

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Iranian Revolution Is Our Revolution Defend It!

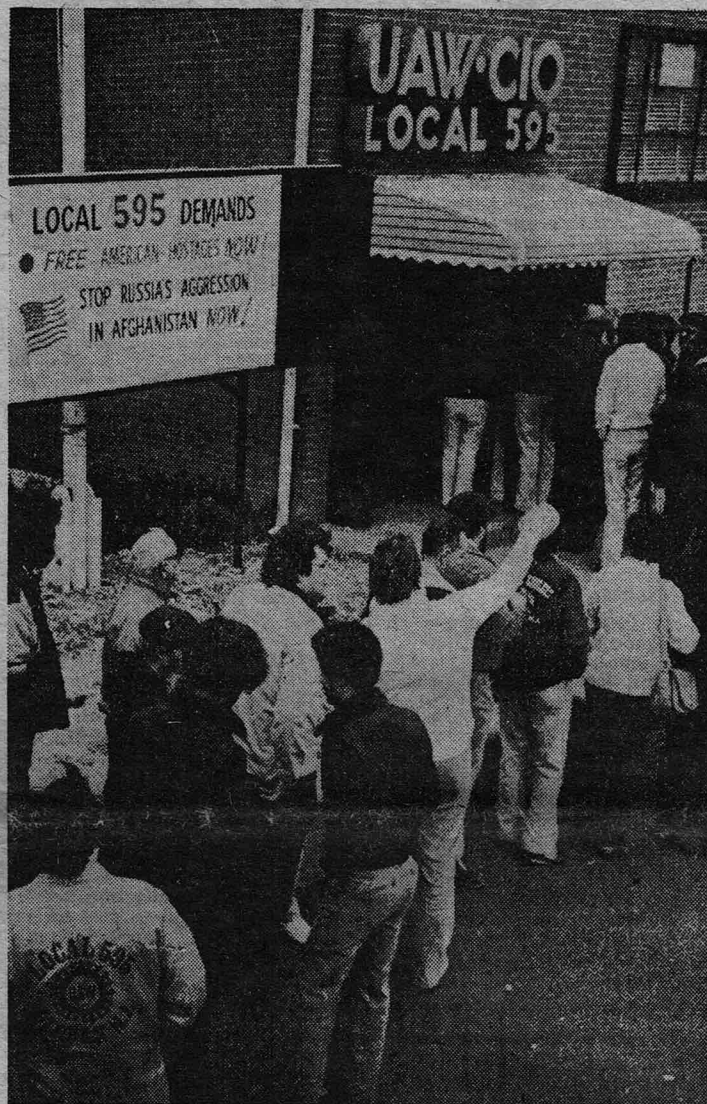
U.S. Imperialism and Its War Criminal, Jimmy Carter, have blundered for the last time!

See to it that they never get the chance again!

DISARM IMPERIALISM BY PREPARING THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

Join the mobilization for a workers candidate and organize this fight!

(See Back Page)



Local No. 595 in New Jersey — while autoworkers line up to collect unemployment they have to pass by the pro-imperialist slogans put up by the UAW bureaucrats: "Free American Hostages Now!" "Stop Russia's Aggression in Afghanistan Now!" — While the bureaucrats serve imperialism the UAW is being destroyed. An immediate task:

Emergency National Convention of the UAW!

TRUTH



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Build the Workers Fund for the International!



May 1st, May Day, is the one day out of the year, if no other, that every worker and youth should think of THE INTERNATIONAL. Not in the geographic sense, but in the sense of the INTERNATIONAL of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. The workers International.

When most workers and youth think of the revolution, they think of an explosive and spontaneous rebellion. And there is no doubt that the revolution is that. The revolutionary struggle of today -- from Iran to El Salvador -- shows the mass basis for the socialist revolution and its inevitable triumph.

But if a revolution is explosive and, at times spontaneous, it is not UNCONSCIOUS. This is an important distinction. Marx said, "The philosophers have all interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." The step from "interpreting" to "changing" is the step in history from isolated national struggles of the working class to the first workers INTERNATIONAL of Marx and Engels. From that moment on, the revolution has been a CONSCIOUS act, from the centralization of the struggles of the workers, strikes and demonstrations, to setting the date and time for the revolutionary insurrection.

Of all the political currents and tendencies which claim to be fighting for the workers socialist revolution today, only one has fought to maintain and

advance the struggle for THE INTERNATIONAL. And that current is TROTSKYISM and the fight for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Say what they may, no other current of the workers movement has put the fight for the international revolutionary party at the center of their daily work. Ask them: they will either ignore you or tell you it is a foolish struggle. That is because at the very base, the opportunists believe it is impossible for the working class to construct its INTERNATIONAL.

The fight for an International is a costly one, not only in terms of dollars and cents, but in terms of all the sacrifices that are required to take one step farther every day on the road to the World Republic of Workers Councils, which has been the goal of all the INTERNATIONALS, from the First to the FOURTH.

The greatest revolutionary leaders of our time have never let material difficulties stand in the way of the organization of an international party. This is because -- foremost among them, Lenin -- they have never separated "theory" and "practice" into two opposed areas of activity. The most talented propagandists, writers and agitators of the party require organization and an apparatus to function. In fact, that is the mark of a serious revolutionary leadership and party, one that sees the revolution as a daily, material, and political struggle.

The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL may not be able to set the date for the revolutionary insurrection, but it insures that this time will come by fighting to unite the struggles of the workers of the various countries. Capitalism has not made this an easy task.

For example, in order to build an international meeting it is necessary to take account and surmount all manner of material and financial problems. In the U.S. it is even illegal under the Voorhis Act for workers to directly belong to any international organization. In order to send one delegate to an international Congress, it costs more than it does to produce four issues of TRUTH. And in order to buy the equipment to have TRUTH professionally typeset, would cost more than three to four delegates to an international congress -- more than sixteen issues of TRUTH.

In the strictest political sense, the Workers Fund for the Fourth International, and the whole material struggle for an apparatus and organization, is the most serious test of our ideas. The revolution cannot be made in dollars and cents, but it cannot be made without a workers INTERNATIONAL, without a WORKERS PRESS, nor without an apparatus.

BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL!
BUILD THE WORKERS FUND!

TRUTH

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Fraser gets only 7,700 votes for Kennedy in Michigan

Crisis in Auto is Crisis of Leadership

By JON COHEN

The Democratic Party primary which took place in Michigan on April 26 presents a telling story. Out of the nine million people who live in the state of Michigan, only 40,000 people registered for the Democratic Party primary. Out of the 40,000 people, only 15,000 bothered to vote.

And in all of Michigan, the center of auto and the UAW, Doug Fraser, Kennedy's #1 supporter, managed to gather together only 7,793 votes for Kennedy!

This comes at a time when over 200,000 autoworkers are laid off, when new plant closing are being announced every day, when Michigan has the highest unemployment rate in the country. And also coming just a day after the invasion of Iran it represents a stunning defeat for both Kennedy and Fraser as well as Carter (who only got 7,567 votes).

It represents a clear expression of the total failure of the UAW bureaucracy to exercise any political leadership over its ranks, a total failure to channel the disgust with Carter behind Ted Kennedy. It represents the massive rejection of the Democratic Party and its politicians by the masses of workers and youth.

It also shows that in face of U.S. imperialism's latest defeat in Iran workers turned neither to "supporting the President" or to try to show their disgust with Carter by voting for his opponent. Instead, they showed their disgust with all of them.

There's another part of this story. It concerns the photo on the front page of this issue of TRUTH which shows a UAW local in New Jersey with workers lined up outside to collect their unemployment benefits.

On the wall of the local hall are the pro-imperialist slogans of the UAW bureaucracy "Free the hostages," "Down with the Russian invasion of Afghanistan."

There is a link between the 200,000 workers laid off and the pro-imperialist propaganda of the bureaucrats, a link between the lack of any confidence in the present leadership of the UAW and the political disarmament of the masses of autoworkers in the present situation.

