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TRUTH



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A Revolutionary Victory for Workers and Youth —

Truth is Your Weapon!

The downfall of the counter-revolution has been the refusal of militant workers and the most combative youth to accept the idea that "nothing can be done," that "the situation is out of our hands."

The expression of the idea that something can be done, that a victory can be won in every situation is the only way to prepare an offensive of the American working class against the attacks on workers rights, on workers democracy. An offensive can only take place in the framework of organized, revolutionary response.

This expression takes form and is brought to a political clarification in the struggle for a workers paper devoted to organizing the revolution in every situation. A paper which develops a concrete analysis of the world situation and maps out a strategy for the working class to win.

TRUTH is this weapon. It is the tool of every worker and youth to take hold of in building a movement for the complete rupture of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie.

TRUTH is your weapon. At a time when the bourgeoisie is attempting to disarm the American working class through an economic attack (i.e., political crisis of U.S. imperialism), only TRUTH is fighting to arm American workers. As a fundamental weapon of revolutionary struggle, TRUTH is open to all workers and youth who want to take up our armament for an immediate confrontation with the terrorist state of bourgeois and bureaucrats.

An immediate task in this fight is the massive distribution of TRUTH. As the most important tool for workers, it must be developed and discussed on a daily basis. As a tool it must be used to its fullest potential and demand the respect of its users. Yet as a basic tool of revolutionary struggle, TRUTH is designed to be accessible to the great masses of workers and youth who are not afraid of making small sacrifices in order to prepare revolutionary victory for the American working class.

In order to help people distribute TRUTH, a few experiences may be helpful. First of all it is necessary to dispel with the idea that selling TRUTH requires years of experience and a thorough background in Marxist philosophy.

Quite to the contrary. It is through active political participation, through a real political development, that workers and youth become the best cadre. This educational process coupled with a fundamental communist education allows these cadre to wage the clearest struggle possible.

In fighting with individuals to take up TRUTH and use it as a weapon, a variety of responses are used to avoid taking a position. "Sorry, I don't have any money." Is it worth a quarter or whatever you can donate to take part in a plan to put an end to unemployment?

"Oh, I already got a copy." Well, that's excellent. We can then discuss what you can begin to do in order to develop the campaign for a Workers Candidate.

In selling TRUTH, it's important to make clear that we are waging a combat. Workers and youth can get their fill of abstract discussion in the pages of any bourgeois paper or the journals of any of a dozen pseudo-revolutionary organizations, including THE MILITANT and the DAILY WORLD.

Down With U.S. Imperialism!
Join the Struggle for a Workers Candidate! A TRUTH distributor may demand your attention with these slogans. These questions developed to introduce TRUTH to new readers will demand a response from workers and youth on the streets. This is a fight to immediately engage workers and youth in revolutionary struggle.

Something can indeed be done to change the situation. Witness the revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador and throughout Latin America. Witness the mobilization of youth in the U.S. against Carter's attempt to reinstitute draft registration. Read and distribute TRUTH as the only conclusion possible for workers and youth in the U.S. who wish to fight for their class independence.

TRUTH is your weapon. Join the campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 Presidential Elections. Forge a link with workers throughout Latin America for the Revolution in the Two Americas. This signifies a REVOLUTIONARY VICTORY FOR WORKERS AND YOUTH.

TRUTH
May 18, 1980



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Autoworkers: Why Not a Workers Candidate to Fight for a Workers Party?

By JON COHEN

Any struggle in auto today has to begin with a fight against the prophets of doom.

From Doug Fraser to the Stalinists and centrists, what all these vultures have in common is their ability to compete with each other in predicting the bleakest future for autoworkers without proposing a SINGLE SOLUTION or combat.

It is no wonder that most serious autoworkers are repulsed by these "prophets." They don't have to be told about the gravity of the present situation.

Nor do they have to be told about the treachery of the UAW leadership, now crowned with Fraser's recent installation as a member of Chrysler's board of directors. An installation bought with the lives of Chrysler workers.

Workers are looking for solutions. They don't need to be told how bad things are.

Above all they need to overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of finding a solution. They need to separate the fighters in their ranks from the impotent prophets of doom.

It is with this goal in mind -- finding a SOLUTION -- that the Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting in the U.S. to rebuild the American section of the Fourth International, proposes that autoworkers take the lead in organizing a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the Presidential elections.

The doomsayers and vultures can think of a hundred reasons not to engage this fight, which are their reasons for DOING NOTHING and for trying to disarm the working class and youth. The fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE is a fight to overcome these obstacles.

In order to be armed for this fight autoworkers must understand that:

THE PRESENT ATTACK MEANS THE REVOLUTION IS APPROACHING. The attack against the working class is serious, deadly serious. But this does not mean that the working class is on the defensive.

On the contrary, this attack is being organized on the basis of the deepest crisis ever for U.S. imperialism, both at home and abroad. A crisis that proceeds from the fact that throughout the world the working class has the initiative.

This attack is serious, but it is also desperate -- U.S. imperialism must attack the U.S. working class in order to head off the approaching revolution.

It means that despite dangers, the possibilities have never been greater. The crisis of the Democratic Party has never been greater.

Nor has the level of social tension in this country ever been greater.

BUT RESISTANCE WON'T BE ORGANIZED SPONTANEOUSLY. The lack of an organized response by autoworkers to the present attack is explained by the doomsayers either by saying that "nothing can be done" or by identifying anger and disgust on the part of workers with resistance.

The autoworkers haven't yet responded because resistance can only take place if it is organized, with a leadership.

The working class and especially autoworkers aren't passive; but its leadership is bankrupt.

The Doug Fraser leadership of the UAW which prepared the layoffs with its November 1979 contract, which has joined the fight to "save Chrysler" for the capitalists and whose only response to the layoffs has been their bankrupt "buy American" campaign.

Or the Stalinists of the American CP and the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP who lined up behind Fraser's "save Chrysler" campaign and who cover up their support to the UAW bureaucracy with the most shameless spontaneism (the SWP calls the layoffs in auto "positive" because "now young workers are interested in their union again.")

The task in front of the fighting autoworkers is not to wait for "something to happen" or to wait for these traitors to organize some kind of fight.

The "something" that must be done today is to begin to organize a new and independent leadership that can prepare autoworkers for combat.

THE WORKING CLASS MUST ENTER THE POLITICAL ARENA IN ITS OWN NAME. The passivity, the impotence and treachery of these vultures is concentrated in their total commitment, at any cost, to keeping the working class isolated from the political arena in this election year. At any cost they want to prevent an

independent working class challenge to imperialism in these elections. At any cost they want to prevent the working class from finding a positive solution to the crisis of the Democratic Party.

At any cost they want to prevent the working class from having its OWN candidate and its OWN party. Fraser supports Kennedy simply to deepen the disgust of workers with ANY Democrat and to lead them into a dead-end.

The CP and SWP run their own candidates, based on the illusion that the working class can spontaneously form a "labor party" while at the same time leaving the Democratic Party intact.

But they have no intention of ever organizing such a "labor party" -- their entire policy is based on disarming and disorganizing the workers.

THE FIGHT FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE AND A WORKERS PARTY IS THE WAY TO ORGANIZE THE RESISTANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS. To find a solution to the attack on the working class, the working class must enter the political arena. A political combat is the only

way to separate the fighters and the talkers in the workers movement, to overcome the political and organizational obstacles that stand in the way of this combat. It is the only way to prepare the working class for the battles ahead and to select a leadership for these battles.

There are no good reasons not to take up this fight. The only reasons not to are the paralyzing arguments of the doomsayers.

The fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE is open to every fighting autoworker ready to engage a combat to organize a resistance to the bosses' attack.

The most immediate step in this fight is the campaign to organize an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW which must renew the leadership of the UAW and return the UAW to the workers. A convention which must organize the UAW as the leading force in the fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and a WORKERS PARTY.

For those of you who are tired of the vultures and doomsayers -- there is no good reason not to engage this fight.

May 18, 1980

An Emergency National Convention of the UAW!

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

The UAW bureaucrats have helped to ORGANIZE this attack just like they did in 1974. Now they have the nerve to say that "things will get better in 1980" and that there is nothing to do now but picket foreign dealerships. "Nothing to be done" while they paint the slogans of U.S. imperialism on our local halls.

