

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

GM and the UAW bureaucrats sign a contract, but **NOTHING IS SETTLED!**

On September 14 GM and the UAW bureaucrats signed a three-year contract covering over 400,000 GM workers. It is very likely that the contract will be ratified.

For the first time in 15 years an agreement was reached without a strike. But this should come as no surprise to anyone who has watched the treachery and capitulations of the UAW bureaucrats in the last months.

Because this "agreement" is more than a labor contract. It is a SOCIAL PACT organized by the traitors in the workers movement to keep capitalism alive, part of the "NATIONAL UNITY" of traitors that is holding up the dying Carter government.

The eyes of the entire working class were on this auto contract. But while a contract has been signed, **NOTHING IS SETTLED.**

The contract, on its face, will not keep up with inflation. The gains for retirees were not taken from GM, but from the young workers.

80,000 autoworkers are still laid off. Dodge Main is still going to be closed. The threat of recession, which the bureaucrats held over workers' heads in order to shove through this contract, still remains. The recession will get worse.

NOTHING IS SETTLED, but workers are disarmed. The bourgeois press has explained the lack of open opposition to this sell-out by saying that there is a "lack of issues" and a "lack of militancy" in the UAW.

Lies! What it concerns is the **TREACHERY** of the UAW bureaucracy. A treachery which does not come

office.

Treachery carried out with the decisive aid of the Stalinists and pseudo-revolutionaries. The bourgeois press has also noted the virtual disappearance of all the so-called "left" groups from auto on the eve of the contract expiration.

What else could they do but disappear? After waiting all year for Fraser to "move left," after waging a campaign to "unite members and leaders" like the American CP did, or after praising "Fraser's six-minute milestone" and enthusiastically reporting that the mass layoffs were "getting workers interested in the union again" like the SWP did, it is no wonder that they capitulated to Fraser's sell-out.

Because they had already done their dirty work and because they have no policy independent from that of the bureaucrats.

Workers-- there are **TOO MANY** issues in front of workers today. All summed up under one issue worth discussing and fighting for-- the **FUTURE.**

This future lies in the preparation of the revolution. Only the Trotskyist Organization/USA fought for this "issue." And not accidentally, we were the **ONLY** organization to be found in front of the factories when the contract expired.

And why we affirm that **NOTHING IS SETTLED** and that the working class still holds the future **IN ITS HAND.**

On the condition that the working class is organized to fight this campaign of political pacification and disorganization led by the bureaucrats and their

society.

Workers-- The Trotskyist Organization/USA, the only organization which refused to capitulate during this auto contract round, calls on you to join a fight for a revolutionary and political solution, a fight for the future, by taking part in the foundation of the **WORKERS PARTY**, the party of the Fourth International, the

party of the American and world revolution.

The construction of this party is the only way to settle the burning questions in front of workers and youth. The eyes of the best young fighters of the working class must be turned towards this fight, the fight for the **WORKERS PARTY.**

The bureaucrats, the auto bosses and the bourgeoisie are all snickering over this "peaceful settlement" in auto.

But the working class happens to be the only class in history guaranteed to have the last laugh.

September 20, 1979
STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT,
TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION/USA

U.S. Troops Out of Cuba!

- The imperialist Senate has cooked up another provocation. Now it is "Soviet troops in Cuba."
- But the real provocation is the presence of U.S. troops in Cuba--2,800 troops at the **NAVAL BASE AT GUANTANAMO!**
- Only the revolutionary alliance of U.S. and Cuban workers can free this hemisphere from the threat of war. The Stalinist bureaucracy of Fidel Castro has not only **NEVER** fought imperialism, but today is Carter's biggest ally in the Americas. It is the chief obstacle to this revolutionary alliance.

- U.S. TROOPS OUT OF GUANTANAMO!

- FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO

Revolutionary Young Workers Meeting September 30

TRUTH

Combat Against Illusions

The treachery of the UAW bureaucrats is deep. They have "settled" a contract which in no way defends autoworkers for the coming period. A time when even the bourgeoisie admits that there will be mass unemployment, double-digit inflation and cuts in education and essential services. But the illusions of the youth are deep as well.

Sept. 30 is a day to begin a combat against illusions. The youth in auto who thought that the UAW would lead a national strike and, a far more numerous group, the youth in other industries who thought "the autoworkers will take care of Carter and the bosses," have some re-thinking to do. As TRUTH said in its last issue, the treachery of the bureaucrats is "boundless."

But illusions do not grow on trees. Like money, illusions are earned by the workers and youth through their experiences with the politicians of the "official" workers movement. The working class produces the wealth of the world. In return the bosses give a portion of their wealth and privileged status to the bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries who help keep their system "stabilized." In their turn the bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries have produced mountains of illusions in capitalism. The workers then turn in their illusions at a later date in return for misery, unemployment, high prices, etc. Really, not one of the better deals going.

The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and its world army, the Revolutionary Youth International, FIGHT ILLUSIONS.