The link is the fact that the crisis in auto is not merely an "economic" crisis, the result of some mystical play of "the market," the "energy crisis," "foreign competition" or any of

the other so-called explanations going around today.

It is a political crisis. An attack on the vanguard of the American working class, the best organized, most militant sector of the U.S. proletariat organized in the bastions of production. It is an attack being led by U.S. imperialism directly and by its servants in the workers movement, the bureaucrats.

There is a direct link between this attack and the revolution which is on the march throughout the world. In order to prevent this revolution from deepening and spreading the U.S. working class must be crushed. In order to be able to wage war and discipline the rest of the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie must be able to discipline its own working class.

This disciplining has to start in auto. The layoffs only express this attempt not just to throw some more workers into unemployment lines, but to permanently DISORGANIZE and DESTROY a bastion of the U.S. proletariat.

Thus this attack centers first of all on the attempt to disorganize and politically disarm the autoworkers. It is first of all on the CONSCIOUSNESS of the working class, because this consciousness is key to resolving not only the layoffs but EVERYTHING ELSE.

The bureaucrats attack the consciousness of autoworkers with their "nothing can be done" line, with their support to imperialist propaganda and attempt to resurrect the Democratic Party behind Kennedy. With Fraser's sitting on the board of directors of Chrysler they have tried to destroy everything that a union is supposed to stand for.

The bureaucrats have their helpers. The recently formed "Citizen's Party," with its proposal to "buy back" the running auto plants from the capitalists. Does it surprise you that the same people, like Ed Sadlowski, who support the workers' "saying" the auto plants for the capitalists, don't support the right to strike in steel? Strike? That's going too far. Or the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP, running a scab for President, who told autoworkers to "read and study" Doug Fraser's declarations about class war in this country and who are simply thrilled by the layoffs "because young workers are getting interested in the union

again."

All of them combine to join this campaign of disorganization and political disarmament by telling the autoworkers that the situation is hopeless, that they should "wait until 1982" for things to get better.

But the situation isn't hopeless. The political situation in the world and in the U.S. today provides all the elements for turning the situation around.

U.S. imperialism, as expressed by its latest defeat in Iran, is on the defensive. It is time for U.S. workers to take the offensive.

This offensive must begin with autoworkers; they are key to the mobilization of the entire working class.

The crisis in auto is a crisis of leadership; a new leadership must be forged to lead the combat of the autoworkers. This leadership must take the forefront of the fight to politically arm the working class in face of the attacks of imperialism and its servants.

The fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE is crucial to building this leadership and turning the situation around. The primary results in Michigan prove that the Democratic Party and Republican Party are MINORITY parties -- the majority of workers and youth in this country want SOMETHING ELSE.

Autoworkers can take the lead in transforming this wish for something else into a conscious struggle for class independence of the working class, into a conscious struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The key to the resolution of the crisis in auto is leadership, the key to building this leadership is a political combat to arm the working class against U.S. imperialism.

An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW, on the basis of the fight for the resolution printed below is the first step in this fight. Enough of Carter, enough of Kennedy, enough of Fraser. LET THE WORKERS DECIDE WHAT TO DO.
April 29, 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.

For A United Socialist Germany (Part II)

Down With The Berlin Wall!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

This is the second article in our two-part series on the German Revolution.

The struggle for the socialist unification of Germany as the key to the unity of the social and political revolutions against imperialism and Stalinism is at the center of the policy of the Fourth International.

This article is particularly concerned with the struggle of the German workers for their revolutionary unity and with the combat of the Fourth International to give that struggle the leadership it must have.

As World War II drew to its end, imperialism and Stalinism became ever more worried about the growing revolutionary mobilization of the masses that was emerging from the imperialist crisis of the war.

In these concerns, Germany occupied a central place. The necessity to impose fascism on Germany in the first place arose from the critical role of the German proletariat internationally.

A major preliminary to attacking the European working class was isolating the German workers. Stalinism and imperialism presented ALL Germans, including the German working class which had lived the longest under the Nazi heel, as "Huns," "beasts," etc.

The Fourth International, despite the terrible repression it suffered during the war, stood against these counterrevolutionary slanders in deeds. The French and German Trotskyists, in complete conditions of underground struggle against both Gestapo repression and Stalinist betrayal to this repression, organized revolutionary cells within the German armed forces of occupation!

Around the clandestine newspaper, ARBEITER UND SOLDAT ("Worker and Soldier"), gathered the elements of the revolutionary vanguard of the German working class. This demonstration in action that the spark of revolution had never been extinguished among the German workers and that it could be fanned into flames gave the lie to the whole propaganda campaign of the "Allies."

Thus, while it was the Gestapo that carried out the crushing of these cells, Stalinism eagerly did its bit in the struggle against what they represented. On the eve of the "liberation" of Paris (by the U.S. and DeGaulle!), the French Stalinist newspaper had as its headline: "Every Frenchman get his kraut!"

The Yalta and Potsdam Conferences determined the military division of Germany, in particular of "Red Berlin," the heart of

the German working class.

But this was not enough. A whole intense period of collaboration by the counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance was needed to break the revolutionary wave in Europe. It was at the end of this period, in 1949, that the military division could become political, with the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany ("West Germany") and the Democratic Republic ("East Germany") as the so-called "two Germanys."

The German workers, especially the youth, reacted against this division with a whole series of protests in 1950, including an "incursion" into the "American Zone" of Berlin by youth from the "East."

This striving for unity also found an expression in the revolt of the East German workers (centered in East Berlin), which issued an appeal for a response from the workers in the West.

It was in response to this first outbreak of the political revolution that the pro-Stalinist faction in the leadership of the Fourth International, the Pabloites now organized in the "United Secretariat," emerged. These pseudo-Trotskyists opposed the call for the overthrow of the bureaucracy and withdrawal of the Kremlin's troops and tried to present the bureaucracy as having to "continue along the road of still more ample and genuine concessions."

Thus, the forces that fought this betrayal and rebuilt the Fourth International in 1976 received their political baptism in the fundamental questions of the German Revolution.

Thus, it was not accidental that after 1968, these elements (organized in the International Committee) would base themselves on the mobilization of the European youth in seeking to build the Revolutionary Youth International.

The rally of 5000 youth in Essen, Germany, in 1971 at the call of the IC was likewise the decisive turning point in the development of the IC. The gains made in the struggle for the youth directly posed the possibility and necessity of moving to the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

The struggle for this rebuilding found its expression and its final impetus in the Berlin Rally -- right in front of the Berlin Wall -- and the founding of the RYI in December 1975. Politically, this represented a clear understanding of the centrality of the German Revolution. The Socialist United States of Europe and the youth's fight for it lay through the battle

expressed in the slogan "Down With the Berlin Wall!"

What is the Berlin Wall? Is it the "defense" of the socialist conquests in the East? Is it the "opposite" of the "freedom" in the West?

NO! It is the perfect expression of the division of Germany and of the collaboration of capitalists and bureaucrats in this division.

The "economic" crisis of the bureaucracy is the result of trying to "build socialism" not even in "one country," but in half a country. The only real solution to this crisis is the overthrow of imperialist rule and the socialist unifica-



tion of the country. But the bureaucracy came to power precisely by accepting the division of Germany and imperialist rule in the West. A revolutionary perspective would mean its own overthrow. On this basis, the Berlin Wall is literally a barrier to the unity of the German workers, a barrier to the revolution, a means of preserving the imperialist order in Europe.

That is why it is not surprising that the follow-up to the building of the Wall was the imposition of the pro-capitalist "economic reforms" in East Germany. There, like elsewhere, they are a direct attack on the socialist conquests.

"Down With the Berlin Wall" is likewise the key to the struggle against the West German capitalist regime. Because, despite its demagogy about "freedom," this regime also rests on the division of Germany, on the defeat of the German workers.

