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ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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- Killer cops who wear uniforms by day and white sheets at night go free throughout the country

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Emergency National Convention of the UAW!

Doug Fraser, head of the UAW, has announced that there will be a special convention of the UAW to decide who to endorse for the 1980 presidential elections, if anyone. This is the FIRST TIME since the founding of the UAW over 40 years ago that its Executive Board has not endorsed a Democrat for president.

The unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism is drowning its lackeys in the UAW too. And their crisis presents an OPPORTUNITY for autoworkers. A new leadership is the FIRST STEP for any advance of the autoworkers. Through the battle for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and PARTY in 1980, we can fight to transform this convention into an EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE UAW to throw out the bankrupt Fraser dictatorship, with a new revolutionary leadership, we can impose WORKERS SOLUTIONS to the crisis in auto.

The situation facing autoworkers is deadly serious. And the Fraser regime has NO SOLUTION AT ALL. They even admit that they see a "permanent shrinkage of the auto industry" and that "workers' expectations have to shrink with the cars." All their "solutions" of

foreign plants, import quotas, etc., rest on this reactionary perspective.

This regime was BORN bankrupt. It was put into power at the 1977 Convention, amidst local strikes of tens of thousands of GM and Ford workers fighting the sell-out of 1976. Fraser earned his stripes as a "labor lieutenant of capital" when he broke the Indianapolis Chrysler strike only weeks before the Convention.

Today the regime is in full crisis. The current crisis in auto was prepared with the Chrysler pact last year. Kennedy has turned out to be a complete loser. Four top dogs -- Bannon, Greathouse, Bluestone and Mazey are all retiring at the June Constitutional Convention. The UAW bureaucracy and the corporations now have the SAME SLOGANS printed on bumper stickers. This regime rests on nothing but betrayal.

Autoworkers have withstood the constant barrage of anti-worker propaganda about imports. They've withstood the dire predictions of their doom not only from the bureaucracy, but from the Stalinists and centrists.

But to go on the offensive a new leadership is needed. In the 1980 elections, in the fight for a Workers Candidate, autoworkers must peer through the smokescreen of lies about their future and see the COMPLETE DEFENSIVENESS of U.S. imperialism, the Democratic Party and the Fraser regime. They must see their own approaching victory in the revolution. A few autoworkers politically armed can turn the situation around.

Fraser, talking of laid-off autoworkers with the NY TIMES on May 20 said, "their anger is very, very, deep -- their whole world has collapsed."

Yes, autoworkers are very angry. But it's Fraser's world that has collapsed. A world of endorsing Democrats, breaking strikes and then becoming a retired "labor statesmen" like China Ambassador and former UAW President, Woodcock.

Just like Kennedy, Fraser is a loser. And it is time for the autoworkers to call his number.
AN EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE UAW!
A WORKERS CANDIDATE IN 1980!
June 2, 1980
TRUTH

RESOLUTION

AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

RESOLVED: We, members of the UAW, employed and unemployed find the present situation intolerable. While over 220,000 autoworkers are laid off, more plants are being closed every day. Doug Fraser sits on the board of directors of Chrysler, joins U.S. capitalists in their "competition" with the Japanese and tries to rally the UAW around yet another bourgeois politician, Kennedy.

The UAW bureaucrats have helped to ORGANIZE this attack just like they did in 1974. Now they have the

nerve to say that "things will get better in 1980" and that there is nothing to do now but picket foreign dealerships. "Nothing to be done" while they paint the slogans of U.S. Imperialism on our local halls.

There is something to be done. This leadership must be thrown out. The UAW must be reorganized before it is destroyed.

This is why we therefore resolve to immediately fight to organize an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW

--based on locals, delegations of unemployed workers, youth and workers from related industries;

-- to confront the world situation facing autoworkers and to organize around an international working class program that can meet the crisis;

-- to renew the leadership of the UAW by electing a new leadership capable of leading this fight;

-- to embark the UAW on the road of POLITICAL ACTION on behalf of the entire working class, to break completely with the Democratic Party and all of its servants and fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE to lead the fight for a WORKERS PARTY, the only party capable of defeating imperialism's attack.

Miami:

'The Ballot or the Bullet'

By JON COHEN

"This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal . . ."

"It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens -- urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian and every minority group."

Does this sound like some of the liberal hypocrisy pouring out after the recent black rebellion in Miami? Proof that "white" America now understands that blacks are oppressed?

No. This liberal hypocrisy was written TWELVE YEARS AGO, by the President's National Commission on Civil Disorders, the "Kerner Report," published as the response to the 1967 ghetto rebellions.

Miami showed what kind of "quick and visible progress" the Kerner Report had in mind.

What is even more criminal has been the response of the so-called black "leaders" in this country to Miami. Just after the Miami rebellion, NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks urged Carter to appoint a "national advisory commission of distinguished citizens" to "follow up the recommendations of the Kerner Report."

Just what we need! Another "distinguished" commission to urge some more "quick and visible progress."

But if Hooks thinks that another "distinguished commission" will prevent another Miami he is hopelessly dreaming. Because these "distinguished citizens" and so-called leaders were DRIVEN OUT of Miami by the black youth.

The Kerner Report was a lie then and is a lie today. Miami proves the truth -- the promises of American democracy can never be "made good" to "all its citizens."

Rather than the "promise of democracy" Miami again proves that for blacks to live, CAPITALISM MUST DIE. And to a much greater extent than in the 60's Miami also proves that for the ENTIRE working class, white included, to live, U.S. imperialism must die.

This is the lesson of Miami. It is the clear and unmistakable lesson which must be ingrained into the consciousness of workers and youth -- for the working class to live, capitalism must die.

This lesson must be ingrained against all the attempts to limit the message of Miami. To pretend that another "distinguished commission" can patch things up for another 12 years. To limit the "problems" faced by blacks to that of

police repression or to perpetrate the total fraud that more FBI agents and more federal prosecutors can solve the problems.

The latest peddler of this shameful fraud is Andrew Pulley, the Presidential candidate of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. In a statement released on May 18 Pulley and the SWP did nothing more than mouth the line of Carter and the Justice Department -- federal indictments of the cops, investigation of the Miami district attorney -- concluding by stating that "through a united campaign, justice can be won."

Like all the rest of the so-called leaders driven out of Miami, he is a liar. Because the truth that every young black understands in this country is that NO JUSTICE can be won in this society as long as this racist state exists. Police repression is not some kind of aberration, a "flaw" in this democracy -- it is the means of enforcing the oppression of blacks which is the very basis for this "democracy," a "democracy" founded on slavery.

The fact which Pulley and all the rest want to hide is that CAPITALISM CANNOT GRANT EQUALITY to blacks. This is what scares Pulley and his ilk more than anything.

It is not a moral question, but simple reality. The decay of capitalism has meant it is impossible to grant equality to blacks in this country. Capitalism cannot expand, it can today only destroy the working class and its most oppressed sectors first. This is why the wishes of the Kerner Commission were never carried out, this is why justice can't be won, through a "united campaign" or otherwise. It can only be won through the revolution.

The facts prove this. Today 25-30% of black families have incomes below the poverty line. The median wages of black workers are 1/3 less than whites. Unemployment among black youth has remained at 40% for the last ten years. Today in some areas of black Detroit, 35% of the population is unemployed.

Patricia Harris, the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services recently stated that black people today live in conditions which, "in terms of poverty, unemployment and lost opportunity -- rival those experienced by the nation during the 1930's."

What better indictment of this system, coming from the person responsible for carrying out Carter's social welfare policy?

But the outbreak of the events in Miami and the explosive situation that exists today throughout the black community expresses a change in the policy of U.S. capitalism towards blacks and the



working class as a whole.

From the "benign neglect," which was the official policy of the Nixon administration in the 70's and the early Carter administration towards blacks, the U.S. bourgeoisie has passed to a new policy -- the bullet.

This is unmistakable. It is no longer possible to simply ignore black oppression -- to let things rot and hope nothing will happen. The bourgeoisie knows today that rebellion is brewing and it must actively seek to crush this rebellion before it begins.

Thus, the bullet. The rapid escalation of police repression throughout the country. What appears to be isolated acts of police "brutality," is in fact the result of a conscious policy of the U.S. bourgeoisie to begin a campaign of terror against blacks, to terrorize the mass of blacks into submission, to exterminate those who resist.

The escalation of police terror goes along with the KKK assassinations in Greensboro, the recent attempted assassination of Vernon Jordan, along with the growing official tolerance of the KKK and the Nazis (a Nazi running as a Republican in North Carolina recently received 40% of the vote). These are all manifestations of the fact that this is the choice being offered by the bourgeoisie -- the bullet or submission.

But Miami proves that blacks are not willing to accept this alternative. Miami represents a turning point for the black movement because it represents the possibility of defeating the plans of the bourgeoisie.