Youth! THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE! There will be

no peaceful resolution of the present situation -- the working class cannot live "peacefully" with mass unemployment. There will be no exceptions to the world crisis of imperialism, a crisis which has broken out in auto and will soon be felt in every sector of society. No individual can escape it. No nation can escape it. But we, the youth of a new generation, can DEFEAT it. We can build a new future.

A combat against illusions is the key to the future. The revolution cannot triumph while the masses of workers and young people ARE KEPT IN THE DARK. The worst illusion is the one which puts our future in someone else's hands. No matter what excuse, to fail to fight and defeat politically the bankrupt leaderships of the "official" workers movement is to give in to BARBARISM.

Though it may be difficult in the beginning, the alternative-- PREPARE THE REVOLUTION-- is far brighter in the end. That is why the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA calls all youth to begin now to fight with us to DEFEAT the old and bankrupt leaderships who have allowed the betrayal against autoworkers to pass without so much as a peep. IT IS A BETRAYAL OF ALL OF US, of our future and, ABOVE ALL, A BETRAYAL OF THE YOUTH!

-- Join us! Enlist in the World Army of the Socialist Revolution!

-- Meeting: Sept. 30, Sunday, 8330 Gartner, 2 PM.

TRUTH
September 20, 1979

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Contents

Iran: Immediate Liberation of the Jailed Worker Militants! Page 2

SALT II: "Disarmament" Against the Workers Page 3

July 28-31: Fourth Congress of the RYI "Socialism is Our Minimum Demand" Page 4

For the Conference of the Two Americas!

For the Party of Revolutionary Unity!

The Bankruptcy of FOCEP is that of the Organization Committee--

What Leadership for the Proletarian Revolution in the Two Americas? Page 6

Europe and the Revolutionary Unification of Germany Page 9

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The results for TRUTH #100 were:

CHRYSLER Dodge Main.	5
FORD River Rouge	5
GM Cadillac	8
GM Fleetwood	8
GM Livonia	9
GM Willow Run	50
DETROIT (Other)	32
DETROIT (Total)	117
OTHER	200
TOTAL	317

The Man on a White Horse ?

By JON COHEN

Jimmy "human rights" Carter can't take a hint. Like his predecessor, Nixon, he refuses to read the handwriting on the wall.

Last week the hints became commands as Senator Ted Kennedy announced that he was now "thinking" about running in 1980. This became a major political event and the calls on Carter to refrain from running for President have become screams.

Carter's government exists from crisis to crisis. Even the bourgeoisie as a whole now admits that the latest "Cuban crisis" was a worthless provocation that demonstrated Carter's bankruptcy. A few weeks ago his political enemies caused Andrew Young to resign. His leading advisor, Hamilton Jordan, is under investigation in several states for sniffing cocaine.

An NBC-Associated Press poll shows Carter's popularity at 19%. A leading business "think tank" is calling on Carter not to run. Almost every bourgeois newspaper in the country is hinting at the same thing. The publicity given to Carter's recent collapse during a 6-mile race was supposed to symbolize this -- a weak and exhausted President who has to be dragged away by his doctor.

And yet Carter keeps saying: "I'll whip his ass," in reference to Ted Kennedy. Not very likely. What is more likely is that if he continues his stubbornness the bourgeoisie will do to him what they did to Nixon.

But as we have said many times before, the problem is not Jimmy Carter. He is only being made a scapegoat for the unprecedented social and political crisis of U.S. imperialism. The past year has seen the definitive collapse of all the old frameworks set up by U.S. imperialism with the collaboration of the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin. Frameworks designed to insure world "stability" at the expense of the working and oppressed masses throughout the world.

The only positive solution to this crisis is to finish off this dying system through the means of the world socialist revolution. It is this that the bourgeoisie wishes to hide by making Carter their scapegoat, by trying to make workers believe that it is simply a problem of personnel.

Even more importantly, it is a delaying action. While Carter is being made the scapegoat the bourgeoisie is preparing its own solution. And its solution is nothing more or less than the COUNTERREVOLUTION.

The bourgeoisie, even its most "liberal" section, wants a STRONG-MAN. Whether "Democrat" or "Republican" the task of the next Pres-



tion that Carter is incapable of leading.

An editorial in the NEW YORK TIMES on Sept. 16 indicated this "solution" fairly well. They begin by saying: "A weakened America will be led for the next 14 months by an alarmingly weak President." The metaphor of "weak" is used throughout the editorial -- but workers should ask: Precisely WHO is "weak" these days?

In any case, they go on to say: "The strong way to play a weak hand is to face up to its weakness." What does this mean? It means that "Someone must be made to pay the costs; preferably everyone and fairly. No one who refuses to define the problems and to summon the people to accept the burdens of solving them should be deemed fit to lead."

And they conclude by saying that "The great opportunity of the otherwise dismal year ahead is for some leader to evoke a mandate for tough decisions, which alone will make the Presidency worth winning."

A "weak" nation needs a "strong" leader who will make "everyone" pay the costs." And you don't have to be a genius to know who this "everyone" is and always will be -- the workers and oppressed in this country.