That is why, after 1968, in response to the growing mobilization of the youth and workers, the German bourgeoisie installed the traitorous Social Democrats in power.

The "Ostpolitik" ("policy

toward the East") of the old anti-Trotskyist Willy Brandt was one of the key elements of "detente," the attempt to crush the revolution through closer and closer collaboration between imperialism and Stalinism.

"Ostpolitik" accepted the post-war boundaries imposed by the Holy Alliance. It accepted, after years of empty bluster, the "independence" of East Germany. It was, in other words, an attempt to ratify and rigidly enforce the division of Germany as a barrier to the revolution.

On the basis of this deal with Stalinism, West German capitalism, using the "working class" cover of the Social Democracy, was able to carry the terrorist state to new heights. The "berufsverbot" (a "loyalty" program that exceeds McCarthyism in its effectiveness by far) is one example of capitalist "freedom." "Anti-terrorism," the other face of the terrorist state, was implemented on a grand scale in West Germany, culminating in the mass murder (presented as "suicides") of the "Red Army Faction" ("Baader-Meinhof") in their prison cells.

"Ostpolitik," this combination of "peaceful coexistence" and state terrorism, was in many ways a dry run for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was formalized in Helsinki in 1975.

In the last few years, "detente" has collapsed under the blows of the world revolution. "Security and cooperation in Europe" now passes through the TERRORIST REARMAMENT of the Holy Alliance. Stalinism faces more and more demands from imperialism. It needs more bargaining chips to get back its place in the imperialist order. To the Kremlin, Afghanistan is one such chip.

But Afghanistan is penny-ante. Imperialism is playing for big stakes. Germany is the biggest chip the Kremlin has to offer. The Madrid Conference (continuing Helsinki) scheduled for November of this year, is key to the terrorist rearmament; the fate of Germany is up for grabs.

Will it be united by socialist revolution, inspiring the whole European proletariat, or by Stalinist betrayal, demoralizing the international working class? That is what is at stake in the struggle of the RYI and the Fourth International for the boycott of the Madrid Conference, the Youth March on Madrid and the Counter-Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe.

April 27, 1980

World Crisis in Auto

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Internationally, imperialism is in the middle of a vast attempt to reorganize the auto industry. This attempt, with its massive rearrangement of production, its wiping out of whole factories and whole companies, is not merely an "economic" matter. It represents an attack on all the gains and conquests of the working class, above all on its consciousness, in order to rebuild imperialism on their ruins.

This is the "world crisis in auto" that is most advanced in the U.S., but which involves auto production on the world scale.

When the auto barons of the world talk about "restructuring," they are talking about physical capacity only secondarily. What really has to be "restructured," in their eyes, is the whole present relationship between the classes; that is, the autoworkers have to be beaten.

When we see the vast rationalization, concentration and centralization that is going on all over the world in auto, it is necessary to see in this not some spontaneous "economic process" but a military operation directed against the key battalions of the working class -- the autoworkers -- and against their strongholds -- the great factories.

Capitalism is an economic system, of course, so there is an economic character to this crisis. But, more importantly, imperialism (capitalism) today is a SOCIAL SYSTEM, and this crisis is above all a SOCIAL crisis. A crisis of this society, of class rule, is fundamentally a POLITICAL crisis.

From Spain to the U.S., from Italy to Argentina, the great auto companies are in turmoil. Everywhere they are confronted with falling profits, with a dismal future. They cannot hope to emerge from this situation by relying on natural forces. These natural forces are what have placed them in this situation in the first place. Nor are their problems those of some temporary or conjunctural character -- "energy crisis," "time for U.S. auto companies to get competitive cars into production," etc.

No, the whole auto industry has to be reorganized on a whole new basis. And the cutting edge of this reorganization, as we have said, is the defeat of the autoworkers.

For instance, let us take just the most recent examples of this restructuring in the U.S. The key to the situation was the successful closing of Dodge Main in the name of, of course, "low productivity" and "lack of profitability."

But in reality, Dodge Main was closed because it was the key plant in terms of militancy and struggle, of consciousness of the autoworkers, in Chrysler, the key auto producer in the key city -- Detroit.



The closing of Dodge Main, together with the "peaceful" auto negotiations of last fall, were the basis on which the auto companies have been able to go ahead and organize more and greater attacks on the strongholds of the working class.

Is it any accident that Ford's plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, has been closed for the same alleged reasons? Mahwah has been the site of major political struggles for years and was directly connected to the class struggle in New York City.

Is it any wonder that the ranks of autoworkers in Detroit are being decimated by layoffs and shut-downs -- permanent and "temporary" -- at every plant with a history of struggle -- the Rouge, Cadillac, Lynch Road, Fleetwood.

This is the real face of the reorganization, the face that counts. Because all of the plans of the auto barons -- to organize production on a world scale, to "rationalize" production, to combine corporations -- depend on the success of these attacks.

The autoworkers, with their powerful organizations, with their long traditions of struggle, with the gains they have made engraved on their consciousness, are the barrier to these plans.

Renault wants to invest in the U.S. through American Motors. But it is interested in profit from this venture. It is interested in using it as a tool against the French workers. Is it any accident that whole plants have been closed at AMC? Is it any accident that workers at its key plants have been on "layoff" for years?

If the objective of the rationalization is to reduce Chrysler to the status of a tank maker and specialized producer to the biggest corporations, can this pass without defeating the Chrysler workers?

If the auto barons want to continue their drive for a "world car," which is already taking shape in the Chevette and the Fiesta, this means a complete re-

organization of production on the world scale. This cannot occur without defeating the workers.

Investment in the U.S. is the latest battle cry of the American auto barons and those, like Douglas Fraser, who do their dirty work. What is the reason for this campaign? Forget all that junk about "unfair" competition. Forget all that junk about the American consumer "wanting" a big car until the "energy crisis" emerged out of the blue. The whole reason big cars were produced in the U.S. was profit. (Example: a few years ago, the difference in production costs between a Chevy Caprice and a Cadillac De Ville was about \$400; and the difference in price was \$3400!).

No, the Japanese and Germans are under pressure to move into the U.S. -- to the extent that this is not just a blatant cover-up for the responsibility of the U.S. corporations in the layoffs, -- because this is part of the international reorganization that is underway. The Japanese home market is saturated. International expansion is its only hope. But the Japanese would prefer to wait to see if the U.S. working class is softened up enough yet to enable it to carry out its plans successfully. In the meanwhile, it would rather invest in Latin America and Asia.

But the U.S. auto barons, while screaming about "foreign" competition, are aiming toward exactly the same areas. They are telling the Japanese that the responsibility of confronting the American workers is theirs also. Likewise, they are telling them they are not going to be free to exploit the colonial and semi-colonial countries while the U.S. auto barons stew in their own juices.

U.S. imperialism has to spend by 1985, \$80 billion to "reorganize" U.S. auto production. This is a sum greater than the gross national product of Sweden and corresponds to the net profits

of all American corporations in 1975. Where are they going to get this money.

Out of the hides of the working class obviously. But this has its physical limitations. The road of loans and loan guarantees, of state intervention on a massive scale, is the only possibility. The intervention of the state AGAINST the autoworkers. If at FIAT in Italy, the company discharges 61 militants as "terrorists" and these "terrorists" are later part of the recent "round-up" of "suspects" throughout Europe, this is only the first wave of these attacks by the state in the interests of "restructuring."

"Productivity," "profitability," are not mere economic categories. They are codewords for the dispersal of the autoworkers, for their political isolation and atomization in the face of the plans of the counterrevolution.

It is not possible to fight these plans and to emerge victorious on a "trade union" basis. Political attacks demand political responses. They want to defeat the workers of the imperialist countries, above all of the U.S., in order to make them passive and helpless in face of the attacks on the world revolution.

The fight against these attacks, therefore, is not just a narrow, national struggle against the big companies at home.

