

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Stop Carter's War Moves! For the

UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE U.S. AND USSR!

Carter recently declared that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is "the greatest threat to peace since World War II."

A lie. Just like everything else that has come out of the mouth of this "human rights" hypocrite since he took office. The greatest threat to peace is and will always be-- U.S. imperialism--policeman of the world.

-- Even before Afghanistan, U.S. imperialism increased its deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. -- U.S. and Egypt have begun joint air exercises from bases in Egypt.

-- Weapons are being sent to Pakistan once again. -- Congress is going ahead with plans for a "Rapid Deployment Force"-- 100,000 Marines stationed in the U.S. ready to intervene when the next "crisis" develops. -- And the Carter administration has sent out a call for the "revitalization of the CIA," for removing legislative restrictions on covert CIA activity.

The "revitalization of the CIA" and "peace"--from the same lying mouth. This is Carter's "human rights."

In face of this workers and youth are asking: what should be our response to the invasion of Afghanistan and what can be done about the threat of war?

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin is a counterrevolutionary bureaucracy that sits on top of and attempts to strangle the socialist gains of the October Revolution, the first successful workers revolution in history. It is a bureaucracy in the SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM, much like the reactionary bureaucracy that controls the trade unions in the U.S. today.

It never acts "aggressively!"

It only reacts defensively to the threat of revolution or acts to control a revolutionary mobilization of the working class. The Kremlin bureaucracy coexisted with the feudal monarchy of Afghanistan for decades, doing nothing. It was only the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, part of the upsurge throughout the Middle East that forced the Soviet-backed Afghan Communist Party to take power.

DESPITE the Kremlin, revolutionary gains have taken place in Afghanistan; above all the abolition of the monarchy and land reform. The Soviet troops are in Afghanistan in order to control these gains and stop the development of the revolution. But AT THE SAME TIME they are forced to bureaucratically defend the gains that have already been made against the attempts of the monarchy and imperialism to crush the revolution in Afghanistan.

Today, the defeat of Soviet troops, their "withdrawal" at the hands of the monarchy and U.S. imperialism, would be a setback for this revolution. It would also be the basis for a new imperialist offensive in the Middle East to crush the revolution.

The Soviet troops, in a bureaucratic, reactionary manner are defending a revolution. U.S. imperialism stands not only for the restoration of a monarchy, but for the overthrow of ALL the socialist conquests of the workers--throughout the world.

U.S. workers and youth must refuse to equate the two.

It is our defense of the world revolution that will defeat Stalinism. In the same way that WE, not the bosses, will take care of the trade union bureaucrats, the WORKERS, not U.S.

imperialism, will defeat Stalinism.

Do all these war moves mean that World War III has already begun, as some suggest?

No! This is another lie, designed to disarm workers from seeing the truth of the situation.

U.S. imperialism is ALWAYS preparing war; it is an extension of its daily, counterrevolutionary policies. But the real truth about today's situation is that it is the WORLD REVOLUTION which is being prepared. The workers and youth have the initiative, not U.S. imperialism or Stalinism. And their real efforts are not directed towards war at this time but towards organizing the deeper and deeper COLLABORATION of imperialism and Stalinism against the world revolution.

Everything depends on the working class. War will be prevented by the world revolution and the fight to defend this revolution in the U.S. is the only anti-war policy for today.

The unity of the workers of

the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is key. The socialist revolution in the heartland of imperialism and the political revolution in the center of Stalinism will determine the fate of the world revolution.

American workers can take the first step in building this unity by fighting U.S. imperialism's war moves, by defending the workers and youth of the U.S.S.R. against imperialist threats.

A step towards building the only party in the world that stands for this unity-- the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL-- the world party of the socialist revolution. And joining the Trotskyist Organization/USA in building the mass party of this revolution in the U.S. The WORKERS PARTY.

The unconditional defense of the world revolution. The fight for the party that stands for this revolution.

This is the fight against imperialism and Stalinism today. January 17, 1980 **TRUTH**

AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM!

- Stop the Grain Boycott Against the Soviet Union!
- Unconditional Defense of the Revolution in the Middle East!
- Unconditional Defense of the Gains of the Workers and Peasants of Afghanistan!

TRUTH

With the Bureaucrats or With the Workers and Youth of Iran?

The International Young Guard/USA, after its educational on Dec. 22-23 launched a petition campaign to mobilize American youth to stop the economic and political sanctions against Iran. Already the campaign has met with a very favorable response among the youth in Detroit. While soliciting signatures in the downtown area many workers, students, and youth have stopped to talk with the members of IYG/USA about the petition campaign and how it can organize youth in the U.S. for a revolutionary fight.

An IYG/USA leaflet distributed with the petition answers the reactionary campaign of the AFL-CIO which is sending signatures to Iran against the revolution.

"They call the youth in Iran 'terrorists.' Is it terrorism to want to bring the Hitler of Iran to justice? The real terrorist is the imperialist state."

"They talk about 'international law.' Was it international law to bomb and napalm the people of Vietnam? The AFL-CIO bureaucrats thought it was."

"They talk about 'disgrace to religion' -- but there's no bigger disgrace than these bureaucrats who support imperialism, support capitalism, who are helping to organize unemployment and repression in the U.S."

The lies spread by Carter are not being accepted by the youth. They are already wary

of Carter's promises. Overwhelmingly, the workers and youth who have supported the petition campaign of IYG/USA demand to know the TRUTH about what is going on in Iran. It shows that the attempts to intimidate the people of the U.S. and the youth is beginning to backfire against Carter.

The fact is that the youth of the United States and the youth of Iran have a common bond -- their struggle for some kind of future which brings them up against U.S. imperialism and its rotten government. The same gang of imperialists who put the Shah in power are organizing mass unemployment in the United States.

Youth! Our enemies are in crisis, they are divided even though they try to put forward a united face. The greedy capitalists of the world cannot agree on how to stop the mobilization of the workers and youth of the world. In their frenzy they resort to more and more irrational, hysterical measures to save themselves and their rotten system.

Now is the time to take up the defense of the revolution in Iran -- of OUR REVOLUTION -- wherever it may break out against the number one enemy of the youth -- the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Join us!

TRUTH

January 17, 1980



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Political Report Adopted by the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

Can a Nation Be Free As Long As It Oppresses Other Nations?

The American working class can never be free as long as American imperialism continues to play the role of policeman of the world. The American government and the media have labelled the millions marching in the streets of Iran as "fanatics" and "mobs." But with these lies they are only trying to hide the REVOLUTION. The Shah and Somoza have fallen one after another. The Bolivian coup of Colonel Natusch collapsed under the blows of the Bolivian masses. The proletariat has tasted power, workers committees and the armed militias refuse to give up the factories and their arms passively. Carter, along with petty bourgeois radicals, cry "no one knows who the government is in Iran!" All these "mob" acts signal a new turn in the international situation marked by the explosion of the revolutionary process in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the growing isolation of U.S. imperialism.

The time is CRUCIAL for American workers and youth. As never before the political situation in the United States is at a turning point that will determine the course of the next decade. The bloodthirsty American bourgeoisie is using every trick to isolate the youth in the United States from the only solution that can win their FREEDOM -- unity with the international revolution and the oppressed of the world. With smug arrogance Carter says of Afghanistan, "the only imperialism operating in that corner of the globe is the Soviet Union." LIES which cannot hide the bloody reign of the Shah, the plunder and division of the Middle Eastern nationalities, and the American role, military and political. LIES which not only seek to cover up American imperialism, but also to bury the October revolution, from which every revolution today can learn the lessons of victory. U.S. imperialism would like to open up the countries of the socialist conquest to capitalism, they would like to redivide the colonial and semi-colonial world into plantations. But the American working class still stands in their way.

These propaganda campaigns about "democracy" and "national unity" are DANGEROUS because they are transmitted by the American petty bourgeoisie, the most corrupt and cowardly class on the face of the earth, into the workers movement. Kennedy criticizes the Shah not out of "principles" but out of DESPERATION. Doug Fraser goes along with the liquidation of Chrysler not for the sake of the Chrysler workers but in order to SAVE HIS OWN NECK. They are panicked, because the times are convulsive, the times are decisive, and the key to blocking the revolution is in isolating the American working class.

It is the task of our party, the Fourth International, and its U.S. section (sympathizing) the Trotskyist Organization/USA, to WAGE WAR on U.S. imperialism and to take a side in this new turn of the international situation for the UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION. And to wage war on

all illusions in American bourgeois "democracy." A "democracy" built on the subjugation of immigrants and national minorities and a 100 years of SLAVERY. A "democracy" which has turned its guns on American workers for the right to organize unions.

