

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL No. 152 September 17, 1982 15¢

## For A National Strike In Auto!

At this writing, with a contract expiration date of September 14 hanging over their heads, UAW president Douglas Fraser and his fellow bureaucrats, along with the management of Chrysler (Lee Iacocca and the rest of the group put in charge by the Wall Street banks that run that company), are doing their best to prevent a strike that could be the spark for a major offensive of the working class.

Against this plot, we call for the strike at Chrysler not only to happen, but for it to be turned into a *National Strike in Auto!* 

#### "Chrysler Syndrome"

It was at Chrysler — on the grounds that it was "going broke" — that the drive for concessions began. A fight the workers began to "save Dodge Main" was betrayed by Fraser, by Chrysler department head and UAW vice-president Marc Stepp, etc., into a drive to "save Chrysler"

Dodge Main is gone (literally demolished), but Chrysler remains. And "saving" it, through a system of US government-backed loans (to the same banks, etc., that owned it), was a means to compel—as a condition for these loan guarantees—massive concessions from the workers.

"Saving Chrysler" meant the closing not just of Dodge Main, but of most of Chrysler's Detroit plants (in particular). It meant the signing not just of one concessions contract, but of several. It meant not just no saving of jobs, but a massive loss of them.

The only thing that has increased is — Chrysler's profits.

That is what the capitalist class and its representatives of all kinds called the "Chrysler syndrome." That is the social disease that Reagan and the bureaucrats have been trying to spread.

Now we have come full circle.

Beginning with the near rejection of the GM concessions contract, the last six months have seen a pattern of *revolt* against concessions. That is the root both of the growing wave of strikes — the visible symptom of massive resistance to the "Chrysler syndrome" — and of the fight to take the UAW back from the Fraser gang.

In this situation, a strike at Chrysler can be made a fundamental turning point in the class struggle in the US. Everything that has been done to the workers in the last few years, everything connected with the name of Reagan, is at stake in a Chrysler strike.

For example, Fraser not only sits at the bargaining table as a "representative" of the workers, he also sits on Chrysler's Board of Directors — his reward for helping to "save" the company. At the same time, the UAW bureaucracy has handpicked the Democratic Party candidate for governor of Michigan. This is supposed to represent a labor alternative to the Reaganite Republican candidate. But — "little Jamie" Blanchard, Fraser's candidate, was chosen because of his role in getting the Chrysler loan deal — that is, the concessions — through Congress!

#### **Collision Course**

All through the summer, the refusal of the workers to make any more concessions— in fact, a demand for gains— has clashed with the company's insistence that

any gains in one area (for example, wages or COLA) will have to be made up for by *losses* in another. In particular, it wants the workers to pay part of the cost of health insurance — when what we need is socialized medicine.

In this situation, all the talk by Fraser and Stepp about the "long, long road back to parity" with Ford and GM workers (even after concessions there, Chrysler workers are *still* behind) has been shown up as an empty attempt to hide the clash that is coming.

Without seeking to overestimate the importance of the routine "strike authorization" vote, we can see that a 91% majority for a strike is a real storm warning. Veering before the wind, Fraser and Stepp say to Chrysler: "We simply cannot negotiate regarding co-pays and deducts." That way, says Fraser, lies . . . "confrontation"

And the meaning of the bureaucrats' latest scam — a one-year contract — as well as of anything else they might come up with, lies in this desire to avoid confrontation, to at least postpone the agony.

But, so far, Chrysler has not heeded these words of wisdom.

What is happening now at Chrysler sums up what is happening in the whole situation between the classes. The workers and the capitalists are increasingly ready, even anxious, to come to blows, to settle things once and for all. And the bureaurats increasingly try to repress this "irrepressible conflict" — above all, by sabotaging the workers' fights. These people are the Copperheads of the *new* "civil war" — the development of what even Fraser calls "class war" into the American Revolution.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide," wrote the Abolitionist poet.

We can *make* the Chrysler strike such a moment!

