

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!**

**TRUTH** 

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**Against SALT II! Against All False Solutions to  
Carter's Government in Crisis—**

**FOR THE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
UNITY OF WORKERS  
OF THE USA & USSR!**

The last few weeks have been rough for Jimmy "human rights" Carter. The Democratic Party caucus in Congress rejected both Carter's 1980 budget and his "energy plan." Five Democratic Party Congressmen announced a "Dump Carter" movement.

And now, a Federal judge has just declared Carter's "voluntary wage and price controls" to be un-constitutional. And the labor bureaucrats now dare to call this a "victory" after they have capitulated to this illegal program for over six months!

We're not trying to make anyone feel sorry for this lying hypocrite and his rotten government. Simply trying to explain where the daily misery faced by workers and youth in this country is coming from-- a government in crisis, a government on the defensive in face of the mobilization of workers and oppressed throughout the world.

A crisis of U.S. imperialism caused by its inability to contain the revolutionary explosion being prepared around the world. A crisis as well of its chief ally in the workers movement-- the international Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin and its "Communist" parties. A crisis also present in the heart of the Kremlin-- in the

USSR-- through the resurgence of a mass working class opposition to the Stalinist regime.

The SALT II treaty soon to be signed by Carter and Brezhnev is a product of this crisis. Having nothing to do with peace or disarmament this is a pact against this workers mobilization from the USA to the USSR.

Even the discussion over how to organize this counterrevolutionary collaboration between U.S. imperialism and Stalinism has produced a crisis. The opposition to SALT II in the U.S. expresses a bourgeoisie divided over how to attack the working class.

The U.S. bourgeoisie is divided because the workers mobilization has shattered all the various bourgeois solutions to its crisis. "Human rights," and its by-product, "Euro-Communism," have been shattered in Europe, East and West. All the attempts to contain the crisis of the Democratic Party and trade union bureaucracy have also failed.

In face of this crisis, symbolized by this counterrevolutionary SALT treaty, the Fourth International in the U.S. says that the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY of the workers of the USA and USSR is the only positive solution

to this crisis.

But there are obstacles to this unity and the chief obstacles are in the workers movement. The false leaderships who have constantly come to the aid of U.S. imperialism in the last years-- the American Communist Party (CP) and its pseudo-Trotskyist ally, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Who supported "human rights" ("If Carter called a conference on "human rights" we'd be the first ones there") declared the SWP). Who tried to shove Ed Sadlowski (now rejected by workers in his own local!) and Arnold Miller down the throats of American workers.

And who are now trying to impose new, false solutions to aid imperialism in crisis. The "anti-monopoly struggle" ("Corporate Power No, People's Power, Yes") of the American CP designed to divert the attention of American workers away from a fight against the STATE and the Democratic Party which controls the unions.

The "labor party" of the SWP based on a program of reform and the "human rights" granted by the state and its courts.

False solutions designed to hide the task of the American working class-- the preparation of the revolution and the fight

for the revolutionary unity of the USA and USSR workers which is key to this preparation.

Solutions above all against the PARTY of this unity-- the only way to politically arm and lead the working class and youth in face of this crisis.

The WORKERS PARTY. The party of the revolutionary unity of the USA and USSR workers which can only be built by confronting the obstacles to this unity-- the CP and SWP. A party to organize the break of the American working class with the Democratic Party by arming them against all false solutions to imperialism's crisis. A party to build a new, revolutionary leadership for the American working class.

The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, which met in Detroit on Memorial Day weekend, launched the fight for the Founding Convention of the Workers Party in the Spring of 1980. A fight to rebuild the Fourth International in the U.S. as the party of class independence, as the only party whose banner holds the key to the world revolution -- THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE USA AND USSR.

Join the party of this combat.

June 1, 1979

TRUTH

# Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

1. The Fourth International engages the battle for the preparation of the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) as a struggle to form and educate in the class struggle, that is, in the preparation of the revolution, the future revolutionary cadres of the proletariat under the slogan of RETURN TO LENIN.

2. The Congress of the RYI will be held under the following slogans:

-- Against the Holy Alliance of Imperialism and Stalinism!

-- Against the Police-State Europe of the Bourgeoisie and Bureaucrats! For the Socialist United States of Europe!

**BUILD THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!  
RETURN TO LENIN!**

The formation of youth as future revolutionary cadres cannot be realized through an ideological struggle outside of a mobilization nor through an adaptation without a delimitation to the conjunctural forms which the reactions of the youth to the Sacred Union take.

It is a mobilization to prepare the revolution in which we will select the revolutionary cadres in a confrontation of our orientation in the class struggle in order to organize the political break of the youth against Stalinism and centrism. The latter, around "Euro-Communism," which they present as an improvement over Stalinism, are developing an anti-Leninist counter-offensive in order to submit the proletariat to the Sacred Union in defense of the bourgeois and bureaucratic states and to push the youth into the trap of petty bourgeois individualism.

For today the objective conditions produced by the working class resistance to the Sacred Union, deepening the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism, are forcing the working class masses to take up an open struggle against the now precipitous attacks of the bourgeoisie against their standard of living. But the determining thing in this turn in the workers mobilization is that it is being made on the basis of a certain balance sheet of "Euro-Communism" which in the last period has been forced to burn a lot of its cards in order to contain the anger of the workers.

This situation, begun by the entry into struggle of the German and French steelworkers, by the beginning of a new strike wave in Spain, has defeated the Euro-Stalinists' attempts to integrate the proletariat into the bourgeois state. These attempts place them in a situation where they can no longer assure the control of the working class upsurge which has begun. At the same time that strikes are breaking out in Poland, the movements for independent unions in Eastern Europe are deepening the crisis of Stalinism.

Thus, in the stage which is now beginning, the Fourth International must see to it that the youth, who have developed their mobilization on the margin of the proletariat, place themselves at the head of the coming class confrontations, with the orientation of the Fourth International. The task of the Fourth International, through the struggle of the RYI, is to bring the working class

youth to the head of the proletariat with its political orientation of the preparation of the revolution in order to renew the leadership of the proletariat by driving out the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucrats and centrists. That is, the battle, in the response to the plans for unemployment, repression and oppression of nationalities, to construct the organs of the dual power of the proletariat, to reinforce its class independence leading towards the seizure of power.

This means that the task of the Fourth International in constructing the RYI, the world army of the socialist revolution, is to make the youth the cadres of the revolution, the leaders of the struggles of the proletariat towards their centralization against the bourgeois and bureaucratic states. To impulse the formation of strike pickets, strike and factory committees, workers militias, by centralizing them for the confrontation with the state by making them instruments of the revolution.

And through this mobilization to deepen the balance sheet of the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois, autonomous, terrorist groups, etc., who say that the working class is lost for the revolution and organize the marginalization of the youth from the proletariat.

In this situation where "Euro-Communism" is in difficulty the centrists have been pushed forward by the Stalinists precisely because the stake of the coming confrontations is determined by the Fourth International, its capacity to make the working class youth, under its orientation, the leader of the coming class confrontations.

At the same time it is the difficulties of "Euro-Communism" itself which has deepened the crisis of the liquidationist centers which have supported it. It is a balance sheet of the bankruptcy of centrism, of their attempts to present "Euro-Communism" as an "improvement" over Stalinism. Their crisis places them in a defensive situation which characterizes their reunification maneuvers.

It is deepened by the fact that the Stalinists have forced them to be in the front ranks on the basis of a direct attack against the Fourth International. The reunification has the meaning of presenting to the working class the idea that the resolution of the crisis of the Fourth International could only be resolved on the basis of its integration to Stalinism and through it to the bourgeois order.

This can only be realized by an open attack against the rebuilt Fourth International. This is the stone that the OCI brings to this building by attacking its own past struggle against Pabloism, by presenting our struggle for the delimitation of the party as divisive and provocative and by developing as the practical consequence of the reunification, the campaign of police slanders against the Fourth International.

The Fourth International is preparing the Fourth Congress of the RYI in order to make the youth the cadres of the revolution, the leaders of the coming class confrontations BY FIGHTING TO PLACE THEM AT THE HEAD OF THE PROLETARIAT, ARMED WITH ITS POLITICAL ORIENTATION.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

# TRUTH

P.O. BOX 07066  
DETROIT, MI 48207

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

Published bi-weekly in Detroit, MI  
by TRUTH, INC.

— Subscription rates —  
— US, 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.

## Subscribe to LA AURORA!

Newspaper of the  
Spanish Section of the  
Fourth International  
(weekly)

\$13 - 6 MONTHS

Checks payable to:  
TRUTH Inc.  
PO Box 07066  
Detroit, MI 48207

SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH! FIVE DOLLARS FOR ONE YEAR

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

CHECK OR MONEY ORDER PAYABLE TO TRUTH

SEND TO: TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066, DETROIT, MI. 48207

BECOME  
A TRUTH  
DISTRIBUTOR!

