

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The "economic" crisis is POLITICAL--

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY!

"The standard of living of the average American has to decline, I don't think that you can escape that." This latest statement by Paul Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has become the broken record of the Carter administration.

It is true-- our standard of living declines every day that this government continues to exist.

Inflation. Unemployment. Today, in Wayne County, Michigan, 5,300 country workers will not receive their paychecks.

The government previously offered to pay the workers with "play money"!

It is also true that this decline concerns the AVERAGE American--workers, youth, the unemployed. Given adjustments for inflation, the average American worker with three dependents earns \$1 less than he or she did in 1967.

1978 wage increases for 9.5 million union members averaged only 8.2%--with inflation at 13%. It is even bleaker for unorganized workers.

Yet the May issue of FORTUNE magazine, reporting on the top 500 industrial corporations, stated "Profits were absolutely sensational."

Therefore it is no wonder that youth are becoming more and more pessimistic about the future. They see no hope in this capitalist system which can only promise "a decline in the standard of living." They see this "economic" crisis as something complex and out of their control.

Not true. This "economic" crisis CAN BE CONTROLLED. It can be controlled because it is only a reflection of the POLITICAL crisis of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism can no longer rule the world the way it has done for the last 30 years. And it can no longer throw a few crumbs to even a tiny section of the working class. Instead, it must directly confront and attack the American working class as THE CONDITION for organizing the counterrevolution throughout the world.

This insistence that the "standard of living of the average American must decline" means only one thing for those who want to see. It means that the REVOLUTION is approaching and must be prepared.

It means that the real crisis is not the "economy" but THE GOVERNMENT. The real question in front of every worker and youth who want a future of progress and not decay is--WHO WILL RULE?

This is what all the traitors in the workers movement want to hide. The AFL-CIO leadership with its "historic national accord" with the Carter government to restore "wage-price" guidelines. An "accord" that is an attempt to give one last straw of credibility to a government TOTALLY DISCREDITED in the eyes of the majority of workers and youth.

The UAW bureaucrats, who have taken the lead of the fight to "save Chrysler," offering "concessions" for the contract agreement, are now promising to allow Chrysler to defer \$200 million in pension payments. Perhaps they'll even let Chrysler workers be paid with "play money" too!

Hiding the fact that the question is not "saving" Chrysler, but deciding WHO WILL

RULE Chrysler.

Or by presenting "politics" as BOURGEOIS POLITICS. The stinking maneuvers to line up the unions behind Ted Kennedy. Or the equally rotten "labor party" of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists.

In every mobilization workers and youth are asking this question. But the working class must take up POLITICS. Not the politics of smoke-filled rooms but the politics of the REVOLUTION. Because the politics of the revolution is the only answer to the only question worth asking--WHO WILL RULE?

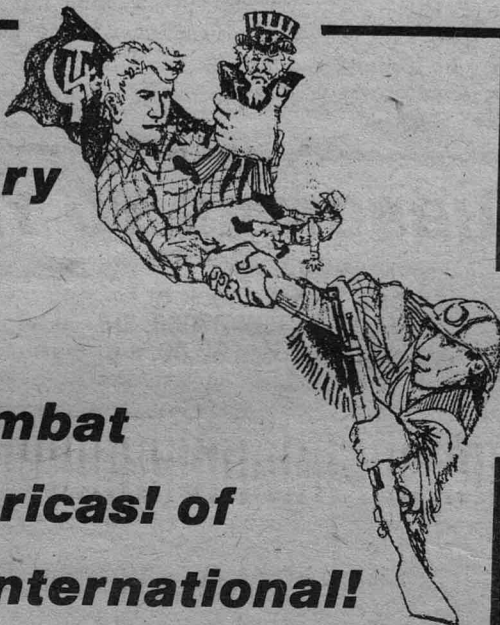
"The revolution" is not empty talk. Nor is it something for "tomorrow." But it has to be prepared; prepared in every struggle taking place today.

The preparation of the revolution today has to have a concrete political objective. The Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International, proposes a concrete objective for the preparation of the revolution today-- the foundation of the WORKERS PARTY, section of the Fourth International-- as the objective for every worker and youth seeking the road to progress in the 80's and seeking the answer to the question, WHO WILL RULE?

A party that will take up "politics" as the fight for the revolution in today's circumstances. A party which will represent the unity of the workers around the world fighting to bring down Stalinism with the workers fighting to bring down imperialism. A party which will lead the fight for the revolutionary unity of the workers of the Two Americas.

Your party.
October 18, 1979

**For the
Revolutionary
Unity of the
Workers
Join the Combat
of the 2 Americas! of
the Fourth International!**



Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

The development of the class struggle during the last period demonstrates an unprecedented deepening of the pre-revolutionary crisis. The entire imperialist order is being shaken by a political and economic crisis, the deepest since World War II. The monetary crisis is the most spectacular expression of the incapacity of imperialism, in the first place, U.S. imperialism, to control the revolt of the productive forces against the world order established on the basis of "peaceful coexistence" at Yalta. The class struggle is taking a new leap in the large imperialist metropolitan centers in America and Europe and in the countries dominated by the bureaucracies of the Kremlin and Peking. The present wave of revolt which is sweeping through the colonial and semi-colonial countries, (Iran, Nicaragua, the resistance of the Saharan and Palestinian people), bases itself on the radicalization of the class struggle in the large metropolitan centers and is accelerating the crisis of "peaceful coexistence."

In face of this situation, imperialism can no longer delay the attack against the proletariat in the developed countries, whether it concerns Europe or the U.S. itself. An attack led directly by the bourgeois governments supported by the Sacred Union of the Stalinist and reformist parties, or through the agent of imperialism-- the bureaucracy of the Kremlin, Peking and their satellites in the countries where the Stalinist bureaucracies usurp the power of the workers.

The strikes in Hungary, Rumania, the struggles of the French steelworkers, the offensive of the Basque masses, demonstrate for the revolutionary vanguard that the first signs of a new turn in the class struggle is beginning to appear, a turn which will lead to revolutionary confrontations in the developed countries-- in the first place in the Europe divided in two by the counterrevolutionary agreements of class collaboration, in the Europe where the failure of imperialism and Stalinism to pacify the working class is concentrated.

In face of this situation, all the protagonists of the class struggle are preparing their solutions. Imperialism has no other choice than to base itself more on the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin and Peking and their agents, in view of setting up a new framework for "peaceful coexistence" on the world scale around the defense of states, frontiers, new Sacred Unions, using the terrorism of the state, the unions, the false Trotskyists. This attack is against all the victims of the crisis of imperialism, all those who reject this new counterrevolutionary framework established in the name of the defense of "democracy" -- the

millions of unemployed, the youth, the oppressed nationalities and peoples, the revolutionaries. The preparation of the Conference of Madrid on "security and cooperation" by imperialism and Stalinism has this meaning.

The preparations for the "reunification" of the "Organizing Committee" of Lambert-Just with the "United Secretariat" of Mandel-Barnes-Krivine is the final capitulation to Stalinism of the current led by Lambert-Just, where its break in 1972 with the Fourth International has led it. The coming Congress of the "United Secretariat," prepared with the participation of Lambert-Just, will decide the political place of the false Trotskyists in the counterrevolutionary Carter-Brezhnev-Teng-Castro chain. It is in this sense that the Congress of the "United Secretariat" will try to occupy a political place in the attempt to elaborate new forms of class collaboration, with the view of reversing the relationship of forces between imperialism and the proletariat-- which the Madrid Conference represents.

The working class, all the while being the motor force of the pre-revolutionary crisis, is taking up this turn in disorder because its ranks are not organized around the program and the party of the revolution, in confusion because it is confronted by a political offensive of Stalinism concentrated in the anti-Leninist campaign, which tries to obscure the necessity for class independence, for its program and its party.

The present task of the Fourth International consists in regaining the initiative by preparing the working class on the political terrain, by basing itself on the present working class radicalization in order to define in its ranks the program of the world revolution. All the positive gains of the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) demonstrate that to the degree that the Fourth International takes the political initiative, it can base itself on the enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit of the youth for its own construction.

In the present situation, on the eve of decisive revolutionary confrontations, the workers are confronted with a multitude of political problems to solve, which range from the organization of the response to the attacks of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism against their existence and living conditions, to the struggle for the independence of nationalities and nations, to the problems of the organization of the destruction of the repressive states.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9.

TRUTH

P.O. Box 07066
Detroit, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen
Editorial Board: Kevin FitzPatrick, Margaret Guttshall, Ann Nelson, Rich Tetrault

Published bi-weekly in Detroit, MI
by TRUTH PUBLISHERS

Subscription rates:
U.S., Canada, Mexico: \$5 for one year; \$2 for six month introductory.
Airmail to Latin America or Europe: \$10 for one year.
Inquire for other rates.



