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# TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The bosses and the hangmen of the world have their candidates: Carter and Reagan

The Unions Must Have:

## A WORKERS CANDIDATE!

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**INSIDE: the 7th World Congress of the FI: Pages 4-5**

# TRUTH



P.O. Box 07066  
Detroit, MI 48207

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

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# SMASH THE MILITARY COUP D'ETAT IN BOLIVIA NOW: WORKERS BOYCOTT OF THE DICTATORSHIP!

## Urgent Declaration of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

Once again, the Bolivian generals have shown what the "democratic" chatter, with which the majority of Bolivian parties are trying to tie the hands of the workers and youth, is worth. While the military is taking possession of the cities, destroying the hastily erected barricades and jailing and murdering the political and trade union militants and leaders of the working class with the help of paramilitary gangs, Hernan Siles Zuazo, winner of the June 29th general elections, has launched an appeal from hiding: "I call for passive resistance by civilians, without provocation, in order to avoid a degradation of the current democratic process."

This is nothing but the height of the democratic cretinism to which the political and trade union leaders of the working class have subjected themselves, and to which they want to subject the miners, the workers and the youth. Once again, these forces are dramatically experiencing, in their own flesh and blood, the unfitness of these leaders. Once again, despite the rich experience of the Bolivian Popular Assembly of 1971, despite the necessary lessons, from the point of view of the arming of the proletariat, of Banzer's coup d'etat which snuffed out this Assembly, the proletariat must face the army and the gorillaist generals unprepared.

The recent coup d'etat in Bolivia is the open manifestation of the failure of the process of "democratization," that is, of the institutionalization of the dictatorships undertaken in Latin America by American imperialism since 1977, under the cover of Carter's "human rights" policy. This policy was the basis for the OPEN RECONCILIATION between American imperialism and Castro, in order to integrate the proletariat into the process of the institutionalization of the dictatorships and to maintain the control of the Democratic Party over the workers of the United States.

The coup d'etat in Bolivia is the first expression of the finish, throughout South America, of this policy whose defeat became obvious after the Nicaraguan Revolution and the revolutionary upsurge in Latin America, as well as the massive break of the U.S. workers with the Democratic Party.

On the defensive, American imperialism is compelled to reorganize its Holy Alliance with the Kremlin bureaucracy and

its Castroite agency in Latin America and to subject them to its political and military rearmament in order to confront the offensive of the workers. At the same time, this offensive and the pressure of the proletariat, internationally and in the United States itself, render these attempts uncertain and deepen the crisis of imperialism.

While the Carter administration has formally condemned the coup d'etat, the Bolivian military chiefs, trained by the U.S. State Department, and with the aid of paramilitary commandos led by emissaries of the torturer Videla of Argentina, based themselves on a large section of the U.S. bourgeoisie behind Reagan in order to organize their bloody coup against the masses.

The Fourth International has fought and is fighting in Bolivia for the break of the COB (the Bolivian labor federation) from the bourgeois leadership of Juan Lechin. Against illusions in the "democratic advance" and the league of "the defense of democracy"-- into which, during the last elections, along with Lechin and the Bolivian Communist Party, the POR--"Combate" (United Secretariat of Mandel-Krivine) and the OST ("Parity Committee" of Lambert and Moreno) were integrated, all covered up for by the political and electoral abstentionism of the POR of Guillermo Lora-- the Fourth International posed as key the struggle for the POPULAR ASSEMBLY OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

The military coup d'etat and the inability of Lora's POR (which took the initiative, in the framework of the Fourth International, in the formation of the Popular Assembly in 1971) to orient itself and to orient the masses against the preparation of this coup d'etat behind the "defense of democracy" once again puts the spotlight on the bankruptcy of the "reunification" policy developed by the OCRFI and the "Parity Committee," and the bankruptcy of counterposing maneuvers, compromises and slanders to the rebuilding of the Fourth International in 1976.

This policy blocked the evolution of the Bolivian vanguard, which was beginning to draw a balance sheet of the Popular Assembly and of the delay in the arming of the proletariat after Banzer's coup d'etat. To the battle for the independence of the proletariat and the Popular Assembly this policy counterposed lining up

behind imperialist "democracy" on the basis of mutual non-criticism and unprincipled compromises. The class struggle shows once again the instability, from the point of view of the revolution, of such compromises.

The fight to rebuild the POR and to organize the resistance and the offensive of the workers against the coup d'etat and the non-viable and unstable military dictatorship which it has set up more than ever passes through the reorganization, around the miners and workers, of the broadest layers of the peasantry and the people in the POPULAR ASSEMBLY OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS, and of the taking in charge of the arming of the proletariat and the peasantry by this Assembly and the COB.

But the fate of the workers and laboring masses of Bolivia is above all in the hands of the world proletariat, in particular of the working class of the United States and Europe. It is necessary to nip this new military dictatorship, which cannot support itself for long on its tanks without finding fresh forces in international aid, in the bud.

## TOTAL BOYCOTT OF THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP!

The working class and its unions must prevent even one weapon, even one piece of merchandise, any form of material aid at all from reaching the hangmen of the military junta. It is critically urgent to block, through the methods of the workers boycott, all communications and international relations with Bolivia.

Despite the mass arrests and the murder of militants and leaders of the Bolivian workers movement (among them Simon Reyes, deputy from the Bolivian Communist Party and a leader of the miners union), the military junta has not yet been able to crush the resistance of the workers strongholds, in particular in the mining centers. This indicates the urgency of the international working class response and the responsibility that falls upon all workers organizations to organize the boycott and demand THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF ALL THE IMPRISONED!

