

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Cause of Carter's Panic: Not Castro, But the Revolution

# U.S. OUT OF CUBA!

It has been called a "pseudo-crisis," a "pipsqueak affair," a "flop."

The latest "Cuban crisis" manufactured by U.S. imperialism is a proof that "first time tragedy, second time farce." If Kennedy's 1962 "Cuban missile crisis" was a tragedy, pushing the world to the brink of nuclear war, Carter's latest "crisis" is a farce, showing the panic of U.S. imperialism.

A month ago a Senator running for re-election "discovered" Soviet troops in Cuba. Others chimed in. Secretary of State Vance called the matter "very serious" and Jimmy Carter, never one to be outdone when it comes to playing the fool, declared on Sept. 8 that the "status quo was unacceptable."

3,000 troops with no transport capability that have been in Cuba for 17 YEARS suddenly became "unacceptable."

But the test balloon never got off the ground-- there was not the SLIGHTEST BIT of support for this "crisis" in the American working class.

Thus, in his speech on Oct. 1, Carter wound up finding the status quo "acceptable" again.

But no one should relax. This "pseudo-crisis" shows the panic of U.S. imperialism and that it is MORE DANGEROUS THAN EVER.

To cover for his retreat, Carter launched a criminal provocation against Cuba. In a shameless attempt to show some "muscle," Carter announced plans for "military maneuvers" in the Caribbean for mid-October.

As part of these "maneuvers" 1,600-1,800 U.S. Marines will make a "simulated assault" on Cuba at the Guantanamo U.S. Naval Base. A Marine squadron of jet planes will "support" this invasion.

This is a senseless provocation which proves that despite all its talk about "human rights," U.S. imperialism remains the world's bandit. And guns are the only "diplomacy" it really knows.

response to a "real" crisis? WAR IS INEVITABLE if U.S. imperialism is allowed to continue in its death agony.

While this planned "invasion" is only a provocation, U.S. workers and youth must not allow it. It is an insult to every worker and youth in the Two Americas. In the schools, the factories, in the streets, we must demand:

- U.S. OUT OF CUBA!
- DISBAND THE GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE!
- UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF

CUBA FROM U.S. IMPERIALISM!

Workers and youth must be politically armed for this fight. The real threat to U.S. imperialism in the Americas is not Soviet troops, not Castro, but the REVOLUTION. The socialist revolution that will sweep away both imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Cuba.

The Kremlin has never fought imperialism in the Two Americas. Its agent, Fidel Castro, has collaborated with U.S. imperialism for 20 years.

Not by chance, Castro has

NEVER called on the U.S. workers to shut down Guantanamo. Instead, he has spent the last 20 years insulting U.S. workers, calling them "backward," and telling them to believe in Carter's "human rights."

Witness these remarks made by Castro to CBS correspondent Dan Rather on "60 Minutes," Sept. 30:

*Dan Rather: "Two years ago you said that Carter was an 'ethical' man. Today you have called him a liar, which is it?"*

*Castro: "I thought that Carter had religious Christian ethics. But now he is being dishonest. But I am not going to pass final judgment on his person."*

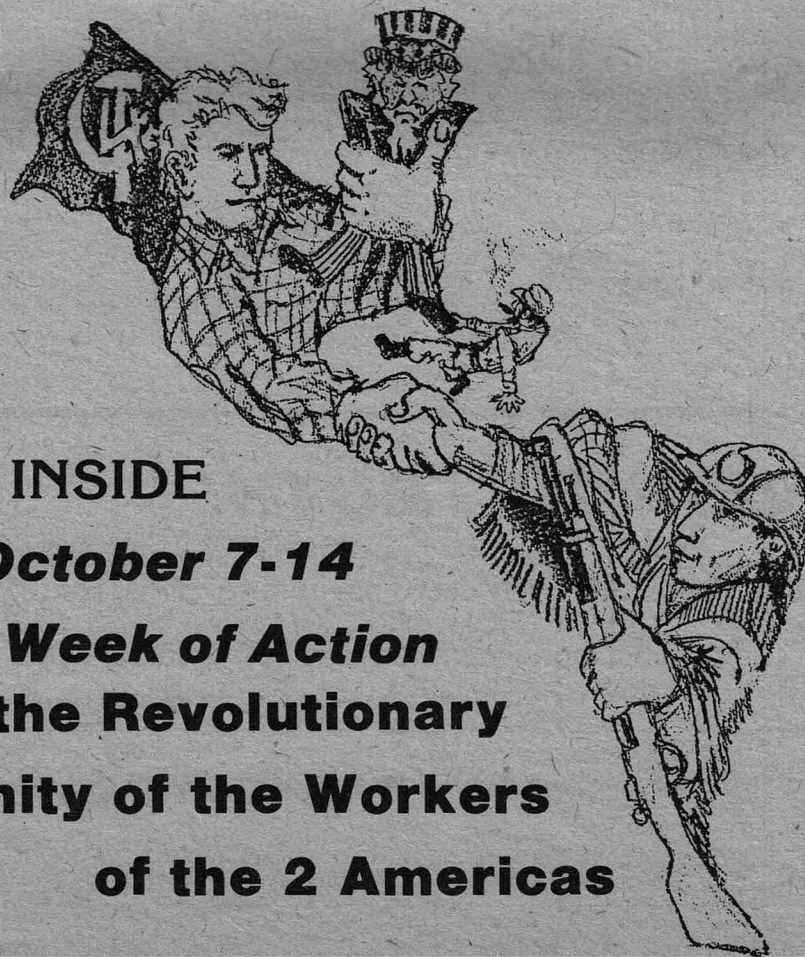
But millions of Americans have already passed judgment on Carter! Only 19% of the population agrees with Castro.

Not Castro. The real threat is the revolution. And part of this manufactured "crisis" was to make the Kremlin and Castro provide MORE GUARANTEES that they will try to block this revolution.

In face of these preparations for war and new Stalinist betrayals it is urgent that U.S. workers and youth take the lead of the fight for the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY of the workers of the Two Americas. Our allies are the Cuban workers and peasants, the workers and youth in Nicaragua.

The U.S. working class holds the key to the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the Americas. It is a struggle that can only be fought by uniting the proletariats, North and South, in a fight to construct the world party of the socialist revolution. The Fourth International.

This "pipsqueak affair" has proven that this revolutionary unity is the most urgent task in front of the American workers and youth. This fight begins now. October 4, 1979



**INSIDE**  
**October 7-14**  
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**Unity of the Workers**  
**of the 2 Americas**

# Forward to the Conference of the Two Americas

# TRUTH

## Declaration of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

Imperialism and its agent, the Stalinist bureaucracy, have met a new defeat. After the fall of the Shah of Iran now it is another representative of imperialism; the dictator Somoza, who has been brought down by the working masses. The Nicaraguan workers and poor peasants have dealt a blow to "peaceful coexistence," arms in hand they defeated the Pretorian Guard supported by U.S. imperialism, they have formed committees to run the factories, to expropriate the capitalists and landowners in order to take things into their own hands.

The revolution has begun in Nicaragua, but already the forces of reaction are regrouping around it like vultures in order to carve it up-- like they are doing in Iran. The government of "national reconstruction," regrouping the bourgeoisie and the "patriotic" working class functionaries around the Sandinista Front, has already attacked the workers and peasants committees, is trying to bring the capitalists back to the factories and prevent the poor peasants and agricultural workers from distributing the land. This government has turned towards Somoza's master, Carter, in order to ask for aid from him. The Sandinista government is in the process of putting the bourgeoisie back at the head of its state again and rebuilding its secular arm-- the army. With the objective of disarming and crushing the workers who want to continue the revolution. Because in order to realize the most elementary objectives-- agrarian reform, democratic rights, national independence in face of U.S. imperialism, it is necessary now to take up the struggle for the proletarian revolution, to destroy the bourgeois state and replace it with the workers state of workers councils.

The best fighters in Nicaragua and in other countries, who thought they saw in the Sandinista Front a leadership independent of the bourgeoisie, can today affirm that at the moment when the revolution is being placed in danger, the bourgeois

state of the Sandinista leadership has unmasked itself by giving back the leadership of the country to the big bourgeoisie and to the landowners.

The exploited masses of Nicaragua delivered a blow to the imperialist order by overthrowing its bloody pawn. To such a degree that the attention of workers and youth throughout the world, and in particular in the Two Americas, is focused on their combat. It is because this combat was felt as a combat for the world revolution that the fighters from other countries in Latin America fought in the trenches against Somoza. It is in order to respond to this desire to fight together, to organize the fight to bring down the dictatorships and their master, imperialism, that the Fourth International is organizing the Conference of the Two Americas!

In their struggle to overthrow their oppressors from East to West and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, workers find the same problem as in Nicaragua-- the fight to advance the revolutionary struggles, to unify them beyond national borders, demands driving the traitors out of the workers movement, who while speaking in the name of the workers, even of the revolution, are betraying the most heroic struggles.

It concerns above all the Stalinist bureaucracy and its agent-- Castro. Castro, who even before the fall of Somoza declared that he would vote for Somoza's boss, Carter, and that it was not necessary to make Nicaragua a "second Cuba." The same Castro who attacked the miners on strike against the Popular Front government of Allende in Chile, who supported the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin's troops in 1968. It is the same Castro who today supports the Sandinista Front and its repression against the workers and peasants committees.

The recent "non-aligned" Conference in Havana had this goal-- to apply the counterrevolutionary agreement between imperialism and the Stalinist

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## Jesse Jackson and Arafat, Traitors Meet . . .