#### For the National Strike

Beginning with the strike at Chrysler, beginning even with local acts of resistance that escape from the bureaucracy's control, we have to organize the fight toward a central and political goal.

We think that is a national strike in auto. The contracts at Ford, GM, AMC, etc., were imposed by coercion and fraud. They can and should be smashed at the first opportunity.

If the Chrysler workers reach out to the GM locals, for instance, that are fighting the company's demand for more concessions in local contracts, they will find allies ready to join with them. The same thing goes for Ford, and so on.

The key Chrysler assembly plant left is its Jefferson Avenue factory in Detroit.

This factory not only has a tradition of militancy — a 1973 plant occupation that made Fraser moan that Chrysler had "lost its manhood" — but it also contains virtually all the Chrysler workers still employed in the city of Detroit. These are no ordinary workers. They constitute the living elements of a generation of struggle by black (and white) workers — from DRUM through the '73 sitdowns to the betrayal of Dodge Main. They bear heavy burdens, but they represent an immense explosive potential.

Thus, it is no surprise that at Jefferson the Communist Party USA, which rarely appears in its own name in the unions, has for months been publishing an open bulletin ("Jefferson Worker"). It is doing its best to divert the anger and the willingness and desire to fight of the workers into the backwaters of "pressure" on Fraser—and the same policy: vote for the Democrats—instead of into the mainstream of open struggle against Reagan and all those who do his work.

This shows that the fight of the Chrysler workers can develop correctly only if it is given a correct political leadership *against* the false one that is trying to sell it down the river — Fraser and his supporters, open or concealed.

#### **New Leadership**

Many people in the unions claim to be for some kind of a "workers" or "labor" party. But for them, talking about it is the only meaning it has. We think that a workers party — for real — means two things today.

First, it means finding and developing the leaders of the workers' real struggle.

Right now, that means those who are ready to organize the national strike. Second, it means a fight for union candidates in the current elections. Both these points make a separation between the talkers — who go along in action with Fraser — and the fighters.

Second, there are even some people who call for a general strike. But, here too, such loose talk actually stands in the way of preparing a real general strike. In fact, there are people who are capable even of being against any real upsurge on the grounds that it isn't the general strike.

Well, we are for a general strike — one that is being prepared right now. For us, this strike has to have a *political* goal: to bring down Reagan, the symbol of the attack on the workers. So for us, a national strike in auto — a massive upsurge by the best organized American workers against concessions and everything Reagan stands for — is the best possible way to prepare the general strike.

In this fight, which goes far beyond the limitations of the trade unions that the bureaucrats set, not to mention the social limitations they set, the workers must have new forms of organization.

The history of the UAW, the struggle of Solidarnose ("Solidarity"), show us these forms — factory committees, flying squadrons, strike committees, interfactory coordinations and so on. These new forms are needed because the new situation demands them. They will emerge because a new leadership is being built, a leadership able to see what has to be done and ready to do it.

From Chrysler . . . to a National Strike in Auto!

### Special UAW Convention!

The growing revolt of the workers takes shape not only in the form of strikes, but even more clearly in the fight in the unions to get rid of the bureaucrats.

That was why we called for a Special Convention of the UAW — to focus this drive in the UAW in an organized form.

Recently, we have much more emphasized union candidates and the national strike in auto. Does this mean that the Special Convention is now off the agenda?

No! What it does mean is that

such a centralization of the struggle of the workers cannot take a purely trade union form. Because the opposition in the UAW has no policy for the elections or for a strike, it cannot advance even in the framework of the union.

We can advance toward a Special Convention — and this can even be the Constitutional Convention scheduled for next year that we make "special" — if we wage a political fight now in the elections and strikes.

K.F.

INSIDE: DOWN WITH REAGAN AND THE DEMOCRATS! UNION CANDIDATES IN '82!

# The struggle in the 1982 elections

# Union candidates or Democratic Party candidates?

### Is George Crod

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The 1982 elections can represent a real turning point for all those forces who want to bring down Reagan. We can change the miserable conditions under which the workers and the poor are living today. We can stop the youth from being sent to fight their brothers and sisters in El Salvador for this rotten government.