Following in the footsteps of the torturer Videla, the Bolivian military junta will without a doubt try to make use of the confusion throughout the country to murder in silence and

CONTINUED ON BACK

## For A Candidate of the Unions

# A Fight for Workers Democracy

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The recent conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties confirm the crisis of American imperialism and the two party system. Clearly the Democratic Party, Carter's party, and liberalism is in a bad way. In fact, a dominant theme in the elections echoed by all the newspapers is that Reagan and the conservative right seems to be getting it together. "A shift to the right," they call it. But actually the Republican convention expressed even more clearly than the Democrats' that the options of any president are severely limited by the unceasing mobilization of the working class and oppressed around the world. Ronald Reagan, the Goldwater of the 80's, had to give an appeal that sounded reminiscent of Jimmy "human rights" Carter in 1976.

True, the Bolivian coup took place only days after the Republican convention with its new aura of respectability for right-wing politics. But at the same moment the Bolivian miners were occupying the mines and going into combat against the military junta. In fact, because its policy in Latin America is on the defensive, American imperialism didn't want this coup -- but that doesn't mean it won't try to live with it.

That attitude may well characterize American liberals and trade union bureaucrats even better. They don't like Reagan or Carter but they could live with them. In a nutshell that is the whole meaning of the Kennedy campaign which from beginning to end attempted to cover for the incredible crisis of the Democratic Party. It is almost laughable to see them all line up behind Carter who passes from one political crisis to another, who is booted in his acceptance speech -- Kennedy, Doug Fraser, Coleman Young, all of them, will try to convince workers, youth, and blacks to support Carter against Reagan as the "lesser of two evils." they are with Carter because they are part of his crisis, afraid of the upsurge of the poor and oppressed from Miami to Detroit, and they are with him because they are completely compromised in the eyes of the workers and youth.

### FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE

The rebellions in Miami and Chatanooga show conclusively that the liberal-labor-black alliance of the Democratic Party is finished. Blacks, youth, and workers are searching for their own leadership and party. Searching for the means to confront American imperialism and its racist justice.

But this system can't be confronted without confronting the 1980 elections. These elections pose all the questions of the American revolution -- the fight against imperialism to link up with workers from Bolivia to Poland, the break with bourgeois democracy for workers democracy and workers rights, and most importantly, the construction of the Workers Party, the party of the American revolution. As well these elections are the framework for the preparation of a new agreement between imperialism and Stalinism and the counterrevolutionary rearmament of the Holy Alliance of the Kremlin and Washington.

The working class must have its own candidate and its own fight in the elections, a WORKERS CANDIDATE based on the powerful trade union movement in the United States. This is not only the means to organize the break of the unions with the bi-party system -- for a WORKERS PARTY -- and win the unions back for the working class, but it is also the means to lead the fight against anti-worker, and racist justice of the bosses and to squash the Nazis and KKK vermin that have crawled out of the woodwork under the protection of the democratic state.

The present leadership of the unions cannot be trusted to make this fight. Doug Fraser, president of the UAW typifies the entire bureaucracy which is linked to the crisis of the Democratic Party after having supported Carter so heavily in 1976.

Fraser began in the early part of Carter's presidency to try to maneuver out of being identified with his anti-worker policies, in particular during the miners strike. He has gone from a break with the "labor-management board" set up by Carter to enforce wage guidelines, to the formation of the Progressive Alliance, supposedly an alternative to the Democratic Party of Carter, to support for Kennedy for the Democratic nomination, to supporting Carter for the 1980 elections.

A long road of capitulation and betrayals which has put the UAW tops right back where they started -- getting out the vote for Carter as the "lesser of two evils." In the process he has dragged a number of pseudo-revolutionaries with him, the Communist Party, USA, and the Socialist Workers Party among them. The SWP even printed Fraser's original text of break with the "labor-management board" in full and called for a discussion based on this pack of lies and deceit!

### WORKERS DEMOCRACY

Even the "left" candidates are completely disarmed in front of the Carter vs. Reagan argument by the fact that their own campaigns -- Hall of the CP/USA, Pulley of the SWP, Commoner of the Citizens Party -- were never intended to win anyway. They are more than willing to support the trade union bureaucrats and every maneuver they take under the pressure of American workers and youth, but they are totally unable to fight for a candidate of the unions in the elections. That is because the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE compromises the bourgeois democracy that all these failures have upheld, it is a fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, for the working class and the youth, for the most exploited to DECIDE THEIR FATE.

The campaigns of the bourgeois candidates in the 1980 elections, more than any elections before, are based on the massive abstention of the working class and the youth. This is the meaning of democracy under imperialism, the rich and wealthy, a small minority, make all the decisions based on the suppression of the vast majority.

That is why the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE cannot simply base itself on the spontaneous hatred and disgust for Carter and Reagan, though, certainly there is enough of that. It must be a fight to impose a WORKERS PROGRAM of jobs, and rights, a fight to win the unions back to the working class. It must be a fight for a WORKERS PROGRAM as part of the fight against Carter's austerity and for WORKERS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. It must be a fight to impose this program through a mobilization organized and led by the democratic assemblies of workers, blacks, and the youth.

This mobilization begins in the unions, for the unions to have a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections. It is a campaign which can deepen the break of the unions with the Democratic Party and bring it to its only positive solution -- the construction of a WORKERS PARTY. It is not a pipe dream, it is present in the mobilization of the workers in the unions, present in the streets of Miami and Detroit, it is on the agenda for every worker and militant today.  
August 20, 1980  
D.H.

## UAW Convention

UAW workers!

The leadership of the UAW pressured by the movement of the ranks to break with the Democratic Party, is organizing a referendum at its upcoming convention on Labor Day. A referendum to decide who UAW workers will support in the 1980 elections based on a supposedly "democratic" discussion.

UAW brothers and sisters!

We are all for democracy of the type that allows US to decide -- in an open manner, in assemblies in the plants and locals, uniting the 300,000 UAW workers who are laid off with those who are left in the plants -- WHO will be the WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections.

Autoworkers!