In the Next Issue
of
Fourth International!

- Boycott the Third Security Conference
- Report on the RYI Fourth World Congress
- "Free Klebanov and Burisov!"
- Hungary: "Build the Revolutionary Leadership"

Write TRUTH
P.O. Box 07066,
Detroit MI 48207
for a subscription
or single copies.

SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH!

Send your name, address, and a check or money order payable to "TRUTH" to:
TRUTH, P.O. BOX 07066, DETROIT, MI 48207.
An introductory subscription costs \$2.00, a one-year subscription is \$5.00, and a two-year subscription is \$10.00

Send me an introductory; one-year; two-year subscription. Enclosed is: \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____



The Future Is Not On The Ballot

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Amid muckraking and scandals, the campaign for the 1980 presidential elections has gotten underway. The incumbent, Jimmy Carter, has been rocked by crises since the beginning of his administration. From the Bert Lance affair to the president's "hip" chief of staff, Hamilton Jordan, who allegedly sniffed cocaine, Carter's image as a "born again" preacher has been seriously tarnished.

The fact is that none of the candidates wish to face the real "issue" of the current crisis in the American bourgeoisie. That is, how to confront the American working class and the revolutionary upsurge in the world. From the right to the liberals, from the media to the bureaucrats, all agree that a strongman solution is necessary.

But this is not the discussion being generated in the elections. A discussion which, after all, the working class might benefit from. To the contrary, John Connally highlighted the level of politics to be put before the American people when he said in a recent interview, "If you don't raise Chappaquiddick, I will." No doubt the Kennedy forces are preparing a fine piece of yellow journalism themselves around Connally's indictment on bribery charges during his term as Secretary of the Treasury in the Nixon administration.

Perhaps the theme of the 1980 elections will be the "reform" of the bourgeoisie, rather than bourgeois reforms.

One thing is for certain, the future is not on the ballot. It is being prepared right now with raging inflation and mass unemployment. Regardless of who wins or loses, their task will be to lead the confrontation with the working class that has already begun. Even what is left of the popular electoral process is under attack, with moves in several states to do away with Presidential primaries. The "votes" will be counted in back rooms and in dollars and cents.

This method of analysis is very revealing. On the Republican side, though Ronald Reagan is the front runner in the polls, Connally is the choice of the money bags to deliver the "Tory" solution -- a Republican defeat of Kennedy giving an administration with some authority to attack the working class in the United States. (An attempt to copy the victory of Margaret Thatcher in England over the Labour Party.) Connally's campaign has far outstripped all

other contenders, having raised more than \$4,000,000 to date. More than double that of any other declared candidate.

Kennedy, for the Democrats, is the clear choice of the trade union bureaucrats and the petty bourgeois politicians who draw back from a direct confrontation with the working class.

Whatever the rhetoric, the important thing is that their solutions are the same and they are the only solutions open to the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats -- the organization of a recession, the reinforcement of the terrorist state and the demoralization of the youth and militant workers.

There is only one other alternative to the future that is being prepared now by imperialism. The working class solution -- which is the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION. PREPARE NOW, because the elections and votes have nothing to do with the methods of struggle necessary for a victory of the youth and the working class in 1980.

On the workers' side, what counts is not the number of votes, nor the amount of money raised to back their candidates. What counts is the struggle for a POLITICAL SOLUTION to the crisis of imperialism.

The politics of slanders, scandals and TV promotions, the politics of "images" and charisma hold no more importance for the workers, the oppressed and the youth than did the "discussion" around the recent auto contract. A "discussion" which, like the elections, neglected the mass unemployment being imposed on the autoworkers under the pretense of being "realistic." This is the "democratic process" the generations of the future are being offered -- the politics of the gutter and the politics of "reality." Capitalism is the new "reality" being discovered everywhere by those in the movement of

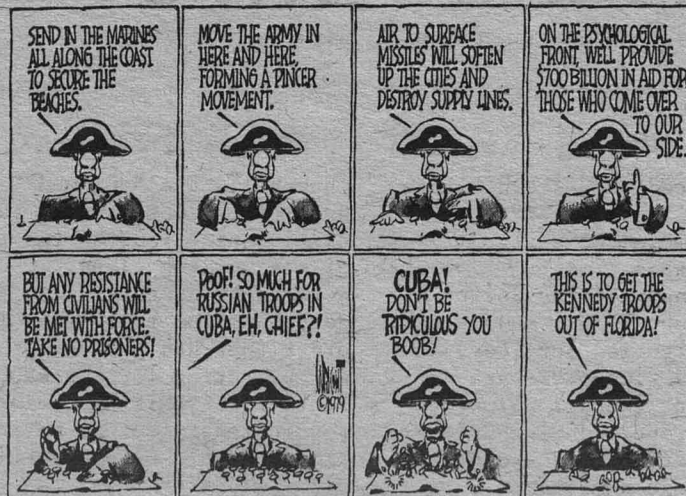
the workers and oppressed who can offer no better excuse for their treachery.

In fact, PRECISELY the same kind of discussion heard around the auto contract and the current recession is what is on the agenda for the 1980 elections. That is the particular importance of the Kennedy campaign which is aimed at the pacification and demoralization of the youth around an unchangeable reality, a rotten future of recession, war and barbarism.

The significance for the revolution of the Fraser-Kennedy alliance is simply this: it is a "Holy Alliance" around the preservation of the world order of imperialism and Stalinism, an alliance to reinforce the bourgeois state and build a "national unity" for the maintenance of American imperialism. It is the basis for the campaigns of the American Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the whole "official" workers movement.

The pseudo-revolutionaries enter into the campaign of pacification and demoralization in order to reinforce the "official" workers leaders, and in order to organize a "pacifist" electoral alternative. It is not this or that position of the Socialist Workers Party, which is the only organization that has so far announced candidates in the elections, which is wrong. Although a debate over its positions would show the same thing in every case. A treacherous disarming of the youth with pacifist and reformist illusions in order to strengthen the bureaucratic leadership of the unions and the petty bourgeois black politicians like Jesse Jackson, who have embraced the bourgeois order also as the only "reality."

Furthermore, the campaign of Pulley and Zimmerman, candidates of the SWP, is part and parcel of the energetic support of the pseudo-revolutionaries for Stalinism and the bourgeois



nationalists in the Two Americas. The flip side of the campaign to support Castro and the Sandinista reaction in Nicaragua, is the prostration of the SWP before the "reality" of American imperialism as the policeman of the American continents, North and South.

It is a campaign which would perhaps be of no consequence, WERE IT NOT FOR THE FACT THAT THIS TREACHEROUS PARTY CLAIMS TO REPRESENT TROTSKYISM, and in this role is an important link in the "chain going from Carter to Brezhnev through Castro." (DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, TRUTH #102).

The PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION in the 1980 elections means arming and organizing the youth, the generation whose future is being decided now, for the combat against this Holy Alliance.

Concretely, this is a struggle against unemployment, police repression and the decay of education and the schools. But on the basis of a new reality. A reality which can NEVER be obtained under capitalism. The only reality which really confronts the working class and the youth -- SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM.

It is a reality based on the strengthening of the workers battalions -- the unions, the pickets and strikes -- and the education in struggle of the masses of youth for the aims and goals of the REVOLUTION. The elections for the new generation of the workers will not take place in the framework of the "democratic process." A dead body which survives only through pseudo-revolutionary fairy tales. They will take place in the streets, in the strikes, in the schools and, above all, they must take place in THE ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

This is the challenge of the Fourth International in the 1980 elections. It is a challenge to every worker and young person to build this army with us. Not votes, but the strengthening of the workers struggles is our aim. Not money, but the enrichment of all of society is our reward. Not slanders and muckraking but a political struggle against illusions and the traitors in the workers movement is our method.

-- FOR A REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS!

-- FOR A REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE AND A REVOLUTIONARY ARMY!

October 15, 1979

1945: Yalta, 1980: Madrid

The Holy Alliance Must Be Crushed

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

From July 30 to August 1, 1975, the concluding session of the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" was held in Helsinki, Finland.

"Security" for whom?
"Cooperation" for what?

This Conference and its "Final Act" represented an attempt to recodify and reformulate the Holy Alliance against the revolution that was established in the aftermath of World War II between imperialism and Stalinism.

This first "Security Conference" was followed by a general review held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Next year, in November 1980, another general review is planned for Madrid, Spain.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE

The Holy Alliance was fundamentally established at two conferences held at the end of World War II.