# The Only Foreign Policy For Blacks -The Revolution

By JON COHEN

U.S. imperialism is in crisis. At home and abroad. At home in face of the resistance to the bourgeoisie's plans for austerity and repression, a resistance expressed in the massive disgust with the Democratic Party and the Carter government. And throughout the world in face of the revolutionary combativity of the workers and oppressed.

It is in this context that a "foreign policy" debate is taking place in the United States. And as part of its typical fight for "excellence" in public affairs, the tone of this "debate" is being set by the U.S. Senate -- the shameful spectacle of Senators grubbing for a few votes by making a "debate" out of the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba who have been there since 1962. The same tone is present in the discussion over the SALT II treaty.

But this "foreign policy" debate goes beyond the discussions in the imperialist Senate, which everyone but a handful of American Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists stopped taking seriously long ago. It is really a reflection of a discussion that is taking place throughout the ruling circles in the U.S. over how to repair the shattered image of U.S. imperialism and how to construct new, counter-revolutionary alliances in place of the old ones which have failed.

How to head off the world revolution? And how to attempt to tie the U.S. working class to imperialism's policies? These are the central questions in this "foreign policy" debate.

Black workers and youth in the U.S. must be warned. As the most oppressed workers in the U.S., as the section of the American working class MOST SYMPATHETIC to the struggles of workers and youth throughout the world and therefore to the world revolution, blacks as well as all U.S. workers must be warned of new attempts to repair the shattered image of U.S. imperialism. New attempts to channel their REVOLUTIONARY instincts into new frameworks of betrayal.

One such framework was

Conference in Havana. A Conference designed to give a new, "anti-imperialist" image to the same old petty bourgeois national leaders of bourgeois colonial or semi-colonial nations who have been slaughtering and torturing workers and youth for years -- in the name of "anti-imperialism"

Another framework is the relationship being developed between the black petty bourgeois "leaders" in the U.S. and the petty bourgeois leadership of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization). Symbolized by a recent visit of the SCLC leadership to Israel and the occupied territories and the meeting between Jesse Jackson and Yasir Arafat, leader of the PLO.

These "Uncle Toms" begin with the worst kind of paternalism. "Blacks should be interested in foreign policy," they say. "Me too," chimes in the pseudo-Trotskyist, Andrew Pulley in THE MILITANT (Oct. 5th).

But black workers and youth have ALWAYS been interested in "foreign policy." Long before these traitors dared to say a word about the war in Vietnam, the first black soldier had said: "No Viet Cong ever called me 'nigger'."

Black workers have always been sympathetic to the fight for the world revolution. But it is BETRAYAL that the Jesse Jacksons and Andrew Youngs want black workers to become "interested" in.

"Gain for the Palestinian freedom fight" cheers the pseudo-Trotskyist MILITANT which also only finds "interesting" the maneuvers of the petty bourgeois traitors. But it has nothing to do with the fight of the Palestinians for freedom. This meeting between Jackson and the PLO was only another desperate maneuver of U.S. imperialism in crisis and to try to forge a new framework for world class collaboration.

Neither Jesse Jackson nor Yasir Arafat have ever expressed any policy independent from U.S. imperialism. Yasir Arafat has won his recent recognition in bourgeois "diplomatic" circles through a terrible price -- the

TION of the best fighters of the Palestinian youth.

Any black worker who hears talk about Arafat as a "freedom fighter" should remember Arafat's deals with King Hussein of Jordan which allowed for the terrible "Black September" massacre of Palestinian youth and his alliance with the Syrian government which allowed for the Tel Zataar massacre.

And his recent meeting with the Francoist butchers in Spain only tops off this "respectability" and the price he has paid for it. The PLO is an organization openly DISCREDITED in the eyes of the best Palestinian fighters, an organization that today is openly seeking a compromise with U.S. imperialism through a bourgeois state that would leave the Zionist regime in Israel intact.

Jesse Jackson is trying to give a new image to this discredited PLO. But Jesse Jackson happens to be the same kind of "freedom fighter" that Arafat is. A "freedom fighter" who gave the "black power" handshake to Mayor Daley of Chicago -- the "shoot to kill" mayor who murdered two Black Panther leaders.

Who has threatened to vote for the Republicans if the Democrats don't come across. Who was one of the first to fly up on a helicopter to Camp David to hold up Carter this summer. Who is a TOTAL OPPORTUNIST.

And the SWP, in total shamelessness, went along with Jackson in crying that the "racist Begin" refused to meet with him. But what self-respecting or honest worker or youth would even WANT to be in the same room with that traitor of the Warsaw Ghetto and butcher of Deir Yassin? "Freedom Fighters" indeed.

Jackson is in the same boat as Arafat. These U.S. black "civil rights" leaders are LIVING CORPSES of the 60's. NO ONE looks to them any more, least of all the black youth. The SCLC even admitted that it was dead before the Andrew Young "affair" "revived" it.

These "freedom fighters" are being revived by U.S. IMPERIALISM in a desperate attempt to hold together its crumbling

someone in the working class besides the petty bourgeois Stalinists and centrists will buy this maneuver. This desperate attempt to tie the most oppressed and revolutionary workers to this government in crisis.

There IS a link between the black "freedom fight" and the Palestinian "freedom fight." But the Jesse Jacksons and the Arafats are around in order to see that the REAL LINK isn't made. The real link is the WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION and its party, the Fourth International.

These traitors are the biggest obstacle to this link. And the only way to fight U.S. imperialism at home, to fight racial oppression and to win independence for the Palestinians is to BREAK with these traitors in a conscious fight for the world revolution and the construction of its party.

These rotten maneuvers have a positive aspect. They prove that the ONLY way to fight for independence, domestic or foreign, is to fight for the revolution. And their maneuvers, in total terror of the combativity of the masses, indicates more sharply than ever that the REVOLUTION IS ON THE AGENDA. That the revolution must be prepared today and that this preparation passes through a struggle against these traitors.

This "foreign policy" debate cannot be ignored. Blacks have always had and will always have a tremendous stake in the world revolution. This sympathy for the world revolution, which Jesse Jackson, Arafat and the pseudo-Trotskyists live like leeches on, must be organized and must become an open debate in the ranks of the workers and youth.

This debate must be concentrated on the fight for the foundation of the WORKERS PARTY in 1980. A party of class independence, a party of the Fourth International, which will forge the only meaningful "foreign policy" for blacks and for all American workers and youth -- the WORLD REVOLUTION and its conscious preparation.

## Ireland and Anti-Terrorism

## "A Nation Once Again"

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Ireland has broken into the news again. Lord Mountbatten has been blown to kingdom come. And someone who claims to know that territory, His Holiness the Pope, the vicar of counterrevolution on earth, is preaching "peace" during his visit to Ireland.

The situation in Ireland is presented by the press and television as a "religious" war between "Protestants" and "Catholics," which is completely mysterious to everyone else.

But the reality is that the Irish Question, British imperialism's "damnable question," is inseparable from all the questions of the revolution internationally and, in particular, of the conflict between revolution and counterrevolution in Europe.

## IMPERIALIST "SECURITY"

Next year in Madrid the "European Security Conference" will be held. This "security" of course is security for the order of imperialism and Stalinism in Europe. From Helsinki through Belgrade to Madrid, one of the chief elements of this "security" has been the maintenance of the boundaries drawn by imperialism.

These boundaries are not just some lines on a map. They represent the forced inclusion or separation of nationalities within the states of the capitalists and bureaucrats. From the Basques in Spain to the Armenians in the USSR, national oppression is part and parcel of the old order.

"The "security" of national oppression is the responsibility of the terrorist state. In the guise of "anti-terrorism" against those who are fighting national oppression with a false political perspective, the terrorist state seeks to crush any movement against the old order, to strengthen itself against the revolution.

The Francoist monarchy in Spain seeks to crush the "terrorists" of ETA. The Kremlin bureaucracy hangs Armenian militants accused of a "terrorist" explosion in the Moscow subway.

So the Irish Question is not so mysterious after all. Ireland is the MODEL in Europe for this national oppression, for the terrorist state's campaign of "anti-terrorism," for the political bankruptcy of nationalist terrorism.

## IRELAND UNFREE

Ireland was Britain's first colony, and today is its last. For nearly 800 years the Irish

English ruling class has sought to crush the Irish with Penal Laws, outlawry, massacre, slavery, famine and exile. On the ruins of a clan society, it erected an aristocracy of landlords ruling over a wretched peasantry. This aristocracy, a bulwark of reaction in Britain itself, was known as the "Protestant Ascendancy," an ascendancy over the overwhelmingly Catholic peasantry of Gaelic-speaking origin.

Thus "religion" has been an aspect of the class and national struggle in Ireland, not by choice of the Irish but through the imposition by the English ruling class of a system that makes "apartheid" pale by comparison.

The "Protestants" of Ulster, originally settled there as a colonial garrison loyal to the British Crown, have not always been bitter foes of the "Catholics." They too, as non-members of the Anglican Church, were persecuted by the ruling class. In fact, the origin of the anti-Catholic fanaticism of the Orange Order lies in the development of the class struggle in Ireland.

## "UNITED IRISHMEN"

In the late 1700's the bourgeois democratic revolution was shaking the world. In Ireland the Protestant middle class sought to fulfill its role of leading the whole nation to independence and democracy. Inspired by the American and French Revolutions, the bourgeois revolutionaries sought to lead the Catholic peasantry in a revolutionary struggle against Britain. The 1798 rising of the "United Irishmen" (as they called themselves to emphasize the priority of nation over religion) was crushed by the British.

