions acting together and for all parties claiming to be on the side of the workers to *work together* against the bosses and their agents in the unions. Labor Candidates would use the election platform to argue for a national strike of the auto industry to break concessions and unite the unions.

Supporting Mondale leads to the destruction of the unions and to the dispersal of the working class. A Labor Party and Labor Candidates leads to organization of the working class and thus to freedom.

Yet many parties that claim to be for a Labor Party refuse to make this fight in the unions, in the elections.

The Socialist Workers Party now says that only bureaucrats concern themselves with elections and call it "electoralism" (with a sneer) to participate in the elections on behalf of the working class.

What they coyly call "independent political action" is a substitute for that. They mean more strikes, and yet more (with the SWP cheering from behind) without direction. By telling the workers the elections are not very important, they adapt ever more thoroughly to the Kremlin and its American party, the Communist Party which shamelessly, openly, supports Mondale. In the old SWP when it had a real working class leadership, "independent political action" meant a Labor Party and running Workers Candidates to unify the workers and unions against the capitalists around the workers interests and demands, not trade unionism, pure and simple.

Militants true to this heritage should join us in this fight today.

FOR A PARTISAN MOVEMENT!

A Workers Front to Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

By FRED VITALE

An Emergency National Conference Against US Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, September 14-16.

The preparation of this conference is a sign of the tremendous support for the Nicaraguan Revolution that is growing within the American working class, including the trade unions, and of the increasing opposition to the imperialist Democratic Party.

"The US government continues to provide overt and covert aid to repressive regimes and to counterrevolutionaries seeking to overthrow popular movements for self-determination..." says the Conference Call.

"Working people throughout Central America/the Caribbean are struggling for the same things workers want in the United States and everywhere..." it says.

The Reagan administration and Congress are responsible for this according to the Call.

This conference has been endorsed by international unions and, in particular, by UAW Local 217, the first such endorsement in many years, as well as by dozens of individual trade union leaders.

The Conference was called to educate and plan for specific national actions against US intervention, with the Conference itself democratically deciding what actions to take.

Partisan Movement

The Trotskyist Organization proposes that the Conference build a *partisan movement* — a Workers Front to Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. This means a fight for:

1) immediate steps to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution — volunteers to go to Nicaragua to aid in its defense, along with material aid and arms; a union boycott of aid to the contras and reactionary dictatorships;

2) a campaign for a Labor Party, beginning with a *vote for a Labor Party* in the November elections; urge union locals to support working class parties on the ballot and put forward their own candidates.

We propose building such a movement because the movement today is, in fact, partisan. And, it will grow and develop as a partisan movement or it will disappear.

The movement suffered for the past two years under the policy of support for the Democratic Party by CISPES and other organizations. This period saw a *weakening* of the movement and its influence. There were no practical steps taken to defend Nicaragua such as national demonstrations and only a few local actions.

Movement Revitalized

The movement was revitalized as militants and organizations moved to defend Nicaragua from the growing threat of US-sponsored counterrevolution (one of the main reasons given by the Organizing Committee of the Conference for an *Emergency National Conference*).

The movement not only is *partisan* in defense of Nicaragua and against the Democrats but it was formed against those "movement" organizations that supported the Democrats and refused any practical steps to defend Nicaragua. The Conference, as its Call and all the discussions as its meetings indicated, is part of this revitalization of the movement.

Now, under the pressure of the Democratic Party and its supporters, under the pressure of these organizations which have sabotaged the movement, a tendency is arising to short-circuit the movement, to accommodate to these organizations and the Democrats, with a policy of building a "non-partisan" movement.

"Non-partisan" movement

Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the Conference, said: "At the same time, people with many different perspectives will be coming to the conference. Some of them feel that the anti-intervention movement ought to focus on the elections in November to defeat Reagan and elect Mondale and congresspeople who, they think, would be for anti-interventionism."

