

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## Down With Fitzsimmons' Sabotage of Teamsters Strike!

# THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE!

300,000 Teamsters are out on a national strike-lockout in the first major confrontation with Carter's "voluntary anti-inflation program." The bourgeois press and media are doing their best to downplay the significance of this strike.

Better to talk about Three Mile Island than about strikes, which are a "disaster" the bourgeoisie REALLY fears.

But in the factories, offices and streets everyone IS talking about the Teamsters strike. Because they see this strike as a possibility of confronting the government and its attack.

Profits are up at an annual rate of 44%. Inflation is at 15%. And real wages are down 1.5% since October. Every worker sees the fight of the Teamsters as their fight.

At the same time they are not talking about the Teamsters strike in the same way as they talked about the miners strike last year. The miners strike touched a spark and every worker felt they were participating with the miners.

It is not the same because so far the Fitzsimmons' bureaucracy of the IBT has succeeded in imposing a SABOTAGED strike on the 300,000 Teamsters and the entire working class.

The farce of a "selective strike" called by the bureaucrats, allowing the companies to take the initiative with a LOCKOUT. All the "good reasons" given for this "selected strike" are COWARDLY reasons to hide the fact that this "strategy" is DEMOBILIZING and DEFENSIVE. Nothing to inspire Teamsters or the rest of the working class.

Along with the 50,000 Team-

sters in Chicago who remain working under a separate tract. That no real effort has been made to stop non-union trucks from running.

This has allowed the bourgeoisie to claim that "disruption is minimal" in the strike. The layoffs in auto are more a product of the greed and speed-up of the companies than anything else.

The Carter government also recognizes that the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy is doing its work. They have stated that they "are not yet contemplating" invoking Taft-Hartley.

But the real reason that they are "not contemplating" Taft-Hartley is because the miners taught them a lesson last year. They are SCARED to openly confront the Teamsters.

Because the situation is MUCH MORE EXPLOSIVE today than it was even last year.

The situation is more explosive because millions of workers and youth want to take on the Carter government, want to pass to an offensive against this capitalist, racist and imperialist state. Because MILLIONS of American workers are today ready to enter the political scene as a class.

PASS TO THE OFFENSIVE-- Shut down trucking! Not one truck to move until the Teamsters win FULL COST-OF-LIVING-- wages to rise exactly along with prices! Throw out the traitors-- Fitzsimmons and Co.-- and build a new leadership for the IBT based on democratically elected strike committees on a workers program!

PASS TO THE OFFENSIVE-- The Enemy is in the White House!

NO COOPERATION! with Carter's austerity program. A movement in

every factory to defy and break the wage guidelines.

The Enemy is in the White House! is more than a confrontation with the wage guidelines. It means that the workers and youth must organize a POLITICAL CONFRONTATION with this hated anti-worker, anti-youth, anti-black government.

And that the obstacles to this political confrontation are in the workers ranks. The trade union bureaucrats who are trying to make the powerful Teamsters look like lambs. The Stalinists of the American Communist Party who recently organized a demonstration in Detroit "to unite members and leaders."

And the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party who recently proposed an out-of-court "settlement" to this racist, imperialist government, begging that the government recognize them as a "legal party," "just like the Democrats

and Republicans."

NO!! What workers in this country need is a party TOTALLY UNLIKE the Democrats and Republicans. Unlike the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists too.

A party of class independence. A party to wage a political confrontation with this government by fighting for POWER, to destroy this government, its state, police and army.

An international party. A party to confront the problems of the American working class as part of an international fight to destroy Stalinism and imperialism throughout the world.

A WORKERS PARTY. A movement in the factories, schools, unions and streets to build such a party in a confrontation with all other parties and in order to PASS TO THE OFFENSIVE!

This is the conclusion in front of the Teamsters strike and every American worker.

April 5, 1979 TRUTH

INSIDE 

## STOP THE ATTEMPT TO DISBAND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN SPAIN!





# A WORKERS PARTY IS A COMBAT FOR CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

April 10 marks an historic day for autoworkers. On this day in 1941 Ford workers won the right to vote for union representation. A "right" won like every other right the workers have gained-- through bloody struggle against Ford's brutal PLANTation. On that day Henry Ford made a prediction for the future of unions in the United States, that they would become dependent on the company as their "bankers."

A damning statement which has become all too true. The fact is that without the support of the official leadership of the UAW, not to mention other unions, the anti-worker President Jimmy Carter never could have been elected. The fact is that the unions have become transformed into an instrument of this system of exploitation and repression not through the workers apathy (a popular theme of union careerists) but through the cowardly bowing down of the bureaucratic leadership of the unions to a succession of anti-worker governments and sellouts of workers strikes and struggles. What young worker doesn't feel completely betrayed by his union leadership, even to the point of rejecting unions altogether!

Fraser and his fellow-travelers are responsible. For three years of attacks on workers rights and jobs by this anti-worker government, for maintaining allegiance to the Democratic party of bosses and bureaucrats and for blocking every independent initiative of auto workers to fight back.

It is time to BREAK from Jimmy Carter and his un-Democratic party, to organize a COMBAT against the new recession being planned by his government, a government that represents the interests of the BOSSES -- Henry Ford, General Motors among them. A WORKERS PARTY to lead this struggle and grow with every victory is the ONLY SOLUTION.

Here we speak not of the "labor party" of bureaucrats and opportunists, but of a party of POLITICAL STRUGGLE rooted in the working class and its most oppressed sectors. Such a party means a complete BREAK with nationalism and

imperialism and the government and parties which represent them. For autoworkers it means a break not only with the bureaucrats in the unions, traitors to the workers movement, but also a BREAK with PASSIVE RESISTANCE to the crisis of American capitalism and Carter's government.

--FOR FACTORY OCCUPATIONS TO FORCE THE WORKERS DEMANDS!

--REGAIN THE INITIATIVE NOW! A COMBAT AGAINST SPEEDUP!

--CLEAN HOUSE IN THE UAW! THROW THE BOSSES' AGENTS OUT!

It's not just a question of going back to the militancy of the Flint workers to build unions with their sitdown strike, but of surpassing the limitations of the unions through a POLITICAL COMBAT against this system, and reclaiming the unions themselves for the workers and their fight. A program which demands a WORKERS PARTY to lead it.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA in this spirit calls on all autoworkers, especially those of General Motors, to help ensure the success of a Detroit GM Workers conference. Its goal: to prepare a combat NOW in auto against speedup and layoffs, in order to win our demands in 1979, in short to organize the most class conscious workers in the UAW around a program for the future -- CLASS INDEPENDENCE.

Already workers at Fleetwood, Chevy Gear & Axle, to name a few, have gone through important political experiences which can help prepare the fight for 1979. A forum is being prepared at Fleetwood on April 8th, On April 17th the Special Bargaining Convention of the UAW will be held in Detroit. It's an opportunity to confront Fraser and his bankrupt cronies who say there are NO ISSUES for autoworkers now.

-- Autoworkers say NO! A COMBAT AGAINST SPEEDUP AND LAYOFFS!

-- TO WIN VICTORY IN 1979 PREPARE THE FIGHT NOW!

April 5, 1979

TRUTH

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# No Contract is a Good Contract

By JON COHEN

For some people the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania has been a lucky event. In particular, for the vultures of the bourgeois press who are using the events at Three Mile Island to sell more papers and to once again try to convince American workers that they are helpless in face of modern "technology."

But it has given the bourgeoisie another excuse. An excuse to try to take people's minds off what has been the central issue in the last few weeks-- the economy-- the rising inflation, rising profits and the attempt of the working class to break Carter's "austerity" program.

Have you noticed that all this has disappeared in the last week as everyone (including our "brave" President) has rushed to Three Mile Island? Have you noticed that the national strike-lockout of 300,000 Teamsters, shutting down all major transportation in this country, is being treated as a minor event?

This is intentional, designed to take the minds of workers and youth off the issues involved in the Teamsters strike. A strike which involves a confrontation with the Carter government and its "voluntary anti-inflation program." A confrontation which involves every worker.

Because long after whatever happens at Three Mile Island happens the American workers will have to confront the REAL TERROR being organized by this government, which is not radiation, but the daily terror of unemployment, inflation and social misery. The terror of the counterrevolution which is being prepared here and around the world.

The Teamsters strike is a means to confront this terror. In fact, this entire year is a very crucial year for the American working class. The Teamsters contract is only the first in a series of contracts coming up that involve the heart of the working class-- the rubber workers, electrical workers and autoworkers.

All workers, organized and unorganized, are looking to these struggles as a means to confront Carter's attack. But at the same time the most conscious workers sense that these struggles are being organized too defensively.

The Teamsters strike is a good example. In response to the overwhelming sentiment of the ranks for a strike (the strike vote of Detroit's Local #299 was 1,261 to 24 in favor of a strike), the corrupt Fitzsimmons bureaucracy called a

"selective strike," hoping to "strike a deal" with some trucking companies at the expense of others. Which allowed the bosses to take the OFFENSIVE, organizing a national lockout.

