

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PACIFISM: IMPERIALISM'S DEADLIEST WEAPON

"Pacifism:Imperialism's Deadliest Weapon"? You can't be serious!

Isn't U.S. imperialism the strongest military power in the world? Doesn't it have enough weapons to destroy the world 500 times, isn't it preparing to use these weapons today?

Besides, "pacifism" is just an idea. In any case, what's wrong with being for "peace" or "disarmament"? Carter can't possibly be for this.

But we are serious. And any worker or youth who pauses for a moment to look behind the rhetoric of Carter and the "peace" cries of the liberals will see the truth to what we are saying.

U.S. imperialism is preparing for war. True. But it can't prepare war, much less fire one gun, drop one bomb, without first DISARMING the American proletariat and especially its youth. And pacifism is a weapon in this disarmament, the only real disarmament going on today.

This fact has been shown in recent weeks. The response of the American youth to Carter's draft plan was immediate and massive. Thousands of youth throughout the country rallied against Carter's draft.

This is extremely positive. Despite the mass orchestration in recent months of a racist, chauvinist campaign against the Iranian revolution, against "Arab oil," despite the imperialist propaganda unleashed around the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Carter government has found no significant support among the youth.

Believe it-- if there are

any significant number of youth in the schools or factories who are ready to go to war-- the Carter government and its jackal press would have found them. But they haven't. No where.

This opposition has forced Carter to retreat on his plan. They have restricted registration to 18-20 year-olds, trying to divide the youth. And they will send "telegrams" instead of draft cards-- so there'll be nothing to burn!

More importantly, this opposition is a positive development for the world revolution. It proves that it is the world revolution which is on the march today.

It also proves that the only way for U.S. imperialism to prepare for war today is to pacify the working class youth and instill pacifist illusions. Pacifism IS their preparation for war today.

Instead of developing this opposition into a revolutionary fight against U.S. imperialism, in defense of the world revolution, all the traitors of the workers movement are now coming out of the woodwork, "experts" in pacifism, who proved their "expertise" by keeping imperialism alive during the Vietnam War.

Once again, they are trying to convince the youth that war is inevitable, that passive, individual, solutions are the only alternative.

Above all they are trying to hide the fact that there ALREADY is a war going on. A CLASS WAR. The pacifists, including the liberal Democrats, the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists,

don't mind this war-- the war that goes on every day in the factories, the schools and the streets.

For them, it is enough for the youth to make Carter "think twice before drafting this nation's youth." (THE MILITANT, 2/8/80).

The only "peace" these "pacifists" stand for is PEACE WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM.

The youth must reject their lies. There can be no peace as long as imperialism and Stalinism exist. The youth must take to the streets in order to prepare the revolution, not to make Carter "think twice." Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford "thought twice" about Vietnam for 20 years!

While the war in the factories and streets continues. It is THIS war that the youth must be armed to fight. Today.

It is this war that every day the trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists betray. And this policy takes the form of pacifism today.

The immediate response of

the youth to Carter's plan, far more immediate than during the Vietnam War, shows that it is not pacifism, but the revolution which the youth want to fight for.

Not "Hell No!" but "Join the Army of the Revolution" must be your slogan.

This fight is first of all a political fight against those trying to instill a spirit of pacifism among the youth who are revolutionary in spirit.

Down with the spirit of pacifism! Confront the pacifist candidates in the 1980 Presidential elections-- Kennedy and his "socialist" mouthpieces, Gus Hall and Andrew Pulley-- with a WORKERS CANDIDATE.

A candidate that will stand not with the disarming of the youth, but for the preparation of the revolution and the waging of the class war today.

A WORKERS CANDIDATE IN 1980. To organize the youth against the deadliest weapon-- illusions and those who sow them. February 14, 1980 TRUTH

DOWN with CARTER'S DRAFT!

MILITARY TRAINING for the YOUTH UNDER CONTROL of the UNIONS!

FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE IN 1980!

TRUTH

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"Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie."

Enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution!

Today everyone is talking to the youth about the "dangers" in the present situation, above all in reaction to Carter's plan for the re-institution of the draft. There is the "danger" of war, the "danger" of the draft, the "danger" of women going into the army, etc.

Crawling out of the woodwork and suddenly becoming very concerned about the youth are the same people who have ignored the youth for years. After they led the Vietnam anti-war movement to a dead-end in the early 70's these people abandoned the youth for "greener" pastures in the left wing of the Democratic Party or "the factories" (i.e., the trade union bureaucrats).

The massive youth unemployment of the 70's (40-50% in the inner cities) wasn't a "danger" for them. Nor was the destruction of education or the repressive measures taken throughout the country to strengthen the police against the youth. No one talked about "dangers" for the youth then.

Nor did anyone talk about Carter's "human rights" as a "danger" for the youth. In fact, they welcomed "human rights" and tried to convince the youth to put some faith in it.

Suddenly they are concerned again about the youth and are trying to organize against the "danger" of the draft. But only to accomplish the same purpose that they tried to accomplish in the 60's -- to derail the massive opposition of the youth to war into dead-end, pacifist solutions. They are attempting to intimidate the youth into believing that war is inevitable and that the youth can only put up a passive resistance to Carter's militarization drive.

The old, decrepit "left" organizations are back on the campuses in order to make the youth as senile as they are!

The Fourth International doesn't see "dangers" in the present situation. Even with Carter's plan to re-institute the draft. Even with the new attempt to militarize this society and prepare for war.

Instead, the Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization/USA see OPPORTUNITIES for the youth both here and around the world. It is not war that is approaching but the SOCIALIST REVOLUTION which will prevent war and forge a future for today's youth.

This is not based on some kind of blind optimism, but on the reality of today's world. The revolution of the oppressed masses of the Middle East, Latin America, Africa, etc. against U.S.

imperialism. The preparation of the political revolution in Eastern Europe. The immediate opposition of youth in the U.S. to Carter's war plans. The foundation upon which U.S. imperialism rests is shakier than ever.

Instead of being viewed as "dangers", being viewed as reasons to intimidate and pacify the youth, the draft and the attempt to militarize this society are opportunities for the youth. The draft, the militarization of the youth can be used by the youth to clearly present REVOLUTIONARY solutions to today's crisis.

THE ARMING OF THE BOURGEOISIE MEANS THAT THE YOUTH MUST BE ARMED. This is the essence of Lenin's policy: "Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie." This must be the policy of U.S. working class youth today.

When the bourgeoisie prepares for war, the youth must prepare for war. Not through passive, individual solutions. Not by simply saying "Hell No, we won't go" or "no to the draft." Above all not by building another "anti-war movement" that does not PREPARE the youth for war.

Carter's draft is not a "danger." It is an opportunity, based on the massive opposition of the youth to this plan, to build a mass movement to arm the youth, for massive military training of the youth under workers control. We are FOR the military training of the youth, FOR the youth being armed. Because we are confident that in today's situation the American youth can be mobilized to turn these arms against their real enemies.

And take up the fight to build their own army -- the world army of the socialist revolution -- the Revolutionary Youth International.

The youth must be armed. With weapons, and the most important weapon is the weapon of COMMUNIST EDUCATION. Training in the methods of revolution, in the method of Leninism.

In order to confront Carter's draft plan as an opportunity for the youth, an opportunity to be trained both organizationally and politically, the International-Young Guard/USA is holding a Conference on March 1-2 in Detroit to organize youth in a revolutionary fight against Carter's plans. To confront imperialism's militarization with the preparation of the revolution.

We urge all youth to attend.

February 12, 1980

TRUTH

International Young Guard/USA Conference
**CARTER'S DRAFT &
The Revolutionary Alternative
For The Youth**
MARCH 1-2 • DETROIT
WSU Student Center

One Scandal can Hide Another

By JON COHEN

Say "Milwaukee" to most people and they're supposed to think of "beer." And say "Washington" to most people and they'll think of "scandals." It's the home of scandals.

Yet another one broke out in Washington last week. Called "Abscam," for "Arab" scam, an appropriately racist name given by the reactionary and chauvinist bourgeois press to fit their current campaign against the revolution in the Middle East, a number of Congressmen and a Senator were implicated by FBI agents posing as "Arabs" for taking bribe money. Of course, one Congressman is now claiming that he stuffed \$25,000 into his pockets in order to "carry out my own investigation!"

The FBI and Justice Department bungled the operation to be certain that no Congressmen would be convicted in court. T.V. cameras arrived at the homes of the Congressmen before the police and certainly before the Congressmen learned they were formally being charged with anything, which they have yet to be.

Yet we have no intention of joining the campaign for "due process for Congressmen," a campaign which the DAILY WORLD of the American Communist Party has joined. "Due process" for the U.S. Congress means taking 30 minutes to pass a revision of the entire federal criminal code last year (Senate Bill 1437) -- a bill that includes the death penalty, new punishment for "treason" and "espionage" and which defines wildcat strikes as "blackmail."