But in order to do it, we must break with the Democratic Party and present a working class alternative in the 1982 elections. This means concretely a fight for union candidates in the 1982 elections.

This is above all true for the unions themselves. All the signs of a major revolt of the ranks of the unions against the greedy policies that Reagan's government has engineered are present. A new wave of strikes is developing against concessions. The ranks will no longer accept the threats by their union leaders of plant closings and layoffs without a fight. In the UAW local leaders have been thrown out of office for supporting concessions and others have been forced to come out openly against Fraser. In steel, McBride has retreated from the demand that workers accept cutbacks in the new Basic Steel Agreement. For this movement to go forward it must confront Reagan in the 1982 elections.

And it must confront him on its own terms. What is shaping up is more than a union battle. It is a major class confrontation. Because the situation under which the workers, the youth, blacks and women workers have been living — the cutbacks, the threats of war, the hypocritical decadence of the "moral majority," and the increasingly open provocations of racists and fascists — is a direct attack by the White House and the imperialist ruling class that runs it to stamp out all the gains and conquests won by the working class. It is Reagan's foreign policy brought home.

Everyone, even Reagan himself, knows that his government hasn't a shred of support among the working class. That is why Republicans joined Democrats in voting down his veto of the Supplemental Appropriations Bill—to save their own skin in the elections.

But we can do more than be passive spectators to election year phonies and corrupt political maneuvers. We can use the elections to unite the strikes which are going on and give them a political focus — the General Strike to bring down Reagan. We can put forward the unions as the spearhead of all those forces which are just itching for a showdown with Reagan and his cronies, a real Solidarity Day II like the Polish workers. We can send a message to our allies who are struggling to free themselves of US installed dictatorships. This is how a campaign for union candidates against the Democratic Party and Reagan can bring about a turn in the situation to the favor of the working class.

But there is more at stake here. Because the question of who will rule immediately begs the question of who will lead? That is what Doug Fraser, Lane Kirkland, McBride, Church and Williams, the trade union bureaucrats, are worried about. Their jobs, the jobs of all the fakers and bureaucrats who have been selling snake oil to the workers for

so long, are on the line. These parasites must go, we must build a *Workers Party* to settle the question of who will rule!

Do you think Doug Fraser would run for office? Not a chance. That would pit him against his masters. That would lose him his seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors. That would unleash the fury of the workers he has been living off of. Fraser, and all those like him, haven't got the decency to put themselves up as workers candidates — but they sure know how to grovel before the big shots in the Democratic party. They've made a career of that!

So you want to support a Democrat? You're ready to do anything to get rid of Reagan, right?

Let's suppose that every Republican that is up for election was swept out of office tomorrow. Let's go one step further and suppose that the Democratic Party is resurrected from its zombie-like existence of the past two years and wins a landslide victory in the 1982 elections. What would happen the day after tomorrow?

Do you suppose the financial interests which give the Democrats their bread and butter would stop trying to wring more concessions out of you? Do you suppose the Democrats who brought in draft registration and the military junta in El Salvador would cut military spending by even one-tenth? Forget it. And the fact is, the Democrats don't have enough support in the working class to even come close to doing as well as that.

There is one thing that this rotten alliance of bureaucrats and Democrats could do. They could save Reagan from us. Save him from a head-on confrontation with the people he has been trying to starve and pauperize. That's what it's all about, this unity with the Democrats.

Supporting the Democrats will not only mean one step backward in the fight to build a Workers Party, it will also mean that the movement in the unions will be set back. Because it will mean that this movement will be diverted by the failure of its present leadership, however militant, to put forward a class alternative to Reagan and the Democrats.

It will not only give breathing space to bureaucrats like Fraser, it will also mean

that the working class, particularly the most advanced workers and the radical youth, will miss the chance to thoroughly expose the opportunist parties that have given the socialist revolution, the rule of the working class, a bad taste in the mouths of American workers.

