

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

DEFEND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION!

Day 33 of the "Iranian crisis." Jimmy Carter has just pledged to "turn the screws tighter" on Iran. The Shah, suddenly recovered from his "terminal cancer," has promised to "explain" his crimes, when "this is all over." Ted Kennedy, after a brief sputter of opposition, has agreed to be "consulted" if the Shah is given permanent residence here.

The problem they all have in common is that American workers and youth haven't bought their attempt to "bring the country together" around the defense of a bloody murderer and slander against a growing revolution. A recent poll taken in Detroit showed 91% of the population against any military intervention in Iran. 63% of all blacks want the Shah returned.

And "national unity" didn't stop 1,200 steelworkers and their families from storming and occupying the headquarters of U.S. Steel in Pittsburgh on Nov. 30 to protest the loss of 13,000 jobs.

This action was an expression of the feelings of workers and youth today. But it is necessary to organize these feelings in face of the present situation. The Iranian Revolution Must Be Defended!

Only the fight for the revolution can arm workers against national reaction, racism and chauvinism. The Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to rebuild the Fourth International in the U.S., calls on all American workers and youth to defend the Iranian revolution against U.S. imperialism.

BECAUSE:

A REVOLUTION IS TAKING PLACE IN IRAN.

Not "religious fanaticism," "mob rule," but a revolution is taking place in Iran. It is the revolutionary struggle of millions of workers and youth



which overthrew the Shah and crumbled the army that was a bastion of U.S. imperialism. It is workers and youth who have seized the oil fields, fought to impose workers control of production, who have armed themselves and opened up the fight for national liberation.

Unconditional defense of this revolution! The workers and youth are fighting for national liberation, for the most basic economic and social rights, for liberation from imperialism. For control over their destiny. The process of the socialist revolution has begun in Iran, it is this which must be defended.

U.S. IMPERIALISM IS THE ENEMY.

The enemy of millions of workers and youth around the world is U.S. imperialism, the policeman of the world. It is our enemy as well and the U.S. working class supports EVERY blow against U.S. imperialism.

They say that Khomeini is using the hostages as an "excuse" to blame America for his problems in controlling the revolutionary mobilization in Iran. But no worker, no youth, ANYWHERE needs any excuse to fight U.S. imperialism. We defend them unconditionally and no matter what our differences with Khomeini are we stand 100% with Khomeini against U.S. imperialism.

The slogans of the Iranian workers and youth: Down With U.S. Imperialism! Down With Carter!-- are OUR slogans.

THE SHAH MUST BE SENT BACK!

There is only one simple and honest solution to the hostage problem-- Send the Shah Back! It is an honest demand, not only of the Iranian people, but of the U.S. working class.

Terrorism? Against this government that napalmed Vietnam? Against this government which organized the bloody coups in

Latin America? Which is behind the KKK? "Diplomatic immunity" -- for spies, for torture specialists-- "immunity" to organize the counterrevolution throughout the world? "Human rights" -- to give shelter to a butcher, the Hitler of the modern world? "Political asylum" in a country which daily deports thousands of "illegal aliens," workers struggling to survive?

Justice to the Shah is justice for the people of Iran. It is also justice for every worker and youth sick of this "democracy" that gives shelter to the enemies of freedom.

THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS ON THE MARCH-- JOIN IT!

The events in Iran are not isolated. They are part of the world revolution which is on the march, above all expressed by the revolt against U.S. imperialism that is taking place in the colonial and semi-colonial nations. The U.S. working class is part of this march, it must join it actively.

The bottom line is that these revolutions can only be defended by fighting U.S. imperialism at home, by preparing the American revolution. Those who compromise with U.S. imperialism at home can only give compromised support to the revolutions abroad.

The bottom line is that a party of the world revolution must be built in the United States, a WORKERS PARTY. Join us in building this party. Join the march of the world revolution.

DEFEND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION!
December 6, 1979

TRUTH

RVI Educational

The Revolution in Iran



and Nicaragua



One of the decisions taken by the Conference of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA which took place in Detroit on December 2 (a further report on this Conference is on the back page of this issue) was to hold an Educational Conference in Detroit on the weekend of December 22-23 to discuss the development of the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua and the tasks of the American working class youth.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA supports this Conference and calls on all readers of TRUTH to participate. As the U.S. detachment of the world army of the socialist revolution, the Revolutionary Youth International in the United States has a particular need to be armed in the fight against U.S. imperialism and the lessons of the world-wide revolt against U.S. imperialism that is taking place today throughout the world. The revolutions taking place in Nicaragua and Iran today are the best examples of this world-wide revolt and the lessons of these struggle are essential in arming American working class youth in the unconditional defense of these revolutions.

Only through such a fight for a theoretical understanding of the nature of these revolutions in colonial or semi-colonial countries can the revolutionary youth in the U.S. clearly place

themselves on the side of these revolutions. It is also only through such a fight for theoretical understanding that the youth can be armed to fight and confront the enemies of these revolutions -- which are not only U.S. imperialism, but the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists who daily capitulate to U.S. imperialism. And finally, it is only through such a fight for theory that the revolutionary youth in the U.S. can comprehend and elaborate the tasks of the youth in the United States, especially vis-a-vis the 1980 Presidential elections in which the youth must oppose the preparation of the revolution to the cynical fraud of bourgeois elections and the hypocrisy of this "democracy."

Members of the RVI should be contacted if you wish to attend in order for you to arrange to obtain the necessary study materials in advance.

We also particularly invite other youth organizations to attend and fight for their positions and especially extend a fraternal invitation to Iranian and Arab students in Detroit who are welcome to participate in this Educational.

The RVI is an army but it is also a school. A school of communism, of the revolution.

TRUTH
December 4, 1979

**Saturday and Sunday,
December 22 and 23**

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NOTE TO OUR READERS: This will be the last issue of TRUTH this year. We will resume our regular, bi-weekly edition of TRUTH with our January 4 issue. Meanwhile, we wish all our readers a Happy New Year and holiday season!
TRUTH
December 4, 1979



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A New Initiative in the Revolution in Latin America and the Middle East

For the Unconditional Defense of the Colonial Revolution!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Last month the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International met amid the new advance of the revolution on a world scale. The strong advance of the mass struggles in Latin America and the Middle East, as well as the potentially explosive situation in Europe, Eastern Europe and the United States, have produced a new turn in the political situation. It is a turn characterized especially by the deep hatred and fight of the people of the colonial and semi-colonial nations against U.S. imperialism, the policeman of the world.

In Iran millions have taken to the streets daily to denounce Jimmy Carter and U.S. imperialism for its crimes against the Iranian people. They demand that the Shah, a butcher installed by a CIA coup in 1953, be returned to Iran to stand trial. In the wake of the tremendous mobilization of the masses in Iran, there have been attacks on U.S. embassies in Pakistan, Lebanon and throughout the Middle East. The Carter administration has been quick to denounce these struggles as the acts of "fanatics" and "mobs," but the depth of the mobilization indicates a much more fundamental revolutionary process going on. Even U.S. imperialism's outpost, Israel, has been rocked by a general strike and the mobilization of the West Bank Palestinians against Israeli occupation and police terror.

Since the overthrow of Somoza a new advance in Latin America is taking place against the dictatorships put in power by the U.S. In Bolivia, despite attempts of the U.S. State Department to "legitimize" the coup of Colonel Natusch, a general strike of the Bolivian proletariat has run the military regime out of power in a matter of weeks. In Argentina and Chile, there is a deepening of the mobilizations against Pinochet and Videla. The recent attack on a busload of U.S. Navy personnel in Puerto Rico shows the hatred of the United States' colonial policy in Puerto Rico.

In the advanced capitalist nations as well as in the countries of socialist conquests, the offensive of the working class continues to exacerbate the deep crisis of imperialism and Stalinism. In Eastern Europe, the bureaucratic regimes are squeezed between the necessity to attack the working class with a new

round of price increases and unemployment caused by the penetration of imperialism into the economies of the deformed workers states and the refusal of the workers to accept these measures. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary a potentially explosive situation exists. And in Western Europe the working class and the youth refuse to accept the austerity measures dictated by the world crisis of imperialism.

It is also a political situation characterized by the international isolation of U.S. imperialism. After the failure of Carter's "human rights" maneuvers to block the revolutionary mobilizations in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, this administration is trying desperately to isolate the American working class from the march of the world revolution and the mobilization around the world against Carter and U.S. imperialism. Despite the attempts of Carter to whip up an hysterical "national unity" around anti-Iran demonstrations and reactionary propaganda, large sections of the American working class reject support to the Shah or military intervention in Iran. The most oppressed sectors of blacks and Latinos, according to recent polls, totally reject Carter's policies. As well, in the auto factories especially at Chrysler the situation remains very tense and could explode around the latest demands by the Senate banking committee that Chrysler workers re-negotiate their contract to accept a 3-year wage freeze.