And taking 20 MONTHS to "reprimand" the Congressmen involved in taking bribes from the Korean CIA! This isn't our "due process."

But more importantly for workers to understand is that like the "Watergate" scandal, this latest scandal can hide another one, can hide the real scandal of what is going on in Washington.

"Watergate" got rid of Nixon, sent some of Nixon's cohorts to country clubs that they call "jails" for a few months, but hid the real scandal and prevented finding a solution to the real problem. Above all "Watergate" hid a clear and fundamental balance sheet of U.S. imperialism's involvement in Vietnam and Southeast Asia -- the real scandal of the 60's and 70's. And finding a few "crooks" enabled the U.S. ruling class to prevent American workers from settling accounts with EVERYTHING that the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon regimes represented.

Including the real repression at home -- the

assassinations of the Black Panthers, the repression against the anti-war movement, the tremendous reinforcement of the police apparatus throughout this entire period. "Watergate" enabled the bourgeoisie to prevent the working class from clearly seeing and settling its accounts with the real scandal -- the continued existence of U.S. imperialism.

Because the real scandal was hidden, the bourgeoisie was able to develop its post-Nixon policy of "human rights" for the last four years. "Human rights," signalled by Carter's election in 1976 was a continuation of this attempt to hide the real scandal and prevent the working class from drawing a real balance sheet of the role of U.S. imperialism.

"Human rights" was supposed to cover up for the bloody crimes of U.S. imperialism by giving it a "democratic" face. Propping up the dictators in Latin America and the Shah in the name of "human rights."

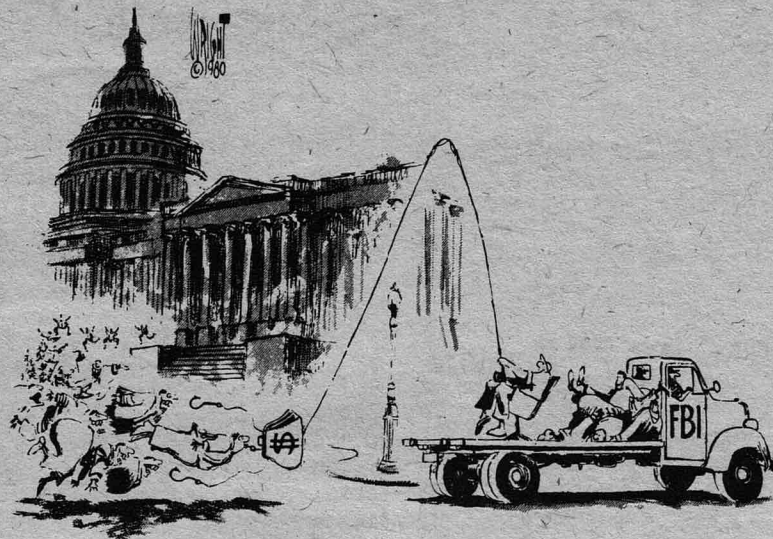
At home it meant "no more Watergates" a restriction on "Presidential power" and an attempt to "reform" the FBI and CIA. To give workers the illusion that this imperialist state apparatus could be reformed.

And to enlist the support of the traitors in the workers movement in this maneuver. From the trade union bureaucrats to the American Stalinists to the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, everyone tried to prove to the workers and youth that they were "more serious" than Carter about "human rights."

Today, long after "human rights" has been shattered, shattered not by these traitors and pseudo-revolutionaries, but by the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua, by the mobilizations of workers and youth throughout the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie is again trying to pick up the pieces. Trying to use "human rights" one last time.

This "Abscam" scandal is a last-ditch attempt at this. After Nixon ate in the White House last year, after "Korea-gate," the investigations of Bert Lance, Carter's brother and Carter's coke sniffing "Presidential advisors" in the White House, the U.S. bourgeoisie still wants workers to believe that the FBI is "fighting corruption," that the Justice Department is "policing Congress" and that the Carter government is exposing those in Washington who are in the "pockets of the oil companies," who are "serving the Arabs."

In order, like "Watergate," to hide the REAL SCANDAL. Which is that THIS GOVERNMENT is in the



hands of the oil companies. And that the real scandal in the Middle East is not bribery by "Arabs," but the preparation for war in order to crush the revolution.

The real scandal is that this Congress has just given \$450 million in military aid to another dictator in Pakistan who labelled the amount "peanuts."

In order to hide the real policy of U.S. imperialism today which is the TERRORIST REARMAMENT of the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism against the world revolution. To prevent the working class from drawing a real balance sheet of "human rights" -- that "human rights" is this terrorist rearmament of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism against the workers and youth.

This "Abscam" scandal is one more attempt to prevent workers from focusing on this terrorist rearmament of U.S. imperialism. This is the real scandal. The military preparations for war, the renewal of the draft, the calls for the "revitalization" of the CIA. When the U.S. working class and its youth have shown time and time again that it is OPPOSED to any war, OPPOSED to everything that the CIA and FBI stand for, OPPOSED to the charade of "human rights."

"Abscam" isn't the most important scandal in Washington -- the Carter government and the plans to rearm U.S. imperialism is. This is what every worker should pay attention to.

And pay attention to another important element to this real scandal which is the alliance of the traitors in the workers movement with all this. The fact that not one labor bureaucrat has spoken out against Carter's preparations for war. The fact that both the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists are totally incapable of explaining what happened to the "human rights" that they have been championing for the last four years.

The fact that the Socialist Workers Party is still trying to convince workers that they need

a "labor party" that "will stand up and fight in Congress." As if workers should have anything to do with that den of thieves. As if the American revolution will have anything to do with the "due process" of the U.S. Congress.

Finally, workers must pay attention to another scandal that "Abscam" is hiding -- the 1980 Presidential elections and their preparations. In the name of "democracy" the U.S. ruling class is running a campaign to see who can terrorize the working class the most, who can yell the loudest for war, who can best submit the working class to the organization of the counter-revolution. In the name of "democracy," this collection of terrorists, from Carter to CIA Bush is daring to ask American workers to vote for them.

It is a scandal that the American workers do not yet have their own candidate. A candidate, not to win votes or sow illusions in this farce called elections, but to rally the American workers and youth to the preparation of the revolution. A candidate to stand for unconditional defense of the world revolution against U.S. imperialism. To stand for the preparation of the revolution here at home. A WORKERS CANDIDATE based on a WORKERS PROGRAM for the revolution.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA proposes a mass campaign in the working class for this WORKERS CANDIDATE as the only real way to fight the scandals in Washington, the big ones as well as the little ones. It can be a means to aid workers and youth in drawing a real balance sheet of "human rights" and of all those who stood in its shadow.

Above all, it can be a means of insuring that this time one scandal won't hide another and that this time the workers and oppressed will settle their accounts with U.S. imperialism.

February 12, 1980

A Struggle of classes, Not Blocs

Reprinted from *LA AURORA* No. 242,
paper of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International

By ANIBAL RAMOS

The latest mobilizations of the masses throughout the world have opened up perspectives that no one, except for revolutionaries, would have expected a year ago. And in face of this situation it is necessary to draw the attention of all conscious workers and youth to the development of the international crisis of imperialism, Stalinism and its world collaboration.

The first cracks in the bourgeois order in the underdeveloped countries, the first symptoms of a new workers offensive in Europe were enough to completely turn around "national" politics and not only in Spain-- Carrillo (leader of Spanish CP--TRUTH) left for Bulgaria, Marchais (leader of French CP) left for Moscow, Ginzalez and Guerra (leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party) left for Berlin and Washington and Suarez (Prime Minister of Spain) also went to Washington, after talking to West Germany's Schmidt, etc...

With one blow the curtain has fallen and everyone can see the strings that are pulling these puppets. Unfortunately, workers see their struggles as being very remote from these "centers of decision" and the workers' Fourth International still has to be constructed and implant itself further. But it is these very workers who have to construct it in their struggles, against any subordination to the interests of "their bourgeoisie" or "their bureaucrats."

Pages of the bourgeois and workers press are devoted to convincing workers about the "dangers for peace," or the "threat of war between the blocs." Their only purpose is to hide the class struggle, these words are weapons in the class struggle at the same time that they hide this from the workers, precisely because the working class is the key to the present crisis and its solution.

"War", "peace", "blocs", "disarmament"? These are mistaken words which are negated by the facts themselves and by the hypocritical intentions of those who are using them. Revolution and counterrevolution, proletariat and the Holy Alliance

of imperialists and bureaucrats, these are the precise terms for analyzing and intervening in the crisis, for the proletariat finding a solution to it.