Because the same Stalinist apparatus which is having such a bad time of it right now, trying to crush the Polish workers and their revolution, is pulling the strings in the Communist Party USA, putting forward a campaign to support the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections.

That is why the 1982 elections and a campaign for union candidates could bring about an open and massive debate in the American working class over the nature and the program of the Workers Party. It would mean that every shade of political tendency in the American working class — from yellow to red — would be forced to put their programs before the class they claim to stand for.

That is an opportunity that we Trotskyists would be only too happy to take. It is an opportunity which any worker, no matter what his political persuasion, should be happy to take advantage of, too. Not only because we are confident of our own program, but because we believe that the working class must have the right and the power to decide.

That is why we are totally against a meaningless campaign for "educational" purposes.

We are doing everything possible to lead a fight for candidates of the unions and for making this fight as large as possible — larger than the immediate forces we are able to organize around us.

We are running our own candidate in the 13th Congressional District in Detroit against a liberal Democrat, George Crockett. We are fighting in unions where we have direct influence for these unions to put forward their own candidates in the elections. We are fighting to organize the strikes, the movement in the unions, the movement against the draft and war, and black liberation for a political confrontation with Reagan — the General Strike.

Join our fight. Build a Workers Party over the burial ground of bourgeois and bureaucrat in the 1982 elections!

#### By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Many workers, young people, members of the oppressed and so on can agree with us when we say that the Democratic Party in general is no different than the Republican Party. They can list with as much ease as we can some of the things the "workingman's party" has done — Democrat Lyndon Johnson and his war in Vietnam, Democrat Jimmy Carter and the fact that it was he (and not Reagan) who planned the attack on PATCO, set up the dictatorship in El Salvador and reinstated draft registration

#### An "Exception"?

But, when we say that George W. Crockett, Jr. (who is the Democratic representative from Detroit's 13th Congressional District) is just as bad, because he is a Democrat, many of the same people will disagree with us.

George Crockett, they tell us, is different. And in important ways, too. Doesn't he have a lifelong record as a fighter against racism? Doesn't he have a long record as a supporter of unions? Isn't he against the US role in El Salvador? Doesn't he oppose the Israeli invasion of Lebanon? Isn't he for the nuclear "freeze"? And, of course, doesn't he oppose "Reagonomics" down the line, even voting against the most recent tax increase?

And besides, they tell us, George Crockett is some kind of a socialist himself. Didn't he serve as a defense lawyer in the Smith Act frame-up trials of the Communist Party leaders way back when, and wasn't he even jailed for contempt of court on account of his stand then? Why, he was even an introductory speaker at the conference earlier this year in Detroit where the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) was formed.

Now if there is such a thing as a real liberal, they tell us, George Crockett is it.

We agree with the specifics outlined above. But for us, it only makes the role of Crockett (and others like him, like John Conyers, Jr., in Detroit's 1st Congressional District) clearer.

There is an old saying: "If you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas."

#### Reform the Democrats?

Because, aside from the fact that every single one of these positions is perfectly acceptable to the Democrats (and even, like the "freeze," to more than a few Republicans), overall these positions serve one purpose. They make it possible for workers, youth and others to believe that the Democratic Party is not really a problem, that this capitalist party that has held the American workers back for over a century can be reformed. This party doesn't have to be smashed and a new, workers party built. Oh, no! We just need to get more good people like George Crockett into it and then into office and then the Democratic Party can be changed without anything drastic having to happen on the political, never mind the social, arena.

That's an old story.

For generations, workers have been putting "progressives" (yes, and even some "socialists") into office as Democrats.

So what's the bottom line? First, the Democratic Party remains a capitalist party. (Even *The Nation*, magazine of the Democratic Party's left wing, knows it is run today, as it was run in the past by "the same farrago of multinationalist businessmen and bankers and their allies.")



### kett Different?

Second, the United States remains in the grip (and, thus, so does the rest of the world) of an imperialist ruling class — that the liberals politely call "multinationalist businessmen and bankers." Reagan is now doing their bidding.

