

TRUTH

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**Soup kitchens in Detroit,
22 million jobless this
year and the UAW
bureaucrats say:
“4 More Years“!**

**Reject the UAW
Executive Board's
Endorsement of Carter!**

A Candidate of the Unions—

A WORKERS CANDIDATE

On a Platform of

WORKERS DEMOCRACY!

**In order to organize this
the Trotskyist
Organization/USA is
presenting its own
candidate, FRED
VITALE, member of
UAW Local #174 (GM
Fisher Body Livonia)
(SEE PAGES 4-5)**

**Poland, Eastern
Europe, the USSR —**

The Struggle Continues!

**Defend the independent
trade unions in Poland!**

To insure this victory —

Support Victor

**Fainberg's (leader of
SMOT, Soviet free trade
union) proposal for an
International Trade
Union Commission in
defense of the free trade
union movement**

- **A permanent struggle
for free trade unions in
Eastern Europe and the
USSR**
- **A permanent
campaign for their
defense by U.S. and
Western trade unions
(See Pages 6-7)**

TRUTH



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Reject the UAW Endorsement of Carter!

An Emergency National Convention of the UAW --

To Reject this Decision and Support a Workers Candidate and Program!

The International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers (UAW) has endorsed Carter for re-election. All autoworkers, militants and workers organizations must fight for an Emergency National Convention of the UAW to reject this decision and support a Workers Program and candidate.

And it IS an emergency. The policy of Carter, Reagan and Anderson of "national unity" of "pain and discipline" is a policy not to merely continue the past anti-worker, racist policies but to attack the rights, freedoms and economic gains of the workers.

Since 1976, the UAW bureaucracy and the autoworkers have been on a collision course. The UAW leadership trying to save U.S. imperialism and its major party, the Democratic Party, against the massive break of the U.S. workers led by the autoworkers AWAY from the Democratic Party and toward their political independence as the only way to defend their rights and freedoms.

The 1976 sell-out contract was prepared by the JOINT support of Woodcock (then President of the UAW) and Henry Ford for Carter. Two days after the election, striking autoworkers carried signs saying, "Carter won, why can't we?"

In the face of the green light Carter's election gave to the auto barons, 1977 saw tens of thousands of autoworkers in

local strikes fighting to retain their rights.

The break of the workers with the Democratic Party deepened. Fraser, in a vain attempt to stop it, "broke" from the capitalist "Labor-Management Group"; discovered "class war"; and founded the still-born "Progressive Alliance" to discipline the Democratic Party. He fooled only the so-called communists and socialists who jumped with glee at his new-found radicalism.

The world order of U.S. imperialism was weakened with the revolutions in Nicaragua and Iran. U.S. imperialism needed a new PHASE of capitulation by Fraser, attacking the foundations of the UAW. It has started as the UAW bureaucracy with the auto barons and Carter began the "restructuring" of the auto industry with the closing of Dodge Main, the "save Chrysler movement," the 1979 contract and now the endorsement of Carter.

The failure of the Kennedy campaign, darling of Fraser, dragged into the sunlight the internal decay of the Democratic Party and its liberal-labor-black alliance. The break with the Democratic Party reveals itself further in the growing discussion of a labor party in the United Steelworkers, the International Association of Machinists as well as in the several resolutions sent to the last UAW Convention. Expressing an even

greater fear of the ranks, since the Convention two major locals, GM Fremont in California and Ford Metuchen in New Jersey have been placed into RECEIVERSHIP for opposing the gang in Solidarity House. A move that must be denounced by every autoworker.

The UAW bureaucracy is on a collision course with the ranks. And the autoworkers have never been beaten.

The break with the Democratic Party, in order to preserve our rights, freedoms and economic gains must be realized today. For four years it has been build building, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, but always growing. Now is the time to build an Emergency National Convention of the UAW! A convention open to all tendencies, built on the mass meetings, assemblies and pickets of the workers, to reject endorsement of Carter and his policy, to launch a Workers Candidate in the 1980 elections.

In this Convention, we will place our candidate for President, Fred Vitale, autoworker from Local 174 in Detroit as the candidate of the union. We are open to discuss with any tendency a common candidate for the elections. The only condition we place is that the workers decide democratically, in a combat for class independence.

TRUTH
September 1, 1980

NO TO THE UAW BOARD'S ENDORSEMENT OF CARTER!

An Emergency National Convention of the UAW To Nominate A Workers Candidate Now!

MEET!

Saturday, September 13, 2 PM
Room 536, David Whitney Building
1553 Woodward, Detroit
(Corner of Woodward and
Grand Circus Park)

For Further Information Contact
the Detroit Committee of the TO/USA

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The Presidential Elections and the Polish Workers --

Build a Movement of Active Opposition to the Holy Alliance Between Stalinism and Imperialism!

By JON COHEN

The struggle of the Polish workers has found immediate support in the U.S. working class. American workers are responding to the beginning of a revolution, the political revolution which will overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe and the USSR. They are responding to the methods of the workers revolution -- the general strike, factory occupations, workers defense guards. They are responding to the objective of the working class throughout the world -- WORKERS DEMOCRACY -- unions independent from the state, factory assemblies, central strike committees and workers councils.