At Yalta (February 4-11, 1945, in the Soviet Crimea) Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill began the organization of the division of Europe, of the European workers.

They began with what is today still the linchpin of this division. They divided Germany into "zones of occupation" (which would later become "East" and "West" Germany) in order to divide this historically best-organized working class in Europe, one which was ready to settle scores with imperialism after more than a decade under the boot of its fascist variety.

Using this division as a starting point, they also outlined the division of all of Europe, basically along the lines of the military occupation already carried out by imperialism and Stalinism.

In addition, the seizures made in Poland by Stalinism as part of the Stalin-Hitler pact were ratified, and territory was seized from Germany to "compensate" Poland.

Finally, the "Big Three" ratified the creation of the United Nations as the post-war version of the imperialist League of Nations, which Lenin had denounced as a "den of thieves."

At Potsdam (July 17-August 2, 1945, in Germany) Truman (Roosevelt had died), Stalin and Churchill deepened this counter-revolutionary plot.

The division of Europe, the separation of the workers under two different "blocs," was finalized. Truman and Churchill "recognized" the Soviet "sphere

of influence" in Eastern Europe and Stalin "recognized" that of imperialism in the West.

At the same time, "reparations" for the Soviet Union in former Nazi and Japanese-occupied territory were authorized. These "reparations" meant the pillaging of Eastern Europe and Manchuria, the destruction of the economic base for huge numbers of workers in Europe and China. At the same time, it was a means to pacify the Soviet working class, which had suffered so greatly in the war that the bureaucracy was responsible for.

In addition, two other key provisions of the Holy Alliance were worked out. Korea was divided, which still is the source of imperialist exploitation and war. And Vietnam was sentenced to be re-occupied by French imperialism. This decision, which was completely carried out by Ho Chi Minh on the orders of his boss, Stalin, has been the source of oppression and conflicts which are not yet ended.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

Why did imperialism fight World War II? For "democracy" against "fascism"? No! This war, like World War I, like all imperialist wars, was fought for one reason.

As Lenin wrote in IMPERIALISM: THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM, it was a "war for the division of the world, for the partition and repartition of colonies and spheres of influence of finance capital."

Imperialism had learned from the aftermath of World War I, in which the Russian Revolution wrested one-sixth of the globe from its clutches and in which the revolutionary movement of the workers made great strides forward.

After World War II, the anger and determination of the masses was even greater. A way had to be found to crush their revolutionary upsurge. Stalinism, and its acquiescence in the imperialist division of the world for the sake of its preservation against revolution in the Soviet Union, was the key. The Holy Alliance formed between imperialism and Stalinism was the key to the "stabilization" of Europe. Without this "stabilization" the gains for which the imperialists had fought the war would have been snatched from their hands.

One aspect of this struggle was reflected at Potsdam itself.

Churchill, the "beloved" leader, was totally defeated in the British elections by the votes of the working class. The workers tried to express their determination to be rid of the order that had produced the war by voting for the Labour Party. But this potentially revolutionary determination produced only Clement Attlee as prime minister. This "socialist" simply replaced Churchill at Potsdam and carried on the good work.

This all shows how ridiculous the charges are that Roosevelt and Truman were guilty of "treason," that they "surrendered to Communism." Imperialism, unable to crush the masses, sought the COLLABORATION of Stalinism -- the leadership of a large number of workers who mistook it for communism -- in order to derail the offensive of the masses.

In part, this collaboration took the form of direct military occupation which defeated the revolutionary upsurges in the East. And, at the same time, these occupations gave Stalinism some "graft" to keep it satisfied, while directly insuring that the revolutionary upsurge would not threaten its rule.

BETRAYAL

In part, this collaboration took the form of military occupation. But not only that.

Stalin recognized imperialism's "sphere of influence" in the West in very practical terms. He guaranteed that there would be no revolutionary overturns. This took the form of using the Communist Parties to disarm the Resistance movements, to break strikes and to destroy factory councils and occupations. Above all, to reconstruct the bourgeois state, especially in the form of coalition governments in which the CPs participated in order to derail and divert the masses' energy.

Germany was the key, but in France and Italy especially the revolutionary upsurge was betrayed and crushed.

Likewise, as part of the same general framework of Holy Alliance, the rule of Franco in Spain (despite his "fascist" rather than "democratic" rule) was explicitly preserved. And, at the Tehran Conference of 1943 (part of the pre-history of Yalta and Potsdam), Stalinism and imperialism guaranteed the "independence" of Iran -- under the rule of the Shah!

Thus, this Holy Alliance established the whole framework for the world order of imperialism as it has existed since World War II. This includes the famous "economic boom" which was in fact an ECONOMIC stabilization of Europe by American imperialism on the basis of two factors.

First, was the incredible devastation caused by imperialism itself, which created a basis for huge profits on the rebuilding of what had been wiped out. This is capitalist "progress"!

Second, this economic stabilization of imperialism was possible only on the basis of the prior POLITICAL stabilization. That is, capitalism's recovery was based on the defeat of the revolution in Europe, on the preservation of imperialist rule with the aid of Stalinism.

Thus, this "recovery" was not based on any "new" nature of capitalism, but on the very old measures of counterrevolution.

At the same time, it meant that this Holy Alliance was fundamentally unstable from the beginning.

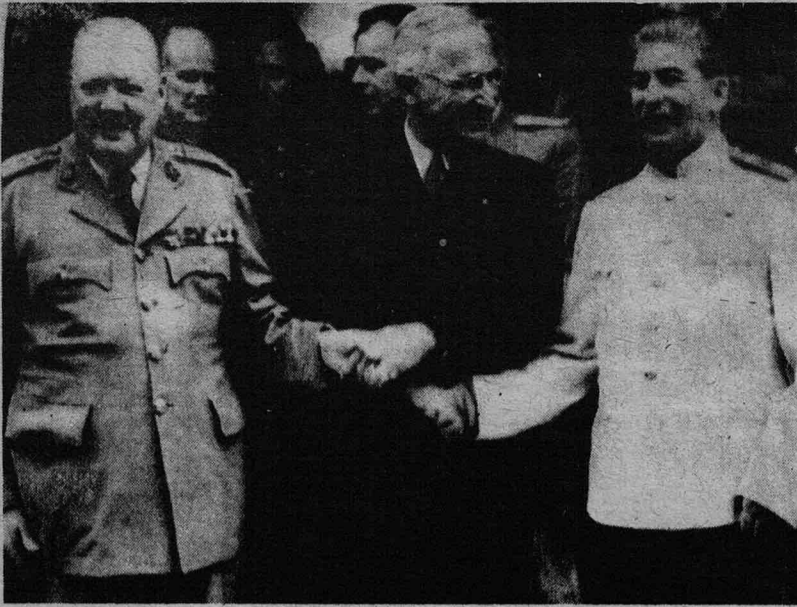
From the very beginning, the framework of this Holy Alliance has been attacked by the workers' mobilizations. No sooner had Stalinism consolidated its rule in Eastern Europe than its crisis opened up in the 1953 revolt of the East German workers. And this was followed by the Hungarian and Polish revolutions in 1956, coinciding with the "Khrushchev revelations" about Stalin in order to save Stalinism.

In the West as well, there was never total passivity. The French general strike of 1953, as well as the beginning of the black movement in the United States, show that from the very beginning, even in the "quiet" 50's, the Holy Alliance was never secure.

SHATTERING THE FRAMEWORK

1968 marks the definitive turning point in the postwar period. Its two key events, the huge general strike in France and the developing political revolution in Czechoslovakia, showed that on both sides of the division of Europe the masses were in revolt against the Holy Alliance.

And both events, France and Czechoslovakia, showed the great and developing crisis of Stalinism, imperialism's chief prop. In both countries, es-



**Imperialist Leaders, Churchill and Truman
with Stalin at Yalta**



Carter and Brezhnev

pecially among the youth, it was not able to channel the upsurge into the support of the Holy Alliance. A whole new generation had grown up which was breaking from the old frameworks.

Since 1968 and the opening of the period of the imminence of revolution and counterrevolution the growing attacks of the masses have increasingly shattered the framework established by the Holy Alliance. This increasingly placed in peril the order of imperialism and Stalinism, especially in Europe.

This is the reason for the Helsinki Conference, and for Belgrade and Madrid.

1975 was the year of Franco's death. It was the year of U.S. defeat in Vietnam. The year after the fall of Nixon.

And it was the year of the founding of the Revolutionary Youth International at the Berlin Wall, symbol of the division of Europe, as a decisive step in the rebuilding of the Fourth International

against Stalinism and Pabloite centrism.

