WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

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FORWARD

The US bourgeosie and the Stalinists are trying to crush the working class **Build the revolutionary** leadership of the UAW! Join the fight for a workers party and a workers government!

Anyone who has read the newspapers or watched the news on television in the last weeks must be wondering what is going on. US capitalism has suddenly appeared with a "new face."

Announcement after announcement is coming out of the White House and Congress dealing with US imperialism's sudden concern for "human rights." Carter writes letters and meets with Soviet dissidents, he talks on the phone with someone holding hostages, he allows the Hanafi Moslems to be released without bail.

The US Congress has just "discovered" that 82 countries that the US supplies military aid to "systematically violate human rights" and announces some small cuts in military assistance to certain countries in Latin America. And at the same time it announces that of course, it will not cut any aid to countries who "have a strategic importance to the US.

In reality, the workers know very well what is going on. This "new face" is nothing but a cynical fraud, an attempt to cover up the real plans of US imperialism.

White House gardener supports RWY march in Washington!

BY JON COHEN MARCH 14, 1977

AS THE DELEGATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH IN WASHINGTON, D.C. RALLIED IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE ON MARCH 11TH UNDER THE SLOGANS: STOP THE ATTACK OF CARTER AND THE OIL PROFITEERS AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS! BUILD A WORKERS PARTY TO FIGHT FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS! A GARDENER WORKING AT THE WHITE HOUSE BEGAN TO CROSS THE LAWN. WE CALLED TO HIM AND ACROSS A HUGE METAL FENCE WITH LARGE METAL POINTS ON TOP OF IT.("WELL-MENDED FENCES MAKE GOOD NEIGHBORS.") WE EXPLAIN-

MENDED FENCES MAKE GOOD NEIGHBORS.") WE EXPLAIN-ED TO HIM THE PURPOSE OF OUR RALLY AND INVITED HIM TO JOIN US IN OUR MARCH TO THE CAPITOL. HE SAID THAT HE COULD NOT JOIN US. BUT TOOK A LARGE BUN-DLE OF OUR LEAFLETS TO DISTRIBUTE INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONTRIBUTED A DOLLAR TO THE RWY.

POOR JIMMY. NOT ONLY DID OUR RALLY REPRESENT THE DEEPENING MOBILIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH IN THE US AGAINST HIS REGIME AND HIS PLANS. BUT IT ALSO SHOWED THE DISGUST OF THOSE WHO HAVE

TO WORK DIRECTLY WITH HIM. WHEN WE ASKED THE GARDENER WHAT TYPE OF BOSS JIMMY WAS, HE SAID: "NOT SO HOT." IT IS PROBABLY BECAUSE HIS LAST EXPERIENCE AS A BOSS, BEFORE MOVING UP IN THE WORLD OF BOSSES, WAS THAT OF A SOUTHERN PLANTATION OWNER. ON HIS PLANTATION HIS WORKERS LIVED IN WOODEN SHACKS AND WERE DAID HIS WORKERS LIVED IN WOODEN SHACKS AND WERE PAID

LESS THAN THE MINIMUM WAGE OF \$2.25 AN HOUR. WE SALUTE THIS WORKER WHO CARRIED THE FIGHT OF THE RWY RIGHT INTO THE BIG PLANTATION OF US IMP-ERIALISM. WE DON'T KNOW, BUT PERHAPS CARTER READ OUR LEAFLET. IF HE DID WE DOUBT HE'LL PHONE US. WE'RE PROBABLY NOT PART OF "THE PEOPLE" HE WANTS TO HEAR FROM.

Woodcock & 'Autoworkers United to Fight' say: FRASER! The Trotskyist Organization/USA says: NO!-Build the Revolutionary Workers Faction in the UAW! PLATFORM





problem that can't be solved by voting Democratic, or spending our union dues LOBBYING Congress."

Now you really have to rub your eyes at that one. Last month, Timeto-Unite devoted its entire issue to support for a demonstration of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) in Lansing in order to LOBBY the Michigan legislature. And they used union dues to do it because the Local #600 bure aucracy supported the demonstration and paid for buses

Unite against Carter's attack and transform the unions into organs of the oppressed masses! Build One Central Union! Unity with the steelworkers, all workers of the AFL-CIO and IBT against the bureaucrats! Full rights for all young and laid-off workers! Organize the unorganized! II. Throwout Meany, Woodcock, Fraser

and their contracts! Elect a revolution-ary leadership to head the UAW! Reject the ENA and all binding arbitration! Stop all support to the Carter regime, to all Democrats and Republican III. Fight for the immediate recall of all laid-off workers with no cuts in pay; for workers control of linespeed and job combinations! IV. Organize assemblies in all plants and departments to elect factory committees to defend the workers interests and prepare a general strike to win these demands! Workers defense guards! Faction1 Full rights for all workers tendencies in the UAWI Bring the convention back to Detroit.

We don't have to list the systematic violation of human rights that goes on today in the US, or that US imperialism engages in around the world to expose this fraud, but it is important to clarify why the US bourgeoisie has engaged in this maneuver.

In face of the international upsurge of the workers, chersinks HA chourse of she thay are attacking this mobilization of the working class -- "austerity plans" in every major capitalist country, unemployment, inflation and the strengthening of the repressive apparatuses of the capitalist state, it must make a last-ditch attempt to give itself a "democratic" face, to make the workers think, if only for a moment of hesitation, that bourgeois democracy is still an alternative for them. This is all they want -- a moment of hesitation in the struggles of the workers to give them time to prepare their bloody counterrevolution.

This plan could never be accomplished without the decisive support of the international Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin and its "Communist" parties around the world. This is their task -- to hold back the workers struggles, to make them hesitate for a moment with illusions in bourgeois democracy, while the bourgeoisie increases and deepens their attacks.

In Eastern Europe and the USSR the Stalinists totally discredit the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat with their bloody repression. They give Carter his material for "human rights" which is meant to justify the intervention of US capitalism and the overthrow of the socialist conquests.

In Western Europe, the Communist Parties attack the repression in Eastern Europe only as an excuse for them to give up the fight for the socialist revolution and to become the foremost defenders 'of bourgeois democracy in Europe. In Spain they compliment the fascist dictatorship for "trying to reform itself." In Italy, they denounced workers and students who took to the streets to protest the police assassination of a leftist leader as "an anti-democratic provocation."

And in the US, the American Stalinists have made a new turn in building their "liberal-labor-black coaltion," that is, trying to derail the struggles of the US workers into an attempt to reform the Democratic Party and US Congress.

The US working class has a decisive role to play in turning back this plot of the imperialists and the Stalinists. The fight of the US workers to take up a fight against the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists as an INTERNATIONAL task, will be the key to the success of the European revolution which is on the agenda today.

The fight of the workers against the Carter regime has deepened. It is being expressed today in the form of the deep mobilization of the workers in the key trade unions against the trade union bureaucracy. They are the most direct representatives of the Carter regime and the Democratic party that the workers face daily. It has been expressed in the fight of the workers in steel against the Abel bureaucracy, a fight in which the Democratic Party, the Stalinists and centrists all joined hands behind Sadlowski in order to derail this fight. The supporters of Sadlowski now analyse the results of the elections and say that it was too bad Sadlowski did not mobilize the young, black workers. BUT THIS WAS HIS PURPOSE, to insure that there was no real fight of the steelworkers, to insure that a revolutionary alternative wasn't presented to the young workers.

FOR DELEGATES TO THE UAW CONVENTION.

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Amid spreading local strikes in auto, elections are being heldfor delegates to the Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers union (UAW). The strikes have now spread to the Jefferson Avenue Chrysler plant in Detroit and to a Fisher Body plant in Ohio. The strikes, at a time when the UAW bureaucracy has mustered all its forces behind Fraser, the handpicked sucessor to Woodcock to ensure peace at their convention in May, shows the explosiveness of the situation in auto. In this vice between the workers angry upsurge and the attempts of the UAW bureaucracy to stop it, all the worker's leaderships are being put to the test once again,

Last week, for the first time, a member of the Revolutionary Worker Youth at the Ford River Rouge plant, and a member of the Trotskyist Organization at Ford Torrence in Chicago ran as delegates to the UAW convention. Their platform and candidacy (see platform) continues the struggle led by the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth in the auto strike.