BUNDLE OF 10 FOR \$1  
WRITE TRUTH



# Political Resolution

## Adopted by the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

### Introduction

We are publishing in this issue of TRUTH the resolutions adopted by the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA which was held in Detroit on May 26-27-- the POLITICAL RESOLUTION which defines the orientation and combat we have engaged for the coming year and the PLAN of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to prepare the Fourth World Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International at the end of July which is the first stage in our offensive.

Present at the Conference along with militants of the Trotskyist Organization/USA were militants of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, invited guests and representatives of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. On May 28 the results of our Conference were presented publically through a forum entitled: "From the USA to the USSR-- the Revolutionary Unity of the Working Class."

The Fifth National Conference was a step forward for the entire International in the definition of its tasks in the U.S. and the Conference engaged a battle-- for the foundation of the Workers Party-- whose success will be an advance for the world working class.

But the real step forward must be in the months to come. In the combat and mobilization of the workers and youth. In all the work of our Conference we based ourselves on the revolutionary character of the mobilization of the American workers and youth. Our Conference was our answer to this mobilization.

An answer which also depends on you. We call on all readers of TRUTH to take up this fight with us, to join our struggle. We invite your comments on these resolutions and above all invite you to find your place in selecting and organizing the vanguard of the American working class.

June 1, 1979  
TRUTH

1. The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all American workers and youth to join us in a mobilization for the FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY to be held in the Summer of 1980. A mobilization to construct the party of class independence of the American working class, the historic and most immediate task in front of American workers and youth. A mobilization to construct the party of the world revolution and thus the party of the American revolution in a combat against U.S. imperialism and its agents inside the workers movement. A mobilization which concentrates all the tasks of the preparation of the revolution in the United States today.

At the same time this mobilization to found the Workers Party is the meaning of the fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. The Fourth International was founded in the U.S. in order to realize the class independence of the American working class and to construct a leadership to accomplish this task. Historically and today this fight for class independence is concentrated in organizing the break of the American workers and youth with the IMPERIALIST LEADERSHIP of

the workers movement-- the bourgeois Democratic Party and its trade union bureaucrats which still dominate the mass of the American working class-- by constructing a party representing the interests of the American proletariat, a Workers Party, to lead the struggle of the working class for political power against this bourgeois, imperialist order.

The Fourth International was founded in the U.S. to lead this fight, its rebuilding must signify the realization of this task. The Fourth International has an important tradition in the United States. The American Trotskyists, in 1928, were among the first revolutionary militants in the world to join Leon Trotsky and his comrades of the Russian Opposition in organizing the international combat against the Stalinist betrayal of the Third International. The American Section of the Fourth International, which until 1963 was the Socialist Workers Party, was a pillar of the Fourth International, a party of combat against U.S. imperialism and its Stalinist agents.

The fight today to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International is a fight against this SWP which today has nothing to do with Trotskyism or the Fourth International, a party which is a

centrist obstacle to the American workers' fight for class independence, at the same time a fight to regain the continuity of the Fourth International in the U.S. and SURPASS IT. To surpass it by realizing precisely what the SWP was unable to accomplish-- the foundation of the party of class independence of the American working class in a fight to construct an international center of the world revolution.

The rebuilding of the U.S. Section of the Fourth International, a task which can only be accomplished through the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, thus coincides with the historic task of the American proletariat. It is a struggle for class independence that can only be led through a CONFRONTATION with all the other leaderships in the workers movement who are obstacles to this task-- the trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who translate the policy of the Kremlin in the U.S. into direct support to these bureaucrats and the Democratic Party and the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP who are today more and more needed by both the bureaucrats and Stalinists to block the vanguard of the working class from finding its way to the Fourth International and its historic task. The foundation of the Workers Party, as the historic and immediate task of the Fourth International in the U.S., will thus signify the political destruction of the SWP as a centrist obstacle to this task.

2. The Trotskyist Organization/USA insists that the foundation of the Workers Party is an immediate task, for today. That both the world political situation and the situation in the U.S. demonstrate this. That the experience of the American workers and youth itself demonstrates this. And that the delay in the construction of this party is a danger that hangs over the head of every workers mobilization and combat in the United States.

Both here and around the world U.S. imperialism is in crisis. The latest so-called "gas crisis" is but one more proof that the crisis of U.S. imperialism is a POLITICAL

crisis-- a crisis caused by the FAILURE of all bourgeois solutions in the last few years which attempted to control the offensive which signals a new revolutionary explosion throughout the world. A failure which has also been a failure of imperialism's allies in the workers movement -- above all Stalinism and especially its "Euro-Communist" wing which was a direct product of "human rights"-- a failure which necessitated the deepened integration of the pseudo-Trotskyists into Stalinism, along with the latest developments in the class struggle (the revolution in Iran, the crisis of Stalinism in Southeast Asia, the strike waves in Europe) signal a new revolutionary explosion throughout the world. And signal at the same time the danger-- that this upsurge will be defeated unless a vanguard is prepared to lead it, unless the working class youth throughout the world are won en masse to the combat to RETURN TO LENIN!, to construct the Fourth International as the leadership of this upsurge.

In the United States this crisis of imperialism is above all expressed in the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party and its trade union bureaucracy. Jimmy Carter was elected in 1976 in face of a growing workers mobilization in the U.S. that had caused the crisis of the Nixon regime, leading to the "Watergate crisis." The bourgeoisie tried to pass Carter off as an alternative to Nixon-- "human rights" in order to reform the bourgeois state hated for the crimes of the FBI and CIA, a "renovated" Democratic Party. All of this has been a failure as the American workers and youth have more and more massively rejected the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy in the last years, have more and more openly sought a political confrontation with the Carter government.

The political situation demonstrates that the foundation of the Workers Party is on the order of the day. The accumulation of experiences of the American workers and youth demonstrate this as well. The experiences since 1968, but more particularly, since Carter's election in 1976, have demonstrated, to an increasing number of workers

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

# Political Resolution

(CONTINUED)

and youth, not only the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party and its bureaucracy, but the bankruptcy of all the various petty bourgeois "solutions" to the crisis of the Democratic Party proposed above all by the Stalinists and the SWP. "Solutions" concentrated in the proposal for a "labor party"-- a party which is only another disguise for the bourgeoisie's continued domination of the workers movement.

Experiences which aren't positive in and of themselves, but which demonstrate that today all the problems in front of the American working class can be presented as POLITICAL problems-- problems of the confrontation with Carter and the Democratic Party and the problems of the LEADERSHIP of the American working class. The problems which the Workers Party is being founded to resolve. The fight to found the Workers Party is a fight to deepen and unify the present workers mobilization, a political offensive to provide the only answer to the entire crisis of this society.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA affirms that it is the REVOLUTION that is being prepared in the U.S. today, in all of the mobilizations of the workers and youth. And that it is the fight to construct the Workers Party as the selection and organization of a vanguard to lead this revolution which represents the struggle for power in the U.S. today, which concretizes our fight for a Workers Government and the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

3. The preparation of the American revolution, the foundation of the Workers Party, is an international task. Not only because the revolution being prepared is a world revolution. Not only because the fate of the world revolution will eventually be decided on American soil. But because the foundation of the Workers Party is a key element in the world strategic task of the Fourth International-- to forge the unity of the social revolution against capitalism in the West and the political revolution against Stalinism in the East. The fight to found the Workers Party and the political struggle it requires is a step towards this unity-- not only because the foundation of the Workers Party is a powerful blow against imperialism in its heartland, but because it is a blow against Stalinism as well. The Kremlin bureaucracy maintains its power due to the isolation of the American and USSR proletariats, the rule of the Democratic Party over the American workers is part of the rule of the Kremlin itself. And Stalinism throughout the world, including Castro in the Two Americas, forges its policies around the idea that "imperialism is too strong," that the American proletariat can't be counted on for anything revolu-

tionary. The foundation of the Workers Party, in a struggle for class independence against Stalinism and centrism is a confrontation not only in the U.S. but with the entire framework of the counterrevolution established throughout the world.

The fight for the Workers Party is a fight for the revolution throughout the world, a fight which must specifically be expressed in the fight for the revolutionary unification of the proletariats of the Two Americas. The foundation of the Workers Party concentrates this fight as a confrontation in the workers movement with all "national solutions" designed to identify the American working class with U.S. imperialism. Against the centrists who identify the American working class with Carter, with U.S. imperialism, thus attempting to tie the workers and youth in Latin America to the national bourgeoisies. All "solutions" which say that the task of the American working class is something other than to take the leadership of the revolution throughout the Americas by building a party to destroy U.S. imperialism in its heartland and to unmask imperialism's Stalinist agent, Fidel Castro, throughout the Americas. A struggle which is at the same time a confrontation in the working class with the pseudo-Trotskyists-- above all the "reunification" taking place on the terrain of the Two Americas between the SWP and OCI which is a "reunification" designed to reinforce the national isolation of the proletariats North and South by attacking the international center which alone can break this isolation.

The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA thus calls on all American workers and youth to take up the fight for the foundation of the Workers Party as an international fight, a fight for the CONSTRUCTION of the Fourth International in the Two Americas. In which the fight for the Fourth International's CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS to be held in Madrid in November must be a crucial element in the preparation of the Founding Convention of the Workers Party.

