

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THE REAL WAR

On March 22 over 30,000 people demonstrated in Washington, D.C. against Carter's plan to reinstate the draft. Despite the fact that this event was consciously hidden by the capitalist press, it sent a clear message across the U.S. and around the world -- American workers and youth won't fight U.S. Imperialism's wars!

But it is important to know how to continue this struggle against U.S. imperialism. The pro-imperialist leadership (C.A.R.D.) of the anti-draft demonstration did their best to prevent this struggle from being a struggle against U.S. imperialism. They did their best to isolate the American youth from their brothers and sisters around the world.

At the last minute the C.A.R.D. leadership shoved across resolutions "condemning" the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the taking of the hostages in Iran. By joining in the reactionary campaign against the revolution in the Middle East by supporting the watchwords of this campaign, C.A.R.D. stabbed every youth who came to Washington to demonstrate against U.S. imperialism in the back.

Even worse, by attempting to sow pacifist illusions in an impossible "peace" with U.S. imperialism, the leadership of this movement is trying to isolate it from what is really taking place in the U.S. today.

The youth can't fight for "peace" without fighting the real war already going on.

THE CLASS WAR.

Anti-imperialist youth can't ignore this war or be isolated

from it. On the contrary, they must take the lead in fighting this war. They must bring the anti-draft, anti-imperialist movement into the real battlefields of this country -- the factories, the schools, the streets.

Because a real war, the class war, is taking place in this country today. The economic crisis is nothing less than this.

Cynics may call this "Marxist rhetoric." But "Marxist rhetoric" doesn't create the fact that this war, the class war, claims more lives, causes more suffering and is as great a threat to the future of humanity as any military war.

The cold figures -- 20% inflation, a 7% drop in earning power by U.S. workers, 12% unemployment in industrial states like Michigan -- just barely express the harsh reality of the fact that while U.S. imperialism is incapable of waging a military war today against the world revolution, it is capable of waging a war against its own working class.

What the liberals and pacifists hide is the fact that in order to wage a military war abroad, U.S. imperialism must wage the class war at home. And if it wins this war, the military wars will follow.

The economic crisis is a war. It must be fought like a war. To fight a war the workers and youth must be armed and take the field of battle.

The most immediate battleground is the November Presidential elections. "Pain and suffering" is the program of Jimmy

"Herbert Hoover" Carter. "Let them eat beans" (Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young) is its translation into the industrial cities. The bourgeoisie is organizing the Presidential elections in order to find a general for this war.

The working class must enter this battleground with its own general -- a WORKERS CANDIDATE. A general, a staff and an army of the working class is needed to rally and organize the masses of workers and youth in fighting

this economic attack, this class war.

This WORKERS CANDIDATE will be selected at a WORKERS CONVENTION in Detroit on Labor Day weekend. The fight for this candidate and convention is a fight to arm workers and youth for the real war ahead.

The class war. A war whose victory depends on you.

April 2, 1980

TRUTH

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- EXPROPRIATE THE OIL TRUSTS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!
- EXPROPRIATE THE BANKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!
- A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS!
Divide up all work among all those available to work!
- A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES!
Wages to rise exactly as prices rise!
- A WORKERS GOVERNMENT BASED ON WORKERS COUNCILS!

TRUTH



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Not "Back to the 60's" Forward to the Workers Party

Nobody would have said a year ago, that two months after Carter's State of the Union address and the "Carter Doctrine," more than 30,000 youth would be marching in the streets of Washington, D.C. denouncing Carter's draft. In fact, on a world scale, the only party which anticipated this upsurge in the United States and the rest of the world is the Fourth International. Precisely this analysis was the basis for rebuilding the FI in 1976, and the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International.

Why then, in the face of such NEW opportunities for the revolutionaries, is there such a nostalgia for going "back to the Sixties"? First we must ask, who is giving this theme so much play?

Precisely those centrist and Stalinist organizations who were responsible at one time or another for leading the mass upsurge of the youth in the Sixties into a dead end. The so-called "Communist" parties, in particular the American Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyists, in particular the Socialist Workers Party, in the United States.

This nostalgia is based on a truth and a lie. The truth is that the year 1968 marked a tremendous turning point for the world revolution. The May-June days in France and the fall of DeGaulle, the Prague spring of Czechoslovakia, and the anti-war movement in the United States. Nothing can ever be the same as before 1968; today is a period of revolution or counter-revolution.

The lie is that the period after what is called "the Sixties" was a period in which the counterrevolution triumphed. Actually, only the Fourth International saw that this period was as objectively ripe for the revolution, but marked by the crisis of leadership of the proletariat and the crisis of the Fourth International itself. That is, the fact that a large part of the movement that considered itself Trotskyist had completely broken from Trotskyism and the Fourth International and gravitated toward its enemies, in particular, the international Stalinist apparatus.

That is why the centrists want to go "back to the Sixties." Because this was a period when the crisis of Stalinism was not so deep as today, and when the Fourth International had not yet been rebuilt. That is also

why the centrists say the period after "the Sixties" was not objectively ready for the revolution, in order to cover for the fact that it was THEY who were not ready for the revolution. Today, they are forced to modify their analysis slightly because of the explosive renewal of the class struggle internationally and in the United States, the heart of imperialism. An explosion that caught them totally unaware and unprepared.

This nostalgia for going "back to the Sixties" means one thing coming from the youth who are looking to the battlefield again for solution. For the centrists, who are wailing the loudest, it is a desire to return to a time of relative "peace" -- when the crisis of Stalinism was not so deep. When Castro could be easily pawned off as a "revolutionary," when the anti-war movement was more under the control of the Stalinists and centrists. When the youth didn't have the taste of Chile, Bolivia, Argentina in their mouths.

This nostalgia is not only a longing for times gone by, it also expresses a POLICY totally counterposed to a REVOLUTIONARY policy and the fight of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA says, not BACK to the Sixties but TO THE WORKERS PARTY! The period after 1968 in the United States saw the gap between the struggle of the youth and the struggle of the working class. In 1970, the national strike of General Motors and the wildcats of young workers in Lordstown and Norwood. In 1973 in Detroit,

a wave of sitdown strikes led by young workers against the UAW bureaucracy and Nixon's economic policies. Then the coal miners' strike of 1978.

This deepening of the class struggle was a great advance for the revolution. The youth are "the flame of the revolution," as Karl Leibknecht said, and the working class is the motor force of history.

This is exactly what happened after 1968. The youth were the flame that ignited the entire class struggle. As a POLICY the centrists were AGAINST the closing of this gap. Only in 1976, after they had NO CHOICE, did the Socialist Workers Party abandon its theory that the working class could not play a revolutionary role. A theory which had been a justification throughout the Sixties for dividing the youth from the working class and forging a completely anti-worker leadership -- Jack Barnes and associates.

The task of the youth today is to consciously confront this completely reactionary policy of the centrists, Stalinists and reformists who are trying to contain the mobilization of the youth to a pressure campaign on the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy.

If the youth are to influence the course of history it will not be as a prisoner, shackled to the various petty bourgeois movements that seek to reform imperialism. It will be as the leaders and organizers of the workers Socialist Revolution. Yes, TO THE WORKERS PARTY!
March 31, 1980
TRUTH

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Carter's Olympic Boycott Flops

For the Revolutionary Unity of the Workers of the USA & USSR

By JON COHEN

Carter's proposal for a boycott of the Moscow Summer Olympics, like everything else about the recently-proclaimed "Carter doctrine," is a big flop.

None of Carter's "allies" in the "free world," with the possible exception of West Germany, have supported his proposal. A recent meeting of U.S. athletes in the White House resulted in a vote of 2/3 to reject Carter's proposal.

As he can find no support for his reactionary and hypocritical campaign against the Soviet Union, Carter has resorted to the pretense of force in order to enforce his boycott. He has "ordered" American businesses to cancel their sales agreements for the Summer Olympics. But it is only a pretense -- the major companies, like NBC, have already cancelled -- without being "forced" by our "tough" President.