The struggle of the Polish workers is today the advance point of the movement of active opposition to the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism.

It is OUR movement, it is the workers movement which is on the march today in Poland. Nothing proves this more than the response of EVERYONE ELSE. One by one, throughout the world, all the representatives of the old order and those in its shadow have lined up against the Polish workers.

Nothing shows this more clearly than the SILENCE of the bourgeois Presidential candidates, Carter, Reagan and Anderson. Why the silence of these aspirants to the leadership of the "free world"? They say that they do not want to give the Soviet Union a "pretext" to intervene.

But the reality is that their silence has made it crystal clear that they NEED and SUPPORT the Stalinist bureaucracy against the struggle of the working class for independence. The Stalinist bureaucracy is their bureaucracy.

The Presidential candidates of the "free world" support the Stalinist bureaucracy not only because it is their bureaucracy but also because the revolutionary events in Poland present a mortal threat to their world order, dominated by the alliance between imperialism and Stalinism. Stalinist control over Poland and Eastern Europe is a fundamental part of this order -- the political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy means the beginning of the end for U.S. imperialism also.

The candidates of the "free

world" are silent because along with the bureaucrats they are trembling in fear of the revolution. All the attempts to restore this world order, centralized around the preparation of the Madrid Conference on "European Security and Cooperation" (now postponed until April), are falling apart in face of the active resistance of the workers and oppressed throughout the world.

The events in Poland have shown the true face of this Alliance and those in its shadow. The trembling silence of the leaders of bourgeois democracy. The unholy alliance between the Catholic Church and the Stalinist bureaucracy: "Polish cardinal asks for end to strike" reads the headline in, of all places, the August 28 DAILY WORLD of the Stalinist American Communist Party. The treachery of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party which in the guise of supporting the Polish workers have in the past and today turned their back on the fight for independent trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The events in Poland have highlighted the way the U.S. working class can use the upcoming elections to shatter this Alliance and consciously join the world movement of active opposition to imperialism and Stalinism. An active opposition that can be centralized around the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE of the trade unions based on a platform of WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

These elections are a crucial element of the crisis and disarray of imperialism and Stalinism. This is proven by the fact that the Madrid Conference, originally scheduled for November, has been postponed until AFTER the U.S. elections and the inauguration of a new President.

This postponement is both a recognition of the general crisis of the world bourgeoisie and Stalinism and the specific crisis of the leadership of this world order, U.S. imperialism. The Carter-Reagan conflict, reflecting the breakup of the Democratic Party and bi-party system in the U.S. in face of the resistance of the working class, makes it impossible for U.S. imperialism to today reassert its domination of the

world order.

This is not to say that U.S. imperialism is ready to spontaneously collapse. Through the election campaign the bourgeoisie is trying to reassert its control over the U.S. working class, a precondition to its control over the world order. Whether through Carter or Reagan, it is trying to pacify and isolate the U.S. working class from joining this active movement of opposition to imperialism and Stalinism.

The Polish events have placed U.S. imperialism even more on the defensive. The upcoming elections offer the U.S. working class an unprecedented opportunity to TAKE THE INITIATIVE and join the offensive of the Polish workers by presenting its own candidate, a candidate of the unions.

Through the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE the Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting to link the movement of the U.S. working class to this world movement through a conscious fight to BOYCOTT and develop all the initiatives of the workers and youth opposed to the Madrid Security Conference. By fighting for a WORLD WORKERS CONFERENCE in this movement we are forging a new current of the working class movement, a conscious leadership to prepare the revolution.

By actively preparing to boycott Madrid with a movement of opposition to U.S. imperialism and its candidates of war and repression, the vanguard of the U.S. working class can separate itself from all those in the workers movement who are in the shadow of the Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is presenting its own candidate for President, running on a platform of WORKERS DEMOCRACY, as a means to organize this movement for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and as a means to consciously SEPARATE this movement from all those opposed to a policy of class independence in these elections.

To separate the workers movement from the STRIKEBREAKERS and union-busters of the American Communist Party of Hall and Davis who stand with the Stalinist bureaucrats in Poland and with the trade union bureaucrats in the U.S. To separate the

vanguard of the workers movement from the "human rights" pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP of Pulley and Zimmerman who, having totally compromised themselves with Carter's "human rights" policy, find themselves opposed to the fight for WORKERS RIGHTS when the time comes; in Poland, in Cuba, in Bolivia and in the U.S.

Less than two years ago the SWP and its counterparts told a group of Polish militants that their proposals to build a section of the Fourth International in Poland to fight for the political revolution were "magical incantations." They are the same people who labelled the call "Down with the Shah" as "ultraleft" only a few months before his fall.