"Others feel that what is needed is an independent, *non-partisan* anti-intervention movement that does not depend on the politicians and believes that the policies in Central America are basically bipartisan and that what is required is a mass movement with significant labor involvement" (*Socialist Action*, August, 1984, page 3 — emphasis added).

The main argument for building a "non-partisan" movement is to increase the number of people who will support it.

But a "non-partisan" movement means no movement.

Only a partisan movement can mobilize thousands today and millions tomorrow. This is the balance sheet of the actions organized these past months that revitalized the movement.

In Detroit, for example, a demonstration to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution and oppose US intervention was organized by a coalition of organizations and individuals. Two hundred people participated in a militant demonstration at which the featured speaker was Amilcar Navarro, First Secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy. The only people who were willing to build the demonstration and participate were those who were convinced that Nicaragua was right and the US was wrong; most were against the Democrats and the Republicans.

And where were all the "non-partisan" people?

Even those in the coalition who wanted the left Democrats and their hangers-on to attend had to admit that these "forces" did not want to be involved. They simply did not care what happened to Nicaragua.

Organizations like CISPES and the Workers World Party did nothing really to build the demonstration. And those who openly support the Democrats, like the Communist Party and its supporters, or work closely with them, like

the International Socialists, denounced the demonstration, even at the demonstration!

The Oppressors or the Oppressed

No. There will not be a "non-partisan" movement because as the confrontations between the workers in the US, the oppressed people of Central America and the US government increase in number and intensity, there are only two choices — with the oppressed and workers or with the imperialists and their hangers-on.

The truth of the matter is, though, that the real reason for raising a "non-partisan" movement now is not to build a larger movement but to open a door to the left Democrats and the petty-bourgeois pacifist, liberal and Church currents. If this happens, once again the movement will be weighed down with their accommodations to imperialism, once again no practical steps to stop the attacks, no growth.

The door will be closed to workers, Blacks and young people. They cannot and will not participate in a "movement" that does nothing and spends its resources on efforts of compromise with their oppressors.

These partisan forces, the workers and Blacks, are the only ones capable of actually stopping the imperialist war, of leading mil-

lions of people, including the middle classes, to do so. These past months have shown what opening the door to *these* forces can mean.

Some militants feel that nothing will be decided by the elections so they see no reason for the movement to take a stand in the elections against Reagan and Mondale.

But the question is this: if workers and Blacks are not politically armed to oppose the Democrats in the fall, in the elections, they won't be able to in the Spring either.

And, if Blacks and workers are not armed *before* the elections, then they will be disarmed in the face of the attacks on them and on Nicaragua that are sure to follow *after* the elections.

Only by taking up the defense of Nicaragua and fighting against the Democrats with a vote for a Labor Party in the elections *now* will it be possible to deepen and strengthen a mobilization in the Spring.

And, we are attending the Conference because there is an *emergency*. Nicaragua may be invaded in a full-scale attack any day. Can we afford to wait six months to take nation-wide action?

The time for action is now. The time for a partisan movement is now. Join with us in a fight for a Workers Front to Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution.

For a Partisan Movement, a Workers Front to Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

1. Build a campaign for volunteers, arms and other forms of material aid to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution in the unions; for a union boycott of aid to the contras and reactionary dictatorships in Central America.
2. Build a campaign to stop union support to the imperialist Democratic Party and build a Labor Party; vote for a Labor Party November 6 — vote for working class candidates on the ballot, fight for local union candidates for Congress.
3. Form an open national coordinating committee to lead this struggle.

Submitted by Fred Vitale, July 21 Coalition, Detroit
Rich Tetrault, Chicago

Volunteers for Nicaragua!

Excerpts from Interview with Nicaraguan Embassy Representative

We are publishing excerpts from an interview with a representative of the Nicaraguan Embassy, Amilcar Navarro, who spoke at a demonstration on the anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution in Detroit. His remarks show the importance of the Nicaraguan Revolution for US youth and workers, of *practical aid* to the revolution and of an independent working class leadership. Navarro, like the Sandinistas as a whole, thinks that the Democratic Party will bring some sort of relief to the revolution.