For the Republicans it is John Connally who has already raised \$2.2 million in the first six months of this year. An article in the DETROIT FREE PRESS on Sept. 16 declared: "an astonishingly high percentage of powerful corporate executives and directors have committed themselves to help Connally win the Republican nomination."

And then there is Ted Kennedy, the man on the white horse. The last survivor of "Camelot," the living representative of the Kennedy myth and, to read the bourgeois press, the last "liberal" left in the country.

His horse isn't so "white" of course -- but he's all they have. And he'll do

who are desperately looking for a way to prevent the collapse of the Democratic Party and the massive break of workers and youth with it. Who are desperately looking for a man on a white horse because BY THEMSELVES they are incapable of controlling the mobilization of workers and youth in this country.

As the old "New Deal" coalition is collapsing around them they are frantically looking for ways to rebuild this "coalition" which has kept the working class tied to the Democratic Party and dreaming of another Roosevelt.

But it is only a dream! This is 1979 and the masses of youth and most militant workers will not swallow Ted Kennedy. A young worker 18 years old today never knew John or Robert Kennedy, never knew this so-called "Camelot." And the experience of the 1968 Chicago Democratic Party Convention still exists in the consciousness of the working class -- the youth of 1979 will not go ringing doorbells for Ted Kennedy like they did for McCarthy or Robert Kennedy in 1968.

A certain, more backward section of the working class and oppressed will accept Ted Kennedy. But the youth as a whole will not. Nor will the most militant workers in the factories. A conclusion flows from this.

The campaign for Ted Kennedy by the bureaucrats and petty bourgeois black "leaders," requires, as a condition for its success, the PACIFICATION and DISARMAMENT of the youth and most militant workers in the factories. The most militant sectors of the working class must be DISORGANIZED in order to elect a strongman President whose task will be the confrontation with the working class as a whole.

The treacherous settlement of the UAW contract is a sign of this danger. The fact that the bureaucrats were able to settle a contract for the first time in 15 years without a strike is no indication of any lack of mili-

indicate that the working class and particularly the most advanced workers are still confused, still disarmed in face of the crisis of the Carter government and are still unprepared to present a POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE to the crisis of imperialism.

This confusion is the only terrain upon which Ted Kennedy could possibly ride his white horse. It is an indication of the fact that the unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism is not necessarily positive for workers and youth. The masses of youth are politically disoriented and without a political solution.

Not because they are not radical or militant, but because they are facing an organized campaign of political pacification led by the trade union bureaucrats of the UAW, seconded by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP. The SWP plays this role of pacification by running a candidate for the 1980 elections who is probably to the right of Ted Kennedy and by trying to resurrect another dirty white horse, Kennedy's Latin American equivalent--Fidel Castro.

Anything but the workers and youth taking the future into THEIR OWN HANDS. Anything but the preparation of the revolution. This is the watchword of all the traitors, from Fraser to Pulley to Castro.

The Fourth International in the U.S., the Trotskyist Organization/USA, is convinced that the youth are ready for a political alternative and a solution. That their future is the revolution and that the task is not political pacification but the preparation of the revolution.

We are convinced that this fight in face of the 1980 Presidential elections, even if it starts out on a small level, can touch and organize masses of workers and youth for the revolution, in preparation of the coming confrontation that the bourgeoisie is preparing. Whether it be a man on a white horse or the "Tory solution," the vanguard of the American working class will be prepared.

This preparation is concentrated around two objectives for the 1980 Presidential elections -- a fight for a REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATE in 1980, to place the Fourth International on the ballot as a revolutionary alternative, and the fight to found the WORKERS PARTY USA in 1980, a party of class independence for the U.S. working class.

Around these two objectives the working class and youth can prepare their future and turn this unprecedented crisis of

All the problems facing autoworkers remain -

FOR AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW



GM Willow Run, Sept. 14

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

A situation of great urgency is in front of the American working class and autoworkers. In face of Doug Fraser's sellout of the autoworkers, who are in a position to take the lead of all workers, it is necessary to build an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW.

Never mind the fact that the contract will settle nothing as far as the layoffs are concerned. Before the contract was negotiated there were 80,000 autoworkers on layoffs. Chrysler's SUB fund had gone dry, and Dodge Main is in the process of being liquidated. This contract, at best, is a contract of MASS UNEMPLOYMENT.

Furthermore, the bosses and their puppets in government are openly preparing a RECESSION. The International Monetary Fund has now added its endorsement to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress' prediction of a deep and thoroughgoing downturn. Here we are not talking about "economics," but rather the decay of the central cities, the pauperization of the working and "middle" classes, in short, the "ghettoization" of America and the world.

The task of an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW is to give an immediate response to the situation. It is clear now that the layoffs in auto and the closing of Dodge Main were a PROVOCATION against autoworkers. Though the heavy layoffs are not yet here, the initial attack was clearly designed to find out how much the PLANTATION bosses could squeeze from the cowards who lead the UAW.