Like the thousands of auto workers who are striking, the TO and RWY do not accept the sellout contract negotiated by Woodcock. They are leading the struggle to mobilize all the auto workers against the attacks of the Carter government and the bureaucrats. Among other things our platform demands to STOP THE ATTACK OF CARTER AND THE OIL PROFITEERS, and FULL DEMOCRACY IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Our strategy to lead the strikes is clearly spelled out in the platforms of our candidates. ELECT FACTORY COMMITTEES to give leadership to the strikes on the basis of the democratic will of all auto workers, and to fight for WCRKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION to end the speedup, the layoffs, and the harassment. Young workers in the auto plants responded not only with support to our delegates but also the Day of Action built by the RWY in Washington D.C. to fight for a United Socialist Republic of the Americas.

TIME-TO-UNITE VS. REVOLUTION

to Lansing.

As for the rest of their platform, it is as empty and abstract as the platforms of the left-bureaucrats and offers no strategy to link up the wildcats of the auto workers now going on. And under their demand to "Break the International's pro-company Dictatorship," there is not the slightest word about the right of revolutionary ten-to the Stalinist backed Time to Unite organization,

After looking at their platform, it is no wonder that AWUF never explains that it is supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. Because just like their Stalinist brothers in the American Communist Party and around the world, there is nothing "revolution" ary" about either the AWUF or the Revolutionary Communist Party, Behind their revolutionary rhetoric is their real position -- that the US working class is not ready for revolutionary change, but can only "pressure" Fraser and the UAW bureaucracy and "pressure" the Michigan legislature and the Democratic Party. And this as well explains their use of violence against militants of the Fourth International in the UAW. Not Woodcock or Fraser, but the Fourth International is the greatest threat to them.

This TAILING of the workers in auto, that is, chasing after the struggles of the workers with left-rhetoric, is the trademark, not only of Stalinism, but of centrism as well. Fundamentally,

the policy of the Socialist Workers Party and Time-to-Unite are the same "pressure on the bureaucracy, accept" ance of capitalism as inevitable, and left rhetoric in order to look good to the workers.

What all these opportunist tendencies in the trade unions have in common is their worship of the sanctity of the trade union struggle, and a revulsion to revolution. It is for this reason that they would never consider fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the UAW and running a candidate against Fraser. IF THE UAW BUREAUCRACY IS STILL INTACT TODAY IT IS NOT BECAUSE THE WORKERS HA VE NOT

BEEN READY FOR REVOLUTION, BUT BECAUSE THE STALINISTS, CEN-TRISTS, AND LEFT-LIBERAL BUR-EAUCRATS HAVE BETRAYED THE WORKERS.

The TO and the RWY have undertaken to unseat Fraser and to build a revolutionary leadership in the UAW. Our candidate for delegate from Ford Torrence, Fred Vitale, will run against Fraser for president of the UAW.

The RWY is building a large conference of Revolutionary Workers in Auto in Detroit on March 27th in order to bring together all the support we have won in the course of the auto strike and the delegate elections. This Conference must formally constitute the Revolutionary Workers Faction organized by the TO and RWY in the UAW. It must adopt its Platform, elect a steering committee to lead its work and map out a campaign for the UAW convention in May, including our campaign for President against Fraser. This Conference will be based on an actual mobilization that the RWY is leading for the workers to organize themselves independently against the attack being leveled on them by the Carter government in collusion with the trade union bureaucracy.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS TAKE THE LEADERSHIP!

UAW IN THE HANDS OF THE WORKERS! BUILD THE CONFERENCE OF REVOL-UTIONARY WORKERS IN AUTO - - -MARCH 27 th!

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF POLAND

For several weeks the Stalinist bureaucracy of Gierek has spoken of a socalled "amnesty" for the participants in the June strikes. Already this fact demonstrates how large and decided is the resistance of the working class in the face of the wave of Stalinist repression. The attempt at the police pacification of the workers, has not, up to now obtained the results that were hope for. Today, the weak Gierek regime seeks compromises. But the promises of an "amnesty" in no case constitutes a "victory" nor even a "positive step" by the author-ities. Although weak and profoundly shaken, the Gierek dictatorship is trying to dictate new conditions to the working class.

the UAW is the "Auto Workers United

unites several "rank-and-file" news-

letters such as that of Time-to-Unite

expose the deal that was worked out

cratic Party and the Woodcock bur-eaucracy to keep the workers in line

strike. The Time-to- Unite organiz-ation (don't let the name fool you)

tearing up any of our election liter-

followed the local bureaucrats around,

ature they could find. The only thing

Now in the delegate elections Auto

they proposed was to "Vote No," but

not to remove the leadership respon-

Workers United to Fight is trying to

run the same old game on the auto

workers. Let's take a look at their

have campaigns going at more than

20 locals, the AWUF is not putting

forward a candidate against Fraser.

made the new UAW president ... "

In fact they say, "Doug Fraser will be

and "... the rank and file has no can-

didates to seriously challenge Fraser's

election." Well, now, there's some-thing honest. Rank-and-filers don't consider AWUF a "serious challenge"

to Fraser's election! They are per-

Under point 5 of their platform,

eaucrats -- TRUTH there's no real

Tail on the Donkey", " AWUF goes on

to say, "According to them, the bur"

"Stop Using our Union to "Pin the

fectly satisfied with remaining a

"house opposition".

First of all, though they claim to

sible for the sellout.

platform.

during the elections and the auto

between Jimmy Carter, the Demo-

In the auto strike the RWY fought to

to Fight" coalition. This coalition

at Ford River Rouge in Detroit.

It is not for THE UNCONDITIONAL LIBERATION OF ALL THE IMPRISON-ED WORKERS, but an eventual liberation of certain prisoners, who are, those who "show that they have repented"!

It is not for THE UNCONDITIONAL ANNULMENT OF THE ARBITRARY POLITICAL TRIALS, but an "amnesty", all the while keeping the pronounced sentences and their juridical basis. In other words, strikes continue to be a crime, come under the classifica-tion of "vandalism" and fall under the attacks of the anti-working class Penal Code.

OFF -- in their own factories and their same jobs! -- but a selective and individual return, to other factories and only concerning certain workers!

But the most important fact is that the hypocritical promises try to hide the real ones responsible for the antiworking class repression, of the assass" ination of demonstrators, of barbarian tortures used visciously against the workers. They are the same who in December 1970 organized the massacre of the workers on the Baltic ports, who are now responsible for the crimes committed in June and for the present persecutions.

The mobilization has gone even deeper in the UAW. The UAW bureaucracy has not CONTINUED ON BACK

At the same time that the young workers with the TO and the RWY are leading the combat against the alliance of the trade union bureaucrats and the capitalists, several so-called "oppositions" have formed which seek to water down the revolutionary character of the workers strikes and actions. One of the most serious obstacles to building a revolutionary leadership in

It is not for the UNCONDITIONAL RETURN OF THE RIGHT TO WORK FOR ALL WORKERS ON DISCIPLINARY LAY-

Gierek's speech, published on February 3rd in the "Ursus" Mechanical Establishment constitutes an open provocation. It is not the Stalinist power of Gierek which flouts the most elementary rights of the workers -- right CONTINUED ON BACK



TRUH

Organ of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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From our editorial board

The "Labor-Black Coalition" of the American CP: Trying to Save the Democratic Party

In our election campaign last fall and in our PLATFORM OF COMBAT we explained that we were running not only against Carter and Ford, but against the campaign of the American Communist Party (CP) as well, which we stated presented no alternative to the Democratic Party for the working class.

Worse than no alternative, we warned that the "anti-monopoly peoples coalition" or the "liberal/labor/black coalition" proposed by the American Communist Party was a deadly trap for the American workers. It was the expression in the United States of the policy that the international apparatus of the Kremlin is pursuing around the world-- the maintenance of capitalism.