There is something to be done. This leadership must be thrown out. The UAW must be reor-

ganized before it is destroyed.

This is why we therefore resolve to immediately fight to organize an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW: -- based on locals, delegations of unemployed workers, youth and workers from related industries; -- to confront the world situation facing autoworkers and to organize around an international working class program that can meet this crisis; -- to renew the leadership of the UAW by electing a new leadership capable of leading this fight;

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

"Islamic Republic" or Socialist Revolution?

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The whole Middle East is in flames. Iran is at the center of this revolutionary upsurge, but it extends from Egypt to Pakistan.

The mobilization of the Palestinians for their land, the explosive situation in Turkey, the tottering of the Saudi regime, all show that the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial masses is the central political factor in the Middle East today.

INTERNATIONAL

The crisis of U.S. imperialism is part of and key to this mobilization. The American workers have kept Carter crippled in his attempts to crush the revolutionary mobilization.

The political situation in the world as a whole, the international relationship of forces between the classes, favors the victory of the revolutions in the Middle East. Latin America and Africa, Europe and the U.S., are all battlegrounds for imperialism and Stalinism, not bases of support for their counterrevolutionary alliance.

How can the revolutions in the Middle East reach victory, how can they attain their objectives?

The key questions are the unity of the workers and oppressed of the Middle East, not just within the region, but with the massive battalions of the workers in the imperialist centers, with the U.S. and European workers who can bring down the imperialist foe, with the workers in the countries of the socialist conquests who can crush the Stalinist bureaucracy, as well as with the oppressed masses in the rest of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The absolute necessity is to struggle for the Socialist Federation of the Middle East, to weld all the national struggles into one revolutionary war against imperialism and its old order.

The building of the party of the world revolution in the Middle East, of the sections of the Fourth International, is the key not only to this immediate unity, but to the question of POLITICAL unity of the workers and the peasants of the Middle East with their class brothers around the world.

One single program, one single policy, one single leadership for the world revolution, for the global fight against the imperialist order, that is the meaning of the unity that the Fourth International alone can provide to the struggle.

CLASS INDEPENDENCE sums up

this political unity. The workers struggle for their own power and the power of their allies, not subordinated to any other class or to the agencies (like the Kremlin) of any other class.

IRAN

Iran today is at the center of the revolutionary struggles in the Middle East. All the problems of the struggle for victory find their sharpest expression there. This is the battleground of class independence.

The question of the "Islamic Republic" of Khomeini sums up all the problems of class independence in the Middle East. It expresses the fundamental conflict between the international socialist revolution and the reactionary utopian dreams of "Pan-Islamism."

"Pan-Islamism" is the fantasy of the petty bourgeoisie of Moslem countries and of other backward and declassed elements in these societies crushed by imperialism. Hating imperialist domination and at the same time absolutely incapable and terrified of socialist revolution, the "Pan-Islamists" preach the fantasy of the unity of "Islam," of a return to a mythical society of the past where justice prevailed and "all classes" (or rather, no classes) lived in harmony.

But in the real world, this policy, like all such populist schemes, serves only to attack the consciousness of the working class and to subordinate it to the petty bourgeoisie. And this petty bourgeoisie, which is overwhelmingly a creation of imperialism, serves as a transmission belt for the domination of native capitalist and, yes, imperialist forces over the working class.

This is the real meaning of the "Islamic Republic" established by Khomeini and his allies on the basis of the revolutionary overturn of the shah by the Iranian masses.

Its real face is the creation of a stable bourgeois state. And this "stability," favored by Carter, the Kremlin, Bani-Sadr and Khomeini with such enthusiasm, can be achieved only on the basis of crushing the revolutionary mobilization and all its conquests.

The conflict between "Islamic Republic" and socialist revolution, between "Pan-Islamism" and class independence, lies at the root of the development of the struggles for the fate of the Iranian Revolution over the last year and more.

ATTACKS

The latest example is the move by the Khomeini forces to drive the working class organizations out of open political existence. This took shape in a drive for "revolution in the universities," which are the stronghold of the most radical organizations, the so-called "Islamic Marxist" Mujahadeen and the "Marxist-Leninist" Fedayeen. In Khomeini's own words -- in a speech delivered by his son on the Moslem New Year -- it is a question of a "necessary purification of the universities" to free them from those having "connections with the East or West." The meaning of this becomes clearer when Khomeini bluntly declares that "mixing Islam and Marxism" is wrong and that citizens should approach striking workers "to hear what the strikers say and recognize immediately if they are counterrevolutionary."

This "revolution in the universities" was carried out by organizations referred to loosely as "Islamic Student Organizations" (ISO's). Under the pretense of fighting "imperialist influence" they were really fighting one particular "Western idea" -- Marxism. And when the most radical organizations rejected this attack, the Khomeini government moved to close down the universities, period. This edict was agreed to by the ISO's quite amicably and was then enforced by the proto-fascist gangs of the "Party of God," the goon squads for the "Islamic Republic" and the "Islamic Republican Party" of the pro-Khomeini clergy.

Thus, the true face of "Pan-Islamism" has revealed itself.

PSEUDO-TROTSKYISTS

By itself, that is not even surprising. The real betrayal in the situation comes from the American pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party and their Iranian supporters of the HKE. In the face of this crisis that demands the unequivocal carrying out of class independence; defense of the revolutionary organizations and total opposition to the "Islamic Republic" -- the SWP and its followers have openly capitulated to "Pan-Islamism" and to the drive for a stable bourgeois state.

These so-called "Trotskyists" and "revolutionaries" actually SUPPORT Khomeini's attacks, actually praise the ISO's and label the Mujahadeen and Fedayeen as "sectarian." These "sectarians," of course, can bring out over 100,000 supporters on May Day while the very open-minded HKE holds a rally of 350! But

there is more involved even than this. For the SWP and the HKE, "sectarianism" and "ultraleftism" mean the revolution. These same opportunists are the ones who said "Down with the Shah!" was an "ultraleft and ultimatic" slogan. In the guise of opposing "sectarianism," the SWP is covering up for Khomeini and his counterrevolutionary attacks.

That is also the significance of its claims that the release from jail of the last two of fourteen HKE prisoners demonstrates an "atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints" and is "one example of democratic gains." Because at the same time that the two HKE women prisoners were being released, oil workers leaders were being imprisoned.

Why is the HKE getting out while oil workers are going in? It is not even enough to say that Khomeini and his friends see that the HKE are tame socialists. The price for their freedom is political support to Khomeini's attacks on the proletariat and its class independence, political support to the bourgeois "Islamic Republic."

This betrayal is only the latest step in the policy the SWP and HKE have been carrying out in Iran since the revolution. When the two HKE women were sentenced to life imprisonment, they didn't defy Khomeini and call for socialist revolution. No, they issued a statement that declared that "socialists do not fight against religion." The events of the last weeks have shown that in fact the SWP and HKE capitulate to "Pan-Islamism!"

"Socialists do not fight against religion," says the SWP. "Whoever fails to struggle against religion is unworthy of bearing the name of revolutionist," said Trotsky in IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM. These two sentences alone reveal the vast gulf that separates the Fourth International from these traitors.

Thus it is not surprising that the front page of the SWP's MILITANT (May 9, 1980) blares: "End the Embassy crisis by sending back shah!" Carter, Bani-Sadr, Khomeini -- and the SWP! They all want to "end the crisis" (that is, the revolution). But they can't get together on how.

The road to the victory of the Iranian Revolution, to the power of the workers councils ("shoras"), to the class independence of the workers in short, is summed up in building the party of the Fourth International in Iran. The regroupment of the most advanced elements will spell the beginning of the end for "Pan-Islamism," for the "Islamic Republic" and for all the supporters of imperialism.

But this is not just a task for Iranians. The SWP's policy seeks to isolate Iranian workers from those in the U.S. American workers have the political responsibility not to "end the crisis" in Iran, but to BRING THE CRISIS HOME! The policy of the SWP has to be and can be defeated right here. That will be the best aid to the Iranian workers.

"Death of a Princess"

The recent showing on the Public Broadcasting Service of the film, "Death of a Princess," has lifted the veil, so to speak, on the nature of the ruling regime in Saudi Arabia and its support by U.S. imperialism.