The struggle against restructuring is a struggle for the class independence of the workers -- from their "own" bourgeoisie, from its agents in the workers movement, trade union bureaucrats and Stalinists (and in many countries they are the same).

When Carter and Fraser, despite their "fierce differences," along with Ted Kennedy, etc., etc., all call for "national unity," what they mean is accepting their lies and their suppression of autoworkers in the U.S., and workers and youth around the world, in the name of some higher, "national," interest. But the real meaning of the "national interest" is the interest of the bourgeoisie in insuring its continued rule through the subordination of the working class.

When the striking workers of International Harvester, who fought the corporation to a standstill in the longest UAW strike against a major producer, despite a complete policy of betrayal by their leadership, cried out, "We refuse to be slaves!" they hit the nail right on the head.

Will we be slaves for U.S. imperialism, so it can enslave the whole world? Or will we overthrow it? That is the fundamental question of the "restructuring."

The other day, Doug Fraser blandly predicted more layoffs. "I don't," said he, "see any light at the end of the tunnel, unless it's a locomotive coming down the track."

Fraser thinks the autoworkers are going to be run down. But Marx said: "The revolution is the locomotive of history." April 29, 1980

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

20 years ago the revolution in Cuba inspired youth and workers the world over. Support was so strong U.S. imperialism couldn't intervene. Youth from the U.S. to Poland modeled themselves on those they thought led the revolution.

Today, 10,000 people are clamoring at the gates of the Peruvian embassy trying to get out.

U.S. imperialism says the socialist revolution has failed and in the name of "human rights" is "rescuing" the refugees.

What is worse, so does Fidel Castro, alleged leader of the revolution. In speech after speech in the last year he's developed this theme.

- On the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution at a celebration of the Nicaraguan Revolution where he said: "Nicaragua won't be another Cuba," as if expropriating the imperialists and destroying their state as the Cuban workers did was false.

- At a speech to the National Popular Power Assembly where he said the problems with the railroad system were only a symptom of "the shortcomings of our system, our socialism ... under capitalism there was more discipline ... perhaps we have been too idealistic."

- At the UN: "I have not come here as a prophet of revolution ... I have come to speak of peace and cooperation."

- With Barbara Walters when he said he'd changed since the time of the revolution -- "I am more mature, more responsible, and I have more respect for the U.S. and for the UN. I was a revolutionary then, now I am a statesman."

- And most recently in yet another speech to the "Popular Assembly" where he said Cuban workers were incapable of making even a pair of workpants, incapable of understanding "the problems of underdeveloped countries," that many had become accustomed to stealing, "corrupt, evil, demoralized."

First it is necessary to say that this is a lie! Be it from the lips of imperialism or Castro, alleged leader of the revolution.

The socialist revolution in Cuba opened up the perspective of freedom from imperialist exploitation and oppression for the masses of people of this hemisphere. Cuban youth and workers are far better off than they were under Batista.

The masses of this planet realize this as they're overthrowing the modern-day Batistas in Iran, Nicaragua and El Salvador. And so do the most revolutionary and class-conscious Cubans as they attack Castro and his regime for his increasing similarity to Batista.

The restoration of imperialism in Cuba, the recolonization of Cuba, the reversion of Cuba to the brothel for imperialism it once was -- would be a terrible blow to the world revolution. This is what the imperialist lie that the socialist revolution has failed is designed to prepare.

The revolution must be defended.

Defending the revolution in Cuba means identifying and confronting the real problems before it, not hiding them or falsifying them as the renegades of the Fourth International in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) do. An incomparable aid to imperialism!

All the allegedly insurmountable problems before the Cuban workers -- the "blue rust"

fungus, the plant rot, the shortage of raw materials, foodstuffs, capital goods, the lack of technique, consumer goods -- can be resolved by U.S. and Cuban workers, by liberating the tremendous resources of the U.S. from the imperialist parasites and destroying their state, by planning the development of the U.S. and Cuba together. In short, by building a United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas.

This means a combat for the world socialist revolution and its party, the Fourth International, against the politics of imperialist "human rights" and Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" and their agents in this hemisphere, especially Castro.

His open attacks on the socialist revolution are not just one more betrayal from the "Castro team," but a profound attack on the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and oppressed masses in this hemisphere, paralleled only by the Eurostalinists like Carrillo and Berlinguer who say the October Revolution was a mistake, that it led and can only lead to the bureaucratic monstrosity which still dominates the USSR. They cannot be ignored.

It means a combat to build the Fourth International in the U.S. and Cuba and drive the politics of "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" out of the ranks of the working class.

These politics and their advocates are the real "blue rust," the real "plant rot," responsible for the crisis of the revolution.

In the last four years "human rights" and "peaceful coexistence" have meant the isolation of the Cuban working class from the world revolution, especially the U.S. working class, and the increased collaboration of "democratic" imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. The meeting between liberal Democrat George McGovern, American businessmen and Castro, designed to reestablish American business in Cuba, in

particular the infamous "tourist" trade. The "dialogue" with the Cuban Community (read Cuban counterrevolutionaries) in the U.S., the release of hundreds of counterrevolutionaries from Cuba's jails.

Instead of getting U.S. imperialism to help "socialist Cuba" as Castro and his dupes in the SWP promised it would, he has encouraged U.S. imperialism to demand the ultimate capitulation, turning Cuba back over to U.S. imperialism and its plethora of mobsters in and out of Congress.

Instead of bringing relief to the Cuban working class as they promised, Castro's policy has led to the flowering of petty bourgeois and counterrevolutionary elements who with all their newly acquired "human rights" are oppressing and exploiting Cuban workers and conspiring with U.S. imperialism to overthrow their revolution.

Where did all this talk about "work discipline" come from all of a sudden, if not from these elements? Who imposed martial law and carried out the witch-hunt against the revolutionary Cuban youth in January, if not these fruits of "human rights"?

Castro's increasingly open and explicit attacks on socialist revolution reflect imperialism's demands and the growing pro-imperialist wing of the bureaucracy in Cuba. Whether he personally is for imperialist restoration and a part of this wing is of no importance. He is totally powerless before it and he and his apologists, above all in the SWP, must be exposed and driven out of the workers movement.

U.S. youth and workers must take the lead in the struggle to defend the Cuban revolution with the world socialist revolution, with the destruction of imperialism in its heartland, the U.S. The fate of the revolution is in our hands.

The revolutionary political struggle of the U.S. working class to build the Fourth Inter-

The Melting Pot

When it comes to defending the "human rights" of counterrevolutionaries and potential counterrevolutionaries, and finding a home for them, the U.S. really goes all out!

First it was the Vietnamese, then the Shah, then Somoza. Now Floridians are manning their boats and riding over to Cuba to pick up people gathered at the Peruvian embassy, hoping that they'll join the ranks of the counterrevolutionaries making the U.S. their new home.

But when it comes to people fleeing the bloody dictatorships and corrupt democracies they support, like the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans or the Haitians, well, that's a differ-

ent story.

Some of our noble freedom-loving advocates of free enterprise in Florida are contracting with Haitians to bring them to the U.S., taking their money, then dropping them in the middle of the ocean and leaving them to drown. And the U.S. Coast Guard? Well, it's out of their "jurisdiction."

This barbarism must be condemned! "Human rights" must be exposed for what it is -- making the U.S. a melting pot for counterrevolutionaries and crushing the world revolution.

April 28, 1980
M.G.

national and its sections in the U.S. and Cuba can make the alternative of revolutionary cooperation between U.S. and Cuban workers concrete to the Cuban workers in a way that nothing else can.

Castro has always used the alleged inactivity and reactionary politics of the U.S. working class as an excuse for his collaboration with "democratic" imperialism.

A massive revolutionary political struggle in defense of the revolution, against this new capitulation, will be a profound refutation of this lie, a tremendous impulsion to the construction of the Cuban section of the International and the political revolution in Cuba.

Together U.S. and Cuban workers can assure the victory of the revolution in this hemisphere.