We therefore hope that they call this fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE "unrealistic." Because as the only party in the workers movement which has fought for the political revolution from the beginning, which supported the fight for free trade unions in Poland and the USSR from the beginning, the Fourth International is the only party in the U.S. that understands that this movement extends from Poland to the U.S. and that a movement of active opposition to imperialism and Stalinism exists and can be organized in the U.S. With the presentation of its candidate, the Trotskyist Organization/USA declares that it is prepared to organize this movement. Our candidate, our fight for a Workers Candidate of the unions is the banner to regroup a new current of the working class.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA thus supports every effort and initiative of the working class in the direction of a WORKERS CANDIDATE, for an independent candidate of the unions based on a program of class independence. Likewise, we are ready to work and cooperate with every tendency in the workers movement to join in the boycott of the Madrid Conference of hangmen. Like the Polish workers our only condition is their condition -- active opposition to the bosses of the world, active opposition to imperialism and Stalinism.

August 30, 1980

FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, U.S. "sympathizing"* section of the Fourth International calls on American workers and youth, on the unions and all workers organizations to take up a fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections. A WORKERS CANDIDATE based on the fight in the unions to select a leadership for the coming revolution. A fight to define working class solutions to the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin -- the failure of "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" -- which has broken out in open warfare between the workers and the bosses and their lackeys from Bolivia to Poland.

The TO/USA, based on the fight it has led since the beginning of 1980 for a Workers Candidate, relaunched this combat by the presentation of its own candidate in the Presidential elections, Fred Vitale, member of the TO/USA and Local 174 of the UAW, AS A MEANS TO DEFINE A POLICY IN THE UNIONS FOR THE 1980 ELECTIONS. With the opening of this new stage of our fight for a Workers Candidate we state that there is no more urgent task, no more pressing question for the workers movement and the unions than the presentation of a candidate in the 1980 elections -- and that we are ready to lead this struggle.

This is an open fight, open to all tendencies in the workers movement who want to present a working class alternative to the candidates of the hangmen and the bosses of the world -- Carter and Reagan. Yet despite the dozens of "left" candidates and "independent" candidates, our organization alone has raised the call for a candidate of the unions, a Workers Candidate in the elections. No other tendency has fought for a PROLETARIAN POLICY in the elections.

A WORKING CLASS ALTERNATIVE TO THE CRISIS OF THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM --

The Democratic and Republican parties are in crisis, a crisis provoked by the revolution and a new explosion of the class struggle on a world scale. The fall of the Shah and Somoza, deepened by the struggle of the workers of the USSR and Poland for independent trade unions has wrecked the Holy Alliance of imperialism and the Kremlin and shattered the relative equilibrium established after WWII. The American two-party system, faced with the world revolution and the hostility and anger of its own workers and youth from Miami to Detroit, is at a dead end. It has nothing left to offer.

The black rebellions in Miami and Chattanooga have gone much further than the earlier struggles of the sixties in defining a course independent of "human rights" and what passes for justice under American capitalism. A course of confrontation with the petty bourgeois black liberals bound hand and foot to the Democratic Party.

In the trade unions, a movement for the break with the capitalist parties has broken out with such force that sections of the labor bureaucracy are forced to open up a "discussion" over the construction of an independent workers party. In Youngstown, in West Virginia, coalitions based on Steelworkers, Miners and Teachers unions have fielded union candidates for public office. In this move-

ment for the break of the unions from the bosses' parties represents the central means for all the movements of American workers and the oppressed to move forward and shows that the two-party system is in its death throes.

The Democrats, unable to resurrect the liberal-labor-black alliance of 1976, are left with Jimmy Carter. A candidate who was booed and hissed at his own party's convention, who could only apologize for himself in his acceptance speech. A president who was stoned with bottles and rocks when he tried to bring his lying policy of "human rights" to Miami. The Kennedy campaign, its failure, symbolizes the crisis of the Democratic Party, traditionally the party which prevented the unions and the oppressed from taking an independent road.

The Republicans, far from symbolizing a "shift to the right" of the American political spectrum, show the lengths to which Wall Street is willing to go to dress up the party of Nixon. Their attempt to paint Reagan as the friend of working people shows their complete inability to sell their "Goldwater" prescription to American workers. Here is a party that was in crisis over whether to invite one of the most servile spokesmen of blacks to their convention, Benjamin Hooks, himself a Republican.

All of them, from Carter to Reagan to Anderson offer them same brand of medicine -- "national unity," "austerity," and "sacrifices."

The misleaders of the unions, by their ineffectual protests and pressures, are left with supporting Jimmy Carter as the "lesser of two evils." At the head of the most powerful conquests of the American workers, they are totally unable to lead the American working class and its mobilization to a political solution, to the formation of a WORKERS PARTY representing the class independence of American workers and youth.

The American Communist Party, loyal servants of the Kremlin, and the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, proposing a "labor party" under the leadership of the trade union bureaucracy, prove the worth of their policy by their complete inability to lead an open fight based on the ranks of the workers movement for a solution to the crisis of the two-party system and the 1980 elections.

All of them from Winpisinger of the IAM to Fraser of the UAW, from the CP/USA to the SWP, sit like a dead weight on the trade unions, afraid of the revolution, unable to lead the fight of the unions to a political conclusion, the only political conclusion possible -- the construction of the WORKERS PARTY.

FINISH WITH THE BOSSES' DEMOCRACY --

The fight for a Workers Candidate is a fight to finish with all the illusions of the workers and youth in American democracy, a democracy which parades around today in the clothes of the Nazis and the KKK, dispenses racist and anti-worker justice and prepares the counter-revolution on a world scale. Illusions which are maintained today in calls for justice and democracy to a government that represents

democracy at its best -- a terrorist state of police, prisons and legal repression.

