ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

MARCH 22ND

# STOP WAR BY PREPARING THE REVOLUTION!

On March 22 there will be a demonstration in Washington, D.C. to protest against Carter's plan to reinstitute the draft. We urge all youth to attend.

This plan to reinstitute the draft is one more attempt to make American youth submit to U.S. imperialism's war plans. It must be stopped!

At the same time, the fact that this demonstration is being called is an expression of the immediate and massive response of American youth to Carter's attempts to mobilize them for war. Throughout the country, on the campuses and in the factories, the youth have immediately and positively responded to this attack.

No one wants to die for Exxon and its office managers in Congress and the White House!

This response of American youth is also a response to the world revolution. Throughout the world, from Iran and Nicaragua to Europe, the youth are on the march in a revolutionary confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its servants. The American youth are not isolated, they are part of this struggle.

In face of this the leaders of this March 22 demonstration, the pacifists, the "Fellows for Reconciliation," the Social Democrats inside the Democratic Party and the liberal imperialists, want to hide the revolutionary character of the response of American youth to Carter's plans for war.

They want to re-create, like the 1960's, another "anti-war movement," a "peace" movement. They want to take today's youth back to ten years ago.

the "anti-war movement" of the 60's? Didn't it help stop the Vietnam War?

Yes, it helped stop the war, along with the revolutionary combat of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the eventual refusal of American soldiers to fight.

But too late! After hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese had been killed and maimed, after their country reduced to rubble. after 35,000 Americans were killed.

Even more importantly, the "anti-war movement" led by these same leaders, let U.S. imperialism off the hook. They let the Democratic Party, the war party of U.S. imperialism, survive; they let imperialism survive.

Where did the leaders of this "anti-war movement" send the hundreds of thousands of youth who marched against the war, who were marching, not to make a deal with U.S. imperialism as their leaders were, but to END ALL WARS? They were

sent to the McCarthys and McGoverns who kept the Democratic Party alive and gave the youth nothing. To the trade union bureaucrats who were against the Vietnam War because it interfered with the war they were waging against revolutionaries in the factories at home. To individual solutions, which kept the working class youth away from this "movement" because the working class can't pack up its bags and move to a farm or to Canada.

Above all, the leaders prevented the development of the only real anti-war movement that is possible -- a movement of youth in defense of the world revolution and for the revolutionary defeat of U.S. imperialism.

Without this, even the present opposition movement can be dispersed. Carter can retreat on his proposal to draft the youth. But imperialism's army will remain. Its preparations for war will continue. And the CLASS WAR at home will continue, a war which these pacifists and

which claims millions of wrecked lives every day.

But this isn't the 60's. It

won't work this time! Throughout the world the youth are on the march, more and more in revolutionary opposition to these leaders as well. The Social Democrats, the liberals, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotsky-ists have never been more discredited.

Now is the time to INSURE that it won't work, to insure that this youth movement becomes a revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement. March 22 is an opportunity to organize the revolutionary youth.

To separate the youth from the old traitors. To use March 22 to SHOUT DOWN and DRIVE AWAY the Democratic Party hacks; to SEPARATE WORKERS FROM IMPERIALISTS, especially the liberal kind who can coexist with imperialism, but object to its smell.

And to use March 22 as a means to confront the 1980 Presidential elections. To separate workers and youth from the war candidates and also from the "peace" with imperialism candidates ( the candidates of the CP and SWP ) by organizing the fight for a REVOLUTION-ARY candidate. A WORKERS CANDIDATE based on the only possible anti-war programthe world revolution against imperialism and Stalinism.

To march, on March 22, in the contingent of the Revolutionary Youth International, the world army of the socialist

INSIDE: MARCH 22ND CALL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL revolution. The anti-war army. February 27, 1980

## RUIH



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March 22nd

## Down With U.S. Imperialism!

# Military Training for the Youth Under Workers Control!

### Defend the World Revolution!

The "National Mobilization
Against the Draft," a coalition
of various organizations, has
called for a demonstration in
Washington, D.C. on March 22 to
protest Carter's reinstatement
of draft registration. The
leadership of this coalition
says that this march "is open
to everyone who is opposed to
registration and the draft."

The Trotskyist Organization/ USA, which is fighting to rebuild the Fourth International in the U.S., calls on all revolutionary youth to participate in this demonstration on March 22 by marching in the contingent of the Revolutionary Youth International and its U.S. detachment, International Young Guard/USA under the slogans:

- -- DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!
  -- MILITARY TRAINING FOR THE
- -- MILITARY TRAINING FOR THE YOUTH UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!
- -- DEFEND THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

We call on you to join this militant and revolutionary contingent in order to prevent the leadership of this "coalition" of pacifists and liberals from turning the revolutionary opposition of the youth to Carter's preparation for war into a crawl for "peace" -- with U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism.
Part of this "broad coalition" is an organization called the "Fellowship of Reconciliation." But who is there to "reconcile" with? Also in this "broad coalition" is the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a group of "socialists" who have constituted themselves as a faction of the Democratic Party.

If these "fellows of reconciliation" and scab "socialists" are against the draft and for "peace" it is only because they, wish to hide the real war going on everyday — the CLASS WAR — a war which claims millions of victims everyday.

These "fellows of reconciliation" are organizing this march because they fear the massive opposition to Carter's draft plan on the part of the youth and fear the revolutionary direction that this opposition can take.

The Revolutionary Youth International and its contingent must show up in Washington, D.C. to demonstrate that this strategy of "reconciliation" will fail. While U.S. imperialism continues to exist, there is nothing for the youth to negotiate!

This anti-war movement is OUR movement, a movement of revolutionary youth opposed to U.S. imperialism and opposed to any "reconciliation" with it It is a movement to defend the world revolution and prepare it in the U.S.

March in Washington, D.C. to demonstrate this. To win back our movement for the revolutionary youth. Demonstrate on March 22 to DRIVE OUT THE AGENTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY! BANISH THE SERVANTS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM FROM THE RANKS OF THE YOUTH!

Shatter their plans for a "peace crawl" by turning this demonstration into a revolutionary mobilization against U.S. imperialism. March with the world army of the socialist revolution.

February 26, 1980
TRUTH

## March With the World Army of the Socialist Revolution!



Join the Contingent of the International Young Guard/USA!

Contact: IYG, PO Box 07066, Detroit, MI 48207

### **Not Pacifism But**

### the Spirit of the Revolution

By JON COHEN

It took less than a month to prove that the boldly-proclaimed rhetoric of the "Carter Doctrine" (announced in Carter's January "State of the Union" address) doesn't correspond at all to the present capabilities of U.S. imperialism.

Already the Carter government is whining about the "desertion" of our "allies" in Western Europe who refuse to declare that the Persian Gulf is part of their "vital interest" too. The present negotiations with the Iranian government for the release of the hostages représents a defeat for Carter's "tough guy" stance ("I will never negotiate," he said in November). And even if this recently-formed "international commission" is a farce, U.S. imperialism has been forced to accept the inevitable condemnation of the Shah and the U.S. government's support to him.

Again, Carter can only whine, "condemn the taking of the hostages, too."

This retreat of the "Carter Doctrine" was evident last week in the U.S. as Carter was forced to confront a group of student leaders in the White House who refused to endorse Carter's war efforts. In face of their open opposition, Carter again could only whine, "You misunderstood me, I'm only for registration, not for a real draft."

If only the last four years of Jimmy Carter had just been a "misunderstanding" or a bad

No, the evident shakiness of the "Carter Doctrine" is not due to any "misunderstanding." It is due to the continued offensive of the workers and youth throughout the world. It is the mobilization of the British steelworkers, the strike of SEAT workers in Spain, the mobilization of the French working class youth against austerity, which has made it "allies" to impossible for our rally around the "Carter Doc-trine." It is the continued mobilization of the Iranian masses which has prevented Carter from using the situation in Afghanistan as a springboard for U.S. intervention in Iran. And in the U.S. it has been the immediate and massive response of the youth against Carter's plans for war that has placed the entire "Carter doctrine" on the brink of collapse.