4. This fight requires a WEAPON. A weapon in the foundation of the Workers Party as an international task of the American proletariat. This weapon is the REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL and its arm in the U.S., the REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS/USA. Founded in the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International against any hope that Stalinism and centrism represented any solutions for today's working class youth and their struggle for a real future, the Revolutionary Youth International is the means to organize the youth throughout the world to construct the Fourth Inter-

national and to educate the communist cadre of the revolution through the revolutionary methods of the youth. It is our revolutionary answer to the mobilization and problems of today's youth, the key to the foundation of the Workers Party which can only be founded as a party to renew the leadership of the workers movement as part of the international mobilization of the youth, as the struggle to RETURN TO LENIN!

The task of the Trotskyist Organization/USA is to initiate and lead the development of the RYI in the U.S. as a mass mobilization and movement of the youth to construct the Workers Party. To do this the only way possible for the RYI-- as a movement to prepare the revolution, to renew the leadership of the workers movement against the bureaucrats, Stalinism and centrism, to forge, educate and select the future cadres-- leaders of the American revolution and leaders of the Workers Party which will be founded. To take the lead in bringing the program of the revolution, the Program of the Fourth International into every mobilization and struggle of the workers and the youth in a fight for leadership, in a fight for the leading party of the revolution.

Above all the political struggle of the Trotskyist Organization/USA for the revolution must be brought into the trade unions in the United States, where the decisive battles in the fight for leadership, in the fight to found the Workers Party must be waged. This is the central way to build the RYW/USA -- through the fight of the youth to introduce the revolutionary struggle into the unions. The struggle for the Workers Party is the political struggle that the Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes as the struggle of the youth in the unions. To place the Program for this party at the center of every mobilization and to organize the fight for the foundation for the Workers Party as a mass movement in the unions. The circles of the RYW/USA, the revolutionary fractions of the TO/USA in the unions are to be the mass leaders of a movement among the youth in the unions to transform the unions into weapons of the entire working class by organizing a political movement in the unions for the foundation of the Workers Party -- the only means to insure the class independence of the proletariat.

It is in the framework of this struggle that the Trotskyist Organization/USA develops a policy of a YOUTH ALLIANCE FOR THE WORKERS PARTY as a means to construct the RYI. To make the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States the motor force of all the initiatives of the American working class youth in organizing a mass movement for the foundation of the Workers Party. To unite its fractions in the unions, committees of students, unemployed

youth and unorganized youth, committees in defense of democratic rights into a central movement to organize all the initiatives and struggles of the working class youth, all the initiatives of the RYI in the fight for the foundation of the Workers Party. A fight which is the concrete expression of the fight to RETURN TO LENIN! in the United States, to educate and select a vanguard of the working class in the methods of Bolshevism and in the struggle for the Bolshevik Party.

The Fifth National Conference decides that the immediate conclusion of its work and decisions will be the preparation of the 4th Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International (end of July, Paris) in the United States. To be centralized in a NATIONAL CONFERENCE of the Revolutionary Young Workers on July 1st in Detroit. The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all youth to join in its preparation as a means to provide a revolutionary political solution to all the struggles and initiatives of the youth that are taking place today-- to raise the youth to their rightful political place in this country-- fighting alongside the Fourth International to found the party of class independence of the American working class.

5. The fight to found the Workers Party is a political confrontation. Specifically, a confrontation with Stalinism and centrism who are attempting to reinforce the bourgeois state and its apparatus in crisis around attempts to find new, false "solutions" to imperialism's bankrupt "human rights" campaign. "Solutions" which are today being centralized around the preparation of the 1980 Presidential elections and represent the way in which Stalinism and centrism in the U.S. are part of the international Holy Alliance -- from Brezhnev to Carter to Castro -- against the workers and youth. "Solutions" above all designed to prevent the working class from drawing a revolutionary balance sheet of what has happened since 1976, to prevent the construction of a revolutionary leadership in face of the crisis of the Democratic Party and U.S. imperialism. "Solutions" against the mobilization of the working class whose only positive conclusion can be the foundation of the Workers Party.

The Fifth National Conference thus launches a fight against these new, false "solutions" by intervening in the 1980 Presidential elections, by developing the fight to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeois state in every mobilization. The Workers Party will be founded against the latest maneuvers of imperialism and Stalinism and the so-called "solutions" to the crisis of the bourgeois state by making the 1980 Presidential

CONTINUED TO PAGE 8

# For the Revolution of the Workers Councils: "International Young Guard"

By SERGIO PEIRO

Translated from LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE 71-72

On March 18 and 19 in Barcelona, the Revolutionary Youth International held the Third Congress of its Spanish section, the JRE (Revolutionary Youth of Spain). This Congress was of great importance: its work centered on the renewal of the workers movement, on the incorporation of the youth into the Fourth International through the international movement inspired by the RYI; that is, in the preparation of the first offensive in the European Revolution.

FROM "REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH" TO  
"INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD"

The Revolutionary Youth of Spain was founded in the summer of 1974 in response to the Call of the International League — Rebuilding the Fourth International to the youth of the whole world. Within the party, a tendency dominated which considered that the JRE ought to be "its Youth," an appendage for decisive work "toward the working class cadres," in opposition to the orientation that had been defined, that of winning the youth. This is the meaning of the Transitional Program: "Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution."

In the combat of the rebuilding and in the Fourth International itself there was not a constant struggle of delimitation against opportunist positions which ALWAYS sacrifice the conquest of the youth in their capitulation; just as in the constant difficulty in clearly distinguishing the JRE from the PORE.

In the course of the last few months the crisis that was brought to a head and led to the purging of a petty bourgeois tendency and the development of the PORE permitted the clarification of the role of the youth in the class struggle, the selection and training of an autonomous leadership of the JRE and the placing of the RYI in Spain in a state of combat readiness.

Following the death of Franco, the Holy Alliance of imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy maneuvered with the "democratization of the regime," in order to avoid the beginning of the European Revolution. From this policy arose the unity between

the Francoists and the "workers" leaders, between the ex-fascists and ex-Republicans from the Spanish Civil War: the monarchy of Juan Carlos. Bit by bit, the Spanish CP was integrated into this Sacred Union through its successive capitulations to the "anti-Leninist" campaign and to anti-Leninism. The youth could only be sacrificed in this union of class collaboration. The rejection of this betrayal has created nationalist and terrorist movements and different varieties of spontaneism among the youth. The opportunists live in bitter fear of the workers revolution and of the youth destined to be its spark. This rapid analysis allows us to situate the positions that developed within the Fourth International regarding the youth and, inevitably, regarding the nature of our party.

Last year the Fourth Congress of the PORE stated that: "Independently of their present form, these movements of the youth represent the real tendency of the workers movement as a whole and of the youth in general; that is, the tendency to confrontation with the power of the bourgeoisie through breaking with the official leaders of the workers movement." And this was counterposed to the position which put forward the incapacity of the PORE, "because it gives to the youth and to the JRE in particular the realization of the tasks of the workers movement," and which thus proposed postponing the Congress of the RYI. Then, at the Congress, the spokesmen of this position proposed in practice the dissolution of the RYI.

When we succeeded in crystallizing the "Revolutionary Workers Faction," its petty bourgeois character became obvious: that of capitulation to the Sacred Union. Their concern for the JRE, which they themselves had most especially abandoned, was greatest at the time of the International Day for the liberation of Klebanov this January and during the metalworkers' strike in Barcelona. "The struggle to liberate Klebanov," they said, "is propaganda." In reality, they were passing judgement on the fight against Stalinism for the renewal of the workers movement; this is the fight which the metalworkers' strike depends on, as do ALL the worker and popular struggles against imperialism.

The youth in the JRE took up

the responsibility which had been denied them by placing the INTERNATIONAL above every other consideration. Nothing can be understood about the present Sacred Union and about the break with the old leaderships in the workers movement without the advance of the revolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe, without the conscious effort to centralize the class struggle in the Fourth International. These advanced youth understood and put into practice THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO by explaining that: "In the national struggles of the proletariat of the different countries, they (communists) point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality . . . (and) in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests

of the movement as a whole." All the betrayals of the proletariat have as their basis the acceptance by the opportunists of a national union with their own bourgeoisie: the collapse of the Second International through the vote for imperialist war credits by the German Social Democracy; as well as that of the Third International which succumbed to Stalin's "socialism in one country," that is, by transforming itself into an appendage of the Thermidorean bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

The renewal of the workers movement is based on the fact that the independence of the working class, in order to fight against its enemies, is international by its very nature. The RYI in Spain has placed itself in the framework of such a perspective. By assuming its responsibility in the class struggle, the "JRE" had

CONTINUED TO PAGE 10

"La juventud es la llama de la revolución de la que el proletariado es el crisol." Karl Liebknecht



## JOVEN GUARDIA INTERNACIONAL

ORGANO DE LA INTERNACIONAL REVOLUCIONARIA DE LA JUVENTUD  
EDICION EN CASTELLANO POR JOVEN GUARDIA INTERNACIONAL (DE ESPAÑA)

**DIAS 2-3 DE JUNIO** **IPOR**  
**ENCUENTRO**  
**INTERNACIONAL** **LOS**  
**DE JOVENES EN**  
**PARIS** **ESTADOS**  
**UNIDOS**  
**SOCIALISTAS**  
**DE EUROPA!**




AÑO-IV Nº23 ABRIL-1973 20PTS

Catalan (Spain) Edition of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, Organ of the Revolutionary Youth International.