This is the combat of the Fourth International and the Conference of the Two Americas. Join it!

April 27, 1980



dynamics
of the cuban
revolution
the trotskys view
by joseph hansen

A CENTRIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

A TRUTH PUBLICATION
DECEMBER, 1978
25 CENTS

U.S. Out of El Salvador!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all workers and youth in the United States to STOP ALL SUPPORT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM to the military junta in El Salvador.

Millions of dollars for arms and military "advisors" have been sent by the Carter government and used in the bloody repression of the El Salvadoran workers and peasants.

U.S. Marines, according to the February 28 People's Leagues, actually participated in the massacre of more than 100 peasants during a strike at a farm in El Congo. Since the beginning of 1980, more than 660 people have been killed by the police and the army.

STOP ALL MILITARY ORDERS TO EL SALVADOR!

The policy of U.S. imperialism today in El Salvador is just the same as its policy in Iran, Vietnam and Nicaragua -- the bloody suppression of the struggle for liberation from imperialist oppression and misery. Jimmy Carter's hands are covered with the blood of the El Salvadoran masses.

Carter sees El Salvador as a last stand to defend imperialism's interests in Central America. Besides the fact that private U.S. investment in this country totaled more than \$734 million in 1977, there is the more critical nature of the POLITICAL threat posed by the liberation of all the peoples of Central America.

DEFEND THE EL SALVADORAN REVOLUTION!

Just as the Iranian revolution has provoked deep solidarity among American blacks and youth against Carter, so the White House fears the effect that the liberation of Central America -- Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Guatemala, Mexico and El Salvador -- would have in the U.S.

An article in the DETROIT FREE PRESS (2-21-80) quotes a member and founder of ORDEN, (a right-wing secret police organization in El Salvador) as saying that it was John F. Kennedy's ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS in the early 1960's that "inspired" the organization of the right-wing terror organization. In fact, under the guise of various "big brother" policies, including "human rights," U.S. imperialism has orchestrated the military dictatorships that have bloodily suppressed the struggles of workers and peasants of South and Central America.

Just as in the U.S. itself, the lies about "peace and prosperity" have been used to hide the preparation of deeper and deeper attacks on the working class and the oppressed. The liberal, labor, black alliance which Carter built in 1976 has proved to be just as vicious as the "moderate" junta which Carter supports in El Salvador.

DOWN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS DICTATORSHIPS! AND

ALL THOSE IN ITS SHADOW!

The most incredible charade which Carter is trying to put over on the American people today is the line about Soviet "expansionism." When for half a decade, ESPECIALLY IN THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA, the so-called "communist" parties have been the loyal servants of the U.S. "big brother" policy and the attacks on U.S. workers.

Fidel Castro recommended Americans vote for Jimmy Carter in '80. And the Stalinist "Communist" party in El Salvador up until just recently not only supported the military junta installed by Carter, but actually held positions in the cabinet.

The road forward for the people of Central America is the complete political independence from U.S. imperialism and its loyal servants who preach "peaceful coexistence."

FORWARD TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT!

American workers and youth face the same enemy as the people of El Salvador, whose oppressors could not stand for one week without the aid of Carter.

THE REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR IS OUR REVOLUTION!

April 25, 1980

Letter to the Parity Committee

Reprinted from *La Quatrieme Internationale* No. 81-82

The following is an open letter from the International Secretariat of the Fourth International to the Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International.

The recently formed "Parity Committee" is composed of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International led by the French OCI and several factions of the United Secretariat who were recently expelled from that organization. All of these organizations fraudulently claim to represent the Fourth International.

April 28, 1980

TRUTH

Comrades:

We have taken note of your initiative concerning the convocation of an "open, democratic, world Conference of all organizations standing for the Transitional Program and the continuity of the Fourth International..." meeting "without exculsion or precondition."

With this letter we are communicating to you our desire to participate in this Conference.

For us, the Fourth International was rebuilt in 1976 through a struggle of delimitation by developing its continuity (maintained until 1972 by the International Committee -- IC), expressed in the building of an international center fighting to win the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism and its Stalinist agency.

For this reason, we cannot support the goals of this Conference, which has set its objective as "reorganizing," "reconstructing," the Fourth International. We nonetheless desire to take part in this Conference which asserts, according to its call, that the problems of the crisis of the Fourth International must be dealt with by political means, in order to wage a struggle for the Conference to condemn the slander campaign of the French OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International. That is, for the Conference to adopt the method of workers democracy, as the only method which permits the clarification of the problems of the crisis of the Fourth International, and to reject those who use the methods of the Kremlin.

The clarification of the problems of the Fourth International is inseparable from the adoption of the methods of workers democracy. All the more, as the birth and development of these slanders against Michel Varga and the Fourth International have their origin in the crisis of the International Committee and the

struggle that we took up in 1972 to resolve it.

In the face of the new turn of the class struggle marked by the general strike in France and the beginning of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Fourth International had to respond with an offensive aimed at developing and centralizing the workers struggles and building the revolutionary leadership in this movement against the bankrupt opportunist leaderships. The International Committee had been formed to resolve the crisis of the Fourth International in the face of the capitulation of the Pabloite "International Secretariat" (today the United Secretariat-- USec), a capitulation which consisted of abandoning the struggle for an international leadership independent of Stalinism, and in turning toward the opportunist leaderships by designating them to resolve the crisis of humanity. In face of the new turn in the class struggle, the International Committee waged an important struggle to develop the continuity of the Fourth International. Some decisive initial steps were taken by the International Committee to respond to the new situation, which demanded its transformation from a federative framework into a center functioning on the basis of democratic centralism.

The International Committee took up the struggle to reestablish the continuity of the Fourth International in the countries under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy by founding the League of Revolutionary Socialists of Hungary (LRSH) and the Organizing Committee of the Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe. It turned toward the youth to engage it massively, through the building of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI), in the building of the Fourth International in the East and West. Thus 5,000 youth met in Essen (W. Germany) from the East and West and were brought into the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, for the building of the Fourth International.

This fight which, if pursued and developed, would have been able to change the relationship between the Fourth International and the proletariat, to unmask the fake Trotskyists and thus to rebuild the Fourth International, was abandoned by its chief initiators.

First it was the British Socialist Labour League (now the Workers Revolutionary Party) and then it was the French OCI (the pillar up to then of the IC) which abandoned

the only method for rebuilding the Fourth International: waging a fight for delimitation within the working class against Stalinism and its centrist aides-de-camp by basing oneself on the youth. In fact, the OCI in 1972 refused to carry its break with Pabloism out to the end, to respond to the new situation in the class struggle by continuing the revolutionary mobilization of Essen, to found the RYI and to transform the IC on this basis into a centralized leadership. On the contrary, it took a liquidationist course of capitulation to the Pabloite USec. The OCI dissolved the International Committee, trying to replace it with a "framework of discussion" in which "each organization carries out its own policy" -- the present OCRFI.

In fact, in 1972 two methods were counterposed. One was to prepare the proletarian revolution on both sides of the Berlin Wall through freeing the working class vanguard from the hold of Stalinism by implanting the methods and program of Bolshevism in the heart of the workers struggle. The other was that of Lambert and Just who, frightened by the magnitude of this task, mistook their paralysis for the impossibility of immediately resolving the crisis of the revolutionary leadership and renounced the struggle for class independence, seeking to resolve this historic task of the Fourth International by assigning this or that faction of the opportunist leaderships to accomplish it in its stead.

The first method is that of Bolshevism, the second that of centrist opportunism.

Renouncing the building of a center independent of Stalinism, hiding this capitulation behind the formation of a framework which by its very nature allows no principled discussion, where the discussions have no other goals and results than opportunist agreements between the participants, agreements which each time are defeats and deceptions in function of the shocks sustained by the opportunist apparatuses -- such is the policy that the OCI leadership conceals behind its fraudulent title of "reconstruction of the Fourth International."