The basic facts are that a Saudi princess, a member of the royal family, was knelt down in a public square and shot to death for the "crime" of falling in love with a "commoner." The "commoner" had his head chopped off -- in five blows! -- immediately afterward.

This incident shows the incredibly brutal and reactionary character of the Saudi regime, a regime which, like the ex-shah, is presented by U.S. imperialism as "our friend."

For American workers, this is very much a question of: "with friends like that..."

"The Death of a Princess" is far from being the only instance that reveals the incredibly obscurantist nature of the Saudi regime.

When Carter and his wife went there on a state visit, the First Lady of our great republic, "Mrs. Equal Rights Amendment" herself, had to follow her husband at a distance of a hundred paces.

Likewise, there are occasional instances of public floggings of foreigners who have made "illegal" home brew. As recently as April, an Englishwoman was sentenced to 80 lashes because two persons accidentally died at a party given by the English couple at which -- horrors! -- "the sexes were allowed to mix."

The Saudi royal family, which stormed out of the desert half a century ago under the inspiration of Allah and British imperialism, came to power and remains in power for one reason only: to insure that the oil wealth of the Arabian peninsula remains firmly under imperialist control.

The reactionary nature of its role flows from this political task of protecting imperialism from the awakened Arab masses.

By far the most significant of the regime's atrocities was the execution of the 62 rebels -- again, by beheading -- involved in the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca several months ago.

All the work of the Saudi society is performed by workers who are predominantly from other Middle Eastern countries. It is among these oppressed and poverty-stricken workers that the revolt took shape.

Whatever the religious illusions of those participating -- "religious fanaticism" cried the imperialist press; but this is laughable when the only true religious fanatics in Saudi Arabia are the members of the Wahabi sect led by the royal family -- it was a revolt aimed

at overthrowing this brutal pro-imperialist regime.

The execution of all the survivors showed that the real fanaticism of the regime is aroused not by religious issues, but above all by threats to its rule and to the rule of its imperialist masters.

The controversy over showing the film on PBS revealed this imperialist link even more closely. The Saudi embassy protested and the acting Secretary of State passed along the objection. A number of Congressmen and other "responsible" elements opposed the showing, as did Mobil Oil which funds much of

PBS, inspiring even the bourgeois press to state that PBS might really stand for "petroleum broadcasting service."

All these attacks on a program which in fact took no political stand and tried to turn the "death of a princess" into a simple mystery-romance shows the terrible fear of U.S. imperialism that its bankrupt policy of "human rights," whose purpose is to support regimes like the Saudis all over the world, will spring a leak in front of the American working class.

That is why this anti-truth campaign was presented as a

struggle over "American" "free speech" against "foreign influence," as if the Saudis were pulling "our" strings.

But who's pulling whose strings? The oil corporations and the imperialist state are the ones running the show. They are willing, of course, to let their Saudi clients take the heat of being against "free speech," but it is they who really want to hide the truth about imperialism's rule and those who carry it out.
May 18, 1980
K.F.

New Crisis for Zionism

The recent events in the Israeli-occupied West Bank demonstrate that the continued resistance of the Palestinian people to Zionism has placed the imperialist-Zionist regime in new and unprecedented crisis.

Zionism has always sought the creation and expansion of the Israeli state through the expulsion of the Palestinians from their own country.

The West Bank of the Jordan, seized by Israel in 1967, is falling prey to this same attack. Ultra-reactionary Jewish "settlers" are moving into the West Bank, expropriating the land and driving out the Palestinians.

These "settlers," supported either openly or tacitly by the government, have recently embarked on a campaign to "reestablish a Jewish presence" in the Palestinian town of Hebron from which the Zionists were driven by Arab nationalists in 1929. The government of the notorious pro-fascist terrorist Begin was "pressured" -- by its own supporters! -- into planning to build two Jewish schools in the town.

Both the "settlers" and the Palestinians are well aware of the significance of such an action. If this attempt is successful it will mean a new step toward integrating Palestinian land into Israel.

There have been a whole series of incidents in recent months in the West Bank as the Palestinians stepped up their battle against Camp David and the so-called "autonomy" talks.

In face of this mobilization, the petty bourgeois leadership of the PLO headed by Yasir Arafat moved increasingly to the right, with Arafat saying only a few weeks ago that we will take "the land in Palestine which the Israelis leave."

But the Palestinian masses know that Israel will "leave" NOTHING.

That is why Arafat began to lose influence over the Pales-

tinians on the West Bank.

At the same time, in face of the complete inability of the Carter-Begin-Sadat combination to overcome the Palestinians, the situation was rapidly turning into a crisis for Zionism.

This was openly admitted by a former chief of Israeli military intelligence, Gen Yehosafat Harkabi, who stated that: "We have a choice between ... the bad and the impossible. Staying in the West Bank is impossible."

This is the context in which a number of the settlers were killed by Fatah guerrillas (pro-Arafat) in Hebron on May 2. This action has actually increased the tensions even in Israel. Especially when it was revealed that one of these "settlers," Eli Hazeev, who was known for saying that the "only good Arab is a dead one," was actually an American who fought in the Vietnam War. He didn't succeed in killing enough for imperialism there so, after serving as a provocateur against the U.S. anti-war movement, changed his name and religion and went to serve imperialism in Israel. Even many Israelis stated that "these people were asking for it." Likewise an Israeli reporter noted that: "There is a growing unwillingness to serve in typical 'occupying' roles ... new recruits (increasingly) either refuse to serve at all or demand that they not be sent to the territories."

In the face of these contradictions inside Zionism, Arafat -- who probably ordered the raid to refurbish his sagging prestige -- returned to his same old stand. He explicitly stated that the "democratic secular Palestine" position was abandoned and that even his past capitulation quoted above was just a bargaining point. "I am," said Arafat, "for the concept of a final settlement" between Palestinians and Zionists.

By "final settlement" Arafat means a final capitulation. That

is what the Palestinians and all the oppressed of the Middle East will never accept.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINE IN THE SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST! BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'S SECTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST!
May 18, 1980
K.F.

"Assure Victory"

Iranian students and Trotskyist Organization/USA members joined the Palestinian Liberation Day March on May 18 in Detroit.

We chanted: "Down with U.S. IMPERIALISM; Free, Free Palestine; Long Live the Iranian Revolution."

Margaret Gutshall for the TO/USA addressed the meeting. She said:

"The Fourth International was founded to continue the October Revolution against imperialism and Stalinism.

"We support the struggle of the Palestinian people for their liberation against U.S. imperialism without conditions, the struggle of the Iranian people, of the oppressed peoples of the world..."

"We condemn the attack on the march by the Ba'ath Socialist Party..."

"The fundamental question is how to assure the victory of the world revolution. That means building the International and mobilizing the U.S. working class to DISARM U.S. imperialism.

"Palestine cannot win in isolation. Iran cannot win in isolation. No one can..."

"The U.S. working class is the only one that can disarm U.S. imperialism. Imperialism wants to use the presidential elections to discipline the working class. We must use them to mobilize the working class for the revolution, for A WORKERS CANDIDATE..."

Rebuild the Fourth International

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Now more than ever the fate of the socialist revolution in Cuba lies in the hands of the U.S. working class.

Carter's provocative appeal to Cubans to abandon the revolution in the name of "human rights," his promise of food, shelter and assistance to anyone ready to get on the boat, is not just an attempt to "smear" the revolution and make some points for the U.S. It's an attempt to raise A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

Carter's now demanding control over the emigration so he can select those who are actually candidates for this army and send back the thousands just looking for work.

At the same time he's going ahead with "Operation Solid Shield '80," military maneuvers in the Caribbean which originally included a massive "mock" invasion of Cuba at Guantanamo.

There is also a good chance that U.S. agents are behind the current outbreaks of tobacco mold, sugar cane rust, and swine fever in Cuba.

This shows that the conquests of the socialist revolution in Cuba -- the common ownership of resources, the expropriation of the imperialists who used their monopoly of resources to exploit and oppress the workers and peasants -- will never be safe as long as U.S. imperialism exists. Cuban youth and workers will never be free as long as U.S. imperialism exists.

It's up to the U.S. working class to take the lead in disarming U.S. imperialism by preparing the world revolution, by constructing the International to lead this fight. This is point one in a common plan for the common development of the U.S. and Cuba, to undo the damage imperialism has done.