The Miami rebellion was not an isolated event. It is part of the growing resistance of blacks in this country and also, even more importantly, part of the world revolution which is on the march today and which has placed U.S. imperialism on the defensive. It is no accident that thousands of Iranians demonstrated in Tehran after Miami with signs reading: "Black

Brothers, We Congratulate You on Your Uprising." It is no accident because it has been the opposition of blacks to U.S. imperialism that has prevented Carter from launching a full-scale war against Iran.

Miami also represents a turning point because it reflects a new attitude on the part of the entire working class, white workers included. Aside from the openly racist elements, the general response of the white working class to Miami was that the revolt was entirely justified. In fact, in the eyes of the U.S. working class today, EVERY revolt against U.S. imperialism and its government and police at home is justified.

Today the masses of white workers are beginning to see the plight of black workers as their own plight and are ready to follow black workers in an organized mobilization against this system.

The coming Presidential elections can be a means to rally the entire working class around this turn and to prepare for the confrontation to come. In 1964 Malcolm X declared: "The ballot or the bullet." He didn't mean that justice could be won through the ballot box. Instead he meant that the only alternative to the bullet, to destruction, was for blacks to use the elections as a rallying point, as a way to break the stranglehold of the Democrats and Republicans and to organize the masses of blacks for independent political action.

Independent political action or else. For blacks to live the destruction of capitalism must be prepared. Blacks need to fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in this elections, to use the events in Miami as a rallying point for organizing workers black and white in the fight to prepare capitalism's destruction.

Independent political action is the first step towards this. It is the first step towards organizing a real fight for justice.

June 2, 1980

Korea: Down with Imperialism and its Stooges!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The heroic revolt of the South Korean masses against the military dictatorship is another blow to U.S. imperialism, to its "human rights" and to its counterrevolutionary plans.

Since its defeat in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has been trying to achieve "stability" (counter-revolution) in Asia with the collaboration of Stalinism, in particular from the Chinese bureaucracy.

Despite the best efforts of the Stalinists, including the North Korean bureaucracy of Kim Il Sung, and the imperialists, another hole has been blown in the barrier to revolution that they tried to erect.

TRUTH has said before that the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is central to the crisis of U.S. imperialism. In the case of Korea, this is especially so.

U.S. imperialism is responsible, together with Stalinism, for the division of the country. It is responsible for the devastation of the Korean War. And it is directly and totally responsible for the maintenance of a vicious dictatorship in that country for the last 35 years.

To this day, U.S. imperialism maintains 39,000 troops in South Korea. And, in a classic example of just what "semi-colonial" means, the U.S. military, through a so-called "joint command," exercises direct control over the South Korean armed forces.

This imperialist domination and exploitation on the grand scale, aimed at making South Korea a weapon aimed at the revolution in Asia as well as a source of super-profits, required the most brutal state terrorism.

That is why South Korea, with a population of under forty million, has the sixth largest army in the world.

That is why it has a massive secret police apparatus centered on the KCIA (which you may remember from its attempts to bribe our noble Congressmen for pro-South Korean legislation), which is named after its U.S. creator.

But at the same time, this imperialist exploitation, as in Brazil and Iran (where it installed similar governments), has created a huge modern working class. South Korea has a non-agricultural work force of 8.8 million. And 75% of this work force is under the age of 29!

These are the young fighters who have been at the center of the struggle against the regime.

It is the mobilization of this class that has been the cause of the regime's crisis. Its attempts to organize itself, especially into unions independent of the dictatorship, were

the initial cause of the anti-government riots in Pusan and other cities last October.

And these riots, especially the fact that they showed that Koreans no longer would accept the repression, were the direct cause of the assassination of the dictator Park Chung Hee. Park was assassinated by his own KCIA director, Kim Jae Kyu, because he intended to embark on an even more repressive policy. Kim Jae Kyu and others in the regime feared this would only mean disaster.

Park's assassination was used by imperialism and the regime to try to present the new government as one of "human rights" and "democracy." As long ago as 1974, imperialist Asia expert Edwin O. Reischauer warned that Park's "police state" (even the imperialists admit that) was creating grave dangers for imperialist rule. Now was the chance to settle the "problems."

Meanwhile martial law remained, exploitation remained. With unconscious irony, a member of the regime stated: "There are limits to freedom."

The workers and youth found this promised progress toward "freedom" was simply a means to stop their mobilization. If they accepted the regime, "human rights" would be forthcoming, unless "unforeseen circumstances" developed.

The "unforeseen circumstances" for the regime were that the workers did not accept this. A strike wave swept the country, culminating in the four-day seizure in April of the town of Sabuk by striking coal miners.

The refusal of the workers to accept "human rights" spelled its doom. Power became ever more openly concentrated in the hands of the Park loyalists in the military, especially the head of both the KCIA and Army Intelligence, Gen. Chon Too Hwan.

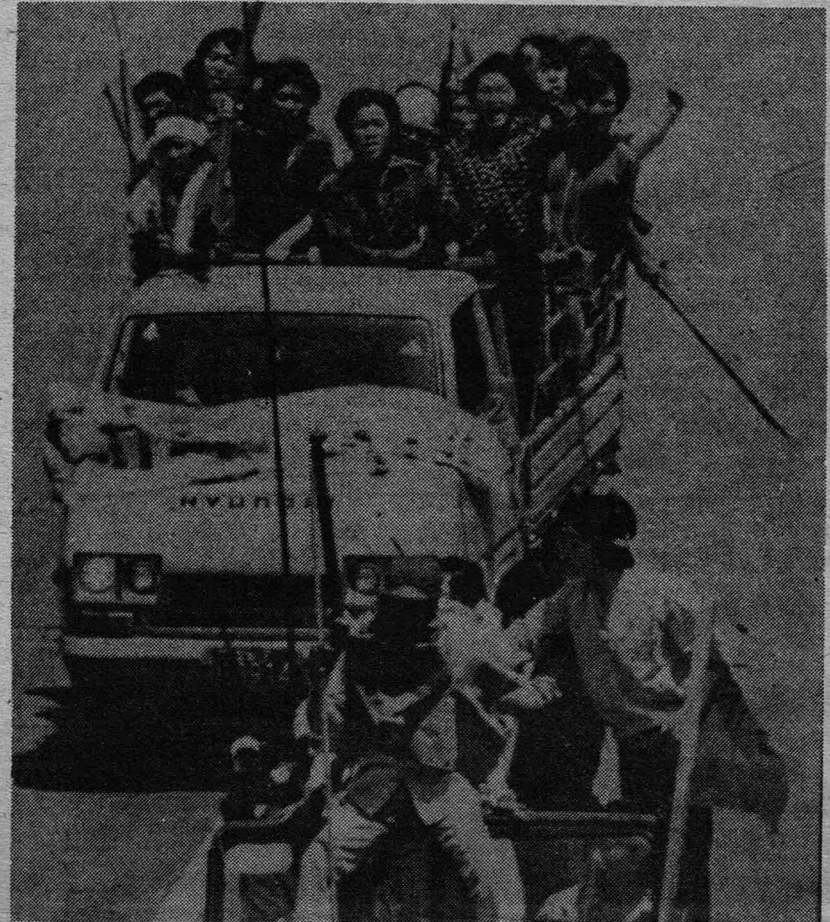
The determination of the regime to maintain itself in power at all costs became clear around two issues: the refusal to lift martial law and the insistence on executing Kim Jae Kyu for killing Park.

In the middle of last month both these issues exploded into massive revolt.

Huge student demonstrations broke out in Seoul, with over 50,000 students battling the police. Other cities joined in.

At one and the same time, the regime used the last of its "human rights" charade and threw it aside.

The regime promised the student leaders, most of whom are tied to the opposition bourgeois New Democratic Party or to its former leader, Kim Dae Jung,



that if they stopped demonstrating, progress would be made toward democracy. When the leaders agreed, under the urging of Kim Dae Jung and the head of the NDP, who called for "maximum self-restraint," they were all rounded up and jailed.

At the same time, the regime imposed new martial law decrees, brought in troops and tried to crush the upsurge, arresting Kim Dae Jung and executing Kim Jae Kyu.

It was this clear revelation of the nature of the regime that inspired the insurrection in Kwangju, South Korea's fourth-largest city.

Workers and students took control of the city, seized arms and drove out the police. The movement spread to other cities, in one of which KCIA headquarters was burned to the ground.

On May 27, the regime moved its troops into Kwangju and is now organizing a ferocious repression against the rebels.

The weakness of the Kwangju insurrection did not lie in the courage of the rebels, but in the lack of a clear political perspective, a perspective for socialist revolution.