Third, and most important, the working class and the oppressed remain at the bottom of the bottom line.

All of that doesn't provide a very good argument for voting for the Democrats.

But let's get back to George Crockett. Before we get into the specifics of the fight we are waging against him, let's make clear what his overall role is.

Back when the old-fashioned slaughterhouses still existed, the sheep had to be led into the killing house. But they had great reluctance to go in there on their own. Maybe they noticed that any sheep that went in never came out again — just like every movement that has joined the Democrats has never been seen again. So the butchers put out a goat to lead the sheep to slaughter. Trustfully, after all, he was practically one of them, the sheep went to meet their bloody end.

That goat was called the "Judas goat." George Crockett is the Democratic Party's "Judas goat" in the 13th Congressional District.

#### **Crockett's Positions**

So, let's dispense with all the charades of liberalism and get down to what Crockett really stands for.

First, let's look at the District he represents. It is loaded with unemployed auto workers and closed factories. What has George Crockett, the great liberal, done about this?

Not one thing! In fact, if we look beyond his passive role in action, we see it is really a role of support.

The beginning of the massive attack on the auto workers — concessions, layoffs, plant closings - was the "save Chrysler" campaign organized by Wall Street and its friend, UAW president Doug Fraser.

One of the key architects of the Chrysler "loan guarantee" bill in the US Congress - the bill that imposed concessions, layoffs and plant closings — was one James Blanchard. Now, Blanchard is not just a member in general of the same party as Crockett, he is now (hand-picked by Fraser) its candidate for governor.

We want to know — does George Crockett support the "Chrysler syndrome"? If he doesn't — which he has never said — why doesn't he refuse to support Blanchard?

After all, Blanchard also has a miserable record on other "issues" that are supposedly important to Crockett: abortion, women's rights in general, the military and civil rights.

Blanchard, for example, voted for the notorious "Hyde amendment," which bans federal funds in paying for abortions, twice. Now, he says he is "pro-choice" (if you have the money, you have a choice).

In addition, he voted for funds for both the MX missile and the neutron bomb. And, worst of all, he voted for both the Constitutional amendment that would ban school busing to achieve integration and to stop the IRS or courts from enforcing the rule that prohibited federal aid to segregationist schools, thus backing up Reagan. (Detroit Metro Times; June 10-24, 1982.)

This is the Democrats' "anti-Reaganite" candidate against the Republican yahoo, Headlee. Where's the big difference?

The Democratic Party State Convention that ratified Blanchard's nomination was described by the papers as a "love feast," especially because the 1st and 13th Congressional District Democratic organizations came fully back into the fold. George Crockett and "little Jamie" Blanchard, arm in arm. Touching.

And this leads us to another question. When you say the 1st and 13th Congressional District Democratic organizations, you are really saying one thing: Coleman Young.

#### And Young

George Crockett is an old friend and ally of Coleman Young. In fact, Crockett was head of the City of Detroit's Law Department until he took over the 13th District from Charles Diggs.

When Coleman Young came into office in 1973, with his past as a radical and black militant, the black working class of

Detroit looked to him for leadership. What they have gotten is a gigantic real estate scam — more unemployment, more poverty and more decay of the city, and more business-as-usual politics.

One of the most outrageous examples of this was the destruction of Poletown, an integrated, working class community the parallel on the community level of the destruction of Dodge Main, an attempt to destroy the working class strongholds in Detroit.

The destruction of Poletown, for the sake of a General Motors plant that is still nothing but a promise — and a net loss in jobs — and for the sake of Young's real estate speculator friends, went on under the eyes of its Congressman — George Crockett.

We want an explanation from Crockett. We want to know how come his friend Coleman Young has spent his entire time in office giving "tax abatements" - to GM, to the real estate barons, etc.—while imposing tax increases on the workers of the city. Sounds like Reagonomics — "trickledown" theory — to us.

The last tax increase, last year, came at the same time as a demand from Young for concessions from city workers, a bitter, bloody fight that made a lot of workers see Young in a new light.