U.S. imperialism cannot openly prepare for war today because it is not in a position to crush the American working class. But this does not mean

that it isn't preparing for war and preparing for a fundamental attack on the working class in order to accomplish this. It must prepare for war today by attempting to politically disarm the working class and especially the youth.

Throughout the world this is taking place through a TERRORIST REARMAMENT of the HOLY ALLIANCE between imperialism and Stalinism. The various traitors in the workers movement, with the Kremlin bureaucracy at the head, are being forced to renegotiate their place as servants of imperialism in this process of disarming the working class. The Kremlin is in Afghanistan for this reason only, not to confront imperialism, much less extend a revolution, but to RECONSTRUCT the bourgeois state in Afghanistan, a task which imperialism is incapable of.

This re-armament of the alliance between imperialism and Stalinism in the attempt to politically and organizationally disarm the working class has taken the form in the U.S. of the attempt to channel the revolutionary opposition of American youth to Carter's war plans into a pacifist movement trying to pressure U.S. imperialism. The traitors in the American workers movement, the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, the trade union bureaucrats, supported by the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP, are trying to renegotiate THEIR PLACE in the world order that is collapsing by instilling a mood of pacifism among the youth. \*

Thus, they are all busily engaged in trying to re-create the "anti-war movement" of the 60's. Their logic goes as follows: "If we proved our reliability to U.S. imperialism in the 60's by keeping the opposition to the Vietnam War from challenging U.S. imperialism's right to rule; perhaps we

can again prove our reliability

by doing the same thing."

Impossible! This isn't the 60's and ten years of revolutionary experiences of the youth throughout the world make it impossible to re-construct a similar "anti-war movement" and impossible to pacify the youth. It is not pacifism, but the spirit of the revolution which is alive in America's youth and a decade of struggles. including the struggles today, prove this.

This "anti-war movement" that these traitors are trying to re-create is motivated above all by their fear of the youth. It is this FEAR of the revolutionary potential of the youth which dominates the political situation today. It was shown in Carter's retreat in front of the students at the White House, it has been shown in the miserable failure of Kennedy's campaign to reach the youth with his half-hearted liberalism.

But this fear above all dominates the policies of the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP. After all, unlike Carter and Kennedy they are supposed to be "revolutionaries." But because they are frauds instead, they are the ones most terrified of the youth.

In 1974 the SWP denounced youth who shouted down Hubert Humphrey at a "Jobs" rally as "undemocratic." They have denounced young miners who burned their union contracts in disgust as "ultra-leftists." Last month, in Greensboro, they joined with the pacifist black leaders in trying to expel revolutionary militants, victims of KKK terror, from their "anti-Klan" march.

In Nicaragua today they support the jailing of revolutionaries and denounce workers whose slogan is "Workers and peasants to power" as "sectarians."

Do you wonder why today they

are trying to be in the fore-front of this "anti-war move-In order to DISARM and DISORGANIZE the youth. Which has been their only policy for the last ten years. But they are more frantic today as the march of the world revolution threatens to sweep away them and their pacifist policies with it.

And what they all fear the most is a POLITICAL CONFRONTA-TION by the youth with the Democratic Party and U.S. imperialism. That is, the centralization of the revolutionary opposition of the youth, the organization of the isolated strikes and combats taking place throughout the country into an organized political movement to confront U.S. imperialism and its Democratic

This political confrontation has to be concentrated in a fight for the revolution in the 1980 Presidential elections To contront the bourgeoisie's plans for war and the traitors' plans for pacifism with a mobilization that will decisively place the U.S. working class on the side of the world revolution by breaking all ties with U.S. imperialism and its allies in the workers movement.

In the words of Lenin, "a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the watchwords of the proletarian revolution.' A WORKERS CANDIDATE to organize this fight to separate the working class from this terrorist rearmament of the alliance between imperialism and Stalinism, to separate revolutionaries from pacifists, to separate the youth from the living dead.

In this way the youth cannot only make Carter retreat, but they can decisively defeat the "Carter Doctrine" and everything it represents. February 27, 1980

| Not | War, | Not I | Impei | rialist | "Pea | ce," |
|-----|------|-------|-------|---------|------|------|
| AL  | NOR  | KER   | S C   | AND     | IDA  | TE!  |

- Down With U.S. Imperialism!
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- Build A Workers Alliance For A Workers Party!
- For A Workers Government in the Fight for A United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas! Phone

| Yes, I w  | ant to fight . |
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| Name      | • • • •        |
| Address_  |                |
| School or | Workplace      |
|           |                |

## Iranian Revolution Leaps Forward

#### By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The Iranian Revolution has broken free of the latest attempts to derail it and is once again on the march.

The very existence of the UN Commission is a setback for U.S. imperialism. The screams of reactionary columnists — "terrorism triumphs" — are an open admission of this. The whole can of worms that Carter has tried to keep closed about the role of imperialism in Iran is now going to be "officially" opened.

More importantly, however, there is a fact that this Commission, in the guise of resolving the "minor problem" of the "hostages," was an attempt to strike a blow against the revolution AND THAT THIS ATTEMPT HAS BEEN DEFEATED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE OF THE MASSES.

#### WHICH CLASS WILL RULE?

Almost exactly one year ago the armed insurrection toppled the Shah's bourgeois state. The army shattered under the impact of the revolution. The SAVAK secret police were rooted out. In other words, the "special bodies of armed men" that make up the state were destroyed. The whole past year has been a constant struggle to resolve the fundamental question of revolution: which class will rule?

The capitalist forces have been trying to reconstruct the terrorist bourgeois state in a new, improved, "Islamic" version. The working class and its allies have been striving for their own state, the workers and peasants government, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact that this struggle
-- a struggle to the death -has not been resolved in a
victory for the bourgeois state
is what lies behind Carter's
complaints that there is "no
government" in Iran. This
desire for a "government," a
stable BOURGEOIS STATE, is what
likewise lies behind the support
of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's
"brains," for "constitutional"
and not "revolutionary" changes.

Khomeini and his associates likewise share this desire for "constitutional" developments. This is the course they have been following for the last year.

Coming to power on the basis of the insurrection, the government of Khomeini and the bourgeois nationalist Bazargan immediately set about trying to reconstruct the bourgeois state. They tried to disarm the masses and rebuild the army by using the "pasdaran," Khomeini's so-called "revolutionary guards." They tried to subordinate the revolutionary committees to the Khomeini-led "Imam's commit-

tees," which in turn were subordinated to the government through the "Revolutionary Council." And they tried to suppress the national minorities by binding them once again within an oppressive, centralist state. They repressed all working class organizations.

On the "constitutional" front, they organized a whole charade: elections for a phony "Constituent Assembly," a referendum on its fraudulent "Constitution," presidential elections (won by Bani-Sadr). This charade's purpose was to "legalize" the consolidation of the bourgeois state.

#### UPSURGE

Despite these attacks, the masses have not been defeated. Even the liberal bourgeois opposition was forced to boycott the rigged "Constituent Assembly" elections. The national minorities tore apart the polls during the phony referendum. The workers reorganized themselves in factory committees ("shoras") and continued and deepened their struggle for workers control over production. The peasants seized the land. Soldiers refused to fight the Kurds; even the pilots refused to bomb them.

This upsurge culminated in and was further inspired by the seizure of the U.S. "Embassy," which represented the consciousness of the masses that U.S. imperialism was behind the drive against the gains of the revolution.

An immediate result of the seizure was the fall of the capitalist Bazargan government. Likewise, when Abolhassan Bani-Sadr was made Foreign Minister and tried to make a deal he too got dumped. The attempts to reconstruct a normal bourgeois state had met their sharpest setback. This setback, and the masses' consciousness of it, were responsible for the mass demonstrations in front of the "Embassy." This setback is the reason for the imperialist slanders about the "mob" and "fanaticism."

This setback is what enabled the national minorities to successfully attack the referendum that took place after the "Embassy" seizure, but which had been planned far in ad-

But this setback compelled the capitalist forces into greater attempts to achieve their counterrevolutionary goals. All their energy was concentrated on the presidential elections and on the victory of Bani-Sadr. When the capitalists had this "victory" under their belt, they thought they could safely pro-

ceed to ending the "Embassy" seizure and to ending the upsurge.