No! The only democracy worth fighting for is WORKERS DEMOCRACY, democracy imposed by the mobilization of the working class for its own party, its unions and its rights. A fight for the vast majority, the working class, to DECIDE THEIR FATE independently of the small minority of rich who run this system.

It is the fight of Polish workers and workers of the USSR for independent trade unions. It is the fight to bring down the Latin American dictatorships supported by "democratic" U.S. imperialism. And it is the fight of American workers to break the unions from the bosses' democracy and their parties. The fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY is part of the definition of a new current in the working class that is present in every new mobilization of the world working class.

A break with illusions in the bosses' democracy concentrated today in the mobilization of American workers in the 1980 elections against all political and legal obstacles which prevent American workers from having their own party, their own candidate.

NO! TO ABSTENTION. OPEN, DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLIES TO ORGANIZE A FIGHT IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS! FOR AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

The campaigns of the bourgeois candidates, from the failed Kennedy campaign, to the choice between Carter and Reagan, are intended to demoralize the working class, above all the youth, and insure their abstention in the elections. In the last analysis the empty, bankrupt policies in the name of the preservation of democracy are based on the assumption that the workers and youth will not enter the political arena.

Abstention is not a protest, even a passive one, of the lack of an alternative in the elections -- IT IS A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF OUR ENEMIES. A weapon in the hands of U.S. imperialism in its attempt to take in hand on a world scale all the instruments of the counterrevolution. The active intervention of the U.S. working class in the 1980 elections will serve as a powerful impulsion to the struggle of workers and youth the world over to smash the rearmament of the Holy Alliance of imperialism and the Kremlin.

The working class has nothing to fear from an open, free discussion around the presentation of a candidate and a platform in the 1980 elections. To the contrary, this is the method of WORKERS DEMOCRACY, of an open fight in the ranks of the unions and the workers movement, which all of the failed leaderships in the working class are quick to attack.

Behind the maneuver of Fraser and the rest of the trade union bureaucracy for a "discussion" of alternatives lies the fear of the working class and its mobilization -- clearly now only a maneuver to provide a safety valve for the hatred and anger of the workers toward the two parties of the bosses. Thus the supposedly "open" referendum of the UAW ends up with its International Executive Board choosing Carter -- a more stifled,

bureaucratic form for an "open" discussion couldn't be found.

The working class must organize its own discussion in open assemblies and meetings -- in its factories and unions, on a local and national scale, and among militants of all workers organizations -- to decide on its fight in the 1980 elections.

Autoworkers in the United States have always been in the forefront of the struggles of their class. The UAW bureaucracy, conscious of the role of the autoworkers, has taken a central place in the maneuvers of the bosses to prevent an independent working class alternative to the candidates of the capitalist parties. The fight for the unions to put forward a candidate in the 1980 elections is therefore concentrated in the rejection of the decision of the UAW International to support Carter and the convocation of an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW to select a Workers Candidate. This Convention must be organized in an open manner based on democratically elected delegates of autoworkers, industries related to auto, and delegates of unemployed; a campaign for a candidate of the unions and a workers program in the 1980 elections.

On the basis of such a fight the TO/USA,

which is presenting its own candidate and platform to the union, as well as all other tendencies which participate in this fight, can agree to respect the decision of the majority of the ranks of the union and fight for its candidate in the elections.

We repeat, the working class has nothing to fear from an open discussion, and the Trotskyist Organization/USA demands not only that all candidates and tendencies be allowed to present their proposals to the union, but in particular that the name of Doug Fraser, who has led the trade union bureaucracy in organizing the capitulation to the Democrats, be placed on the list of nominees in order that a full account be drawn once and for all of his class collaboration and treachery.

WORKERS AND YOUTH!

Join the fight for a Workers Candidate! Raise this fight in your union!
September 2, 1980

*The Voorhis Act prohibits the affiliation of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to the Fourth International

Our Organization -- Our Candidate

The Trotskyist Organization/USA was founded in February 1975 as the American "sympathizing"* section of the International League -- Rebuilding the Fourth International, the world center which continued the work of the International Committee of the FI toward the rebuilding of the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky as a world center of the workers revolution. Formerly the TRUTH group organized around a newspaper, its members and founders were active in the student movement of the sixties, the GI movement, and in the unions and workers movement. Its ranks include former members of SDS, the International Socialists, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Class Struggle League and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as youth and workers won to the party after its foundation in 1975. The TO/USA actively fought for the rebuilding of the Fourth International and the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International. It sent delegates to the Fourth Open Conference rebuilding the Fourth International in 1976 and to the rally and foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International in Berlin, Germany, in December of 1975. It has participated in every World Congress and major international conference since, including the recent Conference for the Rebuilding of the Sections of the Fourth International in the Two Americas, and the Seventh World Congress of the Fourth International.