We have nothing to fear from a referendum of the ranks. Either this referendum will be organized by delegates of workers, delegates of unemployed, elected by democratic assemblies of autoworkers in their plants and locals -- in which case the candidate chosen by this

referendum will express the hatred and disgust the entire American working class has for the bi-party system, that is, a WORKERS CANDIDATE -- or the referendum will be bureaucratically organized by the UAW leadership, restricted to the same clique of scoundrels who have allowed 300,000 autoworkers to be laid off without organizing even one single action of the workers to stop them, in which case the candidate chosen will be Jimmy Carter.

Brothers and Sisters! Fellow autoworkers!

Join the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE by fighting for democratic assemblies of autoworkers, workers of all unions, together with delegates of unemployed, open to all tendencies of the workers movement, to decide on a PROGRAM and a CANDIDATE of the workers in the 1980 elections.

David Heffelfinger

Fred Vitale

Local 179, UAW, and members of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

# THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS O

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The Seventh World Congress of the Fourth International has just been held.

It was prepared with a political struggle for the Interantional Executive Committee's Theses: "Against the Rearmament of the Holy Alliance of Imperialism and the Kremlin; A Proletarian Leadership for the Imminent Revolution; Return to Lenin!" and through political struggle in the party, the youth and the working class.

This militant preparation of the Congress was reflected in the composition of the Congress itself-- the presence of new delegates of the RYI from the Phillipines, Burundi, Zaire, and Norway, delegates from the Latin American Committee founded at the conference of the Two Americas, in addition to delegates from the IEC and the Spanish, French, Swedish, U.S. and East European Sections.

The Seventh Congress, unlike the Congresses of the centrists, still less like the "Conventions" of the Democrats and Republicans was marked by a struggle. A struggle to seize and confront the opportunities and problems of the working class. A struggle to elaborate the political program, tactics and methods necessary to take advantage of these opportunities and overcome the political problems. A struggle to form the leadership necessary for this fight.

We aren't going to try to recapitulate the entirety of the Congress, but bring out the most important discussions and interventions so that everyone can enter into and take up this struggle.

The political struggle at the Congress began with the report of the outgoing IEC presented by Antoine Balint. The report emphasized the maturation of the revolution since the explosions in Iran and Nicaragua, expressed in the massive strikes in Poland and the USSR and the opposition of the Bolivian working class to the institutionalization of the U.S. puppet dictatorship recently met with a fascist coup. It outlined the profound crisis that this has produced in the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism, expressed in their difficulty in coming to A NEW AGREEMENT to suppress the revolution-- the conflicts over Afghanistan-- and the various factions forming within the U.S. bourgeoisie (Reagan, Carter, et al.) and the Stalinist apparatus itself. The profound crisis of ALL the leaderships that have been a part of or dependent upon this Alliance and its politics of "human rights" and peaceful coexistence: the crisis of the Social Democratic and trade union leaderships in Europe and America, the break-up of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, with various factions of these organizations finding themselves in one camp or another-- U.S. or USSR-- and each calling for a return to the old days of "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" between Stalinism and imperialism, between "the U.S." and "the USSR."

The report determined that the outcome of this situation would be determined by the success of the struggle of the Fourth International to build the new leadership for the working class, a leadership completely free of "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" and all the illusions in a democratic and peaceful resolution of the problems of the working class. A struggle to complete the tasks of the rebuilding of the International in 1976, to destroy the liquidationist centers, in particular the Parity Committee, which in the name of the FI have tried to attach the working class to the Holy Alliance.

It is a question, the report said, of the differentiation, regroupment, and education of THE NEW CURRENT forming in the working class

composed of youth, militants of the centrist organizations, workers in the trade unions.

It means a struggle on an international scale for WORKERS RIGHTS and WORKERS DEMOCRACY against the rearmament of the Holy Alliance, against the attempt of U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin to reach A NEW AGREEMENT to suppress the working class.

A struggle on an international scale to BOYCOTT the Conference of Security and Cooperation which U.S. imperialism and the Kremlin are preparing with the objective of reaching this new agreement, the nature of which is already being made clear with the proposals for the imperialist neutralization of Afghanistan and Southeast Asia. For a working class alternative, A World Workers Boycott Conference.

And a struggle in the interior of this movement, of this new current, on the part of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International for the conscious preparation of the workers revolution, for the Return to Lenin, for the construction of the leading party of the revolution against all the liquidationist centers. In Particular against the Parity Committee and its World Conference which isn't directed toward destroying the Holy Alliance with the proletarian revolution but towards "resolving the crisis of the workers movement" by patching together all the old leaderships that have supported this alliance.

The report emphasized that this is an active struggle for leadership of the movements of the working class youth and oppressed masses and stressed the importance of the construction of the RYI as the real expression and motor force for the struggle. It emphasized the need for broad initiatives toward all the organizations in crisis aimed at winning the best elements, and of an aggressive combat against the slanders against Michel Varga and FI, for workers democracy and a definitive rejection of Stalinist methods as an essential element for the formation of this new current.

In the discussion that followed a delegate from Poland intervened and said that while he agreed with the report in general, he didn't agree with the way it developed the tasks of the party in Poland.

"I don't agree with the tactic expressed in the slogan 'Hands Off Poland.' Yesterday someone said there was a danger of the Soviet Union sending tanks against the strikes developing in Poland. But the working class has already won victories in the struggle in Poland. Strikes are almost legal. They've imposed their rights. The problem is for the Fourth International to develop this fight, organize it in a conscious manner with the programmatic aim of taking power. If we just say 'Hands Off' we'll act as a brake on this movement. This proposal adapts to the illusions of the workers [that they can stop the USSR without taking power]."

A comrade from Sweden also intervened to criticize a reference to the recent elections in Bolivia as a "farce." He said this wasn't a farce, that the bourgeoisie in Bolivia had been forced to be democratic because of the struggle of the working class.