The explosion of the revolutionary process in the weakest and most subjugated nations signals clearly the definitive breakdown of the post World War II agreements based on the hegemony of U.S. imperialism. The crisis brought on by the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world is such that the United States is unable to mobilize Europe and Japan, or its own tool the United Nations, against the Iranian revolution. It is not just a question of "oil," it is joining of the revolution in the colonial countries with the proletariat of the advanced capitalist nations which threatens the ENTIRE WORLD of the bourgeoisie. Even the Kremlin has been rocked by the struggles against imperialism which threatens to link the fight of nationalities to the political revolution and the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Imperialism is faced with the necessity to re-structure the world economic and political order in the midst of a deeper and deeper crisis provoked by the mobilization of the proletariat and the youth. It is certain that this "re-structurization" which the liquidation of sectors of the auto industry, including Chrysler, has been called will extend into every domain of life. Already the layoffs in auto have topped 200,000 and inflation is higher than at any time since the end of WWII. The deepening crisis is certain to lead to even GREATER CONVULSIONS. There is great danger for the proletariat as a whole and especially for its vanguard if it is not PREPARED. The party must be armed against all complacency and passivity!

The task of the party is not to be a "prophet of doom." The attack on Chrysler workers is proof that the crisis will not bring with it an automatic response. It is clear that the national isolation of the American proletariat and the illusions it still maintains in the myth of American "democracy" are largely responsible for the enormity of the concessions which have been forced on Chrysler workers. Perhaps the concessions could have been rammed through even without the "national unity" organized against the Iranian revolution, but it is doubtful that it could have been done without confrontations with the UAW bureaucrats and Carter. That is not to prejudice the effect that the crisis will have on the working class, but even if the youth and the workers should be deeply radicalized by the crisis, without political preparation their illusions in "democracy" and "national unity" will continue to frustrate their struggles.

"Human rights" as a world policy of legitimizing the brutal dictatorships put in power by U.S. imperialism and attacking the

socialist conquests of the workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has failed. The Iranian revolution is proof of this, as is the fall of Somoza and the renewal of the struggle of the Latin American proletariat. But this does not mean that U.S. imperialism has embarked on the course of the preparation of WWII. True, the American ruling class is striving for more repressive and "strongman" solutions, particularly around the 1980 elections. True, Carter has begun to stir up a "war hysteria" against the Iranian revolution. But "human rights" is not finished, U.S. imperialism must still attempt to legitimize its role as policeman under the cover of "democratic" intent. Nor has the order of "detente" or collaboration with the Kremlin for the purposes of derailing the struggles of the working class been finished.

But the upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples has rocked the old order of collaboration of imperialism and Stalinism. In the U.S., blacks and immigrant workers clearly see their future linked to the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Blacks were the first to see through the "hysteria" against the Iranian revolution. Sections of the bourgeoisie, "liberals" such as Edward Kennedy who only yesterday was making deals in the U.S. Senate to pass the repressive S-1722 bill, must orient toward the sentiments of the most oppressed workers in order to defuse the social tensions which exist within the United States.

At the same time it is absolutely false to ignore the importance or minimize the influence of the anti-Iran campaign and the regimentation of the unions to accept Carter's austerity program. A line is being drawn in response to the new turn in the world situation, it is not always a clear line, there are backward youth and workers who accept the nationalist and racist solutions of the American bourgeoisie. Minimizing their importance can be an excuse not to fight them. Many times more among the youth are hesitant to enter the battle at all. The youth at the educational of the INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD who said the revolution was doomed to end in "bureaucratism" expressed a common sentiment.

The Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) answers this question: "Under the excuse of the treason of Stalinism and of all types of opportunist groups that are more and more open each day and more and more shameful, anarchists, "self-management groups" and all types of spontaneist currents call the working class youth to reject "any party."

"A General Staff can choose a bad battle plan, it can even betray and cowardly abandon its troops, it can pass to the side of the enemy, as Social Democracy and Stalinism did. Does all of this mean that a General Staff

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

AFGHANISTAN

BY KEVIN FITZPATRICK

From Palestine to Pakistan and beyond the oppressed masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries have made the Middle East into what TIME magazine calls a "crescent of crisis" for the world order of imperialism.

Iran and the developing revolution there are the key to the situation, but the upsurge is far from limited to it. The situation in Afghanistan can be understood and politically dealt with only in the context of this great struggle.

AFGHANISTAN

From the time of Alexander the Great, Afghanistan has been a WAY TO somewhere else -- the wealth of India for Alexander, the riches of Persia (Iran) for the Mongols. Thus, in spite of the poverty of the country, it acquired strategic importance far beyond its own meaning.

With the rise of imperialism, this strategic importance grew. In the nineteenth century, Britain and Czarist Russia played the "great game" there for control of the famous Khyber Pass, the gateway to the Indian subcontinent.

On this basis, the people of Afghanistan have always been at the mercy of foreign domination, direct or indirect.

In the twentieth century, because of the critical importance of both the Middle East and India to imperialism, "stability" in Afghanistan became absolutely essential. For Afghanistan was now also potentially the WAY TO the Middle East or the Far East FOR THE REVOLUTION. Blocking this way was part of imperialism's plans to isolate the revolution in any one region or country.

After the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, particularly following the establishment of the Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism after World War II, the Kremlin was assigned the responsibility for this "stability."

The invasion by the Kremlin's troops is thus not some inexplicable "aggression" but a deepening of this counterrevolutionary role in the face of the mobilization throughout the Middle East. The Kremlin is carrying out, in the "sphere of influence" granted it by imperialism, the tasks assigned to it by imperialism.

UPSURGE

Into this difficult and complex situation the pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat,"

in particular the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, are eagerly pumping political confusion. In its publications this centrist party is covering up for the real attacks of imperialism, which are made directly through the Kremlin, by presenting the Kremlin as "helping Afghan workers and peasants defend their country from right wing bands."

This fantastic invention -- when did the Kremlin ever help the workers and peasants defend anything? -- is accompanied by the equally blatant lie that the bureaucracy is out to "prevent the growing threat that an openly pro-imperialist regime would come to power on its southern border."

The SWP "forgets" that the Kremlin supported for almost forty years a far larger "pro-imperialist regime...on its southern border" -- that of the Shah of Iran! Defended it in fact right up to the bitter end.

The Kremlin is worried, not by "pro-imperialist regimes," but by the REVOLUTION on its border. That is what it has set out to defeat. And that is why we say: the defense of the revolution in the Middle East has nothing to do with the defense of Stalinism!

Just as in Iran and in rhythm with it a revolutionary mobilization was developing in Afghanistan itself. What the Kremlin bureaucracy fears above all, the basis for its service to imperialism, is the revolution. The revolution, particularly on its own border, particularly in a country which contains national minorities that also live inside the USSR where they are oppressed by the Russian chauvinist bureaucracy, is the DEADLY THREAT that forced the Kremlin into action.

In April 1978, at the same time as the revolution in Iran was getting up steam, the People's Democratic Party, the Stalinist party in Afghanistan, was forced -- in self-defense and against its will -- to overthrow the Daud regime that was supported by the Kremlin (just as it had previously supported the monarchy). Taraki, the PDP leader who became head of the country, had disagreed with the Kremlin's all-out support to Daud. On this basis, and because the Stalinist bureaucracy was caught flat-footed by the overturn, there was a period in which the Kremlin no longer was in complete control of the situation.

That was all that was needed for the masses, the workers and peasants, to go into motion. This mobilization forced a whole series of gains from the Taraki regime, which still tried to confine this upsurge to the

Stalinist framework of the "national and democratic revolution," instead of the socialist revolution.

These gains included the legalization of trade unions, the beginning of a land reform -- taking the land from the big landlords and giving it to the peasants who worked it -- and a number of social measures to improve the conditions of women and the national minorities as well as the population in general.

The chief gain, however, as in any revolutionary mobilization, was in the consciousness of the masses themselves.

It is these gains of the workers and peasants of Afghanistan that we unconditionally defend. It is these gains that the Kremlin is out to attack in the interests of its own self-preservation and in the interests of its imperialist masters, particularly U.S. imperialism.

It is also no accident that this deepening of the Kremlin's attacks on these gains comes at a critical moment in the development of the Iranian Revolution. These actions are aimed, not at "oil" or "world conquest," but at the revolution in Iran, at strengthening the most reactionary elements there and giving imperialism a new chance in the region.