WAR or BARBARISM is the certain perspective for a Europe which continues to be dominated by the capitalists and bureaucrats, but the road to follow is that of the CLASS STRUGGLE and this road is the one that also leads to socialism. The only truth about the present phrases concerning the "cold" or "hot" war is that if in the next period the proletariat does not take a step towards power, does not install its own dictatorship, the present crisis will lead to imperialist war.

But the road towards war is still not military, it is political-- all the "intermediate," "reformist," parties will have to be swept away by the principal bourgeois powers, the most barbarous forms of fascism will have to be imposed in the United States and among its allies, particularly in West Germany. In other countries the "workers" will be converted into open agents of the alliances of Moscow with this or that imperialist government and on the basis of these alliances military dictatorships will be built which for the workers will be no different than fascism. As for the Kremlin, it can only confront a war (which will be the last act of the bureaucracy before leaving the historical scene) by rebuilding the Stalinist system of massive extermination camps and political assassinations in the workers movement.

Between this pessimistic perspective, which is unjustifiably pessimistic, but not impossible and the living and decisive reality of today is imposed the CLASS STRUGGLE which will decide the destiny of the oppressed. And an entirely new generation of workers will try to achieve this victory which has escaped from the hands of their fathers and grandfathers.

There is not a single country in the world where the bourgeoisie (much less the Stalinist bureaucrats) are today prepared to openly take up this road. On the contrary, the crisis today



is dominated today by the profound maturation of the revolution and by the JOINT EFFORTS of the bourgeoisie and Stalinists to confront the masses. Only that in the middle of these two processes we find a critical point-- the working class offensive has not allowed the powers to control the situation, to prevent the development of the revolution, including its introduction in Europe and the United States-- but this movement lacks a revolutionary leadership. Or better said, the vanguard of the class and its youth are LATE in putting themselves decisively on the side of the Fourth International and the masses STILL follow the Kremlin bureaucracy.

In this situation the bourgeoisie and bureaucrats are READJUSTING their alliance in order to take new positions in face of the beginning European revolution; American imperialism is fighting to win the leadership of the entire Alliance, is trying to rearm and discipline it; the Stalinist bureaucracy is using the so-called "Communist" parties to defend the new demands of imperialism which are threatening the very influence they have over the workers, and the oppressed.

The task of the Fourth International is to separate the interests of the working class, its struggles, its destiny, from the enemy forces, to organize the masses against this READJUSTMENT of the international collaboration, which is one more step towards counterrevolutionary war. The Fourth International fights for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only means of preventing war.

"NATIONAL SOLIDARITY"

Imperialism and the Kremlin are readjusting their cynical alliance in face of a new development to the revolutionary crisis. But this is not to say that the crisis of "peaceful coexistence" is not serious and that it prepares war. War is being prepared. But it is being precisely prepared by subordinating the masses to a "national solidarity" or an "international solidarity" of nations which denies the INDEPENDENT ACTION AND FORCES OF THE WORKERS.

All the elements of a policy of "war" are present in the current imperialist and Stalinist "peace." The bourgeoisie asks the workers to "sacrifice" for the capitalist bandits in its country, who are trying to

rob the Arab people as well as their own workers; and even more, ask the workers to renounce their most important rights (to strike, right of association) "in order to defend democracy"! Finally, they ask the workers who identify their interests with that of the Kremlin to not denounce the repression in the USSR, etc.

Naturally, out of all of this comes nothing but a constant REARMAMENT of the counter-revolutionary forces and a constant DISARMAMENT of the masses. The only thing that "peaceful coexistence" can represent is the pacification of the class struggle, the motor force of history. The only thing that the "struggle for disarmament" can disarm is the workers.

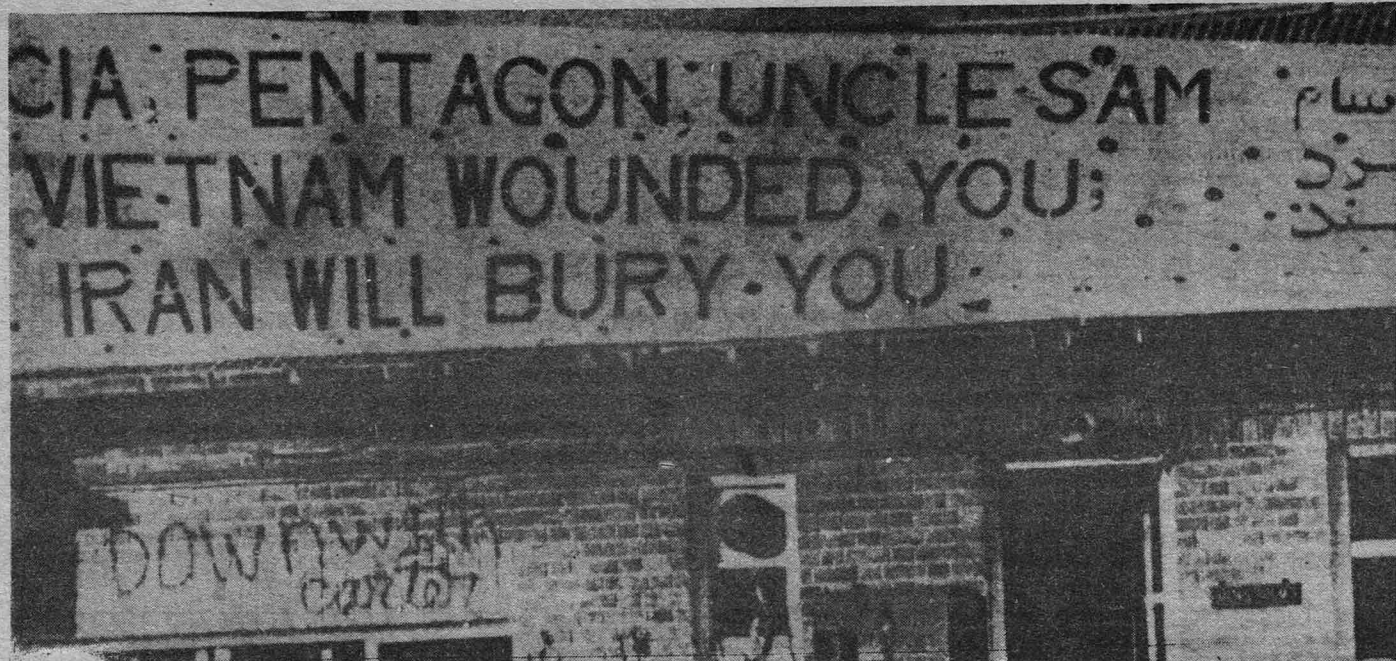
If the policy of "peaceful coexistence" succeeds in imposing itself on the workers at a time when all the HISTORICAL conditions are explosive and society is rotting, the wheel of history will go backwards towards barbarism. All the sacrifices of the workers for "peace" will represent the chains with which the leaders will take them to war...

THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION

In this way they are preparing the European Conference on Security and Cooperation (3rd phase) which is supposed to meet in Madrid. This Conference proves that it is the fear of the revolution which is the last tie between the different imperialist bandits and their bureaucratic lackeys (and from this point of view the fear of the revolution is an insufficient, but healthy factor in keeping peace). Everyone is negotiating to prepare this Conference on THEIR conditions and at the EXPENSE of the proletariat.

For this reason workers must be on guard against those who identify the policy of the Kremlin with the revolutionary struggle against imperialism... Through the leadership of the misnamed "Communist" parties, the fate of workers struggles has become a negotiating tool for this Conference, a piece of currency.

They try to tell you: imperialism threatens war, the USSR defends peace. But the truth is the opposite-- the political CAPITULATIONS of the Kremlin in face of imperialist rearmament and its threats, the fact that all of its reactions conclude with negotiations and all its negotiations wind up as capitulations, makes the Kremlin an indirect agent of this rearmament... The only result of any support to the CP's line of "disarmament" is the participation of the working class in the present COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REARMAMENT OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE BETWEEN STALINISM AND IMPERIALISM.



U.S. EMBASSY, TEHERAN

But if the present crisis deepens and is no longer "coexistence," won't the Kremlin become a revolutionary factor? Absolutely not. If the Kremlin, pushed by imperialism, becomes obligated to prepare for war, the "workers" parties will pass to being pure diplomatic agents of the USSR, they will be sacrificed to enemy (Germany, 1933) of friendly (France, 1935) bourgeoisies.

But is there no other possibility? Can it be excluded that the Kremlin, through its present "toughening" will gain a strong position in face of imperialism? This is the very possibility to avoid-- by subordinating the "workers" parties in every country to its diplomatic combinations... the Kremlin weakens precisely the revolutionary independence of the class, it disorients it with turns and bureaucratic failures, with direct acts of repression and counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe, and this, if it helps anyone, it helps imperialism.