It is not accidental that Bani-Sadr referred to the students as "a government within a government." That is, the mobilization that they reflected was a deadly threat to the bourgeois state, to Carter's desire for a "government."

Knowing that he could not simply send in troops to "free" the "hostages," Bani-Sadr sought to make a deal with U.S. imperialism. Some empty concessions in return for the "hostages" would enable him and imperialism to achieve their objective: liquidating the upsurge.

The bourgeois press had been gloating about the diminishing crowds at demonstrations. But no sooner did it become clear that a sell-out was underway than the masses once again mobilized. Bani-Sadr suddenly pulled in his horns. And Khomeini had to break his wily silence to support the mobilization in order to maintain his influence. Now, even Carter is forced to admit that "there is no way of telling" when this setback can be turned around.

#### POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The bourgeoisie is not resting. Khomeini himself has connected the "hostages" with the elections to the "Islamic Consultative Assembly" on March 7; that is, to the latest attempt at "constitutional" change.

The gravest problem is that the masses have not yet achieved political independence from the very forces that they are fighting in action. This problem is summed up in the fact that Khomeini is still, by and large, looked to as the leadership of the revolution. This is expressed in the name the militants at the "Embassy" have given themselves: "Moslem Students Following the Imam's Line." But the line of the Imam (Khomeini) is one of capitulation to imperialism and is the gravest danger to the mobilization that the militants represent and to the militants themselves. Every single figure the militants have had to fight -- Bazargan, Bani-Sadr, Ghotbzadeh -- has been a Khomeini loyalist.

The Islamic clergy gained the political leadership of the mass upsurge because of the betrayal of the Iranian Stalinist party, Tudeh, and because of the capitulations of the pseudo-Trotskyists to the lies of imperialist "human rights" and "democracy."

Today, Tudeh continues to betray. It is in open and

total support of Khomeini. The pseudo-Trotskyists ("swallowing the Imam's line") have supported every step of "constitutional" change; going so far as to praise the presidential elections and to claim that they ran a candidate, deliberately hiding the fact that they were banned from it because of their polite "no" on the referendum.

The Fourth International is for revolutionary and not "constitutional" development. The road to the victory of the revolution is the same as that to the political independence of the masses. Only the party can organize and lead the struggle to this victory. The determination and truly heroic mobilization of the masses show that it is NOT too late to build this party!

The "shoras" and the peasant committees must organize and centralize themselves on the national scale as organs of workers and peasants power, as the elements of a new state. The right to self-determination for the oppressed nationalities is the key to the revolutionary unification of the Iranian masses on the basis of equality, against the bourgeois centralist state. The arming of the masses, especially for the defense of workers organizations from Khomeini's gangs, will insure the defense of the revolution.

These lessons, drawn from the whole experience of the international workers movement, are what the Fourth International offers to the workers and oppressed of Iran in order to overcome the difficulties of their revolution, for its triumph.

The Iranian Revolution was not and is not a national event. Its international significance was that it dealt a heavy blow to the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism, especially to the major partner in this combination, U.S. imperialism.

Despite all the lies, slander and chauvinist attacks, the fact that the Iranian Revolution is alive and progressing continues to deal blows to American imperialism. This is expressed today in the opposition to imperialist conscription, which is objectively an aid to the Iranian masses. When this opposition becomes a political fight against imperialism itself the Iranian Revolution will be insured of victory.

February 24, 1980

### The Real Terrorists in Zimbabwe

#### By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The revolutionary upsurge in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in Asia and Latin America, is today expressing itself in Africa. Blacks in the U.S. are particularly concerned by this, because the struggle of Africans against imperialism and racist oppression is directly connected to their own struggle.

In the black African nation of Zimbabwe, which the imperialists and racists call Rhodesia, the real face of imperialist "human rights" and "democracy" is revealing itself as state terrorism against the oppressed.

In 1965, in face of demands to lessen the most obvious racist outrages, the white minority (now 250,000) in the British colony of Rhodesia made a "Unilateral Declaration of Independence," asserting their intention to maintain their domination over the black majority of 6 million at all costs. This domination is particularly expressed by white ownership of agricultural land that the black peasants are deprived of.

The UN, U.S. and Britain all claimed to oppose the white racist regime in Zimbabwe but in fact did nothing to oppose it, proposing a "peaceful" policy of economic boycott. In fact, the imperialists winked at violations of their own embargoes on a massive scale. They did this because the preservation of imperialist rule in Africa is directly linked to white racist rule, particularly through South Africa, white Rhodesia's chief support and a major imperialist power itself.

As years went by and these "democratic" imperialist frauds revealed their true character, the masses of black Zimbabweans went into action. Due to the absence of a revolutionary leadership and to the predominantly agrarian character of the country, this revolt took the form of guerrilla warfare.

Despite the most brutal repressive measures, the racist regime was not able to crush the insurgency rooted in the land hunger and desire for freedom of the black masses.

of the black masses.

Last year, this regime —
with the advice of the U.S. and
Britain — tried to achieve an
"internal settlement." That is,
it dug up a local Uncle Tom,
Bishop Abel Muzorewa (a preacher,
of course), and tried to rig a
phony election with him as a
"black leader" "elected democratically" by black "Rhodesians," who just coincidentally
supported the continuation of
white rule (a permanent veto

over the legislature). The election was so rigged, and the upsurge of the masses so unmoved by it, that even the imperialists had to withdraw their support.

In December of last year, the new Thatcher government in Britain, carrying out the initiatives of Jimmy Carter and his notorious imperialist agent, Andrew Young, succeeded in arranging a peace conference in London. This conference obtained the consent of the Patriotic Front, the coalition leading the guerrilla war, to a ceasefire and "democratic" elections.

The purpose of this conference was to derail the mass mobilization into electoral deadends, to disarm the rebels, to buy off the petty bourgeois leaders of the guerrilla groups and to give the regime a chance to make a deal that could preserve white rule and imperialist domination.

Since this conference, the attacks on the mass mobilization have increased. The regime has decided that Joshua Nkomo, leader of the ZAPU wing of the Patriotic Front, is more likely to make a deal and has concentrated its fire on Robert Mugabe, leader of the larger ZANU wing.

It has accused the Catholic Mugabe of being a "Marxist." By this it means that the social demands of Mugabe's followers are more radical. It has likewise accused him and his followers of violations of the ceasefire and of "terrorism." By this is means that the ZANU members are not capitulating to the British and Rhodesian military regime and must be crushed by the means of state terrorism, including murders of ZANU militants and two attempts on Mugabe's life.

Besides a whole series of election gimmicks, the military regime has threatened to cancel the elections in precisely those regions where ZANU could be expected to win. At the same time, it allowed South African troops to stay in the country, participating in attacks on black guerrillas.

The purpose of this activity is to gut the revolutionary mobilization that the regime could not defeat. It has already pressured Mugabe into "moderating" his demands for nationalization of industry and for redistribution of the land. The regime has no basic objection to making a deal with Mugabe either, if he can be persuaded to maintain imperialist domination under the mask of "black nationalism."

The imperialist elections are being held from the 27th to the 29th of February, with ZANU expected to emerge with at least the largest portion, if not the majority, of the votes. (The white minority has already elected its outrageously disproportionate 20% of the parliament — all going to candidates of the racist regime).

Imperialism's objective is to stop the upsurge through a "democratic" election, to "stabilize" the situation throughout Africa. This means preserving the essence of its domination through a superficial change in the government. But the black masses have not fought so hard and come so near to victory only in order to trade their demands for a governmental position for Nkomo or Mugabe.

February 25, 1980

K.F.

#### Britain: Toward the General Strike!

The massive strike of the British steelworkers is heading toward a confrontation with the capitalist government, toward the general strike.

This development was clearly revealed on January 28 in Wales, where 200,000 workers and youth struck and demonstrated in a mass protest against the Conservative Party government of Margaret Thatcher, elected on a program of defeating the British working class.