Workers! We cannot allow this attack to simply pass by. It will mean the ruination, not only of ourselves, but of our unions as well. Already the unions are despised by the youth

must make "sacrifices" in order to stabilize their system.

We must REJECT THE CONTRACT OF RECESSION and reject THE LEADERSHIP that gave it to us. The UAW needs a leadership and a program to fight the bosses' plans of AUSTERITY and SACRIFICES.

- THROW THE BUREAUCRATS OUT!
- NO MORE CONCESSIONS! WAGES TO RISE WITH PRICES! JOBS FOR ALL!
- NO TO THE "SAVE CHRYSLER" MOVEMENT! WORKERS CONTROL OF CHRYSLER AND AUTO!

The fact is that this provocation, this sellout contract, did not come out of "negotiations" at all. This capitulation has been prepared for some time by Fraser and the bosses.

It has been Fraser's intention to prepare the workers for the necessary sacrifices since the formation of the "Progressive Alliance." Fraser's "break" with Carter was absolutely necessary because of the deep dissatisfaction and disgust of American workers with the Democratic party, Carter and his Congress. Not that Fraser can be pushed to act in the interests of workers. Rather he acted in order to prevent the independent mobilization of the working class. Fraser's intention was to cover up for Carter, not to bury him. Who can deny the truth of this analysis when at the height of Carter's crisis, the "dump Carter" movement suddenly disappeared? No one, of course, can say what Fraser and other union bureaucrats discussed with Carter "on the mountaintop." But we can guess fairly well from the way that the political situation has developed, that Fraser agreed to retreat in the contract round.

More important from the point of view of young workers, and more militant autoworkers

where were Autoworkers for a Better Contract. They marched with Fraser when he demanded "Save Chrysler." They were at Cobo Hall when the UAW bureaucracy held its Bargaining Convention, marching with Fraser and his circus procession of supporters. But so cowardly were these pseudo-revolutionaries and traitors, they didn't even show their backsides to a workers on Sept. 14th.

Their history in this matter is a history of careful BETRAYAL! With the Stalinist apparatus pushing on an international scale for the ratification of SALT and supporting the measures of AUSTERITY launched by the imperialist powers, one could hardly expect CP/USA to come up with anything better for a slogan than "unite members and leaders." But this kind of sickening UNITY is what the "official" workers movement has been preaching some time. "UNITE!" At all costs, behind sacrifices for the bosses! mass unemployment for the youth! more police!

On a world scale the Stalinist apparatus is part and parcel of the preparation of the COUNTERREVOLUTION. They are certainly part of the betrayal prepared by Fraser.

And the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP should frantically apply for membership in the Stalinist campaign on artists par excellence. They opened up pages of the MILITANT to a "discussion" among autoworkers of Fraser's politics. In reality Fraser has only taken their politics, the politics of CENTRISM and CLASS COLLABORATION while allowing the SWP to spread his face around. What a feat of cynicism and trickery Fraser's resignation from the labor-management board really was. For the present agreement

UAW PLATFORM OF COMBAT

EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

- don't wait for the bureaucrats to call it, it must be built now
- to develop the working class program and solution to the crisis
- based on workers delegates elected in the factories
- delegates of unemployed workers

STRIKE ALL THREE! TOWARD THE GENERAL STRIKE!

- the "official" workers leaders won't organize it
- the workers must lead the way with mass picketing and roving caravans
- led by independent committees of the workers
- a spark to the general strike and the participation of the youth and the entire workers movement

NATIONALIZE AUTO AND ENERGY INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

- No! to the bureaucrats schemes to "save Chrysler"
- renovation of Chrysler's plants under workers ownership
- controlled by democratically elected factory committees
- reorganization of the economy to provide for better cars, mass transportation, safe and efficient energy

SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS AND WAGES!

- no cooperation with Carter's guidelines
- wages to rise with prices
- divide up the work among those available to perform it
- public works and skilled training for the youth

A CONSCIOUS STRUGGLE FOR CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

Even down to the last detail of the plan of betrayal, all the opportunists were behind Fraser and the PLANTATION bosses. Their response to the layoffs was silence. And they even went along with the charade of "pension reform" as THE issue in the negotiations.

Much more than a "contract" a legal agreement was developed during the last months. Far more beneficial to the ultimate "stabilization" of the political situation for the bosses is the PACT of collaboration between the union bureaucracy, the "official" workers movement and the opportunists.

But this PACT and this CONTRACT OF RECESSION AND BETRAYAL has nothing whatever to do with the supposed "passivity" of American workers that the opportunists and the bourgeois media have discovered for the umpteenth time. The autoworkers are not in a passive mood. Nine out of ten will tell you the same thing: "Why bother to strike when a strike led by the bureaucrats will get us nowhere?" There have been too many betrayals by the bureaucrats for the autoworkers to expect anything good from a bureaucratic strike.

The political situation in the world today makes the "issues" raised by the bureaucrats

revolution. These are the real "issues" which face the American working class as the bosses prepare another recession and the counterrevolution on a world scale.