COUNTERREVOLUTION

While the Kremlin was caught off base by the initial overturn in Afghanistan, it wasted no time in trying to suppress this upsurge. The development of the Kremlin's role in Afghanistan in the last two years is the history of its attempts at slow suffocation of the revolutionary mobilization.

Because Taraki had some limited independence from the Kremlin he had to be liquidated and slandered as a "CIA agent," etc. Amin, whom the Kremlin installed with the responsibility of restoring "stability," met the same fate because he could not carry out the task as fast as the Kremlin required.

Now the Stalinist bureaucracy has intervened directly with its troops, installing Karmal -- a die-hard Kremlin loyalist -- in a last-ditch attempt to finally defeat the revolution.

In this context, the role of the reactionary marauders (the so-called "tribesmen") can be understood. There is no question as to the counterrevolutionary nature of these forces led by opium smugglers, ex-landlords, ex-aristocrats, etc. There can also be no doubt that

Washington, despite all its lies, has tried to arm these bands.

But every revolution has to face such counterrevolutionary elements. The key point is that these bands have grown stronger, not because they are fighting for "Islam" or "freedom," but because the Kremlin has progressively demoralized the revolutionary elements, has progressively disarmed the revolution in face of the counterrevolution. Army units have deserted or refused to fight because increasingly they were denied anything to fight for! Only a new upsurge in the revolution can produce a VICTORY over these bands.

The Kremlin's policy is directed at defeating these reactionary elements only to the extent of coming to terms with the old order they represent, with definitively eliminating the gains of the workers and peasants. That is what the Karmal government is offering the Moslem clergy, the landlords and capitalists and the imperialists.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The road forward for the revolution in Afghanistan lies not inside the borders of Afghanistan alone, but above all in the struggle for the political revolution in the USSR, for the overthrow of the Kremlin bureaucracy. This is the contribution that the Afghan workers and peasants can make directly to the revolution in the Middle East, just as the best contribution the American workers can make to the political revolution is the struggle against their own capitalists' grain boycott and other schemes which express the fact that imperialism increasingly, because of the world upsurge of the masses, doubts the Kremlin's ability to carry out its tasks and seeks to directly attack the revolution, both in the Middle East and in the socialist conquests in the USSR.

The political revolution is the defense of the USSR and, concretely, in the Middle East today, a critical element of the defense of the world revolution. The mobilization to win the Soviet troops, in particular those, like the Uzbeks and Tajiks, of common nationality with the peoples of Afghanistan, is the road to getting the Kremlin's troops out of Afghanistan on the only real basis that exists, the defeat of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the revolution.

January 14, 1980

Long Live the Mob!



The campaign of imperialism against the colonial revolution, in particular against the Iranian Revolution, is concentrated today in a slander campaign designed to attack the consciousness of workers in the imperialist countries, to keep them from coming to the aid of the revolution.

This campaign of slanders centers on accusations that the Iranian Revolution is nothing but actions of "the mob."

The Fourth International stands unashamedly on the side of this "mob"! Because "the mob" is the name that the old order has always given to the working class, to the masses in general when they have gone into revolutionary motion.

U.S. imperialism has found a "loyal ally" in an organization, the U.S. Spartacist League, which dares to call itself Trotskyist. Its newspaper, like the rest of the gutter press, trumpets these imperialist lies.

"Mullah Madness," screams the misnamed WORKERS VANGUARD; "Khomeini Fanatics Provoke Imperialist Threats," "The Khomeini-led Muslim fanatics have violated diplomatic prerogatives in a way that not even the Nazis did."

All this slander is part of the Big Lie campaign of U.S. imperialism, to which the specific contribution of these "revolutionaries" is the Big Lie that there is no revolution in Iran! There is only "fanaticism," just like imperialism says. "Great minds think alike."

Against all these lies, we are publishing a section from the pamphlet LABOUR, NATIONALITY AND RELIGION by the Irish revolutionary socialist James Connolly. Connolly was executed by British imperialism for his role in the Easter Rebellion of 1916, one of the first outbreaks of the revolutionary wave that culminated in the

Russian Revolution.

Connolly's pamphlet was a polemic against the attacks on socialism by a Jesuit priest who asserted: "The will of the people would be nothing more than the whim of the tyrant mob, the most blind and ruthless tyrant of all."

It is here that Connolly takes up his revolutionary defense of "the mob" from the slanders of counterrevolution -- then as now.

Lenin said that imperialism represented "reaction all along the line." Since Connolly wrote this pamphlet (1910) much of what "the mob" accomplished has been placed in the greatest peril by imperialism's attempt to reimpose medieval barbarism.

But in Iran today, and elsewhere, "the mob" is again on the march! This is what makes imperialism shudder and drives it to vicious slanders. Against imperialism, with Connolly and the Iranian masses, the Fourth International declares: **LONG LIVE THE MOB!**

TRUTH
January 15, 1980

What is the political and social record of the mob in history as against the record of other classes?

There was a time stretching for more than a thousand years, when the mob was without power or influence, when the entire power of the governments of the world was concentrated in the hands of kings, the nobles and the hierarchy. That was the blackest period in human history.

It was the period during which human life was not regarded as being of as much value as the lives of hares and deer; it was the period when freedom of speech was unknown, when trial by jury was suppressed,

when men and women were tortured to make them confess to crimes before they were found guilty, when persons obnoxious to the ruling powers were arrested and kept in prison (often for a lifetime) without trial; and it was the period during which a vindictive legal code inflicted the death penalty for more than 150 offenses -- when a boy was hanged for stealing an apple, a farmer for killing a hare on the roadside.

It was during this undisturbed reign of the kings, the nobles and the hierarchy that religious persecutions flourished, when Protestants killed Catholics, Catholics slaughtered Protestants and both hunted Jews, when man "made in God's image" murdered his fellow man for daring to worship God in a way different from that of the majority.

It was then that governments answered their critics by the torture, when racks and thumb-screws pulled apart the limbs of men and women, when political and religious opponents of the state had their naked feet and legs placed in tin boots of boiling oil, their heads crushed between the jaws of a vise, their bodies stretched across a wheel while their bones were broken by blows of an iron bar, water forced down their throats until their stomachs distended and burst, and when little children toiled in mine and factory for 12, 14 and 16 hours per day.

But at last, with the development of manufacturing, came the gathering together of the mob, and the consequent knowledge of its numbers and power, and with the gathering together also came the possibility of acquiring education. The the mob started upon its upward march to power -- a power only to be realized in the Socialist Re-

public.

In the course of that upward march the mob has transformed and humanized the world. It has abolished religious persecution and imposed toleration upon the bigots of all creeds. It has established the value of human life, softened the horrors of war as a preliminary to abolishing it, compelled trial by jury, abolished the death penalty for all offenses save one, and in some countries abolished it for all; and today it is fighting to take the children from the factory and mine and put them in school.

This mob, "the most blind and ruthless tyrant of all," with one sweep of its grimy, toil-worn hand swept the rack, the thumbscrew, the wheel, the boots of burning oil, the torturer's vise and the stake into the oblivion of history, and they who today would seek to view those arguments of kings, nobles, and ecclesiastics must seek them in the lumber room of the museum.

In this civilizing, human work the mob had at all times to meet and master the hatred and opposition of kings and nobles; and there is not in history a record of any movement for abolishing torture, preventing war, establishing popular suffrage, or shortening the hours of labor led by the hierarchy. Against all this achievement of the mob, its enemies have but one instance of abuse of power -- the French reign of terror -- and they suppress the fact that this classic instance of mob fury lasted but eight months, whereas the cold-blooded cruelty of the ruling classes which provoked it had endured for a THOUSAND YEARS.

All hail, then, to the mob, the incarnation of progress!"
JAMES CONNOLLY,
1910

The Iranian Revolution is Out

The recent decision to expel all American reporters from Iran should come as no surprise to those who have followed the role of American journalism in Iran. There will certainly be howls about "freedom of the press!" But no worker should be fooled. The bourgeois press in this country is only "free" to act as press agents for the Carter government in hiding the truth about the situation in Iran from the American people.

The monopolies and conglomerates that pass themselves off as the "free" press in this country have danced like puppets on Carter's string throughout the Iran "crisis." It is this same "free" press which never once spoke out against the crimes of the Shah who have filled their airwaves and papers with mountains of lies about Iran.

There can be no free press without a fight for the truth. These monopolies and conglomerates have nothing to do with either freedom or the truth. Because of this American workers and youth must FIGHT to learn the truth about the situation in Iran. We are publishing this article which answers some of your questions in order to aid this struggle.

TRUTH

January 15, 1980

What is really taking place in Iran today?