# The Fourth World Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International *For the Revolutionary Party,*

# EAST AND WEST

## Plan Adopted by the Fifth National Conference, Trotskyist Organization/USA

1. The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on American youth to join us in the preparation of the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International as the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION! A call which already separates us from the old and bankrupt parties in the American workers movement who say that the American revolution is at best, a far-off objective. On the contrary, we say, with the slogan of the RYI -- "UNITY OF THE YOUTH FOR THE PARTY OF REVOLUTION EAST AND WEST" -- that the preparation of the American revolution is the "final word" to the revolutionary mobilizations of the youth all over the world. Final, because the fight of American youth today is more than to reform the Democratic Party of Carter, more than the economic demands of the trade unions, rather it is a fight to finish completely with the world order of imperialism and Stalinism.

At the same time, we warn American youth of DANGER. We must be on guard against all those in our midst who offer solutions other than those of the means and methods of struggle of the working

class. ON GUARD! against false solutions which seek to place conditions on the right of the youth and the working class to choose INDEPENDENTLY their own road to victory. Against the parties we call Stalinist and centrist, who have been engaged in a vile campaign to spread distrust and confusion in the ranks of the youth over how to make the workers socialist revolution. A campaign on an international scale which concentrates its fire against the youth-- calling them "terrorists" and "provocateurs." A Holy Alliance of Stalinist "communists," pseudo-Trotskyist "socialists" and the imperialist order, glued together by the agreement that the future leaders of the revolution-- the youth-- and the party which bases itself on their fight-- the Fourth International-- are the greatest danger to their world of Stalinism and imperialism.

A Holy Alliance of betrayal, which is clearly evident in the Americas, North and South. An alliance which seeks to stop the working class and its youth from taking an INDEPENDENT road. In Latin America a policy of support to the treacherous "progressive

Stalinism, in reality a prop for the brutal dictatorships in Latin America. And for centrism, primarily through the sister parties of the Socialist Workers Party in the USA, a policy of support for Castroism and the "anti-imperialist" front. By which is meant, that the workers must first accept the national alliance with the treacherous bourgeois and petty bourgeois movements before they can choose the road to revolution. A Holy Alliance which led to CHILE in 1973, and leads today to the COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

And in the United States it is this same alliance which seeks to limit the American working class to national solutions of a "democratic" stage to imperialism. Solutions crystallized in the formula "imperialism equals the American working class" and the attempts to stop American youth from constructing their party of revolution and WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE. Against the Stalinists and their "anti-monopoly peoples party" and the Socialist Workers Party "labor party," both solutions to stop the independent fight of American workers at a stage of a "democratic" alliance

with the trade union bureaucracy and the "liberals" in the Democratic Party. NO! The Trotskyist Organization/USA states, the task in North and South America is to prepare and arm a vanguard for the Socialist Revolution. We call on American youth to take up the banner raised by the RYI to RETURN TO LENIN! A fight to build the general staff of the revolution which means for American youth to take the lead in building the WORKERS PARTY. A party to prepare the revolution which Lenin, and the continuers of his fight today, the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, say openly can only be a fight to create a new world where the working class and the youth can MAKE THE DECISIONS. The American revolution will be made in a combat for WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE.

2. The problem for the youth today is how to prepare this revolution in the workers movement. It is the same problem posed in every strike over how to fight the bosses government and the union bureaucracy. Clearly expressed in the miners strike of '78 and every strike since. And

this "problem" is understood very well by Carter and the Democratic Party, too. It is understood by Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, Peter Bommarito, president of the United Rubber Workers and all the Democratic Party politicians who run the unions today. That is why they are searching for someone to replace Jimmy Carter. Someone who can forge a more repressive, more anti-worker government under the disguise of "democracy." Someone who can provide a solution to the crisis of the trade union bureaucracy, which is really a crisis over how to hold the youth back from transforming the unions into instruments of the workers revolution.

And the fight in the unions cannot be bypassed. Because it is only through the workers' own organizations that any solution to this system can be found. There are no solutions for the youth in Congress. No solutions in this legal system of police and hangmen. There are no solutions to be found in reforming the bourgeois STATE. NO! The state of American imperialism is one which organizes TERROR against the youth the world over. The apparatus of the TERRORIST STATE and its bureaucratic apparatus in the unions must be destroyed. To leave the unions in the hands of the bureaucrats is to leave the workers movement in the stranglehold of the TERRORIST STATE.

3. The central problem for American youth today is how to construct the WORKERS PARTY in a combat to transform the unions into instruments of the proletarian revolution. The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization therefore fights to prepare the 4th National Conference of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA under the slogans:

YOUTH! FIGHT TO BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY!

TO DESTROY THE WORLD ORDER OF IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM!

FOR UNIONS OF WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

Under this theme the National Conference of the RYW/USA will give an impulsion to the clarification not only of the tasks of the youth in preparing the American revolution, but as well, a clarification of the place of the American revolution in the world revolution as the culmination of the combat of the world working class and its youth to destroy

Above all, the fight to construct the WORKERS PARTY is a combat FOR REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS among the youth. A political combat which can only be carried out by and with the youth through their own journal, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the newspaper of the RYI. An international weapon of communist education and combat which is the only means for the RYI to have its own independent fight. The TO/USA pro-

poses that the central theme of the articles of the REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS in IYG be that of answering the question, asked daily by masses of youth, HOW CAN THE YOUTH AND WORKERS INSURE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE? In this way, the fight of the RYI to RETURN TO LENIN can be developed as a response to the most combative youth. It is this question which above all must be answered in TRUTH, newspaper of the Trotskyist Organization/USA as a means to enrich and develop IYG for the fight of the RYW/USA. The first task in preparing the 4th World Congress is that of setting up an independent editorial board of IYG in the U.S.

4. The combat for the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International is concentrated among autoworkers. Not only because of the historical role of autoworkers in the United States as the most advanced fighters of the entire working class, but as well because of the offensive of autoworkers in and around the UAW contract in 1979. A union which was in the forefront of the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976, and whose president, Doug Fraser, has now hypocritically declared that "Carter had better stay the hell away from the auto talks." At the same time he is searching for another Democratic Party candidate in the 1980 elections to impose Carter's program of austerity and repression. Young Workers! Take note of this Benedict Arnold in the workers movement! The contract he seeks to impose is an agreement to organize a recession. The candidate he seeks to win the Presidential elections is a candidate to PREPARE THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION against the American working class.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA can already call on young workers in auto to REJECT THIS CONTRACT OF AUSTERITY AND REPRESSION. At the same time we call on all workers and youth to build with us a movement of NO COOPERATION with Carter's program of sacrifices. A movement to demand:  
JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS!

WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES! NO! TO CARTER'S GUIDELINES!

NO! TO SPEEDUP AND PRODUCTIVITY DRIVES! FOR THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

5. At the same time that the Trotskyist Organization/USA states that there can be no victory for autoworkers in 1979 outside of the DEFEAT of Fraser and his contract, it states that this defeat is not only possible but is based on the condition of mobilization of the working class youth for solutions of WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE. That the occurrence of a strike at the time of the 1979 contract is not only likely, but completely predictable from the explosive character of the present

mobilization of the workers and youth the world over. That more than any other event in the working class, a national strike poses in a very sharp and explosive manner all the questions of the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION. Therefore, the TO/USA seeks above all in the auto strike TO ARM THE YOUTH and to massively construct the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA as a SCHOOL OF DAILY COMBAT. We raise demands of the political centralization and extension of this strike:

FOR WORKERS STRIKE COMMITTEES!

FOR A CENTRAL NATIONAL STRIKE COMMITTEE!

FOR A NATIONAL STRIKE OF AUTO!

FOR FACTORY OCCUPATIONS OF KEY PLANTS!

Only through the most combative youth can the TO/USA hope to have any influence among the masses of autoworkers and their strike. Therefore, the question which still must be answered and in a massive way by the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is how to insure THE INDEPENDENCE of the workers and youth. Even in the midst of a strike. Our fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY is even more important for the actual combat of autoworkers. We demand with the youth:

NO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS!

OPEN THE BOOKS OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY TO WORKERS COMMITTEES!

CLEAN HOUSE IN THE UAW! OUST FRASER AND THE BUREAUCRATS!