Workers! The fight is not over, it has just begun. Sept. 14th and the signing of the "tentative agreement" by the bureaucrats may seal one treacherous agreement, but it does not determine the future.

- WORKERS! THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE!
- REJECT THE CONTRACT OF BETRAYAL AND RECESSION!
- BUILD AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION could have many different contents. It could be another bureaucratic affair to rally support behind Fraser and the Democratic party, a sort of workers' version of the "Progressive Alliance." Or it could be a demand on the bureaucrats made by pseudo-revolutionaries who have no intention of building it. Like their demand for a "labor party" or the "Anti-monopoly People's party," of the CP/USA. One thing is certain, however. The union bureaucrats and the opportunists are not in a mood to fight. They don't want to risk the slightest rebel-

government and their parties. That is the content of the EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION that makes it a revolutionary demand. A CONVENTION of leadership for the entire American working class. Either the UAW will become the most advanced fighter of the workers, championing the struggle of unorganized and unemployed workers, or it will become a despised and hated bureaucratic tool of the capitalist state. There is no middle ground.

It is the same with the demand to REJECT THE CONTRACT OF BETRAYAL AND RECESSION. It is not the act of "voting" that counts for anything. It is the active participation of young autoworkers in a struggle not only to reject the contract but to reject the leadership that negotiated it as well that counts. What is necessary is an independent mobilization of the workers. AN EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION! based on:

- delegates democratically elected in the auto factories
- delegates of related industries
- unemployed workers representatives

The content to this demand that we fight for

Centrism and the Revolution in Iran

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

Sometimes even the pseudo-Trotsky-ists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are forced to recognize an urgent question.

"Would the revolution in Nicaragua be like the one in Iran?"

This is the question, according to the September 7 issue of the SWP's newspaper, THE MILITANT, that young Chicanos in Salt Lake City asked SWP'ers.

The SWP reports the question, but gives no answer. This is because the only honest response it could give would be: "If it's up to us, it will!"

Only the Fourth International can give a real answer to this question, including the reason why the centrists won't answer it.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

The revolution in Iran and its situation today have international significance, far beyond the borders of Iran itself. It is this international significance that is raised implicitly in the question that is on the minds of all the thinking workers and youth.

The Carter regime is in unprecedented crisis. The youth see this. They also see the growth of the revolutionary upsurge around the world, in Iran, in Nicaragua.

But the revolutions that have occurred so far appear to the youth as disappointments at best, as counterrevolutions at worst. So they ask will all the revolutions turn out the same; is there really a revolutionary solution to the crisis of American imperialism?

That is why a full answer to the question the youth ask is not limited to Iran, but concerns all the fundamental questions of the world revolution. These questions are at the very heart of the fight that rebuilt the Fourth International against the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," represented in the U.S. by the SWP.

The revolution in Iran represented a fundamental blow to the world order of imperialism and Stalinism. It removed one of the key centerpieces of this order, the Shah, and raised the question of destroying this order on the world scale.

That is why all the forces that defend this world order, the "United Secretariat" first of all, went into action in Iran and on the world scale to attack the consciousness of the workers and youth, to confuse the real questions.

The situation in Iran today, the questioning going on in the minds of the youth, the impact of the anti-Leninist campaign/"human rights" propaganda that the revo-

the SWP.

POLICY

In the January 13, 1978 issue of THE MILITANT, just after the beginning of the revolutionary upsurge in Iran, the SWP made its notorious statement that "Down with the Shah!" was an "ultraleft and ultimistic demand." As shameful as this statement was, the reason behind it is more important.

The perspective expressed by the SWP was that the lack of democracy was the problem in Iran and that the struggle had to center around fighting for this. Internationally and in Iran this meant allying with bourgeois and petty bourgeois opponents of the dictatorship. These forces hated the fact that they were deprived of the "rights" and power they had in other countries. They saw no reason why, like their equals in the imperialist countries, they should not enjoy all the privileges that the regime denied them.

At the same time, they were not necessarily opposed to the continued existence of the Shah, or favored his replacement only with an equally pro-imperialist regime in which they would dominate.

That is why the SWP saw "Down with the Shah" as "ultraleft." And this is why it raised the call for a "constituent assembly"; that is, a "democratic" solution to the problem of the dictatorship.

The Fourth International is not against the "constituent assembly" at all times, in all places. But is against it when it is a slogan aimed at channeling the movement of the oppressed masses into bourgeois democracy -- the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie -- and not as a tactic for posing workers democracy -- the dictatorship of the proletariat.

LIES

This fundamental question, the question of CLASS INDEPENDENCE, is also the reason why the SWP covered up for Khomeini. This is not due fundamentally to lack of clarity on the nature of Islam, but to the same perspective that inspired its total policy.