Question: What is the meaning of your struggle in Nicaragua?

Answer: The meaning of the struggle in Nicaragua is what we have been struggling for these last five years. First, to have the people's power in Nicaragua; second, to have a true democracy in Nicaragua, to have political and economic independence...

Q: What is the significance of the revolution in Nicaragua for US workers?

A: The significance is the struggle of the people of Nicaragua. That we were capable of organizing, that we were capable of overthrowing a dictatorship that had the military, political and economic support of the biggest power on the earth, the United States. And it was not because we had millions and millions of dollars as they are now giving to the contras, but because we had the support of the people of Nicaragua. And that is the biggest message we can send.

Q: What do you expect from the Reagan regime before and after the elections?

A: What we expect from the Reagan administration is what we have been suffering all along. As you know, the political platform of the Republican Party says that they want to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution. And we have been suffering that. But we have showed them that they cannot do it as easily as they thought. And the problem is this: if the Reagan administration gets re-elected they will try an adventure in Nicaragua and we have said that we have always been willing to talk to the United States and treat them as a sovereign nation and to treat us as a

sovereign nation. But if they invade Nicaragua it will not be a summer trip for the marines as in Grenada. It will be a bloodbath in Nicaragua.

We know that they did in Grenada because they thought it was "do-able." And we know that there are contingency plans to do the same thing in Nicaragua. And the only thing that has stopped them is the show of strength of the Nicaraguan people, the will to defend what they have gained.

Q: Do you think it would be better for Nicaragua if Mondale were elected?

A: It was a very significant step that Mondale, in his acceptance speech at the Democratic Party convention, said that in his first 100 days in office he would stop the war against Nicaragua. So we see that as a real positive step and we see that if he gets elected there might be a change toward Nicaragua and to lower the tensions between the United States...

Q: What would you advise US workers to do who are in solidarity with Nicaragua?

A: As you know, our struggle is your struggle. And as long as you keep being a worker here in the United States and struggling for your class, your people, your beliefs, you are in solidarity with the people of Nicaragua because we are in the same cause.

Q: We wrote a letter to the embassy proposing a united struggle for volunteers to defend Nicaragua. We think that such a campaign is key to defending Nicaragua because it can unite workers and young people of all countries in defense of Nicaragua against the United States. We never received a response. Are you for it? Could you issue such an appeal to workers and youth of

the world and their organizations to defend Nicaragua?

A: I cannot refuse such an offer.

Q: Would you make such an appeal?

A: We have already made such an appeal, and I insist that appeal to you. Nicaragua is your struggle, all the workers of the world's struggle and if you want to defend Nicaragua you are welcome in Nicaragua.

Poland

The Jaruzelski regime declared a general amnesty for all political prisoners in Poland except those charged with treason, espionage and sabotage.

Some Workers Defense Committee and Solidarnosc leaders should be released under this amnesty (including Kuron and Michnik, charged with "plotting to overthrow the government"), but others probably will not (including Bogdan Lis and Piotr Mierzejewski, charged with "high treason"). And the Jaruzelski regime has said that anyone arrested and convicted of similar charges within two years may have their cases reopened. This had led Michnik to indicate he might refuse the amnesty and demand a chance to prove his innocence.

While Jaruzelski says he was motivated by humanitarian concerns, in fact he was motivated by fear, fear that he would be defeated at these political prisoners' trials. Ten million people boycotted Jaruzelski's fake elections in July. Solidarnosc lives and fights.

Now is the time to continue the struggle: freedom for all political prisoners and parties; a general strike to bring down the junta; defend the socialist conquests in Poland!

M.G.

A Note to Readers ...

Due to financial difficulties we were not able to publish this number of *Truth* as planned and promised in August. We thank our readers for their patience and support. With this issue *Truth* will return to the usual bi-weekly schedule.

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