The resistance of Carter's "allies" to join this campaign, the resistance on the part of American athletes, expresses the fact that the reactionary campaign unleashed by Carter around the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a campaign designed to give a pretext for the rearmament of U.S. imperialism and the defeat of the revolution in the Middle East, has failed. The American working class has refused to buy this counter-revolutionary campaign led by U.S. imperialism in the name of "human rights."

American workers know all too well what "human rights" and "sacrifice" mean for them. The votes for Kennedy in New York and Connecticut, two populous industrial states, indicate that Carter's reactionary campaign against the revolution in the Middle East and his refusal to face the public because he is "too busy" has failed to hide the deep social crisis in this country and Carter's responsibility for it.

Carter's Olympic boycott is a reactionary campaign designed to hide the fact that the #1 enemy of the American working class is U.S. imperialism and the terrorist state led by Carter and his Democratic Party. It is designed not to fight Stalinism, which is imperialism's most loyal servant, but to try to isolate the American working class from its brothers and sisters in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a reactionary police action done in the service of imperialism. Far from

either defending or carrying out a revolution, the Soviet troops are in Afghanistan in order to defend and restore a BOURGEOIS STATE. They are defending capitalism in Afghanistan.

But at the same time American workers can in no way support imperialism's campaign for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The victory of the imperialist-backed feudal landlords and "rebels" would be a pretext for U.S. imperialism to intervene militarily throughout the Middle East, above all in Iran.

Imperialism is waging this campaign against the Soviet Union not because it minds the service that the Kremlin is rendering in Afghanistan, but in order to put pressure on the Kremlin bureaucracy to CAPITULATE EVEN more and organize even more betrayals against the working class and the youth.

Thus Carter's campaign for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics is not a campaign against Stalinism, but is instead a pressure tactic to insure more betrayals and to provide the basis for the rearmament of the Holy Alliance between Stalinism and imperialism. It is a campaign against the world revolution and against the mobilization of the working class.

Nothing could be a clearer illustration of this than the fact that it was on the basis of this campaign for an Olympic boycott that Carter launched his "Carter doctrine" in January -- with his plans for the reinstatement of the draft, the "revitalization" of the CIA and FBI and vast increases in military spending. It is on the basis of this reactionary campaign that the cuts in social services and the unemployment are being organized at home.

War, repression and unemployment. This is what the "Carter doctrine" and his Olympic boycott really stand for. No American worker or youth can support it.

Already this "doctrine" has met its first defeats in the American working class. The massive opposition of the youth, expressed by the 30,000 who marched in Washington on March 22 against the draft, the resistance of U.S. athletes, are signs of this.

But the "Carter doctrine" must not be merely opposed, it must be defeated. In this sense the stand of U.S. athletes and of many youth, that they are opposed to the boycott because "sports and



politics don't mix," is untenable.

In today's world, for both the Kremlin bureaucrats and the U.S. imperialists, politics and sports do mix. Both are trying to use the Olympics for their reactionary purposes. In the absence of seeing a real alternative many athletes and youth try to avoid the real questions.

Instead, workers and youth, including those athletes who don't want to be part of the maneuvers of imperialism, must wage a battle to DEFEAT Carter's boycott and imperialism's reactionary campaign.

The slogan for this fight must be the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE USA AND USSR! Against imperialism AND Stalinism this slogan is a means to rally American workers and youth to oppose and defeat Carter's reactionary boycott.

This must become a slogan of the working class in the Presidential elections. Against the "cold war" rhetoric of the capitalist candidates and their real preparations for war, not against the Kremlin bureaucracy but against the workers and youth. Against those who are running for President in order to cover up for the crimes of Stalinism, like the candidates of the American CP and SWP, the American working class must fight for the revolutionary unity of the workers of the USA and USSR.

This means the fight for the social revolution in the U.S. to overthrow imperialism and the fight for the political revolution in the USSR to overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy and revitalize the socialist conquests of the working class. The fate of the world revolution hinges on this struggle. The world revolution cannot be successful

as long as these two powerful proletariats remain divided and isolated. They have a common enemy -- imperialism and its Stalinist servants.

It is this revolutionary unity which is the only way to fight the repression in the USSR. Despite the rhetoric, U.S. imperialism APPROVES of the repression in the USSR and Eastern Europe. This is why it didn't lift a finger over the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, why it supports the division of Germany in two.

Carter's boycott will do NOTHING to fight the repression in the USSR, a repression not directed at the supporters of imperialism, who sit at the top of the Kremlin, but at the working class and youth who are seeking to overthrow both Stalinism and imperialism. The best way to fight this repression is therefore to defeat this reactionary boycott and to join in the fight for the revolutionary unity of the workers of the USA and USSR.

Thus the fight to defeat Carter's boycott of the Olympics must be more than the already existing passive opposition. It must become an active fight.

A fight for the liberation of Klebanov and the other workers imprisoned in the USSR for trying to form independent trade unions. A fight to free Skobov and the other members of the "Left Opposition," an organization of Soviet youth fighting for an independent solution to Stalinism and imperialism. A fight for the unity of the social and political revolutions.

This will be a real answer to Carter's boycott.

March 30, 1980



SWP Presidential candidate promotes Stalinist psychiatric hospital in Cuba. He called his visit "a particularly gratifying experience." How many Klebanovs did he find?

Stalinist Repression, Radical Tourists

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The Kremlin is desperately trying to get back into imperialism's good graces. One of the key aspects of this drive is the repression of oppositionists inside the countries of the socialist conquests dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In the USSR itself, the best-known case is that of Andrei Sakharov. But that is far from the only one.

In preparation for the Olympics, the Kremlin is clearing "malcontent" youth out of Moscow and has unleashed a whole wave of arrests and persecutions against the opposition.

In Poland, a similar wave of attacks has been organized, especially against the "human rights" KSS/KOR. KSS/KOR members have been arrested for demonstrating, have had their meeting broken up and so on.

In the case of Edmund Zdrozinski, the editor of the KSS/KOR publication *ROBOTNIK* ("The Worker"), and a leader of the free trade union movement, these attacks are taking the form of accusations of being a common thief.

The bureaucracy went to the extent of compelling one of Zdrozinski's sons to testify against his father (do we have to ask how this testimony was obtained?). The son has since recanted in open court.

If the Polish bureaucracy is inclined toward labeling its opponents "criminals," the Kremlin itself still favors "crazy."

Psychiatric repression, in which oppositionists are judged

"insane" and thrown into "special" psychiatric hospitals run by the KGB secret police, is one of the most notorious methods of the bureaucracy.

For daring to oppose Stalinism, the oppositionist is exposed to brutal guards and real psychotics, and is subjected to mind-numbing and pain-inducing drugs.

The particular form of "mental illness," according to the KGB, that the oppositionists suffer from is labeled "reformist delusions."

Now, during the recent visit of the "seminar" of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party to Stalinist Cuba, these supporters of Castro visited a mental hospital, a visit pronounced a "particularly gratifying experience" and a "highlight" of the trip.

As we have reported, this January the Castro bureaucracy broke up an oppositional youth group. The SWP has published the attacks of Raul Castro on these youth. It is perfectly aware of their existence and their arrest.

Where are these youth now? Is the Castro bureaucracy "curing" them of their "reformist delusions" in its own "special" mental hospital?

When the SWP joins in attacking these youth, says nothing of their persecution and then suddenly starts praising "mental health" in Cuba, we are looking at a very sinister cover-up, whether as accomplices or as stooges, of Stalinist repression.

March 31, 1980

El Salvador:

A Human Rights Assassination

On March 24, Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the archbishop of San Salvador, was assassinated. Some faceless reactionary thug did the deed, but it was inspired and directed by the imperialist "human rights" policy of Jimmy Carter.

Since Carter came into office, "human rights" has been the name for U.S. imperialism's attempt to maintain its rule in Latin America.

"Human rights" is the name for saving the military dictatorships in INSTITUTIONALIZING them, through "democratic elections," "reforms," etc.

After the revolution in Nicaragua, when it tried to sacrifice Somoza but made the decision "too late," U.S. imperialism decided that El Salvador was the country where its rule was most in danger.