The problem is one of class independence. Whose objectives will be met -- those of the liberal bourgeois opposition which begs imperialism for "human rights," or those of the workers who want an end to class exploitation and imperialist dependence?

These differences found expression even in the course

of the insurrection, where some called only for an end to martial law and for freeing Kim Dae Jung while others cried: "Death to Chon Too Hwan!"

The Fourth International has long said that there is no question that the revolution will come. But the question of its SUCCESS depends on its previous preparation, on its party and its slogans.

FOR THE CLASS INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKERS! Break with the bourgeois opposition and build your own party. Build unions independent of the dictatorship. Centralize your struggles through workers councils.

FOR THE UNIFICATION OF KOREA! Down with the Kim Il Sung regime that seeks "negotiations" with the dictatorship and announces that it will do as imperialism wishes and not "take advantage" of the crisis.

DOWN WITH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY MEASURES! Destroy this new center for counterrevolution and state terrorism set up by the regime.

U.S. TROOPS OUT! DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM! Despite all the preaching about being "deeply disturbed," the U.S., through the "joint command," is at the center of the repression.

This last task is especially one for U.S. workers who, especially after Miami and the recession, must see that no nation can be free that oppresses another.

June 1, 1980

'Peace Offensive' and Terrorist Rearmament

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

In recent weeks, the Kremlin has stepped up its so-called "peace offensive."

What does this diplomatic maneuver mean for the international working class, for U.S. workers?

Beginning especially with the Kremlin's military intervention in Afghanistan, the Fourth International alone has declared that the actions of the Stalinist bureaucracy were motivated by one thing only.

And that one thing is the desire to reintegrate itself into the imperialist order which has been thrown into such great disarray by the advance of the world revolution.

Whatever form it takes -- armed adventure or diplomatic maneuver -- what is going on is an attempt at the **TERRORIST REARMAMENT OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE**. It was this counter-revolutionary alliance between imperialism and Stalinism, established at the end of World War II, which has been shattered by Iran, by Nicaragua and so on.

The Kremlin's initiatives are aimed at subordinating the international workers movement to its leadership. If the Kremlin can prove its counterrevolutionary capacity by handing over the international proletariat, bound hand and foot to imperialism it devoutly hopes imperialism will re-admit it to its good graces. This is the meaning of "peaceful coexistence" today.

Let's look at the "peace offensive" in this light.

Starting most clearly at a conference of European "Communist Parties" called by Moscow -- which issued an appeal for "peace" directed not only to the Social Democrats, but to the Christian Democrats (parties representing the Catholic Church and the main capitalist parties in much of Western Europe) -- this "offensive" reached a peak in mid-May.

On May 14, the Afghan government declared that Soviet troops could be withdrawn if Iran and Pakistan promised not to interfere in Afghanistan's affairs, if this promise were "guaranteed" BY THE U.S. AND THE USSR.

Proposed as mediator for this deal was none other than "revolutionary" Cuba. All the pieces were beginning to fall into place.

On May 15, the Warsaw Pact (Stalinist response to NATO) meeting issued a special appeal for "peace," etc. This appeal urged an international summit meeting and, more immed-

ately, called for more vigorous observance of the 1975 Helsinki Accords on "Security and Cooperation in Europe" (for the counterrevolution). In particular, it urged consultative meetings to prepare the Madrid Conference in November of this year which will "review" these Accords.

On May 16, U.S. Secretary of State Muskie met with Kremlin Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

And, to top it off, on May 19, French President Giscard D'Estaing had a special, "unannounced" meeting with Brezhnev in Warsaw.

Under the guise of a campaign for "peace" and "disarmament," against "war," the Kremlin is trying to bring the workers, especially the European workers, under its influence in order to directly subordinate them to its class collaboration with imperialism.

Why precisely now?

The crisis of imperialism, particularly of U.S. imperialism, has not lessened but deepened in recent months. From Britain to Korea to Miami, the revolution is advancing.

The European working class is key to the success of the international revolution. If it brings its weight into the balance on the side of the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries this will mean a tremendous blow to imperialism.

The European bourgeoisies thus have to seek all possible ways to prevent their working classes from joining the masses of the oppressed countries.

That is why these bourgeoisies are trying to take their distance, at least in appearance, from U.S. imperialism. That is why the boycott of the Moscow Olympics has been joined only by W. Germany among the European "allies." Likewise with the sanctions on Iran.

At this juncture, the Kremlin holds out its hand to these bourgeoisies.

"Peace, brother," says the Kremlin. "Amen," answer the bourgeoisies of France, Britain and, yes, W. Germany. (Chancellor Schmidt will be seeing Brezhnev in June.)

This increasing isolation of U.S. imperialism only increases its crisis. Thus, the "peace offensive" serves as a means for the Kremlin to put pressure on U.S. imperialism to become "reasonable."

The Kremlin hopes to mobilize the European workers under the banner of "peace and disarmament" in seeming opposition to the war drive of U.S. imperialism, when it will real-

ly be offering "peace" -- CLASS PEACE, counterrevolution -- to the European bourgeoisies.

So it is not surprising that this "peace offensive" centers on Afghanistan and, above all, on the Madrid Conference.

All those who presented the Kremlin's intervention in Afghanistan as "revolutionary" are now revealed as mere pawns on Stalinism's chessboard, with Afghanistan itself only a slightly more valuable piece to be sacrificed at the right moment.

And Madrid, the culmination of the drive for state terrorism in the guise of "human rights," is the open goal of these maneuvers.

The Warsaw Pact declaration achieved the approval of the "Euro-Communist" Ceausescu of Rumania. Giscard's visit to Brezhnev got the approval of the "hard-liner" Marchais, head of the French CP. The whole international apparatus of the Kremlin falls into line once again openly behind counter-revolution.

The Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International are organizing for a Boycott of the Madrid Conference, to take shape in a Youth March and a Counter-Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe. This is the road to preserving the CLASS INDEPENDENCE of the workers movement, to PREPARING THE REVOLUTION, especially in Europe, today.

But this is far from being only a European matter. The Kremlin's "peace offensive" is aimed above all at coming to terms with U.S. imperialism.

That is why the U.S. Communist Party has so energetically taken up this "peace offensive."

This finds its sharpest expression to date in an article in the May 27 NEW YORK TIMES by CPUSA general-secretary and presidential candidate Gus Hall. The U.S. CP is the most servile and most Kremlin-loyal in the world precisely because it is its emissary to U.S. imperialism, the one that the Kremlin serves most directly.

Hall's little piece BEGINS by stating that: "The United States hostages in Iran must be freed, and the sooner the better." The reason for this open act of counterrevolution and imperialist propaganda? What else? "To avoid war."

This betrayal of the Iranian Revolution, this capitulation to imperialism, is just one example of the meaning in the U.S. of the "peace offensive."

This is what the whole campaign of the CP will be about. That is why the answer to the Kremlin's maneuvers in the U.S. is the WORKERS CANDIDATE, the concrete meaning of CLASS INDEPENDENCE, the concrete meaning of PREPARING THE REVOLUTION. June 2, 1980

Britain

May 14 had been scheduled by the bureaucratic leadership of the British labor federation, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), as a national "Day of Action" against the reactionary economic and social policies of Conservative Party Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Out of 12 million workers affiliated to the TUC, approximately a million took part in the action.

The bourgeoisie in Britain and internationally portrayed this as a defeat for the workers movement, as giving new strength to Thatcher.

But what is the truth?

This "Day of Action" was not called as a general strike. It was called as a means of pressuring Thatcher to include

the bureaucrats as "partners" in her economic planning. It was an attempt to reach a new "social contract" with the British bourgeoisie against the British workers.

These same bureaucrats who called it are the ones who sold out the steelworkers' strike -- for the same ends -- a few weeks ago.

The British workers were showing their non-support to the bureaucrats' schemes, not support to Thatcher. Those who did participate showed their will to struggle even under the worst leadership.

In both cases, the British ruling class has nothing to gloat about. June 1, 1980 K.F.

Central America: 'The Fire Next Door'

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Echoing the panic of Carter's government, the NEW YORK TIMES has recently called the situation in Central America "the fire next door." The strength of the mobilization of the masses of Nicaragua, El Salvador and the rest of Central America does indeed threaten to burn down imperialism's house.

The fall of Somoza in Nicaragua signaled a new stage in the revolutionary process throughout the Americas. Other countries in Latin America -- Chile, Argentina, Bolivia to name a few -- have had strong nationalist and revolutionary traditions for some time. But the countries of Central America were always considered by U.S. imperialism to be its property. The so-called "banana republics" installed by the U.S. military and maintained through fierce repression and brutal dictatorships, like that of Somoza, were havens for imperialist plunder.