We know George Crockett supported the tax increase. Why doesn't he tell us now what he thinks about concessions not just in auto, but for all workers?

We were able to wage a small, but for us — successful campaign against Young last year. We fought for a Workers Candidate and ran our candidate as an example and model of such a fight.

This year we are running a campaign against George Crockett. Our candidate is Barbara Putnam, an experienced revolutionary militant and trade unionist. Here, too, our own campaign is part of a broader fight for union candidates in the 1982 elections, against the attempt to pull workers around the Democratic Party again, in order to fight the Reaganites, they claim.

#### For the Workers Party

George Crockett, with his pretensions to radicalism, is a key element of that attempt. Even his ties to groups like the Communist Party and DSA show this, because these groups are set apart by one thing — their total devotion to reforming the Democratic Party, to saving the party through which imperialism dominates the American workers.

George Crockett is for that. He is against the revolution, here and everywhere else. There will be no peace for El Salvador. For that, we have to organize for arms to the guerrillas. Where will George Crockett be?

There will be no peace in the Middle Eaet without a socialist revolution and the destruction of the Zionist state of Israel. Well, George Crockett?

When the workers of America look for models for the fight that is coming, they look to Solidarnosc ("Solidarity") and the Polish Revolution. We want to know: what is George Crockett's position on the antisocialist military dictatorship that shoots workers and youth down in the streets? Speak up, George Crockett!

Workers and others in the 13th Congressional District! Vote against both parties of capitalism, racism, poverty and war. Vote for an independent workers candidate. Take a step toward smashing the Democratic Party and building the Workers Par-

### Platform for union candidates

#### 1. No Concessions!

The fight against Reagan's attacks means a refusal to lower the living standards of the workers.

#### 2. Defend and build the strikes!

All over the country, workers are fighting concessions through strike actions. From South Dakota to Rhode Island, and right here in Detroit, this fight is going on now.

#### 3. A new leadership in the unions!

Douglas Fraser, like the rest of the top union bureaucrats, is owned lock, stock and barrel by the companies. Defend all the opposition groups in the unions.

#### 4. Carry the fight into the elections!

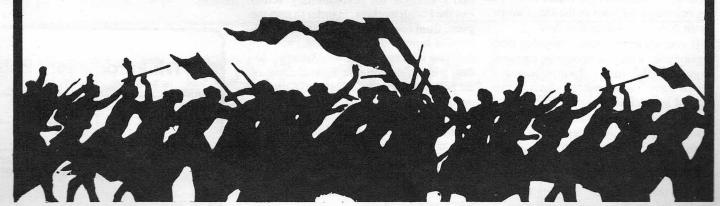
This movement has a chance to reach out in the elections, outside individual unions, to the unorganized and unemployed and the youth and to build a real mass movement, like Solidarnosc ("Solidarity") in Poland.

#### 5. No vote for the Democrats or Republicans!

The end of the road for these two parties can be seen all around us. They have nothing to offer! The attempt to regroup workers and youth around the Democrats — for them to "fight" Reagan, what a laugh! — is a desperate stunt that can only fail and in fact help Reagan out.

#### 6. Build the Workers Party!

All kinds of people are for it, but they see it as something far off. Union candidates in these elections are the building blocks of this party.



### Interview with Barbara Putnam

# A Candidate For Union Candidates!

Barbara Putnam is the Trotskyist Organization's candidate for Congress in the 13th Congressional District in Detroit. She has taken part in the workers movement for over a decade as a union militant and political leader. She has been a member of a number of unions, including the UAW and the Teamsters, as well as the International Socialists and the Class Struggle League. She joined the Trotskyist Organization in 1975.

Barbara has also participated in some of its bitterest battles - the farmworkers organizing drive in California and the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant sit-down strike in 1973, which was broken up by Doug Fraser and other armed union thugs - and thus has a first-hand appreciation of the importance of working class independence.