Pabloism emerged as a support to Stalinism within the ranks of the Fourth International. Its adaptation to the Holy Alliance produced a crisis within the Fourth International, in the world revolutionary leadership, which had to be overcome in order for the working class to go forward. The rebuilding of the Fourth International unleashed a crisis in the ranks of the pseudo-Trotskyists themselves that reflects the crisis of the Holy Alliance who are now more and more obliged to faithfully dog the tracks of Stalinism and its imperialist master.

1975 also marked the peak of the worst post-war "recession," one that showed that the economic "stabilization" was disappearing along with its political form. The fact that this system increasingly -- inflation, gold prices skyrocketing, stock market panic -- returns to the

"old" prewar face of capitalism is the clearest sign to the youth and to the whole working class that it is a system without a future, one that cannot give a future.

1975 was, in short, a year of crisis for the imperialist order. And this is why the Holy Alliance felt the need to organize the "security" of this order through the "cooperation" of Stalinism and imperialism against the workers.

The "Final Act" of Helsinki (signed by 35 heads of state, more than at any time since the 1815 Congress of Vienna and the original counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance) was an attempt to reformulate the Holy Alliance against the revolutionary upsurge that confronted it after thirty years.

The first of its key provisions was the legitimization of the "existing boundaries" in Europe. This meant the end of squabbling over the "Iron Curtain" (have you heard about that recently?) in the interest of preserving the whole order. It meant the final ratification of the dismemberment and division of Germany (already preceded by Brandt's "ostpolitik" -- "Eastern policy"). It meant the perpetuation of national oppression within the boundaries established by imperialism after World War II. It meant, in short, a new attempt to achieve "stability."

But even more important was the famous "Basket Three," the "human rights" section of this declaration. This is where "human rights" comes from, the origin of Carter's campaign. "Human rights" means the attempt to present the existing order as the guardian of "justice" and to organize the defense of this order in the name of "democracy." It means the attempt to identify the revolution and its conquests with Stalinist counterrevolution and to attack them on the basis of "democracy." It means a fundamental attack on the consciousness of the working class by this gang of cutthroats and bandits now decked out in "human rights" garb.

Helsinki represented an attempt to reformulate the Holy Alliance, but an unsuccessful one. The offensive of the masses did not cease to increase the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism.

Thus, the Belgrade review (October 4, 1977-March 9, 1978) had nothing to say in its final statement about "human rights." Already this was proving inadequate. "Anti-terrorism" and the strengthening of the terrorist state were the features that more and more predominated -- on the basis, to be sure, of "human rights."

All those who supported "human rights," the Euro-Communist faction of Stalinism above all and its pseudo-Trotskyist followers have had to more and more integrate themselves into this "anti-terrorist" --

and anti-Leninist -- campaign. This is the source of their deepening crisis.

And those who in Eastern Europe formed the Helsinki Monitoring (or Watch) Groups were smashed by the KGB (Orlov, etc.) with hardly a peep from their "human rights" allies, who really saw in it a good model for the strengthening of the terrorist state.

BOYCOTT MADRID!

One bourgeois expert wrote about the lack of agreement at Belgrade on "human rights": "Agreement was, however, attained on the value of continuing to meet in order to promote the goals of the 1975 Act."

Indeed! And Madrid in November 1980 is the next place in which they will "meet" to "promote" these counterrevolutionary "goals."

Already since Belgrade the reinforcement, the strengthening, of the terrorist state has been increasingly stepped up. Madrid -- in Spain: center of national oppression, of "anti-terrorism," of "Euro-Communism," of Stalinist and imperialist collaboration -- is to mark a qualitative development of this struggle for the salvation of the Holy Alliance against the revolution.

Imperialism and Stalinism are in open crisis. But this crisis by itself is not positive for the workers, especially the youth.

By itself, the crisis only drives the old order to more and more desperate measures, turns it into the proverbial "cornered rat."

The question is to turn this crisis -- which is very real -- to a positive solution, a REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION. This is the basis on which the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International (with the full support of the Fourth International) determined to organize a BOYCOTT of the Madrid Conference, to organize a youth march on this Conference and to organize a Counter-Conference of revolutionary youth in opposition to it.

This is a means to take advantage of the crisis. This is a way of strengthening the consciousness of the workers, especially their young generation, a way of posing the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION in the most concrete terms.

The Return to Lenin, the return to the struggle for the unity of the world revolution, to the struggle for its party, passes through the organization of the BOYCOTT of the Madrid Conference as a mobilization of the revolutionary youth under the leadership of the Fourth International. A mobilization and a leadership to crush the Holy Alliance and to prepare the leadership that the revolution must have.
October 14, 1979

Not Castro, Not the "United Secretariat" of Backstabbers . . .

Only the Program of the Revolution Can

By JON COHEN

The struggle against U.S. imperialism is the first revolutionary duty of American workers and youth. "The enemy is at home, your own bourgeoisie," is the historic expression of revolutionary proletarian internationalism.

The first obligation of revolutionaries is to wage a fight against their own bourgeoisie. This is even more true when it concerns the U.S. bourgeoisie which is the policeman and oppressor of the workers and peoples of the world. The struggle of the U.S. working class against U.S. imperialism is not only an obligation, it is the key to the success of the revolution throughout the world, especially in the Two Americas. Everything depends on this struggle.

That is why it is crucial that American workers and youth understand the nature of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the means to lead it. For the Fourth International the struggle against U.S. imperialism can mean only one thing-- the conscious struggle to prepare the world revolution.

The "enemy at home" which is also the enemy of millions and millions of workers and youth throughout the world can only be challenged by preparing the revolution that will overthrow it once and for all. And this revolution can only be prepared by arming a vanguard of workers and youth with the PROGRAM for this revolution.

In the Two Americas this Program is concentrated in the fight for the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY of the workers and youth of the Two Americas in a fight for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS. This is the revolutionary combat against U.S. imperialism in this hemisphere. It is also the Program of the Fourth International, the only party in this hemisphere fighting to lead a revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism.

But isn't this "sectarian" on our part? Aren't there other "anti-imperialist" struggles taking place, other "anti-imperialist" leaders? In fact, isn't EVERYONE an "anti-imperialist" these days?

According to Fidel Castro, who invited him to his recent "non-aligned" Conference, even the fascist torturer, Videla of Argentina, is an "anti-imperialist." So is John Connally, perhaps the most right wing prospective Presidential candidate, according to the leadership of the PLO, which recently hailed Connally's "call" for an independent Palestinian state.

Exaggeration? But the fact is that these days everyone indeed is claiming to be an enemy of U.S. imperialism. It is no accident -- U.S. imperialism is in crisis and is totally discredited in the eyes of the masses of workers and youth throughout the world and in the U.S. Above all since the fall of its puppets, Somoza and the Shah. No leader could have the support of workers and youth or even a chance to have workers and youth even LISTEN to them without today claiming to be an "anti-imperialist."

So beware. When Jesse Jacksons and Andrew Youngs become "anti-imperialists," when Videla and the fascist Prime Minister of Spain, Suarez, become "non-aligned" and when John Connally becomes a fighter for the liberation of Palestine you had better hold on to your wallet. Because a rip-off is about to take place.

While everyone is an "anti-imperialist" talker these days, not everyone is an anti-imperialist FIGHTER. Because the real anti-

imperialists in the world today are the masses of workers and oppressed throughout the world and in the U.S. who are the VICTIMS of U.S. imperialism. The victims of unemployment, poverty and police repression. Who in their everyday struggles are waging a revolutionary fight to overthrow U.S. imperialism and its puppets.

And all these "anti-imperialist" talkers stand directly opposed to this revolutionary struggle and to the interests of the real anti-imperialist struggles in the world. In fact, these "anti-imperialist" talkers are resolute ENEMIES of the real anti-imperialist struggle.

We won't bother with Videla, Suarez, or Connally-- only the most cynical could believe that these men are "anti-imperialist." But we WILL bother with those in the workers movement WHO SUPPORT the Videlas and Connallys. Those in the workers movement who claim to be "anti-imperialist" fighters but who are in fact the central OBSTACLES to the revolutionary fight of the workers and youth against U.S. imperialism.

The first obstacle to the anti-imperialist struggle in the Two Americas is Stalinism and its agent, Fidel Castro. The program of Stalinism is not the revolution, the only anti-imperialist program, but is "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" with U.S. imperialism. Here are Castro's own words, in his speech to the U.N., what LENIN called "a den of thieves":

"I have not come here as a prophet of revolution...I come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic."