One of the keys to this suppression was the creation of a terrorist grouping of Protestants, centered around the Orange Order. Marx and Engels, who based their work on nationalism on the situation in Ireland, compared the attitude of the Ulster "Protestants" toward "Catholics" to that of the "poor whites" in the U.S. to blacks. The Ku Klux Klan is in many ways modeled after the Orange Order.

Behind the "religious" facade is the fact that whenever the rule of British imperialism in Ireland has been threatened since the 1700's, it has sought to use "Protestantism" as a club to smash the Irish Revolution. This is the real situation today.

Irish continued to rebel and to be defeated. But with the opening of the epoch of imperialist decay the situation was fundamentally transformed.

Beginning with the Easter Rebellion in 1916, and as part of the great revolutionary upsurge that followed the First World War, a revolutionary situation developed in Ireland. British imperialism ceased to be able to rule, despite the most vicious terrorism.

How could it maintain its rule? In this situation it determined, as it always has, to "play the Orange card."

It demanded the retention of "Protestant" Ulster within the "United Kingdom," promising to "free" the rest of the country. The forces of the "national bourgeoisie," frightened at the growing revolutionary mobilization and incapable of independence from imperialism, gave in and created the "Irish Free State." These forces, together with British imperialism, waged war against those who refused to accept this act of capitulation.

The "partition" of 1921 is the fundamental cause of the continuing Irish crisis. It denies the right of self-determination to the Irish people. It creates a foreign colony on the soil of the nation. And its acceptance by the Irish capitalist class is the key question in the continued subordination of Ireland to imperialism, above all British imperialism.

A United Ireland of 32 counties (including the 6 in "Ulster") is the only solution to the centuries-old goal that "...Ireland, long a province, be A Nation once again."

## NORTHERN IRELAND

In Northern Ireland, British imperialism created a terrorist state to maintain its rule. Through a whole series of repressive laws (the Special Powers Act, the Defense of the Realm Act, the Flags and Emblems Act) and repressive bodies (the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the "B-Specials," etc.) and the ever-present threat of religious pogroms, it sought to crush the "Catholic" (that is, Irish nationalist) minority.

In fact, in 2 of the 6 counties, "Catholics" are a majority. But to allow these counties to make their own choice would be to reduce "Northern Ireland" to an obvious farce. Moreover, terrorism seeks to offset the higher "Catholic" birth rate by forcing emigration to the "Republic" or a-

olution and counterrevolution on the world scale, also saw the beginning of the upsurge of the "Catholic" minority in "Northern Ireland" against imperialism's terrorist state.

Immediately, the struggle against national oppression raised the question that the problem lay in the partition of Ireland by British imperialism, that the only solution to the persecution in the North lay in a United Ireland.

Stalinism, above all, and Social Democracy sought to confine the question to one of "civil rights," of more democracy." They sought at all costs to avoid the struggle against British imperialism that a United Ireland required. They sought at all costs to protect the pro-imperialist regime in the "Republic" that would be crushed between the hammer of a revolutionary working class and the anvil of British imperialism.

## THE IRA

On the basis of this treachery by the "official" workers movement, the initiative fell to the petty bourgeois nationalists of the Irish Republican Army. "Republicanism" is the traditional ideology of the middle classes who feel national oppression but are incapable of fighting against its imperialist source.

It was the IRA alone that fought against British rule, for a United Ireland. That is why nationalist workers and peasants, especially the youth, look to it and support it. The attacks on the "terrorism" of the IRA come from those who are the REAL TERRORISTS, the agents of the TERRORIST STATE. And that is why we unconditionally defend the IRA against British imperialism and all those who work for it.

The terrorism of the IRA is a reflection of the fact that its policies are limited to those of the middle class, to "Republicanism." Under the pressure of the working class and the oppressed, it can talk about "Ireland, united, socialist and Gaelic," but it is incapable of taking any steps toward accomplishing it. Its policy boils down to PRESSURE on British imperialism. This is the real significance of the Mountbatten explosion.

The IRA can create a military stalemate in the North against the British Army, but it was incapable of opposing the introduction of British troops in the first place, after "normal" Orange terror had failed. It is above all incapable of opposing

In 1972, the working class in the "Republic," in response to the "Bloody Sunday" massacre in the North, waged the first general strike in the history of the "Republic," and a crowd of 25,000 in Dublin burned down the British Embassy.

The IRA was completely incapable of leading this tremendous upsurge to a solution. Without such a solution the Irish workers were forced to resort to voting in and out the different parties of the "Republic." The derailing of this upsurge in turn reinforced nationalist terrorism as the only apparent means of struggle. And, at the same time, the capitalist parties can pass their "anti-terrorist" laws with no real opposition.

#### PERMANENT REVOLUTION

As early as 1897 the great Irish socialist James Connolly wrote: "If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organization of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you."

That is the situation today and the task. Only the working class can smash national oppression through socialist revolution under the leadership of its party. The task of achieving CLASS INDEPENDENCE in Ireland is the prerequisite for national independence.

The task of achieving class independence means a struggle against all those who seek to confine the workers to "Republicanism" (socialist" or not). It means a struggle against the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists who try to confine the workers to "democracy" and "human rights."

It means a struggle for the party of the Fourth International in Ireland.

This the lesson of Ireland for all the oppressed nationalities of Europe. ETA is not fundamentally different from the IRA. An "independent Euskadi" would be indistinguishable from the "Republic of Ireland."

It is only the Fourth International which represents the common interests of the workers and oppressed throughout Europe. It is only the Fourth International which can lead the struggle against national oppression and the "European Security" of the imperialists and Stalinists in a struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe.

-- DOWN WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM!  
BRITISH TROOPS OUT!  
-- UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE IRA AGAINST THE TERRORIST STATE!  
-- FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST IRELAND IN THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!  
-- AGAINST "EUROPEAN SECURITY"!  
FOR THE BOYCOTT OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE! FOR THE COUNTER-CONFERENCE OF THE

## An Open Letter to



# SOLIDARITY

## For Unions of Class Independence

The September 3, 1979 issue of the UAW's SOLIDARITY contains an article called "Prison Bars Can't Still Their Spirits." This article is about the imprisonment, torture and murder of hundreds of trade union fighters around the world. But there is not a word anywhere about the fight for free trade unions in the USSR!

Vladimir Klebanov, the founder of the Association of Free Trade Unions, the first independent union movement in the Soviet Union, was arrested by the KGB (secret police) and confined, with others, in one of the notorious "special" psychiatric hospitals maintained for oppositionists.

Another attempt to form free trade unions, the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (known as SMOT from its Russian initials) has been attacked by the KGB, resulting in numerous arrests, including that of its leader, Vladimir Borisov.

Four Jewish textile workers, who may well be associated with SMOT, have been sentenced to DEATH in the Ukraine for "economic" crimes. Their "crime" in reality was leading a strike.

The bureaucratic leadership of the UAW never misses a chance to attack "communism." So why the unusual silence?

The unions that exist today in the USSR are not organizations that fight for the workers. They are completely subordinated to the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which uses them in an attack on all the gains of the Russian Revolution. This attack and the bureaucracy which carried it out are fundamentally instruments of world imperialism. The struggle for independent trade unions in the Soviet Union is a fight against imperialism and its agents, for unions of CLASS INDEPENDENCE

question. Will the unions be subordinated to imperialism or will they stand for class independence?

This is why the UAW bureaucracy "neglects" to mention the fight of the Soviet workers. When the AFL-CIO bureaucracy tries to use Carter's bloody "human rights" to attack Stalinism as un-democratic, it condemns the Soviet unions as existing only to "control and discipline workers in the interest of the state."

Indeed! But what is the policy of the AFL-CIO and the UAW bureaucrats? As this letter is being written, the newspapers are full of the "national accord" on a wage-price board between Carter and the bureaucrats. At the time of Carter's retreat to the "mountaintop," who flew in to counsel him and came away praising "national unity" but Doug Fraser?

"National accord," "national unity." Aren't these precisely names for turning the unions into instruments to "control and discipline workers in the interest of the state"?

Why is it that Fraser supported Carter's guidelines in the first place? Why is it that the UAW leadership is now out to replace the discredited Carter with Kennedy? Why is it that the UAW bureaucracy, which continually seeks to present the Stalinists as "communists" (when they are the worst enemies of communism), along with the AFL-CIO is in full support of SALT II, the agreement between imperialism and Stalinism directed against all workers, especially the U.S. and Soviet workers?

The reason why is that the trade union bureaucrats in the West, like the Stalinist bureaucrats in the East, are out to subordinate the unions and the workers to imperialism.

trade unions, seeking to confine them to the framework of "human rights," the UAW bureaucrats find it wiser to say nothing at all, or to barely mention Poland (but not Rumania or Czechoslovakia) in passing. Why stir up any dangerous ideas about unions' belonging to the workers and fighting imperialism?

The silence of SOLIDARITY is the silence that lends consent. It is not the silence of ignorance, but of complicity. When we visited Solidarity House on June 29 to get the UAW leader to determine itself on freeing Klebanov, CAP head Sam Fishman refused flat out to do anything: "It has low priority right now -- since we're involved in negotiations."

The fruit of these negotiations" has the same root as the refusal to stand for Klebanov's freedom. Subordination to imperialism finds a perfect expression in the GM "contract."

The Revolutionary Youth International is fighting to establish an International Trade Union Commission for the liberation of Klebanov and other free trade unionists. But the UAW, under the leadership of the Fraser bureaucracy, will never join this fight. Fraser and his friends are on the other side. They are part of what Victor Fainberg, the official representative of SMOT in the West, calls "THE SILENCE which . . . can only ENCOURAGE NEW ARRESTS."