These objections made it clear that one of the obstacles to forming this new current, to completing the tasks of the rebuilding of the International, was the idea that the workers in these countries, Poland, Bolivia, had rights, and that all the party has to do is go to them and say "take the power, build a workers state," a position which avoids a real fight for leadership.

Thus Antoine Balint intervened: "...Defense of the revolution in Poland is also a fight to separate the working class from the centrists and all the petty bourgeois movements. If we don't fight for leadership of

**"... Comrades, we are not standing before a "crisis," but before a historic opportunity, an unprecedented opportunity, for the working class and its world party."**

**"... this Congress, the Seventh Congress, is as important for the working class and its party as the 4th Open Conference Rebuilding the Fourth International and the 4th Congress."**

the movement against a possible intervention of the Kremlin, then this movement will be made behind the church or the petty bourgeoisie. 'Hands Off Poland' means a fight to separate the workers from the petty bourgeoisie."

And other delegates developed this same question throughout the Congress.

Another question which came up in response to the Central Report concerned the nature and politics of U.S. imperialism and Stalinism.

A delegate from the Phillipines wanted to amend the Central Report with the slogan: "Soviet troops out of Afghanistan!" He felt it was impossible to develop a struggle in the semi-colonial countries without this. He insisted that Stalinism was a force independent of imperialism, that it was on a collision course with imperialism and that the Fourth International has to oppose itself to these two powers.

A delegate from Sweden agreed with him while on the other hand a comrade from Finland insisted that he couldn't even participate in the Congress unless it SUPPORTED THE SOVIET TROOPS!

In response to this many delegates intervened to support the policy outlined in the report and Central Resolution. They insisted that this disagreement, in particular the departure of the Finnish comrade, proved that it was impossible to organize the working class under the slogans of imperialism and Stalinism.

The intervention of the Kremlin in Afghanistan was one directed above all against the revolution in Iran, an intervention in service of imperialism. Independence for Iran and Afghanistan can only be realized through their unification against imperialism and Stalinism. This is the task of the FI.

Other comrades insisted on going further in the Central Resolution in clarifying the nature of Stalinism and the politics of U.S. imperialism. Stalinism is an agent of imperialism. A bureaucracy in the workers movement. While it has particular interests which bring it into conflict with imperialism (like the imperialist union bureaucracy in the U.S.), it has no fundamental difference with imperialism. Indeed it is becoming more and more dependent on it.

U.S. imperialism, be it led by Carter or Reagan, has no choice but to reach an agreement with the Kremlin. It can't maintain power without the collaboration of the Kremlin. This is the only policy for U.S. imperialism. This is what is essential. And this is what makes the boycott of the Madrid Conference so important. It means an active opposition to this agreement at a decisive moment. The idea that the U.S. is pursuing a "Cold War" policy can only obfuscate this task.

Another objection to the Central Report was its emphasis on addressing ourselves to organized youth. One comrade responded to this objection by saying: "We have to finish with all these generalities about organized and unorganized youth. Is there a crisis in the centrist organizations in France or not? Should we intervene in this crisis or should we adapt ourselves to the illusions of the youth without winning them."

After the initial discussion on the Report

# F THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

and the Central Resolutions many of the commissions met-- the Commission on the Central Resolution itself, on the USA, on Eastern Europe and the USSR.

While the commissions all discussed different questions they all began to arrive at the same conclusion. To take advantage of the opportunities before it, to overcome all the different problems before it, the International must concentrate on developing its international line, on defining the political nature of the Boycott of the Madrid Security Conference and the preparation of the World Workers Counter Conference. This is the most important basis for the construction of the International on an international scale and in every country.

Thus many comrades developed this question in the discussions that followed. In particular one said: "The boycott of Madrid is above all a political attitude, a fight for class independence against this new agreement, against all attempts to get the workers and youth to either participate in this Security Conference, put pressure on it, or hide this Security Conference from the working class."

This struggle continued in the discussion on the United States, which was developed on the basis of the resolution presented by David Heffelfinger, responsible for the Commission on the USA.

In the commission, Ernesto Boada from Spain said: "The importance of the resolution is two-fold. First the resolution must situate the significance of the crisis of imperialism and clarify our tasks in the USA. Second, we have to see the importance of the USA in the international struggle. The Madrid Security Conference depends on the North American presidential elections. At the same time, I don't think that our struggle can be reduced to a struggle for a Workers Candidate. Because, with Madrid we are trying to take a step forward in the construction of the FI, a large struggle, a delimitation against opportunists. A struggle for the American section to enter into the crisis of the workers movement. Our struggle for the Boycott of Madrid, can't be reduced to boycotting the Latin American dictatorships. In the U.S. a lot of currents are against military law. The black people... this is very important."

At the same time delegates insisted that the Boycott of the Madrid Counter Conference has to be developed in relation to the problems of the workers in particular countries. Thus Anibal Ramos from Spain said: "Still in the resolution we try to define our fight in an objective manner. The Theses define the possibility to build the Workers Party and at the same time that neither proletariat can win without the other. Rebuilding the FI in the Two Americas is the axis of rebuilding the party in the USA.

The Resolution starts from the Workers Candidate. This tactic cannot be substituted for the construction of the party and because of this problem there is no RYI and no fight against centrism. We must define the role of the American revolution in the world revolution to give a conscious content. Building the party in the USA must answer to the fact that in European countries it is the FI which leads. Why does the problem of the Workers Party exist? Because the American working class has not broken from American Imperialism. The world revolution develops in an unequal fashion.

This is why we begin with the Boycott. We can't define what is the boycott or what is a committee in the elections in the abstract. We must raise the question in a manner to develop the consciousness of the workers. Even in the elections we are obliged to fight with workers who are not in favor of the boycott. Building the party centralizes this but not by mixing up the two."