Thatcher and Co. were attempting to carry out this defeat by organizing a "resstructuring" of the nationalized British steel industry, aimed at laying off tens of thousands of workers. At the same time, it proposed a wage "increase" that, in face of the existing inflation, was a wage cut.

inflation, was a wage cut.

This "restructuring" is going on all over the world as the capitalists seek to break up the strongholds of the working class. In 1979, French and German steel-workers mobilized against these attacks. In 1980, the British workers have carried the struggle forward.

They have carried it forward to such a degree that it has caused a crisis in the Thatcher government, dividing it between those who want a clash and those who fear it.

Those who fear are far the wiser. The methods that the strike has already used — mass picketing, demonstrations, flying picket squads, etc. — show that this is a mobilization with a great revolutionary potential.

This potential was expressed in the January 28 demonstration where banners were carried bearing the slogan of the international proletariat: "Workers of the world, unite!" In addition, a call has been issued by the South Wales National Union of Miners for an indefinite action for jobs, beginning March 10. This opens up the possibility of a general strike that could bring down the Thatcher regime and raise the question of state power in Britain.

The rally in Wales closed with the singing of "The Red Flag," whose chorus includes the lines: "Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,/We'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

These lines express the character and determination of this mobilization. Now it must be carried forward to the end. ORGANIZE THE GENERAL STRIKE! February 24, 1980 K.F.

## BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL I

## Nicaragua: Workers and Peasants

#### By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The Nicaraguan revolution has opened up a new period in the struggle of the Latin American masses against imperialist domination. The fall of Somoza, U.S. imperialism's puppet in Nicaragua for more than half a century, has spurred on the proletariat and peasantry of the entire southern continent.

Chile: the El Teniente copper miners strike against the U.S. puppet Pinochet.

El Salvador: Occupations of government buildings by revolutionary youth demanding the fall of the military junta backed by Carter.

Bolivia: The General Strike topples the coup of Colonel Natusch.

Guatemala: Peasant occupation of the Spanish embassy is drowned in blood, still the occupations continue as in El Salvador.

This period was opened up by the insurrection of the Nicaraguan proletariat, and it is their struggles that continue to dominate the situation. The government of national reconstruction (GNR), a coalition government of the Sandinista FSLN and the bourgeoisie, has been unable to disarm the masses either politically or militarily. The masses have refused to passively disband the popular Defense Committees set up in the insurrection to be replaced by the institutionalized Sandinista Defense Committees. The GNR first announced "generosity" toward the former torturers and murderers of the Somozaist regime, believed to have been responsible for the deaths of more than 35,000 during its last two years of existence. The demands for "revolutionary justice" of the proletariat and peasantry forced the setting up of tribunals to try these criminals.

Fundamentally there are only two perspectives for the Nicaraguan revolution -- the same as throughout Latin America. The subordination of the struggle of the proletariat to U.S. imperialism in the name of "human rights," and the maintenance of the bourgeois state. This is the perspective that leads to the counterrevolution. Or, the perspective which continues to remain at the forefront, the strengthening of the national struggles of the proletariat for their own power and the deepening of these struggles into the PER-MANENT, international revolution. The objecthe workers dictatorship and the Socialist United States of Latin America, the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas. This is the perspective of the Fourth International based on the courageous and steadfast advance of the Latin American proletariat together with the massive opposition of youth in the United States to imperialist war.

Crucial questions are being posed today in the confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its puppets. Crucial for American workers and youth as well because it concerns imperialism's "backyard" of bloody oppression. Crucial today, because the situation is more favorable than it ever has been for the definitive confrontation with U.S. imperialism. It is precisely this perspective that separates the Fourth International and the and the masses from the opportunists who claim to be "Trotskyist" and who remain in the bankrupt framework of "human rights."

A petty squabble between groups?
Hardly. The tremendous power
of the struggle against U.S. imperialism has
opened up the crisis which now stalks the
pseudo-Trotskyists and forces them to abandon
the masses in favor of the opportunist appara-

tuses. This is a cynical, petty bourgeois retreat from an organization whose only perspective is the liquidation of the Fourth International and Trotskyism — in order to free itself from the revolutionary confrontation.

In the words of Peter Camejo, "We have a section in Nicaragua — they may not know it, but it's the FSLN!" (Dec. '79 YSA Convention). This is the reality. The theoretical version of the same line is contained in the "Resolution on Nicaragua," recently passed by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). "We recognize in the leadership of the FSLN fellow revolutionists who have already demonstrated ... their intention to build a vanguard party." In one moment the revolutionary party has been built, and intended to be built! Lies to cover up lies, this is what American workers can expect from the SWP.

#### WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT

Central to a revolutionary perspective in Nicaragua is the struggle for the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT. This slogan concentrates the fight to finish with U.S. imperialism and its policy of "human rights" — or maintenance of the bourgeois order. The masses themselves have raised this slogan against the government of national reconstruction. Workers at the Amalia factory met "commandant" Wheelock of the FSLN who had come to demand of the workers that they increase production, with chants of "workers and peasants to power! Workers to power!"

In the dirty tradition of Stalinism, the SWP has completely distorted and slandered the Nicaraguan workers' mobilization in declaring the GNR to be a "Workers and Peasants government." (SWP Resolution) Worse than this lie is the reasoning behind it.

"...the Sandinista-led regime in Nicaragua is neither definitely bourgeois nor proletarian at this time. It is a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT..." Unfortunately, there never was such a government in modern history. If this fine piece of doubletalk isn't enough, the SWP Resolution adds, "the contradiction between the class character of the workers and peasants government and the BOURGEOIS STATE has yet to be resolved." (Our emphasis). This is indeed a position that is full of "contradictions."

It is not possible in one article to take up every lie that these confusionists put forward. But even common sense would tell us something rotten is going on.

The FSLN, this "intended" section of the

The FSLN, this "intended" section of the Fourth International, has a different view-point of the government. This is a BOURGEOIS government, let there be no mistake about that. An editorial in BARRICADA, organ of the Sandinistas makes this clear.

"...defense and consolidation of the revolution based on the confidence and participation of the working masses in productive activity ... private property has an important role to play. While it must reinforce patriotic unity ... the private sector must also contribute to the consolidation of the revolution although this contribution is essentially economic... Private initiative must be an active part of the plan... It falls upon the masses' organizations and workers to sacrifice as in the first battle for their liberation."

This is not any old "workers" government. Oh, no. The gentlemen of the bourgeoisie have an important role to play here. Long live the patriotic bourgeoisie. Long live the workers sacrifices for private property.

Even the FSLN is not so stupid as to claim to be the vanguard party. In an interview "Commander" Ortega of the FSLN blurts out: "We always thought the masses would support the guerrillas so we could defeat the National Guard. But that is not how it happened. In fact, the guerrillas supported the masses, who overthrew Somoza through an insurrection..." (INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS)

And it is the masses who today are defining

And it is the masses who today are defining the character of the Nicaraguan revolution as a PROLETARIAN, not a bourgeois democratic revolution. They have answered how the WORKERS STATE is to be created — by the defense of their conquests from private property and their refusal to give up the independent committees formed in the insurrection.

"uncontrolled forces" set in motion. Thus the strike of construction workers who demanded that their resources be used to build hospitals and public works rather than a "recreational park," who demanded and won the unity of all construction workers in one union, are the "ultra-left" elements who threaten the "stability" of the GNR, according to the Resolution of the National Committee of the SWP.

There is no question about it. The Nicaraguan proletariat and peasantry refuses to respect the bourgeois democratic revolution. Whines Commander Ortega of the FSLN, "People have no traditional respect for the law. It is almost impossible to find decent lawyers."

The truth: The FSLN has been forced by the moilization of the masses to take direct responsibility for the maintenance of the bourgeois state. Nine "commandants" of the FSLN have entered the GNR, taking the place of the representatives of the traditional bourgeoisie. Their task is clearly stated by Humberto Ortega's plan for the "new" Ministry of Defense. "There still exists a vertical command in the army, with a commander in chief, a second commander, and chief of Staff... in this sense THE SANDINISTA POPULAR ARMY MUST BE DIRECTLY SUBORDINATED TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, who on his part is subordinated to the central government through the structures established to do this..." (Our emphasis, BARRICADA, January 10, 1980).