We call on UAW members to repudiate this complicity and to join the fight for unions of class independence, against Brezhnev and against Fraser.

David Heffelfinger  
Fred Vitale

Livonia Fisher-Pedersen

On September 21 the issue of TRUTH immediately following the proposed GM-UAW contract came out with the headline "Nothing is Settled." The lead article stated that despite the fact that the UAW and auto companies had succeeded in reaching a settlement without a strike for the first time in 15 years, the party and the advanced workers should be armed against drawing any impressionistic conclusions from this. That this "peaceful settlement" reflects a lack of militancy in the working class, a lack of issues, or that the working class is on the retreat. For those who thought that a strike would make the tasks of revolutionaries easier, it is still necessary to affirm -- all the tasks remain in front of the working class and its party; the future, that is, the revolution, remains the stake of every struggle in front of the working class and its youth. NOTHING IS SETTLED -- either for the working class or its advanced sector or for its revolutionary party under construction.

On the same day, Chrysler announced that it was closing down its Lynch Road Assembly plant in Detroit several hours before it had planned. Two thousand workers were to be laid off permanently. They closed the plant down early because of "workers sabotage." According to the DETROIT FREE PRESS, "Workers at the plant said Friday that the vandalism included screws drilled into car doors, ripped vinyl tops, scratched paint jobs, broken car windows and several small fires. Workers also reported firecrackers going off and a general loosening of discipline in the plant."

Nothing is settled -- but this incident indicates the tremendous political contradictions existing in the present situation. The GM contract can pass without a sound, Chrysler has been able to go ahead with its layoffs and closings, yet the level of social tension and anger among the masses of workers is at an all-time high, expressed in futile and disorganized outbursts such as this Lynch Road incident. There have been other outbursts of this sort, spontaneous violence -- Levittown, Pa. this summer, a recent attack organized by "Mexican, black and white youth" on a police station in Canaan, Conn. The American working class and its youth is confused and disorganized but not pacified. But, as indicated by the auto "settlement," this pacification is the goal of the bourgeoisie in the coming months and it is in face of this that we must unleash a political offensive for the political and organizational re-armament of the young generation of the working class, a political offensive that can only be an offensive to prepare the revolution, an offensive to RETURN TO LENIN by winning the best of the young generation of the working class to the construction of the party of the American revolution, the Fourth International. The tremendous political contradictions existing in the present situation flow from the continued offensive of the world working class and its youth and the unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism and its Stalinist agents. Nothing in the existing political situation, in the consciousness of workers and youth can be understood without understanding this. Any other framework is impressionism.

The past year has seen a new step forward in the maturation of the world revolution. The revolutionary overthrow of the Shah of Iran and Somoza in Nicaragua, two bastions of the world counterrevolutionary order, symbolize the continuing offensive of the world working class. The Iranian revolution has yet to be crushed, the oil workers and oppressed nationalities continue to have the initiative against the reactionary Khomeini regime. The Nicaraguan revolution has been a spur to new mobilizations throughout Central America, coupled with new working class offensives in Brazil and Argentina.

Steelworkers in West Germany struck for the first time in 50 years. In Eastern Europe and the USSR the movement for independent trade unions continues to grow, combined with a growing mass radicalization of the youth. Several

# NOTHING IS SETTLED

## Political Report adopted by the Secretariat

And in the U.S., even while the auto contract was being settled, an almost un-reported national rail strike is taking place in defiance of Carter's "back to work order." Along with thousands of teacher's strikes.

But it is not just a question of strikes. The bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus has been dealing with strikes for years. What these strikes, what this world working class offensive represents, is an offensive that is more and more OUT OF CONTROL of the treacherous apparatuses in the workers movement, an offensive that is seeking a greater and greater political confrontation with imperialism and Stalinism, an offensive which is placing the question of the REVOLUTION on the order of the day.

If 1968 represented a new period in the development of the world revolution, a period that demonstrated that the world proletariat had passed to an offensive and that the preparation of the revolution was on the order of the day, 1979 represents this continued offensive that has remained unbroken since 1968, but with a new element that is a result of this offensive -- the definitive collapse of the post-World War II counterrevolutionary frameworks set up by U.S. imperialism with the collaboration of the Kremlin.

These frameworks, codified in the post-war Yalta and Potsdam agreements, have collapsed. The essential agreements made between imperialism and Stalinism at Yalta and Potsdam -- the division of Germany, the Stalinist control of Eastern Europe in return for the crushing of the revolutions in Greece and Italy, the "Sacred Union" in France -- were the pre-requisites for the other "agreements" that followed -- the "Marshall Plan" to "rebuild" Europe under the boot of U.S. capital, the division of Korea, Vietnam, the establishment of U.S. puppet dictatorships in Latin America, the Shah of Iran, all taking place with the essential collaboration of the Stalinist apparatus. In every country, this framework had its internal expression.

It is obvious that this collapse did not take place overnight. But it is equally obvious that this counterrevolutionary framework will never be rebuilt. The world bourgeoisie itself has recognized this. The decline of the U.S. dollar in recent months, the rapid rise in the price of gold and ensuing speculation, represents far more than an "economic" crisis -- it represents the lack of confidence in U.S. imperialism, the loss of confidence that was the mainspring of the post-World War II order. On the part of the U.S. bourgeoisie, the auto "crisis," which is nothing more than the launching of open capitalist trade war to destroy weaker competition (including in the U.S., the government's decision to refuse aid to Chrysler), represents as well the recognition that the old order isn't working, that new, more brutal frameworks are needed.

The bourgeoisie no longer has any confidence in the ability of the Stalinist apparatus to control the mobilization of the workers and youth. The Stalinist apparatus and in the U.S. the trade union bureaucracy of the Democratic Party can no longer do what it was able to do after World War II, nor even in the period immediately following 1968. The disaffection of the workers and youth from the apparatuses is massive -- in every country the mobilizations take place out of their control. Witness Nica-

world's policeman, but is totally on the defensive, its maneuvering room restricted by the U.S. working class itself which will no longer tolerate Vietnams, the Bay of Pigs, etc. It fails to command the confidence of the world bourgeoisie -- Carter's 19% popularity rating is understood in every capital in the world.

All of this is manifested in the social and political crisis in the U.S. -- that Carter is being made the scapegoat doesn't lessen this crisis. His government, since the "Camp David affair" has been in a state of collapse -- it is openly recognized as a "lame-duck" government, with no future. Only the "National Unity" organized around "Camp David" has kept the government alive, giving the bourgeoisie time to prepare and disarm the working class. And the last few months have made it clear that the "National Unity" organized by the Fraser, Jesse Jacksons, etc. is a "National Unity" around the bourgeois state -- having nothing to do with the support of Carter himself. This has been made clear in the last few weeks through the open attempts to sabotage Carter from within -- the Andrew Young "affair" and the continuing saga of Hamilton Jordan as well as the disastrous Cuba "affair." As well as the bandwagon growing around Kennedy -- the bourgeoisie is virtually shouting at Carter to step down which he still refuses to do.

For the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus the conclusion is inescapable -- a new framework for the world counterrevolution must be found and new solutions must be organized against the workers and oppressed masses throughout the world. Helsinki in 1976 and Madrid in 1978 were attempts at this, organized around Carter's theme of "human rights" -- attempts to provide a "democratic" cover for the organization of the counterrevolution and the deeper and deeper collaboration of the Stalinist apparatus with imperialism. The collaboration of the Stalinist apparatus was obtained -- but imperialism needs even more and more assurances and more and more collaboration.

But the main problem is that "human rights" has not passed -- nowhere have the masses of workers and especially the youth accepted various "democratic" solutions offered by the bourgeoisie and Stalinist apparatus. "Democracy" and "democratic solutions" are finished both for the bourgeoisie and the masses of youth who refused to buy "human rights."

The task is therefore not to reorder the world in the name of "democracy" as was done after WW II, but to directly reinforce the bourgeois and Stalinist regimes in crisis, pass to the terrorism of the state and the organization of the traitors in the workers movement around this terrorism. This is the road to the new framework being organized around the Madrid European "Security" Conference for November 1980. Whose "security" will be discussed in this meeting of bourgeois and Stalinist hangmen?

The preparations for this Conference can already be seen. The new trials in Czechoslovakia and arrests of worker militants in the USSR. The repression in Euskadi and Northern Ireland. And the more clearly defined role of the traitors in the workers movement -- the open integration of the PLO into this framework (Arafat's meetings in Spain, with U.S. black "leaders"), the role of the Sandinistas in directly forming the backbone of the bou-

# IS SETTLED!

## Program of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

in the formation of this new framework -- the integration of the "developing" nations into the direct preservation of the bourgeois order, with Castro playing a central role as imperialism's agent, not only in the Americas but throughout the world. The fact that Castro is now "in fashion" after so many years among the petty bourgeois "progressive" nationalist leaders is only an expression of the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism and the new role DEMANDED of Castro.

In the U.S. this new framework is being developed in face of the wreckage of the Democratic Party and the massive electoral abstentionism. The Democratic Party is no longer the "majority" party, 2/3 of the population doesn't even vote. The outlines of the strategy of the bourgeoisie is developing -- the economic provocation in the form of a recession, along with the attempt to politically pacify the workers and youth in the preparation of a "strongman" government in 1980 -- a government with some authority to move directly against the American working class. The "National Unity" organized around Camp David and the recent betrayals of the UAW bureaucracy are key elements of this framework.

The bourgeoisie is looking for a strongman. The NEW YORK TIMES editorial quoted in TRUTH is an expression of this. Both John Connally (the "Tory solution") and Kennedy fit this bill -- if the working class does not accept Kennedy, the Republicans will come to power, as their counterparts did in England -- a government with some authority to openly attack the working class, an authority which Carter no longer has.