You wouldn't learn this from ABC, NBC or CBS, but a REVOLUTION is taking place in Iran, a revolution that is a positive step forward for the world revolution. Talk about an "Islamic revolution" and "religious fanaticism" is designed to hide the fact that the struggle of the Iranian workers and youth represents a struggle for the demands of the world revolution-- the destruction of imperialism and its Stalinist servant, the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The Iranian workers and youth have sought to organize a confrontation with U.S. imperialism, not out of religious belief, not out of hatred for "democracy" or "modernization," but because U.S. imperialism represents oppression for millions throughout the world-- from Iran and the Middle East to Southeast Asia and Latin America, to the ghettos and barrios of New York, Chicago, Detroit.

Any mass fight against U.S. imperialism is positive and is a fight for freedom. The mobilization of the workers and youth in Iran is at the center of this fight today.

In Iran itself the workers and youth are fighting to settle their scores, not only with U.S. imperialism, but with its servants in Iran-- the SAVAK agents, trained by the CIA in torture, the large landlords and capitalists. They have won large-scale land reform. In basic industry, especially in the oilfields, workers councils, organs of workers control and workers democracy, have been established.

The beginning of the process of the socialist revolution is taking place in Iran. A process that must be carried to the end with the seizure of power by the working class under the leadership of a revolutionary party. Which means a confrontation and break with the reactionary, feudal clerical bureaucracy led by Khomeini.

But the condition and essential weapon in

arming Iranian workers for this confrontation is the unconditional support of the world working class, especially the U.S. workers, for the struggle in Iran. This is our revolution also and we must defend it.

Did the Iranian workers get rid of the Shah only in order to get another dictator in Khomeini?

This is the line of professional cynics and demoralizers. For them, every revolution becomes bureaucratized and therefore it is better not to even try. This is a very comfortable position, especially if you are a professor in some university.

But American workers should be warned-- this is a demoralizing lie. It is ALWAYS good to get rid of a king. ALWAYS good to get rid of a dictator. The working class learns about freedom, not from books, but from mass struggle against oppression and every mass struggle against oppression is therefore positive.

And there is a FUNDAMENTAL difference between the regimes led by the Shah and Khomeini. The Shah was a puppet of U.S. imperialism, put in power on the basis of a counterrevolution led by the CIA. His army, his secret police, were installed directly by U.S. imperialism. The Shah's regime was a bastion of the world counterrevolutionary order. The Shah was supported by both imperialism and the Kremlin as a weapon against the world revolution.

Khomeini, on the other hand, came to power on the basis of a REVOLUTION that overthrew this bloody dictator. A revolution that is part of the mobilization of workers and youth throughout the world. Khomeini is in power today because today he is forced by the struggle of the masses to lead a confrontation with U.S. imperialism.

Those who can't see the difference between the Shah and Khomeini are those who can't see the difference between revolution and counter-revolution. It is not accidental that some of these same people, like the American "Spartacists", who can't see the difference between the overthrow of a dictator and the installation of a dictator by the CIA, are the same people who call the Fourth International "spies."

This doesn't mean that we have any political sympathy for Khomeini and his reactionary, feudal "Islamic revolution." His crushing of national minorities, his religious persecution and his empty rhetoric against U.S. imperialism make him an obstacle to the completion of the Iranian revolution. But this obstacle cannot be overcome by equating Khomeini with the Shah or by equating a revolution with a CIA coup. The condition for arming the Iranian workers to confront Khomeini is our defense of this revolution against U.S. imperialism.

Isn't the taking of hostages "terrorism"?

We unconditionally defend the "terrorism" of the oppressed against their oppressors.

We have nothing in common with the "morality" which tries to equate victims with executioners in order to hide the bloody crimes of the latter. How can anyone like Carter, who a year ago was toasting the Shah,



speak of "morality"?

Only in order to hide who the REAL TERRORISTS in today's world are-- the imperialist bourgeoisie and its Stalinist agents-- who have in their hands a terrorist apparatus that can reduce the world to ruins.

How can anyone compare the actions of a handful of students, holding captive 50 Americans, of which only a few are likely to be innocent victims, to the daily terrorism of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus -- who hold hostage 90% of the world?

American workers must refuse to enter into any discussion of "morality" and "terrorism" with these hangmen and those who apologize for them. The only moral discussion worth having is a discussion over how to bring the real terrorists to justice and how to aid all victims in their struggle against all executioners.

Carter has rapidly risen in popularity since the situation in Iran. Doesn't this prove that the majority of Americans are behind his stand?

When you're on the bottom, there's nowhere to go but up. Carter's latest rise in "popularity" is as fragile as everything else about the Carter administration; it will only last until the next "crisis."

But Carter's rise in "popularity" is also due to the fact that NO ONE IS CRITICIZING HIM. The need of the American bourgeoisie to close ranks against the Iranian revolution and to isolate the American working class from the world revolution has made it important for them to strengthen Carter's image. For now.

It doesn't have much to do with either "democracy" or "popularity." Instead, it

Revolution... DEFEND IT!



offensive of the workers and youth that brought down Nixon, another "popular" President. It was the miner's strike in 1977 that sent Carter on his two-year skid. An offensive of the youth against imperialism's war moves and in defense of the world revolution would expose Carter's "popularity" for what it really is-- the un-democratic national unity of traitors and hangmen.

Does the defense of the Iranian Revolution help the struggle of U.S. workers?

The bourgeoisie has used the Iranian situation as a green light for its attack on the American working class. Look what has been happening at home while they have been trying to get U.S. workers to shed tears for the hostages in Iran.

Inflation is at 14%. Over 200,000 auto-workers are laid off. While the "free" press was engaged in its hysteria over Iran, Chrysler quietly closed down Dodge Main six months earlier and Ford closed its Pico Rivera plant. The U.S. Congress passed its repressive "Chrysler bail-out."

As long as the Carter government can lead an attack on the Iranian revolution in the name of "democracy," it can attack the U.S. working class in this name as well. "Equality of sacrifice," "tightening our belts," etc. As long as U.S. workers are isolated from workers around the world, the Carter government can continue to blame others for ITS crisis.

The defense of the Iranian revolution means a confrontation with all of this. It means that only by fighting for the world revolution can American workers resolve the problems they face at home. The fight to defend the Iranian

revolution, because it is a fight to take the offensive against U.S. imperialism and the national unity of traitors organized around it, is at the same time a fight against the unemployment, plant closings, against the repression at home. And our allies in this struggle are the workers throughout the world.

What can U.S. workers & youth do?

The most important task for workers and youth is to pass to an offensive against U.S. imperialism by fighting to defend the Iranian revolution. This offensive is crucial in going forward with the class struggle in the United States, in confronting the un-democratic election which will take place in November.

Immediately, this fight is concentrated in organizing a petition campaign in the factories and schools in defense of the revolution in Iran and in opposition to any attempt by the Carter government to organize a military or economic blockade of Iran. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats are trying to organize their own petition campaign, a campaign that is trying to spread the reactionary poison and lies of U.S. imperialism into the trade unions and factories.

This campaign must be fought in an organized way-- American workers and youth must show the world that they stand with the oppressed in their fight against U.S. imperialism and not with Carter and his trade union bureaucrats. This campaign is a fight open to all youth who have nothing in common with these bureaucrats and nothing in common with the "human rights" morality of Carter or the Shah.

January 17, 1980

represents a national unity being organized against the American working class. The much-proclaimed "1980 Presidential Election Campaign" has fallen flat on its face. The campaign has been in a deep freeze since November as not ONE candidate has dared to criticize Carter. Even Kennedy's brief "criticism" of the Shah was quickly crushed. Not ONE labor bureaucrat has criticized Carter on Iran, not ONE so-called "liberal."

This is the real source of Carter's new-found "popularity"-- a national unity of hangmen and traitors against the American working class.

It is not a reflection of the state of the American working class. The masses of workers and youth remain anti-war, remain hostile to this government and remain sympathetic to the struggles of the oppressed throughout the world. But the problem is that the working class and above all the youth, have not yet gone on the OFFENSIVE. This is the source of the illusion of Carter's "popularity."

An offensive against U.S. imperialism's policies around the world and at home, in defense of the Iranian revolution, would shatter Carter's "popularity" into tiny pieces. This has always been true. It was the

SAUDI ARABIA

Carter's "human rights" Ally in the Middle East

From UPI and AP

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia — Executioners wielding razor-sharp swords Wednesday beheaded 63 men convicted of murder for killings committed during last November's siege at the Grand Mosque of Mecca.