We said that in every mobilization of the US working class the Communist Party says that their solution does not lie in their own organization and power, but in a coalition with liberals of the Democratic Party against "big business." They say that US capitalism can be reformed and US imperialism made more "democratic." Now, after the election of Carter and

the Democratic Party the CP is continuing this policy on an even more dangerous level. An opposition to the Carter regime has already begun to develop in the American working class -- in the unions, against the attacks of the ofl profiteers. against the rising unemployment, etc. The potential for the rapid development of a full-scale mobilization against the Carter government, to shatter the Democratic Party, to drive the labor bureaucrats who support the Democrats out of the unions exists in the US. The American CP has immediately moved into this situation in order to derail this mobilization, in order to save the Democratic Party and US capitalism. One cannot read a single issue of the DAILY WORLD, their paper without reading of "victories" around the country of "labor" black coalitions. What are these "labor-black coalitions" and what are these "victories"? In Richmond, Virginia, it was the "victory" of five black members of the Democratic Party who were elected to City Council. In Chicago, it is the unity of "progressives" to support the candidacy of Democratic Party State Senator Harold Washington for

Mayor. In Ohio it is the "Ohioans For Utility Reform" which includes in its "coalition" US Senator Howard Metzenbaum, Local 1250 of the UAW (Brookpark), the Mayor of Galion, Ohio, the National Organization for Women and the US Communist Party.

These "coalitions" are part of the national policy of the CP of support of the various job reform measures in front of Congress proposed by liberal Democrats -- the Harrington "Youth" job bill and the Humphrey-Hawkins job bill. They are part of the national policy of the CP in the trade unions of support to "left" bureaucrats who rely on the Democratic Party for their support--the Sadlowskis, Balahoffs, etc. The purpose of all of these "co alitions"

The purpose of all of these "coalitions" is the same: to channel the mobilization of the working class and especially the youth into the control of the apparatus of the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy. These are not "coalitions", but traps for the working class, designed to make them believe that there is no alternative to their struggles but reliance and pressure on the Democratic Party. To make them believe that an alternative to the Daley machine in Chicago can come from a Harold Washington who was put into office by the machine, or to make them believe that a Harrington or Hawkins in Congress will get them jobs.



THE STAKE OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Each day in the struggle that the working class wages the question of power is posed more and more directly. That means for Marxists the question of the revolutionary party capable of leading the working masses to power.

On the world scale, in Europe, events are moving fast. In Spain, in France, in Italy and Poland, in the USSR itself, the rhythm of the class struggle is accelerating rapidly. On the whole continent the global confrontation between the workers on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy of the Kremlin on the other is on the order of the day. The depth of the workers mobilization, and at the same time the complete inability of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism to respond to it with anything but more and more profound attacks on the conditions of life and the most elementary rights of the masses determines the pre-revolutionary character of the current political situation.

character of the current political situation. More precisely: the objective conditions of the revolutionary explosion in Europe are there. They are more than ripe. But the consiousness of the revolutionary class, the proletariat, is still behind with respect to this development of the class struggle and its own mobilization which itself, already poses concretely the problem of political power.

It is this consciousness of the objectives and the tasks of the working class which is decisive for the fate of the confrontations which are being prepared; it's the revolutionary party.

Today by the depth and the determination of its struggles it is the proletariat which has the initiative in the class struggle but its development isn't linear nor always favorable to the proletariat. It is not as if its combativity by itself is enough to do away with all the obstacles which are before it in the road of workers socialist revolution.

No. This development is made of advances and retreats, of attacks and counterattacks of the classes which confront each other and in which the stake of the final battle is the revolutionary victory of the workers or their crushing by the bourgeoisie.

Prepare the Revolu Build its Bolshevik Par the Mobilization of

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DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST DEPORTATIONS OF WORKERS IN CANADA

cracy and its parties; the CP's, which are launching an unprecedented offensive against the workers mobilization and the consciousness of the revolutionary objectives that are on the order of the day; the des⁻ truction of the capitalist state and the police power of the bureaucracy and the installation of the power of the Workers Councils, the Socialist United States of Europe.

The rhythm with which this attack of Stalinism develops is incredible. It is in-contestable proof of the depth of the crisis, without precedent, which is shaking the Stalinist bueaucracy and all of its international apparatus under the rise of the workers of Eastern Europe as well as in Western Europe. But it is also full of direct and concrete threats for the working class which only the construction of the revolutionary leadership can deal with. The wave of repression launched by the bureaucracy against the oppositionists and workers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany and the USSR has run into the determined resistance of the working class in these countries and condemnation without equivocation on the part of the international proletariat and its youth. The fact that in Poland, with the general strike of June 25th, the workers went the furtherest in their mobilization against the buraucracy, the Stalinist party in power was capable of collecting only 17,000 signatures of condemnations of the Committee to Defend the Workers constitutes a significant defeat for the bureaucracy and is the proof of its weakness. This is why the desparate blows which it can bring against the working class are all the more determined. The German paper, DIE SPIEGEL, recently reported on military manuevers of the troops of the Warsaw pact around Poland, all along the frontier of Czechoslovakia and the USSR which brings to the fore the menace of an intervention of the Kremlin tanks prepared in the course of the feverish meetings between the Polish bureaucrats and their masters from Moscow. At the same time that the wave of repression and threats develop, the bureaucracy takes new steps in its capitulation before imperialism. The warm greetings to the electoral victory of Carter were followed by calls, more and more pressing to the White House to reinforce "peaceful coexistence" and codify new counterrevolutionary collaboration with imperialism on the international scale. Helsinki is very far away. The development of the situation in the Middle East and Latin America and above all in Europe demand a much closer cooperation bypassing the attempts, destined to defeat, to keep the working class in place, can not but take the form of open support to the counterrevolutionary preparations of the imperialist bourgeoisie. It's under this sign that the Conference of Belgrad is being prepared. In this framework, the Western CP's of Berlinguer, Carillo, Marchais, play a major role under the name of "Euro-Communism" in the attempts of the counterrevolution to undo the working class. In Spain, the CP goes from open support to Suarez' government all the way to support of his "state of siege" and the wave of repression unleashed by it ... while the police and the Francoist army prepare for bloody adventure to crush the entirety of the workers movement and return to the worst moments of the fascist terror. In France and Italy, the Fifth Republic and the Christian Democratic government couldn't stand without the support of the Stalinist and reformist chiefs. Berlinguer has gone so far as to theorize about the benefits of austerity, of unemployment, and the attack against the masses as factors of discipline and social order. The "union of the Left" does all that it can to break the mobilization of the workers in the face of the attacks of an excetional depth brought by the "Barre plan", attacks against the rights and the conquests of the workers in the name of "electoral perspectives." A whole faction of the bourgeoisie is regrouping around Chirac realizing that neither Bonapartism nor the Popular Front are sure defenses against the rise of the working class and they prepare for confrontation, This policy of support to the bourgeois governments and their anti-working class attacks is coupled with a fundamental attack on the revolutionary consciousness of the working class to disarm it and break its mobilization and including to bring it into the grips of the imperialist policy. Under the pretext of the denunciation of the Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe the leaders of the Western CP's have taken the dictatorship of the proletariat and the October Revolution as the source of Stalinism in

order to uphold the merits of bourgeois democracy and in order to justify their policy of serving the bourgeois state, opposing themselves to all attempts of the working class to organize its mobilization independently through its autonomous organs of struggle and of power; the strike committees, factory committees, Workers Councils. The true content of this attack is to break the revolutionary mobilization of the workers which leads to the destruction of the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat,

But under the political enterprise of this wing of the Stalinist apparatus called "Euro" Communist" a whole current of the opposition in Eastern Europe has fallen into the trap of mortal illusions sown by Stalinism called "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The fact that a growing number of East European oppositionists identify themselves with the final act of the Helsinki Accords on the "free circulation of men and of ideas" and the "respect for human rights" constitutes a political phenomena of the first importance which says alot about the dangers of the Stalinist manuevers. If these oppositionists identify themselves with the final act of the

The most important point is that the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy could never accomplish this themselves. They are already discredited in front of the militant workers. The American CP, just as the CP's throughout the world, plays a decisive role in stepping in and giving a left cover and rhetoric to these traitors.