The result of this re-organization has been to sharpen the resistance of the workers against the FSLN plan.

In fact, the new re-organization of the GNR, together with the economic plan for "austerity" is dictated by imperialism. While giving justice to Somoza's torturers, the GNR has undertaken a completely reactionary campaign against "ultra-lefts." Every worker can see these traitors for what they are — a petty bourgeois reaction panicked by the offensive of the proletariat throughout Latin America.

Panicked by any opposition, and fearful of the forces set in motion by the Nicaraguan revolution, the FSLN has taken its side against the revolution. It has rapidly moved to the right. And the Socialist Workers Party supports them.

Approvingly, they quote "Article 4, Sec-

### N THE TWO AMERICAS

### to Power

Commander Ortega (FSLN) — We always thought the masses would support the guerrillas so we could defeat the National Guard. But that is not how it happened. In fact, the guerrillas supported the masses who overthrew Somoza through an insurrection."

tion c, of the Public Order and Security Law" which prohibits the distribution of propaganda "which seeks to damage the popular interests and abolish the conquests achieved by the people." These are laws that the SWP can respect

Worse they whole-heartedly endorse the wave of arrests of "ultra-lefts" including their OWN COMRADES, the Simon Bolivar brigade. They commend the FSLN for the arrest and conviction of leaders of MAP/FO (Stalinist party linked with Albania).

The key to the SWP treachery is in the

statement, "It is correct to make concessions when the relationship of forces leave no alternative." (SWP Resolution).

And what is the "relationship of forces?" The American youth have massively rejected Carter's draft. U.S. imperialism is on the defensive all over the world — Iran, Afghanistan, throughout Latin American. The "relationship of forces" has never been more favorable. Now is the time to raise the slogan for the Socialist United States of Latin America and the United Socialist Republics of the Two Americas.

This is the key to the defense and extension of the revolutionary conquests of the Nicaraguan revolution. If the Fourth International takes up the bankrupt and treacherous policy of the centrists it is only because they claim to represent Trotskyism and the struggle for the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT, which is the only road forward for the revolution in the Americas.

By the capitulations of the centrists it is clear that the necessary element for the definitive victory over U.S. imperialism and its puppet regimes is the revolutionary party. This does not mean that the Nicaraguan masses can wait, or that the moment is unfavorable to continue their offensive. Just the opposite; the revolutionary party can only be built as a means of clarifying and advancing the struggle of the proletariat.

Furthermore, the advance of the Nicaraguan revolution is just as much the responsibility of the American working class and the youth. The mass response to Carter's draft shows the potential for the struggles of the youth of the two continents to link themselves. This must be the goal of the re-building of the Fourth International in the Two Americas. February 26, 1980

thrown out the results. All the advocates of the "democratic process" from right to left have done nothing but renegotiate with the military. It's no accident that U.S. imperialism, Stalinism, Gueiler and her supporters are once again calling for democracy and preparing elections, this time for April. It's a great diversion.

How about with a revolution, a democratic revolution in which everyone against imperialism rises up, crushes the military, and establishes a government which truly represents the Bolivian people?

They've had experience with this too. In 1952 Bolivian workers and peasants in alliance with the bourgeois democratic National Revolutionary Movement (MNR-Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario) rose up, occupied the mines, formed militias, and demanded ownership, the ouster of the imperialist mine owners from Bolivia. But the workers were the only ones to remain true to the goal. The MNR with Juan Lechin's support made a deal with American imperialism — to limit the workers mobilization in exchange for loans from the U.S.

There is only one solution — to begin to construct the workers and peasants government, to destroy the military dictatorship and the bourgeois nationalist democrats who cover for it, with the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! This is what Bolivian workers began to do in 1970—71 when, under the leadership of the International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and its Bolivian Section, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), they founded the Popular Assembly, the first workers council in this hemisphere.

No, no, this isn't possible, cry the "United Secretariat," the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International," and now even the POR. The Bolivian proletariat is just recovering from terrible defeat, there's a terrible crisis of leadership, the Fourth International is split into half a dozen factions. The proletariat will have to gradually rebuild itself in a fight for democracy. On this basis we will rebuild the party. Then we can talk about revolution.

These are lies, designed to prevent the working class from taking advantage of the present situation, designed to maintain the status quo. The working class was NEVER CRUSHED by the Banzer coup, the continuity of the mobilization proves it. And it's not suffering from a desperate crisis of leadership as the pseudo-Trotskyists describe it. The Fourth International has been rebuilt and is beginning to rebuild its sections in Latin America. It's the pseudo-Trotskyists who were crushed by the coup, they who are in crisis, split into dozens of factions.

These are the same basic lies which prevented the workers from taking power in 1971—the proletariat is "too weak," it will have to make an alliance with the "antimperialist bourgeoisie," so it will have to limit its struggle to democratic demands. The revolutionary wing of the IC fought these lies. The majority of the POR gave into them.

The road forward in the destruction of the military dictatorship lies with the Fourth International and its Conference of the Two Americas which will prepare this offensive as part of a revolutionary offensive in both continents against U.S. imperialism and Stalinism to rebuild its sections.

Victory to the Revolution in Bolivia!

#### Bolivia: Revolution on the March

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Last November Bolivian workers rose up in a general strike against a military coup led by Alberto Natusch Busch, an associate of Hugo Banzer, the hated military dictator trained and armed by U.S. imperialism, who led the suppression of the workers' Popular Assembly in 1971 and the military occupation of the tin mines in 1976.

Workers continued the strike, set up barricades in working class districts and battled Natusch's men, in defiance of their official leadership, Juan Lechin, head of the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB-Bolivian Workers Federation) who asked them to go back to work after seven days. They thus forced Natusch to resign.

Workers and peasants in many areas renewed the strike and took to the streets in massive demonstrations when the new government tried to raise prices, again in opposition to their official leadership, again sending the military, the government and Congress into crisis.

This is a continuation and high point in the working class offensive against the Banzer dictatorship unleashed by the tin miners in 1976-77 with a general strike forcing the military out of the mines and with the expulsion of its representatives from their unions.

Since that time the U.S. and its puppets, in accordance with their program to save imperialism throughout Latin American from the workers onslaught, have tried unsuccessfully to block the mobilization in Bolivia by forming a series of governments which promise

rights for the workers while maintaining the military dictatorship —— "human rights." Thus in November 1977 Banzer announced there would be "democracy," "elections." He was replaced by Pereda in July 1978 after he falsified elections results. Then came Padilla, then Guevara, and now Lydia Gueiler, each ostensibly to the left of his predecessor, all maintaining their ties to the military. Gueiler told the NEW YORK TIMES that she went to talk to workers threatening to storm a palace and seize some military commanders while the commanders slipped out the back door.

This mobilization and the consequent crisis of the dictatorship and its "democratic" front men shows that the complete destruction of this pillar of U.S. imperialism, responsible for the exploitation and oppression of the Bolivian workers and peasants for decades (most tin miners live only 32 years!) is an immediate task. This will open the road to the emancipation of the workers and peasants throughout the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uraguay, and shake the military dictatorship in Brazil, another pillar of U.S. imperialism, to its foundations.

ism, to its foundations.

The question is how. With democracy?
With elections? This is what the leadership of the COB and the Communist Party advocate.
But the Bolivian workers have already had plenty of experience with democracy and elections under imperialism. Twice in the last two years, July 1978 and 1979, they've gone to the polls and the military has simply

February 25, 1980

### Call of the

## - Revolutionary Youth International

Young workers, students, unemployed and soldiers-

The Revolutionary Youth International is fighting to organize the offensive of revolutionary youth around the world. Today in the U.S. the tremendous strength of the youth is being concentrated in the struggle against the vicious government of Jimmy "human rights" Carter and its attempts to use the youth as human material for the dirty job of imperialist war.