An infamous former Marine General, Smedley Butler, once remarked that in Central America he had been a "thief and a bandit for U.S. imperialism." During the negotiation of the Panama Canal treaty, the story of the "creation" of the nation of Panama came out in the press. How Panama had been formed through a "revolution" organized and financed by the U.S. government in order to ensure the construction of the Panama canal.

Precisely because of the artificial nature of the boundaries that have been established in Central America (with the exception of Mexico), the struggles of the masses of Nicaragua and El Salvador have quickly passed beyond borders to ignite the proletariat and peasantry of all of Central America. Put in another way, the people of Central America share a strong hatred and struggle against U.S. imperialism. Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, the spread of the revolution with such rapidity has shaken Carter and the rest of the U.S. bourgeoisie to the core.

Both the objective necessity of a united and revolutionary Central America, together with the consciousness of the masses has brought the revolutionary process to a collision course with the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois nationalist movements. In particular, the loyal servant of U.S. imperialism, Castro, has played a key role in trying to stop the revolutionary process.

After the fall of Somoza, the symbol of the colonial bourgeoisie that U.S. imperialism installed in Central America, Castro was quick to guarantee that Nicaragua "would not go the way of Cuba." Meaning that Stalinism had no desire to see the masses go as far as they forced Castro to go in Cuba -- the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie and independence from imperialism. In many ways, Castro is nothing but a petty bourgeois nationalist himself, and his fear of the revolution is shared by the nationalist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua.

But despite the fact that the nationalists and Castro have identified themselves with the policy of "human rights" in Latin America, the masses have not stopped at respecting the wishes of U.S. imperialism that the situation in Central America be "stabilized." Nicaraguan workers have refused to allow themselves to be disarmed or to have their unions integrated into the Sandinista government. In El Salvador, the strength of the workers and youth mobilization has completely defeated Carter's attempt to prop up a so-called "moderate" military junta as both Carter and the junta have embarked on a campaign of open repression.

This is the true face of "human rights" in Latin America. A policy of fierce repression

that has been clearer in Central America than anywhere else. Though "human rights" is a particular campaign initiated by Carter in order to give the brutal dictatorships installed under the Nixon administration in Chile and Argentina and Bolivia a "democratic" cover, it has been the general policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America for more than half a century. Whether labeled the "Good Neighbor" policy of Roosevelt, or the "Alliance for Progress" under JFK, it is the same thing. Always in the name of "democracy," U.S. imperialism has worked through the support of nationalists or military "moderates" to first strangle the proletariat and then mount a fierce repression aimed at restoring brutal dictatorships.

The conflict between the nationalists and the proletariat, who unlike the traditional subservient compradore or colonial bourgeoisie base their program on the struggle for national independence and "anti-imperialism," arises inevitably because of their separate interests. The national bourgeoisie, no matter how radical they may choose to appear, are still a class based on private property and alien to the class interests of the proletariat. In fact, even the most "independent" nationalist movements have ended up linking themselves with U.S. imperialism in order to stop the national revolution from going over to the international, socialist revolution.

The best example of this is in Bolivia, where for more than a decade the nationalist MNR, which also had strong support among the Bolivian miners, increasingly compromised themselves with American imperialism rather than allow the revolution to go forward to the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the power of the POPULAR ASSEMBLY of the masses.

It is just as clear today that the FSLN of Nicaragua would rather deal with U.S. imperialism than allow the bourgeois state to be smashed by the Nicaraguan working class. Since the fall of Somoza, the FSLN has sought to "control" the workers and peasants movement through the institutionalization of the Popular Defense Committees that served to coordinate the resistance to Somoza as well as by creating Sandinista unions more closely tied to the state and the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Strikes are continually confronted with the Sandinista junta's commitment to the "private sector," though attempts at stopping them have been unsuccessful.

After the recent resignation of the two members from the National Directorate, the FSLN hastened to satisfy Washington's demand that two new "moderates" be named to the junta. Thus in the MILITANT, newspaper of the centrist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), we read that Congress refused to give aid to the FSLN:

"The latest stall involved waiting for the governing junta in Nicaragua to replace its two capitalist representatives, one of whom resigned last month in protest of moves that made the new Council of State more representative of workers and peasants."

These "Bolsheviks" as the centrists refer to them, have their price -- \$75 million to be exact -- at which Washington has decisive influence over the revolution. Along with the appointment of two new bourgeois representatives, Rafael Cordova Rivas, a Conservative Party member, and Arturo Cruz, president of the Central Bank, the FSLN also agreed to a list of specific demands of the bourgeoisie including: lifting the state of emergency which gave the FSLN broad powers over the government, no

more confiscations of private companies, and an agreement to hold early elections.

Congress has since passed the aid bill for Nicaragua, no doubt with further stipulations as to how it is to be used.

Thus the petty bourgeois nationalists' interests are separated out from those of the proletariat and oppressed in the actual struggle against imperialism.

It is therefore not the "failure of socialism" as Castro would say about Cuba, but the mobilization of the proletariat that has brought the nationalists into crisis. But the pillar of "human rights" and the most counter-revolutionary nationalist force in Latin America is Stalinism -- Castroism. In not only Cuba, where Castro embraced Carter's "human rights" policy with open arms, but throughout Latin America, Stalinism has participated fully in the collaboration with imperialism. Until very recently, the Stalinist party in El Salvador actually sat in the cabinet with the bloody military butchers supported by Carter. Without the support of Castro, "human rights" never would have gotten off the ground.

There should be no surprise then that Castroism and petty bourgeois nationalism is the pole of attraction for a centrist party in the U.S. -- the Socialist Workers Party. And that in turn the various maneuvers and theoretical wanderings of centrism on a world scale revolve around reaching an accommodation with the SWP and the United Secretariat. All of them in the shadow of Stalinism and "human rights."

While the Fourth International recognizes the revolutionary character of nationalism in the countries under the domination of imperialism, we also see clearly, in particular in Central America today, that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution can only be fulfilled by the struggle of the proletariat at the head of all the exploited and oppressed. And therefore the national revolution is combined with the proletarian or socialist revolution. It is only the proletariat that by its separate class interests can give the revolution its "independence" from imperialism.

In general, this struggle can be summed up as the fight for a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT, based on the popular assemblies and committees of the factories, the neighborhoods, and the fields. It is a struggle that is based at every step on the initiative of the proletariat which alone is capable of seizing hold of the means of production and distribution, the urban strongholds, and of finishing with the bourgeois state.

This perspective does not rule out advancing demands bound up with the solution of national-democratic and agrarian tasks of the revolution. In fact, especially in regions in Central America, these demands have a deep revolutionary significance. In countries like El Salvador, the Honduras, Guatemala the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY representing the toiling masses is a point of departure for the revolution. If this struggle is reinforced at every step by mobilizing the proletariat and pressed to deepen their independence from the national bourgeoisie and hence, imperialism.

Concretely, this means strengthening the neighborhood DEFENSE COMMITTEES as in Nicaragua, and organizing the committees and organizations of the proletariat into POPULAR ASSEMBLIES such as those which sprang up in Bolivia. Furthermore, the struggle for TRADE UNION UNITY AND CLASS INDEPENDENCE plays an important role in Nicaragua and other countries today, in separating the revolutionary interests of the masses from the bourgeois-nationalist state.

This struggle is going on today in Nicaragua but is billed by the centrists as a choice between the Sandinista Union Federation, which seeks to integrate the workers into the government and the defense of private property, and the petty bourgeois reactionary bureaucrats in the traditional union organizations. In reality, the differences between the nationalists and the bureaucrats are of a territorial nature and neither act in the interests of the workers.

The clearest expression of the depth and significance of the mobilization of the masses in Central America is the tremendous crisis which they have unleashed in the Stalinist apparatus of Cuba and among their centrist shadows. Despite Castro's attempts to isolate the fall of Somoza to Nicaragua, the entire period after Nicaragua has been nothing but one mobilization after another. Castro's crisis stems from the fact that he is no longer able to uphold "human rights" for U.S. imperialism through disciplining Cuban workers and the revolutionary mobilization throughout Latin America.

From the very beginning, the struggle in Nicaragua and El Salvador, in Mexico, has been unified with the Cuban revolution and has been the basis of the crisis of Castroism. In fact, this struggle must be made conscious not only because of the role of Stalinism in Latin America, but even more importantly, because of its role in isolating the workers of the Two Americas in North and South.

The REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA is the essential condi-

tion for the liberation of the exploited and oppressed of both continents. The Stalinist theory of peaceful co-existence with imperialism is nothing but complete treachery. "Human rights" shows its true face in El Salvador today where the Carter administration has dusted off its old "domino theory" it's used to justify its intervention in Southeast Asia, and has committed itself to the preservation of the military junta. Neither can Latin America be "independent" while imperialism stands, nor can the U.S. working class be free while U.S. imperialism oppresses other nations.