We are therefore not building the Fourth International in the US for just any reason. We are building our section precisely to confront the American Communist Party and its treachery, to prove to the workers in struggle that their only alternative is their independent organization and revolutionary fight and not an alliance with the "Democratic" hangmen of the working class. Now more than ever our task is to build the Workers Party AGAINST the "anti-monopoly people's coalition" or "labor-black alliance" of the American CP.

While the Bourgeoisie Prepares the Counterrevolution

This week, supposedly in response to the Hanafi Moslems who took over three buildings in Washington, D.C., Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit ordered increased security in city buildings and told Detroit police to prepare for a "summer of terrorism." This is the same Mayor Young who the week before asked the state legislature for 12.5 million dollars in order to "get the young punks off the streets" and into jails!"

These remarks follow the release on March 2nd of a 600 page report prepared by the US Justice Department Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. This "task force" says that the urban riots that took place in the 60's could recur again and urged cities to draw up contingency plans to prepare for major disorder and terrorism.

The Report stated: "The present tranquility is deceptive...Many of the traditional indicators for disorders are clearly present and need byt little stimulus to activate them." The Report did not just limit itself to predictions. It proposed a series of measures to police in order to prepare for such possibilities.

These measures include wiretapping, mass arrests and granting police immunity from prosecution or other legal action for the "emergency actions" that they may take. The Report brought an immediate reaction from the American Civil Liberties Union which called the emergency power proposals "appalling and astounding. These proposals have about them the flavor of something borrowed from a petty dictatorship."

For the ACLU these type of proposals are

otherwise sound American "democracy," But the American bourgeoisie does not have to "borrow" from petty dictatorships. It has plenty of its own experience in suppressing democratic rights in the United States and around the world. Need we remind the ACLU that it has been the American government which has through its military and CIA organized, trained, and supplied the majority of the "petty dictatorships" around the world.

But this report has even more significance. It does not concern a handful of "terrorists", who despite a certain inconvenience, pose no threat to the capitalist system. It above all concerns the American working class and its youth and the preparations of the US ruling class for crushing their mobilization.

The American bourgeoisie understands the explosive situation that exists among the masses in this country. At the same time that the Carter regime and the liberal Democrats manuever with the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists to make the working class believe that capitalism can be reformed, the bourgeoisie shows how well they believe in "reform" by preparing to suppress all democratic rights.

Workers must fight in the unions and other workers organizations to condemn this report and demand the repeal of all repressive legislation. But above all they must wage a fight against all those in the workers movement who say that this government, which is already preparing for dictatorship, can be reformed. Nothing is decided in advance. The

more a situation becomes revolutionary, such as that in which we live, by the fact itself that it places in direct peril the domination of the bourgeoisie, the more the attacks of the reactionary forces against the proletariat multiply in order to smash its moblization and prepare its defeat. The closer and closer we are to the outcome of the confrontation, the more and more there appears the utgent decisive necessity of the existence and combat of the party, of the revolutionary leadership of the workers.

In the face of the rise of the proletarian masses, the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist bureaucracy have launched a vast counteroffensive throughout; the plans of austerity, unemployment, the attacks against thousands of workers are on the order of the day. The attacks against the liberties and conquests of the workers including under the form of the preparation of fascism, as in Portugal, multiply. This counterattack exacerbating to the limits the contradictions between the classes underlines the extremely unstable nature of the situation. It's the governments of Androtti, of Giscard, of Juan Carlos and the bureaucracy of Husak,

of Juan Carlos and the bureaucracy of Husak of Gierek, of Brezhnev himself which must prove their force against the mobilized proletariat which is a menace to their power.

But the combativity which is shown every day in the struggles of the workers, of the youth, doesn't automatically determine, by itself, the favorable development into revolution of the current pre-revolutionary situation. For at the same time as there develops in the heart of this the factors of the revolutionary explosion under the sign of the growing radicalization of the masses, there also accumulates those of the counterrevolution contained already in this counteroffensive of capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

For, in fact, in the face of the gigantic amplitude of the revolutionary explosion which threatens, the bourgeoisie and Stalinism concentrate today all their efforts to crush this mobilization before it can manifest itself with all its power and launch the masses of millions of workers into revolutionary action.

The necessity and the urgent tasks of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat of the Fourth International are posed in front of this counteroffensive which seeks to strangle the European Revolution in relationship to this struggle so that the revolution can begin. That is to say, to develop the current pre-revolutionary situation in favor of the working class by the conscious and organized preparation, by the unleashing of the European Revolution.

The worst error which could be made by the workers vanguard is to fall into spontaneism; to think that the current mobilization of the workers by the fact that it plunges the capitalist order and its parties and forces which are linked to its maintenance -- the Stalinist bureaucracy and the reformist parties into a desparate crisis constitute something sufficient for the workers victory or that this crisis simpliftes the tasks of the party or renders it less important because "the revolution is going to begin anyway." It's quite to the contrary. It is precise-ly in this crisis by its depth and by its stake that imperialism and the bureaucracy try to make the strongest blows against the work-ing class to block the route to this revolution. The European Revolution is posed in this sense as a task of the Fourth International.

If these oppositionists refer to Helsinki which was nothing but a counterrevolutionary agreement between imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucrats, it is very much the direct reflection of the illusions perpetuated by the Western CP's which themselves put into practice these agreements with their support to the capitalist states and their governments, putting forward the possibility to reform and "democratize" the Stalinist apparatus, presenting themselves as proof of this possibility with their discourses on the necessity for "pluralism".

In this way Stalinism accomplishes a double manuever; to reinforce the policy of support to the bourgeois State in the capitalist countries and to turn the workers of Eastern Europe away from the road of revolutionary confrontation with the bureaucracy while it prepares itself to bring the worst blows against the working class.

The intervention of Carter in favor of Sakharov makes the counterrevolutionary and pro-imperialist character of this Stalinist manuever clearer. Imperialism intensifys its pressure on the bureaucracy to obtain more and more important concessions. The "free circulation" of Carter is that of an imperialist capital penetrating and destroying planned economy. And it is this attack against the entirety of the proletariat and its conquests to which Stalinism is trying to attack the workers movement; Stalinism the gravedigger of the revolution, appears as the principal agent of imperialism and its plans. But this attack counts on support of captial importance; that of centrism and pricipally of opportunist currents which claim to represent the Fourth International.

... AND THAT OF CENTRISM

The attempted reunification of these currents (Comite' d'Organisation of Lambert-Just and the United Secretariat of Mandel and Krivine) attempts directed against the Fourth International signal a turn of these opportunist centers toward open support of the attack unleashed by the Stalinist bureaucracy and its international apparatus.

In Spain, bypassing their own slogan, "Constituent Cortez," the Paploite LCR refusing in its cowardly way to call the workers to a combat against the government of Suarez and its "state of siege," joins, scarcely critically, the sacred union of Spanish CP with fascism, which constitutes only a prelude of what Stalinism is ready to do to save the capitalist order. At the same time, the centrists place themselves at the side of this wing called "Euro-Communist" of the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to nourish the most criminal illusions with respect to it. Didn't the cen-trist paper ROUGE denounce the repression in Czechoslovakia as a violation of the Helsinki Accords? Fascism "democratizes" itself; agreements between imperialism and Stalinist bureaucrats become "acquistions" which the working class is supposed to defend. The centrists, affirming themselves as the political agents of Stalinism, plays openly the role of support from the left to the preparations of the counterrevolution, Doing this in the name of the Fourth International, these unprincipled currents constitute the last link in the chain with which Stalinism attempts to tie the international proletariat to the tank of bourgeois imper-

merely the unfortunate exceptions to an

March 13, 1977

SWP Abstains From UAW Delegate Elections

After being known in the workers movement as the "best supporters" of Sadlowski, and after predicting that other "Fight Back Teams" would now sprout up in every union, the SWP leader" ship has decided to aggresively continue the fight Sadlowski began by abstaining in the recent UAW elections for convention delegates.

It is not as if there were no choices. Every tendency in the workers movement presented its candidates. But not a word in THE MILITANT. Not a word from SWP members who work in auto.

Not a word from the SWP organizers in Detroit and Chicago who were specifically contacted and asked to support the candidates of the Trotskyist Organization, and the RWY.