In the following interview she talks about the purpose of the campaign, some of the most common objections to it, the campaigns of other parties, and how the Trotskyist Organization is building the campaign. We welcome our readers to write in with their own questions and comments about the political struggle taking place in the 1982 elections.

#### Q. What is the purpose of your campaign?

A. We are running our campaign in the 13th Congressional District as a specific way to pose the fight for union candidates in the 1982 elections. For us, this is a major step in advancing the struggle that is already going on among the workers, a fight to break with imperialism all along the line. The attempt to block this fight is expressed in the elections by the desperate regroupment around the Democratic Party, the fantastic pretense that this will be the way to defeat Reagan. And George Crockett, as the most liberal Democrat around, is an important part of that regroupment.

Q. The union leaders are going all out for Democrats this year. 6000 people showed up at a Labor Day Rally in Detroit in support of Democrats. Won't your campaign split the workers vote and allow more Republicans to come to power?

A. No! It is the Democrats and the union bureaucrats who are splitting the workers. Won't many workers gag at voting for the anti-worker, anti-woman, racist Blanchard? Isn't resistance to the Democratic Party candidates the main cause of so-called "abstention"?

We want to show to those thousands of workers, and many others too, who want to fight Reagan, the way to do it. But the Republicans — Reagan — are in office now because the bureaucrats and Democrats did the same thing in 1980 with Carter — that they are trying to do

O. Why are you running against someone like George Crockett? Why not run against a less popular candidate, more closely tied to big business?

A. The point in running against the one Democrat who appears as the exception to the rule is to show the nature of the Democratic Party as a whole. Workers should read the article that will be appearing in the next issue of Truth on Crockett (See page 3 — Editor).

#### Q. What are the chances of actually getting the unions to put forward their own candidates in these elections?

A. Obviously, this will be a real fight, but we think the possibilities are great. For example, the Detroit Federation of Teachers faces a massive demand for concessions at the same time as teachers' strikes are illegal. Doesn't this raise the need for union candidates in the sharpest way?

In the UAW, opposition groups opposed to Fraser and concessions can find a way out of the impasse they are in by having union candidates, by supporting my candidacy and by using the elections to gain a hearing in the working class among the workers refusing concessions and heading towards a final break both with the union tops and the Democratic Party. For example, there is a grouping at the Ford River Rouge plant called the United Front Caucus that claims to be for a Workers Party. Well, the elections can be a means to take practical steps in building it by running unions candidates for a class leadership.

The unions took inspiration from Solidarnosc of Poland. Remember Solidarity Day when 400,000 workers

poured into Washington, D.C. against Reagan? We can build a political and practical fight using methods similar to the Polish workers in these elections. Our candidates will be the spokesman and organizers of such a movement.

#### Q. The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party are also running candidates for office in Michigan. What do you think of their campaigns?

A. Naturally, we are for a vote for all candidates of working class parties. For us, the problem with these campaigns is not that they are independent candidates, but the politics of the campaigns. The Communist Party is supporting "labor-backed Democrats" and thus is running only one candidate — for school board. The Socialist Workers Party is running a number of candidates, but not against popular Democrats. And, they are making no effort to really mobilize the unions, to make a real mass, class fight. Thus, they are leaving the field open to the Democrats.

We are for the SWP, and the CP, first of all, fighting in the unions for union candidates. Why don't their candidates fight to become union candidates?

#### Q. How is the Trotskyist Organization building the campaign? How do you plan to get on the ballot; what will you do if you don't? Where do you intend to concentrate your forces?

A. The first way the TO is building this campaign is in the mass movement of the workers, in the unions, in the opposition groups, in the demonstrations of workers and youth. Then, in precisely the neighborhood where we got the most votes in our campaign for mayor against Coleman Young last summer, on the East Side of Detroit, including the area around Kettering High School, where the Malcolm X Circle of International Young Guard/USA has been built.

As we said before, the CP has an independent candidate on the ballot. The ballot has not yet been printed, but the State Election Commission is giving us the runaround. While we are in contact with the ACLU, the key to getting on the official listing is the fight in the unions and workers organizations.