The essence of the PERMANENT REVOLUTION, the international and proletarian character of the revolution, is that all the Stalinist theories that the U.S. working class is "reactionary" or "backward" only serve to cover capitulation to national chauvinism and imperialism. Thus, the unified perspective of the proletariat of the Two Americas is for CLASS INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY, against imperialism.

This perspective can only take root as the conscious struggle of the most advanced; that

class in whose interests the revolution really lies -- the proletariat. And therefore the perspective of the construction of the WORKERS PARTIES is the most important element for the advance of the revolution in Latin America and its unity with the workers and oppressed in the United States. This struggle is completely counterposed to the centrist theory of the "progressive role" of the petty bourgeois nationalist movements in Central America, such as the FSLN, or the petty bourgeois liberals and union bureaucrats in the United States.

The REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE TWO PROLETARIATS -- NORTH AND SOUTH, can only be a conscious struggle against Stalinism and the national isolation of the oppressed peoples of the two continents. Because of the explosive character which the mobilization of American workers has taken in the past and is taking today, the construction of the WORKERS PARTIES themselves can take on an explosive and rapid character. This is what the Fourth International concentrates on today in order to ensure the advance of the revolution in the Americas.

June 1, 1980

Down with Carter & Castro's Lies!

A U.S.-Cuban Workers Commission of Inquiry into the Cuban Emigration!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on workers and youth in the Two Americas to join it in forming a U.S.-Cuban Workers Commission of Inquiry into the Cuban Emigration.

Over 90,000 Cubans have now risked their lives to leave that country and come to the United States -- to leave the country where workers rose up in a revolutionary struggle 20 years ago and drove out the imperialists.

U.S. imperialists first said that these emigres were "dissidents" fleeing "communist totalitarianism," looking for "freedom" in the "land of opportunity." Carter welcomed them with "open arms."

Now it says many of them are "degenerates, psychotics, and criminals," dumped on the U.S. by Castro. Carter's holding them in virtual concentration camps under armed guard. Conditions are so bad that many have rebelled and tried to escape.

Castro, the rest of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its pseudo-Trotskyist press agents in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, try to dismiss the emigration as a "provocation." They say it's composed of "scum," "lumpens," "the faint-hearted," people who are unwilling to sacrifice for the revolution.

Workers and youth in the U.S. have no reason to believe either of them. U.S. imperialism is trying to turn U.S. workers and youth against the socialist revolution in order to maintain its own power. It's trying to raise a counterrevolutionary army including these Cubans to overturn the conquests of the workers in this hemisphere.

The Stalinist bureaucracy and its pseudo-Trotskyist press agents are obviously trying to cover their own tracks. **WHAT HAVE CASTRO AND CO. DONE TO THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CUBA THAT'S CAUSED 90,000 PEOPLE TO WANT TO LEAVE?**

The purpose of the Inquiry Commission is to learn the truth about the emigration and fight for the truth.

WHO IS LEAVING CUBA AND WHY ARE THEY LEAVING? WHAT HAPPENED TO THE REVOLUTION?

Already it is clear that at least some of the emigres are youth and workers who cannot accept the conditions in Cuba -- unemployment and speedup for the working class while the bureaucracy occupies itself with the struggle for more work discipline; rationing for the workers while the bureaucracy shops

in special stores and cautions against "petty bourgeois egalitarianism"; martial law, witch-hunts, arrest and imprisonment for youth who challenge these conditions.

But it is necessary to go further, to investigate, to document, to send a delegation to the emigre camps and to Cuba itself to find out who and why.

WHO ARE THE REAL COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES IN CUBA? WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH DAMAGE TO THE REVOLUTION THAT 90,000 PEOPLE WANT TO LEAVE?

The imperialists of course say there are no counterrevolutionaries, that the revolution in Cuba is "collapsing from within." Castro and Co. say the counterrevolutionaries are the ones getting on the boats. But these people have never had power in Cuba. What about Castro? Didn't he salute Carter's imperialist "human rights" program, say he'd vote for Carter in 1980, say the revolution in Cuba was too idealistic? Didn't he initiate "the struggle to be demanding," to increase work discipline, which has led to even more unemployment? Didn't he propose that unemployed youth be put to work reading electric meters to catch their parents "stealing" electricity? What is the nature of the bureaucracy in Cuba? Is it Stalinist?

The Inquiry Commission must make a thorough investigation to uncover, document, analyze and expose the real counterrevolutionaries in Cuba.

WHO HAS BEEN COVERING FOR THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES AND WHY?

The real counterrevolutionaries in Cuba would never have been able to go as far as they have without help from the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. This pseudo-Trotskyist party says that Cuba is a workers paradise, THAT THERE IS NO UNEMPLOYMENT, that there are no fundamental problems. They say that Castro and Co. constitute a leadership "far superior to the Bolsheviks," that they aren't Stalinist, have nothing to do with Stalinism. The people fleeing are "lumpens," "faint-hearted."

Now, whatever you may think of Cuba and Castro, it's obvious that this isn't true. Why does the SWP LIE about Cuba and Castro? Slander the emigration? What are they trying to accomplish? What do they have to gain?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? How can the revolu-

tion be renovated? How can the working class clean house? How can it expose the lies of the imperialists, Stalinists and centrists? How can the Cuban emigres be integrated into the class struggle in the U.S.?

These are the questions that the Inquiry Commission must investigate and answer. By doing this the working class can turn what the imperialists and Stalinists would like to make a major defeat -- the massive emigration from Cuba -- into a victory for the working class -- a first step in the struggle for the revolutionary unification of the U.S. and Cuban workers against imperialism and Stalinism.

The commission must begin with U.S. workers and youth. On the basis of the first results of its work, a struggle to involve Cubans must be engaged.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all youth and workers who want to take up this struggle to join us in forming the commission and elaborating an initial plan of work.

**DOWN WITH CARTER'S AND CASTRO'S LIES!
A U.S.-CUBAN WORKERS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
NOW!**

June 2, 1980

TRUTH

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

A CENTRIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

A TRUTH PUBLICATION
DECEMBER, 1978
25 CENTS

Workers Party Movement in Brazil!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Brazilian workers, like their counterparts throughout the hemisphere, have decisively rejected Carter's imperialist "human rights" program -- "democratizing" the Geisel dictatorship installed by the U.S. which oppressed them for years.

They've gone beyond passive resistance and taken the offensive against the dictatorship, not only with the formation of independent strike committees and a general strike of metalworkers, but also with a movement for a workers party to bring down the dictatorship.

In an effort to confine the growing mobilization of the Brazilian workers, especially the metalworkers in 1977, Carter and Co. conspired with Geisel to replace him with General Joao Baptista de Figueiredo who didn't enforce all the anti-working class laws and promised liberalization of the regime.

The Movimento Democratico Brasileiro (MDB), the liberal bourgeois party which has dominated the workers and is supported by the Stalinists, supported this maneuver. The Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists waged an intensive campaign for the MDB in elections called to secure a mandate for this maneuver. But the workers continued an independent mobilization and over 40% abstained!

Thus Figueiredo decided to go "farther." He promised that in addition to the two parties which had been functioning in Brazil, ARENA (Alianza Renovadora Nacional, party of the dictatorship) and MDB, one or two more would be allowed. The Social Democrats immediately formed the Partido Laborista (PTB). But the workers still didn't bite. Instead they took the initiative in launching the movement for a Workers Party -- el Partido de Trabalhadores.

This movement laid the basis for the general strike of metal workers today and has thrown the dictatorship and the parties attached to it into even deeper crisis, in particular the Stalinists.

It is proof that "something" can be done.

Brazil has been THE bastion of imperialism in South America, with the most "stable" dictatorship. It's supposed to be the "United States" of South America, a showcase of the benefits of "Yankee know-how."

Like workers in the U.S., workers in Brazil have been dominated by a bourgeois party for decades. Their unions are dominated by the state. If anything, the conditions for workers in Brazil are worse -- their standard of living, education, rights. In forming the movement for a Workers Party they faced the concerted opposition not only of the dictatorship and the MDB but also of the Stalinist party which has far more prestige in Latin

America than it has in the U.S.

If workers in Brazil can form such a movement after all this time, under such conditions, and in face of these obstacles, THEN SO CAN WORKERS IN THE U.S.

The movement is also proof that the construction of a massive movement for the Workers Party is inseparable from the struggle for POLITICAL differentiation in the working class and the construction of the revolutionary leadership on this basis.

It can't be built by making demands on the union officials as the pseudo-Trotskyists say or by getting all the groups together, "burying the hatchet," as even some workers think.

In fact the problem before the Workers Party movement in Brazil isn't just government repression (one of its principal leaders, "Lula," was just arrested) and Stalinist opposition. It's the politics of the very leadership now at the head of the movement.