Around Kennedy the bureaucrats and liberals along with the Stalinists and SWP will try to resurrect the Democratic Party. They have no alternative, but this is not the most important task. The Democratic Party cannot be resurrected. Even the bureaucrats must know that any massive mobilization of workers for Kennedy, any massive enthusiasm on the part of the youth is out of the question. The most important task is therefore not to use Kennedy to rebuild the DP, but to use the Kennedy campaign to NEUTRALIZE and PACIFY the most militant workers and youth. Not to get them to vote for Kennedy, but to isolate and neutralize the sector of the working class that will have to lead the fight against the attacks of the bourgeoisie in the coming months and after the 1980 elections. The 1980 elections, for the bourgeoisie, must take place on the basis of a passive working class (which was not accomplished in 1976) if it is to have the power it needs. Kennedy, whether he wins or loses, will attempt to insure this pacification, by winning over a sector of the working class which will believe his promises, and isolating the militant workers and youth who will not.

This is the source of the tremendous social contradictions existing in today's political situation. The gap between the depth of the crisis of the U.S. bourgeoisie and the level of the preparation of the American working class. The gap between the hatred of the workers and youth for this old order and their political passivity and confusion. The gap between the disorganization of the workers' ranks and the organization of its vanguard. In other words, the gap between the level of consciousness of the American working class and the historical tasks in front of it. It is a fight for con-

"Nothing is settled" we are also saying that this is the key to the political struggle in the coming months, the key to shattering these counterrevolutionary maneuvers. Concretely the fight in the coming months is a combat for consciousness against this organized attempt to politically pacify, disarm and isolate the most militant sector of the working class and youth around this Kennedy campaign. The auto "settlement" was the first round in this campaign -- in place of the usual losing strike, the bureaucrats organized the total pacification of the most militant workers around the theme of "no issues," "no militancy" and insured the total silence, in fact, disappearance of the Stalinists and centrists.

This is the nature of the attack coming in the next months. Not to get the youth or militant workers to push doorbells or vote for Kennedy, they no longer can hope for this, but to insure their silence, to convince them that there are no other alternatives, no other means to fight, to convince them that this is "politics" and that the youth have no place in it. Not to try to resurrect this farce of "democracy" but to bury and block any possibility for an alternative, especially the junction of the youth with Bolshevism.

Obviously the Stalinists and the SWP, as their counterparts throughout the world have done, will play their role in this campaign of political pacification and disarmament. They are in crisis as well, having based all their policies in the last year on predictions that the bureaucrats would move left, they have nothing to say. But they have already done their dirty work -- what they do in the coming months will not change the fact that they have helped the bureaucrats prepare the way for Kennedy, their collapse in auto only being an expression of this. Whatever the concrete nature of their electoral campaigns (no "Bill of Rights" this time around) they will be designed to insure the pacification of the workers and youth and present no alternative. The CP will most likely directly support Kennedy, "from the left," of course and the SWP will most likely continue to be the voice of the petty bourgeoisie, as their campaign to resurrect Castro demonstrates. Whatever -- "anyone but the working class" is their slogan.

This political situation underlines the tasks set by the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International: the foundation of the Workers Party in the Spring of 1980, the presentation of the Fourth International in the 1980 Presidential elections and the fight to organize a massive boycott of the Madrid Security Conference in 1980. To put it more concretely -- only the Fourth International can lead a campaign against this attempt at political pacification, insure that Kennedy does not "pass" by isolating and demoralizing the youth. "Nothing is Settled" -- but it is up to us to see that the conditions are laid for it being settled in favor of the workers and youth . . .

The stake of this fight is the youth -- the new generation of the working class which is in revolt against this order but which is confused and disorganized. It is the object of attack of this campaign of pacification -- the road to the White House in 1980, the Madrid Conference. Again, the task is not to convince the youth not to vote for Kennedy, but to

ly from the generation of '68 and its policies and re-arm it in a combat to return to working class methods and solutions, to Lenin . . .

It is even more urgent given the lessons of the auto "settlement" -- the working class and youth have no alternative, no means of combat other than a political one, no other means to resist this campaign of political pacification which is part of the organization of the counterrevolution on the world scale. Thus, we affirm that the central objective of the TO/USA, our central task in the coming period, is the preparation and organization of the Founding Convention of the Workers Party in Spring 1980. It is a task we place as the central task in front of the vanguard of the working class, but it is above all OUR task -- to unite the best of the young generation in a combat for this Convention. The concrete preparation of this Convention must begin now -- with all political elaboration and organizational activity of the TO/USA organized around uniting the elements in a combat for this Convention, in making this Convention an affair of the entire working class, but above all the youth.

The first stage in the preparation is the launching of the fight to place the Fourth International on the ballot in the 1980 Presidential elections and to present a revolutionary candidate. Again, it concerns not propaganda, but a concrete attempt to organize the youth around a political alternative, to organize a means to break the campaign of political pacification organized around Kennedy. We propose that this fight be organized around a call of the RWY/USA for a "Youth Conference: Youth and the 1980 Presidential Elections -- a Revolutionary Alternative" for the end of November or December in which the FI and RYI will present its candidates and launch our campaign, but in function of an open fight in the ranks of the youth and organizations of the youth.

Finally, the most immediate objective in front of us is the fight to prepare the Conference for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International in the Two Americas to be held in Madrid at the end of November. For us it concerns the extension of our combat to a combat against imperialism and its Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist allies throughout the 2 Americas. The revolution in Nicaragua has opened up a new stage in the combat against imperialism and its dictators in the Americas. With this revolution has come the renewed role of Castro as the bastion of the counterrevolution and a new attempt on the part of the pseudo-Trotskyists to give Castro a revolutionary image; an attempt to confuse and derail a new generation of youth not directly familiar with Castro's betrayals in the 60's.

It concerns presenting our party to U.S. workers and youth as the only party consequently fighting imperialism, because we are the only one fighting imperialism, because we are the only ones fighting for the revolutionary unity of the workers and oppressed of the 2 Americas. And that this is a direct combat against Stalinism and its pseudo-Trotskyist allies. This is not a struggle separate from our struggle in the U.S. -- the campaign of political pacification that we have been talking about extends and is concentrated in the national isolation and national passivity of the U.S. working class vis-a-vis its Latin American brothers and sisters. No matter who you listen to -- bourgeois, Stalinist or centrist -- it is clear that the U.S. working class has nothing to do or can do nothing about the revolution in Nicaragua, about U.S. troops in Cuba, etc.

The fight for the Conference of the 2 Americas is therefore part and parcel of the combat to turn the political situation around in this country by waging a combat against political pacification and isolation. It is not simply an aspect -- IT IS ESSENTIAL. There is no combat against political passivity, against isolation, unless it is a combat for the international center, for the affirmation of the Fourth International as the leading center of the revolutionary

Not Carter, Not Castro or His Pseudo-Trotskyist Cripples, but . . .

# The Revolutionary Unity of the Workers of the Two Americas!

By JON COHEN

A new stage in the development of the revolution in the Two Americas is being prepared. The overthrow of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua has given new inspiration to the workers and oppressed throughout the Americas. They see the revolution in Nicaragua as part of the world revolution. It is no accident that so many youth from throughout Latin America fought together with the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. And it is no accident that the enemies of the world revolution are now talking about "outside agitators" in Nicaragua.

The events in Nicaragua have given a new impetus to the mobilizations of workers and youth throughout Central America. A mass resurgence of the workers movement is taking place in Brazil, along with mobilizations in Argentina, Peru and Chile.

In the United States this has been expressed in the developing crisis of the Carter government, symbol of the unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. bourgeoisie has not been able to directly confront and crush the mobilization of the U.S. working class, the CONDITION for U.S. imperialism remaining the policeman of the world.

There is only one conclusion that flows from this situation. The central question facing the vanguard of the working class, North and South, is forging the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE PROLETARIATS OF THE TWO AMERICAS. Given this new stage in the development of the revolutionary process in the Americas this question becomes the most immediate, practical task facing the workers and youth.

This is the central question of the anti-imperialist struggle today. There is no struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Stalinist allies without a fight to forge the revolutionary unity of the workers of North and South America. And no way to undertake this struggle without recognizing the DECISIVE and LEADING role that the U.S. working class must take in building this unity.

All the enemies of the working class try to hide the need for this unity. In the pages upon pages written in the Stalinist and centrist press about Nicaragua you will not find a

ance with the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. In all the "revolutionary" declarations coming from Havana you will not find ONE WORD about the U.S. proletariat.

Only the Fourth International fights for the revolutionary unity of the proletariats of the Two Americas because only the Fourth International wages a consistent and revolutionary combat against U.S. imperialism. And because only the Fourth International wages a revolutionary combat against the chief obstacle to this unity -- the counterrevolutionary, Stalinist regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Today Castro is re-asserting his role as the chief prop for U.S. imperialism in the Two Americas, the rallying point for all the enemies of the revolution and all the opponents of the revolutionary unity of the proletariats, North and South. The recent Havana Conference of "non-aligned" nations served this purpose.

But let's step back a moment. Unfortunately, today's new generation of the working class has had no practical experience with Castro's betrayals and are therefore susceptible to today's campaign to whitewash Castro's image. Unfortunately, because thousands of yesterday's youth lost their lives -- in the jungles of Bolivia, in the streets of Santiago and Buenos Aires -- as a result of Castro's treachery.