As well, too much of the discussion in other unions and factories has been around "Wait and see what the Teamsters get, if they get more than 7%, perhaps we can too." A passivity consciously organized by the trade union bureaucrats.

Too much discussion of whether or not a contract is a "good contract." When the most advanced workers in this country are beginning to understand that in face of today's situation NO CONTRACT IS A GOOD CONTRACT.

That these "contracts" are being consciously used by the government, the bosses and the trade union bureaucrats to divide and isolate the offensive of the working class. To have the Teamsters go out in April, the rubber workers in May, the autoworkers in September. To let them fend for themselves, but above all to leave the MAJORITY of the working class-- the unorganized, the most oppressed workers, totally powerless and cut off from the strength of the organized working class.

That these "contracts" are not just being written by the companies and the bureaucrats-- they are being written by the Carter government itself. That these "contracts" are not just pledges of cooperation with Consolidated Freight or General Motors but with Jimmy Carter and his racist, imperialist and terrorist government. They are POLITICAL AGREEMENTS, "peace treaties" with this hated state.

And that even the "best" contract is a noose around the neck of workers, to bind workers to rules that ONLY THE WORKERS OBEY. In this "free" economy only the bosses are free-- to raise prices, to increase profits, to close down factories and lay off workers-- while workers are bound to a "contract" that pledges their "cooperation" for the next three years.

These contracts and the entire "contract mentality" are obstacles to the workers mobilization. And the first obstacles are all those in the workers movement who try to make the workers bow down to the Holy Altar of the "good contract."

The trade union bureaucrats, of course. But the Stalinists and centrists also. They are swarming in front of the factories today with their proposals for "good contracts." Poison.

A good example of this poison

was the response of the "socialist" Pete Camarata, a Detroit Teamster and co-chairman of the "Teamsters for a Democratic Union" to Fitzsimmons' contract offer. In the DETROIT FREE PRESS Camarata declared that many Teamsters would strike even if Fitzsimmons could win them a 35% wage hike: "A good contract is one that focuses less on wage hikes and more on pensions, grievance procedures and work conditions."

How generous of Camarata, who makes \$10.00 an hour, to volunteer that "wages aren't important"! A completely narrow, parochial and anti-working class point of view which hides the fact that if the Teamsters can't break through and smash Carter's wage guidelines, NOBODY will and it will be MISERY for the MILLIONS of workers in this country making \$4.00 an hour.

But completely logical for the Stalinists and centrists stricken with the "good contract" disease. Logical for the American Communist Party to organize a demonstration in front of GM headquarters in Detroit for a "good contract," around the slogan: "UNITE MEMBERS AND LEADERS." Logical for the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party to call the contract signed by the UMW bureaucracy last year a "victory"-- a contract which has organized mass unemployment and police repression in the mines. Logical for them to call for a "decent" Teamsters contract today without raising a word of criticism of the Fitzsimmons leadership.

We agree. These are all "good" and "decent" contracts. Good and decent for the Carter government, the bosses, the trade union bureaucrats and their Stalinist and centrist public relations agents. But poison for the masses of workers and youth.

This poison needs an antidote. We say that NO CONTRACT IS A GOOD CONTRACT. That the theme of the workers mobilization this year has to be NO COOPERATION! with the Carter government and its wage guidelines. Which means not a "decent wage increase" but WAGES TO RISE EXACTLY WITH PRICES! to be enforced, but by a "good contract" but by WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION!

If there has to be a truce in the class struggle, let the truce be on the workers' terms! No strike should be ended, no contract signed unless WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION is insured. Unless the workers have a continuous, daily means of insuring that their wages, working and living conditions are maintained. Unless the workers have a means to undermine the "good contracts" of the bosses

and bureaucrats daily.

"Ultraleft," "sectarian," "provocative" and "atheist" will be what the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists will call all those who take up this fight and refuse to bow down in front of the Holy Altar of the "good contract."

But THIS is the REAL mobilization of the American working class in the last years. The mobilization of the miners who have refused to accept any contract and have constantly fought for workers control of the mines. The content of the fight of the autoworkers in which the 1976 contract was NEVER ACCEPTED by the masses of autoworkers-- the local strikes and wildcats, the unsigned local agreements being proof of this.

Proof that our policy represents the real mobilization of the workers and proof that the real fiction is that of the "good contract" sworn and prayed to every day by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists.

But proof as well that the miners and autoworkers, the Teamsters and the rest of the working class cannot break out of the trap of "contracts" and take up the fight for workers control of production without a leadership for this struggle. Because it does not simply concern a "trade union" struggle, or an "economic" struggle or even a struggle confined to the borders of the U.S.

It concerns a political struggle to confront U.S. imperialism and its Stalinist servants in its heartland. A struggle which has much more in common with the revolutionary mobilizations of the oil workers in Iran, the steelworkers in France and the autoworkers in Brazil and Argentina than it does with the miserable suggestions for "decent contracts."

A struggle which therefore needs a leadership and a weapon that is part of this world mobilization of the working class. This is where the movement for a Workers Party, being initiated by the Fourth International in the U.S. comes in-- a movement to be a part of this mobilization, to break with the fictions of the past and the poisons of the present-- a movement to lead the American working class in its confrontation with the Carter government and bring victory for the entire working class.

All workers and youth who agree with us that NO CONTRACT IS A GOOD CONTRACT, that the working class needs this political weapon to break through Carter's austerity program, are ready to join us in this fight.

April 3, 1979



# TO BREAK THE WORKERS OFFENSIVE, THE SACRED UNION WANTS TO SILENCE THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL PREVENT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PORE!

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The Francoist monarchy has just begun legal proceedings against the Fourth International in Spain, attempting the dissolution of its section, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE). Workers and youth who are fighting in Spain and throughout the world against the bourgeois terrorist states and the police apparatuses of Stalinism are directly affected by this police attempt to repress the world party of the socialist revolution.

The first "crime" that the Francoist monarchy accuses the PORE of is "proposing the class struggle"!! This is a perfect demonstration of the terrorist character of the new Constitution, imposed in the referendum of last December 6 despite its rejection by more than 40% of the workers. It also demonstrates the real goal of the Sacred Union of the Francoists and Stalinists which has been cooked up-- to increase, by "legalizing" them, the police and military preparations for civil war against the powerful mobilizations of the workers and oppressed nationalities in Spain that reject the monarchy, its Cortes and the opportunist parties which defend it. It is the application in Spain of the campaign against so-called "terrorism," led jointly by imperialism and the international Stalinist apparatus under the umbrella of Carter's "human rights," against any independent working class struggle, against all those who oppose the state and its apparatuses.

Yes, the Fourth International "proposes" and organizes the class struggle, for the conquest of class independence! It defends and fights alongside the Basque militants (turned over by Giscard to Juan Carlos, with the applause of Carrillo and the tacit support of his friend, Marchais), the Armenian militants (recently assassinated by the Kremlin bureaucracy in the name of "terrorism"), the founders of the first free trade unions in the USSR, Vladimir Klebanov and his comrades (in psychiatric hospitals for their "insanity") as well as the tens of thousands of other workers as militants in struggle, as in Iran, in Indochina, in Latin America.

Along with Carter and Brezhnev all the opportunist

"workers" leaders praise the so-called Francoist "democracy," or else, like the United Secretariat of Mandel, praise the "rupture" with Francoism in Spain. Are they also against the class struggle and the prohibition of the parties which stand for it? Let all workers, youth and militants take a position against the dissolution of the PORE, through which they are trying to prevent all independent struggle by the working class!

The second "crime" that the Francoist monarchy accuses the PORE of is of affirming in its Statutes "the struggle, in the Spanish state, for the seizure of power by the proletariat, by expropriating the bourgeoisie and by destroying the state through armed insurrection, in order to install the dictatorship of the proletariat through a Socialist Republic of Workers Councils"! Thus, the campaign against Leninism and against the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the Euro-Stalinists and the Kremlin, leaves the realm of ideas in order to pass to its application-- the repression by the police and the bourgeois courts of the Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Fourth International.