But the U.S. working class can't realize this task alone. Victory requires a conscious combat for the revolutionary unification of the U.S. and Cuban working class against imperialism AND Stalinism; a conscious combat to build the Fourth International in Cuba.

The Cuban working class has waged a long and tenacious struggle for the revolution against imperialism. It has much to bring to the combat for the world revolution in the heart of imperialism, the U.S. Yet for nearly two decades the Cuban working class has been isolated from the combat for the revolution in the U.S. by the combined forces of imperialism, Stalinism and pseudo-Trotskyism, in particular the Pabloite United Secretariat and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Rebuilding the Fourth International in Cuba means bringing a decisive battalion of the proletariat of the Two Americas onto the battlefield.

U.S. imperialism counts on Castro's collaboration in its counterrevolutionary plans and Castro counts on the myth that he represents the Cuban working class in getting away with this collaboration. Rebuilding the Fourth International in Cuba with the objective of winning the leadership of the Cuban working class, of leading them in the political revolution, in the destruction of the Castroist/Stalinist bureaucracy, means destroying this myth. It means knocking imperialism's most important piece right off the board.

The most recent developments have given a shocking demonstration of the importance of this collaboration and this myth for American imperialism and thus of the importance of rebuilding the Fourth International in Cuba for the struggle of the American working class.

As was said above, the U.S. isn't just trying to "smear" the revolution by provoking and encouraging the massive emigration from Cuba. It's try to raise an army.

In the last issue of TRUTH we showed how Castro laid the basis for this emigration by carrying out Carter's imperialist "human rights" program in Cuba -- letting Cuban counterrevolutionaries return to Cuba, letting 3,000 counterrevolutionaries out of jail in Cuba, encouraging capitalist methods of production on the basis of which petty bourgeois elements grew and made names for themselves by being "demanding," by enforcing "work discipline." This resulted in unemployment for thousands.

Today, once again in the name of "human rights," Castro is collaborating completely with U.S. imperialism in carrying out this emigration!

At the same time, he's demagogically trying to present this treachery to the Cuban workers as the best way to defend the revolution!

"Let 'em go, they're all lumpens, that's the way to really fix the imperialists," said Castro to a million people gathered in Havana on May Day.

That's a lie. They're not all "lumpens." They're open counterrevolutionaries that CASTRO let out of jail, disaffected members of his own bureaucracy who've squeezed all they can out of the Cuban working class and are now departing for what they think are greener pastures, petty bourgeois elements nurtured by Castro during the last four years of "normalization" with the U.S., "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" . . . and thousands of people who've never had jobs or a communist education thanks to Castro's collaboration with Carter.

But it's a convenient lie -- an "anti-imperialist lie" that lets the imperialists go right ahead with their plans and covers Castro's TOTAL COMPLICITY.

The working class cannot allow Castro to continue to usurp the power of the revolution in Cuba, to use that power to collaborate with imperialism in preparing the demise of the same revolution.

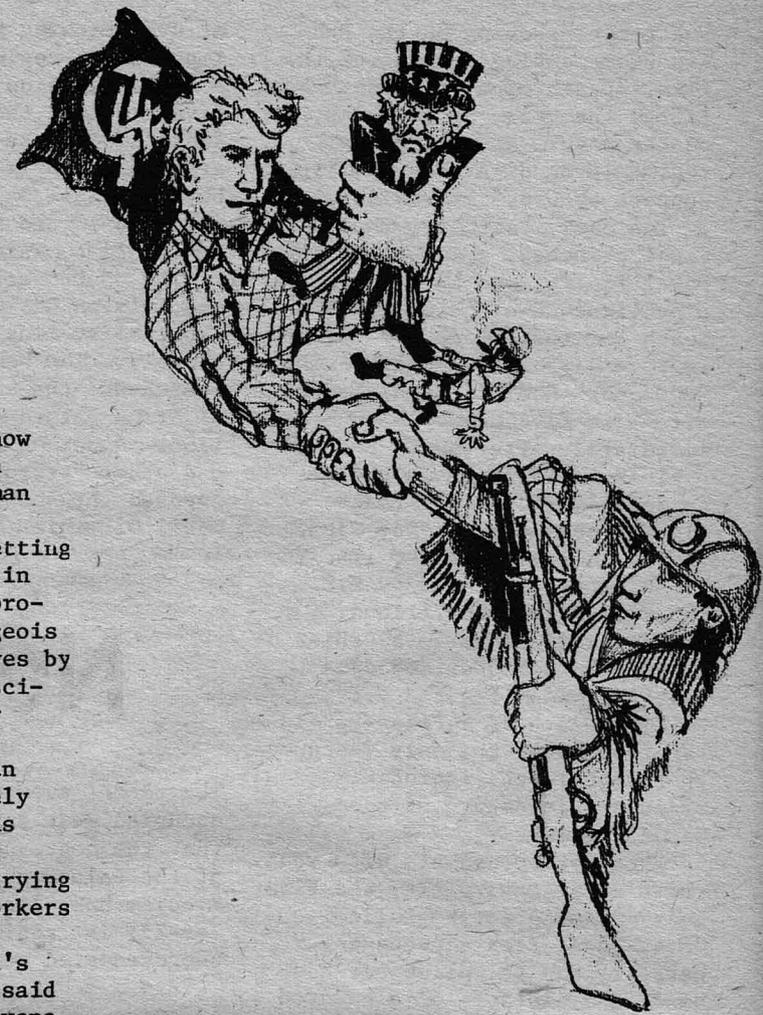
Rebuilding the Fourth International is the solution to this conspiracy, this treachery, the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism in this hemisphere.

The Fourth International because it is the only party that has fought for class independence against imperialist "human rights" and Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" in the last years, so it is the only party that can be counted on to do so today.

The Fourth International because it is the only party fighting for the revolutionary unification of the U.S. and Cuban workers against imperialism and Stalinism.

The Fourth International because it is the only party prepared to lead the working class in Cuba in the fight for power, in the fight to destroy the parasitical Castroist/Stalinist bureaucracy, to establish the power of the workers councils.

The struggle to rebuild the Fourth International in Cuba must be based on the conquests of the International in Cuba, on its fight for class independence expressed in the position it once occupied in the unions.



It must be based on the conquests of the Cuban working class -- collective property -- and their combat to renew those conquests today -- expressed in the massive mobilization against U.S. imperialism.

Rebuilding the Fourth International in Cuba requires a massive struggle on a continental scale for the revolutionary unification of the U.S. and Cuban workers against imperialism and Stalinism in defense of the conquests of the revolution, a combat to draw a balance sheet of "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" and break fully with them. It is not simply an affair for Cuba.

A joint commission of inquiry against U.S. imperialism's latest provocation -- the "Freedom Flotilla" -- is necessary. It's necessary to fully uncover and expose imperialism's and Stalinism's collaboration, the way that "human rights" paved the way for this provocation. The working class cannot allow Castro and his pseudo-Trotskyist puppets to bury this.

And the first witnesses which must be called are the revolutionary youth who were imprisoned this January by members of the "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution" acting under Castro's orders. Members of these same committees later showed up in the "Freedom Flotilla."

This will expose the real relationship between Carter and Castro in preparing the counterrevolution and oppressing the Cuban working class. It will arm the masses of this hemisphere to combat them.

Rebuilding the Fourth International in Cuba requires intervening in the class struggle in Cuba itself, for the world revolution, for the revolutionary unity of the U.S. and Cuban workers against imperialism and Stalinism, and in this framework fighting for the independent organization of Cuban youth and workers, for their right to distribute their own press, for workers control of production, for the liberation of the revolutionary youth now in Castro's jails.

I in Cuba!

The biggest obstacle to this struggle is the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and what's left of its "United Secretariat."

It's not just because they are mouthpieces for the Stalinist bureaucracy. But because of the politics of these mouthpieces. They are totally opposed to any independent initiative on the part of U.S. or Cuban workers and desperately concerned with saving the crumbling Stalinist order and their own place in it.

Thus in the first days of the revolution, as we've said in previous issues of TRUTH, they destroyed the U.S. section of the Fourth International, abandoned the U.S. working class which they claimed was "bought off," and denounced the only people in Cuba who claimed to be Trotskyist to Castro.