The working class can neither win or better its position without separating itself from the Kremlin, without confronting imperialism and its Stalinist lackeys with the methods of the working class, with the leadership of the Fourth International.

This proletarian perspective must lead towards the BOYCOTT of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Madrid, which is the struggle AGAINST THE REARMAMENT OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE OF BUREAUCRATS AND BOURGEOISIES. This BOYCOTT must include an INTERNATIONAL MARCH of the youth against this Conference and the organization of a WORKERS COUNTER-CONFERENCE, FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

In all probability the Conference in 1980 will be the "swan song" of peaceful coexistence. The demagogic efforts of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists will be even greater when they are certain that they are betraying their allies and that they

will inevitably have to collide with them. This demagoguery will be directed towards the gallery. This is why it is so important to them that the proletariat be the only force that has illusions in this "coexistence" of the hangmen of the world-- because at the same time the proletariat is the only force that can disarm this Holy Alliance.

EURO-STALINISTS AND CENTRISTS

The opportunists practice the policy of an ostrich. The bourgeoisie launches its threats and brandishes its "human rights" as a weapon against the rights of entire peoples and against the working class as a class. On its part, the Kremlin calls the Carrillos and Marchais to receive their instructions from Moscow.

The opportunists hide their head in face of this conflict between their two lovers-- imperialist democracy and the Kremlin bureaucracy... The opportunists are openly divided by the crisis. Their entire policy is based directly or indirectly on peaceful coexistence. This crisis of "coexistence" will PRECIPITATE even more the evolution of the opportunists, their dependency towards imperialism or towards the Kremlin and as well their desire to reconcile the two if possible...

At the same time "Euro-Communism" has revealed itself as the deepest expression of the collaboration of the Kremlin with imperialism (as well as a stage of the crisis and division in the apparatus of class collaboration). What now remains of the theories of Mandel who explained to us the "positive sides" of Euro-Communism, and who presented it as a step towards national workers parties. The French CP leads the French workers from Moscow while Carrillo runs to Bulgaria to negotiate a declaration acceptable to the Kremlin and Juan Carlos...

ONCE AGAIN: RETURN TO LENIN

Without a doubt the problem of Euro-Stalinism is not concluded. We are just now beginning to see at what point the entire selection of cadre, the entire formation of the CPs is tied to this dependence on the bourgeois state, at the same time that they remain agents of the Kremlin. In the campaign to "abandon Leninism" Carrillo, Marchais and Berlinguer put forward the theoretical and political bases for strong pro-imperialist factions in the international apparatus of the Kremlin itself and in each party. And these parties are now impossibly divided-- when the international situation has only begun to turn towards new confrontations!

But on the other hand, this same campaign has also set out the bases for the present demagogic, bureaucratic and defensive turn of the Kremlin, ending in reality in the most cynical national forms of submitting these parties to the rearmament of the imperialist states against the revolution.

RETURN TO LENIN. Once again, this is the road for the workers, for their independence, for their victory. For their party, the Fourth International. The growing mass mobilization cannot be channelled towards the disastrous attempt to reconstruct "peace" or the "democracy" armed at the expense of the workers. The harm of the past years must be concluded during this critical stage; it is necessary to return to Lenin.

The principal problem today is therefore the road that the workers must follow, for their independence and victory, for the Fourth International.

The principal concern of a proletarian revolutionary must be to break these masses in mobilization from the treacherous influence of Soviet diplomacy and its so-called "Communist" parties.

Build the Fourth Internatio

Where is Cuba Going ?

According to reports in the NEW YORK TIMES, a "shake-up" is underway in Cuba. Reportedly, several officials of the Castro government have been dismissed and ministries have been re-organized. The article cites "reports flooding Havana of the appearance of anti-government posters and leaflets."

Ramiro Valdes, known to be a hatchet man of the Castro regime, has been appointed as Minister of the Interior and put in direct charge of the police. Despite the capitalist press, which is notorious for reporting its own side of a situation, there is no doubt that the Castro government has begun a crackdown.

The tremendous advance of the Latin American revolution has thrown the Kremlin-backed regime of Castro into a political crisis. Only a couple of years ago, Castro was serving as an intermediary for the Kremlin to the bloodiest dictatorship in Latin America, Pinochet's Chile. Today, the Chilean proletariat is regrouping, shown by the strike of copper miners in the El Teniente region. In fact, the fall of Somoza in Nicaragua has signaled a new opening for the Latin American proletariat, and the failure of Carter's "human rights" policy to maintain the dictatorship it installed in Latin America.

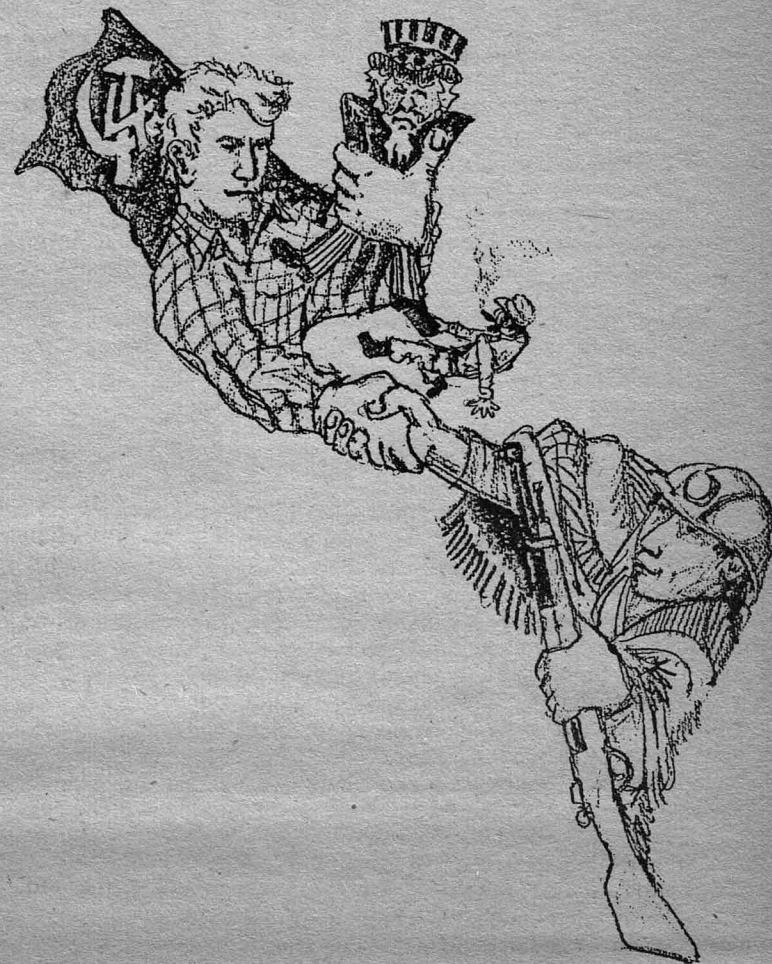
There is no question that this advance of the revolution in Latin America and on a world scale in semi-colonial countries has had an important effect on the youth and workers of Cuba. Last July, Castro made this clear in a speech to the National Assembly. "Hundreds of thousands turn up wanting to go to Ethiopia, or Angola, or wherever," he bemoaned, "... but when it is required on a daily basis, it fails to appear." Castro's brother Raul was more specific, "... indiscipline and other negative tendencies... must be eradicated with the same urgency that is applied to fighting the worst plagues." (DETROIT FREE PRESS, August 19, 1979).

In its own words, this counterrevolutionary apparatus is completely cut off from the Cuban youth who want to continue the revolution on an international scale. Moreover, these statements should warn any worker in the United States that the reconciliation of Carter and Castro is nothing but an attempt to block the revolutionary advance of the Latin American masses.

To many, this reconciliation, and the attempt to "normalize" relations between Cuba and the United States would seem finished. Only last fall the U.S. government staged a "simulated" invasion of Cuba and conducted military exercises at its base in Guantanamo. Now Carter, on the eve of the 1980 elections has rediscovered the "Red menace." The isolation of U.S. imperialism in the world today, which this new turn expresses, would offer an opportunity to any revolutionary leader to denounce Carter's "human rights" policy and all those who support it.

So why is Castro silent?

Chiefly because he is even more petrified of the proletariat than Carter. The Castro regime, which came to power on the backs of the Cuban masses, is today the greatest threat to the Cuban revolution because he is the loyal servant of imperialism and Carter's policy of "human rights."



Latin America: Democracy, Human Rights, Imperialist Battle Cry

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Last week the NEW YORK TIMES published parts of a U.S. State Department report on "human rights around the world" aimed at turning American youth and workers against the world revolution.