Thus, it organized a coup d'etat that threw out the old dictator and installed a supposedly progressive junta. A "human rights" coup and a "human rights" military dictatorship!

The objective of this junta was to crush the massive mobilizations of the workers and peasants of El Salvador. Partly through promises of "reform," but above all (in imperialism's own words) through a "'clean' counterinsurgency."

Thus, like the Bakhtiar government in Iran after the ex-shah fled, this government was responsible for even more bloody massacres than the old dictatorship.

One example of "clean" counterrevolution is the fact that ORDEN, an openly terrorist network established by the "Alliance for Progress" of the "liberal" John F. Kennedy, had to move out of its government offices. It wasn't outlawed, it wasn't formally disbanded, it was just freed of any responsibility to the government. Now it does exactly what it did before, but the "human rights" junta of U.S. imperialism is innocent!

At the same time, the Carter government has announced plans to send "advisers" (remember Vietnam?) and five million dollars in military aid ("security assistance") to bolster the junta against the people.

This is the context in which the "reforms" -- nationalization of the banks, land redistribution -- have been put forward. The "land reform" in particular

is revealing.

When peasants have moved onto the big haciendas that are supposedly going to be "reformed," they have been shot down by the junta's troops. U.S. "security assistance" and "advisers" will enable the junta to go about this task much more efficiently.

Archbishop Romero, for his own reasons (not those of Marxism) openly opposed these schemes. At the funeral of a leftist leader murdered by the right wing, he declared that: "The agrarian reform and the nationalization of the banks must be judged in the context of death and annihilation."

Likewise, he opposed U.S. "security assistance," writing to Carter (in a futile gesture) that it would "without doubt intensify injustice and repression" by the junta which was "unable or unwilling to check the military violence against the popular organizations and innocent people."

Everything that Romero said was true. And that was why U.S. imperialism had to kill him.

Let's look at the facts. First, as even Amnesty International had to point out: "In view of the fact that Archbishop Romero was under permanent police surveillance, questions arise as to how the assassin was able to carry out the murder."

At the same time, it has been revealed that the personal envoy of Jimmy "human rights" Carter to the Vatican "complained to the Pope's secretary of state about Msgr. Romero's 'political and pro-violent attitudes'." Curiously enough, following this complaint, Romero began to receive death threats.

Finally, the junta and the U.S. are blaming the assassination on Cuba exiles. Let us suppose that the imperialists and the junta, like gangsters everywhere, preferred to "import" their hit man. But everyone knows that the Cuban exiles have for twenty years -- from the Bay of Pigs through Watergate to today -- been tools of the CIA, the open terrorist agency of U.S. imperialism.

Now these "human rights" murderers are trying to use the murder itself to their advantage.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced that: "We share a repugnance for the violence provoked by both extremes." But this hypocritical response to Romero's denunciation of "securi-

Francoist "Democracy" and Self-Determination Attack by the OCI in Spain



Once again, the slanderers have attacked our party. Seven members of our Spanish section have been savagely assaulted. The slanderers Lambert and Just of the French OCI have no other weapons with which to hide their capitulation to the Pabloite "United Secretariat" than the methods of the Kremlin.

We call, along with our comrades in Spain, on all working class militants and organizations to throw the slanderers Lambert and Just out of the workers movement.

To all workers and militants, to their organizations, in particular to those which lay claim to the methods of workers democracy against the methods of Stalinism.

On Saturday, February 23, seven militants of our party were brutally assaulted at the entrance to a meeting of the Internationalist Socialist Workers Party (PSOI). Our comrade, Jesus Rodriguez Mesas, member of the Central Committee of the PORE, worker at Iberia, a leader in the underground under the Franco dictatorship of the Transport Workers Commissions of Madrid up to the time of his expulsion from the Spanish Communist Party, in which he had begun his fight, was the chief target of this hysterical attack and bears serious wounds on his face and chest.

This attack was carried out by an organized group of twenty individuals, including Raul Gomez, leader of the POSI, and different members of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France, who directed the assault. While they were assaulting our militants, all of whom are publicly known in their factories or in working class political life, the attackers called them "police" and "KGB agents."

Our militants were gathered together around a banner at the meeting's entrance in order to distribute a letter that the PORE had sent a few days before TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE POSI AND TO ITS MILITANTS. This letter had been delivered

IN PERSON AND AT ITS HEADQUARTERS to the POSI's Executive Commission, which returned it without written response, alleging that it was "a question of a provocation against militants who have years of struggle in the workers movement." Our militants, in handing it out as a last resort, tried with an extreme firmness and calm to avoid any confrontation, even under the hysterical blows of their attackers. Their sole objective was to discuss with the militants of the POSI the letter that had been rejected and the reasons that had impelled us to send it.

These kinds of attacks, which the OCI has organized numerous times in France against our comrades, must be considered as foreign to the methods of the working class and INCOMPATIBLE with the framework of democracy. But, at the same time, they are only one aspect of the larger campaign against our party that the OCI and the organizations of the OCRFI have been waging since 1973: a campaign of slanderous and provocative accusations against the Hungarian revolutionary, the leader of the Fourth International, Michel Varga (Balazs Nagy).

We must point out that all efforts to stop this campaign and to fight the slanderers have run up against the lamentable attitude of militants and organizations (among them members of the POSI) who said they "haven't seen anyone wage this campaign in Spain." The height of cynicism is that of the POSI leadership which, while publicly avoiding any explanation on this subject, conscious that it was a question of pure slanders launched by Lambert for political ends and was indefensible to the workers, was capable of hysterically acting against known members of the PORE, and of irresponsibly involving members of a French organization in this in order to avoid explanations to the Spanish workers and POSI militants.

As our letter said, the slanderers of Michel Varga have been unmasked by the investigations

Declaration of the Political Bureau of the PORE (Spanish Section of the 4th International)

of an open and public Commission which was formed in Paris at the initiative of the Fourth International. The documented results of this Commission are at the disposal of the entire workers movement in THE WHITE PAPER. But even the other commission, which we did not recognize as such and which we accused of being conciliationist and of not basing itself on the principles of the proletariat, above all on its methods of struggle, also had to recognize that it was a question of slanders. In this commission participated the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvriere (LO) from France, as well as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the United States, among others. Despite that, none of the organizations which took a position against the slanders -- with the exception of the Fourth International -- has played an active role on the international scale against this campaign and its ramifications. Concretely, in Spain we turned several times to the LCR, the LOC and the POUM for them to take a position and an attitude of struggle against the introduction into Spain of the slanders and the provocations that followed them on the part of the Spanish group of the OCRFI and, more concretely, of its leader, Marius Lleget. For one reason or another, no one has ever responded to our proposal, while proof was accumulating that this campaign was being waged in subterranean fashion.

The recent attack shows that this struggle was necessary and, still more, that it is necessary to take it up immediately. NOBODY HAS THE RIGHT TO DEMAND THAT WE SIMPLY FOLD OUR ARMS, and we have the right to demand that everyone take action, especially those who lay claim to

class methods as opposed to those of the Kremlin. Preventing slanders from opening the door to ATTACKS, physical assault from preparing POLICE PROVOCATION, defending WORKERS DEMOCRACY, defending the HONOR OF A WORKING CLASS REVOLUTIONARY, are duties above and beyond any differences between organizations which claim to be working class. We declare that the tolerance, the passivity or the neutrality of today will only be ways to COVER UP provocative slander tomorrow.

In the case of militants of the POSI, we repeat what we said to them in our letter: they have to reject the slanderers and their methods, or they will have to surrender to them and their lamentable consequences.

In particular, we propose to the leadership of the POUM, of the LCR, of the PST, of the LC, of the TLT, and to the local organizations and the militants of the POSI, THE ENERGETIC CONDEMNATION OF THE ATTACK OF THE 23RD AND OF THE CAMPAIGN OF SLANDERS AND PROVOCATIONS ORGANIZED BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FRENCH OCI, AND INTRODUCED BY ITS SPANISH GROUP AND MARIUS LLEGET.