In an article in the "United Secretariat's" INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS/INPRECOR (December 18, 1978) the pseudo-Trotskyists stated that Khomeini's "uncompromising stance" was "unprecedented" and separated him from the "classic behavior of the 'national bourgeoisie' of semicolonial countries." Further, "Khomeini has not taken flight at the depth of the mass mobilization." And, in addition, "Khomeini's popularity

There is not a word in all this, nor in the comparing of Khomeini to Father Gapon -- that is, a purely transitory figure -- any indication that Khomeini is the leader of the CLASS FORCES opposed to the workers and the oppressed.

And this is no accident. The mass upsurge destroyed the "United Secretariat's" perspective of peaceful, democratic change. But the essence of it -- the subordination of the masses to the capitalists -- continued and deepened.

In this situation the forces of the big capitalists, organized in the National Front, and the lesser capitalists, the bazaar merchants, turned to Khomeini as the figure who could control the masses, or at least a section of them, with "Islamic" demagogy.

So the SWP presented Khomeini as an incorruptible fighter in order to maintain this control. Instead of fighting to organize independently and to win those with illusions in Khomeini, it sought to completely whitewash him in order to ensure the goal of a "democratic," capitalist Iran.

This is the basis on which a united front around the "constituent assembly" as the "democratic" solution characterized the alliance between the centrists of all stripes and Khomeini himself.

It is on this basis that the SWP sought to ignore the revolutionary committees as long as possible. This is why it refused to call for transforming them into organs of POWER, posing them only as a "democratic" base for the "constituent assembly." And this is likewise why it stood by and allowed these committees to be transformed into Islamic and Imam's (Moslem priest) committees. For the "revolutionary government" -- the direct rule of the capitalist elements -- is presented as a CONQUEST of the revolution and not as an alien force to be overthrown.

This is exactly what the SWP and the "United Secretariat" are doing today in Nicaragua, where they hail the subordination of the independent mass organizations to the bourgeois government (they admit it's bourgeois -- in passing), their replacement with "Sandinista" unions, "Sandinista" committees, "Sandinista" anything.

In the same way, but on the level of CRIMINALITY not reached before, they gleefully greet the creation of a "professional army" by the bourgeois government, created by DISARMING the masses. This "professional army" is precisely the "special bodies of armed men" that are the essence of the STATE, the dictatorship

sional" Iranian Army is doing right now to the Kurds.

THE HKS

The SWP and the "United Secretariat" are organizing a reunification on the world scale with the forces of the French OCI.

In Peru and Argentina, for example, these forces have worked closely, but in Iran they have their unification carried out.

Here the essence of the politics of pseudo-Trotskyism appears. Trying to appeal to the masses on the basis of "revolutionary" slogans and "Trotskyism" in order to better confine them to a bourgeois "democratic" solution. In essence, stopping the revolution at the stage set by the bourgeoisie.

This is most apparent in the face of the counterrevolution. THE MILITANT has consistently tried to present these attacks as mere "conflicts" in the progressive development of "democracy." The HKS has never even said that Khomeini and his government are out to crush the revolution and consolidate bourgeois rule. It never warned the masses or prepared them for these attacks.

That is exactly what the SWP is doing today in Nicaragua.

Twelve members of the HKS face death at the hands of this counterrevolution, two others face life imprisonment. The HKS itself has been driven underground and its press is banned. This situation that confronts the workers movement in Iran is precisely the result of the policy that the HKS has carried out!

Even in the face of vicious attacks, the HKS participated in the fraudulent elections for the "constituent assembly" that were boycotted even by the BOURGEOIS opposition. It was necessary to carry the policy out to the end. Even today, the HKS refuses to call for the revolutionary overthrow of the Khomeini regime! In fact, it appeals to him as "defenders" of the Iranian Revolution to its "leader." It pleadingly begs that is has no arms and that it is "totally opposed to violence." This confession is an invitation to be crushed, an invitation for counterrevolutionary offensive.

"Would the revolution in Nicaragua be like the one in Iran?" If it is up to the centrists, yes. Only the building of the Fourth International on the world scale, as the party which has learned all the urgent lessons and questions that were posed in Iran and are posed in Nicaragua, can present the revolutionary victory to the masses and build their consciousness of the tasks that confront them.

Castro's "Non-Aligned" Conference

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Fidel Castro has just closed the "Conference of Non-Aligned Nations" in Havana, Cuba.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party, which dishonestly claims to represent the Fourth International in North America, is painting Castro and this Conference as "anti-imperialist."

Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Like the servants of U.S. imperialism, the Stalinist Kremlin and its American agent, Castro, who prepared this Conference, they're trying to USE the anti-imperialist sentiment of the youth, workers and oppressed masses to create A NEW FRAMEWORK for the domination of imperialism. All the old ones have failed.

But there is only one "anti-imperialist" class -- the working class; one "anti-imperialist" party -- the Fourth International; and one "anti-imperialist" Conference in this hemisphere -- the Conference of the Two Americas building the Fourth International which will take place this year.