The report says that in countries like Chile, Argentina and Brazil, all under the watchful eye of U.S. imperialism, there are more "human rights" than there were a year ago. In the USSR, China, Cuba, from which the imperialists were expelled years ago and where the Stalinists now usurp the workers power, no "human rights." Iran, Afghanistan, where revolutions are now underway, worst of all.

Even from the point of view of the formal democracy and abstract human rights about which the imperialists are talking -- laws regarding free speech, assembly, elections, etc. -- this report is a lie.

But Castro has found spokesmen among pseudo-revolutionaries. In a recent statement, Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, stated that "Our interests lie in...normalizing relations between our two countries." Good advice to the U.S. State Department which would like nothing more than to "normalize" relations with Cuba back to the good old days when Cuba was a semi-colony of the U.S. This is the logic of supporting the Stalinist apparatus -- ending up mouthing the line of the U.S. State Department.

The defense of the Cuban revolution is not the defense of Castro!

The socialist conquests of the Cuban masses must be defended! Against U.S. imperialism and its policy of human rights, the only solution of the Cuban revolution is that it link itself to the struggle of the international proletariat through the POLITICAL REVOLUTION -- finish with Castroism.

-- U.S. TROOPS OUT OF GUANTANAMO!

-- END THE BLOCKADE OF CUBA!

-- NO TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND ITS POLICY OF "NORMALIZATION!"

February 11, 1980

nal in the Two Americas!

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Kennedy

By ANN NELSON

The newspapers called Kennedy's Georgetown University speech on January 29 "bold" and "a real old-time political speech." The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party said he tried "to present himself as the candidate of the working people." In reality few youth would consider Kennedy their candidate and none would consider him bold. Kennedy's speech was really a failure. A failure for liberalism.

Carter and the bourgeoisie know liberalism is failing. That is why Carter's blustering on Iran and Afghanistan has earned him the temporary support of the ruling class. Kennedy, the strongman, author of S-1722 would be redundant. So Kennedy is sounding liberal.

In his speech Kennedy said he opposed a peacetime draft and he thought the UN should investigate Iranian grievances. He also called for wage price controls and gas rationing. The working class cannot be won to this program. Not against a peacetime draft but against imperialist war! Not criticize the Shah but defend the Iranian revolution! Not wage price controls and rationing but workers control of industry and resource distribution.

In spite of Carter's attempts to bring about "national unity," the Democratic Party is still in deep crisis. This is expressed in the Fraser for Kennedy, Young for Carter split in Detroit.

The failure of liberalism and the crisis of the Democratic Party would be more apparent if it weren't for the SWP. In their editorial "Two faces of Kennedy" in THE MILITANT they said of his Georgetown speech, "He appealed to some of the most deeply felt sentiments of working people." The SWP knows Kennedy must be appealing to these "deep sentiments" because his program is so close to their own "deep sentiments." It is THEY who are really against the draft. "Labor Party candidates could stick to one set of promises -- and keep them." The SWP tells the truth and Kennedy lies.

Workers must choose their candidates on the basis of their program, not on who has the most honest face. No, Kennedy doesn't have "two faces." He only has one which is for the maintenance of imperialism.

February 13, 1980

ANN NELSON

Imperialists say the uprisings in Latin America don't prove the conditions are miserable because they are caused by "extremist propaganda." When asked why the masses of Latin America listen to "extremist propaganda," since they don't admit they listen to it because it's true, imperialists start talking about "the Latin temperament," emotional, not rational, prone to violence, incapable of democracy, etc.

This racist slander and the guns and troops that follow are imperialism's real defense of formal democracy and "human rights" before the dissatisfaction and struggle of the oppressed masses of Latin America.

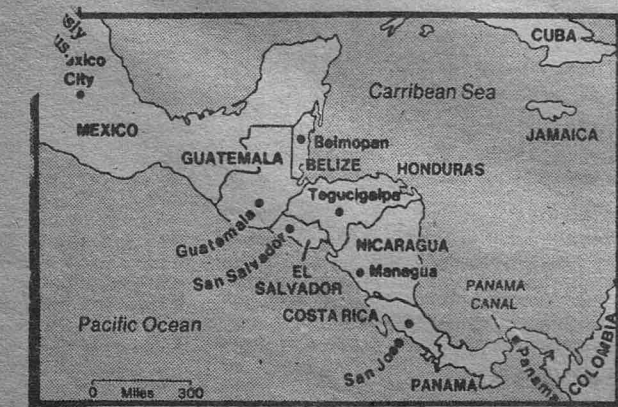
Workers and peasants of Latin America have found that in order to defend even the smallest gain they have to organize themselves independently of imperialism and its puppets.

In Guatemala, where workers trying to organize a union in Coca Cola bottling plant have been assassinated, and Indians in the highlands tracked down and shot by death squads, peasants seized the Spanish Embassy and demanded an end to repression. Police rushed the embassy and almost all the peasants were killed in the fire that followed. Carter sent a letter of sympathy to the Embassy denouncing the peasants!

In El Salvador youth and militants of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc also seized the Spanish Embassy and the Education Ministry to protest the situation in their country after police assassinated dozens of people. The U.S. denounced this and sent money to the government responsible for the murders.

Even the petty bourgeois nationalist, Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist parties which claim to represent the working class pursue the policy of "human rights." They demand that workers in Nicaragua respect the democratic and "human rights" of the "patriotic bourgeoisie" while workers who oppose this are persecuted.

February 13, 1980



"Military Program of the Proletariat"

From Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 23,
September 1916, pages 77-87

Let us take a closer look at the position of the disarmament advocates.

I

Their principal argument is that the disarmament demand is the clearest, most decisive, most consistent expression of the struggle against all militarism and against all war.

But in this principal argument lies the disarmament advocates' principal error. Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war.

Firstly, socialists have never been, nor can they ever be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist "Great" Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and the war THIS bourgeoisie is now waging we regard as a reactionary, slave-owners' and criminal war. But what about a war AGAINST this bourgeoisie? A war, for instance, waged by peoples oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie, or by colonial peoples, for liberation? In §5 of the INTERNATIONALE group theses we read: "National wars are no longer possible in the era of this unbridled imperialism." That is obviously wrong.

The history of the twentieth century, this century of "unbridled imperialism", is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the world's peoples, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of these oppressed peoples. One of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates capitalist development in the most backward countries, and thereby extends and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. That is a fact, and from it inevitably follows that imperialism must often give rise to national wars. JUNIUS, who defends the above-quoted "theses" in her pamphlet, says that in the imperialist era every national war against an imperialist Great Power leads to the intervention of a rival imperialist Great Power. Every national war is thus turned into an imperialist war. But that argument is wrong too. This CAN happen, but does not always happen. Many colonial wars between 1900 and 1914 did not follow that course. And it would be simply ridiculous to declare, for instance, that after the present war, if it ends in the utter exhaustion of all the belligerents, "there can be no" national, progressive, revolutionary wars "of any kind", waged, say, by China in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc., against the Great Powers.

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and tantamount to European chauvinism in practice: we who belong to nations that oppress hundreds of millions in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., are invited to tell the oppressed peoples that it is "impossible" for them to wage war against "our" nations!

Secondly, civil war is just as much a war as any other. He who accepts the class struggle cannot fail to accept civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions inevitable, continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. That has been confirmed by every great revolution. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, is to fall into extreme oppor-

tunism and renounce the socialist revolution...

Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not merely of one country, will wars become impossible. And from a scientific point of view it would be utterly wrong -- and utterly unrevolutionary -- for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing: crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie -- the most difficult task, and one demanding the greatest amount of fighting, in the TRANSITION to socialism. The "social" parsons and opportunists are always ready to build dreams of future peaceful socialism. But the very thing that distinguishes them from revolutionary Social-Democrats is that they refuse to think about and reflect on the fierce class struggle and class WARS needed to achieve that beautiful future...

Theoretically, it would be absolutely wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of policy by other means. The present imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist policies of two groups of Great Powers, and these policies were engendered and fostered by the sum total of the relationships of the imperialist era. But this very era must also necessarily engender and foster policies of struggle against national oppression and of proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and, consequently, also the possibility and inevitability, first, of revolutionary national rebellions and wars; second, of proletarian wars and rebellions AGAINST the bourgeoisie; and, third, of a combination of both kinds of revolutionary war, etc.

To this must be added the following consideration.

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle. In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage-labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia -- and even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for instance -- represent the bourgeoisie armed AGAINST the proletariat. That is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to point to the use of troops against strikers in all capitalist countries.

A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole OBJECTIVE DEVELOPMENT of capitalist militarism. Only AFTER the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but ONLY WHEN THIS CONDITION HAS BEEN FULFILLED, CERTAINLY NOT

BEFORE.