We also propose an urgent meeting of all these organizations and of all others which lay claim to the methods of the working class against those of Stalinism, in which will be openly discussed the forms of the ELUCIDATION of the question before the workers movement and of THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SLANDER AND SLANDERERS, starting from the proposals elaborated for the discussion.

Down with the slander against Michel Varga and the Fourth International!

Out with the slanderers! Out with the apprentices of Vishinsky!
Political Bureau of the PORE
February 25, 1980

"Human Rights" (Cont'd.)

ty assistance" was only an attempt to use the mask of opposition to "violence" in general to support and instigate violence in particular, including Romero's murder.

Despite all the attempts to portray Romero as an opponent of the "violence" of "both extremes," he himself was quite clear. He had previously announc-

ed that he supported "the legitimate right of revolutionary violence" and the day before his murder he told the soldiers of the junta: "'Do not kill' . . . No one has to comply with an immoral law."

Again, these are the facts. And that is why pigs like Vance and Carter ordered the killing.

By seeking to portray the

cause of the murder as "violence" in general, these same pigs are trying to present the source of the violence -- U.S. imperialism and its junta -- as a means of controlling it. Controlling it by "security assistance." Controlling it -- these importers of Cuban exiles! -- by trying to blame it on "Cuban support" and stopping this by crushing the worker and peasant mobilizations.

"Human rights" has once again shown its real face, its face of imperialist terror. When the workers and youth of the U.S.

begin to consciously organize their unity with the oppressed of Latin American through a struggle to overthrow imperialism in its own backyard, that will mean the end of "human rights" and its terrorism.

That is the task that the Fourth International proposes for the Conference of the Two Americas. Rebuild the sections of the world party in the Americas! Build the parties of revolutionary victory!
Kevin FitzPatrick
March 31, 1980

Rebuilding the Fourth International

"No Draft, Class War!"

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

"CLASS WAR!" chanted the contingent of the Revolutionary Youth International. With youth from all over the U.S., the International Young Guard/USA, chanted their own slogans against the PACIFIST slogans of the official sponsors of the march, the Mobilization Against the Draft.

But the slogans of IYG were not the only thing in contradiction to the sponsors of the March 22 demonstration in Washington, D.C. The very existence of 30,000 demonstrators, many of them youth from a generation after "the Sixties," was in contradiction to the plans of the reformists and liberals who were "just happy everything remained under control."

A young student from Detroit suggested to the contingent of IYG, "Why don't we demonstrate against General Westmoreland, he's speaking tonight in Washington? Let's ask the speaker's stand to announce it." We informed the comrade that the last thing the sponsors of the march wanted was to make trouble for the establishment. Needless to say the announcement was never made.

Why? Because despite the presence of tens of thousands of youth mobilizing against Carter's draft, despite the resurgence of militancy that this march signaled, the only thing that the MAD (Mobilization Against the Draft) was concerned with was KEEPING THE MARCH UNDER CONTROL!

The March 22 demonstration in Washington marks a turning point in the class struggle in the United States and it marks the beginning of the end of PACIFIST and REFORMIST solutions to the crisis of world imperialism.

The MAD, formed by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a reactionary reformist organization that ACTUALLY SUPPORTED THE VIETNAM WAR, has only one reason for its existence. To block the independent break of American youth from the reformist Democratic Party. A novel solution for Carter; the same imperialist party that launches the preparations for war spawns an "anti-draft, anti-war" house opposition.

These Social Democrats are so panicked by the mere mention of the word REVOLUTION that they expelled one of the most SERVILE institutions of the American radical milieu, the Stalinist American Communist Party. Along with the CP/USA, the Socialist Workers Party was also expelled from the national steering committee of MAD.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA together with International Young Guard ABSOLUTELY CONDEMN THIS ROTTEN SERVILE CLIQUE of Social Democratic junior bureaucrats, as well as the expulsions of the CP/USA and the SWP. We warn any serious youth to avoid this organization "like the plague."

CARD, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, the umbrella coalition led by the Social Democrats, clearly sides politically with the American bourgeoisie. This is not a rhetorical statement, it is pure fact. The DSOC passed resolutions against the student militants in Iran and an anti-communist attack on the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan that could have come straight out of Carter's own speech.



In fact, as the youth who turned out on March 22 could see, the best description of the leadership of the demonstration was DECREPIT. The loudest and most militant part of March 22 was the march past the White House where the demonstrators shouted against Carter and, by implication, these angry shouts were directed against the liberal speakers on the platform. Those who spoke the most militant got the loudest cheers, while Bella Abzug and Senator Hatfield could barely muster a clap.

Nor can the youth look to the CP/USA or the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP, who are up to their necks in responsibility for the failure of the mobilizations of "the Sixties" they love to talk about. Despite their expulsion from MAD, the SWP remained under the discipline of the Social Democrats and didn't even have a banner in their own name.

Some youth who were at the demonstration with the SWP said that they thought the SWP "used to be" in the Fourth International. How true! If they would only stop claiming to be Trotskyists altogether.

Even if the contradiction exists that the most ROTTEN elements of the American "radical" milieu are leading the anti-draft movement, March 22 marked a rejection of the bankrupt reformist and centrist currents who misled the mobilization of the Sixties. With the ACTIVE intervention of a new generation of youth, a new leadership will smash the old. We are confident that generation will be fighting at the side of the Fourth International. March 29, 1980

Conversation in Washington

At the rally following the demonstration in Washington, the imperialist politicians began their drone of speeches. Most young people ignored them. I approached a group of high school students with TRUTH.

"There can be no peace until we get rid of the warmakers," I said.

"Yeah, but nothing can really be done," said one young woman looking at TRUTH. Her

friends all nodded. "You can't change the system."

"We don't want to change it, we want to destroy it. We're preparing the American revolution as part of the world revolution. What do you think?"

"You can't educate the masses to free themselves so an elite has to do it and it starts all over again -- that's what happened with Lenin. Nothing can really be done."

"Why are you here if you think that nothing can be done?" They all laughed.

"Because we're against the draft and war," they said.

There is a complete contradiction between the idea that "nothing can be done" and demonstrating against war and the draft in Washington. "Nothing can be done" goes against the spirit and enthusiasm of these youth, of all youth who dream of a better world. But such ideas can weigh heavy on the youth and block their dreams from becoming reality.

Cynical ideas are at complete odds with reality. The workers and youth today are in the midst of their greatest mobilization world-wide since time began. And now the American youth have entered this scene with a powerful expression of their will in Washington.

The source of these ideas are the pillars of reaction in this society -- the schools, parents, the church. But these ideas could not stand for one day without the constant reinforcement provided by those who claim to fight for the youth -- like the "organizers" of the March 22 demonstration especially those that claim to be revolutionary.

What kind of perspective for revolution can the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party have when they defend the speakers at the rally saying that the vast majority of people can be "awakened" by Bella Abzug, U.S. senators and 40 year old folk singers!

Lenin said, "we should dream." Yes, we should dream of what kind of world we want and work to make it happen. And, as Lenin did, we should dream of that movement purged of these professional cynics who aim to destroy it and to maintain the status quo.

RETURN TO LENIN!

April, 1980

F.V.

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.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA is fighting to make TRUTH a key part of the struggle of the American working class. We have set the goal of raising \$5,000.00 for the expansion and improvement of TRUTH. Without such a press, the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections and the fight for a WORKERS PARTY would be compromised.

JOIN the BATTLE! CONTRIBUTE to the WORKERS FUND!

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ditional in the Two Americas

Brazil:

The Institutionalization of the Dictatorship and the Workers Party

By MIGUEL SALAS

Reprinted from LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE #81/82

The political situation in Brazil is today at the center of the problems of the reorganization of the proletariat throughout Latin America. The Brazilian proletariat is one of the strongest on the continent and, through its great strikes and mobilizations, it is confronted with the plans and maneuvers of the military dictatorship.

Carter's plan, which consists of institutionalizing the dictatorships in South America, also finds its application in Brazil. The plan of American imperialism consists of maintaining domination through the military, but presenting it through the means of elections in order to concretely continue to maintain this regime. That is what it has attempted in Peru and in Bolivia. In Brazil, the local dictator, Baptista de Figueiredo, on October 18 presented to the Parliament a reform law which would permit the existence of from two to four parties.