Today, after years of unconditional support to "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" which laid the basis for the present crisis -- mass unemployment, martial law, witchhunts, shakeups in the bureaucracy, imperialist provocations -- they simply deny that the crisis exists.

They sent a "seminar" to Cuba at the height of the witchhunt in January which sent back glowing reports on the psychiatric hospitals in which the youth were probably incarcerated.

Today, at the height of the emigration which includes thousands of unemployed, they run a front page article which says there is no unemployment in Cuba!

The SWP can't hope that anyone will believe these boldfaced lies. They can only hope because they smack so much of Stalinism at the height of the Stalin era, of "1984," "Big Brother," "Doublespeak," and "Doublethink," that they'll turn American youth and workers against the socialist revolution in Cuba and the Fourth International, at least paralyze them with confusion.

If this doesn't work they are sure to say that the U.S. working class has no business taking up the tasks of rebuilding the Fourth International in Cuba, that this is an affair simply for Cuban workers, that any initiative in this direction must be a CIA plot!

The OCRFI, the leading organization of the Parity Committee and the SWP's alter ego, accomplishes the same objective in a different way. In their most recent paper they announced: "The exodus from Cuba shows the bankruptcy of building socialism in one country." That's it. Period. End of Report. No perspective. No solution. Nothing.

Niether the politics of the SWP and its U Sec, nor the OCRFI and its Parity Committee, have anything to do with the Fourth International.

The fight to rebuild the Fourth International in Cuba is above all a struggle to develop the real meaning of the struggle of the Fourth International -- the combat for the revolutionary unity of the workers of the world against imperialism and Stalinism -- against these pseudo-Trotskyist puppets of the present order.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International in Cuba will be a fundamental affirmation of the justice of these politics and the Conference of the Two Americas will be a decisive step forward on this road!

Join us!
May 20, 1980

Nicaragua, El Salvador: Workers and Peasants Government!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Carter's policy of "human rights," the "democratization" of the dictatorships put in place by U.S. imperialism in Latin America, has been brought to a definitive halt by the mobilization of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of Central America. In El Salvador, the coup last week led by Major Roberto D'Abuissou has been integrated into the "moderate" junta which is supported by Carter and U.S. imperialism.

D'Abuissou, a former intelligence officer under the regime of General Romero, was especially noted for his work in the organization of right wing "death squads," such as those that were responsible for the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

Only days after the coup attempt, the junta, in a rare show of complete candor, accepted leaders of the coup into their company. The representatives of the Christian Democrats protested of course, for the record, but have remained in the junta. These "democrats" are happy to be able to conspire against the El Salvadoran masses in the open rather than having to sneak around.

The significance of this coup is that it shows the complete collapse of Carter's "human rights" policy in Central America and the move to an open face of repression against the revolution. This collapse is a sign of the STRENGTH, not the weakness, of the revolution in El Salvador. It shows that the masses refuse to accept the so-called "democratic" solutions of U.S. imperialism.

These latest developments in El Salvador are paralleled by the desertion of the State Council in Nicaragua by the bourgeoisie. The former pillars of the FSLN-bourgeois junta, Robelo and Chamorro, resigned from the junta shortly before the State Council was to meet -- a clear sign for the rest of the bourgeoisie to follow.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. hailed the desertion of the bourgeoisie as one more glorious act of the FSLN, just as they have applauded the breaking of strikes, the arrests, and the attempts by the FSLN to institutionalize the unions and Defense Committees.

But in reality the bourgeois ministers are merely taking their cue from the U.S. State Department which recently reversed itself on aid to Nicaragua (while also appropriating millions of dollars of military aid to El Salvador). The bourgeoisie is leaving the Sandinistas alone to reconstruct the bourgeois state in full knowledge that the masses are on a collision course with the petty bourgeois nationalists.

Again, the desertion of the bourgeoisie IS a sign of the advance of the revolution, but in no way can this advance be attributed to the FSLN.

While in the present situation in Central America it is necessary to be conscious of the danger of the military and the fascists, supported by the bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism, organizing the counterrevolution, it is more important that the proletariat take the initiative and advance the struggle against imperialism for the revolution. The revolution in Central America is at an important juncture of the international revolution. U.S. imperialism with its failed invasion of Iran has shown both its willingness to intervene and play the role of policeman and organizer of the counterrevolution and its complete incapacity in the present stage of the workers mobilization to carry these plans through. While the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie can "desert" the government of the FSLN, the American bourgeoisie is trapped like a rat in its role as policeman of the world.

Combined with the crisis of the Castro regime in Cuba, the main prop of Carter's "human rights" initiatives in Latin America, the time is very ripe for the proletariat of Central America to defend its conquests by once again taking the initiative.

In El Salvador, the unsolved tasks of the national revolution are mixed with the tasks of the international socialist revolution. Only the proletariat is capable of guiding the revolution to its socialist conclusion while at the same time bringing with it the sectors of the peasantry and solving the problems of the agrarian sector.

This entire fight together with the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY of the unions and workers organizations can be led in the struggle for the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY as an organ representing the working masses. Outside of the strengthening of the organs of the proletariat, however, this demand can be used to disarm the revolution as in Peru. That is why the struggle for the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY is completely linked with the perspective of the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT.

While this links the fight of the masses of Nicaragua and El Salvador and assigns the tasks of strengthening the committees and unions of the workers in a fight for WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE, in Nicaragua it is necessary to complete the national revolution already set in motion with the fall of Somoza through the struggle for the power of the WORKERS COUNCILS and the perspective of a Workers and Peasants Government.

This entire struggle depends on the revolutionary LEADERSHIP -- from the fight in the unions and committees against the "human rights" orientation of the FSLN to the construction of the WORKERS PARTY.
May 20, 1980

Bolivia:

For a Workers Candidate in the June Elections

The courageous victory of Bolivian workers and peasants over the counterrevolutionary coup of Col. Albert Natusch Busch in November of last year forced the Bolivian bourgeoisie and the U.S. State Dept. to retreat and organize elections for this June. While these elections by themselves solve nothing, they can play an important role in the organization of the Bolivian revolution and the Workers and Peasants Government.

Our comrades of the P.O.R.E. (Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain) sent a delegate to the recent VIII Congress of the National Miners Congress, the leading union of the Bolivian Workers Federation, the COB.

It is the miners who are predominately of Indian origin and who work under intolerable conditions (their life expectancy is 32 years) who formed the backbone of the first revolutionary Workers Council in the Western Hemisphere -- the Popular Assembly. Thus, the COB plays a central role today in presenting the fight for CLASS INDEPENDENCE in the June elections.

In its greetings to the Congress the P.O.R.E. affirmed the place of the fight in the June elections:

"If this Congress adopts the necessary revolutionary orientation it cannot help but support the presentation of a candidate of the COB in order to use the electoral campaign to organize the revolution..."

"In Bolivia, all of the organizations speak of the danger of a military-fascist coup. And certainly all of the workers are conscious of the counter-revolution. But what no one can see, is that if the counter-revolution is preparing for a coup, it is because the revolution is present here, that if they have to play the hand of the counterrevolution it is because they feel threatened by the advance of the revolution..."

"This Congress must go forward today to prepare the defense of the Bolivian revolutionary process by the workers of the entire world, and especially of the nations that can play a decisive role. For this reason the Congress should prepare a call to the workers of all countries and especially to the American continent, contacting unions and organizations and forcefully

addressing itself to the American proletariat, in particular the miners in the United States."

The presentation of a Workers Candidate in the Bolivian elections is a struggle for the REVOLUTIONARY unity of the proletariat. This revolutionary unity must be the answer of Bolivian workers to the "Unity of the Left" proposed by the organizations of the United Secretariat in Bolivia. This "left unity" is not a proletarian unity but rather an attempt to hang onto the "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie.

It is this policy that led the USec as well as the organizations which now comprise the Parity Committee (the parties adhering to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, and the Bolshevik Faction of the USec which was recently expelled) to support the farce of "democracy" in Peru -- the Constituent Assembly held under the gun of the military junta. The result: the complete dissolution of a unified intervention of the workers on the eve of new elections this May.

It is possible and certainly necessary for the proletariat to make alliances, especially with the peasants of the countryside, and even with sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. But these alliances can only aid the revolution if they are based on a firm policy of CLASS INDEPENDENCE on the part of the proletariat. For as the experiences of the Bolivian revolution, and indeed the international revolution show, it is only the proletariat that is capable of leading the revolution out of the revolutionary crisis, to the victory of the exploited masses.