This new turn in the political situation has produced the latest crisis in the "United Secretariat" of pseudo-Trotskyists. While the world revolution is advancing, the USec has split, or rather, the Moreno-led faction of Latin American sections has been expelled by the Mandel and American SWP majority. This collapse of the "re-unification" of the USec with the OCI is a direct product of the new advance of the revolution in Latin America and the Middle East. By itself, however, the explosion of the USec does not represent anything positive.

The Moreno faction and the OCI have formed a "parity committee" to "prevent the dispersion of Trotskyist forces," meaning: to patch up the re-unification. The role of this bloc is to give cover for the capitulation of the

SWP to Castroism and petty bourgeois nationalism. The price that the SWP's policy demanded -- the deportation of members of Moreno's Simon Bolivar Brigade -- was too great a pill for the OCI and Moreno to swallow. The break-up of the centrist re-groupment shows the fragility of the centrists, especially the OCI, which must discard the "orthodox" baggage it carries along with the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the FI." But it is still necessary to destroy the confusionist centers of the revolution.

It was in this situation of a new depth to the revolution in Latin America that the IEC discussed the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas and the necessity of a WORLD HEAD-QUARTERS FOR THE REVOLUTION. The fundamental problem which still confronts the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial world is that of leadership, of the construction of the sections of the Fourth International. In order to hold the Conference of the Two Americas in the best political conditions it was decided to hold it in the spring of 1980.

The Resolution calling for the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas and the Seventh World Congress of the Fourth International (summer 1980), raises the slogans -- FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN, LATIN AMERICA! FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

It is a policy which applies in Iran, where the direct military intervention of U.S. imperialism is being planned, as well as in Nicaragua where the Sandinista leadership is appealing to the U.S. State Department for a "human rights" policy for Nicaragua. It is a question of the defense of the gains of the revolution which only the Fourth International defends against the Castroite and petty bourgeois nationalist leaders who are betraying the colonial revolution.

The task of the Fourth International in the present situation is to place the American working class and the proletariat of the imperialist countries on the side of this mobilization against imperialism. It means not only building sections of the FI in the colonial countries where the nationalist leaderships retreat

from extending the revolution to a socialist and international conclusion, but also the break of the American working class, in the heart of imperialism, from the Democratic Party and the treacherous bureaucrats in the workers movement.

This is where the centrists refuse to go any further. It is one thing to formally defend the struggle against imperialism, it is quite another to destroy imperialism, which can only take place in the context of the American revolution. Opposed to the perspective of the socialist revolution in the U.S., the SWP and the rest of the centrists put forward the policy of a "democratic stage" to the revolution in the heart of imperialism.

A "democratic stage" has some meaning in countries which have been dominated by imperialism and have yet to solve even the tasks of the national and democratic revolution, although even these tasks are impossible outside of the international socialist revolution, a fact which was proved by the Russian revolution. But to speak of a "democratic stage" in the most advanced capitalist countries, in the heart of imperialism, is pure treachery.

In this connection, a campaign of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in the 1980 elections is of international importance. Furthermore, it is a main axis of the preparation of the Conference of the Two Americas for the Fourth International as a whole. But at the same time, the fight of the FI and the TO/USA in the 1980 elections goes much further than a campaign. Fundamentally, it is a struggle against the dangerous notion that there is a "democratic stage" to the revolution in the U.S. and a fight to finish with illusions of the U.S. working class in "human rights" and bourgeois democracy. Through this campaign, which is a struggle to construct the WORKERS PARTY in the United States and break the U.S. working class from the Democratic Party, the American working class can be brought to the side of the mobilization against U.S. imperialism.

The next stage of the revolu-

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Defend the Iranian Revolution!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Under cover of darkness, skulking like the criminal he is, the murderer who used to be the shah of Iran fled to the sanctuary of Lackland Air Force Base from the New York hospital where he staged his miraculous recovery from "terminal cancer."

Once again, U.S. imperialism has shown its determination to protect this vermin. Once again, it has shown its determination to resist the demands of the workers and oppressed of Iran for the return of this scum.

Much more is involved than the miserable carcass of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, fugitive from justice. This same "human rights" Carter regime that persecutes "illegal aliens" and deports political exiles warmly welcomes the Kys, Somozas and Pahlavis.

The reason is that U.S. imperialism is the center of world imperialism and of world counter-revolution. All the vicious and reactionary regimes that have fallen in the last few years are its creation. It shelters their refuse as part of its bitter struggle against the world revolution.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

Throughout this century, the oppressed masses of Iran, like those of other backward countries, have been struggling for their liberation. Liberation from poverty, liberation from exploitation, liberation from foreign domination, liberation from -- in a word -- imperialism.

Bordering on the Russian Empire British -- because it could not of the Czars, Iran (then Persia) come to terms with the same fell under the shadow of Russian reality that confronted the imperialism. So, when the Russian Revolution of 1905 broke out -- that Lenin called the "dress rehearsal" for 1917 -- it had a tremendous impact on Iran.

This took the form of the "constitutional revolution" of 1905-11, an attempt to assert the national unity and independence of Iran against its oppressors. This revolution was not successful -- replacing Russian domination with

British -- because it could not come to terms with the same reality that confronted the Russian Revolution.

Leon Trotsky, a key leader of the 1905 Revolution, drew from the experiences and lessons of 1905 the conclusion that the overthrow of the old order of Czarism could not be achieved by a "democratic" revolution by itself, but that the working class had to be the leading force in this revolution, had to assume the power; that is, to

transform the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, culminating in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is the reality that confronted Iran as well as Russia, that confronted and confronts all backward countries.

But the permanent revolution, as Trotsky called it after a statement by Marx, was not restricted to the borders of any one country. Its most important content was that the backward countries could achieve the



socialist revolution because the world system of imperialism AS A WHOLE was ripe to be overthrown.

On this basis the struggle of the backward countries against imperialism became part of the process of the WORLD REVOLUTION, of the struggle for socialism on the world scale, of the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist countries themselves.

That is why the fate of the revolution in Iran has been inseparable from the fate of the revolution in Russia, in Britain and now in the United States.

This is not just some general statement. It is what lies at the root of every development of the revolution in Iran, right down to today.

1917 AND COUNTERREVOLUTION

In 1917, the October Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party decisively smashed the rule of imperialism in old Russia through establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The whole world, especially the countries of the Middle and Far East, saw in this revolution an example and a light to follow.

Imperialism embarked on a world campaign of counterrevolution. It sought to isolate the revolution to Russia, to crush the movements of the oppressed worldwide in order to crush Bolshevism later.

In Iran, this took the form of a pro-British coup d'etat in 1921. Out of the turmoil there emerged a professional soldier named Reza Khan who in 1925 crowned himself shah (king) and founded the "Pahlavi" dynasty.

This two-bit warlord was the father of the present notorious torturer and mass murderer. The role of the father was the same as that of the son: to consolidate a pro-imperialist regime in the heart of the Middle East, on the borders of the Soviet Union -- to defeat and isolate the revolution.

Reza Shah came to power FUNDAMENTALLY on the basis of the advance of counterrevolution world-

wide. This took the form inside the Soviet Union of a political counterrevolution that produced the Stalinist bureaucracy. From the mid-1920's on Stalinism and imperialism have been the two necessary components of the subjection of the Iranian masses to the terror of the Pahlavis.

This collaboration became blatantly obvious in 1941 when Russian and British forces jointly occupied Iran and overthrew Reza Shah's pro-Nazi regime. Reza Shah had outlived his usefulness to "democratic" imperialism. He was immediately replaced by his son. From that time on Mohammed Reza Pahlavi was the pride and joy of imperialism and Stalinism.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE

In 1943, as part of the drive of imperialism and Stalinism to crush the revolution internationally, to establish a world order of counterrevolution, a conference was held in Tehran. This conference was part of the preparation of the creation of the Holy Alliance of counterrevolution at the later Yalta and Potsdam conferences.

Imperialism and Stalinism "guaranteed the independence" of Iran UNDER THE RULE OF THE SHAH at this conference. What they meant was that they guaranteed the continued domination of imperialism with the aid of Stalinism, that they guaranteed the brutal rule of the shah over the people of Iran.

Thus, after the war, the Kremlin collaborated in the suppression of nationalist revolts in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan by the shah, fully carrying out its side of the bargain to preserve imperialist domination through the creation of a terrorist and nationally-oppressive state in Iran.