The Social Democracy, through the Brazilian Labor Party, and the Brazilian Communist Party have begun to hail these measures as a step toward the conquest of liberties. The CP has defined its proposal thus: "Application of the amnesty, opening of a constituent process, tactical unity of the whole opposition around a single legal party and its legalization." A whole program so that the military can keep itself in power. Amnesty, constituent process, all depend on the military and not on the struggle of the masses to win liberties, freedom for political prisoners, democratic and trade union rights, etc. The "reform in the Spanish style" begun by the military counts from the start on the support of the Stalinists and Social Democrats.

But the most important thing in this situation is that the wave of strikes and working class and peasant mobilizations has begun a huge movement for the building of a Workers Party. At the head of this movement are the old-time trade union leaders, the parliamentary politicians of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) and sectors of the Brazilian Catholic Church.

The Brazilian proletariat, and this is true of practically the whole proletariat of the continent, has never in its history known a working class leadership. The trade unions were in one way or another tied to the state, and the trade union leaders themselves were, and are, government functionaries. In the same way, the parties which claim to be working class at no time succeeded in structuring and organizing it, at the same time that these very parties were adapting and subordinating their policy to one or another party of the national bourgeoisie. By supporting Goulart in the 1960's, by pressuring the MDB, a formation accepted by the military dictatorship in order to give a certain acceptable tone to the elections in the 1970's.

The whole worker and peasant mobilization is crashing against this barrier on

account of the lack of a workers leadership and organization, and thus these movements remain confined to the narrow framework of the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

The extent of the movement for the Workers Party responds to this necessity to build the class independence of the proletariat, to the necessity to form its own class party against the pro-imperialist parties, against the military itself and the parties of the national bourgeoisie. It arises from the very depths of the Brazilian workers movement, with the general strike of the Sao Paulo region in May-June 1978, with the more than 300 strikes in the last six months of 1979 and, fundamentally, the strike of the Sao Paulo metalworkers in October-November 1979. This necessity for a Workers Party arises from the contradiction between the concentration and radicalization of the working class and the fact that this movement has been in the hands of the trade union functionaries linked to the state, or in the hands of sectors of the national bourgeoisie.

The extent of the movement for the Workers Party does not in itself resolve the problem of building a workers leadership. The fundamental problem is: on what political platform, on the basis of what struggle, will the party be formed and gather around it the worker sectors? And the problem begins when the present leaders have already been in their time trade union bureaucrats and when now, in the present situation, they play this role in order to impede the radicalization of the workers struggles. In face of a strike of the Belo Horizonte arsenals, with more than 20,000 out on strike, a member of the National Commission, Luis Inacio da Silva ("Lula"), had to be sent there to stop it and to negotiate with the bosses. At the end of negotiations, he declared: "The workers have an urgent need for trade union freedom and autonomy so that they can elect responsible people and representatives, in order to not permit facts like those which have wound up being produced" (reference to the strike which, under attacks by the police, had seen two dead and a number wounded among the workers).

This leadership bases itself on the search on the part of the workers for their own class instruments, in order to once again lead them onto the terrain of conciliation and the restrictive framework of democracy.

Its platform, approved last October 13, shows this. Not one word on the struggle to put an end to the military dictatorship. The platform limits itself to demanding: "The greatest freedom of political expression and organization. Against the government's wage policy. For job security. For trade union freedom and autonomy. For the right to strike. For a real, broad and unrestricted amnesty."

But all these demands are nothing but drops in the bucket without the destruction



of the military dictatorship. Or rather, said another way, if the military dictatorship is not ended these leaders will enter fully into the institutionalization of the dictatorship, into "reform in the Spanish style," and thus the search for and the conquest of the class independence of the proletariat will be transformed into a new capitulation on the part of the leaders.

The Fourth International, in its struggle for the rebuilding of its sections in the Americas, starts from this combat for class independence and unconditionally supports every step forward against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie, every step forward that means an advance in the conquest of the political and organizational independence of the proletariat. The movement for the Workers Party is such a step, but its platform tries to tie this movement to reconciliation, so that the military can remain in power.

The Fourth International declares its own platform, the very basis for the building of its Brazilian section, by saying that the first task is to put an end to the military dictatorship. Nothing will be guaranteed without this, neither liberties nor democratic and trade union rights; they cannot coexist with the military. The mobilizations and strikes are the basis for transforming this movement into a general strike to finish off the military and to conquer democratic, working class and trade union rights in their full extent.

Opening up, through this struggle, the perspective of a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT, of the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the sole guarantee for the peasants' seizing the land, for the workers' controlling the factories and the means of production, and for the struggle of the Brazilian workers uniting with that of their Argentine and Bolivian comrades in the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF LATIN AMERICA.

The building of a working class leadership, the transformation of the movement for the Workers Party into the instrument of preparation for class and national liberation, of the working class and socialist revolution, is at stake in the definition of this platform, in the political definition through which the Brazilian workers will end the military dictatorship and open up the perspective of the revolution throughout the continent.

Fast & Fierce

By RICH TETRAULT

As the major employer of young people in the U.S., fast food restaurants represent a significant force for the independent mobilizations of the youth. There is a great deal at stake in organizing these slave labor shops and the active participation of every young person is necessary to insure victory.

Young people have always been the most victimized and exploited among the world proletariat and likewise have always stood in the forefront of the struggles of their class. Today, throughout the U.S. there is a turn taking place in the sentiment and consciousness of the working class, in particular its youth. The revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador and throughout Latin America and the Middle East have illuminated the struggles of the American proletariat and have sparked an initiative among the youth.

The emergence of the Fast Food Workers Union is an example of the turn taking place in the American working class. The youth have been looking for a real solution in their schools and workplaces. They have rejected the old leaderships in a combat for class independence.

The Detroit Fast Food Workers Union is young, a branch of United Labor Unions, which was built six months ago to organize the minimum wage industries of New Orleans, Boston, Philadelphia and Detroit. According to the organizing director of the union, Danny Cantor, the ULU (United Labor Unions) is an offshoot of ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) but is separate and independent of ACORN.

The struggle to organize the workers of fast food restaurants; McDonald's, Burger King, Burger Chef, Church's, Wendy's, and Kentucky Fried Chicken, is an important step in forging a revolutionary unity with the workers in auto, steel and other basic industries. International Young Guard/USA, U.S. Detachment of the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, unconditionally defends the rights of young workers in the fast food business to be represented by the union of their choice. At the same time it fights to make clear that there is significantly more at stake than contracts and lists of demands.

The most important question is the independent organization of the working class as a whole to smash this decaying capitalist state. This requires the break of the youth with the bourgeois order; in particular with the Democratic Party which heads the disarming of the workers in the

trade unions.

What is at stake is far more than union representation. It is the construction of a revolutionary leadership in face of the political crisis of the old order.

The workers in fast food restaurants are predominantly in their teens and working for the minimum wage. The work is repetitive, demeaning and the workers are closely supervised and given short breaks. The fact that the industry as a whole has an annual turnover rate estimated at 200 percent is a clear indication of the blatant exploitation that takes place in our friendly neighborhood burger joints. This type of super-exploitation is the rule throughout the "civilized" capitalist world.