Castro, painted in some circles as a "hero," actually represents the most pitiful brand of petty bourgeois opportunists -- a "revolutionary" WHO NEVER WANTED TO MAKE A REVOLUTION. Who stumbled on a revolution by accident and by the stupidity of U.S. imperialism. A pitiful coward who used the combat and gains of the Cuban workers and peasants to save HIS OWN NECK on the eve of the Bay of Pigs invasion and then turned around the revolution made by the Cuban workers in order to install his petty bourgeois clique of Stalinist bureaucrats in power.

Those who support him today are the same kind of "revolutionaries" -- "revolutionaries" by misunderstanding.

The list of his betrayals is

works, to his support for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the slaughter of Mexican students in 1968, to his support to the Peruvian military dictatorship and his call for the Chilean workers to give up their weapons on the eve of Pinochet's coup. Castro's policy has been a consistent policy of betrayal in the service of U.S. imperialism. Those who seek to cover for these crimes are simply monstrous liars educated in the Stalinist school of falsification.

The recent Havana "non-aligned" Conference represented a relaunching of this policy of betrayal in the framework of the new crisis of U.S. imperialism. Imperialism and the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin are frantically seeking a new framework for the organization of the world counterrevolution in the face of the fact that all the old and traditional frameworks are collapsing around them.

The Somozas and Shahs don't work anymore. New faces must be found and since there aren't any new faces, the old ones must be cleaned up and revived. Castro in the Americas and Arafat in the Middle East have been assigned the task of drawing the colonial and semi-colonial nations into this counterrevolutionary framework of imperialism and Stalinism in crisis.

Castro has proven his loyalty recently. His intervention in Ethiopia against the Eritrean national liberation struggle. His intervention in Guinea as a defender of Macias. His support to fascist Spain and the Bonapartist dictatorship in Mexico.

And who was at this "non-aligned" Conference? Fascist Spain. The petty bourgeois nationalist leaders who are the HANGMEN of the oppressed workers and peasants, who rule these CAPITALIST regimes in the service of imperialism. The Stalinist butcher, Tito. The cast of "stars" was incomplete -- Castro had invited VIDELA of Argentina, but he failed to make it.

This Conference was organized against the revolutionary unity of the workers of the Two Americas, above all against the U.S. working class. Its purpose lay in trying to tell the workers and youth in Latin America that

Stalinist traitors. And to tell U.S. imperialism: "We are at your service, as always."

It is part of a campaign under way throughout the Two Americas to pacify the working class and the youth, to delay the possibility for this revolutionary unity between the proletariats of the Two Americas in order to give imperialism and Stalinism time to recover and prepare new counterrevolutionary attacks.

The pseudo-Trotskyists, in crisis along with their Stalinist allies, have joined in this campaign of pacification by becoming the cheerleaders for Castro. The latest events in the Two Americas have revealed the total bankruptcy of the pseudo-Trotskyist pretenders, led by the U.S. SWP. They have nothing to say or do independent of Stalinism.

Thus they content themselves with reprinting the speeches of Castro and the Stalinist FSLN in their paper. And then in the SWP's MILITANT of Sept. 28 they try to provide a "revolutionary" rationale for the presence of all these butchers in Havana: "Based on this common oppression, the Cuban leaders participate in the Nonaligned movement in order to advance anti-imperialist struggles. They have rejected the sectarian course of simply boycotting and denouncing bourgeois governments in the underdeveloped countries. They see participation as an aspect of their revolutionary internationalist duties."

Denouncing bourgeois governments is now "sectarian." If you can swallow this you can swallow anything and it certainly proves that our predictions about the NORMALIZATION that would take place at the recent SWP Convention were true. If there is any life stirring in the bog of the SWP it is awfully quiet.

Quiet enough to let the SWP support the reconstruction of a bourgeois professional army in Nicaragua. To let them stab their own comrades of the "Simon Bolivar Brigade" in the back.

What is behind the SWP's recent cheerleading for Castro? Not confidence, but their TOTAL TERROR IN FACE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE REVOLUTION. The recent events in Iran, in Peru,



the Stalinists. The working class has shown a tremendous will to fight and has above all shown that IT WILL NOT STOP HALF-WAY.

And these people are above all half-way "revolutionaries." All this cheering is designed to hide the fact that in face of the political situation around the world and in the U.S. they are POLITICAL CRIPPLES keeping alive an organization that is in the process of being politically wrecked. And becoming the press agents for a cowardly petty bourgeois lawyer is the most obvious expression of their utter terror of the revolution. For anyone who can see.

They are in terror of the possibility that exists today for the revolutionary unity of the proletariats of the Two Americas. This possibility exists on the basis of a fight for political clarification in the ranks of the vanguard, North and South, to arm the workers and youth against this campaign of pacification led by Castro and the pseudo-Trotskyists. It exists on the basis of a fight to break the U.S. working class

from its national isolation and to take up the struggle for the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

This is the purpose of the CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS being organized by the Fourth International in the coming months. A conference to REBUILD the Fourth International throughout the Americas in a revolutionary fight for the SOCIALIST UNITED REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

The immediate preparation of this CONFERENCE will be the discussion and combat that the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Youth International will present to the U.S. working class through a WEEK OF ACTION on October 7-14. A week to bring home and clarify the nature of this fight for the revolutionary unity of the workers of the Two Americas.

A combat that is the key to the revolution, North and South. A combat that is your combat to take up with the Fourth International.

October 2, 1979

## Declaration (continued)

bureaucracy, an agreement codified at Yalta, then at Helsinki and Belgrade, which they are trying to rehash again at the Conference for "Security and Cooperation" prepared for Madrid in 1980. To apply these agreements for the maintenance of the bourgeois order through the governments of the "non-aligned" poor nations-- this is what the Castro leadership has committed itself to.

On one side to support U.S. imperialism, the "human rights" of Carter today, of Kennedy tomorrow against the U.S. workers, and on the other to isolate the oppressed people of Latin America from the U.S. proletariat in struggle against its own imperialism-- this is the task which has fallen on Castro.

To struggle for the revolutionary unification of the workers of North and South America against their common enemy-- U.S. imperialism, for the Socialist United Republic of the Two Americas-- this is the only real revolutionary perspective, this is the road to victory for the oppressed of the American continent. It is necessary to overthrow the bloody dictatorships and their master. It is in order to organize this combat that the Fourth International is preparing the Conference of the Two Americas, open to all sincere revolutionary fighters.

The most burning task in Nicaragua and elsewhere is the clarification of the road to follow, in other words-- the construction of the revolutionary leadership which organizes the fight for the world revolution. The construction of the revolutionary leadership is above all a demarcation in the struggle of the workers against all those who in the name of the Fourth International have integrated themselves into the Holy Alliance, from all those who, in the name of the Stalinist theory of "revolution by stages," have labelled the Sandinista regime as a "democratic stage."

These false Trotskyists are disarmed by the will of the masses to fight, by their desire to smash the established order. Like in Iran where they said that the hangman Khomeini "centralized the revolutionary spirit of the masses," today in Nicaragua all of them-- the "United Secretariat" of Krivine-Mandel-Barnes, the "Organizing Committee" of Lambert-Just-- have instinctively found them-

expelled militants who were part of the "United Secretariat," militants who, arms in hand, in the Simon Bolivar Brigade, wanted to continue the revolution. The "United Secretariat" did not hesitate to disown them, and through this to disown, slander and leave open to repression all the workers in Nicaragua who do not accept the bourgeois order.

When the revolution breaks out all these false Trotskyists can only show their impotence in face of the task of constructing a leadership independent from imperialism and Stalinism and invariably seek out the leaderships on the side of the Stalinist apparatus or from the petty bourgeois movements supported by it.

Confronted with the shock of the revolution, the "United Secretariat" has split into factions, who are all characterized by their capitulations in face of the tasks of the proletarian revolution. Some of them want to pressure the Sandinista Front and Castro so that they can become "revolutionaries," the others think that they are already revolutionary.

As for the OCI of Lambert-Just-- in face of the latest shameful capitulation of the "United Secretariat," they "affirm" that the masses have "given" the Sandinistas their "confidence," but in place of taking up the struggle to break the masses from the illusions that they may have, they leave the Sandinista leadership with free hands.

Workers throughout the world must reject these false Trotskyists who close the chain going from Carter to Brezhnev through Castro. The most urgent task is to rally the revolutionary vanguard, it is the struggle for the Conference of the Two Americas.

--Down with Stalinism, its agent, Castro and his centrist servants!  
--Long live the revolution of the oppressed masses of Nicaragua!

--Long live the workers and peasants committees!  
--The land to those who work it, the factories to those who produce!

-- No! to the disarmament of the popular militias!  
-- Forward in the organization of the revolutionary unity of the workers of the Two Americas  
-- Forward to the Conference of the Two Americas!

## MEETING

### The Revolution in Nicaragua & the Conference of the 2 Americas

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1 P.M.

Wayne State University Student Center -- Room 281  
Anthony Wayne Drive & Kirby, Detroit

## A Weapon to Build the Conference of the 2 Americas!

*dynamics  
of the Cuban  
revolution*  
the Trotskyist view  
by Joseph Hansen

This pamphlet is a reprint of the series published in TRUTH last fall against the pseudo-Trotskyists identification of the Cuban Revolution and Fidel Castro, for the Fourth International to lead the Revolution against imperialism in the 2 Americas.

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# Build a Workers Party to Prepare the Revolution!

## Political Report (continued)



By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

It's not surprising to hear all the talk about a "labor party," even when it's coming from the mouths of such diehard Democratic Party supporters like the official trade union movement. One very clear expression of the sickly condition of the American bourgeoisie and middle class is the fatal prognosis for the Democratic Party. Not only Jimmy Carter has failed, but Edward Kennedy will also fail to bring the Democratic Party back to life.