As well a very important discussion was led concerning the fight for the Workers Candidate in the unions in the U.S. Different delegates felt that the TO/USA's fight for a Workers Candidate had to be above all a fight in the unions, for a candidate of the unions. This would enable the party to really fight for leadership of the movement of rupture with the bourgeois leadership of the unions IN the unions.

The importance of this discussion was illustrated by the intervention of a comrade of the RYI from Burundi who felt that the party and youth should organize American youth to confront the fascists and the police. David Heffelfinger responded insisting that this was false, that in fact the party had to above all lead a fight in the unions for defense of the workers and youth against the fascists, that really there is no "justice in the streets," that the RYI could only be built in America if the youth saw the party leading that kind of a fight.

To impulse this fight the Congress concluded that it was necessary for the TO/USA to put forward its own candidate to lead the fight IN the unions for a Workers Candidate on a platform of workers rights and workers democracy against imperialist democracy.

In the discussion on Eastern Europe and the USSR delegates also insisted that the fight for the Boycott of the Madrid Conference had to be developed in relation to the struggles and problems of workers in these countries, in particular the resolute struggle of Polish and Russian workers to impose their rights, for workers democracy against the Stalinist dictatorship. This struggle will be centralized on an international scale in the fight against a Soviet intervention in Poland and for an International Trade Union Commission in Defense of the Free Unions in the USSR. The Fourth International is going to develop

these movements with the objective of organizing the workers independently, to separate them from the petty bourgeois and religious currents, to assume responsibility for the defense of the socialist conquests against imperialism, and in this framework develop a large movement for the Return to Lenin and regroup militants in a Conference for the Return to Lenin.

The last discussions of the Congress were on the Revolutionary Youth International's Call for a Boycott of the Bosses World Security Conference and the election of a new Executive Committee and International Control Commission.

These discussions centralized the struggle and acquisitions of the whole Congress. Concerning the Boycott of Madrid and the preparation of the World Counter Conference one comrade said: "We have to see that we are not standing before a 'crisis,' but before a historic opportunity, to build a new leadership for the working class with the new current arising, the condition for the victory of the world revolution."

Another said: "It is necessary to give in this call for the Boycott and the preparation of the World Counter Conference all its dimensions-- that of the CENTRALIZATION of the struggles of the working class and oppressed in the different nations for their rights, for workers democracy, that of the CONCEN-TRATION of the forces of the world working class in an ATTACK on the new agreement being prepared by the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism at a decisive moment, that of a large framework and forum in which the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International will lead in this new current regrouped in Madrid a fight to Return to Lenin, for the revolution with premeditation..."

"At the same time we must understand that all questions can't be resolved through discussion. Not in our heads. A struggle is necessary in the working class. The Congress can only begin to rearm the party and provide the weapons for the struggle."

It was this struggle in its entirety, the emphasis on the development of the international line, the formation of the world headquarters of the revolution, the construction of the RYI as an independent organization, the attention to the particular opportunities and problems in different countries which made the 7th Congress as important at the 4th. Indeed, more important, for this time the opportunities before the International are greater than ever.

Every youth, worker, militant, comrade of the party and the youth should use this report and the resolutions of the Congress to enter into, take up, and develop the struggle of the 7th World Congress of the Fourth International. To rearm it. To build its leadership. To prepare it to smash the Holy Alliance of imperialism and the Kremlin and build a new world!

August 18, 1980

## BUILD THE WORKERS FUND!

The Workers Fund of the Fourth International is the financial means for the building of our party in line with the needs of the workers socialist revolution. It finances the ammunition and the weapons of our army — the workers press our international congresses and the daily political struggle.

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## Letter of V. Fainberg

# For Free Soviet Trade Unions

June 12, 1980

To the Congress of the Workers Commissions of Catalonia:

Dear Comrades:

I am writing you in the name of the only independent trade union in the USSR, called SMOT (General Workers Free Union).

SMOT was founded on October 28, 1978. Its task is the defense of the rights of workers violated by the authorities: its professional, economic, social, political, cultural, national and religious rights.

SMOT acts within the framework of the Soviet Constitution, the Labor Code of the USSR and the conventions of the International Labor Organization.

Seven of our members are jailed in concentration camps and internal exile in the USSR. Many others have lost their jobs, have been attacked and beaten in the streets, or have been slandered by the KGB.

Nevertheless, SMOT did not meet the fate of the first free trade union that the Donetz miner, Vladimir Klebanov, organized, which was rapidly joined by others. This was due to the special structure of SMOT, in which the majority of its members remain anonymous and only the members elected to the COUNCIL OF DELEGATES and a few others

have openly given their names and addresses. It is also due to the growing intervention in defense of SMOT on the part of the Western trade unions.

But now that situation has worsened dramatically. The Western bourgeoisie, which is interested in the Soviet colonial market for its cheap labor is courting the Soviet regime with the Olympic Games. The political significance of this tinsel was clear during the meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact last October when it took the decision to finish with the democratic opposition in their respective countries before the Olympic Games.

SMOT, the most dangerous sector and the sector of the democratic opposition with the most future, is not an exception.

In an intensification of "pre-Olympic" terror, unprecedented since Stalin's death, the most experienced and well-known leader of SMOT, Vladimir Borissov, has been jailed three times this year, in the police prisons and in a psychiatric hospital.

VLADIMIR BORISSOV is a 36 year-old electrical worker from Leningrad. He began his struggle for workers rights in 1964 when he organized a Marxist group in his factory. He spent

more than 10 years in "psychiatric" prisons and in "ordinary" mental asylums, constantly submitted to psychological pressure.

On May 3 he was freed from the Leningrad mental asylum due to an energetic campaign by the Western unions. A month later, on June 3, he was taken by the KGB in a Moscow street. The KGB and the Moscow and Leningrad police hid this machination, saying that he was kidnapped by "unknown bandits." They could not explain how these "unknown bandits" got Borissov into their car by showing a KGB badge.