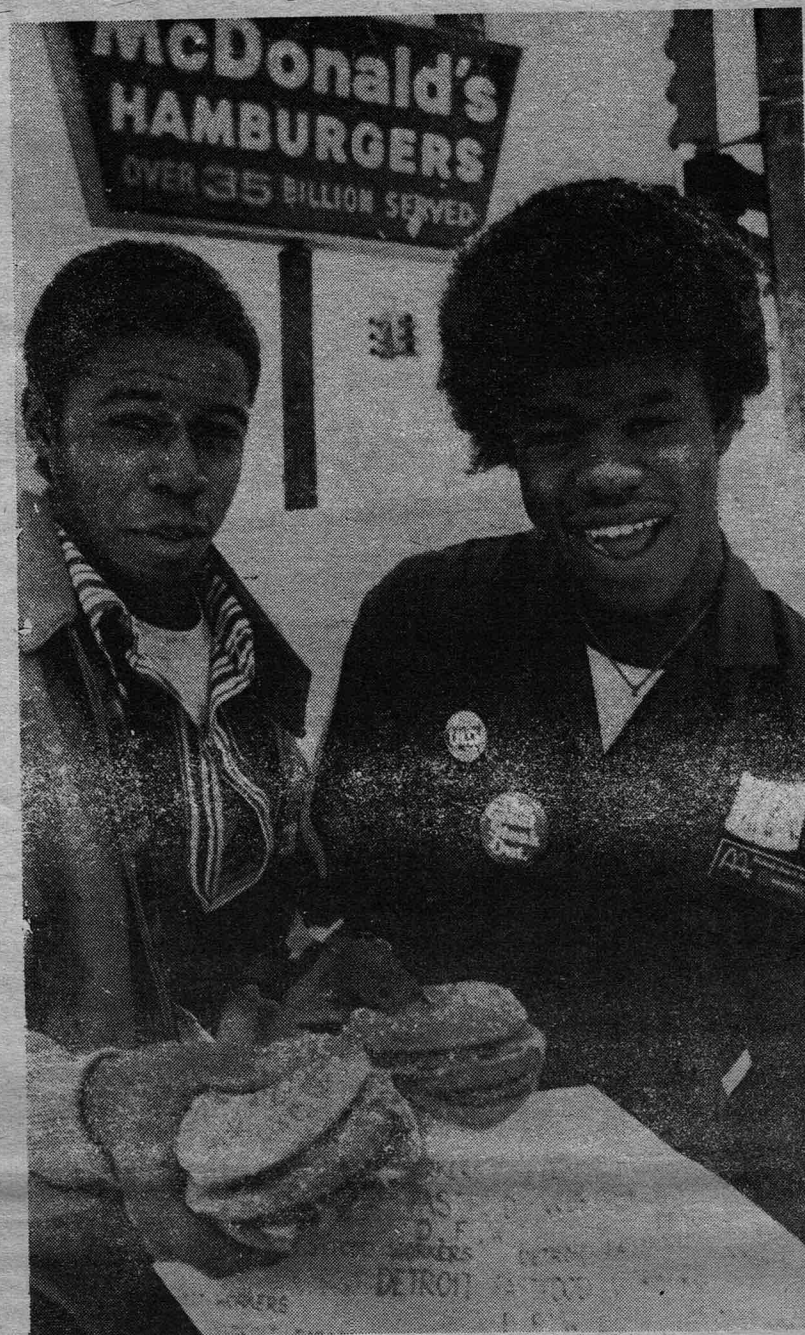
The construction of workers organizations is the key to the struggle of the working class to move to the offensive in the combat for power and control of society. Workers in the U.S. have a very rich history in the fight to build their own organizations, in order to centralize their struggles. The heroic battles of the truck drivers and autoworkers in the 1930's and 1940's is a tradition that the youth today can look to for inspiration.

But the most important question, the question of constructing the organizations for the independence of the working class, centralizes the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership. The trade unions today are controlled almost completely by the Democratic Party with the assistance of the international Stalinist apparatus, the American Communist Party in the U.S. and the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. These traitors must be swept aside as part of the preparation of the world revolution.

IYG/U.S., section of the Revolutionary Youth International, will fight to arm young workers in the fast food industry with the weapons of revolutionary thought, of communist education, for the RETURN TO LENIN!

In this fight, the trade unions will once again become the tools of the working class, will be weapons of the workers and youth in preparing the world revolution. IYG/USA calls all youth to enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, to be trained in the struggle for working class independence, to wage an endless battle against imperialist wars throughout the globe and to put and end to all illusions in the "democracy" of the imperialist powers.

April 3, 1980



International Young Guard/USA!

Contact:
IYG, PO Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

Free Ziad Abu Ein!



On March 25, Ziad Abu Ein, a 20 year old Palestinian man held without bail in the U.S. Metropolitan Correction Center in Chicago since August 21, 1979, said: "My detention is the result of a conspiracy and collusion between the government of Israel and the U.S. Departments of State and Justice to deprive me of my freedom... if I am not released by April 30, 1980, I will begin a hunger strike until death."

This case gives the real meaning to the "peace" of Camp David last year -- imperialist peace through war on the Palestinians.

The facts follow:

-- Ziad turned himself over to the FBI on August 21 after learning that they wanted him. They jailed him that day.

-- He learned later he was charged by Israel with a May 14 bombing, supposedly fingered by a prisoner whose "confession" was extracted through torture and who later recanted it.

-- This evidence, along with testimony by 14 witnesses, was not even allowed in court by the U.S. magistrate, but testimony by Israel that the charge was "not political" but part of "international terrorism" was allowed.

-- On December 18th, U.S. Magistrate Olga Jurco ordered Ziad extradited. This was appealed and sent to Judge Julius Hoffman, infamous hangman of the Chicago 7 trial, who placed Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers in chains when he defended himself.

This case is important, because if it is allowed to stand Israel will be able to legally threaten any Palestinian in the U.S. with a "confession" from its torture chambers.

We must say loudly:

NO DEPORTATIONS!
FREE ZIAD ABU EIN!
March 31, 1980
TRUTH

For the Palestinians to Live U.S. Imperialism Must Die

By FRED VITALE

On March 29 the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) held a conference at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan.

Two of the main speakers, Mayors Muhammed Milhem and Bassam Shakaa of Palestinian towns on the West Bank of the Jordan River, were not allowed to leave Israel to speak at the conference. This outrage underscores what "peace" there is for Palestinians when officials elected under the imperialists' own system are treated like criminals.

Dr. Israel Shahak, head of the Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights was able to come. His presence showed that the opposition to the Begin government runs deep in Israel, destroying the lie that the conflict in the Middle East is between the Arabs and the Jews. In truth, it is between the U.S. imperialist government, its puppet Israel, and the oppressed peoples and working class. He mentioned, for example, the increasing number of strikes by organized Israeli workers, predominantly Jewish, against Begin's economic policies.

In recent weeks the Begin government has established new "settlements" in Palestinian land seized and ruled by the Israeli military since the 1967 war, called the "occupied territory." Dr. Shahak said that these "settlers" play a role similar to the South African farmers; they terrorize and intimidate the Palestinians, breaking into their homes, looting and rioting in their market places. This vigilante work is approved by the government and regularly reported in the Israeli and European press. There is also a settlement called "New Detroit" because it was funded almost entirely by the millionaire, Max Fisher.

The conference comes at a time when Carter, Begin and their lackeys in the Arab states like Sadat are trying to develop some new "Camp David peace accords." Both Sadat and Begin are coming to Washington next month.

The last Camp David accords, while claiming to be a basis for "peace," were in fact an agreement to liquidate the Pales-



tinians, as all the events of the last year have shown, including these new "settlements" But the Camp David accords failed because of the continued struggle of the Palestinians. For example, they answered these settlements with a general strike throughout the occupied territories.

The task for American workers and youth is clear: to unconditionally defend the Palestinians, their revolution and organizations from all attacks by Israeli imperialism. This means no more funds to Israel and immediate withdrawal of all troops and settlements from occupied territories.

But above all it means that we must prepare the American revolution to finish with U.S. imperialism. History has shown what happens to a people when every leader has compromised THEIR RIGHT TO EXIST AS A NATION. In spite of their leaders the Palestinians continue to exist and fight today. With the destruction of U.S. imperialism and its puppet Israel, along with the Arab states and leaders which have done this compromising, the Palestinians can have their own country again. There is no other road.

Over the past months, imperialist governments of France, West Germany, and Austria have all come out for "Palestinian self-determination" after meetings with Yassir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But this recognition means nothing positive. It came at a price -- the compromise of Palestinian self-determination.

As Arafat said March 25th, "It is my intention to neither kill nor to destroy anyone. We are prepared to build our independent Palestinian state ON THE LAND IN PALESTINE WHICH THE ISRAELIS LEAVE." (Our emphasis).

But the problem is, ALL the land of Israel was stolen from the Palestinians, and Israel is committed to destroying them because their existence represents a continual threat of revolution in the Middle East.