Despite the fact that the TO/USA is still a relatively small organization in relation to the party required for the workers revolution in the United States, it has nevertheless taken an important place in the struggle of American workers, in particular in Detroit among autoworkers. International Young Guard/USA, formerly the Revolutionary Worker Youth, was founded as the U.S. "sympathizing" section of the RYI based on the recruitment of young autoworkers from the Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit. It participated and took a leading role in the auto strike of 1976 and later led a fight to put forward revolutionary candidates in the UAW for union delegates and posts in locals 600 (River Rouge - Detroit) and 551 (Ford Torrence - Chicago). The TO/USA, often called the "TRUTH group" by autoworkers, quickly became known as an organization of no compromise with the union bureaucrats, as well as an honest and dedicated revolutionary leadership. It is the only organization which consistently warned auto-

workers of the purpose of the "Save Chrysler" movement -- the restructuring of auto and mass layoffs in auto. It is the only organization to appear in front of the auto plants during the 1979 auto contract round -- all others had become integrated into the "Save Chrysler" movement openly or by their silence. Lastly, there is not one other organization of American workers, of any shade or type, that has raised the call for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 Presidential elections, despite the fact that the hatred of American workers and youth for the Democratic and Republican parties has never been greater.

Fred Vitale, the candidate of the TO/USA, born in Buffalo, New York, raised in Milwaukee, Wisconsin is 29 years old. He became active in the anti-war movement in 1968 and joined the Students for a Democratic Society and worked with the Black Panther Defense Committee. He has worked in a steel mill as a member of the International Association of Machinists and has been a member of Local 551 of the UAW -- the Ford Torrence Chicago Assembly plant -- where he ran for president of the local. He is a former member of the International Socialists and Revolutionary Socialist League and was a founding member of the Trotskyist Organization/USA. Currently he is a member of UAW Local 174, the Fisher Body Plant in Livonia, Michigan, where he worked as an assembler until, like 300,000 of his brothers and sisters in auto, he was laid-off.

Several months ago, long before the Polish workers general strike for independent trade unions, he was a part of a delegation to the UAW International to urge that the union support the fight for free trade unions in Poland and the USSR and to free Klebanov, a leader of independent unions in the Soviet Union who is now imprisoned in a special "psychiatric hospital" for political prisoners. He has also actively led a fight for the UAW to take up the organization of an active boycott of the Latin American dictatorships, in particular in Bolivia.

TRUTH
September 2, 1980

*The Voorhis Act prohibits the affiliation of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to the Fourth International

Platform

OR A WORKERS PARTY!

- Break all support to the Democratic Party.
- An all-trade union conference to launch a Workers Party based on a Workers Program.
- Build a leadership for the workers revolution.

WIN BACK OUR UNIONS!

- Oust the bureaucrats, unions under the control of the ranks.
- Full trade union democracy, strike down the "red clause".
- Unions to champion the cause of the whole working class and the oppressed.

FOR TRADE UNIONS INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE -- INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!

- Defend free trade unions of workers of Poland and the USSR.
- Active boycott of the military dictatorships in Latin America.
- Strike down Taft-Hartley.

DEFEND WORKERS RIGHTS!

- Down with the Voorhis Act which prevents the legalization of the Fourth International in the U.S.
- Down with the proposed revision of the federal criminal code, S-1722, an attack on workers rights to organization, assembly, free speech and international association.
- Defend the rights of immigrants, Iranians, Latin Americans.
- Unions organize the defense of the rights of blacks and minorities against terrorist "justice".
- The right to a job, a living wage, an education.

UNITY OF OUR STRUGGLES!

- United front of the unions against "austerity" plans.
- Open the books of the capitalists for workers inspection.
- For a sliding scale of working hours and wages, jobs for all!
- Unity of trade unions and strikes through independent organization of strike committees, central strike committees, uniting all unions, mass picketing.

A FUTURE FOR THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH!

- For a program of education and public works for the youth under workers control.
- Down with the draft, No! to the imperialist army of intervention.
- For a workers army, workers defense guards against the fascist and racist provocations.

FOR A COMMON WORKERS CANDIDATE OF THE UNIONS IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS!

Victory in Poland! Now for Power.

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The Polish working class has won a great victory in its massive mobilization against the Stalinist bureaucracy, above all on the question of FREE TRADE UNIONS.

Now this victory must be insured and consolidated. This can only be done on the basis that it was won -- on the basis of the world revolution.

Far from being "an internal Polish affair," as the imperialists and Stalinists tried to present it, the Polish strikes were a major blow to the world order of imperialism.

The upsurge against the Polish bureaucracy expressed and deepened the crisis of Stalinism. The Communist Parties of Western Europe were once again thrown into turmoil. Gierek found it impossible to travel to West Germany to seek aid and comfort from imperialism.

And the crisis of Stalinism is part of and deepens the crisis of the Holy Alliance of imperialism with the Kremlin. That is why talks aimed at "reunifying" Germany in the framework of the preparation of the Madrid Conference, in the framework of the rearmament of this Holy Alliance, had to be called off.

When the Polish revolt began to assume the form of a general strike throughout the country, especially with the walkout of the Silesian coal miners, the Polish bureaucracy and its Kremlin masters drew back in fear of the consequences.