Only yesterday, these "unknown bandits" finally discovered his identity.

Borissov's wife was informed by the KGB that her husband was "somewhere in Leningrad," and last night the police informed her that he was judged guilty of "vagrancy" by the Leningrad section of the Minister of Interior and sentenced to 15 days in jail.

Those 15 days were enough for the KGB to prepare a "legal dossier" to justify a life sentence in a concentration camp or psychiatric prison.

The fate of Borissov, the fate of our young working class movement, depends on our fighting brothers in the West.

We ask that you unreservedly intervene on behalf of

Vladimir Borissov, Vladimir Klebanov, and the other militants of our working class movement, who consider themselves integral parts of the world trade union movement.

I have decided to write you not only because of your similar experiences during the time of the Franco dictatorship, but also because of the two articles of your statutes which correspond to the ideals and spirit of SMOT: "the class and socio-political character of the Workers Commissions presuppose its internationalist character, in solidarity with those who fight for trade union and political rights anywhere in the world."

I also ask you to take part in organizing an INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF TRADE UNIONS IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.

If for whatever political or ideological reason you are against the liberation of our comrades, please inform me so that we can know why those who struggle under Soviet power are excluded from the list of workers organizations defended by your statutes.

VICTOR FAINBERG

## Hands Off Poland!

# Polish Workers Strike for Power

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The workers of Poland are in open revolt against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism is being shattered on the world scale by the blows of the workers, East and West.

The power base of the Kremlin, the Soviet Union itself, has recently been rocked by major strikes in Togliattigrad and Gorky. And the key question involved was the struggle of the workers for their class independence from the bureaucracy in the form of free trade unions.

Following on the heels of these events, the workers in Poland began their strikes which have developed into a movement so massive that it amounts to a virtual general strike in Poland.

On this basis, and on the basis of the POLITICAL nature of the demands raised by these strikes, it is clear that this movement has a definite REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER.

These strikes are aimed against the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland and,

by extension, against the rule of Stalinism throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR. The strikes, and the vast mobilization they express, are aimed at obtaining the power of the workers, at the reconquest of political power and the defense of the socialist conquests by the organized force of the working class.

The experiences of the whole struggle for this POLITICAL REVOLUTION throughout Eastern Europe are richest in Poland.

1956 saw the great upsurge of the "Polish October" that preceded the Hungarian Revolution. 1970 saw the mass movement against food price increases that toppled the government of Wladyslaw Gomulka. And again in 1976 the workers rose up against food price increases in a revolt that laid the ground for the present situation.

"Food price increases"! Isn't that a small spark to such a great explosion?

Not when we realize that these increases are an attempt by the bureaucracy to "restruc-

ture" its finances in order to meet the demands of the imperialist banks to whom it is in hock to the tune of 20 billion dollars! Once again, "socialism in one country" means a direct attack on the living standards of the workers in the interests of imperialism, an attack on the socialist conquests.

These strikes which began in early July in a few cities have spread throughout the country in the last six weeks. Not just the workers of the great factories, but workers from bus drivers to garbage men have been involved. All the key centers active in the past have joined the movement: Szczecin, Ursus, Radom, Warsaw.

The final blow is the joining of the strike movement by the workers of the shipyards of Gdansk (Danzig). These workers, particularly from the Lenin Shipyard, were key to the revolt of 1970 and were instrumental in bringing down Gomulka. They also have the bitterest experience with the bureaucracy and its promises. This time, they have no illusions in the possibility of "reform."

This time, the demands of the workers are not aimed at replacing one bureaucrat with a "better" one. This time, especially in the demand for and the creation of free trade unions (through the Inter-Factory Strike Committee/MKS, especially), they are aiming directly at the destruction of the bureaucratic apparatus' hold over the workers.

The threat of Kremlin intervention, supported by everyone from Carter to the Pope, is being used to try to make the workers pull back from their objectives. This blackmail is aimed at rebuilding the Holy Alliance on the bones of the Polish working class.

The Fourth International calls on the international workers movement to organize against these threats, to come to the aid of the Polish workers with initiatives such as those proposed (above) by Viktor Fainberg.

# Bolivia: A Short History

(Reprinted from LA AURORA No. 263)

1934. Foundation of the POR, Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

JUNE 1935. End of the Chaco War which opened up a period of alternating power between the governments of the pro-imperialist "latifundista" reaction ("la Rosca") and petty bourgeois nationalist military governments.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1942. GENERAL STRIKE of the Siglo XX miners and the massacre of the Catavi miners by military repression.

1944. Foundation of the FSTMB, the miner's union, strongly influenced and led by revolutionary Trotskyists.

1946. The union adopts the "Pulacayo Theses," which define the independent path of the workers revolution in Bolivia, presented by the POR to the Miners Special Congress.

1947. The POR and the miners' union form a "Miners Bloc" in the elections, winning four deputies in the mining districts.

1950. NATIONAL GENERAL STRIKE.

1951. After the victory of the bourgeois nationalist MNR in the elections, the military organizes a coup and installs the Bolivian junta.

1952. The April 9 revolution, led by the MNR and sectors of the state apparatus. The masses take to the streets and the junta falls on the 11th.

1952. Impulsed by the Trotskyists, the Bolivian Workers Central (COB) is founded and the slogan "all power to the COB" is discussed.

1950-53. The crisis of the Fourth International, when the Pablo-Mandel leadership initiates a revisionist and liquidationist activity in the service of Stalinism, which will have a negative influence on the Bolivian section.

OCTOBER 1952. Basing themselves on the nationalist and Stalinist elements in the unions, the MNR government nationalizes the mines in order to hold back the revolutionary movement. The mass movement hesitates.