All the struggles of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities in Iran thus were struggles against the Holy Alliance, not just against its local agent, the shah. At the same time, any struggle against the shah threatened the Holy Alliance on the world scale. Once again, the permanent revolution made its truth apparent.

In 1951, the masses of Iran began a struggle to take under their own control the oil wealth of their nation. As in any struggle for the just rights of the nation, the masses immediately came into conflict with imperialism (in the form of Anglo-Iranian Oil, now BP) and, necessarily, with the shah.

This struggle failed. More precisely, it was betrayed! The leadership of the movement was in the hands of bourgeois nationalists led by Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh, who could not unleash the power of the masses -- the only force that could liberate the country from imperialism -- because it would immediately sweep them aside

as well.

Despite the intensity of the mass upsurge, which forced the shah to flee the country, U.S. imperialism (which took the place of British imperialism that was retreating from "East of Suez") was able to use the CIA to stage a coup that returned the shah to Iran and power.

This is a reason why the Iranian masses want the ex-shah back. Only when this monster is dangling from the end of a rope in Tehran will the threat of counterrevolution receive a decisive blow.

But it was not just the CIA that prepared the coup. We are not believers in the all-powerful nature of spy agencies. No, the Iranian struggle was sabotaged FROM WITHIN. And not just by the "national bourgeoisie," either.

The Stalinist party in Iran, the Tudeh, once again carried out the Kremlin's bargain. Of course, it did not organize and lead the working class for the seizure of power, substituting instead the fantasy of "democratic" change. That is point one. But it went much farther. It supported the CIA coup and the restoration of the shah! In the interests of the Holy Alliance, Stalinism will stop at nothing.

All kinds of "revolutionaries" and pseudo-Trotskyists whine today about how the shah crushed the Tudeh and the unions that it led. But they neglect to mention that this was POLITICALLY possible only due to the fact that the Tudeh had isolated itself from any healthy elements by its betrayal, that it had demoralized a whole layer of revolutionary fighters. And this betrayal affected not only the Tudeh but also created a basis for the stabilization of the Shah's terrorist state over the crushed bodies and broken hopes of working class militants.

This same "human rights" U.S. imperialism that protects the jackal ex-shah today armed and trained and financed the whole apparatus of SAVAK secret police and torturers, the whole immense military machine to dominate the Middle East in the interests of imperialism. From a tool of the Holy Alliance, the shah became one of its chief props.

IRAN AND AMERICA

The Iranian Revolution kicked out this prop. This is its international significance and role. It threatened the whole order of imperialism and Stalinism that was already under attack on the world scale.

And this is the reason that imperialism is constantly seeking to attack and to crush the revolution in Iran. It is part of its attempt to rebuild the Holy Alliance.

This same Holy Alliance of American imperialism is the enemy of the American workers and youth. The downfall of the shah was one of the best things to happen to U.S. workers since the defeat of

American imperialism in Vietnam.

The whole chauvinist and reactionary campaign against the Iranian Revolution in the last weeks has been aimed at the American working class itself as well. Imperialism is trying to organize all the right wing forces in the country, the KKK and Nazi murderers. It is trying to free itself from the resistance of the American workers to foreign intervention that ties its hands in its imperialist dealings. It is trying to attack the consciousness of the American workers about what revolution is with the most vicious BIG LIE campaign in the prostitute "media" since the early days of the anti-war movement.

NO! The allies of the American workers and youth are in the streets and factories and oil fields of Iran. Their enemies are at home!

The biggest lie of the big lie campaign is that "America is united" against the Iranian Revolution. This lie too has failed and is already deepening the crisis and intensifying the impotence of the U.S. ruling class.

The DETROIT FREE PRESS (November 30), for example, published a poll which, while revealing a certain amount of confusion, exposed the lie of imperialist "unity."

For example, over 62% opposed the use of military force today to free the "hostages," with 91.6% opposing any seizure of Iranian oilfields in the future. Among blacks, 61% favored sending back Pahlavi. This is some "unity"!

REVOLUTIONARY CLARITY

The Political Resolution adopted by the Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization/USA on September 23 (TRUTH #102) asserted: "The Iranian Revolution has yet to be crushed, the oil workers and oppressed nationalities continue to have the initiative against the reactionary Khomeini regime."

Against all the preachers of prostration and defeat, this analysis has been completely confirmed by the events of the last weeks in Iran. In fact, Khomeini is now definitely ON THE DEFENSIVE in the face of the masses. The Carter regime engaged in its blatant provocation because it thought that Khomeini -- if not the Marines -- had "the situation well in hand."

There is no question that Khomeini is straining every nerve to divert this mobilization into support for his pro-imperialist regime. The problems of defeating such maneuvers are those of the arming of the revolution in every country.

So it is no surprise that the confusionists of all stripes and Stalinists are out to prevent the necessary clarification from taking place. The fundamental question is the class independence of the proletariat, the question of its struggle for

power in its own name.

The pseudo-Trotskyists, especially of the American Socialist Workers Party, have always struggled against this perspective. The Tudeh, as we saw, disgraced itself in the eyes of the masses. They could not look there for revolutionary leadership. And the pseudo-Trotskyists complemented this abandonment of revolutionary perspectives. Aside from its openly pusillanimous nature, the famous statement of the Iranian SWP supporter that calling for the overthrow of the shah was "ultraleft and ultimistic" really represented a political abandonment of the masses to Khomeini. And the SWP now cynically states: "Khomeini's popularity stems from his resolute anti-shah and anti-imperialist stand."

What this really means is that faced with a choice between the SWP's whining about "artistic and intellectual freedom in Iran" and Khomeini's "down with the shah," the masses chose Khomeini.

To this day the SWP and its fellow Iranian Pabloites of the HKS continue this policy of the abandonment of the masses to Khomeini. Against the subordination of the "shoras" (factory committees) to the Imam's committees again, against any trust in the lies of the bourgeois Khomeini regime, against begging it for anything, against silent complicity in its referendum on the "Islamic Republic" -- against the entire policy of prostration of the SWP!

This same SWP is the party that tells the American workers to trust the labor bureaucrats who betray them, that tells them to support Carter's "human rights," that slanders Leninism and the Fourth International.

Once again the unity of the American and Iranian workers lies in the road of the permanent revolution.

Not the reactionary dream of Pan-Islamism can solve the problems of the entire Middle East, but only the socialist revolution throughout the region and the building of the Socialist United States of the Middle East.

Only the overthrow of American imperialism can free the American workers and decisively liberate all the backward countries from the menace of imperialism.

This struggle can be achieved only on the world scale, as part of the fight to build the Fourth International as the world party, as the party that unites all the revolutionary mobilizations, that represents the permanent revolution in action.

American workers must advance to the building of the Workers Party in this country, the party that will represent the understanding that when U.S. imperialism speaks of "our" embassy and "our" friend the Shah, it is really talking about OUR enemies, the enemies of the workers and youth and the coming American Revolution.

Is "America Going Down the Tubes"?

No-- The World Revolution is on the M

By JON COHEN

Recently a centrist group put out a leaflet in Detroit which told workers and youth that "America is going down the tubes." This particular group is not very significant, except for the fact that it is continuously orchestrating inside the working class the tune being sung by the ruling circles in this country and attempting to get workers and youth to buy the latest song of U.S. imperialism.

"America is going down the tubes" happens to be the latest tune of the U.S. bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. On the radio, TV and in the newspapers, this is the message they are singing. America is being "pushed around," it has lost its "national dignity;" there is a "crisis of confidence." If we don't watch out, America will become "another England."

And their propaganda machines churn out pages and pages of "proofs" of this fact -- the situation in Iran, the attacks on the U.S. embassies, the deepening recession in the U.S., the threatened bankruptcy of Chrysler. All of this for a very precise purpose -- to tie American workers and youth to the American bourgeoisie's attempt to forge a new "national unity" against the struggle of the international working class.

A Harvard professor recently said that we are now going through "the second greatest period of national unity in our country's history" (the first "great period" being our "unity" during the Depression in the 30's!). But a Harvard professor can't create "national unity." A 7% increase in Carter's popularity isn't "national unity." Nor is "national unity" a few thousand "Nuke the Ayatollah" posters or a few drunk American Legionnaires burning a few Iranian flags.

Because despite this national orchestration, despite the fact that the centrists and pseudo-revolutionaries are busily joining in the tune, the American working class and especially its most oppressed sectors has not bought the tune. Their America is not the "America" of Jimmy Carter, Henry Ford or the panicked petty bourgeois "revolutionaries."

A poll taken in Detroit showed that 91% of the population was opposed to any military intervention in Iran. Over 61% of blacks in Detroit support the demand of the Iranian workers and youth that the Shah be sent back to Iran for trial.