Across the U.S. the most militant youth have been orgarizing mass demonstrations, circulating petitions, and preparing for the demonstration in Washington, D.C. on March 22 to protest Carter's reinstatement of draft registration. Throughout the factories, schools and streets, working class youth are beginning to formulate their own ideas and responses to the crisis that faces them, the unprecedented crisis of U.S. imperialism, policeman of the world.

But this crisis is not positive in itself. Only the revolutionary response of the youth around the world to this crisis, the fight to take the initiative in preparing the world socialist revolution can determine the most positive situation for the workers and masses of oppressed.

The peoples of the world all too vividly know the destructive power of U.S. imperialism. For endless years the army of the U.S. government practiced its war games throughout Asia with a special focus on Vietnam. Thousands died so the U.S. could maintain "peace." Napalm, Agent Orange and mountains of lies were the tools for the American bourgeoisie used against the "enemy," U.S. soldiers and the youth at home.

Decades after Hiroshima, the deformations and miseries continue. The workers and youth of the Phillipines and Puerto Rico are allowed the special "privilege" of having as guests the largest U.S. military bases outside of the U.S. Throughout Latin America, U.S. imperialism has constructed the most repressive regimes on this planet to insure that the big U.S. capitalists can maintain domination through the superexploitation of the masses of workers and youth.



Today, when Carter speaks of bringing back the draft, this is what he is fighting to defend. When he speaks of "national unity" and "defending the honor of the American people" this is what he wants to have pass.

This government of lies, this national unity of traitors against the world proletariat deserves but one thing -swift and merciless death at the hands of the workers and



The working class in the U.S. has a great deal at stake in the struggle for power that is taking place throughout the The revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua are the most immediate examples of the combat of the most oppressed peoples to break the chains of U.S. domination. This disease, this cancer which has infested the lives of millions upon millions is being confronted by the organized combat of the workers for independence.

In Nicaragua, Somoza and his regime were thrown out by the armed struggles of the workers and youth. A heroic battle of the Nicaraguan proletariat against the puppet regime of U.S. imperialism which successfully ousted U.S. imperialism. A battle which must continue until the last remnants of the bourgeois and counterrevolutionary leaders are des-

In Iran, a most decisive defeat against U.S. imperialism has taken place. A defeat which Carter has attempted to hide by calling for national unity, by condemning the Iranian revolutionaries as terrorists and fanatics, and by trying to impose economic sanctions. Lies and treachery to hide defeat, to attack the revolution, to isolate American workers and youth from the world revolution.

The Revolutionary Youth International fights to arm the youth in the combat for the revolution against the terrorist

DOWN WITH THE TERRORIST REARMAMENT OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM!

It is this alliance between Moscow and Washington that the youth must be armed against. This is the real threat against the future for the working class. The RYI fights to make clear to the youth around the world that the most important war is already taking place. It is the CLASS WAR of bourgeois and bureaucrats against the masses of workers and youth throughout the world.

In this framework the youth throughout the U.S. must take their place with the forces of the world revolution which is on the march. In this way we can break this "national unity" of traitors and opportunists.

In the fight for a revolutionary response we can put an end to

## Iranian Students Speak

the persecution of Latins, Blacks, Iranians, and all oppressed minorities in the U.S.

Carter's war moves, his attacks on the American proletariat are his "part of the bargain" in the TERRORIST REARMAMENT of the enemies of the working class. His attempts to stop the Moscow Olympics is yet another attempt to isolate American workers from the proletariat in Russia and throughout Europe.

Youth, this is what Carter wants you to defend — the right of the bourgeoisie to dig your grave.

- -- AGAINST THE FORCED IMPERIAL-IST DRAFT!
- -- ENLIST VOLUNTARILY IN THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

The force of the American proletariat will be realized in the rupture of its isolation from the world proletariat.

Youth, march with the contingent of the Revolutionary Youth International, World Army of the Socialist Revolution. Together we can reject the slogans of the pacifists — "Hell No, We Won't Go!" "No Way," or "I'll go to Canada!" The youth have no room for intermediary solutions and this pacifist opposition will put an end to nothing except the revolutionary mobilization of the youth for an end to U.S. imperialism.

- -- DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!
- -- MILITARY TRAINING FOR THE YOUTH UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!
- -- DEFEND THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

These slogans will lead the youth in battle against this decaying society, to smash the bourgeois army and clear the way for the American and world revolutions.

We call all youth out to this combat, to join the Revolutionary Youth International in preparing this march on Washington. Likewise we call on all workers and youth to join the fight of the Fourth International in the U.S. to construct its party, the Workers Party for a program for the revolution in the 1980 Presidential Elections.

- -- ALL OUT TO THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON!
- -- ENLIST IN THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! The International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International February 24, 1980

Below is an interview with Iranian students who are friends and acquaintances of Mehdi Fazelzadeh-Haghighi and Mehran Abdeshah, arrested in January by Jimmy Carter's terrorist state, accused of "threatening to kill President Carter." The judge threw out this charge but the Secret Service agent who filed a complaint against these students has tried to prove possession of a weapon and certain "violations" of immigration laws. They are out on bond and will face trial sometime in March.

QUESTION: How did you interpret the arrest of Medhi and Mehran?

MOHAMMED: It was to make U.S. people turn against Iranian people. Because the U.S. government is afraid Iranians will talk to American students and workers about what the Shah did and what imperialism did in Iran. They are afraid of having the revolution here. Mehdi and Mehran were never in any demonstrations or anything, they were arrested to harass all of us and to try to turn everybody against us.

AHMED: Basically they don't want the American people to find out the truth about what's really gone on in Iran. But when American people hear about what went on during the reign of the Shah, they feel real sorry. When I was in a high school and they asked me to say something about Iran, when I talked about the dictator and what he did under the direction of U.S. imperialism, they all got sick and begged me to stop talking about it. They couldn't stand to hear about it.

MOHAMMED: All the T.V. programs and the newspapers in the U.S. talk about "brainwashing" the hostages but it is the American people who are brainwashed by imperialist propaganda on T.V. and in all the media.

AHMED: The arrest of Medhi and Mehran was to isolate us from American students. Some of the universities now will not accept any Iranian students, not even as guests. I just called a university yesterday and they would not accept me. Most universities that practice this discrimination gave degrees to the

to the Shah and his wife. Every time they came to the U.S. they were given Master degrees, bachelor degrees and doctorates.

MOHAMMED: There are special punishments in the schools against Iranian students. All over the State of Michigan in the colleges the rules are that if you are an Iranian student and don't have a book, they will dismiss you from class. When they dismiss you from class they are going to kick you out of college. And then you will be deported. If Iranian students are caught cheating or are late too often to class they will be expelled.

The way they attack the American working class is indirect. But they attack us directly. They attack the American working class so that it will not find out for years what happened. By attacking Iranian students, the U.S. government is attacking American workers. They know

that if there will be a revolution in the U.S. it will be from the workers side. The workers will support the revolution because they are under all the pressures. The problem is that workers do not have time to think. They work eight hours and sleep eight hours. They don't have time to think about anything else. But they have already done a lot in this country. Like taking over the steel plant that was written about in your paper and the youth demonstrating all over the country against the draft. But it is still not enough. It has to be more exacting, like this defense campaign to free Mehdi and Mehran.

We want the American workers and youth to know that we are not against them, we are against the ruling class and Carter's "human rights" because the U.S. ruling class is against all the workers and oppressed people in the world.

February 25, 1980

TOIN THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION—Remarks of the social street of the social st

#### **Layoffs Demand Workers Solution**

## A Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours

Layoffs in the auto industry have neared 200,000 out of 700,000 workers, most of them indefinite. Ford Motor Company permanently closed its T-Bird plant in California, and rumors abound that Detroit's Fleetwood plant may soon be General Motors' "Dodge Main."

There is a workers solution to these layoffs -- a sliding scale of wages and hours. All work that must be done is divided up among ALL available workers with wages to go up automatically with prices. This is a solution based on workers control of basic industry. It is the only solution to unemployment.