Castro's "apocalypse"? THE REVOLUTION. Workers and youth would indeed like to live in a world of peace. But what kind of "peace" is Castro talking about? The "peace" of today's world, the "pax Romana" organized by U.S. imperialism-- the "peace" of the billy club, the unemployment line, the ghettos and slums.

And Castro's talk about "anti-imperialism" is just talk, to hide from the workers and youth his real program-- "peace" for U.S. imperialism and the counterrevolution for workers and youth. And his "realism" means shoving the reality of today's world down the throats of workers and youth who are today REFUSING to accept this "reality." Castro's "anti-imperialism" is the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, which perhaps even truthfully "dislikes" U.S. imperialism but FEARS the socialist revolution even more.

"Anti-imperialists" who are comfortable with the likes of Suarez, Videla and Connally.

There are other "anti-imperialist" talkers that are obstacles to the real fight against U.S. imperialism because they support a program other than the program of the revolution. Perhaps these talkers would not be comfortable in the presence of Videla or Suarez, but they are PERFECTLY COMFORTABLE in the presence of STALINISTS, the gravediggers of the world revolution.

They are called pseudo-Trotskyists and are organized inside a so-called "United Secretariat" and an "Organizing Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International" and are the biggest disgrace to the anti-imperialist struggle in the world today.

The biggest disgrace because they claim to stand for the Program of the Fourth Inter-

national, for the revolution, but in practice are the cheerleaders for the Stalinist servants of U.S. imperialism. And today they have passed to becoming open enemies of the anti-imperialist struggle.

They have become cheerleaders for Castro and his "non-aligned" Conference with Videla and for Jesse Jackson's maneuvers with the PLO which are nothing but new attempts to re-establish the world order of imperialism and Stalinism in crisis.

In Nicaragua they have openly passed to support for the liquidation of the revolution. Their program? Not the Program of the revolution, but JIMMY CARTER'S PROGRAM-- "aid to Nicaragua." As a business executive from Chicago said in the NEW YORK TIMES (Oct. 9): "Nicaragua needs its own Marshall Plan."

The SWP couldn't have said it better!

And along with supporting Carter's "aid" for Nicaragua, they have joined in supporting Carter's REAL program-- the liquidation of the revolution. The pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat," with Jack Barnes' SWP in the lead, have joined the Sandinista bourgeois government in denouncing those workers and youth who want to continue the revolution as "counterrevolutionaries."

They have paid us the highest compliment by denouncing these revolutionary workers and youth as "Trotskyists." And the SWP, which makes it a practice of calling us "cops," has now proceeded to denouncing THEIR OWN COMRADES in Nicaragua who refused to abandon the revolution as "provocateurs."

When the real revolution and the real anti-imperialist struggle becomes a reality, these "talkers" show their true colors. This is why this "United Secretariat" of backstabbers is once again passing through a tremendous crisis -- the revolution has more and more unmasked them.

Thus, this "United Secretariat" of backstabbers has once again split into several "factions." In Mexico, Ricardo Hernandez, a former member of their International Executive Committee, a member of the Political Bureau of their Mexican Section, the PRT, has followed the logic of the "United Secretariat's" policies by resigning from the PRT in order to join the Mexican Communist Party, taking three other members of the Central Committee and 40 militants with him.

He openly defended his pro-Stalinist positions as a member of the leadership of their "Fourth International" for over a year -- defending the policies of the party which helped organize the assassination of the founder of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky.

But nothing indicates the capitulation of these "anti-imperialist" talkers more than their total refusal to fight U.S. imperialism AT HOME. The duty of any revolutionary is to fight imperialism AT HOME and it is here that the U.S. SWP shows itself to be the most backward, nationalist and PRO-IMPERIALIST organization in this "United Secretariat" of backstabbers.

It is a case of the emperor having no clothes. All the cheerleading for Castro, for the FSLN, for the PLO, for all the "anti-imperialist" talkers throughout the world cannot hide the fact that they have NOTHING to say about the emperor at home.

In a ten page "Political Report" published

Lead the Fight Against U.S. Imperialism



Above: Youth Battle Police at Seabrook

Right: U.S. Marines Prepare for "Practice Attack" on Cuba



The Program of the Revolution vs. Its Petty Bourgeois Opponents

"All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet "ripened" for socialism is the product of ignorance or a conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only "ripened"; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership.

From the Program of the Fourth International

"...this discredited thing, this anti-historical thing, this fraudulent thing, which emanates from elements so clearly in the service of Yankee imperialism...if Trotskyism in its early stages represented an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, it became in its later stages a vulgar instrument of imperialist reaction.

**Fidel Castro
Tricontinental Congress, 1966**

"The counterrevolutionaries are the Trotskyists and all those who want to accelerate the evolution of the regime in Nicaragua."

**Jaime Wheelock,
Minister of Agrarian Reform,
leader of the Sandinista National
Liberation Front, Nicaragua**

"Outside Lenin, Trotsky and Sverdlov, the Cuban leadership is far superior to the Bolsheviks."

**Jack Barnes,
National Secretary of the SWP**

in the SWP's MILITANT of Oct.12 there is not one REVOLUTIONARY task put forward for the U.S. workers and youth. Forget the fact that the only time the word "revolution" was mentioned was in the title, "Building a Revolutionary Workers Party in the 1980's," there is not even the slightest attempt to challenge the existence of U.S. imperialism, the Carter government, or even a recognition of the idea that the revolution could be a question for the U.S. working class.

They have nothing to say about the emperor because THEY are his clothes-- the clothes of all the "anti-imperialist" talkers who hide the fact that only the PROGRAM OF THE REVOLUTION and the immediate preparation of the revolution throughout the Two Americas represents the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of workers and youth.

U.S. imperialism is in crisis and all these "anti-imperialist" talkers provide it with some clothes to hide the fact that it is THE REVOLUTION which is on the agenda throughout the Two Americas. Including its preparation in the U.S. And that the most urgent task in front of the U.S. working class in its anti-imperialist struggle is to forge the revolutionary unity between the proletariats of North and South America. This is the conclusion to draw from all the experiences of the workers and youth in this hemisphere, past and present.

In order to forge this revolutionary unity the workers and youth need a Program. This Program is the Program of the fight for the world revolution and the party that stands for this revolution-- the Fourth International. It is a party whose Program represents the anti-imperialist FIGHT of the masses of revolutionary workers and youth and not the TALK of the Holy Alliance of the counterrevolution, stretching from Carter and Brezhnev to Castro and Arafat through Mandel and Barnes.

It is this fight which is being organized and centralized around the preparation of a CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS for the construction of the Fourth International in North and South America in a fight for the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas. A Conference which will have as its purpose making a living reality out of these words in our Program: "The banner on which is emblazoned the struggle for the liberation of the colonial and sem-colonial peoples, i.e., a good half of mankind, has definitively passed into the hands of the Fourth International."

A Future for the Revolution in Nicaragua!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

The masses of Nicaragua are determined to complete the revolution begun with the overthrow of Somoza.

On September 28th a demonstration called by the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) turned into a confrontation between a section of the demonstrators demanding "Death to Somoza's Guard" and the leadership defending its policy of generosity toward the Guard.

Peasants in Leon have seized land designated to capitalists by the FSLN leadership. Workers are striking in factories despite FSLN orders.

This struggle in Nicaragua is not a Nicaraguan affair but an expression of the new stage in the revolution in the Two Americas.

Youth and workers of neighboring El Salvador have occupied schools, factories and churches. 10,000 demonstrated in the capital city on September 27th demanding the resignation of dictator Carlos Humberto Romero, another U.S. puppet. Similar struggles have broken out in Guatemala and Honduras, also ruled by U.S. puppets.

The crisis-racked regime of U.S. imperialism and all the Stalinist and petty bourgeois politicians dependent on it are more panic-stricken than ever. Since suddenly (after 17 years) discovering Soviet troops in Cuba, Carter has initiated the formation of a "Caribbean Peacekeeping Force" with the murderous governments of Chile, Uruguay and Argentina.

Fidel Castro has run to the United Nations. "I have not come here as a prophet of revolution," he says. "...I come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and the inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic." He's hanging around the U.S. to help the U.S. government stop the "apocalypse," i.e., the revolution.

The United Secretariat of pseudo-Trotskyists has once again split into a half dozen pieces. Alongside its own articles on Nicaragua, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party has been publishing selections from its "cothinkers," all with differing "assessments" of the revolution, all with nothing to offer the revolution.

The Fourth International is organizing the Conference of the Two Americas in order to give a revolutionary response to this determined struggle on both continents, to take advantage of this crisis of its enemies.