Who participated in this Conference of "Non-Aligned" Nations? Such well-known "anti-imperialist fighters" as the representatives of nearly 100 bourgeois governments of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia. A representative of the oh-so-"non-aligned" fascist king of Spain. And if that's not enough -- Videla, the dictator of Argentina, assassin of hundreds of workers, was invited but declined. An observer from the United States was present. Greetings from Brezhnev, head of the international Stalinist apparatus were read!

What "anti-imperialist policy" did Castro offer them? "Peace for the powerful countries and the small ones . . . peace, detente, peaceful coexistence, and disarmament . . . SALT II . . . a just solution to the problems of the Middle East, acceptable and honorable for ALL." Sound familiar? That's because you can read it any day in the DAILY WORLD, the U.S. Stalinist paper, or in any other Stalinist paper.

What was the conclusion of the Conference? To demand better terms of trade with the imperialist nations!

Castro didn't even mention the working class of the U.S. or any other country. ". . . no one should doubt the complete loyalty with which I have spoken," he said. And as if to answer the question -- "to whom?" -- he followed this Conference of Aligned Nations with a summit meeting with representatives of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. governments!

If Castro "denounced imperialism" at all, or tried to insist that he was independent of Moscow, it was only so someone would listen to him. And if the U.S. suddenly discovered Soviet combat troops in Cuba and made some noise about it, it was only to assure that the Stalinist apparatus and its Cuban

more than they already have.

Why does Castro do this? Because he's not the leader of the Cuban revolution the SWP claims he is. He sabotaged the Cuban workers revolution while he used it to keep himself in power and maintain imperialism throughout the hemisphere.

Why then did he call this conference? Because Washington and Moscow, the capitals of imperialism and Stalinism, are disaster areas. The working class has decidedly rejected the 4-year long effort to demobilize it in the name of "human rights," and the leader of this maneuver, Jimmy Carter. Fewer and fewer governments want to be OPENLY associated with Washington or Moscow or any of the agencies through which they've worked out their counterrevolutionary accords -- NATO, OAS, CENTO, SEATO, The Warsaw Pact; Helsinki, Belgrade.

So Castro, who with the rest of the international Stalinist apparatus fully participated in these counterrevolutionary maneuvers, is coming to the rescue once again. He's trying to create a new agency for the domination of U.S. imperialism and renew the confidence of the working class in the "progressive bourgeoisie." It's a first step in the preparation of the European Security Conference to be held in Madrid.

What about the SWP? What's it doing supporting Castro and this Conference? The SWP doesn't have anything more to do with the working class and the revolution than the rest. It quit the Fourth International and liquidated its sections throughout North and South America 15 years ago to help Castro and his counterrevolution. It's liquidating the independent organizations of the workers of Nicaragua today into the petty bourgeois Sandinista Liberation Front, slandering everyone who won't go along with this, like their own comrades in the Simon Bolivar Brigade. The Stalinists and imperialists need the SWP's endorsement on their maneuvers. And the SWP is quite willing. In return they hope to get some "official recognition." Maybe even some posts.

The working class has nothing to gain from Castro and this Conference of "Non-Aligned" Nations. It's necessary to reject the reactionary idea peddled by the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists that the broadest unity against imperialism means unity with the petty bourgeois agents of imperialism trying to make a name by calling themselves "anti-imperialists."

It does have something to gain from the Conference of the Two Americas building the Fourth International -- class independence, real unity against imperialism, freedom from the petty bourgeoisie which is trying to win a place for itself alongside

"Selected Speeches" of Fidel Castro



SIDE BY SIDE, CASTRO AND PINOCHET

In the last few weeks the pages of the pseudo-Trotskyist MILITANT have been filled with the "speeches" of Fidel Castro.

They haven't said a word about him for years. But now that the workers of Nicaragua are in arms and the imperialist Democratic Party is falling apart, they suddenly bring him out of the woodwork.

So we're publishing our own collection, not at all complete, but some "speeches" that you won't read in THE MILITANT. Which may make you wonder how these shameless press agents for Stalinism can dare call themselves "Trotskyists."

FIDEL ON JIMMY CARTER -- "Now I am not questioning the prestige of President Carter; I am not questioning President Carter's honesty. I've said this publicly on other occasions that I believe Carter to be a personally honest man, whose ethics are based on his religious convictions." (Interview with Barbara Walters, June 22, 1978)

FIDEL ON THE PRIME MINISTER OF FASCIST SPAIN -- "The Transition in Spain is being carried out in a brilliant and progressive way. Spain's future seemed doubtful at first, but it has become clear that nothing amiss is happening there . . . Suarez is a brilliant and capable man, and, together with Juan Carlos, he has written a very important chapter in Spanish history." (Intercontinental Press, 10/16/79)

FIDEL ON KHOMEINI -- In a telegram to Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini he hailed the establishment of Cuban relations with Iran, which, he said, "is a fruit of the Islamic revolution in Iran, which ensured Iran's independence." (THE DAILY WORLD)

FIDEL ON THE UPRISING OF EAST GERMAN WORKERS AGAINST STALINISM -- "With the approach of April 17, a date that recalls the opening of the victorious offensive launched by our people against the mercenaries in the pay of Yankee imperialism who landed at Playa Giron, the young Germans recall June 17, 1953, when the counterrevolution supported by W. German imperialism tried to raise its ugly head in the German Democratic Republic." (GRANMA, [Castro's paper in Cuba])

FIDEL ON THE UPRISING OF CZECHOSLOVAKIAN WORKERS AGAINST STALINISM -- "It is understandable that the countries of the Warsaw Pact sent their armies to destroy the imperialist conspiracy and the progress of the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia."