Yes, the PORE fights to overthrow the Francoist monarchy, to construct a Workers Cortes of workers delegates in order to open up the road to the proletarian revolution. It is in Spain that the Holy Alliance of the imperialists and Stalinists feels the most threatened. The Sacred Union of the Spanish CP and SP and the Maoists around the defense of the Francoist monarchy has not been able to successfully fulfill its role as a barrier to the growing mobilizations against this state. Even with the passive complicity of the anarchist leaders and above all, with the active aid of the renegades of Trotskyism, Mandel and Lambert and their Spanish affiliates who have taken a place in this Sacred Union as "left" safety valves. Which made them worthy of being legalized by the monarchy. Massive sectors of the working class youth are breaking with these opportunists, as the March elections demonstrated. This is why the Francoist monarchy

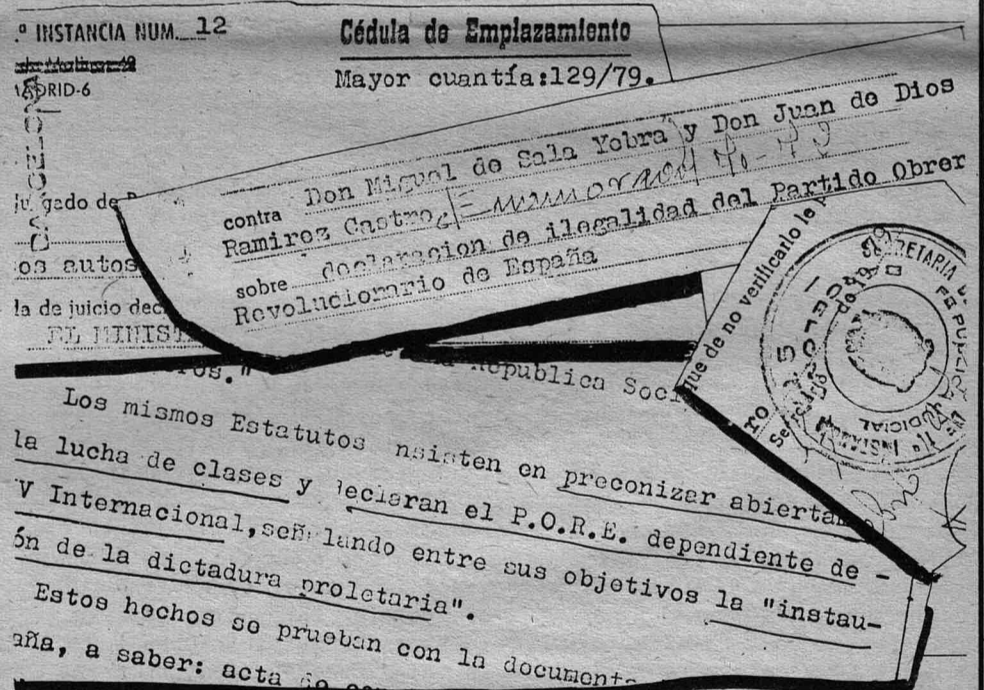
must attack the only party which has never changed its Statutes as the opportunists did, which openly fights this Sacred Union and which today organizes the youth in an offensive to overthrow the monarchy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Along with Carrillo and Brezhnev, are Mandel and Lambert also against the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Let everyone, all parties and unions, in Spain and around the world, pronounce themselves for the right of the workers to struggle to destroy the bourgeois states and the apparatuses of oppression of the Kremlin, to struggle for their own independent power!

Let all workers, youth and militants stand up against the  
(Continued to Page 8)

## Stop the Attempted Dissolution of the 4th International in Spain!



On February 28, 1979, on the eve of the legislative elections, the monarchy of Juan Carlos began a trial against the Spanish Section of the Fourth International, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE) with the objective of pronouncing its dissolution.

The reason given is that the PORE struggles to "install the dictatorship of the proletariat," because it is the section of the Fourth International and in general, because it "proposes the class struggle."

Workers of the world -- fight for the right of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain and the Spanish workers to struggle for the Workers Cortes of workers delegates, for the socialist revolution.

The defense of this right is the elementary duty of all workers, all parties and organizations which claim to stand for this. It concerns the defense of all working class and democratic rights.

Workers -- Take part in the international campaign against the prohibition and dissolution of the PORE and the Fourth International in Spain!

Support it financially! Immediately, the initial costs of the trial must be covered, which are around \$800.

Sign this appeal in your factories, unions, parties! Send your financial support to: Dominique Navarro, C.C.P. 4.078.465, 50 Rue du Fbg. du Temple, Paris 75011, France.



# Down with Khomeini!

# Power to the Soviets!

## Build the 4th International in the Middle East

By MAREK KANTOR

The world proletariat has many important interests to defend in Iran and the Middle East, after the armed insurrection of the Iranian working masses delivered a blow to the world Holy Alliance of U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies by sweeping away the Shah's monarchy, one of the strategic pillars of the region. Workers, peasants and oppressed masses in different continents all profoundly felt the revolutionary overthrow of the bloody monarchy and its supposedly "immortal" army as their victory. Especially the Palestinian masses who took to the streets of Beirut to demand the fall of King Hussein, of Syrian President Assad, of Sadat, Begin and the other local butchers, servants of Carter and Brezhnev.

But in order to effectively defend the proletarian revolution which has begun in Iran neither solidarity nor class sympathy is enough to assure its victory through the conquest of independent power by the workers and masses of Iran. It is indispensable and urgent that the proletariat throughout the world stand up together in order to destroy this international coalition of counter-revolutionary forces which is trying to encircle, isolate and crush the revolution of the Iranian proletariat that is underway. The same people who yesterday fed and armed the Shah to the teeth,-- the Carters, Brezhnevs and Dengs -- are today trying to piece together and rebuild the lines of attack of their "peaceful coexistence" in the region, profoundly shaken by the eruption of the masses in Iran and the threat of a revolutionary explosion of the Palestinian workers and peasants. They are seeking other policemen in the region.

This is the meaning of the hurried agreement between Carter-Sadat-Begin which foresees the direct military presence of U.S. imperialism as well as an unprecedented armament of these two "reconciled" policemen, in face of the threat of the Palestinian revolution. It

is the same meaning as well to the hurried and unconditional support of Washington, Moscow and Peking to the Ayatollah Khomeini and his "National Islamic Front" in Iran.

The more it is becoming clear that the workers armed and organized in their independent committees have no intention of being content with the overthrow of the Shah and that they wish to take control of the factories and the state, and in direct relation to their growing resistance to the attempts of Khomeini to disarm them and destroy their committees, all the parties and groups claiming to represent the working class have successively begun to join Khomeini.

First, the Stalinist Tudeh party, well habituated to the counterrevolution during the previous revolutions crushed in the 40's and 50's, today applies to the letter the Kremlin's slogan of "national reconstruction" in a "real alliance of all forces, whatever their differences on the social, political and religious plane" around the reactionary and feudal "Islamic Republic."

Next, the "fedayeen" guerilla organizations, brought by the revolutionary wave to the front of the political scene thanks to their prestige as armed fighters against the Shah and activity during the insurrection which overthrew the Shah. Now these "revolutionary Marxists," after having rallied more than 100,000 workers and youth hostile to Khomeini and wanting to lead the revolution to the end, have climbed into the wagon of the Sacred Union, pledging allegiance to Khomeini and now trying to convince workers disoriented by these about-faces that their revolution can only be made through the Bazargan government. This is the direct result of the excited support that Yasser Arafat, petty bourgeois Palestinian leader, agent of the Kremlin and Peking and "guide" to the Iranian fedayeen, gave to Khomeini, exhorting the Iranian masses to have confidence in Khomeini, to

return to the factories and leave the task of rebuilding the bourgeois state to the "Grand Imam."

Finally, there is a "Socialist Workers Party" created in total haste by the United Secretariat of Mandel-Barnes and the and the Organizing Committee of Lambert-Just-Broue'. In a "first declaration" these false Trotskyists follow the slogan of the Kremlin and call for a "fully representative Constituent Assembly in which all political forces can participate." What forces? The declaration does not openly say, but one understands that it concerns Khomeini and the Stalinists of the Tudeh, towards which these "Trotskyists" do not raise even a single word of criticism.

The present situation of dual power cannot last for a long time. Already a bitter struggle is developing between the workers and revolutionary soldiers to keep the arms and militias and safeguard the independent committees on the one hand and Khomeini, his Islamic committees, the Stalinists, the "fedayeen" and their new "Trotskyist" allies on the other. This confrontation will unfold around the decisive question of the STATE.

The Iranian workers are found today faced with the pressing task of completely destroying the bourgeois-feudal state, bequeathed by the monarchy and which Khomeini and the Stalinists wish to "rebuild." The "Islamic Republic" and the Bazargan-Khomeini government is the first obstacle to a new advance of the revolution begun in February. It is necessary to keep the weapons and reinforce the workers militias! It is necessary to drive out the independent committees of the "worker" partisans of Khomeini, those who propose the adhesion of the committees to the bourgeois "national reconstruction" under the umbrella of Carter and Brezhnev! It is necessary to centralize all the workers, peasants, soldiers and student committees on the national level into a Revolu-

tionary Assembly of Proletarian Delegates! Down with Khomeini and the "Islamic Republic"! Power to the Soviets!