The problems before the revolution in Nicaragua are tremendous. Much of the land, factories and hospitals were des-

troyed by Somoza who bombed the major cities as he left. 35,000 people were killed in the last year, 1.5% of the population. 110,000 were wounded, half of them severely.

The masses of Nicaragua are dealing with this in the only way possible: organizing themselves to seize the land, factories, defend themselves; looking to their comrades in the rest of the Americas to help them, to free them from the threat of imperialism once and for all.

The worst problem before them is the attack now being launched against this struggle and the support being given to this attack on an international scale by the false Trotskyists in the name of the Fourth International.

It is an attack in the service of imperialism. It is being directed by the Stalinist apparatus from Havana and it is being carried out by the very leadership the masses of Nicaragua trusted to lead them in the reconstruction of their country on revolutionary foundations: the FSLN.

In a speech to workers and peasants in Leon on September 21st, reported in an article in the pseudo-Trotskyist MILITANT announcing this attack, Henry Ruiz, FSLN leader, "blasted those who 'are now pretending to be the most revolutionary' and who demand land, national liberation, and social justice 'as if these weren't the very tasks of the revolution'."

Elsewhere, Jaime Wheelock, Agrarian Reform Minister, denounced "Trotskyists and all those who want to accelerate the evolution of the regime in Nicaragua" as counterrevolutionaries.

The FSLN says conditions are not ripe for workers revolution, that it is necessary to cooperate with the "patriotic" capitalists in the reconstruction of the country, to go slowly, not to provoke an attack by U.S. imperialism. So not only have they not executed the National Guard, they've left known supporters of Somoza in prominent positions, set dozens of Guardsmen free, and even agreed to pay the foreign debt Somoza accumulated with the U.S. and Israel buying bombs with which to murder the Nicaraguan masses!

"The Revolution belongs to everybody," says the FSLN in BARRICADA. "The Revolution means reconstruction; it means harmony in work."

The FSLN's attempt to dissolve and disarm the independent committees formed in the course of the combat against Somoza and called "Civil Defense Committees" has evi-

dently failed. So it is trying to subsume these committees within Sandinista Civil Defense Committees which are tied to the army the FSLN is now building, which in turn is pledged to defend capitalist property and the bourgeois government of "national reconstruction."

The FSLN began a "get-tough" campaign with leaders of "illegal" land seizures and job actions, continuing the great tradition established with the deportation of the Simon Bolivar Brigade as "counterrevolutionaries" and "foreign provocateurs" in mid-August.

According to the pseudo-Trotskyists, this policy of cooperation with the capitalists is just temporary, designed to "get the country back on its feet" and to "counter the imperialists' propaganda."

This is a lie. This attack on the revolution by the alleged leaders of the revolution has ENCOURAGED the capitalists to come out of the holes in which they have been hiding. Even BARRICADA reports increasing exploitation and abuse of workers and peasants. The "liberal" bourgeoisie is reconstituting itself, forming the Sandinista Social Democratic Party and publishing LA PRENSA, and is attacking the workers struggles as totalitarian, identifying them with Stalinism, complaining that people use bourgeois as a synonym for exploiter and demanding rights for themselves. This has also given new life to the National Guard, 5,000 of whom are gathered in Honduras, and who have begun to organize attacks on prisons to free their fellow assassins and ambush young patrols.

These cynics of the pseudo-Trotskyist Usec even know it's a lie. When the revolution first broke out these petty bourgeois careerists enthusiastically proclaimed that Nicaragua would be a "new Cuba" in a matter of months. Now they've learned that if Castro and the FSLN have their way not only will it not be a "new Cuba" it won't even be a very "new Nicaragua." So they are already writing an obituary for the revolution and assigning themselves the hero's role.

In a recent "think piece" on Nicaragua (by Charles Andre-Udry, INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS/INPRECOR No. xx), they announce that "the fate of the revolution has not been determined," that the FSLN cannot hold power for more than a year in the present situation, that the only possibility for them is aid from Havana and Moscow, and that this is unlikely. Their solution -- a losing battle to build

the FSLN and demand aid. In short, "the revolution is dead, long live the revolution -- Vote SWP!"

Yes, the problems before the youth, workers and peasants of Nicaragua are tremendous, but they are above all political problems and there is a solution -- a political combat for the revolutionary unification of the proletariats of the Two Americas; the construction of the Fourth International as the world center of the revolution in the Two Americas.

This political struggle can give a future to the youth and workers fighting for the seizure of the factories, the land, the independence of the Civil Defense Committees from the FSLN, the destruction of the Guard, a future to all those who support this struggle.

It can smash the arguments of the FSLN and the pseudo-Trotskyists according to which the workers have no choice but to cooperate with the capitalists, to put down their guns, bite their tongues, and go begging to U.S. imperialism for aid; that they must look forward to a future of constant guerilla warfare with imperialism, with no perspective of freedom from this threat once and for all.

What is this perspective next to the perspective of revolutionary cooperation with the American proletariat in the reconstruction of Nicaragua, the destruction of imperialism in its heartland, the U.S.? This is the meaning of the combat for the revolutionary unification of the proletariats of the Two Americas.

And this struggle can smash the alliance of the American bourgeoisie, the Stalinist apparatus, its Castroite puppets in the FSLN and the pseudo-Trotskyists out to crush the revolution in Nicaragua. Because this alliance is based entirely on a political perspective of the continued domination of U.S. imperialism over the North American working class and the masses of Latin America.

The U.S. working class, above all its youth, must take the initiative in this struggle in the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas. This will make this perspective concrete to the masses oppressed by imperialism in Latin America and strike a blow against a pillar of this alliance, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

We can't permit them to attack the revolution in the name of the Fourth International.

IEC Resolution (Continued)

In order to respond to this situation, the Fourth International must continue and develop the offensive that led to the 4th Congress of the RYI. It must regain the initiative in order to overcome its delay, a delay which consists in a delay in the preparation of the party through its central organ, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, for the decisive confrontations which are approaching. The offensive of the Fourth International consists in reinforcing its role as the INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF INITIATIVE FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAT. The struggle for the construction of the Fourth International as an international center is the means to give a political response to the workers in face of all the programs that are proposed to them.

The preparation of the VII Congress of the Fourth International is the offensive response of the party to PREPARE ITSELF and PREPARE the proletariat for the confrontations on the agenda. This is summed up in the construction of the international center of class independence. In order that the Fourth International becomes this center of initiative of the proletariat the entire party must be centralized around the regular monthly production and distribution of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The offensive of the party is the offensive for THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. In order to go beyond the present stage, in order to be able to respond to the new turn which is being prepared in the class struggle, the arm for the preparation of the party is THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL must be the organ in which the party resolves the tasks in front of it-- the clarification and delimitation of the Program of the party as a response to the problems that the workers encounter in their struggles for emancipation in face of imperialism, Stalinism and centrism.

The apparatus of the international center can only be built as the expression on the organizational level of the offensive for the centralization of the party around THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. It is by taking up its role as the constructor of the international center that our central organ can nourish the combat that the youth lead-- for the same objectives-- but in a specific manner in the ranks of the RYI.

For one cannot confuse the fact that the party constructs itself based on the mobilization of the youth with the development of the policy of the party on all programmatic terrains (trade union, struggle against centrism, etc.) in order to construct itself as the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Thus, the Fourth International organizes and centralizes its

offensive through its central organ around the two objectives of revolutionary centralization of the proletariat represented by the organization of the unity of the political and social revolutions-- the East European Conference for the Return to Lenin! and that of the revolution in the 2 Americas-- The Conference for the Construction of the Fourth International in the Two Americas. It is by preparing these Conferences that the Fourth International will give to its VII Congress the meaning of the clarification of the problems of the world revolution for the revolutionary vanguard throughout the world and will implement this policy in the ranks of the working class and the youth.

It is also through the preparation of these Conferences that our party can actively intervene in the crisis of the centrist organizations (Organizing Committee, United Secretariat) and offer to their militants a positive perspective in face of their integration in the counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance which the maneuvers of "reunification" are preparing.

These two Conferences have the goal of clarifying and deepening with the workers, militants and youth of the Two Americas and in Eastern Europe the program of the revolutionary leadership as the response to their mobilizations, by organizing their revolutionary unity against imperialism and its Stalinist agent.

The revolutionary explosion in Nicaragua already signals a new stage in the class struggle in the other Latin American countries (Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia). In these countries where the working class has had a long experience with the different attempts at Popular Fronts, the Fourth International must clarify the role of the agents of Stalinism-- Castroism and pseudo-Trotskyist centrism-- who already in the past, but even more today in face of the coming explosions are working to strangle the combats of the workers and oppressed peoples in the national framework determined by the "peaceful coexistence" between imperialism and Stalinism.