The working class and especially its most oppressed has not bought this tune because "America" has never been especially good to them. What does it mean to tell an unemployed black youth that "America is going down the tubes"? Or to tell a Chrysler worker that our "national dignity" is at stake? Or to tell an "illegal" Latin worker, slaving away at less than minimum wage and in constant terror, that we have to respect the Shah's "human rights" and give him political asylum?

But the working class and especially its vanguard still does not have a complete understanding of the political situation in front of them. An understanding that would enable them to smash this "national unity" once and for all and undertake a political of-

fensive in the present situation. It is not yet armed and ready to put all those in the workers movement talking about "America going down the tubes" on the next train out of town!

What is the meaning of the fact that over a million Iranian workers and youth are taking to the streets of Tehran almost daily, chanting "Down With U.S. Imperialism!" and "Down With Carter"?

What is the meaning of the fact that throughout the world workers and youth are storming the U.S. embassies?

Or the meaning, in our own backyard, of the revolutionary overthrow of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, a revolution led by 14-15 year olds? Of the millions who took to the streets in Bolivia recently to prevent a new military coup?

Does it mean that "America is going down the tubes"?

No. It means that the **WORLD REVOLUTION IS ON THE MARCH!**

This is the most dominant, decisive factor in the political situation in the world and in the U.S. today. Without understanding this no worker can be politically armed.

The world revolution is on the march and the dominating question in the development of this world revolution today is the unity of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Millions and millions of workers and youth are united in seeing U.S. imperialism as the **NUMBER ONE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD** and millions of workers and youth are ready to take a revolutionary stand in order to rid themselves of the boot of U.S. imperialism.

The bourgeois press is calling it "religious fanaticism." Lies! Designed to hide from American workers the fact that millions are in the streets of Tehran fighting U.S. imperialism, shouting "Down With U.S. Imperialism" and "Down With Carter!", as just a few years ago thousands of workers and youth in Vietnam took up arms to defeat the most powerful military force in the world. They talk about "religious fanaticism" to prevent American workers from trying to understand why this government is so hated by so many people throughout the world. And to prevent American workers from seeing that what these workers and youth are fighting for is the same thing that is being fought for at home -- a decent life, free from unemployment, repression and war.

And freedom from this rotten, stinking corpse called "democracy" which gives political asylum to mass murderers and leaves Haitian refugees off the coast of Florida to drown.

The world revolution is on the march. And today it is above all a march against U.S. imperialism, the policeman of the world, the number one enemy of the workers and oppressed in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America, the number one obstacle to human progress and the number one enemy of the American working class.

There is only one way to break with this "national unity." A "national unity" designed

to place the American workers on the side of the **HANGMEN OF THE WORLD**. Only one way to break with all the petty bourgeois prophets of doom who talk about "America going down the tubes."

By joining the march of the world revolution against U.S. imperialism. This means first of all taking a clear stand in defense of all the revolts taking place throughout the world against U.S. imperialism. Without conditions.

Every blow struck against U.S. imperialism is a step forward for the world revolution because U.S. imperialism is the central obstacle and enemy of this revolution. It is also the enemy of the American working class. Thus, the immediate and **UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE** of the revolutions taking place in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world must be the objective of every class conscious American worker and youth.

The same pseudo-Trotskyist chorus boys for U.S. imperialism who sing the "America is going down the tubes" song, have written in their paper regarding the situation in Iran: "Ayatollah Nuttier than Shah But: Hands Off Iran!"

A cowardly capitulation! The Iranian masses, the millions throughout the world on the march of the world revolution want no "ifs" and "buts" from the American working class! Making an analogy between Khomeini and the Shah is the tune of U.S. imperialism to cover up for ITS crimes. Between Khomeini and U.S. imperialism the Trotskyist Organization/USA sides 100% with Khomeini!



March -- Join Its Party!



These apologists for U.S. imperialism that go by the name of the "Spartacist League" go on to write: "Meanwhile Carter is giving this in-pot 'Imam' just the excuse he needs to justify the privation of the Iranian masses for a generation: blame it on the Americans."

But U.S. imperialism IS the one to be blamed! Who else's CIA put the Shah in power, trained and organized his SAVAK, filled the prisons with workers and youth? Who else RAPED this country for years and years? As if the workers and youth in Iran needed some "excuse" to hate U.S. imperialism!

The answer of the vanguard of the American working class to these apologists for imperialism must be clear -- no workers, no youth, anywhere in the world, needs ANY excuse or justification in order to go into action against U.S. imperialism. We defend these actions unconditionally.

Because the defense of these actions is the defense of the world revolution and the revolution in the U.S. And one can't defend the world revolution and fight for it in the U.S. with one foot in the shadow of U.S. imperialism. Nor can one defend the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries with one foot in the shadow of U.S. imperialism's "human rights" policy.

Those "revolutionaries," and especially the pseudo-Trotskyists of the American SWP, who claim to stand for the defense of the revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua and elsewhere have not mobilized ONE WORKER in defense of these revolutions and every day COMPROMISE the defense of these revolutions in the working class because they are totally tied to Jimmy Carter's

"human rights" policy.

The march of the world revolution cannot be defended in the shadow of "human rights" because "human rights" is and has always been a code word for U.S. imperialism's organization of the counterrevolution.

A few years ago, Hugo Blanco, a comrade of the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP in Peru told us that "If Carter called a conference on 'human rights' we'd be the first ones there."

But what do they have to say today as the Shah is being given asylum in the U.S. in the name of "human rights"? What do they have to say about the fact that in the name of "human rights" the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua which they support is asking the workers and youth to lay down their guns and abandon the factories in order to "give U.S. imperialism a second chance"?

Because that precisely was and is the purpose of "human rights" -- to give U.S. imperialism a second chance. And the SWP has committed itself to this effort for the last three years.

They are totally compromised. Because they have committed themselves to giving U.S. imperialism a "second chance" the march of the world revolution is continually opposed to their line of march. Thus, just months before the Shah's overthrow, they were calling "Down With the Shah" an "ultraleft" slogan. Just months before the fall of Somoza they were writing about "a new period of defeats for the workers in Nicaragua" and just months before Doug Fraser of the UAW joined the board of directors of Chrysler they were telling American autoworkers to "read and study" a statement by Fraser in which he talked about "class war" in this country.

And today, if they are frantically trying to identify themselves with the FSLN leadership in Nicaragua, with Castro or with the Khomeini government in Iran it is only because each new blow dealt against U.S. imperialism and its "human rights" policy throughout the world places them in deeper and deeper crisis because they have no policy and are incapable of having any policy of revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism.

Only the Fourth International stands in the line of the march of the world revolution. Because since its rebuilding in 1976, only the Fourth International has fought to forge an independent, international revolutionary policy against "human rights" and against all those who stand in its shadow. The revolts taking place against U.S. imperialism throughout the world confirm our perspective and our perspective only -- the perspective of the world revolution; the international struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat,

But it is not just a question of a "perspective." The Fourth International must organize and lead this world revolution because the world revolution will not succeed spontaneously. It needs a general staff and an international leadership. The world revolution is on the march -- its forces must be organized into an army!

A particular responsibility for organizing this world army falls on the American working class. Every day in Tehran one hears the cry: "It is not the American people, but the American government we are against." This is heard throughout the world -- in Latin America, in the Middle East, in Africa. Against all the petty bourgeois and Stalinist leaders who try to divide the American workers from those fighting imperialism throughout the world the Fourth International says to American workers -- their fight is your fight -- join it!

The fate of this world revolution on the march depends on the response of the U.S. proletariat in the bastion of U.S. imperialism. On the American proletariat's unconditional defense of the colonial revolutions. On the American proletariat taking the lead of the fight against U.S. imperialism by fighting and preparing for the world revolution in the U.S.

THEIR "America" is "going down the tubes." The "America" of Carter, Henry Ford, the KKK, the Shah. OUR America, the America of the healthy and living forces in this society, will be SOCIALIST America, part of the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas. And this struggle can only be built by taking the side of the world revolution against U.S. imperialism today.
December 4, 1979

Latest Issue of Fourth International!



Editorial:

Boycott the Third Security Conference

Hungary:

Building the Revolutionary Leadership
Fighting for the Political Revolution

Antoine Balint

4th Congress of the RYI:

Enlist in the World Army
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Economic Crisis, Crisis of Class Collaboration

By ANTOINE BALINT Translated from *La Quatrieme Internationale*

The economic crisis is breaking out with unheard of violence. All the gears of the world economic system dominated by imperialism are jammed: the dollar falls, gold rises, inflation is generalized, the capitalist governments are incapable of maintaining parity between the major currencies and on the Stock Market there is talk about "Black Wednesday," calling to mind the famous "Black Thursday" of 1929.