This is the policy of the Fourth International. It demands a new revolutionary leadership, so that the Iranian revolution can surmount the mortal impasse that the different opportunist components of the Sacred Union around Islam want to shut it into. The combat to safeguard and develop the independent committees of the Iranian proletariat as the embryos of the future Soviet power must become the combat to select this new revolutionary leadership. Among the workers who are refusing to let imperialism and the bourgeoisie steal their revolution and who wish to go all the way in the destruction of the state of exploitation and oppression. Such a selection of the most decided elements must be done in an irreconcilable political struggle against the Khomeini leadership, the Tudeh and the "Trotskyists" who want to tie the workers to "all the forces" of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism.

To Iranian and Palestinian revolutionary workers and militants, to all those in the Middle East and those in refuge in Europe, the Fourth International says-- Comrades-- with the working class of Iran it is now necessary to construct a new international force of the revolution throughout the Middle East against the Holy Alliance of Carter-Brezhnev-Sadat-Arafat-Khomeini-- for the Socialist United States of the Middle East.

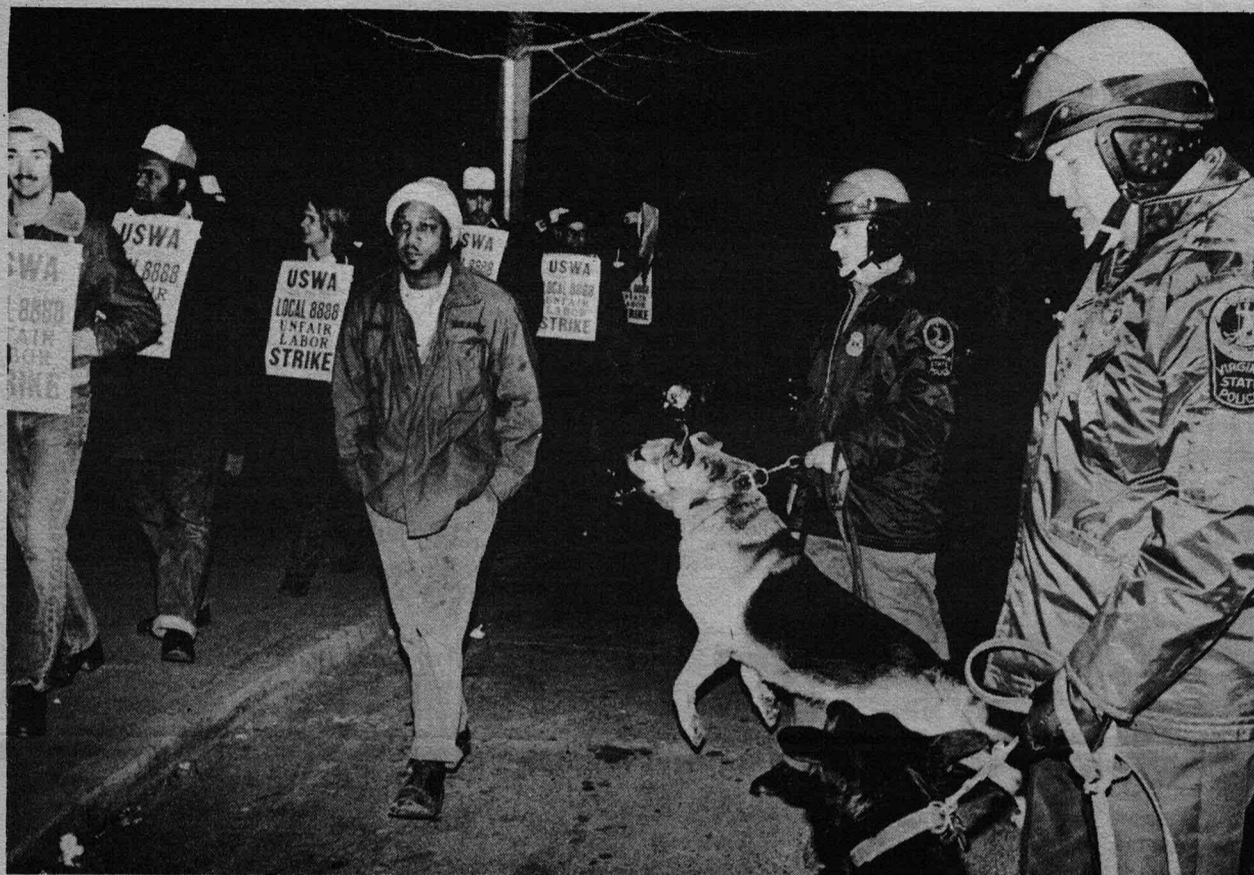
The revolution in Iran and also, that of the Palestinian masses, workers and peasants will be victorious if this Holy Alliance is definitively broken by the proletariat of Europe and the Middle East. Your place is alongside the Fourth International, in the Revolutionary Youth International, to build and select this indispensable International.

March 19, 1979



# ORGANIZING THE SOUTH:

## A Confrontation with "Human Rights"



By JON COHEN

The struggles of workers in the South has always won the sympathy and support of the entire working class. From the days of "Bloody Harlan County" to today's struggles in the mines, against J.P. Stevens and at Newport News, some of the most heroic battles of the working class have been fought in the South.

This support is true internationally as well, where the movie, "Harlan County, USA," has become a symbol of the combativity and resistance of the American working class.

But why isn't the South organized? Why does it remain an anti-working class bastion of reaction, oppressing every worker in the U.S.? Every thinking worker, looking at the heroic struggles in the mines, the textile mills or at Newport News must be asking this question. And also finding that it is very hard to get a direct answer.

The trade union bureaucrats blame the "open shop" and "right-to-work" laws. But this is begging the question, it doesn't answer WHY these laws exist in the first place and, above all, WHY they continue to exist.

Some people blame the "backwardness" or racism of the white workers. But again, all the heroic struggles of the workers in the past and today explode this myth of "backwardness." As for racism, to be honest about it, one would have to admit that although it is indeed present among Southern workers, it is probably not greater than among workers in the North. And that as in the North, in moments of revolutionary combat against the bosses, white workers and blacks in the South have always fought together in common struggle. Newport News being

the latest example.

There is a more direct answer to this question. The fact is that the system of class rule in the South is a CENTERPIECE OF CLASS COLLABORATION in the United States. That the failure to organize the South, the preservation of reaction in the South, is the direct result of the collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism with the Democratic Party in the preservation of this capitalist, racist state.

The failure to organize the South is the result of a COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PACT, extending from the "New Deal" in the 30's to "human rights" today. A pact in which all the traitors in the workers movement participate.

The 1930's saw a mass working class upsurge, which as the first step towards the American revolution, resulted in the massive organization of the CIO. It was in this period that auto, steel, the mines, rubber, electrical workers, etc. were organized into mass unions, above all in the North.

But it shouldn't be forgotten that the same period saw a massive upsurge in the South as well. Not only in the mines, but in the textile mills, transportation and other industries mass battles were fought for union organization. A mass Tenants and Sharecroppers union was formed, uniting black and white poor farmers.

But unionization succeeded in the North and failed in the South. Not because of the lack of combativity of Southern workers, but because of the deal struck in the 1930's between the trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinist Communist Party and Roosevelt's Democratic Party and "New Deal"

coalition.

In order to head-off the revolutionary mobilization of the working class, in order to keep this capitalist state intact, the Stalinist American CP and the trade union bureaucracy channeled the mass mobilization for the CIO into Roosevelt's Democratic Party. The Stalinists openly voted for Roosevelt and called on workers to support the Democratic Party.

In return Roosevelt granted "union reform" in the North -- various laws like the National Labor Relations Act and the formation of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) which "recognized" unions in the North for a "price" -- their incorporation into the maneuvers and laws of the capitalist state and the Democratic Party.

There was another "price" paid by the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists in order to be part of Roosevelt's "New Deal." Roosevelt's "New Deal" and Democratic Party included and couldn't SURVIVE without the South as the bastion of the Democratic Party. And along with the South as the bastion of the DP and the "New Deal" came the Jim Crow laws, the KKK and the "open shop."

The "New Deal" was a deal to betray workers and blacks in the South in return for keeping the Democratic Party alive in the North in the face of the revolutionary mobilization of the working class. A deal organized by the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists; a deal which smells exactly like the "liberal-labor-black" alliance of the American CP today.

A deal which not only gave up the fight to unionize the South, but was also an explicit betrayal of the fight for civil rights in the South. A deal which continued after World War II, expressed in the Democratic Party Convention of 1948 in which both the trade union bureaucrats and Stalinists collaborated in preventing a split in the Democratic Party (a threatened walkout by the "Dixiecrats," headed by Strom Thurmond) by watering-down the "civil rights platform."

A deal which represented the counterrevolution in the North also since it assured the continued survival of the Democratic Party as a noose around the industrial proletariat.

A deal, a not-so "New Deal," which has continued for the last 40 years but which is being shattered today by the renewed upsurge of the American workers and youth, North and South, as part of the upsurge of the international working class. An upsurge which has placed the Democratic Party and thus the entire framework of class collaboration in this country in crisis.