All the pressures of the imperialist state and its supporters in the trade union bureaucracy will be aimed against the youth in auto and their striving for a new, revolutionary leadership in the UAW. A new step for the youth in auto is to construct their faction of REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS in the UAW. The axis of the formation of

this faction cannot be merely a set of "union demands," though it is necessary for it to have a platform, but more importantly to fight FOR A SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW TO FIGHT FOR A WORKERS PARTY! Thus to pose the fight for leadership in the UAW as a fight to arm and prepare the vanguard to lead the entire working class in a revolutionary confrontation with the imperialist state and its political apparatus in the unions.

6. The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA frames this entire political struggle of the youth to PREPARE THE REVOLUTION in a call to American youth for a YOUTH ALLIANCE FOR THE WORKERS PARTY! A call which means that we place NO CONDITIONS on the youth who want to take up this fight with us, and that above all the independent revolutionary solution for the American working class today passes through A FIGHT FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE YOUTH.

To give this YOUTH ALLIANCE a real expression in the American working class the Fifth National Conference launches a fight to intervene in the 1980 elections with a REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE. A campaign which must be taken up not only by the RYW as a part of the FIGHT FOR A YOUTH ALLIANCE, but a campaign to unmask the parties of betrayal of the working class, Stalinist and centrist, in a COMBAT OF THE YOUTH TO CLARIFY THE NATURE OF THE AIMS AND GOALS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION -- THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. A fight in the 1980 elections therefore to RETURN TO LENIN!

With this plan the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA opens up the preparation of the Fourth World Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International, under the theme: UNITE THE MOBILIZATION OF THE WORKERS FROM THE USA TO THE USSR!  
Adopted unanimously

## Greetings

GREETINGS TO THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA SECTION (Sympathizing) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

We, workers and youth send our greetings to the Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, American Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International.

The Carter government, with its "gas crisis" is telling us that California is our future. We say-- there is no future under capitalism! That this "gas crisis" is the crisis of a dying system-- and

with the Fourth International we say that our only answer can be: PREPARE THE REVOLUTION WITH THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

DOWN WITH CARTER AND HIS "GAS CRISIS"--

PREPARE THE REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Signed: Five workers from Ford River Rouge, two workers from GM Livonia, one worker from Fleetwood, and one worker from Chevy Gear and Axle.

# Resolution of International Executive Committee

(CONTINUED)

It concerns a struggle to organize the political break of the youth with Stalinism and centrism. The Fourth International prepares the Fourth Congress of the RYI AS A BATTLE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LIQUIDATIONIST CENTERS BY DEFEATING THE POLITICAL OPERATION OF THEIR REUNIFICATION.

2. In this battle the Fourth International will make the Congress of the RYI a fundamental stage of the Conference for the construction of the Fourth International in the Two Americas. Through the struggle against Stalinism and centrism to resolve the problem of the national isolation of the Two Americas the Fourth International must clarify the central place of the U.S. proletariat in the preparation of the world revolution.

It is the crisis of U.S. imperialism itself which gives the central and international dimension to the place of the U.S. proletariat in the new wave of mobilization which is shaking Europe. The struggle of the RYI in the U.S., fundamentally a struggle against Stalinism and centrism for the RETURN TO LENIN, is the concrete way for the Fourth International to develop its international policy in the Two Americas.

The tactical struggle for a Workers Party in the U.S. is a means for this battle against Stalinism and centrism, against the SWP, in order to prepare the American proletariat for the revolution.

3. The Fourth International will also make the Congress of the RYI a moment in the mobilization for the Eastern European Conference of the Fourth International. The preparation of this Conference has as its content the organization of the renewal of the leadership of the workers movement through the mobilization of the youth against centrism in the RYI for the construction of the

Fourth International. The political delimitation inside the opposition is a particular objective which is inseparable from this mobilization.

It is necessary to base ourselves on the workers' attempts to forge stable instruments, independent trade unions, in order to confront Stalinism, as the partial balance sheet of the previous mobilizations, in order to organize the struggle of our sections as the struggle for the revolutionary party, section of the Fourth International.

The new strike wave in Poland, the formation of independent unions throughout Eastern Europe, are defeating the attempts of the Euro-Stalinists supported by the centrists to present themselves as an improvement over Stalinism and to link the workers to the bureaucratic apparatus of the state with the false perspective of reform.

The centrists support the activity of the Euro-Stalinists as a lying balance sheet of the workers councils movements in 1956 and 1968 and the Polish general strikes of '70 and '76. It is by organizing the political break of the workers with Stalinism and the centrists that we must develop RETURN TO LENIN as the answer to what the workers councils lacked -- the parties, sections of the Fourth International.

4. Such an offensive can only be developed on the basis of the affirmation of the identity of the RYI in all struggles. That is, the International which unites the struggle for the social revolution against imperialism with that of the political revolution against Stalinism. This character of the RYI is concentrated in the battle for the RETURN TO LENIN against Euro-Stalinism and centrism.

On this basis the Fourth International must make the campaign for the liberation of Klebanov

a large mobilization of the youth bringing along significant sectors of the proletariat in particular through the struggle in the unions. It is by opposing the independent mobilization of the proletariat to the submission to the campaign of imperialism led in the name of Carter's "human rights" that we make the campaign for the liberation of Klebanov a centralization of all the struggles against Stalinist repression.

A demonstration will be held in Paris on June 1 and will be concluded by a public meeting, open to the press, which will centralize all the results of a campaign for the formation of an international committee for the liberation of Klebanov. It will constitute a central stage where the concrete results of the mobilization for the Fourth Congress of the RYI can be measured. At the same time it will be a moment in the battle for the campaign to form an International Commission of unions and union sections which will have the task of organizing the mobilization for the liberation of Klebanov by taking all necessary measures, including that of fighting to be able to go to the USSR.

The goal of this campaign is to rally the youth around the Fourth International in the RYI. In this sense the rally on June 2 will be a moment of this regroupment.

5. The international rally of the RYI against the European Parliament as the organization of the BOYCOTT OF THE JUNE 10 ELECTIONS, for the Socialist United States of Europe, will be held under the following slogans:

-- Against the European Parliament!

-- Against the Division of Germany and Europe in two!

-- For the Revolutionary Unification of the youth of the East and the West against Imperialism and Stalinism, for a UNITED AND SOCIALIST GERMANY!

-- Against the Europe of Unemployment, Repression and National Oppression!--FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

victory for the American workers and youth in 1980.

The fight to rebuild the U.S. Section of the Fourth International is thus a fight which concerns the fate of the entire American working class and its youth. A struggle which is the only positive balance sheet of the accumulation of the experiences of the American workers and youth since 1968 and since the election of Carter. A balance sheet which defines the preparation of the revolution in the U.S. as a fight for leadership, a fight concentrated in the immediate struggle to found a party of class independence for the American working class.

The Fourth International exists and fights today in the United States in order to accomplish the historic task of the American working class-- the realization of its party of class independence. Against the SWP the Fourth International declares

-- RETURN TO LENIN!

The rally will be held under these slogans by concentrating the interventions and the general orientation in the direction of our battle against Stalinism as an INTERNATIONAL BATTLE.

For the French Section this rally must constitute a real offensive for the Return to Lenin in a battle against the pillars of the centrist liquidationist centers (USec, OCRFI) who are found in France and their reunification. It must allow for an intervention, as a mobilization of the youth, in the crisis which is presently shaking the OCI.

6. Our central organ, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, must constitute the central means for the theoretical formation and education of the youth with the aim of organizing its political break with Stalinism and centrism who are developing an attack against revolutionary consciousness under the banner of "Euro-Communism." Our journal must aid in the selection of the youth as the future proletarian cadres of the proletarian revolution, its slogan is: FOR THE RETURN OF THE YOUTH TO LENINISM.

It is in this fashion that the Fourth International can effectively intervene so that the RYI can make INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD really the central and international journal to prepare its Fourth Congress.

The journal is the leadership.

It is through THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL that we fight for the RYI to forge its international leadership in the battle for the preparation of the Fourth Congress. It concerns a battle for formation in the struggle to develop our offensive for the RETURN TO LENIN, which is also and above all a battle for the selection of this leadership.

The Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International will be held at the end of July and will be followed by an educational camp of INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD in order to strengthen and affirm the gains made in this battle.

APRIL 1979

that this is an international, revolutionary and immediate task. The stages in its construction are the stages in the selection and organization of a vanguard. The rebuilding of its U.S. Section is thus a revolutionary task open to all workers and youth. The Fifth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, by launching the fight for the Founding Convention of the Workers Party as a fight for the preparation of the revolution throughout the Two Americas, thus lays the basis for rebuilding the U.S. Section of the Fourth International and for mobilizing the best of the American working class and its youth in the realization of this task. Under the banner of RETURN TO LENIN!, under the banner of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the American working class will win its class independence.

Adopted unanimously

GREETINGS TO CONFERENCE PAGE 7

## Political Resolution

(CONTINUED)

elections a central means to introduce the struggle for the revolution in the United States into the political life of the working class and by founding the Workers Party as the only working class alternative. As a movement above all of the youth, the fight to found the Workers Party in the midst of these elections will be a means to allow the revolutionary youth to take the initiative, to turn the farce of bourgeois democracy into a movement of the youth for politics, for workers democracy.