Nor can the pseudo "unity of the left" represent the necessary break with NATIONALISM. For what is most important about the situation in Bolivia today is the place that the Bolivian revolution can and has occupied in the entire situation in the Americas. The conjuncture of the recomposition of the workers movement in the Latin American countries formerly under dictatorships imposed by U.S. imperialism, together with the obstacles which have been placed in the way of the Nicaraguan revolution and the Cuban revolution by the petty bourgeois nationalists and

Castro, gives the whole experience of the Bolivian proletariat a special significance. Thus, it is a clear abandonment of the interests of the proletariat to speak of "Left Unity" when what is necessary is the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE TWO AMERICAS, including the U.S. proletariat.

This is the entire experience of the Popular Assemblies and the period of the revolutionary crisis of 1970-71, as well as the intervening years when the masses in Bolivia, Chile, Argentina were set back by the puppet dictatorships of U.S. imperialism. The Bolivian proletariat, which went further than any other proletariat in the Americas, was unprepared to lead the crisis to the seizure of power and the defense of their conquests because the leading party of the Bolivian proletariat, the POR of Lora, then section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, was unprepared and disarmed by a policy which linked the proletariat to the "progressive" sectors of the military and the nationalists.

After Banzer's coup and the crisis of the International Committee of the FI the same policy was continued by the POR and Lora under the auspices of the OCRFI (Organizing Committee) of Lambert-Just. This is the "Anti-imperialist Front" which in fact disarms the Latin proletariat in the face of imperialism.

The fall of Somoza and the recomposition of the workers movement of Bolivia has, however, opened up a new period of the offensive of the proletariat which has shattered the "Anti-imperialist Front" and the various alliances of the leadership of the Bolivian unions with the "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie and the military.

During the attempted coup of Col. Natusch in November of '79 the Bolivian workers wisely disregarded the call of Juan Lechin, head of the COB, to end their strike and return to their homes. Despite the disorganization and treachery of the reformist union leaders and the nationalist and centrist parties, the Bolivian masses defeated this attempted coup at great cost (hundreds killed) and forced the bourgeoisie and the military to retreat.

When the organizations of the USec today call for "Left Unity" and support to the COB in the June elections, they are asking the Bolivian proletariat and the various centrist and Stalinist parties to submit themselves to the likes of Juan Lechin.

Just as in the United States they demanded the miners submit themselves to bureaucrats like Arnold Miller, in the name of "unity."

The fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE must be led against the CLASS COLLABORATION and the NATIONAL ISOLATIONIST misleaders of the Bolivian workers movement. The electoral campaign must be a means to forge a leadership of the Bolivian workers that can bring under its leaderships not only the peasantry and other important sectors of the population including the soldiers, but also can take a leading role among all of the Latin American proletariat and the working class in the United States.

This is the fight of the Fourth International today for the Conference of the Two Americas to rebuild the sections of the Fourth International. This fight is for the REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE TWO AMERICAS against the policy of the centrists which says that U.S. workers are tied to imperialism and which necessitates for them that Latin American workers must be tied hand and foot to the treacherous national bourgeoisie and the military.

The Bolivian proletariat must forge this REVOLUTIONARY UNITY today in the struggle around the elections and the defense of the workers conquests. Their fight is completely linked to the fight of the workers of the United States in the 1980 elections for an alternative to the bourgeois parties. Thus the Trotskyist Organization/USA sees the fight in the U.S. for a WORKERS CANDIDATE in the 1980 elections to be a key element of the continuation of the offensive begun with the fall of Somoza. The unity we seek to build is the unity of the WORKERS PARTY which represents the CLASS INDEPENDENCE of the American proletariats and the international revolution.

May 19, 1980
DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Sweden:

The End of an "Example"

On May 2 all production, transportation and services in Sweden came to a standstill. The combined strike and lockout, the first general strike since 1909, shattered the so-called "Swedish model."

Initially, 20,000 public workers went out on strike. The employers, led by the Swedish Employers' Association, retaliated by locking out 770,000 industrial workers. In response 120,000 other workers went on strike. The strike ended last week.

The "Swedish model" was set up during World War II; employers and union leaders decided they would "resolve" their differences without strikes in exchange for a fairly high standard of living for Swedish workers. The "Swedish model" of extensive reform of capitalism was held up throughout the world as proof that capitalism "worked."

But now, Sweden is joining the real world. In truth, it never left it. A world where capitalism is in crisis. Because of the crisis of capitalism, Swedish capitalism is not able to maintain both re-

forms and its profits. So the Swedish bourgeoisie has made a conscious decision to attack the Swedish workers' standard of living. They are very open about this, and have asked the Swedish workers to accept a 10% decrease in their standard of living.

If the Swedish ruling class is attacking the workers, then it is the Social Democratic trade union leadership of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation that has disarmed them.

It is the class collaboration of the Social Democrats that allowed for the employers to take a certain offensive in locking the majority of workers out of their jobs and in demanding that Swedish workers accept a pay increase of only 2.3%.

Gunnar Nilsson, head of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation said "The Swedish model is dead." But Mr. Nilsson would like workers to think that it was good while it lasted and that now the employers should take a cut in their profits in order to maintain the wages of Swedish

workers. But this is not the solution.

Capitalism itself is in crisis, the bourgeoisie is being forced to wage an all-out attack on the working class, against its standard of living, AND against its consciousness. It is this consciousness of the working class that Mr. Nilsson is helping the bourgeoisie attack.

But the Swedish workers didn't accept the employers' offer of 2.3 percent. The employers were forced to give 7.3 percent in increased wages and a temporary pact between labor and capital was signed for only six months.

In order for the Swedish workers to stop this attack on their standard of living, they must draw all conclusions about the myth of the "Swedish model." They must return to the method of the 1909 general strike. What they need is a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions which will end the practice of class collaboration and fight for the Socialist Revolution.

This is what the Swedish section of the Fourth Inter-

national, the Revolutionary Workers League of Sweden, is fighting for, a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions.

The Communist Party of Sweden is offering a few criticisms of the leadership of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation. This as well is a betrayal of the struggle of the Swedish workers. Not a few criticisms-- but a new leadership is necessary. A revolutionary leadership for the trade unions!

This first battle has shown that Sweden is not immune from the crisis of capitalism. The Swedish working class has never fully accepted this characterization of its struggles.

The Swedish workers, because of the existence of a section of the Fourth International in their country will be able to go forward with the fight for a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions in the battles which are sure to come.

May 20, 1980
Ann Nelson

Autoworkers Challenge U.S. Imperialism in Mexico Brazil

From April 1 through May 13, 400,000 Brazilian metalworkers struck against Volkswagen, GM, Ford, and Chrysler Saab in defiance of the U.S. backed dictatorship.

GM assembly plant workers in Mexico City have been on strike since February 8.

These strikes show the profound changes taking place in Latin America which are a result of the march of the world revolution. The revolution in Nicaragua and the revolutionary mobilization in El Salvador, among the most oppressed nations in the Western Hemisphere, have sparked a new wave of struggle in the two largest countries of Latin America -- Mexico with 66 million people and Brazil with 120 million and one-half of all industrial workers in Latin America.

In Mexico workers of the GM Assembly Plant Workers and Employees Union struck GM after it broke its contract by signing a sweetheart contract with a company "union" for a new plant it is building in Ramos Arizpe near Monterrey. Since the plant isn't even built, the contract was signed with a "union" representing nobody. This even violates Mexican law!

This strike of a few thousand workers against the largest corporation in the world has

inspired meetings and rallies throughout Mexico and support from other metalworkers unions in Latin America.

The key role of autoworkers in leading the revolution, demonstrated in the Mexican strike, is proved by the Brazilian metalworkers.

The present military dictatorship in Brazil was installed in a U.S. organized coup in 1964. The large auto corporations from Europe and the U.S. built factories in the early 70's here to enjoy the "advantages" of an oppressed and skilled working class. The workers struggle began to grow through an unorganized opposition in the government-led "unions." In late 1977, tens of thousands of metalworkers struck in the heavily industrialized state of Sao Paulo, which the government was unable to crush.