The LRSH, the Trotskyist Group of Morocco, the Trotskyist Organization of Spain and the Organizing Committee of the Trotskyist militants of Eastern Europe opposed this capitulation in face of the task of rebuilding the Fourth International by taking up the fight -- first, as the Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the IC and then, after their expulsion from the OCRFI, while winning new forces, by founding the LIRQI.

From the beginning in 1972, the OCI leadership has responded to our political fight with a slander campaign. Initially launched against our comrade Michel Varga, leader of the LRSH and of the Hungarian Revolution of the Workers Councils of 1956, accusing him of being an "agent of the CIA and the KGB," these slanders were later extended to all organizations and militants who stood for this struggle, to the whole Fourth International.

The method which consists of using slanders and physical attacks to answer political differences is not the method of the working class, it is the method of the Moscow Trials and has been adopted by the OCI leadership. It is impossible to lay claim to workers democracy without waging a struggle against those who use the Kremlin's methods!

The organizations and militants which lay claim to the program of the Fourth International can clarify nothing while accommodating themselves to the slanderers.

It is in this sense that we took up the fight to unmask the slanderers. The independent Inquiry Commission, which met at the initiative of the Fourth International, concluded its work with the publication of a WHITE PAPER (which is at the disposal of all militants), bringing together documents and testimony and establishing the facts. The WHITE PAPER clearly demonstrates that the Stalinist slanders of the OCI had a political origin: the desire to strangle in slander and physical violence the battle for the development of the continuity of the Fourth International. Refusing to participate

in the Inquiry Commission on its principled basis of proletarian methods of struggle, another Inquiry Commission was formed with the participation of organizations from the USec (of which, at that time, the organizations and militants making up the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency were part), notably the French LCR and the SWP of the U.S., as well as Lutte Ouvriere from France. This commission had to nonetheless characterize the unfounded accusations of the OCI as SLANDERS.

The OCI's slander campaign failed to attain its goal: preventing the clarification and delimitation of the program of the proletariat against the pseudo-Trotskyists. The Fourth International was rebuilt in 1976, basing itself on the foundation of the Revolutionary Youth International at the foot

Continued on next page

On Guard! Defend the Gains of the Workers and Peasants of Peru!

Down With the Centrist Liquidators!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Revolutionary Left Alliance (ARI), an electoral coalition made up of Maoists and centrists, led by the "sister" party of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in Peru, has broken up on the eve of elections for a civilian government.

A recent article in the NEW YORK TIMES (April 21, 1980) applauds the break-up of the coalition. Quoting a reported conversation between two upper-class Peruvians: "At least there is one good thing, the Marxists are not going to agree on any candidate," the article echoes the American bourgeoisie as well.

In an issue of THE MILITANT, the Socialist Workers Party tries to lay the blame for the break-up of the coalition on unprincipled maneuvers of "Maoist and centrist forces," including two organizations which also claim to be Trotskyist who recently split from the ARI.

The truth is that the dissolu-

tion of the ARI is the outcome of a policy of DISSOLUTION of the independent struggle of the Peruvian workers and peasants. A policy led by the SWP with its pseudo-Trotskyist partners. Last year, basically the same coalition won more than 30 per cent of the vote in choosing a Constituent Assembly. The agreement of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party), and the POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) was based on chaining the workers and peasants movement to the "electoral process" and the military dictatorship rather than strengthening this movement's class independence. In this sense, the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY which the military government held with a gun at its head never represented even the slightest aspirations of the Peruvian masses for the demands of the national revolution against imperialism.

Instead, the military government launched a vicious attack on

the workers movement and the peasants. If today the ARI is falling apart it is because it only reflects passively the DISSOLUTION of the workers movement which was begun by the same coalition more than a year ago.

If the collapse of the ARI, a thoroughly unprincipled coalition in the first place, is to have any positive outcome, it will be on the basis of a reckoning of the most advanced workers in Peru AND THE U.S. with its policy of class treachery.

The collapse of this electoral coalition in Peru really took place last year with the split in the United Secretariat, which the SWP dominates. The Bolshevik Faction, led by Nahuel Moreno, was expelled from the U Sec for protesting the complicity of the SWP in suppressing and exiling members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade in Nicaragua. Shortly afterward Moreno allied himself with another pseudo-Trotskyist organiza-

tion, the OCRFI (Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International) which is represented by the POMR in Peru.

If the story is beginning to sound a little sordid, the important thing is that NOTHING HAS BEEN ADVANCED POLITICALLY BY THESE SPLITS. In fact they only complete the treachery of the various participants in Peru.

Though the electoral alliance has broken up, only hours before the filing deadline the Moreno faction and the POMR decided to support the candidate of the PRT, ON THE BASIS OF THE SAME TREACHEROUS PROGRAM AND POLICY OF THE ARI.

DOWN WITH THE TREACHERY OF CENTRISM!

FOR THE INDEPENDENT STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS FOR POWER!

April 26, 1980

Committee (continued)

of the Berlin Wall in 1975. It was rebuilt as the center of initiative of the world proletariat, governed by democratic centralism.

But the opportunist and destructive nature of this "center of discussion," the OCRFI, could only intensify under the impact of the class struggle and in face of the struggle of the Fourth International. The OCRFI's opportunist character rendered impossible even the cohabitation within it of the organizations that had founded it on such a basis.

Instead of being a center of principled struggle and delimitation, the OCRFI could serve only to increase confusion. It was and it remains an echo chamber for the shocks that are jarring the apparatuses. Its fundamentally national character serves as a transmission belt of the pressures of the Kremlin through its international apparatus, its national parties. The major organizations which on the basis of opportunist agreements supported its foundation against our struggle, like the POR of Bolivia and Politica Obrera of Argentina, have since left it.

The OCRFI's vocation (which it has had since 1972) -- to patch up the crisis-ridden USec -- could only grow stronger

to the extent and in the degree that the USec's crisis deepened. When, as today, the revolutionary struggle of the workers in the imperialist centers, of those in countries under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the struggle of the oppressed peoples demands a revolutionary perspective, a clear program, a firm international leadership independent of Stalinism and its diplomatic maneuvers, a leadership to counterpose the organized force of the proletariat to the attempts of imperialism and Stalinism to rearm their counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance, the OCI works only to put and to keep militants and organizations in the lap of the United Secretariat, this center of capitulation to Stalinism.

It was to carry out this policy that the OCI, led by Lambert and Just, had to attack the Fourth International, to smear those who tell the truth to the workers -- that the only weapon the masses have to free themselves from the chains of exploitation and repression is the building of their international party -- who tell them that the oppressed can in no way count on the opportunist apparatuses for their emancipation, who tell them that the road to the

proletarian revolution East and West is the Return to Lenin!

The founding of the "Parity Committee for the reorganization (reconstruction) of the Fourth International" by the OCI and two factions of the USec is a new maneuver, corresponding to the deepening crisis of the USec, which is on the verge of explosion. The Parity Committee doesn't want to and isn't able to reorganize the Fourth International; on the contrary, it wants to reorganize the USec. Instead of buckling down to clarifying the disastrous balance sheet of Pabloism's capitulation to Stalinism since 1953 and taking up the unmasking of the USec, this framework of liquidation of the Fourth International, for the OCI it is a question (as its leader Lambert states) of "discussing if there were revisionism" in the USec (INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES #934). The OCI is in fact seeking, through different factions of the USec, to save that organization, to give it a clean bill of health before the workers. This new maneuver, the foundation of the Parity Committee, after the defeat of its "reunification" pure and simple with the USec, shows that the road traveled since 1972 is a road that leads to capitulation after capitulation to the USec, to Stalinism.

It is through slander that the OCI seeks to prevent any balance sheet by militants who

want to remain faithful to their class of its capitulation in 1972 and of the opportunist maneuvers of today which are its consequences. It is through slander and physical attacks (like that to which 7 militants of the PORE, Spanish section of the Fourth International, fell victim on February 23 in Madrid), that it seeks to silence the Fourth International. It is thus that it serves Stalinism.