Even though the reformist Labor Party has been discredited by the experiences of the English working class, the movement for such a party in the United States has a spark of life, only a flicker really, because the traditional party that the workers' unions, the civil rights movement, and reform movements in general have supported, the Democratic Party, is dying. More than anything else, the talk about a "Labor Party" is a desperate attempt to hide the real issue which is the CONFRONTATION of the American working class with the traditional leaders of the workers movement.

John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, called for a "Labor Party" in an August 31 editorial of the CALIFORNIA AFL-CIO NEWS. There is nothing new in this. Many trade union bureaucrats have called for a "Labor Party" at one time, only to sabotage a strike the next day. Douglas Fraser, President of the UAW, has mentioned the possibility before. Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the UMW, had his picture and call for a "Labor Party" promi-

newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, until he embarrassed the centrists in a NEW YORK TIMES article. Harry, it seems, prefers "quiche Lorraine" and expensive suits to being a working class hero. Of course if he's offered the choice he'll take both.

But wake up! All this talk about a "Labor Party" does have a purpose. It's a reaction to the gap between the Democratic Party and the youth. As far as the youth are concerned, not only the Democratic Party, but all half-way measures are dead.

For that matter, practically everyone knows that all half-way measures are dead. All over the world the issue is REVOLUTION or COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

The "labor party" proposal of the union bosses, even if it is more than talk, is a betrayal of the struggle for a workers party from the very beginning. But without the support and enthusiasm generated in the centrist pseudo-revolutionary press, for the "idea" of a "labor party," it is very doubtful that the bureaucrats would be encouraged to print anymore proclamations in favor of a "labor party." For the official unions the support of the so-called "left" for anything they do is worth the effort since neither workers nor the youth care at all about the official proclamations of these traitors and crooks.

But you know the old saying. "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." The Carter administration has been completely unable to organize a confrontation with the working class. Even though in 1976 Carter was supported not only in the United States by the union bureaucrats and

world as the best candidate to strengthen and repair the image of American imperialism. He failed and today he is being ditched.

But in order for Kennedy, or any "strongman" presidency to emerge from the present crisis of the bourgeoisie, the working class must be PACIFIED. The "labor party" proposals, the "Progressive Alliance" earlier formed by Doug Fraser, and the "Save Chrysler movement" are all elements of the pacification plan of the more enlightened sections of the official workers movement. A pacification, or rather a further pacification of the pseudo-revolutionaries, in order to hide the preparation of the counterrevolution.

YOUTH! The bourgeoisie is not preparing A COMPROMISE! They are preparing a CONFRONTATION! The youth need a party to PREPARE THE REVOLUTION.

Andrew Pulley, candidate of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party for President in 1980 says, "It's about time workers had working people in Congress, speaking for us, representing us and fighting for us." Well it sounds nice enough, but who wants to preserve Congress!

The Fourth International says that we need a party to finish with this Congress of millionaires. We need a party to fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT. A GOVERNMENT based on workers councils and the socialist reconstruction of society. And right now we need a party to prepare the American working class for a CONFRONTATION with its ruling class, and the half-way house of union bureaucrats and centrists who support it.

concretization of the fight for an international center on the terrain of the Two Americas...

Comrades-- we began this Report by saying that "Nothing is Settled" to combat any tendency to believe that the recent auto "settlement" concluded anything for either the workers or for us. "Nothing is Settled" for either the American working class or its party. But it is clear from the above analysis that much is at stake in the coming months, much WILL BE settled by November 1980. The bourgeoisie wants to regain the initiative by Nov. 1980--it is not at all guaranteed that it will-- even the present stalemate can continue. But what is clear is that the working class can advance in the present situation only to the degree that it is consciously and politically organized to meet the tasks ahead of it. It will be clearer and clearer, and this was proven in auto, that strikes, spontaneous explosions, anger and disgust do not suffice. That the only realistic combat is a combat for the revolution and the party that is preparing it.

It depends on us. It is a fight that can be successful. In the present political situation, given the relationship of class forces and the present level of the workers mobilization, it is not necessary that we organize millions in order to be successful. It concerns organizing a vanguard first, it always does, but today in the United States there is time to do so. The party of the Fourth International in the U.S. exists in perhaps the most favorable conditions of any party. There is time to organize a vanguard today that will be able to organize millions tomorrow. Millions can be won to the revolution if a serious handful is organized, cohered and homogenized today. The greatest mistake would be not to realize this and to lose time we will not have later.

The realization of this fact by the Trotskyist Organization /USA as a whole is the stake of our combat in the coming months.

-- FORWARD TO THE REBUILDING OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS!

-- FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY, U.S.; SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

## Grandson of S-1

# Stop Kennedy's Repression Bill!

Senator Ted Kennedy once said: "I define liberalism in this country." Now, having bought the support of the "liberals" at their usual bargain basement prices, Kennedy is rapidly projecting a "conservative" image.

But even before Kennedy began to move "right," he showed us what kind of "liberalism" he really defines. Senator Kennedy is the chief supporter and prime mover in Congress of the attempted comprehensive revision of the federal criminal code. Today this federal criminal code bill is called "S.1722" in the U.S. Senate and "H.R. X" in the House of Representatives.

But no one can hide its genealogy. This bill is the "grandson" of "S.1"-- the first attempt at a revision of the federal criminal code; written by soon-to-be federal prisoner John Mitchell, at that time Nixon's Attorney General. S.1 tried to legalize what Nixon was doing illegally-- spying, wiretapping, etc. It was a not-so-open attempt to provide a legal basis for a police state in this country.

After Nixon's fall, S.1 had to be cleaned up. So they threw out the "Official Secrets Act" and the provisions for concentration camps and gave it a new name-- "S.1437" and a new backer-- Ted Kennedy. Kennedy shoved this bill through the Senate. Only five days of public hearings were allowed and this 800 page bill was labelled "non-controversial legislation" when it went to

the Senate for a vote.

In face of massive opposition, S.1437 failed to pass the House Judiciary Committee responsible for drawing up similar legislation in the House of Representatives. There was a stalemate until several weeks ago when the House Judiciary Committee came up with a new version of S.1437-- its "grandson"-- under Kennedy's pressure. It is being circulated as a "working draft" in the House-- "H.R. X" and Kennedy has re-introduced this "draft" as "S.1722" in the Senate. But it is being called a "draft" only in order to confuse any opposition-- Kennedy is planning to pass this "draft" as legislation in the next few weeks.

Why the hurry and what does Kennedy have to hide? What Kennedy has to hide is that "S.1722" is virtually identical to S.1437 and represents a fundamental attack on the democratic rights of workers and youth in this country.

"S.1722" revises the 1917 Espionage Statutes and contains a version of Nixon's "Subversive Activities Control Board Act" which was the only law ever passed by the infamous House Un-American Activities Committee (1950) and which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1965. Publishing the "Pentagon Papers" would be considered "treason." Membership in the Fourth International considered "espionage."

"S.1722" contains the "extortion and blackmail" provisions

of S.1 written by John Mitchell (who organized the Watergate break-in). Wildcat strikes or labor boycotts can be considered "blackmail" and punished as felonies. "S.1722" also contains the "anti-riot act" ("Rap Brown Act" of 1968) which defines a riot as a "disorderly assemblage of three people threatening the property of a fourth person." Only "S.1722" is worse-- the "Rap Brown Act" exempted labor unions from this law-- "S.1722" does not. "S.1722" also makes it a felony for "discouraging" anyone from entering the armed services. Etc., etc...

This is what Kennedy has to hide and he is in a hurry because above and beyond the anti-working class provisions of this legislation this proposed criminal code has an even more central purpose-- TO REINFORCE THE TERRORIST STATE AND ITS APPARATUS. Nixon wanted to do this, Carter did also and ANYONE who is prepared to assume leadership of this terrorist state MUST reinforce its repressive apparatus.

Carter, Kennedy, Connally, Reagan-- the reinforcement of this terrorist state is the platform they ALL stand on. And Kennedy understands this better than anyone.

More than simply the individual repressive provisions, the entire theme of the federal criminal code revisions is the reinforcement of the powers of the federal government and its repression. It was estimated that S.1437 would increase the federal

caseload from 40,000 to 180,000. It is a plan for MORE PRISONS.

The U.S. already has more prisoners per capita than anywhere in the world. The sentences in U.S. prisons are the HEAVIEST in the world. "S.1722" will mean more of this-- more prisoners, more prisons to be built.

Thus, this attempted revision of the federal criminal code is not simply an attack on a few "dissenters." It is a massive attempt to repress and lay the basis for the increased exercise of police power over the majority of workers and youth, and in particular the most oppressed.

GM has its "Chevy of the 80's" (75% of which have been recalled!). Kennedy's new bill should be called "the prisons of the 80's" because this is the future that the leaders of this terrorist state are holding out for the workers and youth. The ONLY FUTURE they have to offer-- "bigger and better" prisons.

This bill must be stopped and, more importantly, this terrorist state must be stopped. The "liberals" have already sold out to Kennedy for less than a piece of silver-- only a massive mobilization of the workers and youth can stop this repression. Every union, every workers organization, every school and organization of the youth must be heard!

-- STOP Kennedy's Repression Bill!  
-- Down with the Terrorist State!  
TRUTH  
October 1, 1979

## Free the RCP Defendants!

On November 19, 17 members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) are going on trial in Washington, D.C. Each of the defendants is charged with 24 felonies and 1 misdemeanor, for a possible individual sentence of 241 years!