The workers and the exploited masses are struck with full force by the effects of imperialist decay: in the under-developed countries, 30 million children under 5 years of age died of hunger in 1978, 800 million other human beings suffer from chronic famine (and these are the bourgeoisie's figures!)

The great capitalist centers are not spared: an enormous army of the unemployed, millions of youth thrown into the streets without hope, those with work confronted by galloping inflation, by an ever stronger attack on their living standards.

The crisis strikes the workers of the countries where the bourgeoisie has been expropriated but which are under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Tens of millions of unemployed in China, millions in Yugoslavia, brutal price increases in the USSR, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary.

The world economic crisis is settling in. No one can deny it, no one does deny it. It even serves as a justification (as if it were an abstract entity with an independent existence) for all the attacks on the oppressed. In the name of the "necessities of the crisis," the bourgeoisie justifies unemployment, the dismantlement of entire sectors of steel, of the auto industry ... and the reinforcement of the International of Terrorist States.

In Eastern Europe, the defeat of the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" is breaking up with a crash. The Kremlin has just placed its largest order for wheat with the USA (25 million tons), which it could arrange only by selling some of its gold reserves. The indebtedness of the Eastern European countries to imperialism is taking on proportions never before seen. The example of Poland is significant: HALF of its receipts went only to pay for the interest alone on the debt to imperialism. It has been forced by the capitalist banks to submit to their financial inspection as a condition for their granting a new loan.

For the Stalinist bureaucracy the defeat of its policy serves

only to justify its increasing its ties with imperialism ... and to justify measures against the workers and their socialist conquests: speedup; the destruction, in entire layers, of industries that cannot compete on the world market; the introduction of the laws of the capitalist market and its corollaries: unemployment, inflation, repression.

This policy is clearly expressed by the reaction of the Hungarian bureaucracy. This country -- admired by the bourgeoisie for the "success" of its "economic reform" -- is struck by the crisis all the more strongly since the content of this "reform" was the opening of the frontiers to imperialism. The government of Janos Kadar does not hesitate to write, in order to justify the recent anti-worker measures, that "we cannot change the world" (the capitalist world! -- AB), (in the publication TARSADALMI SZEMLE, September 1979).

For Stalinism this "world" of imperialist poverty and exploitation is eternal. The Stalinists cynically proclaim their role: to make the workers of the whole world pay the price of imperialist barbarism. Thus, the crisis of imperialism is the justification, for Stalinism, of its political and economic submission to imperialism.

In the face of the economic crisis the workers are confronted by a whole multitude of explanations, programs, proposed perspectives, all of which are characterized by an attempt to present the crisis as something strictly economic, to hide the fact that it is a question of a crisis of the political domination of the bourgeoisie through "peaceful coexistence" with Stalinism. The counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism constantly reveals itself in the most flagrant way when, on account of the advance of the class struggle, the reactionary and parasitical nature of the bourgeois mode of production breaks out.

What is true for the Stalinists and for the reformist apparatuses, who participate directly or indirectly in the Holy Alliance and the maintenance of the repressive states, is also true for the centrists. The more the decay of the world dominated by imperialism progresses, the more the positions intermediate between the revolution and the counterrevolution become untenable and the centrists are forced to integrate themselves into the camp of reaction, to become the "left" wing of the crisis-ridden Holy Alliance.

At the same time, this direct

role that the centrists are supposed to take in class collaboration -- as a result of the rejection of Stalinism by the radicalized masses, as in Nicaragua -- brings on their crisis and forces them into new theoretical contortions. The "United Secretariat" of Mandel-Krivine-Barnes (the chief revisionist center claiming to be the Fourth International) lies at the center of these shock waves. It is in the first place preoccupied with the capitulation to it of the OCI of Lambert-Just, not due to the number of militants that the OCI can bring it, but in order to renew its ideological arsenal which has been shaken by the development of the class struggle (we will return to this point).

The theories of Ernest Mandel, its central leader, about "neocapitalism" were for the whole preceding period the basis for the "economic" armament of the "United Secretariat." This theory supported the idea that capitalism had entered into a new stage of progress and that it had thus lost, for the moment, its character of "reaction all along the line" and that our epoch was no longer what Lenin called it, the "epoch of wars and revolutions."

Today, of course, this theory is untenable. Nevertheless, in its time it served a very particular goal: to justify the theory advanced by the Stalinists in the 1960's and 1970's about a supposed "scientific and technical revolution," about the ability of imperialism to raise the productive forces of humanity. Already it can be seen that the so-called "economic" analyses of the opportunists were not neutral and how they expressed, at every moment, their "scientific" support and capitulation to Stalinism.

The capitalist system is sentenced to death. It is incapable of developing the forces of production which in the epoch of imperialism (the twentieth century) turn into forces of destruction. It is this epoch, our epoch, that Lenin characterized as one of "reaction all along the line." The capitalist mode of production is under sentence of death because the bourgeoisie is no longer the progressive class that it was when it overthrew feudalism. However, it will not spontaneously disappear; no ruling class leaves the stage of history without being overthrown by another class. The proletariat -- the class that the capitalist mode of production has created in its midst -- alone can overthrow it. Without that, the bourgeoisie will always find the political and economic resources (chiefly by making use of its

lieutenants in the workers movement) to preserve its rule. The Marxists are distinguished from the fake revolutionaries not by the fact that they "recognize" the class struggle, or the simple "necessity" or "inevitability" of the proletarian revolution, as does the OCI, but by the fact that they are the ones who draw the conclusion from this that the workers must cut all the links which connect them to the bourgeoisie and who take up the struggle for this. And this is summed up in the building of the revolutionary vanguard, the International, which realizes, on behalf of the world proletariat and all the oppressed masses, the political unity of the proletariat.

The preparation of the revolutionary confrontations which are on the order of the day consists in preparing the leap in the consciousness of millions of human beings who in the course of the confrontation are breaking with all the "old junk" that connects them to the old order. A break with the opportunist leaderships which represent the most pernicious link with the old order, in the first place with Stalinism which, usurping the conquests of the first fundamental break with the bourgeoisie, the October Revolution, speaks in its name in order to tie the proletariat to the maintenance of the bourgeois order.

The crisis of the imperialist system is indissolubly linked to the crisis of the revolutionary vanguard, the Fourth International. If the crisis of imperialism has been able to attain the barbarous rot of today, this is because the forces acting on behalf of Stalinism, but in the name of the Fourth International (the centrists), work to prevent the workers who are breaking with Stalinism from uniting with the program of the revolution. The crisis of imperialism is thus far from being cyclical in character -- a cycle of recession and recovery -- as Mandel of the "United Secretariat" claims, but is a continual crisis which can take its anti-worker leap to the extent that the petty bourgeois leaderships succeed in disorganizing the workers' ranks.

The economic crisis of 1929, which threw hundreds of millions into the street, was an expression of the decay of the imperialist system, of its determination to solve its crisis by striking a blow against the proletariat. But if the proletariat was not then able to respond to the attacks of the bourgeoisie it was because the cancer of Stalinism had already begun to undermine the revolutionary leadership, the Third Inter-

national of Lenin and Trotsky. The strength of the proletariat was not able to be defeated by that alone. It required the disarmament of the proletariat by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the destruction of the Communist International as a leadership independent of the bourgeoisie, of which one of the most flagrant results was the coming to power of Hitler, for the bourgeoisie finally to be able to reach a (provisional) solution to its crisis with the Second World War: the massive destruction of the productive forces, in the first place the extermination of tens of millions of workers on the chopping block of the imperialist war.

Today imperialism has no other perspective for getting out of its crisis than following the same road: preparing civil war against the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. This preparation passes through a reinforcement of the counterrevolutionary role of the petty bourgeois leaderships in the workers movement. This is summed up, on the one hand, by their participation in state terrorism and, on the other, by a campaign against class independence and its party, the anti-Leninist campaign.

For the economic means which have allowed a frontal attack on the proletariats of the imperialist centers to be artificially delayed are no longer sufficient. There is a crisis among the imperialist powers who are not succeeding in apportioning the world market between themselves (defeat of the Common Market and, for its part, Comecon; the failure of the European money, the "ECU" -- European Currency Unit -- and of the Tokyo agreements on oil; etc.).

American imperialism, on account of the advance of the world revolution in general and of the U.S. proletariat in particular, no longer succeeds in playing the role of policeman and regulator of the world market. The fall of the dollar, provoked in the beginning by American imperialism itself in order to facilitate its superiority over the other bourgeoisies (make its exports easier, pay for oil in devalued paper dollars) has brought about a monetary disorder which expresses the general distrust of the bourgeoisie in the ability of American imperialism to carry out its leadership role. But, at the same time, no other bourgeoisie can claim to be able to assume this world role. Which creates a situation in which 700 billion "Eurodollars" (dollars held outside the U.S.) "stroll" at the will of speculators throughout the world, dollars which have not been backed by gold since 1971.