It began with the mobilization of the black masses in the '60's which broke down the Jim Crow laws and ended formal segregation. A movement which once again the Stalinists, with their ally, Martin Luther King, tried to derail into the Democratic Party. It has continued throughout the 70's, expressed in the battles and confrontations of the miners with the state and its police, the struggles of the textile workers. And is today expressed in the fight for union recognition at the shipyard in Newport News, Virginia - 14,000 steelworkers engaged in the first massive struggle to unionize the South in 40 years.

But the fight is not completed. Although in crisis, the framework of class collaboration in



# and its Shadows

the South still exists, the "New Deal" is still alive. Under a new name. Called "human rights."

It was no accident that the President elected in 1976 was a representative of the "New South." A Governor of Georgia, whose ancestors owned slaves and who still runs his peanut farm as a plantation. Jimmy Carter supposedly represented the "progressive" South -- "reconstructed" segregationists who had "seen the light."

A perfect specimen to try to pull off the "human rights" maneuver of U.S. imperialism in the last three years. A maneuver of a "reconstructed" imperialism which had also supposedly "seen the light" in order to cover for its counterrevolutionary maneuvers against the world working class and the collaboration of Stalinism and imperialism in the preservation of the "democratic" state.

A "human rights" which shows its real face in the U.S. South today -- the Wilmington Ten, the open mobilization of the KKK in Alabama and Mississippi, the virtual military occupation of the mining regions in Kentucky and West Virginia, the brutal repression of the Newport News strike.

A "New Deal" 40 years later called "human rights" which is again trying to keep this system alive by enlisting the support of the traitors in the workers movement. The same traitors that were around in the 1930's. The trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinist American CP. With a new addition -- the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who abandoned Trotskyism in the 1960's in order to give a "reconstructed" image to the tired alliance of Stalinism, the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

This "human rights" alliance and its shadows are working full force at Newport News today trying to hide from the entire working class the significance and the conclusions of this struggle. All trying to write another shameful chapter in the history of betrayal of the South.

Bureaucrats, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists are all united today around "solidarity" with the Newport News workers. A "solidarity" which is like the "solidarity" of the knife-in-the-back which they gave the miners last year. Like the way in which the SWP collected millions of dollars in relief money for the miners, which they turned over to the UMW bureaucracy and which was used to STARVE the miners into ending their strike.

But the real knife-in-the-back is political. The way in which the Stalinists, bureaucrats and pseudo-Trotskyists are all pretending that the Newport News strike is a simple strike for union recognition, a strike that can be won in the framework of the bourgeois state, through the NLRB and with the aid of the USW bureaucracy led by McBride. As if the present trade union bureaucracy could ever organize the South.

When the fact is that the fight for union recognition at Newport News, raising the question of the organization of the South, is above all a POLITICAL CONFRONTATION with the entire framework of class collaboration in this country, with the Democratic Party, with the capitalist state, and with all those who stand in its shadow.

A political confrontation with the trade



union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party which is the CENTRAL OBSTACLE to the organization of the South which can only be accomplished by SMASHING this alliance, destroying both the bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

An alliance which both the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists are a part of. Expressed recently in their support for an "international civil rights conference" called by the McBride bureaucracy of the USW (hailed by the CP as a "historic step forward"). Can you imagine anything more disgusting than hearing McBride of the USW talk about "civil rights"? When he has given up the right to strike in steel, when steelworkers can't even vote on their contract!

The only thing more disgusting is the applause of "communists" and "Trotskyists" for this latest "human rights" maneuver.

In place of the real solidarity needed by Newport News workers and workers throughout the South -- the political solidarity of the entire American working class to confront "human rights" and its shadows -- the pseudo-Trotskyists offer the "solidarity" of the trade union bureaucracy.

A treachery also expressed in the way these pseudo-Trotskyists place at the end of every article on Newport News their opinion that although the real struggle is taking place in the courts or at McBride's "civil rights" conference, perhaps a "labor party" would be a good suggestion. Not as good as "solidarity," but a nice suggestion.

When the TRUTH of the matter is that a party of class independence, a party of confrontation with the Democratic Party and its allies in the workers movement, a party to destroy "human rights" and its shadows, a party that the Fourth International is building in the U.S. today, is the CONDITION for organizing the South. Not a "suggestion," but the means to organize the South by organizing the entire working class in a political confrontation to destroy the counter-

revolutionary pact that exists in this country.

It is this pact -- between the bureaucracy, the Stalinists, and now the pseudo-Trotskyists to keep the Democratic party alive -- that is the real obstacle to organizing the South and smashing racist reaction.

The real obstacles are not the "right-to-work" laws, the KKK, the racist police. Not J.P. Stevens or Tenneco.

No. The real obstacles ARE IN THE WORKERS MOVEMENT -- the false and petty bourgeois leaderships who are blocking this confrontation with the "human rights" alliance, who are blocking the fight to unite Northern and Southern workers in a WORKERS PARTY of class independence which can lead this confrontation.

A Workers Party movement to organize the South as a first step in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, the first large battle that can construct this Party and shatter a centerpiece of class collaboration in the U.S.

As a fight to construct the Workers Party as the condition for this battle, the organization of the South is thus linked to the tasks and struggle of the entire American working class. It is also linked to the struggle of the international working class and the fight to construct its world party, the Fourth International, because it is a fight against a framework of class collaboration which attacks not only Southern workers, but the entire international working class. The class collaboration of imperialism and Stalinism in crushing the world revolution.

A framework which can only be shattered by an international mobilization and an international party. Because the confrontation with "human rights" and its shadows is the task of every worker and youth in the world. And is the combat of the Fourth International to RETURN TO LENIN!

April 4, 1979



# Three Mile Island — "Power" Crisis is Political

"Once and for all we must tear from the hands of the greedy and merciless imperialist clique, scheming behind the backs of the people, the disposition of the people's fate" -- TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

The nuclear "crisis" at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, which produced major radioactive "leaks" and nearly resulted in a "China Syndrome"-type "meltdown," shows the total incompatibility of the imperialist profit system with the continued existence of the working class, of the human race.

This "incident" (!) follows closely a whole series of others -- the Karen Silkwood trial, the repudiation of the Rasmussen Report which "guaranteed" the safety of nuclear facilities, as well as the March closing of five reactors. These "incidents" show that the cynical, arrogant and contemptuous lies that American workers and youth have grown to hate, from Vietnam through Watergate to "human rights," have found a new expression in the nuclear cover-up of the huge imperialist energy corporations and the imperialist state.

Three Mile Island showed the perfect willingness of imperialism, for the sake of saving itself and its profits, to sentence the population of a whole region to deformation, disease and death.

It is against this willingness, against these lies, that

## CHICAGO

In the April 3 elections for Mayor of Chicago the Democratic Party candidate, Jane Byrne, won by the biggest margin in Chicago's history. She received 82% of the vote.

The only "workers" candidate on the ballot, Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party, received 14,996 votes--1.8% of the total. A defeat for their dream of "permanent ballot status" (5%), their objective in this campaign. A defeat for their dream of "being a legal party just like the Democrats and Republicans."

Obviously not the dreams of the masses in Chicago.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA called on workers and youth to vote for the SWP candidate, not as a vote for the dreams of pseudo-Trotskyists, but as a vote for a workers alternative, a means to vote for a WORKERS PARTY of real class independence.

In this sense the 15,000 votes for the SWP candidate were positive. They are OUR votes, because these are workers and youth that the SWP cannot and never will organize.

Our own experience in Chicago

the youth who have joined the "anti-nuke movement" are fighting. But the fight of these youth is being betrayed by those who try to present all the failures of the past as the right road to follow.

The leadership of this movement is partly in the hands of those who try to blame "technology." But what is really wrong is that imperialism continues to exist and continues to turn what should be forces of production into FORCES OF DESTRUCTION.

Most of all, this leadership is in the hands of those -- like the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party -- who try to channel this anger and rebellion of the youth into a rerun of the "peace" movement through which these centrists betrayed the revolutionary upsurge against the imperialist Vietnam war and diverted it into support for Stalinism and imperialism, through the Democratic Party "liberals."

Today, the SWP once again preaches the possibility of a "movement" which can "defeat" one aspect of imperialist rule without confronting this rule directly. Today, the SWP -- these "Trotskyists" -- advocates the unity of the "anti-nuke" forces with the bourgeois pacifists of Mobilization for Survival, who preach that it is possible to get "nuclear disarmament" while imperialism continues to "peacefully" exist. This is the

proves this-- as we sold 12 copies of TRUTH at US Steel Southworks in front of SWP militants who didn't manage to pass out a single leaflet in the same period of time--bickering among themselves as to who was most disorganized!

Like bourgeois candidates, they are media candidates, who have nothing to say to workers once the TV lights are off.

But for us the experience of the workers in Chicago in the last months has proven that all the conditions for a revolutionary break with the Democratic Party exist.