In April 1979, a new "human rights" president was installed complete with promises of elections and reform, and Rosalyn Carter in attendance. The Joao Figueiredo regime, on the defensive from the beginning, was met with 215,000 striking metalworkers two days after its inauguration. Then 200,000 public employees in Sao Paulo followed their lead and walked out. Soon thousands more were striking at the rate of three strikes a day by

August.

In April of this year, the metalworkers struck 400,000 strong. Allowed only 1.9% wage increase by law, the employers hastily offered 5% which was anted up by a government arbitration board to 7%. The government then declared the strike illegal: seized the union headquarters, arresting 34 strike leaders including Luis Inacio da Silva ("Lula") on April 19. Tens of thousands of workers assembled in mass meetings and decided to stay out until these leaders were freed.

The metalworkers not only won support from the rest of the working class, but farmers and peasants began to move into action against the government. The Catholic Church and all four main "opposition" parties were forced to declare support for the strike, showing how much the rest of the oppressed look to the metalworkers to break the back of the dictatorship.

In the late 60's the dictatorship legalized its own party (ARENA -- National Renovating Alliance) and a loyal "opposition," the MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement).

The metalworkers are completely opposed to this set-up and want to impose their OWN political solution. This desire

is expressed in the fact that the strike leaders, such as "Lula" have organized a "Workers Party," Partido de Trabalhadores (PT).

But this party does not have a revolutionary perspective. It does not even call for the overthrow of the dictatorship! Rather, basing itself on the respect enjoyed by these leaders among the metalworkers, they speak of a "more profound democracy" and "the PT intends to arrive in the government and at the head of state in order to carry out a democratic policy."

There are important conclusions for U.S. autoworkers. First, we must demand the freeing of ten leaders of the Brazilian strike still jailed, and no U.S. intervention or aid to the dictatorship. As well, we must stop ANY farming out of work from the GM plant in Mexico to the U.S. No scabbing on their strike!

U.S. workers can support these workers and their battles not with the empty "solidarity" or liberal union resolutions but a battle in the 1980 elections for a Workers Candidate, which MUST BE a candidate who represents these strong battalions of the Latin American working class.

May 18, 1980
FRED VITALE

Miami — War Zone

By BARBARA PUTNAM

With all the volcanic fury of Mt. St. Helen erupting, the black population of Miami broke into rioting that lit up the Miami skies shortly after the announcement of the acquittal of the four cops who killed Arthur McDuffie, a black man, last December.

State police witnesses testified that four to seven ex-cops beat McDuffie to death over a traffic violation, but the presiding judge and the all-white jury of middle-aged men said the state failed to prove its case against the cops.

But this incident, like so many others like it -- the acquittal of the cops who threw Joe Torres in a swamp to die in Houston, Texas, in 1978, the use of cattle prods on (black) prisoners in Detroit, the shooting death of members of the Communist Workers Party by the KKK in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the later indictment of others for "felony rioting," the police killing of a militant of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Los Angeles during their May 1st demonstrations, the deportation, harassment and imprisonment of Iranian students -- all these incidents means the direct preparation of civil war and

counterrevolution.

What is going on in Miami, contrary to the pronouncements of the bourgeois papers, is not "senseless rioting," it is the response of the black masses to Carter's system of racist "justice." Under cover of the mirage of "human rights" the repression was prepared, developed and refined -- and now what is naked and clear for all to see: this is war -- CLASS WAR.

American workers, blacks, the youth, are marching with the revolution that spreads across the globe: today Iran -- tomorrow the USA! And like the revolution in Iran, the struggle undertaken by the black masses of Miami and Liberty City must be defended; it represents a fight against the continued rule of the bourgeoisie.

As the black masses express their feelings about the terrorist state by tearing down businesses and warehouses, the imperialists turn to the "black leaders" and the National Guard to contain the situation.

These "black leaders" have been called upon to play their pacifying role. But Jesse Jackson and Andrew Young are lucky to leave Miami in one piece. Shouted down by hun-

dreds and thousands of poor and working class blacks, they were unable to bring the masses to "reason."

Carter sent Attorney General Civiletti to Miami to bring "peace and stability" promising to "restore the peace and see that justice is done."

The proposal of the bourgeoisie is to open up investigations into the death of McDuffie. Tomorrow a federal grand jury is supposed to begin work to determine "if there were federal civil rights violations in McDuffie's death."

Bob Gilder, a Tampa "black leader" and adviser to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, called on blacks not to hold any mass meetings. Against this we demand a tribunal of the oppressed, representatives of the black and white working class of Miami, oppressed Haitians and the unemployed to hold mass meetings and elect a WORKERS COMMISSION -- a commission to try the four cops who killed McDuffie using the means of WORKERS DEMOCRACY -- and to see that real justice is done -- the justice of those who suffer from the daily humiliations, the racist brutality and repression at the hands of these "champions of

justice."

FREE ALL "RIOTERS" -- they are political prisoners of Carter's racist system of justice! This fight must be developed in other cities and across the country.

Like in Detroit where black mayor Coleman Young placates the people with phrases about "good community/police relations." He says "we don't have the things that started the riot in Miami."

No. We have even more. A city filled with unemployed autoworkers, mostly black, who have been thrown in the streets by plant closures and layoffs, where Fraser, head of the UAW, just publicly went over to the other side and joined Chrysler's board of directors.

A city where even the smallest demonstration of support to the Iranian revolution brings out squadrons of cops on horseback at a ratio of two cops per demonstrator. A city where the youth "commit suicide" in their jail cells.

Miami only underlines the immediacy of building the revolutionary leadership capable of centralizing and directing the present struggle against the terrorist state, placing the power in the hands of those who are the very basis of society -- the working class. BUILD THE WORKERS COMMISSION! NATIONAL GUARD OUT OF MIAMI! FREE THE PRISONERS OF CARTER'S RACIST JUSTICE!

Immediate Independence for Quebec!

By FRED VITALE

The vote on the referendum took place after this article was written. The results -- 59% No, 41% Yes -- are being heralded by the bourgeoisie as a vote for the "national unity of Canada" and a defeat for an independent Quebec. But the vote was a vote of NO CONFIDENCE in the Parti Quebecois and shows the necessity for new revolutionary leadership to lead the battle for independence.

On May 20, the Quebec provincial government led by the Parti Quebecois (PQ) is holding a referendum. The question is should the PQ government negotiate a "new deal" for Quebec with the central Canadian government?

Why is this important? Quebec is an oppressed nation -- it has been for 250 years. It is oppressed by U.S. imperialism through its junior partners, the Canadian bourgeoisie. Virtually every major corporation in Canada is U.S. owned. The six million Quebecois, although French-speaking, have been forced to learn English to get jobs, even though they make up 80% of Quebec. Unemployment is much higher in Quebec than the rest of Canada; police attacks are frequent, systematic and severe.

Just the existence of the referendum shows the offensive of the revolution in the Americas. The central Canadian

government, the large U.S. corporations and banks, would like to crush the mobilization in Quebec. But because they cannot, they are forced to vote "no" in a referendum they don't even want to have. They don't want the Quebecois voting about anything.

But the mobilization of the Quebecois workers poses sharply the question: how can a nation win independence from U.S. imperialism in the Americas? This question is central to the Conference of the Two Americas rebuilding the sections of the Fourth International in the Americas.

The Fourth International says that the ONLY WAY for a nation to free itself from imperialist domination is for the working class to LEAD the struggle for independence in ITS OWN NAME -- that is, in the name of the international socialist revolution. There is no road for "all the classes" or for a "national solution."

But these are EXACTLY the fundamental policies of the Parti Quebecois. It is organizing this referendum to DERAILED the struggle of the working class in Quebec, posing the question as the fight of "Quebec against Canada," when it is the fight of the working class against the U.S. ruling class.

Rene Lévesque, head of the PQ and premier of Quebec, is trying to renegotiate a place for the PQ in the terrorist rearmament of the alliance between imperialism and Stalinism going on today in the Two Americas. The PQ has already broken strikes and instituted an "austerity" program in Quebec. This referendum is to further prove its "usefulness."

That's why the referendum doesn't say a word about what the PQ is going to do -- it is just a "blank check" for them to do whatever they want to. That's why the Quebecois flag and all mention of independence or even of its own petty bourgeois fantasy, "sovereignty-association" (a semi-independent capitalist Quebec), was dropped.