The RCP supports the deposed Mao faction (the so-called "gang of four") of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. On this basis it organized a demonstration in Washington on January 29 against the U.S. visit of Chinese "vice"-premier Deng Xiaoping, the actual leader of the victorious wing of the bureaucracy.

Despite the fact that the RCP had obtained a march permit, it was revoked a few minutes before the demonstration was attacked by the Washington police, eager to prevent any "embarrassment" of the rapprochement of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese bureaucracy. Seventy-eight demonstrators were arrested, many of them brutally assaulted.

While the defendants were originally arrested on misdemea-

17 were indicted by the grand jury and are now facing trial.

The RCP members (who call themselves the "Mao Tsetung defendants") are confronted by charges that fully deserve the label "frameup." Almost half of the defendants are not charged with any specific criminal act. Six of the 17, including RCP leader Bob Avakian, despite a day-long lineup, were not identified by any government witness. Seven of the felony charges concern assaults on "unidentified" police, and six charges accuse all the defendants of "aiding and abetting" an "unidentified attacker."

The "victims" are "unidentified," the "attackers" are "unidentified" and even some of the defendants are unidentified! "Justice is blind," indeed!

This is only the beginning. The prosecutor, Mary Ellen Abrecht, is a former member of the D.C. police and her husband is presently employed by it. In addition, the RCP has filed motions demanding the production

of S.1 written by John Mitchell (who organized the Watergate break-in). Wildcat strikes or labor boycotts can be considered "blackmail" and punished as felonies. "S.1722" also contains the "anti-riot act" ("Rap Brown Act" of 1968) which defines a riot as a "disorderly assemblage of three people threatening the property of a fourth person." Only "S.1722" is worse-- the "Rap Brown Act" exempted labor unions from this law-- "S.1722" does not. "S.1722" also makes it a felony for "discouraging" anyone from entering the armed services. Etc., etc...

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Carter, Kennedy, Connally, Reagan-- the reinforcement of this terrorist state is the platform they ALL stand on. And Kennedy understands this better than anyone. More than simply the individual repressive provisions, the entire theme of the federal criminal code revisions is the reinforcement of the powers of the federal government and its repression. It was estimated that S.1437 would increase the federal caseload from 40,000 to 180,000. It is a plan for MORE PRISONS. The U.S. already has more prisoners per capita than anywhere in the world. The sentences in U.S. prisons are the HEAVIEST in the world. "S.1722" will mean more of this-- more prisoners, more prisons to be built. Thus, this attempted revision of the federal criminal code is not simply an attack on a few "dissenters." It is a massive attempt to repress and lay the basis for the increased exercise of police power over the majority of workers and youth, and in particular the most oppressed. GM has its "Chevy of the 80's" (75% of which have been recalled!). Kennedy's new bill should be called "the prisons of the 80's" because this is the future that the leaders of this terrorist state are holding out for the workers and youth. The ONLY FUTURE they have to offer-- "bigger and better" prisons. This bill must be stopped and, more importantly, this terrorist state must be stopped. The "liberals" have already sold out to Kennedy for less than a piece of silver-- only a massive mobilization of the workers and youth can stop this repression. Every union, every workers organization, every school and organization of the youth must be heard! -- STOP Kennedy's Repression Bill! -- Down with the Terrorist State! TRUTH October 1, 1979

Any attempt to disassociate

supporting the terrorist state. For instance, the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) accused the RCP of being in a "frenzy" and compared the RCP's breaking of windows and throwing white paint on the walls of the Chinese liaison office to attacks "carried out by racist and ultra-right forces." In addition, it defended the Stalinist bureaucracy from attacks by revolutionaries by condemning "physical attacks or threats by citizens of an imperialist power against representatives of an historically oppressed country" (MILITANT; Feb. 9, 1979). That hides the real issues nicely. This is the same SWP which not accidentally supports Khomeini in Iran and the creation of a bourgeois army in Nicaragua.

No concessions to the terrorist state! Free the RCP defendants! Drop the charges!

Not Carter, not Kennedy, but

## The Revolution is the Future !

By RICH TETRAULT

Nearly everyday there is some new discussion in the bourgeois press over the state of the presidency and whether Carter will be able to sustain another "crisis." For several months now, the Carter government and the Democratic Party have managed to exist from one crisis to another, bobbing and weaving like a punch drunk fighter. Totally weakened, totally bankrupt, hated by every young worker and militant who seeks a solution with a future.

The picture is becoming clearer and clearer to the more advanced youth. Rising unemployment through mass layoffs especially in auto, unending inflation, spiraling gold costs, housing out of reach of young people, crumbling public education. Quite simply, the youth see NO FUTURE in the continued existence of the decaying ruling class and the capitalist parties which represent their continuity. There is no discussion of interest to young people other than the discussion that prepares and educates them to put an end to imperialism in the struggle to prepare the world revolution.

One of the most important questions today is -- How can the youth take full advantage of the 1980 Presidential Elections? Already the capitalist parties are campaigning; the Socialist Workers Party has selected its candidates. If not for the names one would have a difficult time determining what belongs to who. What you would not have difficulty seeing is that from the petty bourgeois black liberals to the pseudo-Trotskyists and Stalinists there are profound similarities. Open class collaboration sums up the betrayal of these bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries, collaboration designed to once again reduce these bourgeois elections to a totally demoralizing and distasteful affair. Designed to isolate the militant youth, to keep them from answering the question--How can we win a victory for the working class in these elections?

The masses of working class youth in the U.S. and around the world are confused and politically disoriented, but they are by no means passive or indifferent to the crisis which they are subjected to. The road forward must

**BUILD THE MOVEMENT FOR THE REVOLUTION!**

The Revolutionary Youth International in the U.S. and around the world fights to break the political disorientation and confusion of the youth. There are many situations, many confrontations, yet there is one solution -- THE PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION. Concretely today, the RYW/USA is preparing to intervene alongside the Trotskyist Organization/USA in the 1980 Presidential elections in the struggle to offer a REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE. Not the slightest compromise or smallest concession. No campaigns to resurrect this dying system, but a fight to bury it.

The bourgeoisie is preparing a confrontation with the American working class around the elections in 1980. This confrontation is being preceded by a campaign to politically pacify the workers and youth -- a campaign being led by the trade union bureaucrats and echoed by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP. A campaign to pave the way for Ted Kennedy to pick up where Carter was unable to continue. The bourgeoisie has one chance for victory and that depends on whether or not they can successfully disarm the workers and youth.

**THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE!**

The crisis of the bourgeoisie is unfolding around these elections. It is a crisis which can never be rectified; but, allowed to continue, will become more and more vicious. It is a crisis, which must be finished with, but will only take place in the struggle to prepare and organize a new generation of revolutionary leaders.

The youth hold the future in their hands. The RYI, the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, is fighting to forge a vanguard from the most advanced youth, a vanguard that can lead the masses of workers and oppressed to victory in every confrontation with the bourgeoisie. Concretely, today, the RYI sees the importance of organizing a REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE, against all



U.S. to avoid the confrontation being prepared around these elections, for they are at the center. In this confrontation as in all others, THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE! There can be no room for abstention or pacifism amongst the youth. No room for the influence of the rotting bourgeoisie in our future. No room for the false "workers leaders" and the generation of the 60's who have made desperate attempts at tying the youth to the decaying corpse of imperialism. NOT CARTER, NOT KENNEDY, BUT THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE!

Young people must understand that the struggle has been engaged for many years and the conditions for proletarian victory are ripe. To abstain at this point is to allow the terrorist state of the imperialists and Stalinists to pull the working class backwards. The youth must take a position in these elections -- they must take up the struggle to liberate their class from the repression and hatred of the old order.

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE!  
YOUTH! FIGHT TO CONSTRUCT  
THE WORKERS PARTY!**

The condition for the revolution is the preparation of its vanguard. The struggle for independence, the fight to determine the conditions of that freedom lies squarely on the construction of a revolutionary leadership. The struggle to construct the Workers Party in the U.S. represents the renewal of the leadership in the workers movement. The Fourth International in the U.S. prepares the working class around two objectives for the 1980 Presidential elections -- the fight for a REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE in 1980, a

the fight to found the WORKERS PARTY in 1980, American party of working class independence. This is the struggle to politically arm the proletariat. It is this very rearmament that terrifies the bourgeoisie and it is for this reason that they have engaged the services of the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the centrists of the SWP to carry out a campaign of PACIFICATION and DISARMAMENT against the youth.

The Fourth International and the RYI/USA has outlined these objectives for the 1980 elections not to simply engage in some routine activity or to engage in abstract propaganda, but as a concrete attempt to organize the youth around a political alternative, to organize a means to break the campaign of political pacification organized around Kennedy. This fight is being organized around a call of the RYW/USA for a "Youth Conference: Youth and the 1980 Presidential Elections -- A Revolutionary Alternative" which will be held December 1 and 2 in Detroit.

This is the place of the youth today. Not in submitting to the repressive, terrorist state or in abstention, but in actively and concretely organizing the independence of the working class. This Youth Conference represents a possibility to regroup a large section of working class youth around the struggle to prepare a revolutionary alternative, to insure the independence of the workers and youth. There is no future under capitalism and more precisely, the future lies in dealing a death blow to this old order in the fight to construct a new world.

To all young people who seek a solution with a future, we youth of the Fourth International say JOIN THE RYI. Together we can fight abstentionism and pacifism. Together we can win a victory for the American working class in the 1980 presidential elections. Together we can prepare the World Socialist Revolution.

The RYI prepares the Youth Conference as an open conference of youth and all organizations of youth. We urge all militant youth to attend and join in the construction of a REVOLUTION-