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, ONLY horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been HORROR WITHOUT END. If this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an END IN HORROR, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament "demand", or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war -- civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

A lifeless theory, some might say, but we would remind them of two world-historical facts: the role of the trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand, and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December 1905 uprising in Russia, on the other.

The bourgeoisie makes it its business to promote trusts, drive women and children into the factories, subject them to corruption and suffering, condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such development, we do not "support" it. We fight it. But HOW do we fight? We explain that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want a return to the handicraft system, pre-monopoly capitalism, domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to socialism!

With the necessary changes that argument is applicable also to the present militarisation of the population. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow, it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a "lifeless theory" or a dream. It is a fact. And it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed if, all the economic and political facts notwithstanding, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist era and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today-- or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments -- there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Arm the Youth for the Revolution!

By RICH TETRAULT

The socialist revolution is on the march around the world. In Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and throughout the nations under colonial rule the struggle of oppressed peoples is clear --

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

Today U.S. imperialism is trying to rearm itself, not to fight with the bourgeoisies of other nations but to disarm and attack the American working class and especially its youth. It is of fundamental importance to the bourgeoisie in the U.S. that the American working class be disorganized and pacified in face of the world revolution. The continued exploitation of the masses of workers and oppressed of the world by U.S. imperialism hinges on the response of the American proletariat. Their submission to imperialism allows for the maintenance of the status quo. Their fight for socialism will be the decisive factor for the maturation of the world revolution.

To avoid the latter possibility, the American bourgeoisie must attack the workers and youth in the U.S. by rousing prejudices, reaction, and national chauvinism. All attacks are aimed at isolating the American working class from its allies around the world. They are designed to draw-out the most backward elements and stir right-wing reac-

tion.

The most concrete example is Carter's push to reinstitute the draft in the U.S. In his State of the Union Address, he made clear his plans for war, "I have determined that the Selective Service System must now be revitalized." He adds, "I will send legislation and budget proposals to the Congress next month (February) so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise." The response of the youth must be equally sharp and ten times more audacious --

NO TO IMPERIALIST WAR -- YES TO THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Shall we continue to suffer and die under this degenerate system, thrown from one crisis to another, forced to fight for the interests of the bourgeoisie, or shall we make great sacrifices for socialism, for the interests of the great masses of people on this planet? The draft is but an element of the civil war being prepared by the Carter government which is a prerequisite to the U.S. involvement in a war in the Middle East. The working class must be divided at home in order to stave off any opposition. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis and other right-wing elements has been an integral part of that plan, a plan that requires the total submission of

all the servants of U.S. imperialism, from the Klan to the Kremlin in order to maintain the status quo between imperialism and Stalinism.

A movement of the youth against the draft must be developed in a most complete and dynamic fashion. The great majority of young people are completely against registration, which is the first step to conscription. Many say they simply won't register. Others will avoid being drafted by moving to Canada. Will these acts of rejection and pacifism halt the imperialist machine? Can we somehow hide from the brutal realities that will follow us regardless of where we are? Can we have such illusions as to believe that Canada is less an imperialist regime than the U.S.?

There is no place among the youth for pacifism or abstention especially in this most critical of situations. Slogans simply against the draft, against the war, for peace are meaningless to the youth who are confused and disarmed by the pacifists. A combat outside of the struggle for power, for workers control of industry and society is insufficient and demoralizing. The working class demands a war to end all wars, the struggle to construct a socialist society. Upon achieving this, and only after realizing this objective

goal, all arms and weaponry can be loaded onto the scrap heap.

While the bourgeoisie in the U.S. is searching for the best war candidate for president, the youth must take the initiative to see to it that their voice dominates the world situation. Our fight must be unconditionally to defend and advance the struggle of the international proletariat and masses of oppressed for the world revolution.

Down with Carter's war moves -- for the construction of the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, the Revolutionary Youth International. The right to arms and military training must be realized, against any pacifist notions of peace under capitalist tyranny. The youth hold the strength, the possibility to take control of the situation today. The key is the organized combat of the militant workers and youth, for the renewal of the trade unions as the weapons of the working class to smash the bourgeois state.

The revolution calls the American workers and youth to the attack. Down with the bourgeois army and imperialist war.

**ARM THE YOUTH FOR THE REVOLUTION!
JOIN INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD/
USA-U.S. DETACHMENT OF THE WORLD
ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION!
February 13, 1980**

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

If we are to shun such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using fine words about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, the socialist revolution and war against war...

Avowed opportunism is openly and directly opposed to revolution and to incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts. It is in direct alliance with the governments, varied as the forms of this alliance may be -- from accepting ministerial posts to participation in the war industries committees (in Russia). The masked opportunists, the Kautskyites, are much more harmful and dangerous to the labour movement, because

they hide their advocacy of alliance with the former under a cloak of plausible, pseudo-"Marxist" catchwords and pacifist slogans. The fight against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be conducted in ALL fields of proletarian politics: parliament, the trade unions, strikes, the armed forces, etc. The main distinguishing feature of BOTH these forms of prevailing opportunism is that the concrete question of the CONNECTION BETWEEN THE PRESENT WAR AND REVOLUTION, AND THE OTHER CONCRETE QUESTIONS OF REVOLUTION, are hushed up, concealed, or treated with an eye to police prohibitions. And this despite the fact that before the war the connection between THIS impending war and the proletarian revolution was emphasised innumerable times, both unofficially, and officially in the Basle Manifesto. The main defect of the disarmament demand is its evasion of all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the advocates of disarmament stand for an altogether new kind of revolution, unarmed revolution?

To proceed. We are by no means opposed to the fight for reforms. And we do not wish to ignore the sad possibility -- if the worst comes to the worst -- of mankind going through a second imperialist war, if revolution does not come out of the present war, in spite of the numerous outbursts of mass unrest and mass discontent and in spite of our efforts. We favour a programme of reforms directed ALSO against the opportunists. They would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms entirely to them and sought escape from sad reality in a nebulous "disarmament" fantasy. "Disarmament" means simply running away from unpleasant reality, not fighting

it...

On the question of a militia, we should say: We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, "not a penny, not a man", not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc. The more so that in the freest republican countries (e.g. Switzerland) we see that the militia is being increasingly Prussianised, particularly in 1907 and 1911, and prostituted by being used against strikers. We can demand popular election of officers, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign and native-born workers (a point particularly important for those imperialist states which, like Switzerland, are more and more blatantly exploiting larger numbers of foreign workers, while denying them all rights). Further, we can demand the right of every hundred, say, inhabitants of a given country to form voluntary military-training associations, with free election of instructors paid by the state, etc. Only under these conditions could the proletariat acquire military training for ITSELF and not for its slave-owners; and the need for such training is imperatively dictated by the interests of the proletariat. The Russian revolution showed that every success of the revolutionary movement even a partial success like the seizure of a certain city, a certain factory town, or winning over a certain section of the army, inevitably COMPELS the victorious proletariat to carry out just such a programme.

Down With the Chrysler Pact - Nationalize Industry Under Workers Control

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Chrysler "pattern" has become the basis for every contract since the auto settlement. Every major U.S. corporation is claiming to be on its last legs. They all demand sacrifices from the unions in order to stay afloat. The Chrysler pact has not saved one job.

U.S. Steel has announced plant closing all over the country in preparation for the expiration of its current contract with the United Steel Workers union. The Budd Co., a UAW-organized parts manufacturer for the auto industry, cited the Chrysler pact as the basis for the settlement it reached last week with the UAW, a complete sellout.

This pact is POISON for the American working class and its unions.

It is nothing more than an agreement between the American bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats for mass layoffs. The trade union bureaucrats will do anything to save capitalism. It's a rotten system, but they make a living by serving it.

As usual, Doug Fraser, of the UAW, is at the front of the pack of liars and traitors. Quick to take his cue from Carter's campaign for "national unity," Fraser wants to get tough with the Japanese car industry.

This idea is not a new one, but it means more today because it is part of the plans of the American ruling class to attack workers. This government is arming itself to the teeth against the advance of the world revolution. But its most crucial battle is at home, with the American working class.

Has even one of the Democratic or Republican candidates a solution to the capitalist economic crisis other than mass layoffs?

Not one of them. From Kennedy to Carter, from Reagan to Connally, all are agreed on the "Chrysler" plan -- mass layoffs and wage cuts in order to make industry more profitable. All the sophisticated lies in the world cannot hide the brutal simplicity of their plan.

NO CONCESSIONS! The working class has not stake in the profitability of capitalism or protectionist legislation.

Fraser's crusade for Japanese auto companies to build plants in the U.S. is nothing more than trade war between advanced capitalist countries. Followed to its conclusion it means imperialist war using the workers to fight for THEIR system.

What the working class needs is its own solutions, its own program. A program that begins not from the necessity to maintain capitalism, but from the necessity to advance humanity. The narrow-minded, servile trade union bureaucracy is incapable of advancing such a program.