Other solutions are put forward in the name of the working class. Doug Fraser, head of the United Auto Workers union, as well as all the imperialist presidential candidates accept the "Chrysler" solution. Their way to end unemployment is to "restructure" basic industry like auto and steel, through plant closings and massive layoffs. And maybe, after years of sacrifice by the workers, there might be some jobs. Recently, as part of this "restructuring" auto Fraser has started an "anti-import" campaign to blame imports for all the jobs that the UAW bureaucracy has lost -- like the 200,000 never called back from the 1974-75 layoffs.

Fraser says, "more and more the solutions are going to be in Washington." The Communist Party/USA and the Socialist Workers Party, both running "workers candidates" in the 1980 elections, agree. These parties continually propose and support jobs bills, bills to stop plant closings, bills that demand full employment, bills that provide "emergency jobs," and so on.

Recently, appearing to present a more radical face, the SWP has called for "nationalization" of the auto industry. Their nationalization is by this government, not by the working

These are not workers solutions. They are bourgeois "solutions" which means that THEY ARE NOT SOLUTIONS AT ALL. It is enough to notice that nationalized steel industries in Britain and France have been hit by massive strikes because they eliminated thousands of jobs! And every jobs bill passed by Congress has been to harness teenagers to do work for municipal governments at mimimum wage by eliminating union jobs.

The pseudo-revolutionaries attempt to justify these proposals saying that they are a "step in the right direction." What direction? Towards ending unemployment? The workers in

the nationalized industries of Europe could only advance when they saw the nationalization as an OBSTACLE to their own control over industry. All bourgeois solutions continue capitalism which means that they continue and deepen unemployment.

The opportunists also justify their program by saying that the U.S. workers are in a defensive position. That the fight today is a fight "to defend jobs." And that "the fight to defend jobs must become a fight for a labor party."

But it is impossible to advance the working class with this perspective. When, since 1848, have workers NOT defended their jobs? The U.S. working class is on the offensive today and its struggles are characterized by continually BREAKING OUT OF CONTROL of the bureaucrats and their reactionary framework for struggle. And also out of control of all these pseudo-revolutionaries who say the struggle today is to "defend jobs."

The autoworkers, in particular, are forging and most importantly searching for an INDEPEN-DENT, WORKERS SOLUTION to the crisis of society. A recent example is the strike of agricultural implement workers, which began last fall.

The UAW bureaucracy promised to strike all three major manufacturers -- John Deere, International Harvester and Caterpillar. It tried to sabotage the unity of the workers by striking only one, John Deere, at the last minute. Wildcat strikes brought out Caterpillar and IH. Fraser attempted to isolate the IH workers by giving the company mandatory overtime. But that has been unsuccessful. Mass pickets, defying a court order, stopped hundreds of scab supervisors. The picketing ended only when UAW bureaucrats claimed that all the arrests would bankrupt the union. After picketing stopped, workers organized and confronted scab supervisors in the local bowling alley and battled police there. The strike continues today.

Can anyone honestly say that this is a working class on the defensive? Or even that this is a combat to "defend jobs"? No.

Workers are searching for an independent solution, their solutions, to the problems they see. At every step they tried to take the strike into their own hands. What was lacking was the workers program and leadership to organize their confrontation with the capitalists and the government and union leadership that they control. Not only to take control of their strikes, but the whole society.

This is what the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours means. It means that the time is NOW for OUR solution to

the crisis -- not one more day of unemployment, not one more day of Chrysler "contracts," "jobs" bills, and "nationalizations" that lead to more unemployment.

By fighting to divide up all available work among available workers, a sliding scale of wages and hours lays the political foundation for the unity of the employed workers and the unemployed, laid-off and the youth. A unity necessary to prevent scabbing, to end the use of the unemployed as a brake on wages, and above all, to forge the unity necessary to defeat capitalism.

It cuts through the division of workers by nations. In particular the fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours exposes the lies of Fraser's anti-import campaign and places the blame squarely on the shoulders of the corporations and their lackey,

Fraser.
It's the solution that advances the interests of mankind. Based on political power in the workers hands, a sliding scale of wages and hours is the foundation for the socialist reorganization of the world.

As part of the offensive of the international working class, autoworkers must organize an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW. With such a combat autoworkers can mount a workers opposition to Fraser's imperialist program and candidates in the 1980 elections, for a WORKERS CANDIDATE and workers leadership. This candidate will fight for the workers solution to unemployment -- the sliding scale of wages and hours imposed by the socialist revolution. February 25, 1980

### Fraser's Trip to Japan

Doug Fraser and Pat Greathouse, two leaders of the United Auto Workers union, just returned from a six-day trip to Japan. They went to Japan as part of their current "anti-import" campaign which says that American autoworkers are losing their jobs because of "foreign imports."

This campaign is antiworking class. It blames the workers of other countries, or even capitalists of other countries, for the suffering U.S. workers experience at the hands of the world's single largest monopoly, the U.S. auto monopoly. This campaign deserves the repudiation and contempt of every worker, every youth, every

THE ENEMY IS AT HOME!

The Carter government is trying to rebuild its antiworking class world order that has been crumbling under waves of revolution from across the planet. Fraser's current campaign is part of this desperate attempt to rebuild this order with U.S. imperialism on top. But there is one condition they must crush the resistance of the American working class. They must disarm it POLITICALLY. That's the purpose of this cam-

The auto barons in particular are in a complete panic. They have been unable in the recent contract round and in the current layoffs to increase exploitation enough because of the resistance of the workers. They are forced to go after other capitalists, demanding an even greater share of U.S. imperialism's cut of their profits.

The UAW bureaucracy is panicked by the 200,000 laid off in auto. The autoworkers have not bought the "save Chrysler" movement. International Harvester is in its longest strike ever. Budd Company just had its first strike in 22 years. GM locals cannot settle local agreements after 6 months.

Fraser must prove his usefulness to a ruling class increasingly scared, and increasingly skeptical of his abilities to control the workers. So Fraser travels overseas to go to bat for the U.S. capitalists. After all, he is on the Board of Directors of Chrysler.

This trip has NOTHING TO DO WITH JOBS. If Fraser was really worried about autoworkers, how about winning back the 200,000 jobs lost -- by the UAW bureaucracy's OWN figures -- over the last 7 years? How about stopping scabs from crossing UAW picket lines?

The purpose of this trip is clear. It is part of desperate attempts to terrorize and intimidate the U.S. working class into supporting U.S. imperialism against the world revolution. And the most important section to terrorize is the autoworkers.

Against this campaign, we say that the autoworkers of every country are the best ALLIES of the American autoworkers. The Revolutionary Youth International is organizing an International Young Metal Workers Conference this Spring. We want to organize and centralize the battle for the workers demands against the auto bosses and the bureaucrats, to say that the future of the workers, is in the destruction of the old order, not in its reorganization.

#### 15 Years After the Assassination of Malcolm X

## "You're living in a time of Revolution"

By FRED VITALE

Malcolm X was assassinated by the U.S. government on February 21. 1965. Unlike every other black "leader," from the Cole-man Youngs and Jesse Jacksons to the Andrew Pulleys (Socialist Workers Party candidate for president), Malcolm X has made a contribution to the struggle for the emancipation of blacks. His life was an example of the road for black liberation; the road he took towards socialist

The truth about his thoughts and his life are being hidden. Lenin once wrote that after the death of revolutionaries "attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons." Virtually everyone who expounds Malcom X's thought today would have been branded "traitor" by him.

The most crude example are the black bourgeois politicians like the NAACP who use his support for simple democratic rights to get people to support changing this system. To him, though, "the American system though, "the American sys (political, economic and social) was produced from the enslavement of the black man, and this present system is capable only of perpetuating that enslavement."

But more insidious are the pseudo-revolutionaries who use Malcolm X to hide their own betrayal of the revolution, especially the Socialist Workers Party.

Malcolm X's thinking was moving from nationalism to socialism when he was assassinated. During these months, he sought out the Socialist Workers Party because it claimed the only unstained banner for complete liberation of the working class and oppres-sed masses of the world -- the Fourth International. But they had already abandoned the Fourth International and the need for a world center of the revolution; they claimed that Castro was a "revolutionary." Naturally, they could only mislead Malcolm X.