At the center of this initiative will be the fight for a REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE and REVOLUTIONARY COMBAT in the 1980 elections -- the fight to impose the candidates of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, as

candidates of the Fourth International on the ballot. We call on all American workers and youth to join in this struggle with us, as a means to make the fight for the American revolution an international fight, as a means to organize the intervention of the vanguard of the working class in a confrontation with all those, above all the American CP and SWP, who are proposing to maintain the domination of the Democratic Party over the working class in these elections. The massive struggle to place the candidates of the Fourth International on the ballot is above all a massive struggle in the unions for the foundation of the Workers Party, for its Founding Convention in 1980. It is the only way to give a large character to our election campaign, to construct the Workers Party in the unions in face of the Presidential elections. A struggle whose positive outcome will mean a



# "European Parliament" Fraud— For the Socialist United States of Europe!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Early in June, elections for a phony "European Parliament" will be held in the Common Market countries. This is practically a secret to American workers, but the political questions involved are vital to their struggle.

## PURPOSE

The purpose of these elections is to get the workers of Western European countries to accept two things. First of all, that "Europe" means only the Europe that capitalism presents -- the imperialist nations of Western Europe -- and to exclude from it the countries of the socialist conquests dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe. And secondly, flowing from this, that this "Parliament" represents a step toward the "political" unification of Europe.

This "Parliament" is supposed to be an advance on the "economic" unity already achieved through the Common Market. In fact, the Common Market has never succeeded in any economic unity at all. This was shown most recently in the steel crisis and in the upsurge produced, particularly among German and French steelworkers, because of it. Agriculture has been a chronic failure for the Common Market as well, inspiring anger among French winegrowers, for example.

What the Common Market has united, and what the "Parliament" is needed for, is repression and terror by the imperialists throughout Western Europe. The centralization of the hunt for "terrorist" youth must now go a step forward to a formal political center which can present itself as the "democratic" expression of the "will of the people" against any revolutionary mobilization.

This is why the Fourth International is organizing a fight against these elections, centralizing this fight in a rally in Paris on June 2 for the Socialist United States of Europe.

## SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

The fight for the revolutionary unification of Europe is counterposed all along the line to the fraud of these "Parliamentary" elections.

It is counterposed first of all because it poses the absolute necessity of not accepting the division of Europe that has been made by Stalinism and imperialism. The sharpest expression of this division is the conscious splitting of the German proletariat, the most powerful in Europe, into two parts.

Throughout Europe, and especially in Germany, the key question is the unification of the social revolution -- the overthrow of imperialism -- and the political revolution -- the overthrow of the rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. This is not a "good idea," in general. It is, in fact, a conscious struggle to build the Fourth International as the party which -- because it represents the common interests of the world proletariat -- alone can lead and unite these revolutions.

The struggle for this objective, for the Socialist United States of Europe, concretely takes shape today precisely in the struggle against the centralization of repression by the "European Parliament" and against the campaign for it.

## STALINISM AND HELPERS

The Stalinists, particularly the French Communist Party, are campaigning in these elections "Against the Europe of Capital." Under this "militant" slogan, they try to hide the necessity of uniting with the political revolution -- which, as followers of the Kremlin, they desperately oppose -- and to divert the struggle against the centralization of repression into a struggle for French (French capitalism's) "independence" from "foreign domination."

Of course, the Stalinists no longer even call for the Socialist United States of Europe. There are those who do, however; in particular the pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" and of the French OCI. These centrists play the role, with "differences," of assistants of Stalinism. Using the stolen name of the Fourth International, they try to lead the advanced workers, those looking for revolutionary solutions, into the trap that they would carefully avoid if it openly bore its Stalinist label.

The French OCI, now in the process of "reunifying" with the USec, serves their common

cause with a more "orthodox" position. It calls for a boycott of the elections, denounces the separation of the Eastern and Western European workers and demands the reunification of Germany.

And here we get to the point. For them this reunification will take place under the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Schmidt! The key to the whole question of the Socialist United States of Europe, the OCI tells us, is the reunification of Germany ON A CAPITALIST BASIS and under the leadership of the murderers of Baader-Meinhof!

The "United Secretariat" itself, as is usual, plays a more obviously pro-Stalinist role. It too campaigns in the elections "Against the Europe of Capital," of course adding the "Socialist United States of Europe" as a nice recommendation.

In particular, it hides the role of this "European Parliament" as an anti-worker terrorist center by portraying the drive of the capitalists as being purely "economic" in nature. It is all a question, say these Pabloites, of the imposition of "austerity" on a "European" (for they too accept Europe as the imperialists define it) scale.

On this basis, the necessity of overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracy can be conveniently omitted. The task is, according to the INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS/INPRECOR (organ of the USec) of April 30, 1979, to struggle for "European-wide" goals such as the shorter workweek and the "democratic" planning of the "European" economy. And all this implies, at some unknown date, "overthrowing CAPITALISM" (emphasis added).

In the meanwhile, however, there is nothing to worry about. The Marxists (the Fourth International today) have always said that the productive forces were being strangled within the national boundaries and that the only way to free them was to unite Europe through the revolution. The Pabloites have made a slight revision here.

This conflict between productive forces and national boundaries no longer has to be overcome by revolution. Capitalism can adapt itself wonderfully: "the pressure for a supranational (above nations -- KF) state becomes irresistible" in response to this crisis. Therefore,

the "European Parliament" (of half-Europe) becomes even progressive, with the Socialist United States of Europe as a future beneficial development of this "united Europe."

And at the same time, of course, the fight against the Common Market (which the USec endorses) is now reduced to a national fight against "absorption" into it, thereby returning precisely to the line of the Stalinists -- "national independence," under the control of imperialism.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The unity of the social and political revolutions is not at all limited to Europe. It is CONCENTRATED there in the sharpest form, but it expresses a worldwide struggle.

For American workers this is critical in many ways. Not just because what happens in Europe is obviously important, but because the forces represented in this struggle are the same that confront us.

The two key proletariats in the world are those of the USA and the USSR: their unification will spell the doom of the whole system of exploitation on the world scale. But this unification is not a question of "solidarity" but of building the party of the world revolution, the Fourth International.

And the pseudo-Trotskyist assistants of Stalinism exist in the U.S. working class in the form of the Socialist Workers Party. This party not only hides the concrete tasks of the preparation of the revolution today, the building of the new leadership, but it hides the way in which the unification of the workers throughout the world will take place. Not only in Europe, but particularly through its attempt to block the unity of the workers of the Two Americas, in a concrete fight against U.S. imperialism and its Stalinist assistant in this hemisphere, Fidel Castro.

The road to the world revolution lies through the revolutionary unification of the world working class through the European and American Revolutions. This is the fight of the Fourth International.

May 25, 1979

# "International Young Guard"

(CONTINUED)

become too confined by its centrist past. The Congress took the decision to become INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, in order to act as the detachment within Spain of the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, against Stalinism and imperialism, in order to return the youth to the teachings of Lenin and of living Bolshevism, the Fourth International.

## A CONGRESS OF RENEWAL

The work of the Congress responded to this offensive of the Trotskyists to lead the prerevolutionary crisis in Spain, to sharpen the class struggle all over the world, toward the conquest of power by the Workers Councils.

On the agenda were the report of the International Bureau of the RYI, the report of the outgoing Executive Committee of the JRE, a resolution "To the weapons of communist education!" and the Combat Platform and the Statutes.

It is difficult to briefly explain and develop the work of the Congress. A separate pamphlet will be published shortly, which is why we will not now go into the details. However, it is appropriate to situate the essential struggle to clarify and achieve the renewal of the workers movement. In general, everyone, even the bourgeoisie, understands that the youth is the seed of the future. Within the workers movement the Social Democrats, the Stalinists and even the anarchists have shown their will to maintain themselves at all costs -- none of the Kremlin bureaucrats are under sixty years old. In general, these people also repose their hope in the youth. (This is, of course, in view of their age, something of a lost hope.) To be sure, there are plenty of old men of twenty -- the corrupted and the "upwardly mobile" -- who find a little spot for themselves. The centrists go farther. . . in words. The youth, they say, is "the advance patrol." There are among them those who, like the renegades from the Fourth International, even quote Trotsky. For them, renewal means cohabitation between the bureaucrats and the youth, through "broadening workers democracy." They are incapable of having a policy independent from the bureaucrats and do not separate themselves from them. At the height of the ridiculous, we find the "Revolutionary Workers Faction" which went so far as to pose the necessity of "being physically with the worker militants." Of course, it is not a question of age or of "physical incompatibility" (!) The betrayal of the leaders is felt by the whole

workers movement. It demoralizes militants, pushes trade unions toward progressive integration into the bourgeois state, destroys the factory committees, and provokes hesitation and confusion among the workers in face of the necessity for launching themselves in a decisive struggle for which they feel disarmed. To overcome betrayal, to understand its origin, to renew the workers movement in its program, cadres, leadership and organization is the most important task at the present moment. To such an extent that it is easy to understand that it is through this that the first revolutionary offensive of the proletariat will advance. To renew and to vitalize the workers movement, infected by its leaders' policy of class collaboration, consists in recovering the youth and giving it the weapons training of communist education. The basis for this is the constant struggle of the youth who, while not having a clear perspective, in no way accept the brutal and combined attack of imperialism and Stalinism.