Arafat and the PLO, in the face of the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism, in the face of their own INCREASING INABILITY to control the Palestinians, are trying to negotiate a place for themselves in the new "Camp David accords." The renunciation of even a battle with Israel by the PLO is not a "clever maneuver," but a desperate move. The PLO is denying even the right to self-determination to prove its usefulness to the imperialists.

The U.S. and Israel are counting on the political betrayals of the PLO to give them the extension on life they need to organize the counter-revolution.

In this context the PHRC Conference can be understood. It is an attempt to tie the American workers and youth to this policy of compromise with U.S. imperialism.

To underline this point, the organizers brought John Conyers, Detroit Congressman, as a key speaker. Conyers is a proud member of the Democratic Party, the party responsible for the development of Israel as a center of reaction in the Middle East.

There is no progress possible for Palestinians with the U.S. Congress or even Yassir Arafat, its latest collaborator. Only an independent road, developing the Palestinian revolution as part of the world socialist revolution, can realize a free and independent Palestine and the unity of the peoples of the Middle East in a Socialist Federation.
March 31, 1980

Blacks and the Presidential Election — "The Ballot or the Bullet"

By JON COHEN

"It was the black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, D.C. that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that. And your and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good president we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent. And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Southern cracker -- that's all he is -- and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with the Southerners..."

The same government that you go abroad to fight for and die for is the government that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive you of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decent housing, deprive you of decent education. You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of black people in this country. And you should drop it in their lap. This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro. And all these white liberals have definitely failed the Negro."

Substitute "Georgia" for "Texas" and these words, spoken by Malcolm X almost exactly 16 years ago, on April 3, 1964, could be applied with full force today.

And so could Malcolm X's conclusion to the tasks facing blacks in front of yet another Presidential election. It is not 1964, but his choice still remains in front of blacks today -- "the ballot or the

bullet."

Either blacks take up a political struggle in their own name, in the name of their liberation and the liberation of those oppressed by imperialism throughout the world or they will be crushed. Either a revolutionary intervention in these elections, independent from the Democratic and Republican parties or continued defeat at the hands of this racist and terrorist state.

It is almost chilling to see the similarity between the situation described by Malcolm X in 1964 and today's situation. It is even more true today. Jimmy Carter owes his election in 1976 ALMOST ENTIRELY to the support of blacks.

Unlike LBJ, who won by a landslide, Carter squeezed out a very narrow victory over Ford in 1976. In carrying the key Northern industrial states and several key Southern states, Carter's narrow margin of victory was due to the 90%+ black vote in his favor. One or two percentage points the other way and Carter would have been defeated. No one disputes this.

And like LBJ, the so-called black leaders hailed this as a great victory. "Nixonism is finished," they proclaimed. "We've finally got a Southerner who understands the problems of blacks, and besides, he owes us."

"We'll bring home the bacon," boasted Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young.

Well, it's 1980 and the mayor of Detroit has just told city workers that they have to "start eating beans."

"Bringing home the bacon." Indeed.

And without rubbing in the obvious, because everyone knows it, the economic crisis in this country has hit blacks the hardest. Now even the government admits that black youth unemployment is at 45% and that a virtual depression has hit the large industrial cities.

Meanwhile, Carter, this "friend" of blacks, has just cut from his budget the few remaining pitiful programs for youth employment. "Let them eat beans" is "human rights" in Detroit.

It is also almost too obvious to point out that the Carter administration, elected by

blacks, is even worse for blacks than Nixon was.

Unemployment and inflation have doubled under the Carter administration. Food stamps and welfare programs have been cut back.

Nixon murdered the Black Panthers. But under the Carter administration police still murder black youth in the streets. In a "black city," run by Carter's "friend," the police use cattle prods on blacks. The death penalty was reintroduced under Carter's administration and the U.S. now has the third highest rate of imprisonment per capita in the world -- just after the USSR and South Africa.

All of this is probably too obvious to most readers of this paper. But the real problem is that many blacks believe, like their counterparts did in 1964, that nothing can be done. That this is the way this system works and that there is no choice. That bitterness and resignation is the only alternative.

It was this attitude that Malcolm X fought in 1964 and which must be fought today.

The idea that there is no choice or, if there is a choice, it is between the "fox or the wolf," doesn't fall from the sky. It isn't an inevitable position.

It comes from those WHO HAVE ALREADY CHOSEN. The so-called "black leaders," Democratic Party politicians and ministers, who want to convince black workers and youth that there is no choice but to continue to vote for Democrats or turn to despair because they have already chosen. They have chosen to defend this racist, imperialist state and have chosen to build their petty careers off the misery and exploitation of other blacks.

They are traitors. Each and every one of them. The Coleman Youngs, Jesse Jacksons, Andrew Youngs, John Conyers. The bitterness and cynicism in the black community comes from them. From those who made their careers by driving the revolutionary blacks out of the factories, by aiding in the persecution of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. Who have no more in common with

the average black worker than Jimmy Carter does.

But there is a choice. The choice is to get rid of these "leaders" and fight to build a new leadership for blacks, the kind of leadership that Malcolm X fought for.

Once this choice is made, all other choices are possible and the possibilities are enormous. Once it is seen that the choice in front of blacks is not the "fox or the wolf," not Carter or Reagan, but that of an independent fight for black liberation or the eventual re-enslavement of blacks, the choices can become clear.

When this is seen, the "ballot or the bullet" makes sense. Blacks must take up the struggle for the ballot, not in order to choose one oppressor over another, not in order to allow a few traitors to have their Cadillacs, but in order to wage a fight for their total liberation, in order to prevent their destruction by the bullets of the imperialist state -- either in another war overseas or by the police and KKK at home. Because behind Carter is the KKK.

This is why we say that blacks must choose the ballot in November. Not to put a cracker or a senile anti-communist in the White House, but in order to make the political power of blacks heard in this country and around the world.

Their voice is that of millions of oppressed throughout the world -- the cry of the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. imperialism. Their weapon for the ballot in November must be the voice of this world revolutionary struggle; it must be a candidate of this world revolt against imperialism and Stalinism.

The fight for the ballot in November is the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE, a candidate for the workers and oppressed in this country.

The fight to build this campaign, around a WORKERS CONVENTION in September in Detroit is the choice in front of blacks and all workers and youth today. March 31, 1980

Another Democrat or Workers Candidate?

Auto Workers Must Choose

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Marx said it. "First time tragedy, second time farce." What could be more farcical than Ted Kennedy running on the same program, trying to put together the same rotten alliance of union bosses and bosses' lackeys, as Carter did in 1976. You can't credit Fraser, President of the UAW, with originality, because fundamentally, he has NO CHOICE. He has to support someone like Kennedy against Carter, who has discredited not only himself, but by association the UAW bureaucrats too.

But autoworkers DO have a CHOICE. They can mobilize the most powerful union movement in the world against the Democratic Party and the system it has stood for since the beginning -- based on the hegemony of U.S. imperialism as the policeman of the world. A union movement that is only as powerful as its weak-kneed, money-loving, turncoat leadership. This entire apparatus CAN be scrapped in favor of an independent perspective of class struggle. (And we are not talking about "independents" who bounce back and forth between the Democratic and Republican parties.)

The convention of the United Auto Workers this spring will be one more historical rerun of fanfare and hot air. There is not the slightest reason to expect that this convention would do anything unexpected, much less anything about the massive layoffs in the auto industry. It won't. At the same time the Democratic and Republican parties will be planning their conventions. Apart from the names, there is no way to tell the difference from any of the three of them.

A revolutionary perspective, a revolutionary program and candidate is on the order of the day for American workers. If you don't agree then don't bother to read on.

For autoworkers the situation is urgent. AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW! A WORKERS CANDIDATE! This must be our demand and the means for the autoworkers to take the leading role in building a confrontation with this anti-worker government.