It was the largest mass execution in the 48-year history of the Saudi Arabian government, where beheading is a traditional form of capital punishment and is usually carried out in public.

The executions followed secret religious trials. The nation's Moslem leaders had decreed that the Islamic holy book, the Koran, specified the death penalty for attacking a religious shrine like the Mosque.

"The death sentences on 63 persons from the renegade group which attacked the Grand Mosque has been implemented," an Interior Ministry statement said. King Khalid earlier said, "It is rightful now to kill them."

THE EXECUTIONS of the Moslem fanatics were carried out in eight cities across the desert kingdom to expose as many people as possible to the judgment and "to teach the people a good lesson," Arab diplomatic sources said.

Those sources said guards attached to the princes controlling the eight cities served as executioners. They used long steel swords, specially ornamented and sharpened to a razor's edge.

The sources said the men were beheaded with one swift blow. It is traditional to sew the head back onto the body for burial.

Those executed included 41 Saudi Arabian Bedouin tribesmen, six men from South Yemen, 10 Egyptians, three Kuwaitis and one each from Sudan, Iraq and North Yemen. Most of the foreigners were migrant workers.

THE ATTACK on the Mosque occurred in the early hours of last Nov. 20 as the Moslem world was celebrating the advent of the 14th century of the Islamic lunar calendar. The Grand Mosque is inside a 38-acre compound housing the Kabaa, which Moslems believe was built by the prophet Abraham.

The interior ministry gave the following undated casualty figures for the mosque battle:

Security forces: 127 dead and 451 wounded.

Hostages: 26 dead and 109 wounded.

Attackers: 75 killed in battle, 27 dead in hospital later and 15 bodies found in the tunnels, for a total dead of 117.

Saudis behead 63 for attack on mosque

DETROIT FREE PRESS/THURSDAY, JAN. 10, 1980 ●

RYI HOLDS EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

TO THE ATTACK!

BY RICH TETRAULT

The preparation of the world revolution is the most important task in front of the American working class, especially the youth. INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the U.S. Detachment of the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI), is leading this struggle among the youth in the factories, schools and unemployment lines. The combat to prepare and lead revolutionary mobilization, to secure the freedom and independence of the masses of workers, youth and oppressed is the focus of our daily struggle in preparing the world revolution of which the American youth play a decisive role.

At its Educational Conference on December 22 and 23 in Detroit, the International Young Guard (IYG) along with students, workers and unemployed present, took the initiative in clarifying the combat American youth must take up in linking with the revolutions breaking out around the world. Guests and members were introduced to the topic of the colonial revolution through selected Marxist readings by Lenin and Trotsky and documents and publications of the Fourth International. The combat for the independence of the youth, for the right of nations to self-determination underlies the fight for revolutionary consciousness and the construction of the World Army of the Socialist Revolution, the RYI.

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION IS OUR REVOLUTION-DEFEND IT!

The Educational Conference focused on the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua, and the role of U.S. imperialism in those countries and throughout the Middle East and Latin America. We posed the question, "Can a nation be free if it oppresses another?" in developing a political struggle against nationalist illusions and illusions in democracy. The discussion was not an easy one and represented a tendency toward national solutions and isolation from the world proletariat, from the world revolution. But there can be no solution outside of the framework of the world revolution and its immediate preparation. We must be politically armed to confront the petty bourgeois reaction being introduced into the workers movement through backward elements and expose it as alien and cancerous to the advance of the

youth around the world. In a political struggle we can isolate and destroy tendencies toward national chauvinism, pacifism and racism. Without the combat to construct an international leadership of the revolution, to organize the struggle through an international center, the youth are left isolated and confused over their role in face of the world situation, completely at the mercy of the TERRORIST STATE of bourgeois and bureaucrats.

The conference continued in precisizing the policy of International Young Guard, in developing the program to engage youth in revolutionary struggle, to enlist youth within the ranks of the army of the revolution. We reject all national solutions in face of the world revolution on the march today. We reject any attempts to isolate our struggle, to prevent us from joining strength with our fellow workers and young militants throughout the world. We fight to forge a solidarity with the forces of the revolution in advancing the dictatorship of the proletariat, for workers democracy now.

The struggle is difficult and no one in the IYG will say otherwise. But above all it is a necessary and immediate task for all youth, especially American youth who are looked to from around the world for a revolutionary response and leadership. An honest militant can respond to the backward idea that "the U.S. is still the best country" or "we have the best standard of living." The fact that our riches come from the exploitation of millions upon millions and our strength comes from the destruction and misery of other nations is more than sufficient proof that the youth must wage a revolutionary combat against imperialism and Stalinism. These are not the policies of the youth but of a degenerate, dying order in which the youth have no investment or future. Our freedom and the freedom of the international proletariat is at stake. The preparation of the revolution is the future. The conference was a great advance for American youth and the RYI as a whole. Nowhere else will this discussion or fight be found. Our problems in arming the youth have been brought out and identified and a policy of constant struggle for clarity must be the rule. The revolutions in colonial nations must be defended against U.S. imperialism and carried through to completion, for the

revolution is the motor force of history.

Through the conference, IYG developed and precised its combat to construct a leadership of the revolution. We developed a petition campaign to educate and arm the youth in the defense of the Iranian Revolution, in waging an offensive for the struggle toward class independence. The Iranian Revolution is Our Revolution -- Defend It! This summarizes our combat for the revolution. A combat that confronts backward elements, chauvinism and prejudice. A combat to break all links between youth and the rotten bourgeoisie. A combat to make the petition leaflet and our journal INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD the most important and dynamic tools for the youth throughout the Americas. The fight to construct the RYI in the U.S. has been a constant struggle for clarity and education. The combat of the American youth is integral in constructing an international leadership. In the past several months, youth in and around the RYI in the U.S. have engaged in a political struggle to change our name from Revolutionary Young Workers to International Young Guard/USA. The decision was made as a result of the discussion begun at the 4th Congress of the RYI held last July in Paris. The construction of the World Army of the Socialist Revolu-

tion is central to the advance of the world revolution and the political preparation of the international working class. We must reject all national solutions, all intermediary and petty bourgeois solutions and fight to construct an international leadership. The youth cannot break with their national bourgeoisies unless there's a clearly developed international program and mobilization.

We youth in the IYG fight to construct the RYI as an international leadership for the revolution. Our name change will not end with a resolution but will constantly be developed and explained as a reminder to our struggle. Determining our future, fighting to direct our army to protect and advance the revolution is our task. Our name and character represent an open challenge to the repressive Carter government. Likewise, they represent a challenge to the militant youth in the U.S. who wish to join us.

DEFEND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONS IN IRAN AND NICARAGUA!

JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD - ENLIST IN THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

January 16, 1980



READ ...

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

January 1980 Issue 25¢

Who Failed the Test?

BY MARGARET GUTTSALL

In its statement on the recent split in the "United Secretariat" the SWP arrogantly announced that the major issue which provoked the split was the revolution in Nicaragua, that Nicaragua was a "test," and that all those who didn't follow its line failed the test!

THEY FAIL to mention just what their line was: unconditional defense of the Sandinista Liberation Front against the workers and peasants who wanted to execute Somoza's men and seize the factories and the land, against their own comrades of the Simon Bolivar Brigade who wanted to participate in this. Unconditional defense of the arrest and deportation of these same people, an arrest and deportation which resulted in their imprisonment and torture in the Panamanian jails.

And they fail to mention who failed the test: almost all the remaining sections of the USec in Latin America -- the Mexican, Costa Rican, Nicaraguan, Brazilian, Colombian and Argentinian. The only ones remaining in the USec are a part of the Mexican, the Panamanian and the Peruvian.

Why is it that every time there is a revolution or a revolutionary upsurge in Latin America against U.S. imperialism that the USec's Latin American associates "fail the test" and the SWP passes with flying colors?

The Cuban Revolution: the Cuban section "fails the test"; organizes workers, distributes Trotsky's PERMANENT REVOLUTION, winds up in jail. The SWP/USec denounces them as "crazies."

The upsurge in the early 70's: half the USec "fails the test;" continues to advocate armed struggle AFTER Castro and the SWP change their minds. The SWP denounces them to a U.S. federal court as terrorists.

Now the Nicaraguan Revolution. No -- it is not the Latin American sections of the USec who have repeatedly "failed the test." It's the SWP, its USec, and its policy of unconditional support to Fidel Castro which have failed the test.

The SWP has proven itself to be a party of arrogant petty imperialists, incapable of building anything even resembling an International in North and South America, incapable of defending the conquests of the Cuban revolution, incapable of revolutionizing the consciousness of

the North American working class.