In the course of the preparation of the Congress the theoretical and political bases of the RYI and of its struggle to Return to Lenin began to be debated and understood. In the first place, the campaign for the liberation of Klebanov has posed within the RYI the meaning of the political revolution in the USSR -- establishing that the revolution in the USSR and the movement of the youth constitute the two INSEPARABLE dimensions of renewal. The revolution in the USSR -- by its program against Stalinism, the chief bourgeois agency in the workers movement and by the youth -- as the most dynamic social layer of the proletariat. In fact, we have already been able to see the opposite: the bureaucratic degeneration of the workers state in the USSR and Stalinism led defeats in its history; and the bankruptcy of a leadership provoked the demoralization of a whole generation.

Nevertheless, the political revolution has arisen in Eastern Europe and has encompassed, one after another, all the degenerated or bureaucratically deformed workers states: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, China. Each stage of the political revolution has demonstrated the break of the youth from Stalinism. The fundamental question is that the advance of the political revolution makes obvious the fact that Stalinism -- the CPs -- is not a workers leadership but a counterrevolutionary apparatus, the agency of imperialism.

In conclusion, the place of

CONTRA LA UNION SAGRADA  
DE BURGUESES Y BUROCRATAS  
POR EL RETORNO A LENIN



**¡ALISTATE  
AL EJERCITO  
MUNDIAL DE  
LA REVOLUCION  
SOCIALISTA,  
LA IRJ!**

## ESTAMOS:

*En Madrid: Casa de la Juventud Obrera, C/ Arquitectura, 11 pral.*

*En Barcelona: Casa de la Joventut Obrera, C/ Aussias March, 22, 2º.*

*En Terrassa: Casa de la Joventut Obrera, C/ Canónigo Rodó, 35.*

*En Sabadell: Casa de la Joventut Obrera, C/ Zumalacárregui, 39.*

*En Palma de Mallorca: Casa de la Joventut Obrera, C/ Berard, 16, 1º*

*"Join the World Army of the Socialist  
Revolution, the RYI!"*

the movement of the youth is, in our time, in the political renewal of the working class leadership. Thus, it is not a question of adopting a passive position and of "recognizing in general" that the movement is renewed by the youth, as a scholastic formula; still less of using the youth to create pressure on the "working class cadres" (read: incorrigible bureaucrats), as the centrists do.

It is this understanding of the autonomous role and the responsibility of the youth which is the campaign to liberate Klebanov, so as to be converted into the preparation of this Third Congress. For this understanding, posed as a struggle to renew the workers movement, as the Return to Lenin by the youth, has given the RYI its rightful place in the building of the Fourth International in Spain. In fact, the Congress met following a rally in front of the headquarters of the Workers Commissions (CP dominated union organization) in Barcelona, supporting a delegation which posed to this union the necessity of liberating Klebanov. Thus, the Congress succeeded in defining the campaign with the breadth necessary to involve the whole workers movement and to liberate Klebanov. To allow the youth to join the RYI, the organizer of the struggle, and in this way to give to this fight the full significance of Return to Lenin.

On this basis the International Young Guard has come face to face, not with "education" of the youth understood as domestication, but with precisely the task of the youth's, through activity and organization, mastering everything that the bourgeoisie uses in its class domination, in order to turn this against it. The Congress adopted the resolution "To the weapons of communist education!" which opens up this perspective.

It defines the role of the newspaper, of circles, of theoretical training (concretely preparing the international educational camp during Easter), of unity and of uniforms in actions, the Youth Clubs.

Finally, the Congress discussed and adopted a Platform of Combat which makes Return to Lenin a practical task in the class struggle, which can unite the youth with the proletariat and prepare the struggle for power. As I said in an interview in LA AURORA (newspaper of the PORE): "We have adopted a Platform with which the World Army of the Socialist Revolution takes as its objective the overthrow of the Francoist monarchy -- the regime of the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism -- and the formation of the WORKERS CORTES on the road to the Europe of the Workers Councils. Return to Lenin!, to fight for the workers to take their struggle into their own hands with their assemblies, picket squads and committees, in order to make them into Workers Councils, organs of the seizure of power. The emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves. But the youth lead a marginal existence, without work, outside the factories, often outside the unions, nearly always outside the committees. Organizing the revolution means agitating, creating a movement of the youth by unifying all the sectors in struggle and by concentrating it toward the big factories. It is in the general strike, in a great mass movement, that the renewal of the workers movement will be achieved and in which the youth will occupy the place of leadership in the committees, assemblies and popular bodies."

Forward to the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International!  
March 29, 1979

On April 25 Alice Peurala was elected President of Local #65 of the United Steelworkers of America (USW). Local #65 represents 7,500 workers at U.S. Steel Southworks in Chicago.

Peurala is the first woman to be elected president of a USW local. She defeated John Chico, long-time incumbent President of the local, who was backed by Ed Sadlowski. Peurala received 1,205 votes against Chico's 1,077 and 1,168 votes for Donald Stazak.

Although Peurala herself is a Sadlowski supporter workers voted for her because she presented herself as a militant opposition to Sadlowski's and Chico's do-nothing policy and betrayal. Her victory, in Sadlowski's home local, proves that workers are seeking an alternative to "left" bureaucrats like Sadlowski who are finished in the eyes of militant workers.

Her election drew the attention of the bourgeois press. Even the American Communist Party, which supported Chico, was forced to speak about it in the DAILY WORLD (May 2nd).

But the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which has made steel the CENTER of its "industrialization policy," which has previously presented itself as the "best builders" of the "rank and file movement" in the USW, has kept an ABSOLUTE SILENCE about this election. NOTHING in THE MILITANT. Not ONE WORD from Andrew Pulley, their candidate for Mayor in Chicago, who issues "statements" about everything under the sun EXCEPT ABOUT A UNION ELECTION IN THE FACTORY WHERE HE WORKS!!

Their silence is worth a

thousand words though. Alice Peurala was a militant of the SWP for almost 30 years and the SWP supported her opponent, Chico, in the union elections!

Peurala left the SWP two years ago because the SWP leadership refused to allow her to run for President against Sadlowski's man. The SWP has A POLICY of not running for union office against their bureaucratic "friends"!

Peurala has no fundamental political differences with the SWP's policy-- her program is just as conciliatory towards Sadlowski as anything the SWP leadership could cook up. Just one difference-- her 30 years of experience at Southworks has placed her closer to the mood of the workers than the petty bourgeois leadership of the SWP and Peurala knows what they do not-- that Sadlowski today is POLITICAL DEATH-- that no one in the unions today can be a "militant" and at the same time support the SWP's policy of alliance with the bureaucrats.

Their silence (copying the methods of Stalinism) says it all. Peurala's election was not only a defeat for Sadlowski, it was a DEFEAT FOR THE SWP.

A defeat for their "turn towards the working class" and

## Former SWP Militant Elected President of USW Local #65 **The SWP's Silence Says it All!**



ALICE PEURALA

"industrialization policy" which is SHATTERED by Peurala's election. Even Peurala, who was once sympathetic to the "Proletarian Orientation Tendency" in the early 70's in the SWP, who remained in the SWP and gritted her teeth during the 60's while the SWP abandoned the struggle in the unions, who considered herself a Trotskyist during the reaction of the 50's, could not stay in the SWP of today.

A party which is today working HAND IN HAND with the bureaucrats who are hated by every honest worker. Whose "industrialization policy" is now exposed as a policy to turn SWP militants into loyal servants of the bureaucrats.

Peurala's victory proves that the SWP's "turn towards the working class" has been shattered by the force of the class

struggle. Rejected by the WORKERS THEMSELVES who are breaking, even if in a confused fashion, from the bureaucrats and their pseudo-Trotskyist servants.

The shameful silence of the SWP is only as shameful as the centrist policy behind it. Alice Peurala will realize this as well as the militant workers in steel will soon CONFRONT her as well, as long as she continues to fight for Sadlowski's policy, but with a "militant" face.

An impossibility in today's situation where the only combat that represents the spirit of the advanced workers is a combat to PREPARE THE REVOLUTION and to forge a new, revolutionary leadership for the unions on the basis of a revolutionary program.

The only alternative for the workers in steel and for militants of the SWP who joined the SWP to fight for the revolution but who now find themselves licking envelopes for the Sadlowskis and McBrides. And in a party which can talk about everything except how to win the unions from the domination of imperialism and its agents.  
June 1, 1979  
TRUTH

## Down with Capital-ist Punishment!

On May 25, John Spenkelink was legally murdered in Florida's electric chair, complete with hooded executioners to give it the right atmosphere of medieval barbarism.