All organizations and militants that wish to clarify the problems of the crisis of the revolutionary leadership can do so only by taking hold of the methods of workers democracy. They must, therefore, differentiate themselves from and condemn the slanders of the OCI leadership against Michel Varga and the Fourth International.

Our demand for participation in the International Conference that you have convoked thus has the objective of presenting our positions in order for the Conference to condemn the slanders of the OCI leadership.

It is by clearly differentiating itself from the methods of Stalinism and by opting for the methods of workers democracy (that is, political struggle) that the Conference can be democratic.

Antoine Balint,
For the International Secretariat of the Fourth International
March 7, 1980

Citizens Party says:

"I'm too old to carry a red flag."

By FRED VITALE

With one of its spokesmen cynically saying, "I'm too old to carry a red flag anymore," the Citizens Party held its founding convention in Cleveland, Ohio, April 13-14. They announced their candidates for the presidential elections -- Barry Commoner for President, a scientist and liberal politician; and LaDonna Harris, head of "Americans for Indian Opportunity," wife of former Democratic Senator Fred Harris.

The Citizens Party was created to pacify and demoralize advanced workers and youth, to keep them from taking up revolutionary politics. They have entered the elections to STOP any movement for A WORKERS (not "citizens") candidate and program in the elections to battle U.S. imperialism. It is an attempt to prevent the working class from seizing this historic opportunity of the unprecedented crisis of imperialism.

Their entire program is that of the left wing of the imperialist Democratic Party. Commoner virtually admitted this when he declared that they would not run against "progressive" Democrats. The DETROIT FREE PRESS headlined their convention with "Workers to run the plants." Don't get too excited. It means that the government should save dying capitalism by nationalizing basic industry. The workers can then be placed DIRECTLY under

government control, all under the guise of "workers ownership" through government loans! In a word, a "sting" operation against the working class.

As Studs Terkel, main speaker at the convention said, "we must reclaim the American dream..." A dream that has been a NIGHTMARE for blacks and 95% of the world, and can NEVER exist again for anybody. This "dream" is their program.

Every political party expresses the interests of a class in society. The Citizens Party represents the American middle class, or "petty (meaning "little") bourgeoisie," the most reactionary, backward and cowardly class in the world. Caught between the U.S. bourgeoisie, policeman of the world, and the working class, the most powerful battalion of the workers of the world, they want to SAVE imperialism for themselves by POLITICALLY DISARMING the working class and "counseling" the bourgeoisie. They want to save the Democratic Party by preventing the creation of the Workers Party. Their politics prove there is no middle ground between imperialism and the working class, between the counterrevolution and the revolution.

It's no wonder that there is not one honest youth, worker or working class black in their party.

Who is in it? "Most of the

organized left is here in this room," said one delegate at the convention, and she was right. The cynical opportunists who once talked "revolution," now say "I'm too old to carry a red flag," (Jack Weinberg, ex-Berkeley activist) and carry the white flag of surrender instead.

Don Rose was there, the political "strategist" who organized the campaign of Jane Byrne, mayor of Chicago, a campaign to save the old Daley machine. Other supporters include the discredited Ed Sadlowski, United Steelworkers bureaucrat from Chicago who 3 years ago used the workers mobilization to save the union bureaucracy and earn a little niche for himself.

Why did they organize the Citizens Party? They are negotiating a place for themselves in the developing rearmament of the Holy Alliance between U.S. imperialism and Stalinism. They despise the workers and try to use them as a bargaining chip with the ruling class. Convinced that imperialism will survive, they want a place in its "reorganization."

That's why the Communist Party USA and the Socialist Workers Party were there too. These parties claim to have workers candidates but they were there because they are ALL vying for the support of the American middle

class, all vying for the role of best political policeman of the working class.

In a political confrontation with some members of the Citizens Party outside the Gil Scott-Heron (a black jazz musician) concert in Detroit on April 18, a member of the Fourth International demanded that they defend their program. "I was into that revolution stuff for eight years," whined one of them. Pushed further to explain why they refused to defend the Iranian revolution, they got excited saying "you're just spoiled brats" -- the very words of the U.S. bourgeoisie as its demands "Pain and discipline" from the U.S. workers.

The Citizens Party, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the "independent" Anderson are all competing for the same ground. They are NOT the competition of the movement for a Workers Candidate. Millions of OUR class are not even "citizens." They've tasted the bitter fruit of the "American dream" and spit it out. It is this class which must take up its own independent politics and battle U.S. imperialism with a movement for a Workers Candidate and Workers Party.

April 28, 1980

Steelworkers

When the Iranian masses overthrew the Shah in early 1979, 18,000 steelworkers at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyards were engaged in an historic battle to organize one of the largest non-union shops in the United States. The workers battled police, state troopers and the imperialist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties who sent them.

This strike, supported by the American working class, was key to preventing the Carter government from sending the American working class to war against Iran. U.S. imperialism could not rally workers to fight overseas that they themselves were fighting in the streets of the United States!

In the face of plant closings and a new national steelworkers contract that approves them, steelworkers can ONLY go forward by elevating the battle they began to a conscious level.

The Fourth International calls

on steelworkers, on all workers to join with it in the combat: Down with the USW bureaucracy and its "contract!" Down with imperialism! Defend the world revolution!

The plant closings, layoffs and elimination of jobs in steel are part of an international CLASS war for profits being waged against workers in every major country. In Germany, France, Britain and Italy this same "reorganization" is occurring. In the United States, U.S. Steel announced last November it would close 15 plants, laying off 13,000 workers. In a particularly provocative act, Wisconsin Steel in Chicago, owned by International Harvester, closed March 28 after assuring workers the day before that the plant would remain open! Youngstown, Ohio, lost THOUSANDS of steel jobs in a similar fashion.

Steelworkers have fought this liquidation plan in Germany and

France in 1979 and most recently in a powerful strike in Britain. U.S. steelworkers took over U.S. Steel's headquarters in Ohio and Pennsylvania. And there was the battle in Newport News fighting the oldest, most bankrupt section of the steel industry -- the shipbuilding industry.

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) bureaucracy, lackeys for the Carter government, just approved a new national steelworkers contract under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) scheme.

They pledge no national strike no matter what happens and said absolutely nothing about the closings, layoffs, etc. In other words, they approve them.

They also approve of the steel industry's "anti-import" program instituted by the Carter government in 1978, forcing out imported steel and raising prices for domestic steel. The result? 30,000 jobs lost!

This is the third time that

the USW bureaucracy has approved the ENA agreement, started in 1974 and "renewed" in 1977. BUT TODAY IS A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT SITUATION.

It was no accident that the Iranian revolution, the 50,000 strong German steelworkers strike and the battle of Newport News occurred simultaneously. Every battle in the world today confronts imperialism. The workers of the world BASE THEMSELVES on the growing struggle of the U.S. workers against their own government. The struggle of the U.S. working class is an INTEGRAL PART of the world revolution.

This is the international significance of the battle of the Newport News workers and of the present battles of the U.S. working class. And the international liquidation of steel and the USW "contract" will not pass if THIS COMBAT is developed.

April 27, 1980

FRED VITALE

Doom U.S. Imperialism by Constructing the Workers Party!

By RICH TETRAULT

U.S. imperialism, under the direction of the world's number one war criminal, Jimmy Carter, is attacking the Iranian Revolution. The recent U.S. invasion of Iran by a group of commandos must be condemned by every worker and youth who sees that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the world proletariat, that it is the policeman of the world.

Many people are saying that Carter's invasion of Iran was just a big mistake, a horrendous blunder. A young black worker in discussing the situation with a TRUTH distributor commented, "Carter had to do something. The whole world is looking at the situation and American workers are now seeing the U.S., not as it sees itself, but as the world sees it."