Perhaps the autoworkers who are confronted with a hundred different opposition groups across the country, who are leading daily strikes against their leadership should just wait. Wait along with the SWP leaders for another Sadlowski to come along in auto and betray their struggles. Do the proletarian militants in the SWP intend to wait as well?

THE ROLE OF STALINISM

The form itself that the counterattack of the imperialist bourgeoisie takes proves to what point the fate of the revolution lies in the construction of the international party of the working class. This counterattack of the bourgeoisie and all of its counterrevolutionary preparations bases itself on the reinforced collaboration of the Stalinist bureau-

tion! y through the Youth!

DM LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE #44.

ourth International vis a vis these groups hich are both foreign to, and enemies of olshevism and winning from their ranks ie revolutionary militants and workers ho still follow them constitutes a funda" hental element of our combat against talinism; to affirm the Fourth Internation-l as the new leadership of the world pro-stariat.

In this situation, in the face of the obacles which are in front of the proletartacles which are in front of the proletar-at in the road to revolution, the tasks which he Fourth International has fixed for the at in the road to revolution, the tasks which olding of its Fifth World Congress; -- to omplete its differentiation vis a vis the urrents which usurp its banner affirming tself in the eyes of the workers as the sole orld center representing the Fourth Interational, appear with all their importance nd is only possible in -- and through -he struggle to organize and lead the movenents of the workers in order to prepare and nleasn the revolution, in the first place in

It is in the face of this task, more urgent han ever, which is posed the problem of he conquest of the working class youth as he conquest of the working class youth as he fundamental means and the condition self of realizing this revolutionary policy. The revolutionary party is built by the young eneration of the working class. This is one f the essential lessons of the victorious revlution of October which the Fourth Interational, inheritor and continuator of Bolhevism, makes its fundamental political rientation.

The party of Lenin conquered the leadrship of the Russian proletariat by basing tself fimly on the revolutionary young vorkers who, mistrusted by their leaders, eformist, Menshevik and Socialist-Revoltionary, were first in this struggle to assume he proletarian objectives of Bolshevism. t's this youth which were in the front ranks of the workers actions from February up to he insurrection in October, were in the ront lines of the struggle of the Bolshevik warty for power which brought the great ront lines of the struggle of the Bolshevik arty for power which brought the great nasses of workers to its side in the done noments of the revolution. It was done this way in the first victorious revolution this way today in its nasses of workers to its side in the decisive continuation.

directly that ever in terms of the party, of the revolutionary political leadership. The construction of the Revolutionary Youth International as the organization of the masses of working class youth is precisely the means to practically link the struggle of the workers, the combat to organize and lead their mobilization and the construction of the Fourth International.

"Return to Lenin," means building the party which pursues this combat. This slogan taken up by the Revolutionary Youth International as such, means organizing the youth for the revolution against Stalinism and centrism which tries to block the route in favor of the reaction. It means making the mobilization of this youth one for the alism. This is why the differentiation of the only objectives which correspond to its aspirations and that of the entirety of the workers; the power of the Workers Councils, the Socialist United States of Europe. The lever of the construction of the only party which proposes to realize this, the Fourth International.

In Spain, all depends on the capacity of the proletariat, thus of its vanguard to take the initiative in the revolutionary confrontation with Francoism by an offensive of the masses capable of bringing down its cracking edifice.

It's in the struggle to unleash and organize the general strike that the combat of the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain) through the JRE (Revolutionary Young Work-ers of Spain) deploying energetically the principal organizing force of this mobilization, will be decisive. The experience of the struggle led by the JRE to make the strike at Rocca the point of departure for the general strike through the large and open support committees regrouping the youth, workers and militants of other factories to extend the strike must be fully assimilated and developed. It's now a question of organizing these mobilized youth into the ranks of the JRE to support itself on these new forces to intensify the offensive in the factories beginning with work itself for the formation of committees of workers delegates and their defense guards and to audaciously take their leadership.

In France, in the course of the last months the crisis of the Bonapartist regime has deepened in a decisive manner. The massive eruption of the workers in the face of the attacks of the Giscard-Barre government has only been delayed until now by the effort deployed by the "Union of the Left" and the trade union leadership to chop up and break the workers struggles in the name of their promise to "not make trouble during the elections,

These maneuvers to save the dying Fifth Republic have been strengthened around the preparation of the coming municipal elections, through an explicit attack by the apparatuses against the idea itself of a general strike; while an entire faction of the bourgeoisie, around Chirac, is preparing

Latin America, Europe, and around the World SPAIN: **Stalinist Conference Against Working Class**

By ANN NELSON

Nothing demonstrates the fear the Stalinist Communist Parties have of the working class, and it's party, the Fourth International, than the recent meeting of the CP leaders of France and Italy with Santiago Carrillo in Spain. These "gentlemen" who rushed off to their meeting in an armorplated Cadillac, who say they are discussing the legalization of the Communist Party in Spain are in fact plotting on how to head off the recent mobilization of the working class by preventing the revolution-ary unification of the workers in Western and Eastern Europe in the name of "democracy.

For the working class in Spain, and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (PORE), section of the Fourth International, the road to ending the assassinations of the fascist bands is through the general strike to bring down the fascist government and for the Spanish revolution to begin the revolutionary unification of the workers of East-

ern and Western Europe, The Stalinist chief's plans were expressed by Berlinguer, head of the Italian CP, "faith in a democratic Spain is important for the construction of a new Europe." This is consistent with the Spanish CP's policy of supporting the emergency laws of the fascist Monarchy against the workers, and their calling for the workers to remain "calm" during the latest upsurge of the workers against the government.

In order to "prove" they are for democracy, these leaders plan the le galization of the Spanish CP through the denunciation of the international party of the workers. The Spanish supreme court will legalize the CP only if it deems that the CP is not "subject to international discipline". It is from this treacherous perspective that Carrillo wishes to "denounce" repression in Eastern Europe in this meeting, to use the will of the Spanish proletariat to unite with the workers in Eastern Europe against it. The PORE has consistently drawn the balance sheet of this "democracy" of the Stalinists, and has set as its prime task the exposure of this class collaboration policy of the Communist Parties in order to open the road to the Spanish revolution,

The Spanish sections of the United Secretariat, whose sympathizing organization in the USA is the Socialist Workers Party, propose nothing different than the Stalinists by calling for a republic and the establishment of democratic rights in Spain,

That the meeting of the leaders of the Western European CP's in Spain is part of a plot against the Spanish proletariat and the whole Euorpean working class express" ed in the common chorus: "We're all for human rights here. " Thusly, the fascist Monarchy provides police protection for the CP leaders. Carrillo attacks the international party of the working class by issuing a communique against political repression in Eastern Europe. And the leader of the plot, Carter, speaking for US imp-erialism, meets with Russian dissident Boukovsky, as a "defender of human rights,"

The only way to defend the demonstrations and strikes of the Spanish workers, where true democratic rights are tested, is through the election of workers committees to organize the general strike for the Workers and Peasants Government. The only way to defend democratic rights in Spain is, through the fight to bring down the Francoist Monarchy.

In the US, the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth USA have defended the political prisoners in Spain, and have fought to stop all US aid to the fascist Monarchy.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

The **Socialist Revolution** is the Road for Women's Liberation!

By ANN NELSON,

Sixty years ago, the first Inteniational Women's Day was held on March 8th on the basis of the first struggles of women in the unions, against capitalism and for women's rights. Today, women's rights and their very lives are being threatened by the world bourgeoisie which in an effort to strengthen its weakening grasp on the workers of the world, attacks the best elements of the workers: the youth in the large factories, minorities and women. The question before women of the working class and them in particular. This is the question that the "leaders" of bourgeois women's organizations such as NOW are opposed to, as well as the centrist Socialist Workers Party, which in the name of soc-ialism, insures the subordination of working class women to the bourgeoisie. To win even ONE right, the Trotskyist Organization, Section (sympathizing) of the Fourth International, calls on young wo" men workers, students and militants to join the Revolutionary Youth International, to build the Workers Party to fight for a Workers Government as the only road toward the emancipation of women.

THE CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ND THE CONQUEST OF YOUTH

If the current situation demands of the ourth International a decisive turn to lake the leadership of the mobilization of he working class this turn cannot be real-zed except by an offensive of the Fourth pternational to mobilize and organize the for a global confrontation with the working class.