If we do not get on the ballot, we will wage a write-in campaign, using the same fight to organize the workers' vote and make sure it is expressed - and counted — in the form of write-in votes.

### Free Ben Sasway!

Ben Sasway, a 21-year-old college student, was convicted of refusing to register for the draft in San Diego, California on August 26.

Sasway was rushed from the courtroom by prison guards who did not even permit him to speak with his parents and is now in prison without bail. He is the second of 160 youth that the Reagan regime intends to prosecute — the first, Enten Eller of Roanoke, Virginia, was placed on probation and given three months to register.

We support Sasway in his opposition to US imperialism. We demand his immediate liberation, call on all working class organizations, especially trade unions, to do the same, and we are ready to participate in any working class action on his

But we do not want any more youth to follow his example, and we condemn the Communist Party which encourages youth to refuse to register for the draft at the same time that it supports candidates of the Democratic Party, the party which reinstituted draft registration, in the current elec-

At first it might appear incongruous for revolutionaries to oppose refusing to register for the imperialist draft. Refusing to register, to cooperate with imperialism, appears to be a very principled, moral stand. On a large scale, non-registration might even do some damage to "the system." Opposition to non-registration, it would seem, can only come from opportunist quarters, those who claim to be against the system but are not prepared to sacrifice their freedom for their principles.

This is false. Revolutionaries' principles, morals, are dictated by the class struggle.

Draft registration, as thousands of youth have pointed out, is part of US imperialism's war preparations, first under Carter and now under Reagan. War is essential to the survival of this parasitical imperialist state which feeds off the exploitation and oppression of millions in the US, Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

If you are serious about stopping draft registration, war, you have to be prepared to confront this state - "small bodies of armed men," as Engels so correctly described and defined it.

And such a confrontation, to be victorious, demands an independent, mass mobilization of the workers.

The principled, moral stand is to prepare this confrontation, this mobilization.

From this standpoint, refusing to register for the draft is counterproductive. It needlessly exposes youth opposed to imperialism to persecution and isolates them from the masses. There will be enough things for which youth and workers will be imprisoned about which they will be able to do nothing. There is no point in allowing it to happen when it is avoidable.

One might argue that by refusing to register for the draft individuals will inspire others to do the same and thus help build a movement which might eventually give imperialism some problem. But this never has happened and never will because it is no solution to the problem. Current registration figures attest to this: 700,000 have not registered; 8.5 million, that is 93% of eligible youth, have.

The only thing that is principled or moral about refusing to register for the draft is that it removes an individual from collaboration with imperialism, but it does not do anything about the system and this is where the principled and moral obligations of the young generation begin doing something about the system.

Youth against imperialism belong in the neighborhoods, the schools, the factories and even in the army, not in prison.

The Communist Party encourages youth not to register for the draft and to build a movement around this at the same time that it supports Democratic Party candidates in the present elections, the party that reinstituted the draft, because it is not interested in organizing a confrontation to bring down Reagan and the entirety of the imperialist system. It is interested in dissipating the struggles of the youth and workers and in suppressing them, here as in Poland.

Being for non-registration while supporting the party that instituted registration suits this purpose quite well. It is the continuity of their bureaucratic takeover of the February, 1981 CARD Conference (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft) where they suppressed free discussion, particularly the Trotskyist Organization's struggle for revolutionary action like the Polish workers, in order to stop the youth from coming to grips with the problems of how to defeat imperialism.

Those who say "Free Ben Sasway" today, without drawing the balance sheet of the policy which allowed him to be imprisoned so easily in the first place, are paving the way for more Ben Sasway's.

For our part, we say: "Free Ben Sasway, no more Ben Sasways, revolutionary action like the Polish workers!", as we did at the CARD conference.

This is a principled and moral stand worth sacrificing for.

#### TRUTH Bi-Weekly Organ of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Editorial Board: Kevin FitzPatrick; Margaret Guttshall, Editor; David Heffelfinger.

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