The general strike would have gone beyond even the question of free trade unions and directly posed the question of the power of the workers in Poland. In turn, the overthrow of the Polish Stalinist regime would have been the spark to the overturn of the domination of the Kremlin all over Eastern Europe, including the USSR, and thus to the revolution throughout Europe.

In order to insure this victory -- and everything is far from "settled" -- the movement has to develop into an offensive to take power, to make the POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

The free trade unions, which the Fourth International has fought for and defended since their emergence in the USSR in 1977, were bodies through which the working class sought to defend its rights -- WORKERS RIGHTS -- and its gains from the attack being organized on them by imperialism through the bureaucracy.

When the workers fought against corruption in the nationalized enterprises, against food shortages, against "labor discipline," they were seeking to defend all the gains made by driving out imperialism.

That is why food price increases -- an expression of the organization of the economy to meet the needs of imperialist banks and not the workers -- were the spark to the Polish revolt.

Moreover, since the Stalinist-dominated unions were the part of the bureaucratic apparatus carrying out these attacks directly, the struggle for free trade unions meant organizing an attack on the power of the bureaucracy itself.

When the Polish and Soviet workers raised the demand to be "the real masters in the factories," they were showing that the greatest socialist conquest of all -- the changed consciousness of the working class -- was vividly alive and promised the redemption of the others.

But at the same time, this demand immediately posed the question of whether it was possible to be "real masters" in the plants without being "real masters" in the state.

To stop the mobilization from coming to these conclusions, the bureaucracy came to terms with the strikers.

Now, precisely in order to preserve its threatened power, it will do everything to defeat and turn around the victory the workers have gained.

It will rig the elections to the unions. It will split up the workers by region and trade. It will attack the most militant workers as "anti-socialist elements" and "CIA agents." It will try to demoralize the less advanced, especially through the influence of the Catholic Church.

Again, from 1977 on, the Fourth International has said that the defense of the Eastern workers was not restricted to the East, but demanded the unity of Western and Eastern workers. It has called for the formation of an International Commission of Trade Unions and Trade Union Branches. It supports today the call by Victor Fainberg, representative of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, for such a fight and struggles to direct it against the Madrid Conference.

In face of the inevitable

assault of the bureaucracy on the workers victory, the need for this Commission has not lessened but increased. In this way, the attempts to patch up the damage done to the Holy Alliance by the Polish workers can be defeated.

This is of particular importance in regard to the need to organize an OPEN FREE TRADE UNION CONVENTION in Poland to pull together and centralize the forces unleashed in the strikes. The Western workers have a great role to play in mobilizing their unions to defend this continuation of the offensive.

Imperialists and Stalinists, centrists and "dissidents," all the hangers-on of the Holy Alliance, are seeking to present the struggle in Poland as a struggle for "democracy."

The Fourth International declares that the struggle of the Polish workers was not for bourgeois democracy (imperialist rule), was not for "reform" of the bureaucracy, but was for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, which can only mean the rule of the proletariat through its own class organs, the workers councils.

The American Socialist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist, presents the situation in Poland as in no way related to this essential question of the POLITICAL REVOLUTION. These "Trotskyists" do not even find it possible to mention the words, let alone fight for the perspective, preferring instead to talk about "significant concessions" from the bureaucracy.

At the same time, the "dissidents" of KSS-KOR, who had strong influence over some strike leaders such as Lech Walesa, are precisely the forces which have long bewailed the "danger" of an "explosion."

Now the explosion has come. And its coming reveals the total bankruptcy of the perspective of the centrists and dissidents. Jacek Kuron, barely out of jail, preaches "working step by step . . . increasing the realm of freedom and lessening the realm of totalitarian powers."

This treacherous perspective of the "reform" of the bureaucracy is a conscious aid to Stalinism. The consolidation of the victory of the workers requires the taking of state power, the road of political

revolution.

The greatest danger to the gains of the workers is the leadership that now dominates their movement. Thus, Walesa, at the very moment when the strike hung in the balance, came to the aid of the bureaucracy with an appeal not to start new strikes, not to spread the movement.

The general strike demanded a determined leadership with a clear program for total victory. Build workers councils and their armed bodies everywhere, centralize them through a Congress, form the workers government and TAKE THE POWER.

Against centrists and "dissidents," there is only one party which stands for this program, for the unity with the rest of the East European workers and the workers of the West: the Fourth International.

The building of the Polish section of the International into the Revolutionary Workers Party of Poland, PARTY OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION, is the central element of the consolidation and triumphal conclusion of the victory of the Polish workers.

Just as the most militant workers are being slandered, so the French OCI of Lambert and Just has waged a slander campaign against Michel Varga and the Fourth International in order to destroy its Eastern European sections. In both cases, Stalinist methods to achieve Stalinist goals; preventing the building of the revolutionary leadership.

The workers who wanted to reject the agreement made by Walesa, especially the clause that pertains to the "leading role of the Communist Party," that is, the continued domination of the bureaucracy, are the new current being unleashed by the revolutionary wave.

This new current, which fights for continuing the offensive against betrayal, for open free trade union conventions, for workers power, can find what it needs in the CONFERENCE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN MILITANTS FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN being built by the Fourth International.