FOR A WORKERS PROGRAM!
NATIONALIZE INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

The liberal bourgeoisie and union bureaucrats have come up with their own, completely distorted version of nationalization -- the "public corporation," a new name for an old trick. Without changing the relations of production at all, an even more bureaucratic monster, the capitalist state, manages industry that is on its last legs.

No! The relations of production themselves must be overthrown. The capitalist system of production is completely barbaric and only serves the ends of the small minority that owns all the wealth. It is impossible for such a system to be able to control its own destiny, a completely anarchic and brutal existence.

Place the commanding heights of industry under a general plan and organize production to serve the needs of society. Every able-bodied man and woman could have a job, and the entire potential of the human race could be utilized. Creativity would be freed of the profit motive and liberated from the narrow aims of the capitalist market.

No other class but the proletariat is capable of undertaking this program. It is only the working class that has any interest in ending capitalist exploitation and making the socialist revolution. On the basis of the overturn of this system an entire program of reconstruction could be undertaken and the most important means of production, the

working class itself, would be liberated from the daily struggle to survive.

FOR A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS! REBUILDING OF THE CITIES AND MODERNIZATION OF THE FACTORIES!

EDUCATION AND RETRAINING FOR THE YOUTH!

The program of the socialist revolution is a program worth sacrificing for. While capitalism, not just Chrysler or U.S. Steel, is on its last

legs -- it has nothing to offer the working class or humanity. Every capitulation made by the trade union bureaucracy in the interests of this rotten system only prolongs its agony and oppression.

If that is the best that the Chrysler plan and all the plans of sacrifices will get us, is it worth hesitating to finish with capitalism for even one minute?

February 11, 1980

UAW Budd Strike

By FRED VITALE

10,000 UAW workers struck Budd Company, an automotive parts manufacturer, from January 15th to February 9th. 3,000 are still out at the Gary, Indiana plant over local issues. This was the first strike against the company since the workers organized into the UAW 22 years ago.

Budd wanted the workers to accept less than the standard settlement won from Ford and General Motors last fall. Based on the sacrifices squeezed from Chrysler workers by the corporation and the government, with the complete cooperation of the UAW leadership, Budd hoped to extend these sacrifices to its own workers. It appears that the strike defeated this plan.

No workers felt victorious. Most accepting the contract said, "it's the best we could get now."

The strike, along with the 90-day-old International Harvester strike and others, demonstrate the resistance of the U.S. working class to the "national unity" of the Carter government, and of all the presidential candidates, for the workers to "sacrifice" for imperialism.

But above all it demonstrates

that every battle of the workers today for even their most minimal demands can only achieve victory with the methods and program of the revolution.

Workers organized mass picketing to stop hundreds of "supervisors" from crossing their picket lines. Judges with "court orders," enforced by the police, along with the threats of the UAW leadership, broke these up.

Proving that there is no justice, except the justice that can be forced out of this system of hangmen and bureaucrats. If the Budd workers succeeded in stopping the worst intentions of the bosses, it is only to the extent they took the strike into their own hands.

This strike, along with the Chrysler sellouts, show that auto workers need a new leadership and a new direction.

FIGHT FOR AN EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

-- based on democratically elected delegates from factories and representation of the youth and unemployed.

-- to launch a fight for a WORKERS PROGRAM!

February 12, 1980

"The Truth about Afghanistan" is:

The SWP Defends the Kremlin and Imperialism

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the "fraternal section" of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," has taken a position on the events in Afghanistan which places it superficially in "opposition" to American imperialism. But in fact, due to its open support of the Kremlin bureaucracy's intervention, portraying it as "revolutionary," its real position is to subject the international workers movement to imperialism through the Kremlin.

"TRUTH"

The SWP has gone on a campaign to, in its words, tell "the truth about Afghanistan." This "truth" campaign is a conscious lie designed to introduce political confusion into the ranks of the workers movement.

For our part, the Fourth International is determined to tell the unqualified truth about Afghanistan and about the political situation of which it is a part.

Why did the Kremlin intervene in Afghanistan? The SWP, acting as an American press agent of the Kremlin, says that the Kremlin intervened to "help the workers and peasants of Afghanistan defend their country from right wing bands," as well as to prevent the growing threat that an openly pro-imperialist regime would come to power on its southern border." In sum, to defend the "revolution in Afghanistan" and the Soviet Union.

This is a conscious falsification of the real nature and role of the Stalinist bureaucracy. In fact, in the present situation of the new stage of the class struggle internationally, the "truth" campaign of the SWP is a conscious aid of the attempts of imperialism and Stalinism to achieve a terrorist rearmament of the Holy Alliance; that is, to help the Kremlin lay the international workers movement at the feet of its imperialist master.

The Fourth International, on the basis of this new stage that is marked by the eruption of the colonial and semi-colonial masses, exposes the reactionary role of the Kremlin in Afghanistan in order to arm the masses for the independent struggle for their liberation. On the same basis, it opposes the imperialist

campaign for the withdrawal of the Kremlin's troops, which would mean direct imperialist intervention, and calls for the Afghan masses to continue their struggle against imperialism and ALL its local agents to the end.

"DEFENDING" WHAT?

Since the April 1978 military takeover by the Afghan Stalinists of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the SWP has been reproducing the line of the international apparatus of the Kremlin about the "revolution" in Afghanistan. It did this in order to present the PDP, and thereby Stalinism, as revolutionary and, above all, to attack the consciousness of the workers on the question of what a revolution is.

The becomes obvious in a major article by SWP leader Doug Jenness (THE MILITANT; Feb. 15, 1980) on the SWP's views on the revolt of the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, an article which largely concerns itself with Afghanistan.

After years of uncritical praise of the PDP, it seems the SWP has discovered some new shades to the "truth about Afghanistan." It seems that the PDP was a Stalinist party all along, that it was "class-collaborationist in its outlook and fearful of broad mass mobilizations," and that "some of its policies made it easier for the counterrevolution to organize."

Behind these empty criticisms without any political conclusions, behind all the "Trotskyist" language, in fact lies deepened political support to Stalinism. The PDP is made to look bad in order to compare the Kremlin to it favorably.

But the fact remains that the SWP has been defending the attempt to create a "national democratic" BOURGEOIS STATE in Afghanistan from the assault of the masses. That is the meaning of Jenness' delicate reference to the fact that: "One of the immediate tasks of a revolution in Afghanistan was to dismantle the existing state apparatus ... This was done only partially."

This decomposing bourgeois state, under attack by openly pro-imperialist elements, could neither contain the masses nor come to terms with the reaction-

ary elements. This is the objective of the Kremlin's intervention.

After its facile criticism of the PDP, a bit late, the SWP easily moves to defending the same policy as developed by the Kremlin itself: "The presence of Soviet troops, by barring the road to the counterrevolution, creates a new and more favorable situation."

The SWP itself exposes this lie. In bringing out the ludicrous lies about "defeats" and "thousands of casualties" for the Kremlin forces, the SWP approvingly quotes a State Department admission that "Soviet troops ... had not so far engaged in any significant military action with the insurgents."

Precisely! And where in this is the Kremlin "barring the road to counterrevolution"?

In fact, the only "significant" military action (admitted by the Kremlin) was between the Kremlin's troops and the Afghan forces that remained loyal to PDP leader Amin, whom the Kremlin in its "revolutionary" zeal had killed and slandered as a "CIA agent" (Jenness says that the SWP does not "support" this "method"). This attack of the Stalinists on the conscious elements is paralleled by the SWP's refusal to even mention that it is necessary for the Afghan masses to continue their struggles.

In fact, the threat of military action against the reactionary elements is just the "stick" that accompanies the "carrot" offered by the Karmal (Kremlin-installed) government in the drive to make the reactionary elements and their imperialist bosses come to terms, to restore the status quo. Karmal says that "the question of those who have taken up arms against the government will be settled by political means." That means that "order" will be restored and that the masses will be crushed. That is why the capital of Kabul is loaded not with combat troops but with agents of the KGB secret police.

Likewise, one of the "Islamic" rebels has made his program clear: "The government said our women had to attend meetings and our children had to go to schools. This threatened our religion. We had to fight."

But the "revolutionary"

Karmal begins his proclamations "in the name of Allah, the merciful and the compassionate," claims the support of the "ulema" (the Islamic hierarchy) and promises to defend the "sacred Islamic religion." In other words, an open appeal to the most reactionary elements.

At the same time that the Kremlin is carrying out this supposedly "revolution" policy in Afghanistan, it is unleashing a huge wave of repression again against the opposition inside the USSR, sparing no one, not even Sakharov. The SWP is likewise against this "method" but refuses to put the picture together.