1953. X Congress of the POR: the crisis begins. Influenced by the "Pabloite" crisis, the POR orients towards integration into the bourgeois MNR through the line of Moscoso, supporter of Pablo and Mandel.

1956. The Trotskyist party splits, and G. Lora, with a handful of militants begins in the Oruro Congress the REBUILDING OF THE POR.

1956-60. Retreat of the revolution. Siles Zuazo takes the place of Paz Estensoro.

1960. Paz Estensoro again in power. Period of new confrontations until the coup of Barrientos and Ovando who install a brutal repression in 1964.

APRIL 1965. General strike of the COB, which the junta responds to with the official dissolution of the unions. In July, the Trotskyist leader, Cesar Lora, is assassinated. In September, the Catavi massacre.

1966-67. When the workers struggle against the repression begins the Castroites initiated the "guerrillera" adventure, supported by the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat of Mandel. Guevara fights and is assassinated in the Bolivian guerrilla.

APRIL 1969. General Barrientos dies in a suspicious airplane accident. Ovando tries to stop with demagogy the mass movement that the savage repression of Barrientos could not liquidate.

1969-70. The Bolivian POR joins the International Committee of the Trotskyists who are rebuilding the Fourth International against the Pabloites, Mandel and company.

MAY 1970. Congress of the COB in La Paz. The Workers Central, under the influence of the Trotskyists, calls for the "unity of the Bolivian people around the Workers Central and the miners' Federation in the struggle for a government which will install the workers in power and take up the construction of socialism."

1970. A defeated fascist coup and the masses regroup around a "Political Command" which assures their independence and which calls for the general strike. Meanwhile, General Torres takes power. All his attempts to associate his government with the leaders of the COB fail due to the struggle of the POR against class collaboration.

JANUARY 10, 1971. After the announcement of another defeated military coup the masses invade La Paz, the miners arrive armed with dynamite and talk to Torres, demanding: "arm the people," "a workers government," "shoot the fascists," "disarm the army."

MAY 11, 1971. The POPULAR ASSEMBLY is established, fruit of the struggle of the POR in the "Political Command" against class collaboration and for an independence of the proletariat in its struggle for power. The Assembly declares itself "organ of popular power led by the working class" and ready "to draw its strength from the

revolutionary committees established in the worker and popular centers." But its first session wasn't until June 24. Nationalists and Stalinists blocked its development and its elections while the fascist threat was approaching.

JUNE 1971. Representatives of the youth of the POR participate with the 5,000 youth in Essen, Germany, meeting under the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe, for the foundation of a Revolutionary Youth International.

AUGUST 21, 1971. The military, under Banzer, with the support of the Bolivian Falange and the MNR, begins civil war. Workers, miners and students resist under the leadership of the "Political Command" of the workers organizations for days in face of the vacillations and betrayals of the military still following Torres.

1971-1972. After the defeat, crisis in the workers movement and in its vanguard. The POR, led by Guillermo Lora, joins a "Revolutionary Anti-imperialist Front" (FRA) of class collaboration, led by Torres, the defeated general. The organizations of the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International begin to divide around this and the remaining problems of the new stage of the class struggle. At the end of 1971, the English following Healy break unilaterally and without any discussion, using Bolivia as an excuse. From the beginning of 1972 disagreements over the participation of the Bolivians in the FRA made a battle against the thesis of Lora foreseeable.

JULY 1972. In the second session of the International Pre-Conference, gathered to convoke the rebuilding Conference of the Fourth International, Lambert, leader of the French section, turns 180 degrees and proposes to dissolve the International Committee and to found an (ambiguous) "Organizing Committee" which will "allow each section to apply its policy." One of the cited reasons is that this Committee is more accommodating to the opportunism of the Bolivian POR and will avoid a split.

1973. Pinochet in Chile.

1976. Videla in Argentina. The "Organizing Committee" of Lambert and Lora enter into an open crisis in face of the defeats in Latin America. In December of this year Lambert publicly attacks the Argentine followers of Lora, accusing them of making "concessions" to the bourgeois-



APRIL 1977. The FACTIONAL STRUGGLE opens up between Lambert and Lora in their "Organizing Committee."

JUNE 1978. The Peruvian Assembly, protected by the military, is the occasion for an unprecedented closeness between Lambert and the United Secretariat of Mandel, who act together in Peru while they isolate the Bolivian POR which is coming apart by the many factions in its own ranks.

JULY 1978. After some phoney elections of Banzer leaving the leadership of the state in the hands of a military junta and which leads to power General Juan Pereda who was the official candidate in the elections, it is annulled by the National Electoral Committee. Later, the Parliament elects Walter Guevara as president, who promises elections in 1980.

APRIL 6, 1979. The "Organizing Committee," splits and the Bolivian POR forms a "Fourth Internationalist Tendency" with its Argentine and Chilean followers. On the eve of a new revolutionary wave in the continent, the crisis of the workers vanguard in Bolivia reaches its lowest point.

JULY 19, 1979. The fall of Somoza in Nicaragua. A NEW REVOLUTIONARY WAVE rises up in Latin America. The workers agitation prepares new confrontations in Bolivia. The Secretariat of Mandel breaks apart at its XI Congress and loses its Latin American groups.

NOVEMBER 1979. A new coup, led by Colonel Alberto Natusch, holds power for 20 days with a toll of 300 dead. A powerful general strike aborts the coup, the leaders (Lechin) of the COB call to end it in the name of a pact between the military and the so-called democratic forces who install Lidia Gueiler in power, who will organize elections in 1980.

JUNE 1980. The Conference of Militants of the Two Americas meets in Madrid for the rebuilding of the sections of the Fourth International. In La Paz a Group for the Rebuilding of the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International is formed. It is on the eve of the terrible battle which has taken place in the last few weeks.