The construction of the Fourth International in France, the pivot of the European revolution, passes through a delimitation of its revolutionary program in the face of the policy of the apparatuses and the centrist currents which follow them like shadows-today proposing to the workers to place the base structures of the bourgeois state which are represented by the municipal structure "at their service"! The struggle that the LOR of France has

outh by the construction of its mass organ" zation of revolutionary combat in which he youth can assimilate in the struggle the Olshevik program of the Fourth Internation" 1 and incorporate themselves by their own nobilization into the construction of our arty. This turn is concentrated in the ght for the massive development of the evolutionary Youth International. It's in this sense that the Fourth Interational prepares the 2nd Congress of the evolutionary Youth International which ill be held at the beginning of next ummer. The fundamental centralizing bjective of the mobilization that the ourth International impulses in the ranks f the international proletariat for its wn construction as its new revolutionary eadership. This Congress which will take he form of a large and open internation⁻ I rally of the revolutionary youth for the ocialist United States of Europe will meet n Barcelona.

In Spain, because it's there in the next nonths and weeks that the first decisive attle of the European Revolution is going o take place; the global confrontation beveen the working masses and Francoism upported by all of international reaction nd Stalinism. In Spain because it's there hat the Fourth International, by deployng the Revolutionary Youth International oward the working class youth concen-rates all its efforts to take the leadership f the mobilization of the masses and uneash the proletarian revolution giving in his way the deliberate blow of its eruption hroughout Europe. The Fourth International impulses the reparation of this international rally orgnized by the Revolutionary Youth Interational under the slogan; "Return to enin." In fact the fight for the unleash-ng and the victory of the revolution is in-eparable and the fight to build our party. In the face of the attack of Stalinism and ts centrist agents against the revolutionary onsciousness of the proletariat, supporting he counteroffensive of the bourgeoisie, the truggle for the revolution is posed more

taken up to present its own candidates in these elections, is a fight to regroup the working class vanguard and youth in the ranks of the JOR around its objectives: the Workers Government, the Socialist United States of Europe. And this in the struggle to organize the working class counter-attack against the "austerity plan" through the General Strike to bring down the government and its centralization through workers assemblies and the election of workers committees.

It is in this battle that the RYI, the JOR of France organizes the revolt and the mobilization of the youth against a society which condemns them to unemployment and misery around its revolutionary objectives, taking their entire dimension as the lever of the construction of our party,

The preparation of the Second Congress of the RYI, under the slogan RETURN TO LENIN means, above all, the revolutionary unity of the working class of East and West Europe against imperialism and the very pillar of its domination; the Stalinist bureaucracy. The construction of the Fourth International in the USSR and in the other countries of socialist conquests can only be based on this international mobilization for the Socialist United States of Europe as the response to the struggle and to the aspirations of the workers and the youth that the Stalinist bureaucracy and its centrist agents try to deny through repression and through treason. It is in this way that the Fourth International, deploying all of its efforts to place itself at the head of the working class mobilization, offers its revolutionary program through the construction of the RYI as the sole proletarian response to the present situation. It is through this fight that it will appear in the eyes of the working class around the world as the new revolutionary leadership that the situation demands, the WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

CARTER'S ATTACK

Carter, with the liberal wing of the US bourgeoisie has begun to carry out a massive attack on the workers in the US. He has tried to justify the unemployment as beyond his control due to an energy crisis which is an "act of God", denying even unemployment benefits for this "reason." While mouthing about "human rights", he engineers some of the most repressive laws ever against the young factory and unemployed workers in the cities.

And with this attack the government has also begun its attack on poor and working women. The prime attack on women is that which is used against the whole working class: the high prices, unemployment and repression. Women see the rising prices every day and the erosion of the pay check. Unemployment is even higher for women than for working men and women's prisons more brutal.

Now Carter wishes to go a few steps further by supporting the "Hyde Amendment" which would deny women on Medicaid abortions affecting 300, 000 women in the US. The Supreme Court recently ruled that women workers can not get disability for pregnancy and child care,

In Michigan, a court ruling has set a precedent by denying female minors the right of confidential birth control saying that the family is the "primary and essen" tial cell of our society" and that the government shouldn't increase the "natural strain" which already exists, on the family. Thus, as a part of Carter's attack on the US working class and youth, he wishes to drive women back to being complete prisoners of their biology, of their place in society and above all to be hardest attacked by the unemployment and high prices,

WOMEN'S PARTY OR WORKERS PARTY?

The Socialist Workers Party, by placing an emphasis on the special oppression of women, that is "all women" and not women workers, hides from its own militants and the workers, the attack on women as a fundamental part of the attack on the whole of the working class and the youth. By hiding this connection, the means for the emancipation of women is also hidden. The call of the SWP for the "independent organization" of women has led them to at every crucial moment to side with the Democratic Party and the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, against the workers and women. The answer to end the attack on women by the bourgeoisie, is the conclusion WE draw from the movement of the Sixties: fight for the Workers Government. The place for the workers Government. The place for the young women workers, (wo-men constitute 40% of the workers,) is in the fight against the regime of Carter and the liberal bourgeoisie to build the Work-ers Party to fight for a Workers Government. In an article titled "What Strategy for Women?" by Cindy Jaquith of the SWP (THE MILITANT, March 11th) she states



that what is necessary is for women to fight for a "genuine feminist program", and draws the conclusion that the increase of the attack of the Government on women is due to "right-wingers", meaning right-to lifers and Republicans. When in fact, it is the liberal bourgeoisie, represented by NOW, which the SWP works with and is "building", which is spear-heading this attack by creating illusions among women workers in reform of the Government through the liberals.

Jaquith fails to mention AT ALL why Carter supports the Equal Rights amendment along with her party. He supports it because he is for all abstract rights, as in his support of world "human rights", while he plots with the liberals to take away any real existing rights or benefits.

RETURN TO LENIN

It is important for the militants of the SWP and young women workers to see what the program of Lenin and Trotsky for women was and what it must be today. Passed at the 3rd Congress of the III International was a theses on propaganda among women which stated: "Communism gives to wo-

LU

men, in every case, what the bourgeois feminist movement will not give them. As long as the domination of capital and private property exists, the liberation of wo" men is not possible." "We dissuade the workers of all countries everywhere from the collaboration and from coalition with the bourgeois feminists." Or: "The women must be preoccupied not with obtaining reforms under the capitalist regime, but with the task of transforming all the demands of the laboring women and slogans in order to alert the activity of the masses and to lead these demands to the road of the revolutionary struggle and of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This is not the policy of the SWP which wants to win rights and "press on". The most important thing about the policy of the SWP is that coalition with the bourgeios feminists of NOW, and the portrayal of wo-men's struggle for rights as a reformist struggle WILL NEVER WIN ONE RIGHT FOR WOMEN! To all young women of the working class, we call on you to join our strug" gle to build the Revolutionary Youth International and its Second Congress which will be held in Barcelona in July build under the slogan: RETURN TO LENIN.

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GERARD LAFFONT







been able to enforce the contract. An unprecedented number of local strikes have taken place and are still taking place. In local after local, especially around the fight for delegates to the upcoming conv ention, a mass opposition to the local leaderships have developed. This is why the Trotskyist Organization has set as one of our decisive tasks the

building of a Revolutionary Workers Faction in the UAW, our faction, supported and impulsed by the Revolutionary Worker Youth to provide a revolutionary leadership to this deep mobilization.

A leadership for the daily struggle of the workers against all those who want to be "house oppositions" and merely criticize the present bureaucracy. This is especially the role the Stalinists play in auto. The purpose of the Autoworkers Action

Caucus of the American CP and the Autoworkers United To Fight of the Maoist RCP is the translation of the treachery of the international apparatus onto the shop floor in the US: to keep the unrest of the young workers at the level of "house opposition" (in fact, the CP already has supporters WITHIN the present bureaucracy), to make "politics" appear to the young workers as a question of maneuvering for posts, and above all to hold back any real fight to throw out the present leadership with a revolutionary policy.