While the present leadership made up of independent unionists like Luis Inacio da Silva ("Lula"), have been very radical in economic struggles, when it comes to organizing a POLITICAL confrontation aimed at the destruction of the dictatorship, they fall apart.

They claim to be for independent unions and the destruction of the state unions but they've done nothing to centralize the various factory, strike and rank-and-file committees which have arisen, to prepare a Congress of these Committees to found One Central Union.

Similarly, they've done nothing to centralize the successive strikes in the last months into a general strike to bring down the dictatorship.

Worst of all, instead of going forward and actually founding the Workers Party to bring down the dictatorship and form a workers government, they've tried to involve the working class in endless discussion with the official union leaders and the Stalinists on the necessity for such a party.

This amounts to forcing the working class to wait for the biggest supporters of the dictatorship before it can launch a struggle against the dictatorship!

At the same time they call on the dictatorship to convoke a National Constituent Assembly, as if the purpose of the Workers Party movement was to pressure Figueiredo to go still "farther," as if the workers could peacefully coexist with the dictatorship in the Constituent Assembly.

This leadership and its politics are disorienting and dispersing the movement.

The same elements pursue the same politics in the United States -- they call on the workers to call union bureaucrats like Doug Fraser to break with the Democratic Party and form a "Labor Party," a criminal policy

subordinating the independent struggle of the working class against this imperialist party to the biggest supporters of imperialism.

They call on Congress to take over the oil industry, pass another full employment bill, assure equal rights for blacks and women. They even come right out and say the purpose of the Workers Party is to "stand up in Congress" and fight for this drivel, not obliterate this den of thieves.

The construction of a massive movement for the Workers Party in Brazil and the U.S. requires a differentiation in the working class against these politics, not getting together with the groups that advocate them. The workers must be separated from the petty bourgeois if they are not to go down with them. The present situation in Brazil is graphic proof of this.

It requires the preparation of a revolutionary leadership organized in the Fourth International to lead this fight. A

Peruvian Elections: Workers Reject Centrism

Fernando Belaunde Terry won the election for the presidency of the new civilian government in Peru. The left parties and candidates, which had polled more than 30% of the vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly last year, received far less in these elections.

Hugo Blanco, presidential candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), received less than 4% of the vote and may have even run second to the candidate of a Maoist coalition. The PRT is the "sister party" of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and a section of the United Secretariat.

The centrist coalition based on "the unity of the left" and led by Blanco and the PRT broke up on the eve of the elections.

The Usec explains in its journal, INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, that the reason the bourgeois candidate Belaunde Terry received 42% of the vote was because "many workers apparently sought to cast an 'effective' vote against APRA and the military by voting for Belaunde for president..."

Belaunde himself, however, immediately called for "very fruitful relations with the armed forces." In fact it was Belaunde who was overthrown by the military in 1968 which has ruled since in Peru.

Not only does Belaunde not represent a vote against the military, but the candidate and former president even went out of his way to say "My party does not have a spirit of revenge..."

mass party is no substitute for such a leadership.

The OCI, the leading organization of the Parity Committee, is doing its best to block such a clarification. In the May 10 issue of INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES it says that the Workers Party must be a "united front around the slogan 'down with the dictatorship.'" This would be fine if shouting slogans would actually bring it down, but it won't. Real fighters have to be separated from sloganeers. This is the road forward. Every youth and worker who wants to fight for a Workers Candidate and Workers Party in the United States can hold up the movement in Brazil as proof that such a struggle is possible and a proof of what kind of struggle it must be.

The movement for the Workers Party in Brazil, "the United States of South America," must be a weapon in the movement for a Workers Party in the "United States of North America"!
June 2, 1980

and remarked of his "cordial feelings toward the armed forces."

Even if we accept the theory put forward by the PRT and SWP, it is a damning condemnation of centrism that only one year after elections in which their alliance with Blanco at its head received 30% of the vote, they were unable to get anywhere close to the same results. Even more damning is the fact that the elections take place after a stormy period of massive strikes and battles with the military government in Peru.

It is more likely that this theory which the centrists attribute to the workers is in reality their own theory. In voting against the so-called "left" the Peruvian workers were signalling their distrust of not only the centrists, Stalinists and Maoists, who made up last year's coalition, but also the fact that they see no fundamental difference between them. This is the result of a centrist policy of blocs and vote-getting, rather than a proletarian policy of using the elections to organize the struggle for power.

Evidently, the Peruvian masses have learned to draw a distinction between the symbol of Blanco's campaign, the fist, and the symbol of the workers and peasants, the hammer and sickle of the Fourth International.

June 1, 1980
D.H.

RYI: Renew the Ranks of the Workers Movement

By RICH TETRAULT

The youth play a key role in the reorganization of the trade unions and the construction of workers organizations throughout the world.

At the center of this fight is the struggle to arm and educate a new generation of young revolutionaries. A new generation that is untarnished and uncompromised in organizing the break of the workers and masses of oppressed of the world with the bourgeois politicians and their accomplices in the workers movement.

The Revolutionary Youth International is fighting to construct a new leadership from the youth around the world. This is not a leadership that boasts of its friendly relationships with the petty bourgeoisie or its ability to pressure imperialists in crisis. This is a leadership to organize the class independence of workers and youth, to organize the final confrontation between the world proletariat and the ruling class. Collaboration with the enemy is the line of the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists and has no place in the workers movement. Only in the fight for working class independence can these traitors be defeated.

This Holy Alliance, the collaboration between the Stalin-

ist forces centered in Moscow and the forces of U.S. imperialism, implies the disarming of the workers and youth in preparation for the terrorist rearmament of Stalinism and imperialism. The ruling class has this last alternative at its disposal. It signals more vicious repression, openly counter-revolutionary politics on the part of the pseudo-revolutionaries and imperialist lackeys, and the further developments of class war.

The world situation, the sharpening of the conflicts and antagonisms between a completely bankrupt ruling class and continuously regenerating working class, demands a revolutionary response. International Young Guard/USA, US Detachment of the RYI develops a response and fights for leadership in every situation . . . Under the banner of the WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, IYG/USA and the entire RYI struggle to organize the army of the youth to fight alongside the workers and unemployed to bring down U.S. Imperialism.

In the U.S., the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE is a focal point in the activities of the young comrades of IYG/USA. This is the meaning of the

struggle for class independence. Workers and youth see no future on the 1980 ballot. The campaigns of the "communists" and the "socialists" are at the very least a farce and more precisely are counterrevolutionary. In all, these attempts to reinforce bourgeois democracy are what is at the center of the 1980 Presidential Elections. The Communist Party/USA and the Socialist Workers Party have capitulated to the respectable capitalist parties. The Revolutionary Youth International alongside the Fourth International has drawn a line of blood to stand on the side of the workers, youth, and masses of oppressed and to organize a new leadership for the preparation of the revolution.

IYG/USA has devoted a great deal of energy at several Detroit high schools. A fight to link the struggles of the Iranian militants with the workers and youth in the U.S. is a fight only IYG/USA is unafraid to take up. In the same way we fight to defend the Miami rebellion. The most oppressed minorities in the U.S. share a real solidarity with the exploited masses of Iran, Cuba, Korea, Puerto Rico, El Salvador and all peoples who suffer from

the repressive Holy Alliance.

We do not accept the lies of race riots, that these struggles are unrelated to the insurrections breaking out around the world. The world revolution is on the march and the youth in the schools and on the streets have something to say. The interventions at the high schools are proof of this. Many young people are quick to respond to our call for a Workers Tribunal to try the cops who killed Arthur McDuffy in Florida last December. The independent mobilization of the working class can achieve this kind of immediate response. An offensive is what we are preparing.

The defense of the colonial revolution in particular the revolution in Iran is a key combat.

This vividly illustrates that the only justice for the world proletariat is in the streets, with the force of the world revolution.

The ranks of the RYI are open to all youth as is the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE.

Organize the power of the working class. Join the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 Presidential Elections to centralize this fight.
June 3, 1980

Draft Bill Goes to Senate ...

A Workers Candidate Can Stop Imperialist War!

By FRED VITALE

Over the past few weeks, the House of Representatives has passed a bill to finance Carter's draft registration program, and the bill passed out of the Senate Appropriations Committee and is supposed to hit the Senate floor at the beginning of June. Predictions are that the bill will pass with registrations beginning this summer for men 19-20 years old.

The Fourth International does not accept this draft because the youth have not made their voice heard, their presence felt. We say to the tens of thousands of youth who fought on March 22 against the imperialist draft and war and the millions more who oppose it: take your fight into the 1980 elections. A Workers Candidate in 1980!

The March 22 demonstration showed how shallow Carter's national unity is; how the Committee against Registration and

the Draft (CARD) and their political supporters -- the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Communist Party (CP) showed what pacifism really means by turning over the speakers platform at the rally to Democratic and Republican party politicians!