Not only do the union bureaucrats and the auto bosses drink the same wine, and vote for the same candidates, they use the

same arguments too. More than 250,000 autoworkers are on lay-off (and the bourgeois economists are still calling this a HOT economy). Entire sections of the industry are clearly scheduled for liquidation as at Dodge Main in Detroit. During the height of the "Save Chrysler" movement we saw Douglas Fraser arguing like a true profit-mongering capitalist to save his neck. All those pictures with Lee Iacocca pumping his hand and grinning from ear to ear.

Now Fraser is running interference for the entire auto industry in such exotic surroundings as Japan, living the life of an ambassador, even if he is just a flunky for the Big Three. If anything, his arguments have become even more ridiculous. While Ford is building engines in Brazil and Fiestas to be imported to the United States in Spain, while GM is building plants in Mexico with Chrysler, Fraser is railing the Japanese and German auto barons for selling their cars to Americans. Who forgot to tell this dummy that American imperialism makes the big buck by building factories in underdeveloped countries where labor is cheap and governments can be bought?

One can't help but ask, why aren't the auto companies doing the footwork instead of Fraser? Because they aren't so stupid to stick their necks out when a sucker like Fraser will do it for them and let the workers unions go to hell to boot -- that's why.

This two-bit bureaucrat, who couldn't wait to endorse Kennedy, really is a farce. And so is his whole bag of tricks. And Kennedy stinks a mile away.

Let Fraser and Kennedy choke on the rot of their system. A Workers Candidate to fight for NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL is the solution to the corpse of capitalist economy. A political fight to center the struggle of every worker and every union on breaking the back of private property and taking control of the commanding heights of industry in the name of social production. And a revolutionary fight to smash every obstacle, firstly Carter's government, and to build a WORKERS GOVERNMENT based on full employment, an end to class exploitation and

A WORKERS PROGRAM!

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

JOIN US!

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

Here's my signature _____

I am interested in attending the Convention _____

Please send _____ *copies of this Call.*

Enclosed is \$ _____ *contribution.*

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

racism, and the death of imperialism.

A fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE isn't a copy of a bourgeois candidate with a UAW pin in the lapel of his expensive suit. Not a campaign like that of the Socialist Workers Party and the American Communist Party, to run a nice respectable show. Not one of these radical fakers can gain the respect of the working class youth -- the most important sector of the working class to win the revolution.

We appeal to autoworkers, as the most class conscious and strongest section of American workers, to take a leading role

in defeating the bourgeois candidates and their bureaucratic flunkies like Fraser. In the 1980 elections, ONLY ONE CLASS CAN WIN. A political defeat for the bourgeoisie, their inability to pacify the American working class, is a political victory not only for American workers but for the world revolution and the workers of the entire world.

FOR AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE AND A WORKERS PROGRAM IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS!
March 30, 1980

"Let them eat beans!"

By BARBARA PUTNAM

While Carter is busy "balancing the budget," his right-hand man is busy doing a balancing act for the Democratic Party. Detroit Mayor Coleman Young is quoted in an article in the DETROIT FREE PRESS entitled "Brickbats for Carter" as threatening "a long, hot, riot-filled summer" if Carter's "balanced budget" passes.

Young, always there for Carter, was himself elected to office on the basis of the derailment of the big-city explosions of the sixties into the Democratic Party. Carter's "balanced budget," just another word for his program of sacrifices for the black and working masses, is not only covered for by Young and every other black/liberal/labor opportunist, it is their function to pass it on to the working class.

While it is true that there is a deep response in the working class following cuts in public funds, including for hospitals, schools, youth programs, city workers jobs, public transportation and public housing -- that doesn't necessarily mean another "long, hot summer."

Coleman Young, opportunist par excellence -- those days are gone. What is meant to appeal to the black masses -- "there will be a long, hot, riot-filled summer" -- will not happen. It is a question here of first time tragedy, second time farce.

But Young is only concerned with the farcical end of it. While threatening riots, Young went out and bought himself a \$19,000 Cadillac limousine "for visiting dignitaries."

If there are any further doubts as to where Young stands in relation to the working class, listen to what he told the firefighters union. He said he may be "forced" (because of the "balanced budget") to lay off firemen and "then maybe you will stop eating steaks and eat beans for awhile." But not Young and his cronies.

Beans for workers and Cadillacs for mayors. Tax breaks for his wealthy friends in Palmer Woods, and higher taxes for the old and those on fixed incomes.



In advance, it must be said before the Socialist Workers Party declares Coleman Young is "moving to the left" (just as they said about Fraser, President of the UAW who now sits on Chrysler's board), NO, it isn't so. When a supporter of REVOLUTIONARY WORKER, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, criticized Young at a press conference for "whitewashing" the investigation of the use of cattle prods by the police on prisoners, Young lashed out: "You revolution your ass out of hear, you're not any legitimate newspaper as far as I'm concerned." This should leave no room for doubts about Young's feelings concerning even simple criticism coming from inside the working class. What is "legitimate" has to be bourgeois.

Young has no fear of simple "riots" that can be channelled back into the Democratic Party.

Blacks and workers are not interested in "long, hot summers." What they want is to effectively deal with the problems created by this regime of Carter, Young and the big bourgeoisie. These problems require thought and planning, a struggle for a revolutionary party that is in the first place CONSCIOUS of its goals. Against the candidates of the bourgeoisie, and their supporters, a WORKERS CANDIDATE and a WORKERS PARTY.
March 30, 1980

Free Iranian Political Prisoners

Since Carter stated during a press conference that thousands of Iranians entering the U.S. are "fleeing injustice" and looking for a "haven" in this "great democracy" a controversy has developed.

A Republican congressman, Robert Michel of Illinois, has declared that Carter's statement is "misleading." His point is that the Carter administration is "frustrating the FBI and immigration authorities" by being too lax and that this is resulting in the entry of "student terrorists" who have "field manuals telling how to make bombs and use weapons" into the U.S. (DETROIT NEWS, March 28, 1980).

For the most part, the 11,000 Iranians who have come to the U.S. since last November are professors, doctors and businessmen fleeing the revolution and looking for a "haven" in the U.S., much as the Shah himself found shelter here from the blows of the revolution. This is very similar to the case of the "gusanos" (those tied to the rotten Batista regime) who fled Cuba to prevent the expropriation of their wealth by the workers and peasants.

Of the 800,000 members of the Shah's SAVAK (hated police agency set up with the complicity of U.S. imperialism and responsible for the torture and deaths of hundreds upon thousands of Iranians) most have fled Iran finding a "haven" in California or somewhere else.

Instead of a "haven," Iranian students entering the U.S. have found nothing but a prison under this "soft" regime. They come here to get an education. There are only 10 universities in Iran, and a big percentage of the professors were once connected to the SAVAK. (Incidentally, the Bani-Sadr government refuses to let their names be published and they are still teaching in Iran).

The repression against Iranian students in the U.S. has generally escalated since

last November, but the degree of repression fluctuates with the turn of events in Iran. When it looked like the hostages might be released with the establishment of the U.N. Commission to investigate the Shah, the repression decreased.

For example, the two students the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA have been defending in Detroit, were arrested for "threatening to kill President Carter" at the height of Carter's anti-Iran campaign. Later when it became clear the anti-Iran campaign was failing, one of the students, Mehdi Fazelzadeh-Haghighi, was able to get his bond lowered from \$5,000 to \$1,000 and was trying to get the U.S. Attorney's Office to agree to dismiss charges of gun possession (which was slapped on the two students when "threatening to kill President Carter" was thrown out of court for "lack of evidence") in exchange for acceptance of all kinds of legal restrictions on residence, attendance of college and travel. This attempt failed and the charges will not be dismissed now and the courts keep setting up the hearing date.

Repression began to increase against Iranian students in the U.S. with renewed strength after the U.N. Commission failed to release the hostages.

48 students were arrested at Louisiana Tech University in early March for shouting down a former diplomat to the Shah. The way the arrests took place was that the police questioned a large number of youth rounded up during the protest and asked them whether or not they were Iranian. If the answer was yes, they were arrested and everybody else was released.

These students refused to enter the courtroom on the day of their hearing and are facing heavy charges. We demand the release of these students -- they are all political prisoners!

March 30, 1980
BARBARA PUTNAM