Nearly two decades ago the SWP split from the Fourth International and its combat to rebuild itself after the political destruction wrought by the pro-Stalinist faction of Pablo and Mandel. They joined these same liquidators, formed the USec and gave their support to Castro.

They promised rapid growth with this "unsectarian" policy. Leaders of the SWP evidently thought they too would be able to ride the working class to power, like Castro and the July 26th movement did, and get a chance to preside over it.

Utilizing the prestige the SWP had acquired when it was a pillar of the Fourth International, they managed to convince almost all the Latin American sections of the Fourth International of this false policy.

How is it that the USec started out with substantial sections in almost every country of Latin America (sections which the 3rd and 4th International had taken 40 years to build, before the USec, following in the footsteps of Pablo, began its wrecking operation) and now, 20 years later, when there has been upsurge after upsurge in Latin America, the USec has almost none?

It's simple. Unity with the liquidators of the Fourth International like Mandel and Pablo, with Castro, who supports the Kremlin, which supports U.S. imperialism, is incompatible with the construction of any international organization in the bastion of imperialism, even a centrist organization like the USec, not to mention the Fourth International.

The SWP and its USec aren't concerned with unifying the workers and peasants of South and North America against imperialism. They are concerned with DEFENDING the existing order and their own place in it. They are concerned with using the place that this party once occupied in the workers struggle to give credibility to this thoroughly discredited system and its reformers.

What more proof is necessary? First their Cuban section was tossed aside. Then the Chilean, Bolivian, and Argentinian and Peruvian sections were liquidated into the Castroist guerrilla movement. They then were told to come down from the mountains and build parliamentary parties.

The biggest parliamentary party, the Argentinian PST, was virtually wiped out by the coup in 1976. Then, in late 1976, those still up in the mountains and the builders of the parliamentary parties were told to unite, it had all been a mistake.

Now what's left has been told "it's failed the test." Any wonder they split?

If the SWP and its USec were really concerned with unifying the youth and workers of North and South America against imperialism, with building an International, wouldn't they have at some point in the last twenty years stopped to question the progressive disassociation and disintegration of their Latin American comrades? Wouldn't they offer at least some explanation for this debacle today? Wouldn't they offer some kind of perspective for resolving this "problem"?

Now that it has become clearer and clearer that the SWP's adventure in constructing the USec has been a debacle, despite its attempt to cover up the facts and falsify the history, it's started talking about "rebuilding a mass revolutionary International."

How dishonest can one be? After splitting with the Fourth International and its struggle to rebuild itself and taking almost all the Latin American sections with it and destroying them, the SWP starts talking about "rebuilding a mass revolutionary International"?

At all costs they wish to hide the combat which has been lead against them, on the basis of which the Fourth International HAS BEEN REBUILT, the Trotskyist Organization/USA exists, and certain sections of the youth and class conscious workers, in particular in the U.S. and Bolivia, look toward or search for the real forces of the Fourth International.

The problem with the Latin American sections of the USec, organized in the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction," and the "Bolshevik Faction" is that they split from the USec to form a "Parity Committee" ... for the Reunification (Reconstruction) of the USec... with the OCI. The leading slanderers against the Fourth International and its struggle to rebuild itself... the OCI which has just expelled its affiliates in Latin America for opposing unification with the USec.

They don't want to be openly associated with the Castro/Sandinista/USec suppression of the Revolution in Nicaragua, but they don't want to fight and destroy it either.

They are preserving the fiction that this pro-Stalinist swamp is or has something to do with the Fourth International.

The worst consequence of the SWP's rupture from the Fourth International in order to support Castro, while still claiming to represent the Fourth International, is the totally false picture of the nature of the workers party, of the Fourth International and its construction that it has given to the working class and its youth.

It's given the working class the impression that its party, its International, is simply the left wing of a workers movement which includes centrists, Stalinists, democratic imperialists, et. al. A loose federation of everyone who claims to be for a revolutionary workers program. Thus it can be full of factions, tendencies, etc. It can be built by blocs, maneuvers, fusions, opportune campaigns.

This has reinforced the illusions of the majority of workers in imperialist democracy (if all we need is a loose party like that the imperialist state really couldn't be much of a problem) and turned the most advanced youth and workers off to the party and the International.

The "Parity Committee" reinforces and deepens all these false conceptions. Who can take such a swamp seriously? Twenty years have proven that such a party can't stand up to a slight wind, much less U.S. imperialism.

Thus the combat to rebuild the Fourth International as the world center of the revolution in the two Americas is above all a combat to return to Lenin against the theory and practice of this pro-Stalinist swamp. And there is only one party which can and is leading this struggle, the Fourth International, rebuilt on the international scale in this same struggle.

This is the meaning of the Conference of the Two Americas and it is a precondition for the victory of the revolution in this hemisphere.

January 15, 1980

NO CONCESSIONS!

BY DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Autoworkers must reject the package of concessions Congress has demanded of Chrysler workers. These concessions will not save one job, either in Chrysler or in auto as a whole. The "generosity" of Doug Fraser in giving away the wages and benefits of Chrysler workers has already been responsible for closing Dodge Main in Detroit and has served as a signal to the Big Three to proceed with mass layoffs. They know they have the support of Fraser and the entire trade union bureaucracy in these dirty dealings.

The attack on Chrysler workers is only one part of the "national unity" being organized by Carter. "National unity" is a code word calling for the bourgeoisie to patch up its differences and join together in supporting Carter for an all-out attack on the gains of the workers and youth, not just in the U.S. Without the hysterical campaign against the Iranian revolution these concessions could never have been sold by Fraser. At the last minute, the Senate saw the opportunity to take advantage of Carter's new found popularity and added another \$246 million in cuts to the House bill.

Not only Chrysler workers are under attack. More than 200,000 autoworkers are now on layoff with more being planned. By contrast, at the pits of the '74-'75 recession 350,000 autoworkers were out in the streets. And in yet another plant shutdown, Ford announced the closing of its Pico Rivera assembly plant in California which employed more than 1,600 workers. The sacrifices being organized by the ruling class and their union flunkies are part of the world wide struggle for markets for the imperialist auto industrialists resulting in mass layoffs and liquidation of whole sectors of the auto industry.

The latest round of unemployment figures are being used to hide the depth of the attack which is being organized on the entire working class. The "statistics" show a rise of only .1% in the unemployment rate for December. This ought to be a great comfort to workers who have been standing in unemployment lines that are blocks long! Unemployment figures have long been regarded as highly suspect in their accuracy by workers. These latest statistics prove that government statistics are only another arm of anti-worker politics.

The fact is that the auto layoffs, which alone would add more than double the increase reported for December, are only the tip of the iceberg. The attacks being organized on workers of basic industries like auto not only re-

sult in layoffs in industries related to auto, they are the cutting edge of an all-out political attack on the lowest paid workers -- hospital workers, service industries, state and local government workers. Alongside the layoffs, cuts in education and other social programs are being organized.

Every autoworker must understand the truth about these concessions. They are not intended to save one single job. They are not going to increase the "profitability" of Chrysler by one dollar. Loans do not produce profits for the capitalist class, only the exploitation of workers does that. And these concessions are part of an attack on workers to increase the rate of exploitation in a qualitative way.

First, by driving whole sectors of the working class to living in sub-human conditions. This is the only means for the American bourgeoisie to resolve its political crisis. It must crush the resistance of the American working class in order to give it a free hand in attacking the revolution throughout the world. Just as the oppressed nations are the first to come under the blows of imperialism, so in the United States blacks, Latinos, and immigrant workers are the first to find themselves in the streets. An entire atmosphere of racist and nationalist propaganda is being developed in order to facilitate this attack.

Second, the concessions allow this attack to proceed in stages, each concession serving as a rationale for more sacrifices -- as has clearly been the case with Chrysler workers. Doug Fraser has said many times that he would agree to more cuts "if necessary." In the language of bourgeois and bureaucratic diplomacy this means, "help yourselves we won't stop you."

As long as this system stands there is no way anything is going to improve. Every concession will lead to greater attacks on the working class as a whole. That is why Chrysler workers must BUILD A MOVEMENT TO REJECT THE CONCESSIONS and put themselves in the forefront of the fight to smash Carter's "national unity."

There is no half-way solutions. This system has outlived itself and must be finished by the working class, which is the only class that remains capable of building a new future for humanity. This means that the only solution is for the re-organization of society on socialist foundations. The commanding heights of industry must be nationalized under workers control for the benefit of social production -- not production for profits.