We urge all our supporters in Chicago to deepen the movement for a WORKERS PARTY that has already begun, to continue this fight in the unions, factories and schools. To continue it in a daily struggle against the state, the bosses, the bureaucrats and their allies.

To organize these 15,000 votes into a mass, revolutionary alternative to both Byrne and the pseudo-Trotskyist TV stars.

April 5, 1979

TRUTH

road to the sell-out of the youth to "peaceful coexistence," "detente," and SALT II.

The youth who are fighting in the "anti-nuke movement" must come to see that their fight cannot be separated from the fight of all the youth and workers against imperialism. They must come to see that their fight can succeed only in the context of a political struggle for the independent power of the working class.

It is this fight which in the U.S. is developing in the form of a movement for a Workers Party. This movement is being built today in a struggle for the independent mobilization of the workers in their own committees to exercise control over production.

This struggle is concerned fundamentally, not with "shop-floor struggles," but with organizing the ability of the workers to determine the truth about what is going on in the plant, the industry and the whole economy. Workers control means opening the books of the imperialist corporations. It

means the exposure of all the "business secrets" that imperialism uses to justify its assaults on the working class. It means that all decisions will be made not by the imperialists, on the basis of what best advances their rule and their profits, but democratically by the working class and all the oppressed on the basis of what benefits them.

The fight for workers control is the only way in which the lies and ruthlessness of the nuclear power companies and their imperialist state can be exposed and crushed. It is the only way in which full truth about nuclear power can be achieved. It is the only way in which decisions about sources of energy for the present and the future can be made on the basis of their advantages and disadvantages for the masses, and not on the basis of what is good for imperialism.

Concretely, this fight for workers control can take shape today in the form of a Workers Commission of Inquiry. This Commission would take the investigation of all the "incidents" that have already occurred out of the hands of the imperialist state, of its courts and "regulatory commissions," and into the hands of those who are directly concerned, the workers and the fighting youth.

K.F.

April 3, 1979

## PORE continued

attempt to dissolve the Fourth International, for fighting for this working class power!

The third and main "crime" is the "membership of the PORE in the Fourth International"! Yes, the PORE did not erase this membership from its Statutes, its reason for being, like the LCR of Mandel and the OCIE of Lambert did in order to be accepted into the salons of the Francoist politicians and opportunists. Even more, the construction of the Fourth International is the principal task that we openly pose in front of the workers in Spain, in Europe, in the Americas, Asia in order to destroy the "anti-terrorist" Holy Alliance of Washington, Moscow and Peking.

By beginning in Spain where large revolutionary upheavals are imminent, the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists want to attack the only international party which is fighting to rally and select the General Staff of the world revolution, the new, working class, independent and international force, for the Return to Lenin, to overthrow the Stalinist dictatorships in Eastern Europe and the imperialist dictatorships in Western Europe.

This is what the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists want to attack as well. This is why they are already using all means, notably accusing fighting workers of being "terrorists" (the role of the

Stalinists) and those who are fighting in and with the Fourth International of being "provocateurs" or "agents of the CIA and KGB" (this is the role of Mandel and Lambert). This is the task assigned to them by imperialism and the Kremlin.

Because the principal danger for imperialism, Stalinism and their centrist aides is the International of the dictatorship of the proletariat! This is the immediate threat which makes them tremble in Spain.

The Fourth International challenges the Francoist monarchy and its promoters, Carter and Brezhnev. It calls for a large international campaign against the dissolution of the PORE. With the international campaign for the liberation of the Soviet miner, Klebanov, and the other founders of the first free trade union in the USSR, this combat must become an international mobilization, a trial against Stalinism, in order to destroy it. It is the road forward in order for the present world working class offensive to be victorious, through the construction of its world leadership, the Fourth International.

YES, TO THE CLASS STRUGGLE!  
YES, TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!  
YES, TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!  
March 1979



# Middle East "Peace" Means Counterrevolution

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK



Carter, Begin and Sadat have signed their "peace" treaty that no one, least of all these three, believes has anything to do with peace. In reality, this treaty represents a DEEPENING of the counterrevolutionary role of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

## "STABILITY"

Following the Second World War, imperialism was faced with the growing prospect of revolt against its rule in the Middle East. The policy that it followed to preserve its domination -- "stability" in its terms -- was based on two particular props. One was the rule of the Shah of Iran. The other was the creation of the Zionist state of Israel.

In both cases, imperialism relied on the full cooperation of Stalinism. The Tehran conference (held right in Iran in 1943) was one of the centerpieces of postwar "stability" set up by Stalin and U.S. and British imperialism. The "partition" of Palestine in 1948 by the United Nations and the creation of Israel were possible only due to the collaboration of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Around these two poles-- Iran and Israel -- were organized the rest of the reactionary regimes in the Middle East, whether openly feudalistic like Saudi Arabia, or "nationalist" like Syria and Egypt.

The particular key to the problem was the Palestinian question -- the fact that a whole nation was to be eliminated politically and territorially to make room for the Zionist state of Israel, an imperialist garrison state in the very heart of the Middle East.

But the Palestinians refused to lie down and die. Their continued struggle, their continued search to be completely independent of all the "deals" of imperialism and its stooges has been and is the stumbling block to imperialist "stability." All the diplomatic maneuverings of the last thirty years have been devoted, not to "peace," but to finding some way to "resolve" this question -- through

the betrayal of the Palestinians.

## NEW SITUATION

The fall of the Shah this year and the continued deepening of the revolution in Iran has kicked out one of the props that supported imperialism.

But this in no way means some kind of total rout of imperialism, as the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists seek to tell the working class internationally. If one prop is gone, then the one remaining becomes all the more important. Like a cornered rat, imperialism resists more bitterly than ever before.

This is the reason for the rapid conclusion of this "peace" treaty. It is no accident that this "step toward peace" goes hand in hand with increased U.S. imperialist support to Saudi Arabia, intervention in the Yemeni war and the attempts to establish a "military presence" to protect its "vital interests" (that is, profits).

Nor is it any accident that this "peace" is directed against the Palestinians, not merely in the general sense that their fate is not to be determined by them, but directly in the form of increased attacks on their land, their rights and their very existence as a nation.

## SADAT AND BEGIN

The counterrevolutionary nature of this peace can be seen in the significance of those two "lovers of peace," Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin (as officially certified by the Nobel Prize Committee).

The whole policy of Sadat since he came to power in 1970 has been to increasingly subordinate Egypt to imperialism, not just as a national question but above all because of its significance throughout the Middle East. He has even stated, while in the U.S. recently, that his role in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war was based on getting imperialist aid.

The attacks by Sadat on the gains of the Egyptian workers and peasants culminated in early 1977 in an attempt to remove subsidies on food prices. This

resulted in a mass upsurge that Sadat crushed in blood. And it was in November of the same year that he made his trip to Jerusalem; a continuation -- in the guise of "peace" -- of the same policy that the Egyptian masses had already experienced.

Today, Sadat tells these masses that "peace" will bring them prosperity, etc., etc. But the investments and trade from imperialism and Zionist Israel can only take place on the same basis that all of Sadat's policies have -- imperialist profits based on crushing the gains of the masses and on breaking their resistance by the most brutal force.

Begin has always stood on the extreme right wing of Zionism, itself a wholly reactionary movement. From his days as a self-styled "Jewish fascist" to his role as a notorious mass murderer of Palestinians (Deir Yassein massacre), right down to his role today, Begin has always directly and openly served imperialism.

In October 1977, at just about the time -- "coincidentally" -- that Sadat was planning his "peace" jaunt, Begin opened up an offensive against the Israeli workers. In 1977 the inflation rate, due to these policies, was 41% and, in 1978, 30%; while wages at a maximum were only about 20%. That is, a disastrous fall in real wages.

Thus, for workers in Israel, Jewish as well as Arab, this "peace" has been prepared by war against them, just as Sadat was doing in Egypt. And likewise, the "prosperity" coming from "peace" that Begin promises is based on imperialist investment that can only produce more of the same attacks that have already taken place.

## PALESTINIANS

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which Israel has occupied since the 1967 war, are historic parts of Palestine which were incorporated into Jordan and Egypt respectively after 1948. This is one example of how these reactionary regimes, even while bellowing about the "rights of the Palestinians," were actually engaged in going along with imperialism's plans to "eliminate" this "problem."

Zionist Israel, whose very existence is based on the elimination of the Palestinians, is continuing its expansionist drive TODAY in these occupied territories. Despite all the official recognition -- by the U.S., the UN, etc., etc. -- that Israel has no right whatsoever to this land, the "peace" treaty actually represents a legitimization of the Israeli occupation. When it establishes "discussions"

towards a "goal" of "elections" for "autonomy" and, at the same time, in no way stops the growing "settlements" of ultrareactionary Zionists in these territories, this treaty aims at the INTEGRATION of these areas into the Zionist state, with the Palestinians becoming (second class) "citizens" of Israel. All the talk about a Palestinian "mini-state," about Jordan becoming the Palestinian "homeland," are directed towards the eradication of the Palestinians as a nation, as the problem in imperialism's plans for "stability."

The PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) and the various "rejectionist" countries, as well as those who denounce the "separate peace" for not being a "comprehensive settlement," really represent one thing only. They feel that TACTICALLY the "peace" treaty is a failure, because it does not create a basis for isolating the most militant Palestinians and creating a fraud that would ensure the continued existence of Israel and the continued maintenance of imperialist domination in the Middle East. This is likewise the basis for the Kremlin's support to these forces.

Trailing after the Stalinists, the pseudo-Trotskyists whine; "Mideast deal spells war, not peace," reads the headline of the March 23 MILITANT (organ of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party). There is no treaty in the world that can bring peace as long as imperialism is not smashed! In trying to hide this simple fact, the pseudo-Trotskyists in fact try to hide the real tasks facing the workers and peasants of the Middle East and, indeed, the world.

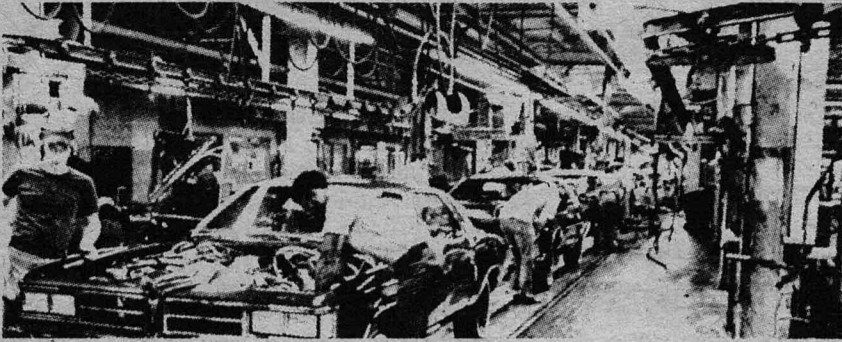
Because the real task is not to achieve some empty "peace," that can be based only on the crushing of the Palestinians and of all the oppressed masses of that region. The real task is to oppose this counterrevolutionary, imperialist "peace" with a revolutionary, proletarian WAR! A war against imperialism and all its representatives in the Middle East. A war that can link up with and ensure the victory of the Iranian Revolution. A war that must expropriate imperialist capitalism and build a United Socialist Federation of the Middle East in its place.

This revolutionary war against Zionism, imperialism and Stalinism, based on the workers and peasants councils, can succeed only on the basis of the program and leadership of the Fourth International, which alone on the world scale stands for the power of the workers and the freedom of peoples against all their enemies.

April 2, 1979



# BUILDING THE WORKERS PARTY MOVEMENT IN THE UAW



## FLINT REPORT

In the last few months, the Trotskyist Organization/USA has been intervening in Flint, Michigan, to win autoworkers there for the movement for a Workers Party. On the basis of this fight, 200 copies of TRUTH have been sold there.

Now, as in the 1930's, Flint is a virtually one-industry and one-company town. Nearly all production in the city is General Motors' auto and truck production.

Thus, autoworkers in Flint are brought face-to-face every day with the largest corporation in the world, with no other intermediaries or alternatives available for employment.

The clash that goes on every day throughout the world between auto companies and autoworkers thus finds almost a chemically pure expression in Flint. So it is no way accidental that Flint was the site of the great sitdown strike of 1937, which was not only central in the building of the United Automobile Workers (UAW), but was the spark and example for a whole wave of sitdowns that brought the mass upsurge of industrial unionism, the CIO, to its crest.

Today, when the struggle of the autoworkers is again critical for the whole working class, Flint workers again have a great role to play. This is emphasized right now by the fact that the framework of "contract" established by the capitalists and the UAW bureaucrats, the framework of the "target" company, has unintended effects that express the mobilization of the workers.

The bureaucrats and bosses established this framework to contain this mobilization. But, as the year of contract expiration arrives, the attention of the autoworkers becomes concentrated on all the questions that confront them, the questions that the "contract" seeks to bury. Likewise, workers in what everyone expects the "target" company to be, begin to feel a great fight is facing them, a fight in which they try to settle not only their own fate, but take the lead of all the

autoworkers. This was the case, for instance, in 1973, with the Chrysler workers. So it is now, with GM workers.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, at Chevrolet Truck and Coach (site of the notorious "speed-up button"), at the Buick and Chevrolet complexes, as well as in downtown Flint, has found a deep response to its politics. This is expressed not only in the good sales, but in the political response that has been evoked.

We have determined, for instance, that one of the immediate issues facing autoworkers is SPEEDUP -- not just as an economic question, but a political one designed to break the mobilization of the workers for victory. Thus, a Buick worker responded to this by himself posing the necessary fight to STRIKE now, not to wait for Fraser's permission, by saying that "we should have struck as soon as they started this speedup." This consciousness that the fight is on now is the latest expression of the determination of Flint GM workers, already shown by the mobilization against speedup at Chevy Truck.

In addition, the necessity to move this fight forward in the movement for a Workers Party was expressed by one youth who said to us, on our second encounter with him, "Oh, TRUTH! That's the paper that shows how the workers have so much power, but have to use it."

Already in Flint, there has been established a basis for organizing youth and workers against GM directly, to involve them in the Conference of GM Workers (mid-May in Detroit), and for organizing them in a political movement, in the Revolutionary Young Workers (American section of the Revolutionary Youth International), for the building of the class independence of the American working class in the Workers Party.

K.F.

April 4, 1979

Revolutionary  
Autoworkers say:

"No to Speedup, Layoffs,  
Plant Closures"

-- Doug Fraser says:  
"Horse's ass!"



Doug Fraser, President of the UAW's response to the fight of revolutionary autoworkers against the speedup, layoffs and plant closures was to say: "Horse's Ass" as one of his bureaucrat buddies gave us the finger as the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Young Workers waged a fight outside Cobo Hall on March 27 at Fraser's phony Production Workers Conference. We were fighting to bring out what was being buried by Fraser and Co. inside -- that autoworkers are being ruthlessly attacked through the implementation of Caster's austerity policy in the factories-- speedup, layoffs and plant closures being the most obvious manifestations.

This "Production Workers Conference" of 1,000 delegates

(read: bureaucrats) was nothing more than a means to prepare the basis for the UAW bureaucracy to sponsor the next Democratic Party candidate for 1980. Ted Kennedy -- the "workers candidate" whose S.1437 Bill if passed would make striking workers criminals. And to dissolve the real issues in front of autoworkers into hot air.

We saw some pseudo-Trotskyists skulking around and carrying "UAW" briefcases for protective coloration. They were all inside maneuvering in Fraser's bureaucratic framework with "left" bureaucrats -- now their ears must be getting a little longer too.

B.P.

April 4, 1979



# Auto Bureaucrats "Labor Party" is the Democratic Party

The deep rejection of the Democratic Party and its Carter government by millions of workers and youth across the U.S., coupled with its defeats in Iran, Latin America and across the globe have caused a full crisis of this entire system. Its supporters, the Stalinists and trade union bureaucracy, are also in crisis. Now, running scared, many are talking about a "labor party."

Mike Rinaldi, President of Local #600 (Ford Rouge) of the UAW is one. He said last August in the DAILY WORLD, "The sooner we get a farmer-labor party, the better." GM Fleetwood workers have heard their committeemen, up to their ears in capitulating to GM's speedup campaign, say the same thing. So also Frank Runnels of the GM Cadillac plant, founder of the "Committee for a Shorter Work Week."

Should we applaud these guys? Have they "finally seen the light"? Is this even useful for the workers and youth?

No! Their "labor party" is an attempt to BLOCK the workers struggle, to prevent them from entering the political arena, IN THEIR OWN NAME.

Rinaldi made this clear at a meeting in Detroit last December,

In response to our slogans: "Break with the Democratic Party, build a Workers Party," Rinaldi responded: "Break with the Democrats? No way!"

"No way." Because there is no half-way house between the bosses' Democratic Party and the workers OWN party.

The bureaucrats' "labor party" is the left wing of the Democratic Party with a face-lift, a new name. Filled with the tired old liars and con men -- "politicians" -- who've spent the last ten years blaming the workers and youth -- "they won't come to union meetings and caucuses, they won't vote" -- for their own rotten politics trying to reform this dying system.

Also in this "left wing" are the friends of Stalin -- the Communist Party/USA who praised Rinaldi's statement. They too want a "labor party" organized in the offices of the bureaucrats. In the USSR their government jails workers fighting to build their own independent unions. In the UAW they want to unite "members and leaders" to hide the line of blood between the workers and the bureaucrats, the bosses' agents in our unions, and to iso-



late the militant youth.