INDEPENDENCE

Let us do it for them. On the world scale, the Kremlin is trying to regain its place in the Holy Alliance. The intervention in Afghanistan, the repression in the USSR and Eastern Europe and the diplomatic maneuvers for "peaceful coexistence" against the "new cold war" are all means of trying to regain control over the workers movement in order to prove to imperialism that it still has a role to play in the counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance.

The SWP, in covering up for this attempt by the Kremlin, is, behind its "anti-imperialist" position, actually carrying out a policy that is aimed at strengthening imperialism.

Its lack of independence from the schemes of the Kremlin is the sure sign of its lack of independence from imperialism. This party in the U.S. is in open support of "human rights," of the trade union bureaucrats, of the subjection of the workers to the Democratic Party.

Just as with its phoney "opposition" to imperialism over Afghanistan, this party also maintains a phoney opposition to the political subjection of the American workers. Its 1980 election campaign is inseparable from its policy around the world. The fight for the Workers Candidate in 1980 is a fight against this party, a fight for the revolutionary independence of the workers in Afghanistan, in the USA and everywhere.

February 12, 1980

Stop the Political Attacks Against Iranians in the U.S.

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The campaign launched by the International Young Guard/USA and the Trotskyist Organization/USA to defend Mehdi Fazelzadeh-Haghihi and Mehran Abdeslah is a campaign to defeat the political attack of the U.S. government, the courts and their Secret Service. These victims of Jimmy Carter's terrorist state were arrested, one in Detroit, the other in Washington, D.C., under trumped up charges of "trying to kill President Carter." They are still facing charges of gun possession and possible deportation for certain "violations" of immigration laws AFTER the judges threw out the original charge for "lack of sufficient evidence."

The complaint put forward by a Secret Service agent who extracted its allegations from the landlord of the two students is still in the courts waiting for "sufficient" evidence to be found. The attack continues. Federal Judge McKinnon declared that all Iranians in the U.S. must be "investigated" and that those petitioning for rehearings on alleged "violations" of immigration laws can be denied a rehearing.

This disgusting display of

American chauvinism is rationalized as "protecting President Carter," who is the key figure responsible for upholding the bloody dictatorship of the Shah of Iran. The defense campaign we have undertaken is no routine affair, it is a fight to defeat these political attacks. At stake is the defense of the Iranian revolution, which American workers and youth must be won to see as THEIR revolution.

It is just this, the bourgeoisie's fear of the American working class seeing in the Iranian revolution their own cause, that impelled the issuing of the complaint and the wholesale political attack on the Iranian students as a means to DIVIDE the American working class from their brothers and sisters in Iran struggling for liberation.

The continued racist abuse and intimidation of Iranians in this country is a threat to ALL American workers and youth. These same methods are applied to workers fighting to unionize in the South, against the growing opposition of the youth to the draft, against blacks and women. The same terrorist state that uses its reactionary

laws against Iranian students is attempting to legalize the imprisonment of striking workers as "blackmailers" and "extortionists."

This campaign to free Medhi and Mehran is not a defense campaign like that of the reformist and centrist organizations who only pretend indignation at the vicious attacks of the state while their reformist policies leave it intact. It is a fight to rally the youth and workers to the cause of the revolution. Each advance of the defense campaign is a step in the direction of defeating reformist, pacifistic policies, a step in the construction of the world army of the socialist revolution.

Militants of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA took the defense campaign to a forum of the Socialist Workers Party to gain their support to free Mehdi and Mehran. Those in leading positions in the SWP wanted to impose their own lackluster bureaucratic rules on this defense campaign.

Our intervention explained the political attack against Iranian students as an attack on the revolution, and the struggle to free these militants as furthering the cause of the revolution. We asked the SWP to write about Medhi and Mehran in their paper, THE MILITANT, or bring up the defense of the students at union meetings, in their own meetings, or join in demonstrations or other actions, but their response was to belittle those who are struggling to defend the students as "preposterous." Nevertheless, twenty members of the SWP signed our petition afterwards and several militants independent of the SWP asked to join this struggle.

We will continue building the defense campaign. Already many Iranian students, high school students, law school and college students and factory workers in the area support it. DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST MEHDI FEZELZADEH-HAGHIHI AND MEHRAN ABDESHAH!

DOWN WITH THE TERRORIST STATE!
February 11, 1979

"While there is a soul in prison I am not free."

Hundreds of prisoners at the New Mexico State Penitentiary rioted on Saturday, February 2nd.

Now these prisoners are being persecuted. They are being held in the prison yard without food or shelter and probably without clothes. The authorities are trying to build murder cases against some. Others will be shipped to other prisons where they will surely be tormented, probably killed ("by another prisoner").

Some say it was a riot, led by drunken, drug-crazed killers out to torture and mutilate anyone who rubbed them the wrong way. Others, somewhat closer to the truth, say it was a prison rebellion, caused by miserable conditions, in which prisoners raised legitimate demands and selectively repressed their tormentors.

NO MATTER WHAT the circumstances were or what the prisoners did, this uprising is a condemnation of imperialist democracy and "human rights." Only a terrorist state drives men to such desperation. While American imperialism cries about the Shah's "human rights," 50 hostages imprisoned in Iran, the Stalinists' invasion of Afghanistan and starving chil-

dren in Cambodia, it deliberately imprisons, tramples on and starves prisoners in America.

AND NO MATTER WHAT the circumstances or what the prisoners did, WE ARE WITH THEM against this terrorist state. The imperialists established police, courts and prisons to intimidate and persecute the oppressed masses and maintain their power. This uprising is a blow against them. They didn't establish prisons to stop crime as they claim. They talk about PETTY criminals and PETTY crime to hide THEIR crimes, which are far greater. They imprison petty criminals to divert attention from themselves, the biggest criminals of all time.

Over 400,000 youth, blacks, Mexicans, workers, are in jail, while the MASS MURDERERS live in luxury -- the Nazis, the Shah, Pinochet, Videla, Nixon, Carter.

This is imperialist democracy, "human rights," bourgeois justice. These people don't have a right to put ANYBODY in jail.

"While there is a lower class I am in it, while there is a criminal element I am of it, while there is a soul in prison I am not free," said Eugene V. Debs. We agree.
February 10, 1980.

Form A. O. 91 (Rev. 10-1-63) Complaint

United States District Court
FOR THE
EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN - SOUTHERN DIVISION

Magistrate's Docket No. **7080079**
Case No. _____

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
v.
MEHRAN ABDESHAH and
MEHDI FAZELZADEH-HAGHIHI

COMPLAINT for VIOLATION of
U.S.C. Title 18
Section 871

BEFORE THOMAS A. CARLSON 1013 Federal Building
State of Michigan District of Michigan

The undersigned complainant being duly sworn states:
That on or about Oct., Nov., & Dec., 1979, at Detroit, Michigan

in the
Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division

1) MEHRAN ABDESHAH and FAZELZADEH-HAGHIHI, defendants herein,
did 1) knowingly and willfully make threats to take the life of the President of the United States, James Earl Carter, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 871.

And the complainant states that this complaint is based on his investigation as a Special Agent of the United States Secret Service, which revealed that from October, 1979 through December 1, 1979 (just prior to and during the Iranian Crisis Situation in Tehran, Iran) Mehran Abdeslah and Mehdi Fazelzadeh-Haghihi (Iranian students) made repeated threats to "kill" President Carter and the Shah of Iran in the presence of their apartment manager, Elick Verdulla, while at 624 W. Alexandrine, Apt. B-1, Detroit, Michigan. That both subjects were arrested by Campus Security Officers of the Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan on October 24, 1979, charged with having in their possession a sawed-off Japanese model 7.7 mm rifle (overall length 20", 9 1/2" barrel). That subsequent to their arrest, Mehran Abdeslah and Mehdi Fazelzadeh-Haghihi approached Elick Verdulla and requested that he assist them in securing "weapons". That both subjects have been known to associate with Mohammad Kasraie (Iranian student) for whom an arrest warrant has been issued in the Southern District of New York charging him with "Unlawful Conduct At The Statue of Liberty" during an Anti-American demonstration. That Mehran Abdeslah is known to be a soldier of the Iranian Army, whose present whereabouts are unknown. Affiant has personally interviewed Elick Verdulla. Both defendants are currently absent from this jurisdiction in violation of their visas according to immigration officials.

The undersigned believes the above to be true through personal interviews and investigation and he further states that Elick Verdulla is a

see material witnesses in relation to this charge.

H. CRAIG SPRAGGINS Special Agent, U.S. Secret Service
Sworn to before me, and subscribed in my presence, _____, 19____
THOMAS A. CARLSON U.S. District Judge

(1) Insert name of court.
(2) Insert date of filing of the complaint.
FD-12 (2-7-79) 1000-1000

COPY OF COMPLAINT