The Return to Lenin means for the Polish workers the defense and extension of the October Revolution and the Bolshevism that led it. September 1, 1980

Poland and Madrid

Declaration of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

FORWARD TO THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN POLAND!

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE PROLETARIATS OF THE EAST AND THE WEST!

WORKERS BOYCOTT OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE OF THE BOSSES OF THE WORLD!

The Polish workers have just won an initial victory. The de facto recognition by the bureaucracy of the power of the inter-factory strike committees is a retreat before the powerful and centralized movement of the proletariat, it is a victory for the world proletariat!

The Polish workers were right to greet with distrust the bureaucracy's proposals to organize "free" union elections. They have learned from their experiences in 1956, 1970 and 1976 that the Stalinist bureaucracy does not respond to the workers' need to retake control over their state, over their socialist conquests, other than through maneuvers and, when they fail, through arms.

There are no trade union rights, no democratic rights, if they are not insured by the workers, by their independent organs. Forward to a FREE CONGRESS OF UNIONS, prepared and centralized by the strike committees, with the participation and democratic contesting of views by all the tendencies in the workers movement.

It is the struggle for WORKERS RIGHTS against the police dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the struggle for WORKERS DEMOCRACY against the Stalinists' methods of blackmail and slander, that the workers of Poland are putting at the center of their struggles. The Fourth International takes part unconditionally in this fight because it constitutes, in the framework of the reorganization of the whole working class, the preparation of the ability to regasp and regenerate the socialist conquests usurped by the parasitic bureaucracy. The struggle of the Polish workers for their rights can conclude only in their victory over the bureaucracy, in the victory of the political revolution.

It is this revolution which it is necessary to prepare; it is this confrontation which it is necessary to prepare. A confrontation is inevitable, because the current revolutionary mobilization can in no way co-

exist with the Stalinist police dictatorship. To prepare this victorious confrontation, the Fourth International and its Polish section are taking up, at the heart of the struggle, the foundation of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY of Poland, party of the political revolution.

The building of this revolutionary vanguard, which places on its banner the creation of the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, freed from capitalists and Stalinist bureaucrats, run by the workers councils -- the continuation of Lenin's October -- this is the perspective of the working class against the repression and lies of the bureaucracy, against imperialist barbarism.

The Polish workers and youth are not alone. Their struggle is based on the powerful movement of the workers of the USSR at Togliattigrad and Gorki, of Rumania, on the confrontations of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with imperialism, on the daily fight of the workers of the imperialist centers with their own imperialists.

This advance of the world revolution is what makes the imperialist order, based on the counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance of imperialism with its Stalinist agent, the Kremlin, tremble. Every time that the workers and oppressed peoples rise up, this order trembles, this reactionary class collaboration is shaken. The upsurge of the political revolution in Poland has already brought about a worsening of the crisis of class collaboration.

The cancellation of the meeting between Schmidt and Honnecker shows how much the rise of the political revolution places in crisis the "détente" which is the basis of the Social Democracy's policy. The Stalinist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie are afraid of the perspective of the extension of the struggle of the Polish workers into Germany, which could be the point of departure for the European Revolution.

U.S. imperialism and the European imperialists are running to give support to the Gierk bureaucracy, the Catholic Church demands that the workers retreat; the Europe of the workers councils which is looming on the horizon is incompatible with this existing Europe, chopped in half, torn, oppressed, that the imperialists and bureaucrats are



trying to consolidate and perpetuate through their Madrid Conference. The enemy that the workers face is this Holy Alliance, is its terrorist rearmament by imperialism and Stalinism on the defensive.

The Fourth International continues the fight of Lenin and Trotsky, begun in October 1917, to put an end to the imperialist order. That is why it is fighting to build a fighting common front of the workers and youth against the Madrid Conference.

The bureaucrats of the apparatuses, the centrists, the pseudo-Trotskyists, seek to reduce the support of the workers of the capitalist countries to solidarity with the workers of Poland. Solidarity is necessary, but it is not enough. What the workers of Poland and the other Eastern European countries need most is the organization of a common fight against imperialism and its servants. That is why the Fourth International fights for the workers of the USSR, of the other East European countries, of the capitalist countries, to come together in a fight to BOYCOTT the rearmament of the counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism, to counterpose a WORLD WORKERS CONFERENCE of active opposition to the Madrid Conference.

It is through this struggle, through this common discussion between the workers of the East and the West on how to counterpose THEIR Europe to the existing Europe of poverty and repression that the isolation in

which all the forces in the world opposed to the proletarian revolution are trying to keep the Polish workers can be broken.

It is to prepare the boycott of Madrid, to support with working class methods the struggle for WORKERS RIGHTS in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland and the USSR, that the Fourth International takes as its own the proposal by Victor Fainberg, representative of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, for an INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMISSION. The Fourth International fights for an INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE at Madrid, to free KLEBANOV, for the conquest of workers rights, for independent trade unions.