This is not a utopian solution but is precisely the revolutionary struggle today of autoworkers to organize a united response to the "restructurization" of the auto industry. It is a political struggle to silence the Frasers in the unions. It is a struggle

against the anti-worker government of U.S. imperialism, led by Jimmy Carter.

NO TO CONCESSIONS!

WORKERS CONTROL OF AUTO!
January 14, 1980

Fight for an Emergency National Convention of the UAW!

Its the bottom line. All the leaders of the UAW are implicated in the criminal treason of mass layoffs and the liquidation of Dodge Main.

From Doug Fraser to the industry councils of local presidents, all have retreated from organizing the union against this unprecedented attack.

Cowards and slave bosses. The Democratic party "liberals" -- Conyers, Riegle, Kennedy -- all of them have participated in the passing of the package of "concessions" and betrayals.

Not one leader of the so-called "Communist" Party has denounced the plan to "save Chrysler" for what it is -- a plan to organize mass unemployment. Pseudo-revolutionaries of every description are up to their necks in the betrayal!

The entire working class will suffer for these coward's actions; hundreds of thousands will be left to the streets, blacks, and youth will be degraded even further, if this attack is left unchallenged.

No concessions! To the attack!

Smash the bureaucratic apparatus in the unions for workers unions of revolutionary struggle!

Reject the program of austerity and more sacrifices for a workers solution of jobs for all, the sliding scale of working hours and wages, workers control of auto.

For an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW prepared by delegates of autoworkers independent of this treachery. For delegates of workers in industries related to auto and of the unemployed, democratically elected to organize a mass response to Carter and Fraser.

Young workers! Silence the decrepit bureaucrats in your unions with the call for an emergency response of all autoworkers to the treachery of the UAW leadership.

Pass over to the offensive! Prepare your struggles with the Fourth International in order to defeat the bosses' plans.

*D.H.
January 15, 1980*

Meany's Crimes Live On

The capitalist press is mourning the death of George Meany, the most traitorous trade union bureaucrat that the rotten U.S. labor officialdom has ever produced. American workers don't mourn Meany's death, they mourn his life. Meany's career coincided with the decline of American unionism during WWII and the anti-communist witch-hunts afterward which left the leadership of unions in the hands of flunkies for the U.S. bourgeoisie.

"I never walked a picket line in my life," was George Meany's legacy to the labor movement. So much for the great hero the press is trying to make of him. This "plumber" never held a plunger in his hands after his mid-twenties when he began his rise in the backward craft unions. He staunchly defended the racist policy of the construction trades to his dying day.

During his rotten career he managed to surround himself with some of the most corrupt and anti-worker bureaucrats the U.S. workers movement has ever seen. This too is his legacy to American workers. Lane Kirkland, who Meany couldn't trust to run his show until two months before Meany's death, together with hundreds of "business" union

officials remain behind, class collaborators to the core.

Meany supported practically every anti-labor piece of legislation, and every reactionary movement that ever came along. He supported the Taft-Hartley law under which Carter attempted to break the miners' strike, and the wage-price controls under Nixon. He was a hawk on the Vietnam war long after even most of his fellow bureaucrats had abandoned its defense. And in the name of fighting communism, Meany pulled the AFL out of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1945, and later pulled the merged AFL-CIO out of the International Labor Organization. His International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Latin American arm of the AFL-CIO are notorious among workers in the southern continent for its infiltration and funding by the CIA.

There is only one thing worth mourning about the death of George Meany. And that is the sorrow that he and his fellow flunkies and traitors in the workers movement were not put on trial by a revolutionary court of U.S. workers.

*D.H.
January 16, 1980*

POLITICAL REPORT (cont.)

and a battle plan are not necessary?"

"... many youth ask: 'if other parties have betrayed, is it guaranteed that the one you wish to build will not betray also?' We say to these comrades: 'Your wish is legitimate, but the question posed in this way has no answer. Those who want 'guarantees' of victory before beginning a struggle, will never begin. For today, to wait, is to be defeated without fighting.' "

The turn in the international situation has had its effect on the centrist "re-unification." This international "re-unification" was carried out on an international scale in order to construct a pseudo-revolutionary apparatus that could trap the most advanced workers and youth. But behind it always lay a profoundly nationalistic policy. Behind their formal "internationalism" the centrists hide their theory of a "democratic stage" to imperialism. That is the treachery behind the Socialist Workers Party's verbal "hands off" policy toward the colonial revolution. "Hands off" Iran, "hands off" Nicaragua, but never question the legitimacy of American democracy. Behind their notion of an "evolutionary" nature to the revolution the real truth is that these traitors are propping up bourgeois "democracy."

But events have not gone according to plan. The masses have shown great resistance to stopping at "democratic methods." Stalinism and its agent in the Americas, Castro has been unable to hold back and disarm the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolution. Centrism has had to take its lion's share of responsibility for policing the masses even at the expense of liquidating its own sections.

In Nicaragua, the SWP had open complicity in the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar brigade, the Nicaraguan section of the USec. Because this was too large a pill for the OCI-Moreno bloc to swallow they were expelled. Yet even their expulsion does not mean an end to the "re-unification." The expressed position of the OCI-Moreno bloc is to "prevent the dispersion of the Trotskyist forces," meaning prevent the breakup of the "re-unification." This "split" does not concern any principled differences over the revolution. While the OCI advises the SWP on a milder support for the FSLN and Castroism, the OCI itself had further developed the theory that the Stalinists can take power and that the revolutionary party can be built in the process of forming a "real" workers state. Centrism will not destroy itself and the mobilization of the proletariat will not destroy it spontaneously.

Any such notion must be rejected. As never before the eyes of the most advanced workers are turned toward the United States and the responsibility for the destruction of the centrist liquidators is on the American section of the Fourth International. The attempts of the centrists to isolate American workers from the revolutionary currents in the world proletariat are concentrated here, in the question of the party itself. The struggle against the "labor party" advocated by the SWP is not over. It is precisely around the question of the nature of the party that the problems of the American revolution will be resolved. The support for a "labor party" that the SWP is organizing in the trade union bureaucracy, the maneuvers which have appeared in

the MILITANT of leaders of the California AFL-CIO must be taken seriously as an attempt to stifle real revolutionary currents in the unions from breaking with the Democratic Party and bourgeois "democracy."

The 5th National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA represented a real advance in clarifying the fight for the Workers Party. Though the Trotskyist Organization in this conference "broke" with the tactic of the labor party, or a party based on a program less than that of the Fourth International, this advance has met with great hesitation in the party to confront the necessity for the American proletariat to take a leading role in the world revolution. This is not a discussion of what country the revolution will break out in first. It is above all a recognition that as Trotsky said, "all the problems of the world revolution will be settled on American soil."

The last IEC (International Executive Committee of the Fourth International) discussed for the international as a whole the importance of the American revolution. This discussion was summed up in calling on all the sections of the Fourth International to prepare the Seventh Congress of the FI this summer with the precise task of making the juncture with the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial nations. The preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas at Easter is the first expression of this struggle for the whole International.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA in the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas must clarify much more deeply the nature of the WORKERS PARTY and the American revolution for the youth. The prerequisite for opening up a new stage of the class struggle in the United States, for making the juncture with the struggle of the oppressed nations is the construction of the revolutionary party of the American proletariat. The traditional institutions of American "democracy," above all the Democratic Party, will not fall of their own crisis. It is not a question of a gradual "evolution" to the revolution in the heart of imperialism. The position of the centrists. All variants of which base themselves on the idea that American imperialism is too strong. The level of social tensions of the American proletariat, continually expressed in isolated incidents of rage of blacks and other nationalities, as well as strikes of increasing militancy, taken with the political crisis of the bourgeoisie which is both caused by and exacerbated by these struggles, means that in no way will the construction of the Workers Party in the USA be a gradualist development. Even without a party it is possible that a revolutionary situation can develop, but the party is the historical subjective factor that can carry through the permanent revolution.

The 1980 elections will be the key to arming the party and the working class. On the basis of a fight in the unions, among the most oppressed of the American workers, and on the basis of the building of the International Young Guard, we will be in a position to found the WORKERS PARTY. But the campaign in the 1980 elections is precisely the building of the WORKERS PARTY, taken as an international task of linking the American revolution with the struggle of the

oppressed countries.

This fight must be launched with the Conference of the Two Americas which puts a heavy responsibility on the Trotskyist Organization/USA for the preparation of the Conference. In these elections we must develop a revolutionary policy of CLASS INDEPENDENCE, using the tactic of the United Front as a means to mobilize the workers and youth. The tactic of a WORKERS SLATE is the means to develop the election campaign in the strongholds of the proletariat particularly in auto. The program which the party fights for must be one program. A revolutionary program for the unions, the elections, the youth -- a program for the socialist revolution in the USA and Latin America.