They want to accomplish something else as well. They wish to separate the struggle in the unions from the struggle in society as a whole, especially against the Democra-tic Party and Carter. They want to divide the fight against the trade union bureaucracy from the fight against the Democratic Party--"rank and file caucuses" in the unions--and coaltions with the DP outside of the unions.

The fight of the Fourth International in the unions is not separate, but is part and parcel of our fight to build the independent party of the working class, the Workers Party in order to lead the fight for the Workers Government. Our fight in the unions is also part and parcel of our struggle to break the national isolation of the American working class. Our unity is not with those who look to reform the Democratic Party but with the autoworkers around the world who are engaged in a common struggle against capitalism and Stalinism. We fight to build a WORLD PARTY, not an "anti-monopoly" party or a "labor" party.





to strike, to meet and demonstrate, but it is the workers who are to blame It is not the workers who defend the rights, guaranteed as well by the Stalinist constitution, but Gierek who "consults" and "engages in di alogue" with the aid of tanks and machine guns! It is not the workers who defend socialism and fight for socialist democracy, but the special detachments of commandos, trained to crush the working class strikes. The greetings and cynical thanks, addressed by Gierek to the forces of repression, clearly demonstrate who is found on the other side of the barricades!

The Polish working class wishes neither "magnaminity" nor "clemen-cy" on the part of its hangmen and oppressors! The Polish working class demands the EXEMPLARY PUNISH-MENT OF ALL THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REPRESSION, those in command and the executors! The working class does not express any "re-

pentence" It is not in its ranks that one will find the so-called "guilty." The criminals are at the top! The Polish working clas rejects the attempts to apply a selective "clemency", attempted to divide the united front of resistance.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland unmasks the promises of an "amnesty" as a new maneuver of the Stalinist apparatus which is desparately defending itself. Its goal is to weaken the vigilance of the workers and slow the mobilization. Behind the hypocritical promises are hidden the preparations for a new repression against the workers in struggle, against their most active leaders and against those who solidarize themselves with the workers.

The "gestures" of Gierek serve as well to hide the weakness and profound crisis which it has plunged into in the face of the decided combat and resistance of the working people. It is

why, precisely now, we must accel-erate the rhythm of the struggle, deepen and organize the massive mobilization against the repression. We must, precisely now, place in the forefront the central slogan: UNMASK AND PUNISH THOSE WHO ARE RESPON-SIBLE. We must now, organize the international campaign along with workers in other countries of Eastern Europe and the capitalist countries, whose deeper and deeper actions and protests for the liberation of the Pol-ish workers also constitute an important cause of the present maneuvers of Gierek.

In order to unmask and punish those responsible we must centralize the struggle around the slogan of the IN-TERNATIONAL WORKERS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY! In the face of Gierek our demand is: THE FREE ENTRY INTO POLAND OF THE WORKERS COM-MISSION OF INQUIRY, composed of factory delegates, representatives of unions and parties who claim to be socialist. We must demand the deliverance of entry visas to the delega-tion of young workers from France, Spain, the United States and Sweden who were elected in the international meeting in Paris, last December 16th, and which the Polish authorities have refused this right.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (section of the Fourth International) struggles in Poland for an independent Government of Workers Councils, in the framework of the workers federation of the Socialist Unworkers lederation of the Socialist On-ited States of Europe, calls the Polish workers to continue the fight for the freedom of all those imprisoned, by organizing the participation of elect-ed workers delegates in the Internation-al Workers Commission of Inquiry and by organizing actions in order to force Gierek to open the borders of our country to the Commission.

The Revolutionary Workers League of Poland once again calls the workers of the world, all trade union organizations and their militants, all political organizations of the working class and their militants, to all those con-cerned with democratic rights-- to participate in the Commission of Inquiry by taking part in the international meeting in Paris, March 17, 1977.

The truth concerning the repression in December and June! International Workers Commission of Inquiry! February 25, 1977

(Supplement to #13 of WALKA KLAS, journal of the RWL of Poland.)

Correspondence: TO and RWY Fight For Delegates To UAW Convention



the young black workers of the DAP circle of the RWY not to hang out with white girls (Barbara Putnam) and not to let "these people run your mind", in their attempts to block our fight. We've decided to circulate the resolution among the DAP workers, organ-ize a delegation to the official leaders to demand the immediate convocation of another union meeting. If they refuse the revolutionary lead-ership will organize it themselves.

We are convinced that in the course of this struggle that we can prove to the young workers at the Rouge that it is only through the construction of the workers party, to lead the fight for a Workers Government and the United Socialist Republic of the Americas that they can win their demands, that the Trotskyist Organization represents the interests of the working class not the Stalinist Maoist leaders of "Time-to-Unite, gravediggers of the revolution, or their agents masquer ading under the banner of our party,

organized for the delegate elections, represents part of the present UAW bureaucracy which has been assigned the task of seeing that the anger of the young workers is kept within safe limits and is defused. The fact that their delegate slate includes a number of present committeemen who are doing nothing, and well-known opportunists who have joined the NMNT slate in order to "go to LA and have a good time" is not accidental. The leadership of NMNT wants the young workers to believe that any opposition to the UAW bureaucracy is reduced to petty squabbling and man-euvering for positions. The only effect of such groups is to demobilize the young workers. I asked a young work-er who had previously been a supporter of NMNT what happened during the union meeting and he replied with disgust: "All they want to do is get off the line and take it easy for awhile." The candidate of the Trotskyist Organization and the RWY said the opposite in a leaflet put out on March 3rd. We want to stay on the line at Torrence, but "give us the key to the line speed box." We are running for office not to get off the shop floor, but to build a leadership that will take over the line in the interests of the workers.

We have taken up this fight most, recently in our campaign for delegates to the UAW convention and the demonstration in Washington organized by the RWY.

Although the support that the RWY received in preparing for this demonstration among the workers in Detroit and Chicago and among militants of the SWP/YSA was significant and represented a turn in the construction of the RWY, the support was not concretized in terms of young workers who were actually ready to go to Washinton and demonstrate with us.

Thus, the demonstration in Washington was limited to a delegation of the RWY from Ford Torrence and Rouge and Wayne State in Detroit and was not a mass demonstration. Although the character of the action was changed, our policy was not and the RWY carried through its actions in front of the White House, the Capitol and the Polish embassy, winning significant support among young workers in Washington itself.

While the TO and RWY have been the only organizations in the US mobilizing the young workers in revolutionary opposition to the Carter regime, our fight must advance qualitatively if we are to meet the demands of the class struggle in the US and around the world. Our policy can only be correct if it is able to provide leadership for the young workers EVERY DAY in their struggles and ARM them against their opponents in the workers movement -- the bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the centrists.

To build the Trotskyist Organization through the construction of the RWY must become for the young workers in the center of US industry and for the proletarian militants of the SWP/YSA THEIR GOAL, THEIR WEAPON against US imperialism and Stalinism.

They must conclude, as we have, that the only way to fight this attack is to build THE TROTSKYIST PARTY, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, in order to lead the workers struggles. This means joining the combat of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA and constructing the RWY as a mass organization of working class youth fighting to build the Fourth International.

We call on all the young workers and militants of the SWP/YSA to take up this fight to advance with us in the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International. Join and build our faction in the UAW and support the Revolutionary Autoworkers

FORD RIVER ROUGE

"Anybody but those committeemen. '

That's the way the vast majority of Rouge workers faced with more layoffs, speedup, and overtime, while their committeemen have coffee with labor relations, felt about the candidates for delegates to the UAW Constitutional Convention.

And that's the reason that the Trotskyist Organization of the USA together with the RWY has opened up a fight to win the leadership of this mobilization against the UAW bureaucracy, com." mitted lock, stock and barrel to carrying out the Carter government's attack on the working class.

OUR PLATFORM

Robert Jones, a militant of the Revolutionary Worker Youth in the Dearborn Assembly Plant was the only one among a campaign to write him in. The all those who presented themselves as candidates against Woodcock's lackeys, to fight for one central union, full rights for youth and unemployed work* ers, the organization of the unorgan" ized, and the immediate convocation of assemblies in all departments to elect factory committees and prepare to strike; to win immediate recall of all laid off workers with no cut in pay and worker's control of the linespeed and job combinations. He was the only one to fight to throw out Woodcock, Fraser, Rinaldi and their contract, to elect revolutionary leadership and stop all support to the Carter government and the Democratic Party, to lead the fight of the workers against this regime.