It is necessary to open up a positive solution by organizing the fraternal unity, because it is based on the program of the world revolution, with the U.S. proletariat. This proletariat, which is fighting in the very heart of imperialism, and by its offensive is nourishing the class struggle in the south of the continent, must take in charge the struggle against its own imperialism as the combat against the oppressor of the Latin American countries. This is the content that the Fourth International gives to the Conference for its rebuilding in the continent.

In the USA it is necessary to make it a stage in the regroup-

ment of the vanguard which is engaging itself in the rebuilding of the U.S. Section-- the foundation of the WORKERS PARTY under the banner of this international perspective. Among Latin American militants our party fights to take up the rebuilding of the sections of the Fourth International in Latin America, notably those in Bolivia, Argentina and Chile. In this sense the Conference must lead to the formation of the first nucleus of Latin American sections.

The foundation of the Federation of Independent Poland (KPN) in Warsaw at the beginning of September is an expression of the explosive international situation. The workers who have joined this party-- have joined it because it proposes to bring down the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their adhesion to a party which struggles for power is an evident sign of the radicalization of the working class. At the same time, and it is another aspect, not only Polish but international, of this complex situation, because it is explosive-- that there is an enormous confusion on the part of these same workers as to the necessity of separating the program of the workers from that of the bourgeoisie. Because in its program the KPN expresses the ideas of the petty bourgeoisie.

In its struggle to prepare the revolution the Fourth International bases itself on the radicalization of the workers in order to clarify in face of the confusions engendered by the anti-Leninist campaign, the program of the party, the program for the seizure of power, of the world revolution. In the preparation on the Eastern European Conference for the Return to Lenin! our party struggles to gather together the vanguard in order to place on the agenda the construction of the parties of the political revolution, in particular in Poland and Germany.

It is therefore on the basis of the offensive in the centers of the Stalinist bureaucracy and in the Two Americas that the Fourth International prepares its SEVENTH CONGRESS. Thus the International Executive Committee sets the following calendar:

- Conference of the Two Americas Christmas '79.
- East European Conference for the Return to Lenin! Spring 1980.
- VII Congress of the Fourth International. Summer 1980.

The IEC will launch the preparation of the VII through the elaboration of a THESESES, to appear before the end of the year.

OCTOBER '79.

A Weapon to Build the Conference of the 2 Americas!

*dynamics
of the cuban
revolution*
the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen

A CENTRIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

A TRUTH PUBLICATION
DECEMBER, 1978
25 CENTS

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.

Send your name and address with 50 cents to:
TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066
Detroit 48207

Autoworkers -- Take the Lead Against the World Crisis !

By FRED VITALE

With cowardly arrogance, Doug Fraser announced after the GM settlement that "reports were widespread that many workers favoring ratification did not bother to because they figured ratification would carry." GM even reprinted this in their local newsletter at Fisher Body in Livonia, Michigan, called "Sew It Seams." But the auto-workers have shown since then that indeed, "nothing is settled." In the last weeks the workers of Ford Dearborn Assembly have walked out twice (once over two foremen's dressing as KKK members "for a joke"); GM of Canada was struck nationwide followed by a wildcat at a key assembly plant; a huge construction equipment UAW local of 23,000 in Peoria, Illinois is still on a wildcat strike. All destroying the image of "passive and contented autoworkers" painted by the bourgeois press. All in defiance of the UAW bureaucracy.

As for the GM contract itself, over 60% didn't vote. The UAW counts votes by locals. If a local passes it, ALL the votes of the local are counted as YES! So 129,374 voted for and 53,391 voted against under this counting system. The 53,391 represents only locals where the majority voted against it, such as Lordstown GMAD, Trenton Fisher Body, Livonia GMAD.

This struggle by the auto-workers indicates the deep resistance to the US bourgeoisie imposing its crisis on the workers in the US and Canada. It is causing the unprecedented crisis of the imperialist system around the world. The bourgeoisie knows that to save themselves the world must be POLITICALLY REORDERED against the working class. The key to stabilizing this government is defeating the US working class and the working class throughout the Americas.

The international crisis of auto -- a part of the "new order" -- has its SHARPEST EXPRESSION in the US.

100,000 autoworkers are laid off with many more on temporary layoff.

Plants are being closed down in the inner cities and relocated in low wage and unorganized areas and in countries under

dictatorships. For example, Chrysler, at the same time that it plans to close Dodge Main next year is building a NEW plant in Mexico, joining other plants it has there.

Ford Motor Co. has announced that it "lost money" for the first time since the Depression in the 1930's on its DOMESTIC operations.

The UAW contract is not simply "a sellout." Or "inadequate." It is an agreement between the UAW bureaucracy and the government to try to TIE the US working class to this imperialist government. To politically tie the ONLY mass organizations of the workers to the terrorist state, making the UAW into a weapon for the brutal suppression of the workers. To tie the workers to the government and isolate them from their allies -- the workers and youth of Nicaragua, of Cuba, of all of Latin America.

The wildcat strikes and other actions indicate the resistance to this agreement. But the political situation, especially going into the 1980 elections, demands a CONSCIOUS fight for the revolutionary unity of the workers of North and South America against imperialism -- for CLASS INDEPENDENCE.

In the latest issue of SOLIDARITY building its phony "October 17th Day of Protest" the UAW bureaucracy says, "When the Country is Uncertain, On Thing is Certain: Unemployment." They go on: "In Canada where there's no gasoline shortage ... it's a different story." Cars are selling there, they claim.

First, unemployment is even HIGHER in Canada than in the U.S. Secondly, who's "uncertain"? Not the vast majority of people who see a bleak future over the next few years. It's the bourgeoisie that's "uncertain"-- about the Carter government and its ability to contain the workers. And Fraser wants to get "certainty" -- a strong man government which can "get" the OPEC countries and "end the gas crisis," and move openly against the working class in the US and throughout the Americas.

But this pact wouldn't sur-

vive for one second without the complicity of the traditional opportunist parties that claim to be for the workers -- the Communist Party/USA and the Socialist Workers Party. After their complete ABSENCE from any mobilization in the auto factories they come whining about the contract. The CP and its Auto Workers Action Caucus says: "Send the leaders back for more!" More what? More betrayals?

And the Stalinists slander the wildcatting strikers and any revolutionary opposition to their close allies, the UAW bureaucracy. "These groups are consistently opposed to the union leadership instead of seeking ways to unite rank and file and leadership in struggle. They are tools of the company..." (DAILY WORLD, October 4th).

The SWP spoke first of the proposed GM contract with the profound statement, "While the UAW didn't lose much ground, it didn't gain much either." (MILITANT, September 28th) A statement worthy of the blowhards that fill the lower levels of the UAW machine. A statement no Trotskyist could make.

But seeing the autoworkers opposition, they whined: "We could have done better -- if our union had been called into action." (SWP "autoworker," October 5th MILITANT) But did the SWP make any calls for independent action by the auto workers against the imperialists, against the Carter government? No! They mean that the BUREAUCRATS "didn't call the union into action." The workers at Ford Dearborn Assembly didn't wait!

The POLITICAL place these parties take in the struggle in auto foreshadows their role in the confrontation brewing in the 1980 elections. They are an ESSENTIAL part of this pact that is the contract. Because in the name of communism and, falsely, the name of the Fourth International, they BLOCK the autoworkers from seeing that THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE, and that the struggle of the autoworkers must be in their own name. This is the ONLY WAY to make the breakthrough needed in the 1980 elections. The only way for the young autoworkers to win back their union.

Above all, they DENY that the U.S. working class has the decisive role to play in the international battle in auto. They limit the role of U.S. workers to collecting canned goods for Nicaragua, to support for Castro. The CP and the SWP fear the autoworkers because, like their big brothers of the UAW bureaucracy, they know that any CONSCIOUS struggle for independence on the two continents will walk right over them.

An emergency National Convention of the UAW is the means for autoworkers themselves to respond and organize their class independence against the international crisis in auto. A Convention to lead the U.S. working class and the world working class. A Convention of democratically elected delegates from mass assemblies in the factories, of unemployed and laid-off autoworkers, of workers in related industries, built by the workers themselves.

At Fisher Body in Livonia (UAW Local 174) the fight for class independence has begun. At union meetings called for "discussion of the contract," autoworker members of the Trotskyist Organization/USA called for rejection of the contract, for an Emergency National Convention of the UAW organized by the autoworkers and for the RENEWAL of the leadership of the unions, of the whole working class. At each meeting the bureaucracy and its lackeys attempted to suppress us when we spoke. They were unable to. At each meeting the few workers present applauded and sympathized with what we said and our fight against the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is incapable of defeating a struggle for class independence. A leadership must be formed at GM Livonia to deepen and spread this fight.