At the Senate hearings, Senator Mark Hatfield, one of the speakers at the March rally, presented his "case" against draft registration "at this time." He brought letters from Kennedy, Anderson and Reagan (all running for president) and former president Gerald Ford stating their opposition to the draft(!) And, he said why he's against it. Registration "would create a vehicle of dissent, a hell-no-I-won't-go sloganeering that could polarize the nation. We already have enough divisive forces in play."

CARD with the SWP and CP says we should build coalitions with these politicians against the

draft. Hatfield is opposed to reinstating the draft because he's AFRAID of opposition to the "national unity," to imperialist plans. That the youth must die for imperialism is acceptable. He would ease into it differently.

CARD exists only because the SWP and the CP support it in the name of being "working class parties." But these "coalition" politics are FOR the petty bourgeoisie (the middle class) and meant to EXCLUDE the working class, its youth and ALL militant youth.

When Hatfield's letters from Reagan and friends did not stop the draft, he proposed a motion that the youth can register as conscientious objectors. This is an individual "solution" which leaves the entire system intact, the whole question of war unanswered, and has no appeal for working class youth. And who can believe that black

youth who battled police in Miami or working class youth anywhere suspended from school, spent time in juvenile homes, etc., can get CO status?

These anti-working class politics are summed up in their slogans, "No draft, No war!" There is a war going on, the class war. Why else would there be a rebellion in Miami except for the war being waged against blacks in this country?

There is a war and the workers and youth need their own army. An anti-draft, anti-imperialist army to build a movement for a Workers Candidate in 1980.

The youth need a candidate, a movement, that expresses their desires and is built not on bourgeois politicians and their maneuvers but on the struggles and consciousness of the youth themselves.

June 1, 1980

Why Doesn't the American Working Class Have its Own Party?

By JON COHEN

Barring some surprise, which is always possible, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan will be the Presidential candidates for the Democratic and Republican parties.

But what is even more certain is that the next President of the United States, whoever he may be, will be the most unpopular President in U.S. history -- even before he takes office. He will be elected by a tiny minority of the U.S. population.

The breakdown of the "democratic process" has become evident. A mere 33% of registered voters (only itself a fraction of all eligible voters) voted in the 1978 Congressional elections. It is estimated that only 18% of the registered voters in this country participated in the Democratic and Republican primaries which were responsible for selecting Carter and Reagan.

In the recent Michigan Democratic Party primary only 15,000 people voted; this in a state with a population of 9 million.

Even the voters who go to the polls tell interviewers that they didn't like any of the candidates. And sizeable percentages of voters have voted for "undecided" or "none of the above" whenever these alternatives have appeared.

This is a telling indictment of this "democracy," supposedly a model for the entire "free world." Massive abstentionism has become a dominant factor in American political life.

It is on this basis that a number of "third party" alternatives have appeared around the coming Presidential elections.

There is the campaign of John Anderson, a former reactionary Republican, now a "born again" moderate Republican, whose sole basis for popularity seems to be the fact that no one knows much about him. But it is clear that a sizeable number of people will vote for him in November as a protest vote -- perhaps as much as 20%.

There is also the campaign of the Citizens Party, headed by the ecologist Barry Commoner, which is basically offering the American people a revived version of

the 1976 Democratic Party platform -- all the "promises" which Carter failed to keep. Unlike Carter, Reagan and Anderson who in some sense are fighting to win, this party is fighting to lose.

Carter and Reagan are clearly backed by the big bourgeoisie. Although not totally unacceptable to them, Anderson is primarily backed by the suburban middle classes. The Citizens Party is supported by the burnt-out radicals of the 60's.

Why doesn't the American working class have some political expression in these elections? Why isn't the massive abstention and disgust of the working class being expressed in some form of independent political action?

This is the key question in front of the American working class, a question on which its future depends. This erosion of the "democratic system" will mean nothing if it allows the continued rule of U.S. imperialism.

Why doesn't the American working class have its own party? Despite occasional talk by some "left" trade union bureaucrats, despite a few resolutions taken by trade unions in California on the subject of a "labor party," it is crystal clear that no such "labor party" will be organized by the labor bureaucracy to confront Carter and Reagan in the elections, much less to confront the problem of the political abstentionism of the American working class.

ON THE CONTRARY. As the Carter-Reagan confrontation approaches, the strategy of the labor bureaucrats, the liberals, the black "leaders" is becoming clearer -- KEEP THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ALIVE.

THE LESSER EVIL. From now on until November this will be their line -- Carter is rotten but Reagan is worse. With this line they hope to be able to drag enough workers and blacks to the polls to elect Carter again.

A "labor party," a "labor party movement" is out of the question for these bureaucrats. The present situation is too explosive for this, the bureaucrats are unable to guarantee that they would be able to control a movement for independent political action once it is begun.

The question of a party of class independence, of the working class having its own party to fight in its own name is too explosive because it is the key question of the coming American revolution.

Unlike in Europe where the mobilizations of the working class succeeded in creating mass working class political parties, either in the form of the Social Democratic British "Labor Party" or the mass Communist Parties like in France and Italy, the historical development of the American working class movement precluded the development of such a party in the United States -- the American bourgeoisie succeeded in dominating the American working class through its own bourgeois parties, above all the Democratic Party.

This was due to some historical reasons -- the vast room for the expansion of American capitalism that took place during the first 150 years of U.S. history, the successive waves of immigration creating a tremendous diversity inside the working class and racial divisions and the relative prosperity of U.S. capitalism.

But in modern times, when such a party has been on the agenda, the continued domination of the Democratic Party has been due to the treachery of the working class leadership and the absence on the part of the working class of a weapon with which to combat this treachery.

The present domination of the Democratic Party is due to the alliance cemented in the 1930's between Roosevelt's Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy, an alliance held together by the Kremlin through

its American Communist Party.

For their services in blocking a revolutionary mobilization of the working class the trade union bureaucrats were granted "recognition" and were installed in their posts at the head of the trade unions.

This "New Deal" was in fact a new lease on life for the Democratic Party and U.S. imperialism which paved the way for the reaction in the 50's. But this new lease on life began to expire with the beginning of the world-wide period of revolutionary mobilization which opened up in 1968 and which has brought this "New Deal" alliance to the brink of collapse today.

But the Democratic Party continues to survive and hold back the mobilization of the working class because the Democratic Party won't be buried by itself.

It must be destroyed. The working class must consciously break with this party of imperialism. It must openly defeat the traitors in its ranks who continue to bind the working class to the policies of imperialism.

This can't be done with half-way measures. In the present situation of world-wide upsurge of the international and U.S. working class, with the working class on the offensive, the possibility of an independent party of the working class being forged by the reformist trade union bureaucracy is precluded. A party of class independence can only be forged in a revolutionary combat.

In 1946 the American Trotskyists wrote: "The American workers will learn politics as they learned trade unionism -- from an abridged dictionary. They will take the road of independent political action with hurricane speed and power. That will be a great date for the future of humanity, for the American workers will not stop at reformism except perhaps to tip their hats to it. Once fairly started they will go the whole way."

This historic opportunity exists today. The lesson of the historical experience of the American working class and the experiences of today prove that the American working class will not stop for half-way measures -- when it takes up the struggle for its party of class independence it will go all the way to a fight to finish with U.S. imperialism.

Our fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in these elections, to build an open and mass movement for a WORKERS PARTY, open to all the fighters in the American working class, to the youth, to the unemployed and oppressed is a fight to assimilate this lesson and to answer this question once and for all.

June 3, 1980

Why Trotskyists Fight for a Workers Candidate

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all unions, organizations of workers and unemployed, and individual militants to organize a campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and 10,000 signatures to support this proposal.

There is no question that 99% of the working class and the youth in the United States are either frustrated or have given up all together trying to affect the course of the 1980 elections. There is no question that short of a major mobilization of the unions and the entire working class, the period after the 1980 elections will probably see the most unpopular president in the history of the United States.

That is why it is NOW that a mobilization must be built to turn the situation around. 10,000 or even a thousand workers and youth in this country have more support among the oppressed and working class than either Carter or Reagan will ever have.

Trotskyists are fighting for a WORKERS CANDIDATE because we believe that the class that produces the wealth of nations is the only progressive force in the world. The ruling, bourgeois class, especially in the United States, was able to hide its crisis for a time through the super-exploitation of the oppressed people of the world -- including here at home the exploitation of blacks, Latinos, and poor whites.

But now all these "slaves" have risen in every corner of the globe -- even in places like Miami, the playground of the rich. It is clear to everyone now that the bourgeois class is totally incapable of solving the crisis it has created with its exploitation and political oppression.