The rise of gold is precisely the expression of the deception of sectors of the bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the dollar, the expression of the lack of perspectives for them, the lack of safe

and profitable investments. They prefer to freeze their capital while awaiting a political straightening-out of the crisis.

It is very significant that the rumors about the possible death of Brezhnev produced panic selling on the markets of the whole world. The capitalists know that their only aid is the Stalinist bureaucracy and that the crisis of succession to Brezhnev threatens to delay the establishment of new accords at the Madrid Conference at the end of 1980.

The phony "energy crisis" is only a camouflage by imperialism (completely taken up by Stalinism to justify its anti-worker attack in Eastern Europe) for its failure to develop the productive forces for the benefit of humanity. It is enough to recall that since 1934 the relationship between the price of oil and of gold has practically not changed: in 1934 an ounce of gold would buy 18-20 barrels of oil; today it can buy nearly the same amount. It is not oil that has increased, but the dollar that has lost its value.

If imperialist barbarism has today been able to reach such proportions, it is because the offensive of the world proletariat that was unleashed in 1968 (general strike in France and the "Prague Spring") has not yet been able to find its way out on account of the crisis of the revolutionary leadership. History never repeats itself in the same way. We are on the eve of a new crisis of the depth of 1929 and imperialism has the same objectives as then, but the proletariat has sustained no major defeat since 1968 and the revolutionary wave has had enough strength to put the framework of class collaboration worked out at Yalta and Potsdam after World War II in check. The different attempts at a Popular Front have miscarried in France and Italy. The Sacred Union is in continual crisis in the Spain of the monarchy, the proletariat of Eastern Europe is rising up, the American proletariat has entered onto the political scene since its fight against the Vietnam War. Basing themselves on the proletariat of the metropolitan centers, the colonial peoples are in revolt.

The Holy Alliance is in crisis but it has not yet been shattered, and it can be shattered only by the regroupment of a vanguard in the revolutionary International. The offensive of the proletariat -- due to the opportunist leaderships -- is still being carried on in the framework determined by class collaboration. This situation cannot be endured, either by imperialism or by the proletariat. Imperialism must today attack the proletariats of the capitalist metropolises; it must penetrate, with the aid of the Stalinist bureaucracies, into the countries of the socialist conquests in order to bring these markets

directly under its control. On the other hand, the workers can respond to these attacks only with decisive confrontations, beginning in the Europe divided in two by the Berlin Wall and in which the revolt of the productive forces against this framework imposed by class collaboration is concentrated.

Throughout the coming period, all the questions of the outcome of this clash will be decided by the preparation of the revolutionary vanguard. All the questions are summed up in the ability of the vanguard to draw revolutionary conclusions from the decay of imperialism and the crisis of class collaboration. The sole road to counterposing the proletariat to imperialist barbarism is the road of its regroupment under its own banner. The plan of "reunification" of bankrupt centrist leaderships aims at laying a trap for the proletariat on this road; it seeks to perpetuate the crisis of the revolutionary leadership by tying the workers to the tottering cart of class collaboration through the negation of the independent program of the proletariat. Here the Lambert-Just leadership of the OCI plays an essential role.

We have seen how the theories of Mandel, the prophet of "neo-capitalism" and the central leader of the "United Secretariat," collapsed before the realities of the class struggle. Today they interest only the bourgeois economists crippled by the crisis, before whom Mandel gives his act in the American universities. The OCI's role is to provide a revolutionary vanguard for the "United Secretariat." The OCI recognizes the crisis of imperialism ... in order to draw conclusions from it which in essence join with those of Mandel's Pabloite revisionism: renouncing the building of the leadership independent of imperialism and Stalinism, seeking the new leadership in the ranks of the opportunist apparatuses.

The OCI says: "The price of gold is an indicator of the imminence of the revolution." (#916 of the OCI's paper, INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES). We have shown that the huge price increase of gold was a particular expression of the economic crisis and in this way an expression of the relationship of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but not a unilateral expression! The price of gold is a sign of the depth of the crisis of the bourgeoisie and of its class domination, but it is not in any way that the solution by proletarian revolution flows mechanically from this crisis through economic factors.

The proletariat and the oppressed masses are forced to react in the East and in the West to the attacks of the bourgeoisie, but the victorious pro-

letarian revolution will not arise spontaneously as the next obligatory stage of the crisis. The crisis of the imperialist world system only brutally poses the alternatives -- proletarian revolution or bourgeois counter-revolution.

The "analyses" that the OCI brings to the altar of the "United Secretariat" present a necessarily positive outcome to this choice. The OCI says: "The proletarian revolution is inevitable" (I.O. #916); this superficial optimism in reality serves only to hide from the workers, from the centrist militants who want to fight for the revolution, the proper tasks of the vanguard: it turns the HISTORICAL perspective of the victory of socialism over a dying capitalism into a perspective FOR TODAY. These tasks for today mean arming the proletariat with its program. In seeking to "reunify" with the Pabloites, the OCI seeks to prove precisely the opposite. The building of the revolutionary leadership will not occur, according to Lambert-Just, through a delimitation of program but by unity with the gravediggers of the Fourth International represented by the "United Secretariat."

The spontaneism of the OCI, like all spontaneism, is far from being neutral. Lambert-Just find themselves in fundamental agreement with the continuators of Pabloism on the very essence of this liquidationist current: according to them the approaching clashes will "inevitably" be characterized by the control of the treacherous apparatuses over the advanced workers. By elevating the fright of the petty bourgeoisie before the enormous tasks of the preparation of the revolution to the level of a "law" of history, the OCI of Lambert-Just, by seeking to dissolve itself into the "United Secretariat," is integrating itself into the "left" wing of the Holy Alliance. This is, as we have said, the last stage of its capitulation to Stalinism.

Economic crisis, crisis of class collaboration. The task of the revolutionary vanguard does not consist in stopping at establishing the fact of this crisis. It must develop the program of the class independence of the proletariat, point out the path that unites the East with the West, the metropolises with the oppressed peoples, in the preparation of the world revolution. To make economic struggles, the struggle for transitional demands (sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control), into a lever of the struggle for the revolution and its party, to make room for the youth, for the unionized workers -- this is the only way for the present radicalization of the class struggle to succeed in shattering the Holy Alliance of the enemies of the workers. October 20, 1979

"National Network in Solidarity With Nicaraguan People- 2nd National Conference"

Accept Imperialism is the Message!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People -- 2nd National Conference on Nicaragua, held in Detroit, November 15-17, was billed as a conference to defend the revolution, to raise money for the Nicaraguan people.

It had nothing to do with either the revolution or with raising money. It was one more attempt to force the U.S. working class to accept imperialism and its plans for depression and war, to isolate the youth and workers of Nicaragua and the rest of Latin America.

Moises Hassan, member of the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the five-man junta now in power, was the principal speaker. He didn't say one word about the political situation in the U.S., didn't offer his solidarity with the thousands of laid-off auto-workers, didn't EVEN denounce the Ku Klux Klan assassination of the Communist Workers Party militants the week before.

Instead, he went on and on about the miserable conditions in Nicaragua. Asked about the future for Nicaragua by the DETROIT FREE PRESS, he said: "When we arrive at the position that the country has been organized well enough, that we have the resources to do it, that the economy is moving, that we have reconstructed what Somoza destroyed ... we will hold national elections."

Some future! 40,000 died for that?

He denounced all those fighting for an immediate and total solution as "ultra-lefts." Groups "raising impossible and demagogic demands," "telling the people that the revolution can develop through the unorganized seizures of factories and business," are the greatest danger in Nicaragua, he said. More dangerous than the "Somocistas" or the "liberal bourgeoisie." "They create chaos and disorder in Nicaragua and open the revolu-

tion up to foreign military intervention."

At a press conference he implied that the "ultra-left" groups are linked to the CIA and in a front-page interview with the DETROIT FREE PRESS he further denounced them, suggested they have carried out armed attacks on the FSLN.

What does Hassan propose to American youth and workers to advance the revolution? Collect 275,000 yards of fabric, some berets, buttons and insignia with which to make uniforms for a literacy campaign. This was the conclusion of this conference!

The message to American workers is clear -- poverty and war are inevitable, with or without the revolution. Anybody who says different is probably a CIA agent. There is nothing you can do.