In particular, we call on all Ford workers to reject the contract by BUILDING a movement for the Emergency National Convention of the UAW, for the unity of the workers in the Two Americas, for class independence.

October 14, 1979

S-1722--Which Is The Trickiest Of Them All?

By BARBARA PUTNAM

It was "Tricky Dick" Nixon who first took up the cudgels of revamping the Federal Criminal Code through his infamous S.1 Bill. Today the S.1 Bill lives on through Kennedy's S.1722, the latest "revision" of the Federal Criminal Code.

Now, more than ever, the bourgeoisie must find a strongman government, arm itself against the youth and workers, against ANY and ALL opposition to the imperialist state.

S.1722 is being pushed the most by "friend of labor" Ted Kennedy (who has declared himself to be the one who defines "liberalism" in the U.S.) who is determined to prove that "democracy" is really dead in the U.S. and that what is necessary is not "human rights" but more prisons.

Not everybody in the ruling circles agrees with this. Jesse Jackson wants to continue traditional American "idealism." His sojourn to the Arab countries, loaded with pacifistic proposals, (to allow deeper intervention of U.S. imperialism into the affairs of these countries) was met with vicious political attacks and cries to use the Logan Act against him.

The Logan Act is nearly two centuries old. It says that no U.S. citizen can go to a foreign country to influence or discuss with its government or agents of its government. Kennedy's S.1722, the grandson of S.1, reaffirms this law.

The basis for S.1722 was laid long ago under the Nixon administration. The liberals' task now is to tell the masses that the government is "cleaning up" itself and unifying its laws so as to be orderly and more "just". What is really going on is the systematic arrangement of repression, the legitimization of wiretapping, surveillance, prosecution of the working class and its youth in courts of law.

To summarize some of the central provisions of the S.1722 Bill: it will result in the great enlargement of Federal jurisdiction and make punishable activities that are necessary to defend democratic rights. Simply telling somebody not to join the army can be a Federal

crime. There are provisions to be used against striking workers to punish them as criminals for "extortion" and "blackmail". Any persons or organizations who disagree with the government can be considered criminals who are taking part in "espionage". The language in S.1722 is deliberately vague and general so as to be applied to any and all situations; to any and all opposition to the policies of the government.

But let the centrists, liberals and civil libertarians of all shades cry about attacks on "individual rights." What really is at stake with S.1722, with Kennedy, is massive repression of the entire population to subject it to the will of the minority who dominate every aspect of life. It is the iron fist inside the velvet

glove of "human rights."

A real combat against S.1722 and the efforts to reinforce the police powers of the imperialist state requires revolutionary struggle with the aim, not of "correcting the worst abuses" of the state and its FBI, as the centrists pose it, (in particular the leadership of the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP,) but in DISMANTLING the terrorist state through the activity of the workingclass and its party, through the systematic construction of the political leadership, the army of the socialist revolution, among the youth who are always the first to see the real nature of the bourgeoisie's plans and expose the "Tricky Dicks" and what they stand for.

The struggle against S.1722 is an important element in the

fight the Trotskyist Organization/USA and Revolutionary Young Workers are making in the elections.

Our purpose in bringing this discussion to you, the workers and youth, is to bring political understanding -- which means advancing toward the victory of the working class -- to prepare the conscious struggle against S.1722 and its sponsors, against the terrorist state itself; against any illusion that it is not necessary to defeat these measures.

No Kennedy! No S.1722! No terrorist state! This is the combat which we organize in the schools, factories and unions. The fight against S.1722 can only be a fight for the revolution.
October 16, 1979



"MIRROR... MIRROR ON THE WALL,
WHO'S THE TRICKIEST OF THEM ALL!"

"Electoral campaigns must be carried out not in the sense of obtaining the maximum number of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution."

Lenin

Revolutionary Youth And The Road To Independence!

By RICH TETRAULT

The youth today are in a situation which offers very little hope in the way of a future. The problems of the youth are a direct result of the escalating decay of the world capitalist order and the betrayals of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists.

The youth organized in the Revolutionary Young Workers, U.S. detachment of the Revolutionary Youth International, fight to be blunt and as precise as possible. We struggle to face even the most brutal realities of the political situation in the U.S. and around the world. We have no room for abstention or pacifism since it is a combat that we are preparing through the WORLD ARMY that we are constructing.

The situation facing young people is more than critical today, it is imperative that they join the struggle to determine the future. What does this mean to young workers, students and unemployed youth? It means joining the fight to construct the only international youth organization forged in the struggle to destroy the world imperialist order and its Stalinist servants. It means putting an end to intermediary solutions by fighting for the only solution with a future--The WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

The importance of political preparation and clarification cannot be overemphasized. The future that we are discussing is ours and will be determined in the next few years. With the onset of the 1980's, the bourgeoisie, is moving conspicuously to refine its repressive machine. The movement around the 1980 Presidential Elections is at the basis of its plan to lead the workers and youth of the U.S. into an era of submission and demoralization. The RYI says: NO TO IMPERIALISM! NO TO STALINISM! YES TO SOCIALISM!

In the struggle to construct a new leadership from the youth, to lead the working

class on the road to independence, the RYW/USA is preparing a Youth Conference: "Youth and the 1980 Presidential Elections -- A Revolutionary Alternative." This conference, to be held in Detroit on December 1 and 2, represents the beginning of the combat to free the world working class and especially its youth in the combat to free working class and especially its youth in the combat against abstentionism, for the active and energetic participation of the youth in defining and realizing the revolutionary road forward to the independence of the working class, the World Socialist Revolution.

This is without question a combat, a combat which will be lead by the most advanced, class conscious youth. But this is a constant struggle to be prepared and the combat is a daily combat. The Youth Conference is being prepared now by the RYI as a part of that daily struggle in order to focus the attention of the American youth on the most fundamental question, that is determining our future. It is within this perspective that the RYI fights to pose a REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE, to make the preparation of the revolution the most important question on the minds of young revolutionaries.

In the wake of mass confusion among the youth, there has been a wave of pseudo-

revolutionaries carrying their bag of tricks with the sole purpose of servicing the decrepit imperialist order at the price of the youth and their future. All sorts of new and old "coalitions" and "alliances" of petty bourgeois bureaucrats have emerged on the scene. The personnel range from the sleazy trade union bureaucrats to the highly polished judges, congressmen, and city council members -- all united on one front -- the COUNTERREVOLUTION! A disgusting lot of traitors and opportunists.

The most obvious example of such an "alliance" is the "Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy" -- DARE. This organization is officially referred to as "a grass roots, multiracial, city-wide community organization ... calling for basic social change in our city, our nation and our world." Certainly respectable goals but hardly a plan to rally the masses of youth who want an end to this rotten system. At the bottom of DARE we find its big name members. Recorders Court Judge Justin C. Ravitz, the illustrious city councilman, Kenneth Cockrel, Cockrel's staff coordinators Sheila Murphy, Jim Jacobs, and Ted Spearman.

It's somewhat amusing to find a group of individuals who have for years supported this dying order, suddenly supporting

the working class. Cockrel goes even further by saying that "the alternatives don't lie in legislative action, but in changing the means of production from capitalism to socialism." Suddenly this "alliance" becomes less amusing and more alarming. Cockrel's idea of change is simple reformism, pressure tactics. But what does this all mean to young people in and around Detroit who seriously want to prepare the future?

To the honest youth who seek a solution with a future, it does not lie in begging local, state and federal bureaucracies for a decent life, for a "slice of the pie" or for some crumbs from the table of the rich and privileged ruling class. Nor does it lie in placing petty bourgeois bureaucrats at the head of our organizations. Or in abstentionism.

Or does the future of the working class youth lie in preparing a revolutionary alternative? It is for this very reason that the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is preparing its Conference. There is but one place for young militants today and that is within the ranks of the WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION -- the RYI.

The RYW is preparing and organizing this Youth Conference through a special issue of International Young Guard which is available from your local TRUTH or IYG distributor.

We must begin a struggle to discuss and prepare the Youth Conference, to elaborate the Revolutionary Alternative in the struggle to prepare the world revolution. On November 7, the RYW/USA is preparing a demonstration and celebration of the October Revolution of 1917 and the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky. Join us in celebrating a rich and fulfilling heritage. Enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution. --JOIN THE RYI!

Just Out!

Special Issue of

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

"CALL TO A YOUTH CONFERENCE:

"Youth & the 1980 Presidential Elections:

A Revolutionary Alternative