Forty years ago, Stalin had Trotsky assassinated. He sought to strike a mortal blow against the Fourth International, against the struggle of the world proletariat for its independence from imperialism and its Stalinist agent. Stalin and his successors have failed. The revolution is rising up in the East and the West. The great task of organizing its leadership to continue the world revolution that was begun in October 1917 is on the order of the day. For a new revolutionary international leadership to purge the international workers movement of the Stalinist cancer -- workers and youth of East and West, join the fight of the Fourth International, prepare the future of the human race against imperialist barbarism!

August 25, 1980

Boycott the Dictatorships in Latin America!

Unions--Boycott the Bolivian Junta!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

An Urgent Appeal to the Communication Workers of America, the United Postal Workers Union, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the Longshoremen's Union, and the Teamsters Union

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on you to join it in organizing an immediate and total boycott of the Bolivian junta and ALL dictatorships in Latin America. In order to bring down this fascist junta. In order to give the workers and peasants of Bolivia freedom to develop their struggle as they see fit.

Already this bloody junta has declared martial law, outlawed unions and imprisoned, tortured and murdered thousands of workers and workers leaders.

Juan Lechin, head of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) was brutally tortured, then "disappeared." Oscar Sanjines, general secretary of the COB, assassinated at the COB headquarters. Marcelos Quiroga Santa Cruz, head of the Socialist Party, shot down outside the COB headquarters. Simon Reyes, leader of the Communist Party and the miners union, murdered in prison.

NEVERTHELESS, THE JUNTA HAS NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POWER. It has not yet been able to take over the mines and the mining regions and crush the workers resistance as it did in 1971! The demonstration of 10,000 people in neighboring fascist Chile and the uprising of the Polish workers has brought fundamental support to the struggle of the workers in Bolivia.

The outcome of this struggle doesn't concern simply the workers and oppressed people of Bolivia. It concerns workers and oppressed people everywhere, above all in the United States. The fundamental political issue in this struggle is WORKERS RIGHTS, WORKERS DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE or FASCIST TERROR under the TOLERANT EYE OF DEMOCRATIC IMPERIALISM.

The Bolivian workers and peasants have been fighting for decades to liberate themselves from the exploitation and oppression of the large mine-owners, landowners and their

army, trained and maintained by U.S. imperialism.

The Carter regime has formally denounced this coup, withdrawn the U.S. ambassador from Bolivia, and promised to cut off all economic and military aid to Bolivia in order to maintain its image as a defender of "human rights" in the Presidential elections and in so doing to help it come to a new agreement with the Kremlin to suppress the workers.

But it still provides aid to Israel and to the dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, which in turn are aiding the Bolivian junta.

American workers and their unions cannot accept this. The workers of this nation will never be free as long as this nation oppresses others, be it openly or, in this case, through the back door.

Members of the CWA, the UPWU, BRAC, the Longshoremen's Unions, and the Teamsters!

The outcome of this political struggle depends on you. The Bolivian miners cannot hold out alone forever. The fascist junta cannot defeat them alone. It has to have aid from the U.S.

You -- telephone operators, mail handlers, airline freight handlers, dock workers, truck drivers -- you, organized in your unions, have the power to assure the victory of the Bolivian workers. By boycotting the Bolivian junta and all the dictatorships that support it, by stopping all calls, mail, and shipments to these dictatorships, you can isolate, render defenseless, STARVE OUT this bloody junta.

THIS IS A POWER THAT YOU AND YOU ALONE POSSESS. And boycotting the junta and its supporters is the only way to fully and immediately utilize this power.

Why not call on the junta to respect democracy, the results of the recent elections, step down and recognize the allegedly legal government of Hernan Siles Zuazo in exile in Mexico, as some organizations are doing?

Why not call on the other dictatorships in Latin America to do the same?

FIRST, NONE OF THIS WOULD BRING IMMEDIATE RESULTS.



If the fascists respected democracy, they wouldn't have organized the coup in the first place. And the various governments to which so many are now appealing are precisely the governments which have been arming the fascists for years and which paved the way for the coup by demanding that the Bolivian workers lay down their arms last fall, not touch the military, and elect yet another "democrat." Zuazo's government is essentially the same government that let the fascists generals slip out the back door when the workers were storming the palace in La Paz last fall.

Appealing to these people is like appealing to the tiger to change its stripes.

Secondly, and more importantly, is the fundamental political question involved. Should the unions take independent political action to accomplish their aims, immediately and directly? Or should the unions engage in "pressure politics," essentially accept the status quo and patiently try to modify it?

It's on the basis of the first principle that the workers and their unions in this country

have accomplished everything they've ever accomplished, from shortening the working day, to public education, to the foundation of the unions themselves.

And it's on the basis of the second principle that the unions have been mired down in and by the very class of bosses they were founded to fight.

Unions!

The issue is clear.

There is no time to lose.

When the Revolutionary Youth International contacted the AFL-CIO days after the coup, Andy McClellan, in the name of your union, refused to take up this boycott, without any explanation!

You cannot accept this! Repudiate this position!

ORGANIZE A TOTAL UNION BOYCOTT OF THE FASCIST JUNTA and all its supporters now!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA
August 31, 1980

Send statements of support, boycott plans, and representatives to the COMMITTEE TO BOYCOTT THE LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS
Room 536, David Whitney Building
1553 Woodward, Detroit, MI
48226