It was the same message Carter gave when he "came down from the mountain," the same message Castro gave when he came to the U.N., and the same message the imperialist journalists churn out for the newspapers, radio and TV every day.

No wonder Democratic Party politicians like Maryanne Mahaffey and Ken Cockrel and union bureaucrats like UAW Representative Robert Lopez showed up to salute this affair. And the American Stalinist party saluted it in its press.

The Conference only raised \$1,000 and didn't even demand that the U.S. government send money to Nicaragua as the pseudo-Trotskyists hoped it would. Why? Because the FSLN and Washington ALREADY have direct ties. Leading representatives of the FSLN met with Carter as early as September. The U.S. has sent a new ambassador to Nicaragua. He's moved out of the palatial embassy in which the U.S. plotted with Somoza against the working masses, and into downtown Managua to be close to the FSLN.

Carter has already sent \$450 million to the National Government of Reconstruction, nearly

75 % of the total \$79 million this government has received. Carter has prepared a bill calling for \$75 million more for Congress.

So the Sandinistas didn't need any declarations from this Conference. They would have just gotten in the way. And even if the Conference had taken this route it wouldn't have done the youth and workers of Nicaragua any good. As we said in the last issue of TRUTH, they'll never see this money anymore than the miners saw all the money collected for them. The UMW hung onto this money to starve the miners into going back to work. The FSLN is going to use these funds to build the army and pay off Somoza's debts.

Throughout this entire affair, and since then the pseudo-Trotskyists have not said a word. Hassan reportedly denounced their own comrades, the Simon Bolivar Brigade and Fausto Amador, by name at the press conference. Yet not one word.

Why? Because they agree with Hassan!

Indeed, they've taken it upon themselves to lie, outright, to the American youth and workers about the origins and nature of this Conference.

Reading THE MILITANT, you'd get the idea that the Network and Conference were made up of "just some folks," getting together to help "the poor people of Nicaragua." Reading the BULLETIN, you wouldn't even know the Network and Conference existed. Hassan just happened to be speaking in Detroit one Saturday afternoon.

In fact, the Network and Conference were born in Washington. The Network was, in its own words, "formed by a group of prominent representatives from the religious community, Capitol Hill (Congress), trade unions, peace and human rights organizations," with the explicit objective of changing U.S. imperialism's policy toward Nicaragua.

Why the concern? Once again,

in their own words, "If the old ways continue there is little to be gained and much to lose. Not the least of the victims will be the last shreds of the administration's credibility as the defender of human rights and democracy in Latin America."

"...the Sandinista victory has given the United States yet another chance in Nicaragua."

These people want to reestablish IMPERIALISM in Nicaragua, but with a HUMAN FACE! No wonder they paint such a dismal picture of the revolution and its future for the North American working class!

The Trotskyist Organization/USA was the only party to offer a revolutionary perspective to the few people there who were actually concerned with the revolution. What little life there was gathered around our literature table.

So true to the dying system they represent, the National Network and Conference Committee, represented by David Funkhauser, demanded we remove our literature. "That's right, we don't want the Fourth International at this Conference," they said. Asked what made them different from the imperialists and Stalinists, they said: "We don't care."

But the working class and youth of the U.S. and Nicaragua do care. They have not accepted imperialism and its provocations nor will they, without a confrontation with the North American working class. Castro, the Sandinistas, the SWP -- have. They say that the workers demands are impossible. We say everything is possible -- with one "small, but good revolution" in the United States. All that is necessary is to drive the politics of defeat out of the working class!

Stop the Chrysler Wage Freeze!

UAW for the Workers!

By FRED VITALE

On November 29th the Senate Banking Committee, in approving loan guarantees for Chrysler, demanded that the Chrysler workers accept a wage freeze for the next three years. The senators, acting "democratically," threw out the UAW contract just signed.

This outrageous "wage freeze" demands repudiation by every union, every local, every workers organization. **NO COOPERATION WITH THE CHRYSLER "REORGANIZATION!" THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE!**

This same bill authorizes extensive control over Chrysler by the government including major management and financial decisions. The terrorist state will now directly enforce the shutdown of Dodge Main, further layoffs and plant closings. A move which furthers the preparation of the counterrevolution by the bourgeoisie.

Fraser and his house opposition and their "sacrifices" like the recent contracts are responsible for this "wage freeze." The effects are spreading. U.S. Steel just announced the closing of 16 plants throwing 13,000 workers out on the street.

Fraser now says that the UAW won't accept the wage freeze even if it means "Chrysler goes under." Last week he said he would accept "anything" if it would "save Chrysler." Talk is quite cheap among these traitors. At the beginning of the contract round Fraser blustered, "the government can stay the hell away from the negotiations." Last month he scurried to Washington seeking Carter's approval of the Chrysler contract even before the workers saw it!

Every day he speaks for the UAW is one more day of suffering for the entire working class. Fraser and all company men out of the UAW! The UAW for the workers!

The most important question now is the one being asked by thousands of Chrysler workers, "what should we do?"

That this question is asked means that **NOTHING IS SETTLED!** The workers are not "demoralized" as the centrists claim. The autoworkers have not yet spoken.

It means that they **AREN'T** doing what Fraser and the Communist Party want them to do; lobby in Congress for John Conyers' amendment to the Chrysler "reorganization" bill.

An amendment which he admits has no guarantees but it was "the best he could do." Or the Socialist Workers Party's bill to "nationalize Chrysler." Both of which call for **FURTHER CONTROL** by the terrorist state over the lives of the Chrysler workers. All in the name of "saving Chrysler."

The autoworkers aren't doing what all the centrists and pseudo-revolutionaries have "made available." All their proposals consist of two points. First, the autoworkers make Fraser "do something" for the autoworkers -- the centrists suggest "plant occupations," "sit-down strikes," "labor party." But it is **IMPOSSIBLE** for Fraser to do anything **FOR** the autoworkers. He is a labor lieutenant (to use Lenin's phrase) for the opposing army! Second, the layoffs and suffering inflicted on the workers will "educate" them to "fight." In short, what the centrists propose is opportunism and cynicism. A complete abandonment of any positive perspective.

"What should we do?" Build a movement for the revolution in the UAW! The UAW is for the workers!

This is **FIRST** a combat against Fraser and his house opposition and their "save Chrysler" movement. A movement that must die for the workers to live. It is the program of "sacrifices" in the name of the most powerful detachment of the working class -- the UAW -- that is the **CAUSE** of the attacks on the workers. The U.S. Steel shutdowns, the assassinations in Greensboro, the KKK foremen at Ford River Rouge, the firing of a militant worker at Dodge Main. These provocations rest **COMPLETELY** on this betrayal and nothing else.

To finish with Fraser, to resolve the "crisis" in favor of the workers, the workers need an army -- soldiers and generals trained, educated and forged in the combat to prepare the revolution. This is the content of the UAW for the workers.

It's a combat with autoworkers around the world. In every country there is a "reorganization" of auto. Only last week Ford fired an **ENTIRE PLANT** of South African autoworkers for organizing a union. This "reorganization" is a liquidation of the strongholds of the working class -- the auto factories in the large

metropolitan centers. Its sharpest expression today is at Chrysler in the U.S. Furthermore, it is by and large being organized in the U.S. for the whole world by Ford, and GM, and the government. U.S. autoworkers have, **THE** decisive place today in the combat to **STOP** this international liquidation of auto dead in its tracks.

No matter how small it begins such a combat would shine like a beacon through the fog generated by Fraser and company. It would draw the support of autoworkers in Latin America and Europe, fighting the same auto barons and the governments supported by U.S. imperialism. It can rout Carter's armies of "sacrifice" and send his lieutenant Fraser out of the UAW.

A movement for the revolution in the UAW means a combat for the workers solution to the "reorganization." Not layoffs, not wage freezes, but a sliding scale of wages and hours -- jobs for all and wages up automatically with prices. Not a "reorganization" enforced by the boot of the terrorist state but workers control of auto. The workers will develop the wealth that they have produced for the benefit of the vast majority of society.

In 1980 the UAW bureaucracy is organizing a convention to "elect Kennedy." We say an **EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW** to fight for the workers solutions! To forge a leadership to carry out this program. An **EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW** to elect a workers candidate in 1980 who can expose the lies, the preparation of the counterrevolution by Carter, Kennedy, Connally and the rest. To mobilize the entire working class and youth to prepare the socialist revolution.

An **EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION**, not organized by the bureaucrats, but by autoworker assemblies electing their delegates with the participation of steelworkers and other related industries, the unemployed and the youth.

The 1980's are completely open for autoworkers. Every decision taken by the ruling class, every sellout by Fraser can be reversed on the condition that the workers are organized and prepared.