The PQ has been forced to take this road only a few years after it came into existence BECAUSE the working class HAS TAKEN the initiative against the central government and against its own bourgeoisie, with its own methods.

The number of work days lost through strikes in Quebec is the highest in Canada. The struggle of the Quebecois workers in the past years has given birth to a powerful trade union movement. And in 1972, the general strike of the workers posed the ques-

tion of which class should rule Canada and Quebec -- the working class or the bourgeoisie?

The Stalinists of the Canadian Communist Party and the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League / Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, both call for abstention in the referendum. The Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) bureaucrats decided on a "yes" vote although they claim it is "not a 'yes' vote for the Parti Quebecois." The same for the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN). (The New Democratic Party, the so-called "labor party" touted by the UAW bureaucrats and the Socialist Workers Party revealed its true colors as it sided with the imperialists in calling for a "no" vote.)

By whether they call for a "yes" vote or abstention, they ALL refuse any POLITICAL combat against this attempt at the terrorist reorganization of the state, treating the whole affair with a perfunctory "business as usual" policy. They give backhanded support to the PQ.

The Fourth International says: Boycott the Referendum! Immediate Independence for Quebec! For a United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas! May 17, 1980

From the Army of the Unemployed An Army of the Revolution!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

None of the candidates in the farce of democracy called the 1980 Presidential elections have one thing to say about the vast army of unemployed youth being created by U.S. capitalism. The politically blind will say, "But at least we still have the right to choose." To choose between what and what?

The vast majority of the American population sees no choice at all, regardless of their political persuasion. That is what every opinion poll continues to show.

The old lie: "Well at least it's better than in (name the country of your choice)" cannot be repeated. The fact is, it's better off in any advanced capitalist nation than in the U.S.

For Carter, Kennedy, Reagan, Anderson, etc., the best response they can hope for is the POLITICAL ABSTENTION of the youth. For this reason they and nine-tenths of the bourgeois media make theories about the APATHY of the masses. Theories which are even carried over into many of the so-called "socialist" parties.

We are equally disgusted with all these theories as no doubt the youth are tired of hearing them. But the fact is THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR IGNORING THEM!

We in the Fourth International and our young comrades in the Revolutionary Youth International HAVE A SOLUTION. From the army of unemployed youth which is being created by this rotten system, build AN ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION to finish with it.

We call on youth to organize with us ASSEMBLIES OF WORKERS to arm our brothers and sisters with POLITICAL WEAPONS. "War is just an extension of politics by other means," Clausewitz, a German military theoretician, once wrote. And CLASS politics are the weapons of class war. These are the politics which the American working class is open to today.

No other force in history is capable of coming up with any solutions -- not religion or mysticism, not conservatism, and certainly not reformism or liberalism. The so-called

"swing to the right" can be traced to this fact. In the face of their growing crisis the bourgeoisie is forced to call things by their right names -- production is for profits not for the human good, unemployment and inflation are a necessary part of capitalism, the workers must make sacrifices. This situation would backfire in their faces if there existed at this moment a mass WORKERS PARTY fighting for a CLASS PROGRAM of the workers socialist revolution. Because today even nine-tenths of the so-called "revolutionary" parties are anti-working class and grab at the skirts of liberalism and the Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie is able to maintain its election farce.

We will not go so far as to say that the WORKERS PROGRAM is just "common sense," because some have accepted the arguments of Carter for lack of anything better and call it "common sense," but we will say CLASS INDEPENDENCE not "national independence," CLASS WAR not imperialist war, and a WORKING CLASS program is the only solution that makes sense.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on the youth to concentrate their fire on this system by fighting in the 1980 elections for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and a WORKERS PROGRAM. But we insist as you do that this battle must be carried out as a complete break from reformist electoralism. We say that this battle is based on the army of oppressed workers and youth that American capitalism is creating all over the world.

The political abstention of American workers and youth, no matter how much it expresses the disgust with this system, will be taken as a signal to GO AHEAD with the preparation of war and mass unemployment.

To youth who ask, "How can we guarantee victory?" The Second Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International answered: "Those who want 'guarantees' of victory before beginning a struggle, will never begin. For today, to wait, is to be defeated without fighting."

To youth who ask "What can

I do?" The Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard, the U.S. detachment of the Revolutionary Youth International say: Form yourselves as the general staff of the revolution, organize the fight for the WORKERS CANDIDATE!

--BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

--10,000 SIGNATURES TO SUPPORT THE CALL FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE!

May 19, 1980

A WORKERS PROGRAM!

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

JOIN US!

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

Here's my signature _____

I am interested in attending the Convention _____

Please send _____ copies of this Call.

Enclosed is \$ _____ contribution.

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

**International
Young Guard/USA!**

Contact:

IYG, PO Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

Workers: For Your Class Independence!

Contribute to the Workers Fund for the International

The Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, addresses itself to you.

To you because it is the instrument of your coming victory, which you must build and which needs money.

Workers,

Because you have not submitted to the world order dominated by imperialism.

Because you have struggled unceasingly against this order of superexploitation, oppression and repression.

Because you are joining the fight of the oppressed peoples who are struggling against imperialism for their freedom.

Because now your mobilization

in the imperialist centers, like that of the oppressed peoples in the colonies, semi-colonies and protectorates, is calling the whole world order jointly established by imperialism and the Kremlin into question.

Because your unbroken series of battles have called the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy into question, both where it is in power as well as where it betrays the workers movement in the capitalist countries.

For all these reasons: because you want to build a society of free producers who will be rid of capitalists and para-

sites, your mobilization has put their world order, the Holy Alliance of imperialists and Stalinists, in crisis.

But workers,

The present rulers of this world will never yield their position to the proletariat with a smile. They are trying in every way to lessen their economic crisis, their monetary crisis, their political crisis, by attacking all your conquests.

ALL YOUR CONQUESTS: democratic rights, trade union rights, the right to work, decent wages, etc.

With the aid of the Kremlin and its national agents, the Communist Parties, they need to discipline you, to have a subject working class in order to subdue the colonies and retake the markets that the proletariat has taken from them, the USSR and Eastern Europe.

ALL YOUR CONQUESTS: Imperialism is REARMING its Holy Alliance with the Kremlin in order to be able to start an IMPERIALIST WAR to liquidate your most precious conquest, collective property in the means of production and exchange in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Stalinism has no other choice than following this road, because the world revolution is undermining the bases of its parasitic power. Its cries for "disarmament" can only lead the proletariat to passivity and disarmament before the imperialist hordes. The defense of your conquests necessitates going forward on the road of world revolution.

Workers, forge your weapon!

Now more than ever, the class struggle is worldwide. Your strength lies in the unity of your mobilization in Eastern and Western Europe, in the Americas, in China, in the colonial

and semi-colonial countries.

Now more than ever, the immediate slogan is the slogan of Marx: "Workers of the world, unite!"

That is why it is necessary to RETURN TO LENIN, to the centralized world organization uniting your forces on the global scale: THE INTERNATIONAL!

The Fourth International is the continuation of this fight, of this International that Stalinism sought to liquidate. It stands on the shoulders of its predecessors by establishing the program of our epoch, including within this the tasks of the political revolution against its agent inside the workers state: Stalinism.

Only the Fourth International is independent of imperialism and Stalinism.

It is your International, it is your weapon, it is your independence from all counterrevolutionary forces.

Workers, contribute to the WORKERS FUND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL!

Imperialists and Stalinists, as profiteers and parasites, get their money from your sweat, your exploitation and oppression. They do not hesitate to use it to buy tanks, mercenaries, weapons to discipline you.

Because the Fourth International organizes your class independence, it will get no money except from you workers.

Money to build an independent international apparatus.

Money for meetings, papers, offices.

Money to make the International an organized and centralized force in the world.

Money for the Workers Fund for the International means a Workers Fund for their class independence from imperialism and its agency, Stalinism.

CONTRIBUTE!

An immediate objective: A delegation from the United States to the Fourth International's Conference of the Two Americas, representing your fight for a Workers Candidate and a Workers Party against U.S. Imperialism.

Send your contribution

Enclosed is \$ _____

I pledge to contribute \$ _____
over _____ months

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to: "TRUTH", P.O. Box 07066, Detroit, Michigan 48207