OPPORTUNISM

At the last minute every opportunist at Ford River Rouge crawled out of the woodwork and flooded the plant with their literature, always characterized by generalities, and a refusal to take a clear stand on the issues facing the autoworkers. They wanted to confuse and demoralize the young workers, to, in this way, block the mobilization against the bureaucracy, of which our campaign was both the expression and

the leadership. The United Worker's Slate in the DAP went so far as to promise Robert

no choice but to accept Fraser, promising not to spend alot of money in L.A. and to give a full financial re-

port when they got home. It was these "leaders" who stood in the way of the struggle of the TO and the RWY in Stamping to throw out Willie Washington and elect a strike committee to continue the struggle last October. They then opened up a campaign of slander and physical attacks to realize their goals. In fact they are nothing but "radical" practitioners of the Stalinist and Maoist practice of "peaceful coexistence"

with imperialism and its parties and lackeys in the unions. All the other tendencies at Ford River Rouge which claim to be Trot-

skyist, the Socialist Workers Party, the Spartacist League, the SPARK, all abstained, leaving the workers in the hands of the opportunists, identifying Trotskyism with abstract propagand. ism, and in this way proving their true nature as agents of Stalinism mas" querading under the banner of our party.

WE CONCEDE NOTHING

We haven't gotten the results of the election yet. The UAW bureaucrats refused to put Robert's name on the ballot so we were forced to or ganize turn out for the elections was not large, ic any event, we say now, regardless of the results, that we will concede nothing.

The campaign led by the TO and taken up by the RWY is the only one which expresses the interests of the workers who want anybody but Woodcodk and his committeemen, the only ones that can take them forward.

We are preparing a resolution for the UAW Convention, fighting to build the Revolutionary Workers faction of the UAW, to seat its delegation, to bring the Convention back to Detroit.

For the Stamping Plant we are organizing a fight to stop the speedup, throw out Wille Washington and elect a revolutionary leadership, and in this way win the leadership of the workers struggle and break the ties of working class militants from the opportunist

leadership of "Time-to-Unite". In the Assembly Plant where the TO and RWY have the greatest support, we are organizing the same fight. Already, Hank Wilson, the President of the DAP unit of Local #600 was forced to let our comrade Barbara Putnam attend the unit meeting, March 12th. He opened up with an attack on our platform in which he was joined by the United Workers Slate. An individual by the name of Duane Frankie was quick to seize the moment and make a cheap swipe at Robert saying he "defended the United Workers Slate's right to organize" in response to Robert's comment that nobody ever heard or saw the United Workers Slate until they suddenly appeared in their blue and white jackets days before the election. However, when Wilson quickly adj ourned the meeting to avoid the inevitable confrontation with the RWY he refused to "defend" our "right to organize." In the face of the support for our resolution, Wilson broke up the meet" ing with a "fight". The last thing he wanted was for Robert Jones to get the floor. His liberal allies in the United Workers Slate and the United Slate were reduced to the most reactionary methods -- there were those who told

the Fourth International.

SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH! Come to the next meetings of the circles of the Revolutionary Worker Youth. DISTRIBUTE REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER massively! Margaret Guttshall

TORRENCE

The State of the ASCHIE VS SHELLES Stable Child of the

"They wouldn't dare have the UAW Convention in Detroit" were the remarks of a Torrence worker at the meeting of Local #551 in Chicago to nominate delegates for the UAW Convention in May. He went on to say that it was crystal clear why the UAW bureaucracy was having their convention in Los Angeles -- not just to have a good time as usual, but above all to get as far away as possible from where the majority of UAW members are located -- in the Midwest.

Because the bureaucracy knows that the mood of the UAW ranks is explosive. Local after local-- the latest two being GM workers in Janesville, Wisconsin and Euclid, Ohio, have recently struck over their local contracts. Here at Torrence the workers are paying for the treachery of the UAW leadership with their sweat. Ever since the contract was signed this fall, the Torrence plant has been working a constant six-day, 58-hour week and facing all the results of this incredible speed-up and forced overtime.

In the face of this attack one has to search very hard to find support for the present leadership of the local, Cooper and Co., among the young workers. Everyone wants a new leadership, a leadership that will lead a fight against Ford Motor Company and against the Carter government which stands behind them.

It is to build this new leadership that the Trotskyist Organization of the US and the Revolutionary Worker Youth have waged a campaign to elect Fred Vitale as a delegate to the UAW Convention on the basis of the Platform of the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW. The local bureaucrats realize that this campaign is the only one that presents a real opposition to them. At the union nomination meeting, out of a list of over 30 delegates nominated, the only candidate that the recording secretary "forgot" to read off was that of Fred Vitale. In response to the fight that the Trotskyist Organization and the RWY has led at Torrence for over two years and especially during the strike where we were the only organization which opposed the sellout contract, a socalled "opposition" has developed to the Cooper machine whose main purpose is to derail the anger of the young workers into a futile fight to "reform"

Support the candidacy of Fred Vitale not just with votes, but by building circles of the Revolutionary Worker Youth in every department at Torrence.

J. C. March 13, 1977

GREAT LAKES STEEL

With only 20% of the Steelworkers votes, McBride, Abel's hand-picked successor, "won" the election for union president. How did this happen when the mood of the majority of steelworkers says that they are fed up with the layoffs, the rising prices, the working conditions and a union leadership which is handing the USW to the government on a silver platter?

The answer is that young steelworkers are looking for more than the militant words of Ed Sadlowski who has taken his stand on the side of the Democratic Party, for government intervention in the USW, and makes no proposal to strike, but "defends the right.

Young workers do have an alternative to the Abel machine and a fast talking Sadlowski -- the Revolutionary Worker Youth.

Last week the RWY sold its paper at Great Lakes Steel in Detroit. The response of the young workers was very positive. One worker said: "You mean McBride didn't win?" when he heard what the results of the election were. No he didn' tl

The immediate fight of the young steelworkers must be to throw out the leadership 'of the Steelworkers, at Great Lakes this means Chambers, who is a staunch supporter of the Abel machine.

He refuses to mobilize for any union meetings, let alone take on the unsafe working conditions, the speed-up or the closing of sections like the Basic Oxygen Plant.

One of the supporters of the RWY at Great Lakes said that none of the young workers would even go to a union meeting unless it was organized to kick out the old leadership. The RWY will be at the general union meeting of Local 1299 on Weds, March 23rd, to fight for a resolution to recall all the young workers laid-off, for workers control of the speed and safety in the plant, to throw out the Chambers leadership and to organize one central union of all the workers. The RWY will be selling its paper in front of and inside the mill. As one young steelworker said" There's got to be a change. A change that's not just half-way. You can see it." Throw out Chambers and McBride! Join the Trotskyist Organization in building the Revolutionary Worker Youth! A. Nelson March 14, 1977

Conference in Detroit on March 27th.

To further deepen our fight, we call you to join us in the next months in preparing a CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH OF THE TWO AMERICAS and a WEEK OF ACTION for the month of June for the SOCIALIST UNITED REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS. This CONFERENCE and WEEK OF ACTION must be the response of the American workers to the plot of the imperialists and the Stalinists -- the revolutionary unity of the proletariat of the Two Americas through the struggle to build the Fourth International. This is how the American working class can continue its struggle to build its WORKERS PARTY and fight for its WORKERS GOVERNMENT.

March 14, 1977

Jones a cushy spot if he would abandon our fight and join their slate and began to attack him after he refused.

TIME-TO-UNITE

But among all these opportunists, it was the leadership of "Time"to-thite" the Rouge chapter of Autoworkers United to Fight, based in Stamping, which presented the greatest obstacle and danger to the workers. The leadership claims to be communist, to be revolutionary, but in the elections . they presented no platform of combat to mobilize the workers against Woodcock and Co., saying that the workers had to limit themselves to "making their opinions heard, " that they had

the UAW bureaucracy. This group called "New Minds for New Tomorrows" which has only been