NO COOPERATION WITH THE CHRYSLER "REORGANIZATION!"
THE UAW FOR THE WORKERS!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

tion in the U.S. is not the "democratic stage" put forward by the centrists and Stalinists, but the construction of the revolutionary party based on a program of **CLASS INDEPENDENCE**. It is a break not only with the Democratic Party but also with the "labor party" slogan of the centrists which is nothing but the expression of a "democratic stage" for the American revolution. On the contrary, the program of the **WORKERS PARTY**, of **CLASS INDEPENDENCE**, is summarized in the understanding that only **ONE CLASS CAN RULE** -- either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie -- there are no intermediary solutions. It means that if Lenin's struggle for the **DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**, the rule of the working class over the bourgeoisie, has any meaning, it has meaning in the United States, in the heart of imperialism where the working class has had a long experience with bourgeois "democracy" and the situation is ripe for the socialist revolution.

The precise form of this campaign in the 1980 elections for the foundation of the **WORKERS PARTY** must be a struggle in the unions, to construct factions against the bureaucracy, and a struggle among the youth against illusions in "democracy" for the **RETURN TO LENIN**. It means developing a large mobilization of the American working class as the basis for the foundation of the **WORKERS PARTY**. The program of the elections, the program of the foundation of the **WORKERS PARTY**, the program of the factions in the unions is one program: the revolutionary program of **CLASS INDEPENDENCE**.

The present situation on a world scale, even with its contradictory character due to the lack of preparedness of the leadership of the revolution, is a very favorable situation for the Fourth International to advance. This fact has already been expressed by the Revolutionary Youth International since its Fourth World Congress, with the strengthening and growth of its sections by the new generation of the youth. The key to the situation is to place ourselves on the side of the mobilization of the workers and youth against the order of imperialism and Stalinism and to unite the proletariats of the colonial and imperialist countries in a revolutionary mobilization.

December 4, 1979

December 5, 1979

Resolution on the Construction of the RYI in the U.S.

On December 2, the Revolutionary Young Workers, U.S. section of the Revolutionary Youth International, held its conference of youth in Detroit under the theme "Youth and the 1980 Presidential Elections: A Revolutionary Alternative." Greetings were brought to the Conference by a delegation from the Trotskyist Organization. A presentation on the political situation facing the young proletariat vis-a-vis the crisis of the ruling class around the world, was given by the National Secretary of the Trotskyist Organization, which was followed by a deep discussion by the members of the RYI and several workers and students present.

The second point on the agenda was a resolution prepared by the leadership of the RYW. The resolution took up the question of the construction of the RYI in a massive way, to prepare a new leadership for the working class through the building of the World Army of the Socialist Revolution. The defense of the world revolution on the march in Iran, Nicaragua, Bolivia, El Salvador and elsewhere around the world was central to the discussion that followed. Through the discussions, the resolution was amended and refined and upon a vote, was passed unanimously.

1. The Revolutionary Youth International is the world army of the socialist revolution. Founded in 1975 with a Demonstration at the Berlin Wall, its task is to renew the leadership of the workers movement with the fresh battalions of the youth. An Army! -- that fights at the side of the Fourth International, for the revolution must have its general staff its soldiers, and the RYI seeks to organize the vanguard of the youth. For the Socialist Revolution! Against all the false solutions -- religion, drugs, individual solutions -- the expropriation of the capitalist class on a world scale and the World Republic of Workers Councils is our goal. Socialist Revolution is our minimum demand!

2. We call the youth out to the combat for the revolution. Train and arm yourselves with the weapons of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. The RYI is a school of a special type, a school of communism, which holds class in the revolutionary struggles of the working class and the youth. Against the attempts of the so-called Euro-Communists, and other revolutionary fakers, to gut Socialism of its revolutionary content, we say, "RETURN TO LENIN."

3. In the last weeks the Revolutionary Young Workers, U.S. detachment of the RYI, has fought in the high schools, at Cass Tech and Western and at Wayne State

University to arm the youth that THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE! The PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION is a combat for revolutionary consciousness among the youth, in answer to the question, "what can I do for the revolution," we say you must THINK for the revolution. The revolution is a conscious act which can only be prepared in a struggle against illusions. In building this conference the RYW led a demonstration at Dodge Main where the attack of the bourgeoisie is concentrated, against the central illusion, spontaneism. Only the working class independently and in its own name can arrive at a solution to the crisis of imperialism. In these actions, through a political struggle against the Stalinists and centrists who make a method of spontaneism we have formed the Leon Trotsky circle, and recruited several new youth to the RYI.

4. In the next period the task of the U.S. detachment of the RYI is to prepare with all the sections of the RYI its counter-conference against imperialism and Stalinism's Madrid Conference of Security and Cooperation. Whose security is being prepared with this gathering of representatives of the terrorist states? Certainly not the security of the workers, the youth or the oppressed. In the USA this fight must be led around the campaign of the RYW in the 1980 elections. Whose future is being prepared in these elections? The answer to this question is dependent on our fight in the elections, our ability to arm the youth and workers against the bourgeois campaign of pacification and demoralization. Our struggle in these elections must be to regroup the vanguard of the youth in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution.

5. Immediately, our job is to reinforce the Leon Trotsky circle recently formed as the first battalion of our army. Even if small in numbers today the Leon Trotsky circle is the nucleus of a future mass organization of the RYI in the USA. Above all this circle must take upon itself the political struggle to clarify the policy of the RYW and its policy in the elections.



OUR BATTLE PLAN!

6. The 4th World Congress of the RYI, held in July, laid the basis for a large advance in the whole of the RYI. It launched the struggle of the RYI on battle footing, to fight as an army! The revolution must have its general staff, an army to lead the fight for the revolutionary consciousness of all youth and the working class. An organizational plan, passed by the IEC of the RYI, must be the basis of our organization policy.

- Every intervention must be prepared by a political discussion and organized around one central slogan or demand.
- There must be a plan of defense for the intervention.
- The members of the RYW must always appear in uniform of red shirt or jersey.

EVERY INTERVENTION IS A BATTLE!

7. The responsible for the RYI in the USA proposes in connection with the struggle to relaunch the fight of the Revolutionary Young Workers as an army that this conference discuss and if possible decide upon a new name for the U.S. detachment of the RYI. This is not a question of personal taste, it is an important political discussion. The comrades of the Revolutionary Youth of Spain decided to change their name to INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD in order to tie their name closer to the journal of the RYI itself. There has been some discussion of the name Trotsky proposed for a youth organization in the U.S. section -- Legion of the Socialist Revolution. Trotsky said, "Now we must again throw off the names that have been compromised and choose a new one. We must find this name not through adaptation to the prejudices of the masses, but on the contrary, we must oppose these prejudices by a name adequate to the new historic tasks."

8. An army must have its weapons. Today the journal of the RYI is our main weapon. INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD has not appeared on a regular basis. It is the task of the Leon Trotsky circle to begin the struggle for a mass RYW with the massive distribution of IYG and to arrive

in this way at self-financing. Immediately, comrades must be assigned to take full responsibility for its edition and publication in the U.S. on a monthly basis. The meetings of the editors of IYG must be open discussions and a school for new members of the organization to be educated and trained as good propagandists and agitators.

THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE!

9. The campaign of the RYI in the 1980 elections must represent a real mobilization. The best form for the RYW to launch its campaign in its own particular manner is to run its own candidates. The axis of this campaign must be the struggle against "human rights" and bourgeois "democracy" under whose name imperialism seeks to crush the mobilization of the Latin American proletariat and to reinforce the illusions of American youth in the corpse of "democracy." The campaign of the RYW in the 1980 elections must be part of an international campaign of the whole of the RYI in which its U.S. detachment must take the central place. The campaign develops along three central themes:

- Defense of the revolution in Latin America and the unity of the struggle against U.S. imperialism with the struggle against all illusions in "democracy."
- a particular campaign against S-1722, and the Voorhis Act.
- a campaign against unemployment for the sliding scale of working hours, especially developed among auto workers.

NOT CARTER, NOT KENNEDY BUT THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE!
BUILD THE WORLD ARMY OF THE RYI FOR A REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE IN 1980!

10. In face of all the lies, in face of the nationalist chauvinism, in face of the criminal preparations for war by the hypocritical "human rights" government of Jimmy Carter, the RYI in the U.S. takes its stand and calls on all American youth to join it:

-- the Fight of the Iranian People is Our Fight -- Join It!

-- the World Revolution is on the March -- Join It!

Send back the Shah!
Long Live the Iranian Revolution!
Unconditional Defense of the Colonial Revolutions!

-- Down With U.S. Imperialism!
-- Down With Carter!

Adopted unanimously - December 2, 1979, Detroit, Michigan