Indeed the Carter government is in deep crisis. But the cause of this crisis is not inefficiency, weakness, or some mysterious affliction on the part of U.S. imperialism. What has forced the American bourgeoisie into the corner is the tremendous upsurges of the proletariats of Latin America and East and West Europe. The living revolution in Iran is a banner that these proletariats and the workers and masses of oppressed people around the world must defend and hold high in confronting the dictatorships and counterrevolutionary forces of U.S. imperialism.

In the U.S., Carter can find no support among the working class for his program of sacrifices at home and war around the world. His calls for "national unity," for further class collaboration, have made more urgent the necessity for American workers and youth to draw the line between U.S. imperialism and the world revolution.

A party must be constructed to develop this break, to link the American working class with the proletariats around the world. The means to develop and channel the aspirations and revolutionary struggles of the working class to destroy U.S. imperialism and its

Stalinist servants. This is the content of the fight to construct the WORKERS PARTY in the U.S. in face of the war candidates of the capitalist parties, in face of the stooges of the Citizens Party, the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party who have nothing to offer the American working class but anti-working class rhetoric and some grand fantasy that a middle ground between imperialism and the socialist revolution can be found.

A Workers Candidate in the 1980 Elections is the plan of combat that the Fourth International proposes to the American working class to prepare a mobilization for the construction of the WORKERS PARTY. A mobilization to prepare the political rupture of workers and youth in the U.S. and consciously organize the revolution in the Two Americas.

A young worker in responding to the campaign of the Trotskyist Organization/USA for a Workers Candidate in 1980 said:

Everybody in the U.S. is completely fed up with Carter, with unemployment and layoffs, but the way they are fighting is strikes here, strikes there, it's not organized. I agree with your idea of fighting in the revolution in the elections and running a Workers Candidate because it is a real alternative. You see Bush, Anderson, all kinds of people trying to say they have something new like this Labor Party idea. Everybody's trying to start something new. But if it's a party like this Labor Party that is based on the unions which are completely rotten at this point -- any party based on this must be a fraud."

The campaign for a WORKERS CANDIDATE is an immediate struggle to construct a new leadership for the American working class. It is a campaign that demands an uncompromising commitment to the revolution. Only the Fourth International through the construction of the Workers Party as its section in the U.S. can

lead this fight by isolating the frauds and traitors in the workers movement, by transforming the trade unions into a revolutionary force for working class independence.

Young workers, students, and

unemployed -- this is your fight. Our future, the future of the revolution, depends on you. DEFEND IT! DISARM IMPERIALISM BY PREPARING THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

April 28, 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

The Iranian Revolution Is Our Revolution -- Defend It!

Down With the War Criminal Carter -- For A Workers Candidate!

U.S. imperialism has suffered another humiliating defeat at the hands of the world revolution.

Its band of hired cutthroats, its "special anti-terrorist team" self-destructed in the middle of the Iranian desert; its "humanitarian mission" in shambles. But this isn't just another example of gross incompetence and stupidity.

This defeat proves something else. It proves that the revolution is on the march and will be victorious!

It was not Carter's stupidity but the mobilization of the international and U.S. working class which condemned this fiasco to failure.

Why is U.S. imperialism, the supposed greatest power on earth, forced to slink around a desert in the middle of the night with a few broken-down helicopters and a handful of paid murderers?

Because the revolution is on the offensive today. Because of this U.S. imperialism cannot openly invade Iran. Because of this all its diplomatic maneuvers have failed -- its servants, the Stalinists, the trade union bureaucrats, the European bourgeoisie, can no longer guarantee their support.

U.S. imperialism can organize nothing. Its latest criminal act of war against the Iranian revolution was an act of desperation which shows the disorganization of U.S. imperialism and the U.S. bourgeoisie.

The march of the revolution is what the U.S. working class has to see in face of all the renewed and futile cries for "national unity."

"National unity" while unemployment soars, while strikers are being called "plundering Huns" and "anarchists" by a Detroit judge.

Strikers are "anarchists"

while Carter broke the laws of this "democracy" in order to invade Iran. He is a criminal even in their terms!

Down with the "national unity" and "democracy" of cutthroats! The victory of the Iranians is our victory!

The task of U.S. workers in face of this latest crime is clear -- SEE TO IT THAT CARTER DOESN'T GET THE CHANCE AGAIN!

Because make no mistake -- another desperate act is being prepared, even while Carter is "apologizing." Carter's actions on April 24 were criminal acts of war designed, success or failure, to prepare for further war.

Be ON THE ALERT. Trade unions, workers organizations, organizations of youth and students must mobilize against this act of war, must build a mass mobilization to insure that this criminal act was Carter's last, was U.S. imperialism's last.

The fight for a WORKERS CANDIDATE is now more urgent. Humiliated even more, these elections are a crucial test for U.S. imperialism.

A vote for ANY of their candidates is a vote for war, for more crimes. Abstaining will just mean that you are willing to let this pass.

A WORKERS CANDIDATE is needed to openly confront these war criminals, to rally the working class in defense of the world revolution.

Don't be content with grumbling about Carter's stupidity or waiting to see what new crimes are in store. Prepare a political solution that will finish with these war criminals once and for all.

April 27, 1980

THE SECRETARIAT, TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA, SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Iran: What Next?

By BARBARA PUTNAM

Following Carter's ill-fated "rescue mission" the question "What will Carter do next?" is being asked all over the world. But with equal intensity, the question must also be asked, "What next in Iran?"

It is not only the Carter regime that threatens the continuity of the revolution in Iran, but increasingly it is clear that the combined forces of the Bani-Sadr government, Khomeini and the Stalinists, all incapable of leading the revolution against imperialism to victory, pose a real danger to the revolution.

Behind cries of "national unity," Khomeini's thugs are sent out to destroy working class organizations labeling them "traitors" and "agents of imperialism." Khomeini's followers in the "Party of God" organization succeeded in routing militant fighters for the revolution out of the inner city of Tehran, destroying their printing equipment and forcing them out of public life.

More recently, the Mujahadeen

and Fedayeen, the two largest organizations under attack, resurfaced at Tehran University and were again attacked by reactionary bands of the "Party of God." In a shoot-out at the university, several militants were killed and over a hundred wounded. Bourgeois papers have portrayed this as "everybody turning against each other" or just some kind of "craziness" in Iran.

These two organizations gained their prestige in the struggle they undertook against the regime of the Shah -- rather than follow the line of conciliation of the Iranian Stalinists (Tudeh), they chose the path of struggle. This was undertaken primarily as a guerrilla struggle, but nevertheless appeared as revolutionary in the face of the Stalinist conciliators and the pseudo-Trotskyists in their shadow who wanted "intellectual and artistic freedom" instead of revolutionary struggle.

Today the attacks against these organizations and the

revolutionary youth of Iran by Khomeini along with his servants on the left, represent attacks on the revolution itself.

While it is true that an oppressed nation must be united in the face of the oppressor nation, it is never true that LEADERSHIP of the revolution should be handed over to the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and their servants. Any real unity has to be based on a fight for the independent organization of the working class, the only class capable of leading the revolution to victory.

The Iranian working class began to develop its own organizations in the oil workers strike of last fall, but those organizations, embryonic workers councils, were integrated into the bourgeois army -- what was distinctly working class turned into a "people's" struggle. The rise of Khomeini to a position of leadership coincided with the dissolution of the independent forces of the working class.

What has to happen next in Iran is a break of the forces of revolution with the Bani-Sadr government, with Khomeini and with their servants on the left, in a political struggle for the class independence of the working class of Iran, for the formation of workers councils, independently undertaking the struggle against imperialism and for the independence of Iran. What can strengthen, develop and extend this struggle is the decisive intervention of the American working class on the international political scene.

The problems the Iranian workers and militants are facing are the same as those of the workers in the United States -- a struggle for a clearly proletarian combat against all opportunism and vacillation -- that is the struggle of our party, the Fourth International.

April 27, 1980