At the same time, the American ruling class is able to outlive the terminal disease that is infecting all of society because since the first days of the organization of unions and the mobilization of the oppressed OUR class has

never had a political leadership, a party, to unify and concentrate our efforts. Instead, traitors within the union officialdom, and "Uncle Toms" among the oppressed have supported the Democratic party -- a party that is owned by the bourgeoisie.

We must have a WORKERS PARTY. And the fight for a common WORKERS CANDIDATE based on a WORKERS PROGRAM is a step toward breaking with the Democratic Party and the traitors in the workers movement and building such a party. We cannot allow the likes of Reagan or Carter to be the masters of the political situation. Nor Kennedy (or any other "man on a white horse") whose campaign has only led to demoralization.

So why not unify around some other "left" candidate? Because even if a candidate that represented the interests of the working class existed, it wouldn't be enough just to VOTE for them. As any serious militant knows, change will not come merely through elections. The key is to organize the workers and youth INDEPENDENTLY by building workers' factions in the unions, committees of unemployed, and special defense organizations to actually mobilize the working class.

Therefore, while Trotskyists are ready to support any common candidate representing the interests of the working class, we can do so only on the basis of a real MOBILIZATION for a WORKERS CANDIDATE.

So what do 10,000 signatures mean anyway? Nothing, if they are just signatures. But if 10,000 signatures representing 100 dedicated workers and youth, who in turn have organized in their union, neighborhood, or school 100 or more, represents the beginning of a mobilization for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and a WORKERS PARTY. 10,000 supporters and active fighters will be a signal for millions more to follow!

June 3, 1980

A WORKERS PROGRAM!

1. **UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL NATIONS!**
2. **DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM -- STOP ITS PLANS FOR WAR!**
 - Down with Carter's draft -- military training for the youth under workers control!
 - Boycott the November Madrid Conference on European Security and Cooperation -- For the Socialist United States of Europe!
3. **FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE USA AND USSR!**
 - Down with Stalinism, down with the Berlin Wall!
 - Free Klebanov, for independent trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe!
4. **U.S. OUT OF LATIN AMERICA!**
 - Independence for Puerto Rico!
 - For the Socialist United Republic of the Two Americas!
5. **STOP CARTER'S AUSTERITY!**
 - For a sliding scale of wages and working hours!
 - Jobs and technical training for the youth!
 - Workers control of industry -- expropriate the oil trusts!
 - Confront the crisis in auto -- for international unity of autoworkers, for an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!
6. **DISARM THE TERRORIST STATE!**
 - Stop plans to "revitalize" the FBI and CIA!
 - Down with the Voorhis Act which forbids workers belonging to international organizations!
 - Stop S:1722!
7. **DISARM THE BOURGEOISIE -- FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT BASED ON WORKERS COUNCILS!**

JOIN US!

I want to help build the fight for a Workers Candidate in 1980 . . .

Here's my signature _____

I am interested in attending the Convention _____

Please send _____ copies of this Call.

Enclosed is \$ _____ contribution.

Send to TRUTH, PO BOX 07066, DETROIT, MI 48207

**10,000
Signatures!**

The 50-50 Mayor

Coleman Young, black mayor of Detroit, recently had the chance to reminisce a little about his "socialist" past.

Interviewed by a staff writer for the May 28 issue of THE SOUTH END, a student newspaper, he had the opportunity to reach the youth, not as the Mayor who told striking firemen they could "learn to eat beans," nor as the sleazy, corrupt official who buys himself an \$18,000 Cadillac limousine and gives his rich cronies huge tax breaks at the moment Carter was slashing the federal budget, but as the "socialist," "50-50" Mayor, who says to the youth and workers with a straight face: "I do not for one moment believe that I have betrayed the working class or forgotten my roots."

Before the Miami rebellion opened up a new level of struggle in the United States against the power of the bourgeois state -- its police and court system, Young toyed with the idea of a "long, hot summer," to scare political rivals, but when this idle threat became a living reality, he turned tail and stammered,

"I said 'hard' summer, not 'hot.'"

When he became Mayor "a lot of people feared that this was an indication of a black takeover." So that blacks wouldn't "takeover," Young began integrating the police force with the aim of making it "50-50", half-white, half-black, to make what is essentially the arm of bourgeois oppression smell a little better.

Carter's cuts in the budget have meant the black police recently hired are being laid off by the hundreds. A recent scandal stirred up by allegations of "cowardice" against two black women cops by a white cop is vexing the Mayor and ruining his "50-50" plan. That is why he threatened a "long, hot summer."

But the Carter regime itself, racist to the core, is coming to understand that the black "leaders," such as Coleman Young and their "50-50" plans will never be able to stop the tide of the rising struggle of blacks and workers in this country. They are seeking other means -- sheer repression with no pretenses, and where theirs leaves off, the KKK and Nazis can carry out

the dirty work of the counter-revolution.

But just as the counterrevolution prepares, so the revolution marches forward. This is why Coleman Young is obliged to pay lip service to "socialism."

He is quick to say that he no longer believes that the changeover to socialism will be through revolution, it is to be gradual "like Sweden."

Coleman Young's place in the dirty business of holding back the revolution is getting shakier and shakier. Sweden, indeed! Only three weeks ago the working class of Sweden showed what it thought of this "socialism" (without the power of the working class) in a

general strike that shook this "socialist" state to its roots!

Just like Carter's "human rights" policy is dying (or dead), the 50-50 Mayor is becoming obsolete.

Few workers or blacks in the streets think as Young does, that Miami "could never happen here." What is universally recognized by white as well as blacks workers and youth, is that in Detroit a struggle of a CLASS-WIDE character is developing, including white and black workers. The layoffs, the budget cuts, the massive unemployment contribute to this. The harsh realities of this struggle are beginning to be seen and felt by more and more

people. That is why it is so necessary to destroy the ability of Mayor Young and the representatives of Capital to use our name, even for a moment, to delay the development of the struggle for a leadership and an alliance of the workers and youth against the bourgeois politicians and their support to the bourgeois state. Our struggle for a candidate of the working class, a WORKERS CANDIDATE, shows up Young's "socialism" and prevents its being linked to the socialist revolution of the working class.

June 2, 1980

BARBARA PUTNAM

'Let Our People Go'

By BARBARA PUTNAM

An official in Louisiana voted to deny Iranian students admission to state universities so they would go back and tell Khomeini, "Let our people go."

This slogan, like so many others the Carter regime has tried to create to rally the American people against the Iranian revolution, never really got too far. But the attack against Iranian students, and through them the attack on the Iranian revolution has gone too far.

Since the arrest of 44 Iranian students at Louisiana Tech last March, their imprisonment and later their hunger strike and refusal to enter a bourgeois courtroom, the local representatives of imperialism decided to tighten up against Iranian students who dare to shout down a former diplomat of the Shah.

The House of Representatives in Louisiana decided to deny admission to the schools to Iranians, while the Senate voted 82 to 12 to get rid of Iranian students and prevent any new ones from coming in.

Carter initiated an order to be enacted in August imposing a deadline on all "D.S." visas (During Study visas) which are to be terminated at an unspecified time. The "choice" for

Iranian students is to either pay their own fare back to Iran, or to accept deportation, which also carries a penalty of 5 years denial of another visa.

In Iran, all universities are closed by the orders of the government and Khomeini which see them as a meeting place for revolutionaries. This means that any student who has gone to school in the U.S. would forfeit all credits earned, since none can be transferred.

Following the many incidents of brutality and physical attacks on Iranian students in the U.S.: the imprisonment of Mehdi Fazl-zadeh-Haghighi and Mehran Abdeslah for "threatening to kill President Carter," the beating of an Iranian student at the Canadian border, mysterious "suicides" of jailed Iranian students, the generalized attack against Iranian students in the form of punishments in the schools, denial of admission even in states where this has not yet become official policy, the cutting off of Iranian funds, and the deportations which go on each day, a mood of resignation has seized hold of the Iranian students, a mood of "nothing can be done."

But these present attacks are a direct result of the

struggle Iranian students have waged, particularly in Louisiana. These are counterattacks which must be met with struggle, not resignation.

When the black population of Miami burst forth against the racist justice of the Carter regime, immediately the masses of Iran responded by massive demonstrations of support to this struggle. This expresses the understanding of the link between the struggle of an oppressed nation fighting for freedom and an oppressed people within the confines of imperialism fighting a COMMON ENEMY.

Because of the commonness of this fight, Iranian students have an important role to play in the organization of the American working class.

"What can we do?" some may ask. The answer is to fight for the independence of the American working class. Fight in the elections for an alternative, for the revolution. Iranian students can enter these elections and fight for the revolution because it is not a national struggle, it is international. The message students will take back to Iran is not "Let the hostages go" but "Workers of the World, Unite!"

June 2, 1980