Our program is one of transitional demands but it is not enough to develop a revolutionary perspective to simply hold out demands like a worm on a hook. The fight for the RETURN TO LENIN concentrates the struggle for the party and the revolution against the Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist revisionists. RETURN TO LENIN can clarify the tasks of the American revolution better than all the "unity" and "popular" struggles that the revisionist currents can latch on to. Even behind the demand in our program for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT it is possible for all manner of pseudo-revolutionaries to hide, and it is possible for illusions in bourgeois democracy to be left untouched. Our government is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our party is the Leninist party, an army of combat and political struggle. RETURN TO LENIN, this is the key to the construction of the WORKERS PARTY and the International Young Guard.

At the same time the fight for the 1980 elections is a fight for an INTERNATIONAL CENTER and proletarian methods. Above all we fight for a party affiliated to the Fourth International, and to rid the workers movement of STALINIST SLANDER. The pseudo-Trotskyist parties, engaged in an international "re-unification" do not take the slightest responsibility for an INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS of the revolution. Their "re-unification" is based on the unity of the bourgeois world -- against "terrorism" of the youth, for the rehabilitation of Stalinism and the DEFEAT of the political revolution. Every worker must know that the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL does not for one minute allow the slanders against our movement to pass by. Every worker must know that the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL exists and fights in the United States against the laws which make criminals of workers in the United States who wish to join the world party of the socialist revolution.

Internationally the revolution is at a turning point. The Trotskyist Organization/USA is at a turning point characterized by the necessity to join the struggle of American workers with the exploited and oppressed workers of the world. Historical moments do not last forever, they cannot be postponed. No "more favorable" circumstances for the American working class will pass by without the construction of its party, the WORKERS PARTY, American section of the Fourth International.

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The "United Secretariat" splits—proving once again that not maneuvers, slanders or backstabbing, but

The Revolution is the Motor Force of History!

BY JON COHEN

The "United Secretariat" has split. A de facto expulsion of the "Bolshevik Faction" and the "Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency" resulted in the loss of nearly 40% of the membership of the USec, almost 90% of its membership in Latin America. The two expelled tendencies have joined together with the slanderer Lambert, of the French OCI, in organizing a "parity committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International."

What remains of the "United Secretariat" is a fiction and a cruel hoax on any worker mistakenly led to believe that this grouping has anything to do with the Fourth International. Composed essentially of the American SWP (a sympathizing section), the French LCR led by Ernest Mandel and Alain Krivine, this organization has no common policy, program or leadership save its hostility to the revolution and the Fourth International. It has no purpose, save that of a desperate attempt to hide the crimes of Stalinism from the working class and its youth.

It is an organization whose chief programmatic contribution to the workers movement is the asterisk *. Thus, the majority of the USec writes a public document on Nicaragua characterizing Nicaragua as a bourgeois state with an * stating that a minority think it a workers state. Likewise for Cambodia.

How nice! An "organization" which cannot even agree on whether or not there is a workers or a bourgeois government in Nicaragua. And they expelled 40% of their "organization" for "failing the test" of Nicaragua and for violating the "democratic centralism" of this swamp!

This "organization" is a cruel joke, but a dangerous one nevertheless because it still attempts to pass off their criminal and Stalinist maneuvers as having something to do with the Fourth International.

But what does all this prove for workers and youth? Doesn't it confirm what many workers suspect, that revolutionaries and especially "Trotskyists" are incapable of uniting and that all these splits are the main obstacle to uniting the revolutionary forces in the world today? Isn't this latest split a weakening of the forces in the world fighting for the revolu-

tion?

No -- this split proves the opposite. It can have a positive meaning for workers and youth seeking the revolution and can strengthen the forces in the world fighting for the revolution. The split of the "United Secretariat" and the unprincipled collection of its remnants proves definitively that "unity" can't be built on the basis of the abandonment of principles, on the basis of cheap compromise and behind-the-back maneuvering of a leadership. Nor can "unity" be built on the basis of Stalinist slanders against the Fourth International.

The leadership of the "United Secretariat" tried all of these measures -- compromise, maneuvers, backstabbing and slanders against the revolutionary youth and the Fourth International -- in order to build their "one big party of all the Trotskyists in the world." It was a miserable failure.

Because THE REVOLUTION IS THE MOTOR FORCE OF HISTORY. The revolution and the fight for it is the source of all progress and all unity in today's world. Not compromise, not miserable maneuvers, not cowardly slanders. This is the positive lesson of this split for workers and youth and why an understanding of this can lead to a strengthening of the forces of the world revolution.

Because the world revolution on the march shattered the "United Secretariat." All their compromise, maneuvers and slanders could not overcome the force of the revolution. Every time the world revolution advances, these usurpers of the banner of the Fourth International fall apart and deepen their capitulation to Stalinism.

Thus this "United Secretariat" virtually destroyed its section in Portugal, built on the basis of the revolutionary upsurge that took place there. Its section in Spain is in chaos. Its section in Iran literally abandoned to the repression of the Khomeini regime. And its former comrades in Nicaragua turned over to the Sandinista police and Panama torturers by the "leadership" of this "United Secretariat."

Wherever the revolution has advanced, these pseudo-Trotskyist usurpers have fallen apart. No one can deny this and no one left in the USec can explain this.

Ritual denunciations of "sectarianism" and "refusing to turn to industry" won't work. Nor can they explain the fact that in face of this advance of the world revolution the strongest organization in this USec is the American SWP, an organization in the heart of world imperialism whose program for the United States is based around an amendment to the U.S. Constitution (a "Bill of Rights for Working People")!

It is the advance of the world revolution that has shattered this collection of pseudo-Trotskyists. The fact that the workers and youth throughout the world are a hundred times more revolutionary than the Stalinist and trade union bureaucrats that these pseudo-Trotskyists claim have "the confidence of the masses." The fact that the workers and youth throughout the world are a thousand times more combative than these pseudo-revolutionary "leaders" who, from a position behind the masses, try to lead them into pacifist and dead-end solutions.

No-- this split is not an obstacle to uniting the revolutionary forces in the world today because it is a proof that the revolutionary spirit of the masses and pseudo-Trotskyists are incompatible.

And the results of this split still have to be clarified for workers and youth. A key obstacle to this is the "Parity Committee" formed by the slanderer Lambert with Moreno, a former leader of the USec. Although opposed to the USec's treacherous support to Castro and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and formally opposed to the USec's open adaptation to Stalinism, this "Parity Committee" remains an obstacle to revolutionary clarification and is a trap for the working class and youth.

First of all, this "Parity Committee" is based on the same policy of maneuvers, compromise and slanders that shattered the USec. Its program, like the USec, is not based on the fight for the world revolution but once again on the now infamous "reunification of the world Trotskyist forces." As opposed to a fight for revolutionary clarification, this "Parity Committee" wants to bring everyone back together again and "prevent the dispersion of the Trotskyist

forces."

But it is the Revolution which has "dispersed" these "forces" and will continue to do so.

Unable to base itself on the revolution, this "Parity Committee," even more than the USec is based on the Stalinist slanders against the Fourth International. It is Lambert of the French OCI, who attempted to liquidate the forces fighting for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, (who completed the rebuilding of the Fourth International), through a campaign of physical violence against the FI and a leader, Michel Varga, accusing him of being a "CIA-KGB" agent.

This slander campaign against the Fourth International remains the reason for the existence of this "Parity Committee" whose only purpose on the world scale is to prevent honest militants who are breaking with the USec from finding their way to the real Fourth International and the real revolutionary policy

This is why we say that although the revolution is the motor force of history and has shattered the plans of the pseudo-Trotskyists on a world scale, this understanding will only have a positive result if workers and youth and honest militants disgusted with their organizations find their way to the PARTY of the world revolution.

Without this party, the Fourth International, the revolution cannot be victorious. Without a party based on the march of the world revolution, the spontaneous combats and heroic struggles of the workers and youth remain without a political leadership.

A world party with a revolutionary program and principles is required. The split of the USec has proven that a party based on maneuvers and compromise has no future. A party based on Stalinist slanders has no future and perhaps now militants can see the purpose of the slander campaign against the Fourth International -- a campaign to hide the pseudo-Trotskyists' fear of the revolution and its party.

Only the revolution has a future. And only the party leading the fight for the revolution is the party for today. January 16, 1980