This first "involuntary" execution since 1967 is a new step in the preparation of the counterrevolution by American imperialism. Capital punishment, really CAPITALIST PUNISHMENT, is the way in which imperialism shows that it really does have the power of life and death over anyone who dares violate its "laws."

Everyone knows that the imperialists hope this execution will mark the opening of a bloodbath, the executions of the over 500 prisoners now on death row. Such mass murder, they hope, will serve as a means to terrorize opposition to its rule.

We are not against capital punishment for some sentimental, moral reasons. We oppose it because it is an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and we are out to smash that dictatorship and all its instruments with it.

This is concretely shown by the facts about those who face

execution: Always poor; overwhelmingly black or from other minorities. Like every other "less extreme" form of capitalist CLASS "JUSTICE," the burden falls on the exploited and oppressed in this society. Not because of their "disadvantages," but precisely because this class justice is intended as an attack on them and as a defense of those who are the exploiters and oppressors.

At the same time that Spenkelink was facing this justice the other side of its face was glaringly revealed. Dan White, middle-class, white, ex-cop, Democrat, after openly admitting he murdered the mayor of San Francisco and a city supervisor, faces a MAXIMUM sentence of eight years! It was all very "unfortunate," even "tragic" -- but it was also very clear that he was not a candidate for death row.

Nor is this class attitude about capitalist punishment confined to the United States. The U.S. Senate, this "millionaires club," recently passed a resolution denouncing the executions in Iran.

It seems the moral sensibili-

ties of these spokesmen of American imperialism have been offended by the shootings of the Shah's murderers and torturers. And besides, the trials lacked all the fairness and refinements that are such a part of American law.

So these friends of "human rights" had to protest. Leaving aside many other questions, let's just ask where they stand on capital punishment in the U.S. No complaints there, no outcry about Spenkelink. He was duly convicted and condemned by the class justice of the system they represent -- therefore, executions are a fine example of the "human rights" they offer the workers.

These fine democrats and liberals didn't have a word to say for almost forty years about the murders (legal and "illegal"), the tortures, the poverty and starvation that occurred under the rule of their puppet, the Shah! Their objection to the executions in Iran is based on one thing -- that now their boys are getting instead of giving.

Let's make this class justice question clearer. This resolution was introduced by Sen.

Jacob Javits. Interestingly enough, Marian Javits, the senator's wife, was on the Shah's payroll for many years. In this case, "principles" openly come down to a question of the pocketbook.

And, of course, Javits was also a long-time friend and ally of Nelson Rockefeller, that well-known "human rights" advocate who ordered the Attica massacre.

Our objection to Khomeini's "revolutionary courts" is fundamentally different. They are not revolutionary ENOUGH, in fact. They are intended to stall and stop the implementation of POPULAR JUSTICE, as a means of preventing the complete smashing of the capitalist state (bourgeois dictatorship) in Iran.

In both cases, in the U.S. and in Iran, the question is one of ending the violence of imperialism. Not through protests or appeals for mercy, but through a REVOLUTIONARY fight -- a fight to completely destroy imperialism and its state apparatus.  
K.F.

May 30, 1979

## SALT II . . . A Desperate Attack

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

In the last months hostility to the U.S. government, its weapons and wars, has reached unprecedented proportions. Young workers and soldiers in Iran seized U.S. military bases. No one, least of all in America, supported Carter's call to defend "American" interests. Nor is anybody rallying around the bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR -- least of all the workers under its domination!

So Carter and Brezhnev are trying desperately to pass themselves off as peacemakers. As soon as they concluded their Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) they were forced to admit that it wouldn't really limit arms production. SALT III will, they promise.

The American "Communist" Party, largest supporter of this effort outside the Democratic Party and the imperialist trade union bureaucracy, is going to have to change its slogan -- from "OK SALT II!" to "OK SALT II, III, IV . . ."

SALT II is a lie. The workers and oppressed peoples can free themselves from the scourge of imperialism and its Stalinist agent by disbanding and disarming these small bodies of small men with large weapons. As long as they exist with weapons at their finger tips, they'll use them to intimidate and suppress the will of the workers.

This is a fundamental lesson of 100 years of class struggle.

Youth and workers who have doubts about this today should have read the May 23rd issue of the DETROIT FREE PRESS. "A Doomsday Analysis: DETROIT VS. THE A-BOMB: 220,000 DEAD," reads the headline. "Thousands will die in Detroit AND Leningrad" (working class city in Russia similar to Detroit--MG), the article goes on.

Make no mistake. They're not about to drop a bomb on Detroit or Leningrad any time soon. They are too scared. But they like to hang it over our heads. "Go home and pray or we'll blow you away," is the message to striking workers and fighting youth. Or better yet, "Telegram your Congressman, say 'OK SALT',"

The American Communist Party

says it isn't possible now to destroy the imperialist state apparatus. Workers aren't ready. Or imperialism's too strong. SALT II is a "step" in this direction.

This is another lie.

Carter and Brezhnev are rushing to settle their differences after seven years of talks because they are TERRIFIED of the revolutionary mobilization of the world working class. Not only in Iran, where workers marched under the banner "Neither Washington nor Moscow," but above all in America and Russia. In their own backyards.

SALT II is not a step in the direction of disbanding and disarming the imperialist state. It's the opposite. A desperate attempt to reinforce this crisis-wracked apparatus both politically and militarily on the part of imperialism and Stalinism. Politically -- by attacking the consciousness of the working class, trying to give it the impression that its continued existence and struggle is compatible with the existence of the imperialist and Stalinist apparatuses, that they will peacefully DISARM themselves.

Militarily -- SALT II is a COMMON PROGRAM for the production of arms! A joint weapons program, specifying type, amount, means of coordination. And where are these weapons pointed? At the White House or the Kremlin? No! At Detroit and Leningrad! All this in the guise of peace!

The American Communist Party is pushing all this because it isn't a communist party. It's an extension of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a petty bourgeois agent of imperialism in the workers movement, up to its neck in the preparation of the counterrevolution.

The combat to free the working class from this scourge, to let it make its own decisions without the threats of the imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats hanging over its head, begins with a political fight. A fight for consciousness, organization. Consciousness of the working class as a class, of its interests, its place in the struggle

of the oppressed masses, of the incompatibility of this with imperialism and Stalinism. Independent organization to achieve its interests.

Thus the immediate task is the foundation of the Workers Party. There is no way the working class can disarm this state without building its own party, freeing itself from the political influence of the imperialist Democratic Party and trade union bureaucracy.

And this has to be a party of the best fighters of the working class. A revolutionary party, rooted in the revolutionary tradition of the working class. A party of revolutionary unity of the workers in the East and the West.

Only a party as hostile to Stalinism as it is to imperialism will ever create the conditions in which the working class can decide its own fate. If you can't stand up to the petty bourgeois agents in the workers movement, you won't stand up to the master.

The biggest obstacle to the construction of this party with the youth is the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat and Organizing Committee of the French OCI. The workers mobilization has gone so far that Carter and Brezhnev need them to cover themselves.

For these pseudo-representatives of the Fourth International the struggle to free the working class once and for all, destroy the imperialist and Stalinist apparatuses by building the party of revolutionary unity East and West is at best, crazy, at worst, a police provocation. They are completely content with the isolation of American and Russian workers from each other.

In their discussion of SALT II in the May 25 issue of the MILITANT, the Socialist Workers Party says the only way to "disarm the warmarkers" is to "replace" the present government with a workers government, as if the workers could just march down to a polling booth and vote Carter out and some workers in. The party they propose to do this is one based on the apparatus in the unions ("They have the apparatus, offices, newspapers, finan-

ces and organizers . . . all that's needed is to do it."), as if the workers could simply lay hold of this apparatus, as if it wasn't an imperialist one, an agent of the same state they're going to "replace."

They hide the revolutionary character of the workers mobilization. "Anti-war sentiment" they call it. The extreme crisis of imperialism and Stalinism? SALT II is just another arms pact that doesn't limit arms as far as they're concerned. They call it a cover for war preparations as if this crisis-wracked government were capable of launching a full-scale war, against the USSR or anybody else.

And they hide the real danger in the workers movement, expressed in SALT II -- the collaboration of imperialism and Stalinism in the political and military reinforcement of the imperialist state. They present the Stalinist bureaucracy as if it were part of the workers movement, as if it were an unwilling victim of an imperialist plot, as if signing SALT II was simply a mistake. "The Stalinist bureaucrats are like the labor officialdom in this country . . . they seek an impossible peace with the capitalists," They aren't seeking peace with the capitalists! They're working for the capitalists!

Why all this? Because the pseudo-Trotskyists are as far up to their necks in the preparation of the counterrevolution as are the Kremlin and the American CP. The proposal to "replace" the present government and build a "labor party" based on the union apparatus is one to politically and organizationally reinforce the imperialist state and Stalinist apparatus. It's their signature on SALT II.

To disarm imperialism and Stalinism it's necessary to arm the youth with Leninism -- against the pseudo-Trotskyists!

DOWN WITH SALT II! All its signatories, open and disguised!

FOR THE PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY UNITY EAST AND WEST!

May 29, 1979