# TRUTH

## Workers Disarm the Imperialist State —

# BOYCOTT THE BOLIVIAN JUNTA!

By RICH TETRAULT

The democratic process has met with complete and total failure in face of the June 29 presidential elections in Bolivia. The process of democratization, a process which develops the policies of the U.S. bourgeoisie in Latin America, a process which has meant the institutionalization of the dictatorships in Latin America by U.S. imperialism since 1977, has led directly to the July 17 fascist coup by the Bolivian military.

In speaking of the failure of the process of democratization, one must recognize that all the proponents of this process, of the policy of "human rights," are completely paralyzed.

This situation brings to light many questions facing the American working class and its youth and their fight for an independent revolutionary leadership. Central to this fight is placing the trade unions at the forefront of the struggle to smash the Bolivian junta and build a working class leadership with the Bolivian masses.

In the pages of the bourgeois journals there are numerous articles about the terror that has besieged the Bolivian people. Articles about arrests and tortures, about bands of fugitives moving daily from one hideout to another in order to elude government agents. Stories of brutal beatings and confessions at gun point on television. At the same time General Luis Garcia Meza Tejada, head of the Bolivian junta has pledged to respect "human rights."

The pages of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party paper, THE MILITANT, and of the Stalinist American Communist Party, the DAILY WORLD are devoid of news about the Bolivian coup or of any proposal for the American working class to take action against the Bolivian fascists and their bosses in Washington. As far as U.S. imperialism and these class collaborationists are concerned the policies of democracy and "human rights" have been implemented in Latin America. The problem of Bolivia can be rectified in this framework, the same one that led to the coup and the attacks on working class independence.

In side-stepping the preferred tactic of U.S. imperialism to crush the Bolivian workers, the Bolivian military has left neither the U.S. government or the pseudo-Trotskyists

nor the Stalinists with very much to say for now. Since the withdrawal of American diplomats, a public "scolding," and the declaration of a "hands off" policy by the government the fate of the Bolivian masses had been offered up to the military hangmen. In order to avoid further complicity with the failure of human rights as a policy of class subordination, the centrists and Stalinists have said nothing.

The Bolivian military high command stated, "We cannot permit the people of this country to vote for a man [Hernan Siles Zuazo, the presidential candidate of the Democratic Peoples Unity slate] whom we disapprove of. Until the people learn what is correct and begin making the correct choices, we will have to shepherd them, for we, among Bolivians, know what is correct."

The problem arises from the fact that the Bolivian people are one of the most militant and combative in the Americas and thereby a target of attack by the military. They know that what is "correct" is a policy of class independence, for workers democracy against a policy of class collaboration. In 1971, the Bolivian workers founded a Popular Assembly to centralize the workers struggles against the fascists and the bourgeoisie. The Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) has been in the forefront of the fight for workers rights and has taken a leading role in the confrontation with the military junta.

Since the July 17 fascist coup in Bolivia, the necessity for the American workers, youth and oppressed to take the initiative in actively defending and supporting our brothers and sisters throughout the Americas is more crucial. The military coup in Bolivia was prepared and armed by the war-makers in Washington who today are trying to wash their blood-stained hands by withdrawing their diplomats and their financial support. These maneuvers must not pass. The only solution for the victory of the Bolivian masses lies in the independent mobilization of the American working class for the complete boycott of the Latin American dictatorships, in particular against the Bolivian junta. In a most graphic sense the future of the Bolivian people can be decided by the response of the American workers and youth.

The Fourth International

alongside the Revolutionary Youth International has taken the initiative in the struggle for the formation of boycott committees throughout the U.S. The U.S. section of the RYI issued a leaflet which detailed an open call to militants and workers organizations to join in the formation of committees to boycott the junta. This fight is critical and demands immediate action.

The formation of boycott committees is an open fight and therefore there are no conditions on joining. Our objective is to break the back of the Bolivian junta and to cripple the military dictatorship throughout Central and South America and the Caribbean. An active workers boycott on the part of the American proletariat can achieve this. The cessation of all communications to the junta, the blockage of all shipments of weapons and munitions, block all financial support-- government and private. This is the immediate task of American workers and youth.

The overall response to the call and the discussions with various organizations has been positive. Work has been concentrated in the strongholds of the American working class-- the trade unions with a positive response on the part of the UAW International Affairs. However, the initial interventions to form committees have proven that this is a pressing and fundamental political battle that in no way relies on a "good response" or "good intentions."

Meetings were held at Wayne State University in Detroit on Monday, August 4 and Thursday, August 14 to engage workers and youth who had been contacted through the call of the RYI in order to discuss a plan of combat. Members of the Revolutionary Youth International, workers from UAW Local 174 and Local 876 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, and representatives of the Fourth International were in attendance at the meetings.

From the workers of the Lenin Shipyards in Poland, to the autoworkers of the Soviet Union, to the youth in the U.S. and the workers of Bolivia there is a common denominator to the struggles of the workers and oppressed of the world that is for workers democracy, for workers rights in a confrontation with the bourgeois state.

August 20, 1980



BOLIVIAN TIN MINERS

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to throw into its jails foreign worker militants now inside Bolivia. DOWN WITH THE ATTACKS ON FOREIGN WORKER MILITANTS AND THE POLITICAL EXILES!

The Fourth International addresses itself to all political organizations, to all exile associations and solidarity groups, to trade unions, for them to establish without delay, along with the sections of the Fourth International and of the Revolutionary Youth International, COMMITTEES FOR THE BOYCOTT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS, whose most urgent task is to organize the mobilization for the boycott of the new Bolivian military dictatorship and for the liberation of all the political prisoners.

For its part, the Fourth International will develop this battle, without any conditions, in the framework of the preparation of the WORKERS COUNTER-CONFERENCE, against the rearmament of the imperialist and Stalinist Holy Alliance, and of the boycott of the Conference on Security and Cooperation of the bosses of the world, which will be held in Madrid at the end of this year.

July 18, 1980

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International