FIDEL ON THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -- ". . . This discredited thing, this anti-historical thing, this fraudulent thing which emanates from elements so clearly at the service of Yankee imperialism which is the program of the Fourth International . . . If Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialist reaction." (Tricontinental Congress, January 15, 1966)

Our Education is Our Future!

By RICH TETRAULT

Across the country today the question of education is being raised again. Raised within the framework of teachers' strikes and their confrontations with school administrations. Questions which are posed within the framework of a system in crisis, a system which is using public education as a means to confuse and demoralize the youth.

It is no secret that in the past ten years the quality of education in the U.S. has suffered unprecedented decay. A report on "Adult Illiteracy in the U.S.: A Report to the Ford Foundation," reveals that 56 million Americans have no high school diploma, 26 million of them have no grade school diploma and that functional illiteracy is at an all-time high.

Another report has revealed that Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores of high school seniors fell again this year. Originally, a score of 500 was supposed to be average. Ten years ago the average verbal score was 463, last year it was 429, and this year, 427. Ten years ago the mathematics score was 493, last year it was 468, and this year 467.

Left alone, these facts and figures represent very little to working class youth who are more than aware of the brutal realities they face in the struggle for knowledge and the means to apply it. What these numbers do indicate is that in the past ten years when the workers and youth have joined forces in a fight to reform this decaying system, they have been victimized by lying bureaucrats and treacherous "workers leaders." The only solution for the youth today is the fight for the radicalization of thought, for **REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS!**

The youth around the world are in dire need of formal education. They need technical and practical training. But even more importantly, the youth today must be educated in the tactics of Leninism, for sophisticated development of science and thought, for **COMMUNIST EDUCATION**. The Revolutionary Youth International and the Fourth International are the only

the leadership of the workers movement and the preparation of the world revolution.

The importance of communist education of today's youth is that it closes the door to the attacks against the class consciousness of workers and youth. In the struggle to **RETURN TO LENIN** the young generation of the working class must take up the **WEAPON OF EDUCATION** in order to organize the consciousness of the workers. As the voice of the revolutionary youth the Revolutionary Youth International insists that the education of the youth around the world can only be guaranteed in a fight to prepare the world revolution.

THE FUTURE IS AT STAKE!

The anti-Leninist campaign led by the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists is a fundamental attack on the consciousness of today's youth. These attacks are more dangerous than all the drugs, religion and individual solutions put forward by the bourgeoisie. They are dangerous because they are attacks on the only solutions, on the only possibility for a decent future for the youth-- the socialist revolution.

The fight for the revolution is a struggle for consciousness, against illusions. Today we are living in a time of theoretical reaction, a reaction which reflects the social imperialist nature of the bourgeois state. The complete decadence of this imperialist bourgeoisie can be seen most clearly in its educational system. In the universities and high schools they are bringing back the teachings of the Middle Ages-- superstition, the occult, "para-sciences" and religion. Where the bourgeoisie once in its history fought superstition and religion and developed the scientific method, today it is using all the reactionary theories it can find to attack the consciousness of the youth and prevent them from seeking new and revolutionary solutions.

All the problems of the youth can be answered only with a revolutionary perspective. The key to this revolutionary perspective is the construction of



communist thinking as an arm of revolutionary action. The revolution requires a leadership and an army.

This is the combat of the RYI -- a school of communism, fighting to prepare the youth for the revolution, fighting to pass from rejection of this old order to a mobilization to build a new world.

It is a fight against any idea that the workers and youth can "peacefully coexist" with the police state of the bourgeoisie, an idea developed by the Stalinists and which proves the fundamental incompatibility of Stalinism with the working class.

Against any idea of a possible "democratic reform" of the bureaucrats which is the policy of the pseudo-Trotskyists, a policy which squanders revolutionary energy into meaningless pressure tactics.

Against all the individual solutions which are a manifestation of this dying system

in this system, but in what it means to have revolutionary consciousness and what the importance of **RETURN TO LENIN** is to every student and young worker who is seeking a solution with a future.

The Revolutionary Youth International is building an army of young revolutionaries, an army trained in the science of Marxism, prepared to confront the bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries, organized to lead the working class to the seizure of power and the construction of the World Socialist Republic.

It is with these objectives that we call on youth everywhere; in the high schools and universities, the unemployed and workers in the factories, to join the RYI.

The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is organizing an educational on Oct. 7 to develop this question of the fight for communist education. This meeting is open to all youth. **JOIN THE RYI!**