Why bother with this stuff, you might say? Haven't you already said they're in a deep crisis? They'll probably just fall under their own weight.

We "bother with them" because these moves are organized AGAINST

the workers and youth. Similar to their "talking tough" at strike time to keep it out of the hands of the most militant workers.

There is a movement today among the masses of American workers and youth to confront this anti-working class government. This is most advanced among the autoworkers who have been in the vanguard of every major advance of the US workers and youth from the sit-ins in the 1930's that brought unions to the US, through the factory occupations in 1973 that unmasked the strike-breaker Fraser, helped to bring down the Nixon government, to the strikes and walkouts today refusing to give one inch to Carter's austerity program. But this movement can only succeed if it goes beyond simple REJECTION of the Democratic Party and the government, and becomes a movement for the workers own party, a party to win workers power in this country with their TRUE allies-- the workers and youth of the rest of the world.

Their own party. Which will sweep these traitors and their "labor party" into the dustbin. F.V.

April 2, 1979

## Stalinists in UAW "unite members and leaders"

If there are any autoworkers who thought the Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC) might be some kind of alternative to the UAW bureaucracy and its collaboration with the capitalists and Carter in preparing a defeat for autoworkers in '79, the AWAC March 24th demonstration outside the GM Building in Detroit should convince them otherwise.

This demonstration was called "to unite members and leaders of the UAW" on the eve of the Production Workers Conference. The vast majority present were long-time members and supporters of the Stalinist American Communist Party (CP) (the party which supported the no-strike pledge and the suppression of the Black March on Washington during WWII; has supported the Democratic Party for 40 years, denounced Malcolm X, the Dodge

Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), and the Black Panther Party as "provocateurs," supports the Stalinist suppression of the workers in Cuba, Eastern Europe and the USSR today).

The only person we met not in the CP told us that he "wants to be on the capitalists' side." He said he joined DRUM, fought the capitalists for 12 years, got nothing to show for it, so now he's going over to their side, going to run for union president and get "a piece of the action."

He complained that workers won't read his leaflets, says this means they don't care about the union or politics.

These petty bourgeois types think the workers movement doesn't exist anymore because it rejects them and their half-hearted "struggles." They try to

pass on their demoralization to the workers. No wonder they won't read his leaflets!

These tired old Stalinists were joined by the Spartacist League, which has distinguished itself with its vicious slanders against the Fourth International, and SPARK, which has distinguished itself with its cowardly coverup of these slanders.

This miserable alliance of Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists is not just no alternative to Fraser and Co.! It's a real danger!

They confuse workers by supporting the UAW bureaucracy or, in the case of the pseudo-Trotskyists, the Stalinist bureaucracy, while claiming to be independent of it, to represent the workers. And when we intervened against this policy, said that workers had to take over the UAW and

chase out the bureaucrats, not unite with them, the Stalinists called us "CIA agents," threatened to attack us, then asked the cops to "get rid of them."

Needless to say, this didn't stop the Spartacist League and SPARK from marching around in circles with them.

These hacks are preparing the same slanders and threats for the masses of autoworkers who have no intention of uniting with Fraser to save the Big Three or its crisis-ridden-not-so-Democratic Party. Or of "uniting members and leaders."

It's necessary to prepare now! Expose the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists! Drive them out of the workers movement! Fight for victory in '79!

M.G.

April 3, 1979



## Bury the Stalinist "Jobs for Youth" Fraud!

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The bankrupt parties inside the workers movement are all getting together behind the "Jobs for Youth" fraud. A coalition of traitors making a campaign "issue" out of a fundamental problem of the workers revolution: unemployment. They want to use the entire working class, but especially the youth as a "pressure group" to lobby in Congress among "friendly" elements who will sponsor and support Rep. John Conyers' legislation for "full employment for youth" and to "shorten the work week."

The principal organizer of this fraud is the American Communist (Stalinist) Party who have been pressed into service to save the Democratic Party from the blows of the strike movement and youth rebellion, to try to keep this mobilization of the working class inside the framework of bourgeois democracy and "human rights." Above all to keep it inside the confines of the United States.

A "Jobs for Youth" rally was scheduled for April 4th, the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination, in downtown Detroit. There was a meeting preparing this rally where Conyers spoke about the bills he is sponsoring for "full employment for youth" and "to shorten the work week." About 75 trade union bureaucrats, members of the American CP, Democratic Party camp followers, a couple of old SWPers were there and several black youth.

As the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Young Workers were standing outside in the hallway distributing TRUTH and INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD -- newspapers clearly representing the real combat and interests of the working class and youth and defining the revolutionary policy, it became clear we were not welcome by the organizers of this meeting.

The master of ceremonies took one look at our papers and said to "get that garbage out of here." He might have let it go at that, but we got into discussions with a reporter and others coming to the meeting about Klebanov, the Soviet miner who was taken

off to a psychiatric hospital for organizing a struggle for the political freedom of the workers in Russia in a fight for free trade unions. Klebanov's struggle is completely the opposite of this "democratic" farce being played out by the Stalinists, centrists and Democratic Party. This striving of Soviet workers for their independent activity and independent politics met with the most ruthless repression by the Stalinist police and was slandered by the American Communist Party as the work of a CIA and FBI agent. This is their real attitude towards workers and youth and the fight for class independence. When he heard about this -- he went and called the AMERICAN police -- to take care of those in the US fighting for class independence.

In sharp contrast to Klebanov, and to the TO and RYW who represent the fight for working class independence, Conyers introduced a union bureaucrat, Frank Runnels of Local 22 of the UAW as the spokesman for the "All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week." Their miserable part in this "full-employment-through-legislation" fraud is to carry out a campaign of lies and lobbying using the UAW machine and autoworkers dues to back another Democrat in 1980 -- such as Ted Kennedy. The anti-youth, anti-worker "workers candidate" who is strongly pushing the S.1437 Bill that would outlaw strikes and make striking workers "criminals." Make groups of 10 or more workers or youth a "riot." This shows the real anti-working class nature of the "Jobs for Youth" campaign and its real intention -- to put forward a Democratic Party candidate in 1980.

From the USSR to the USA -- their parties cannot hope to save the downfall of imperialism and the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies. Finish their crisis in a vast movement of the whole working class for its own party -- the Workers Party -- against the "Jobs for Youth" fraud.

The fight for jobs is a revolutionary struggle that can only be undertaken by the working

class and its party. It is a fight for the working class to seize hold of production, to occupy the factories -- take over the schools and education through Workers Councils fighting for Workers Governments. The vision of the working class is to seize hold of all the products of human culture -- provide for ALL the needs of the masses.

The vision of the future of the enemies of the working class is a peaceful transition to a world free of antagonisms, where the working class ceases to struggle or have any independence whatsoever. They envision a future for the youth who submit to mindless, stupid work without complaining and even happily.

On March 21, the DETROIT FREE PRESS printed an article entitled "Learning on the simulated line" which shows how the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie would like the youth to be.

It said that the Detroit Pre-Employment Training Center, a 3.2 million dollar program of GM, Ford and the Budd Corporation in collaboration with

Detroit Public Schools, has set up a "simulated" factory with a "simulated" union to "correct" the problem of "chronic dropout rates" of young factory workers. The "workers" are high school students. One of the goals of this "learning experience" is to teach them the fine distinctions between "tedious," "repetitious" and "boring" in practical assembling of GM parts which are later dismantled. But the "simulated" union doesn't have the right to strike! This is the dream of the bourgeoisie and Stalinists -- conflict-free exploitation of the workers.

A spokesman for this vision of the future and for this simulated factory said "As we move into an age of mediocrity, plant life will be a respected profession." But the youth don't want to go backwards -- they want to advance to a new society. They want to finish with mediocrity, they are not interested in making assembly jobs "respected professions" but in ending the existence of class rule that turns men into monkeys.  
April 3, 1979

## YSA: TREACHERY

April 3-- Cass Tech High School, Detroit-- The Student Defense League, associated with the YSA, youth group of the SWP, organized another walkout around student IDs. This time openly treacherous as they now have passed over to advisors to the school administration. They are now demanding: "Demand an ID Entrance policy which lets you into school and keeps outsiders out! Demand protection of your First Amendment rights."

Where in the First Amendment does it say students must wear ID badges as though in a prison? And where are all these terrible "outsiders" storming the doors of Cass Tech?

Andrew Walden, spokesman for SDL and member of the YSA/SWP, told us privately that they only

put this "outsiders" stuff in to appease some of the students, but that "we" who "know better" know this "outsider" talk comes from the school administration.

When only 50 students joined the "walkout," the SDL began to turn against the students who remained inside, saying that they are "afraid." Not "afraid" -- just mistrustful of a group who organizes no real fight against the school authorities. And accepts the framework of this prison-school system by demanding of our jailkeepers an "ID Entrance Policy."  
NO ID BADGES!  
COPS OUT OF THE SCHOOLS!  
JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!  
B.P.