Today they use the fact of his interest in Trotskyism and the Fourth International to perpetuate their original crime. They try to hide their program to "REFORM" capitalism behind his words. But "reform" can only mean DEFEAT today. And they must twist and distort his words because his fundamental fight was REVOLUTION.

For example, the SWP wants the Equal Rights Amendment passed because "it will be a step forward for rights for women." But Malcom X said, "They are actually slapping you and me in the face when they pass a civil rights bill. They're telling you that you

don't have it, and at the same time that they have to legislate before you can get it." The SWP and others want the youth today to support a "n peace movement." "I can't think that black people should be at peace in any way. There should be no peace on Earth for anybody until there's peace also for us."

Despite the Socialist Workers Party, Malcolm X was moving towards a world revolutionary perspective. As he said only three days before he was killed, "We are living in an era of revolution ... It is incorrect to classify the

revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict or a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Some of the worst cynics use his assassination, along with those of Martin Luther King and George Jackson, to say: "see what happens to revolutionaries." He would only sneer at such cowards. He knew he would not die in vain.

His spirit lives today. It lives in the struggle of oppressed masses around the globe. Along with Malcolm X

we say to the youth: "The young generation of whites, blacks, browns, whatever else there is, you're living in a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time there has to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change, and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. I for one will join anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth." February 25, 1980

#### Canadian Elections Reject Austerity

On February 18, Canadian voters swept the Progressive Conservative Party government of Prime Minister Joe Clark from office, giving a parliamentary majority to the Liberal Party of Pierre Elliot Trudeau.

(In Canada, as in many other countries, there is a "parliamentary" system in which the leader of the party that has, or can form, a majority in the parliament becomes the head of government.)

Clark's downfall, after only eight months in office, was due to a rejection by Canadians of his plans for capitalist "austerity." What we are particularly concerned with in these elections is their significance for the Canadian working class and, because of the connection between the two countries, for the U.S. working class as well.

Canada is a major imperialist power. At the same time, it is virtually the only major imperialist nation that never had its own bourgeois democratic revolution, never had a bourgeoisie that was ever independent enough to seize power in its own name. The Canadian capitalist class grew up in the economic and political shadow of the U.S. and British bourgeoisies.

This dependence is reflected in the fact that even today Canada is still formally subject to the British Queen. And an even more important index is found in the figures on the ownership of Canadian industry. Fully 58% of Canada's industrial sector is owned by foreign capital, a figure which rises up to near total ownership in some areas (e.g., 87% in transportation equipment). And nearly 80% of this ownership lies in the hands of the U.S.

On this basis, the role of a "Canadian" government is to carry out the dictates of world imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. This is what Clark was trying to do with the budget proposal that caused his downfall. He was trying to impose the "austerity" drive of world imperialism on the Canadian workers in a more direct fashion than any other capitalist country has yet dared to.
"Austerity" means a direct

attack on the living standards of the working class. This found expression in Clark's proposal to raise the price of gas (through an excise tax) in Canada by 18 cents a gallon! This, in face of the fact that Canada has no lack of petroleum, together with his proposal to sell the state-owned Petro Canada, clearly revealed an attempt to impose the will of the oil and energy monopolies on the working class.

The Canadian workers in voting out Clark were clearly expressing their opposition to this imperialist "austerity." But the Trudeau government promises nothing different. This is the government that imposed wage controls on the working class, that imposed the mar-tial-law "War Measures Act" in Quebec in 1970. In 1972, the French-speaking Quebecois workers waged a general strike against this capitalist class and its government. In 1977, a one-day general strike and protest erupted throughout Canada against Trudeau's con-

Although Trudeau got the majority, there is no illusion anywhere that he got a mandate. A large section of the English-Canadian workers particularly

expressed their distrust by voting for the so-called "labor party," the New Democratic Party (NDP). But this populist/socialdemocratic muddle, supported by the same union bureaucrats (UAW, Steelworkers, etc.) that support the Democratic Party in the U.S., is incapable of offering any way out. Nonetheless, the fact that in the last two elections it has risen from 17 seats in Parliament to 32 shows the desire of workers for class independence.

The bankruptcy of the NDP is particularly obvious in Quebec. Like the two bourgeois parties, it has completely supported the forced subjugation of the Quebecois nationality within the framework of the Canadian bourgeois state. On this basis, despite the growing proletarianization (the reactionary agrarian-Catholic "Social Credit Party" lost all its seats in parliament) and radicalization of Quebec, the French-speaking workers are forced into the position of supporting the bourgeois national ist Parti Quebecois inside the province and its Liberal sister on the national scale. The right to self-determination for Quebec is the only means to fully arm all Canadian workers against imperialism.

In major proletarian centers like Buffalo and Detroit, U.S. workers are separated from their Canadian class brothers by nothing more than a stretch of water. They face the same imperialist enemy, right down to the very companies (GM, U.S. Steel).

Thus it is no surprise that what happens to one working class affects the other. In face of the defeat of the Clark government, the U.S. capitalists will have to drop their proposals for a similar excise tax on gas. This is one small example of the potential for victory that the unity of the two working classes could offer. February 25, 1980

RUTH

### The Whole World Is Watching

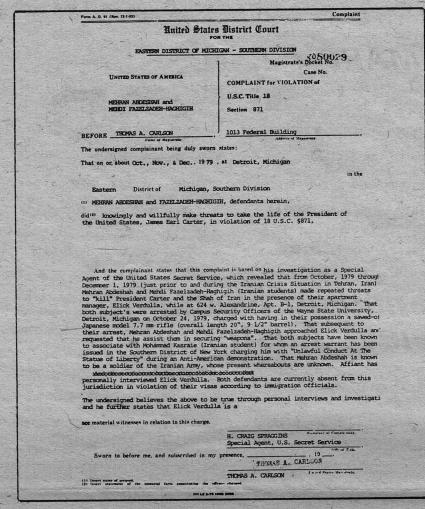
#### By BARBARA PUTNAM

U.S. imperialism is on trial and the whole world is watching. As the trial proceeds, the first witnesses called to the stand must surely be those who have suffered the most from the brutal terrorist state that now cries crocodile tears over the deaths of hundreds upon thousands in the colonies and semi-colonies under the yoke of U.S. imperial-From Nicaragua to Iran march the endless line of the oppressed who say "ENOUGH OF THIS IMPERIALIST MONSTER!" The second witnesses are the American workers, black people and the youth, the internal slaves of "human rights" who are demanding their day in

The decrepit, poisonous monster, now sweetly, now tersely tries to command whatever forces it can muster to save itself from the blows of the youth and workers, of the oppressed masses. But there are none who will join its armies; the youth have taken to the streets against Carter's plans for war. There is no hiding place big enough to hide the crimes of this monster as it twists and turns on the stand.

Under the slogan "America held hostage," the imperialists tried to see if anybody could be found in the U.S. who would come to their defense. "We come to their defense. will help you!" cried the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO. And they issued a statement which said "Iran stands alone, dishonored and condemned by outraged world opinion." When it is really the terrorist state of Carter which is all alone. They tried to find some youth and workers who would rally to their jingoist, chauvinist and racist anti-Iran campaign, but the campaign began to die before it even got underway.

Carter looked and saw that the Iranian students in the U.S. were demonstrating in New York, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., fighting to send the Shah back to face trial in Iran and to put beside him the imperialists who pulled his strings. He looked and saw what the sentiments were of the American youth and workers and it sent a chill up his spine. "We must stop this before it gets out of hand" and he sent forth the FBI and the Secret Service to track down Iranian students in another futile attempt to put the revolution on trial. He made the banks freeze all Iranian funds so that the students could not cash their checks, the only source of income, since by the immigration laws they cannot



work in the U.S. He tried with all his might to wreck his puny

vengeance on the Iranians in the U.S. because it became more and more impossible to stop the march of the revolution in Iran.

When an Iranian student chained himself to the Statue of Liberty to protest Carter's "human rights" and then escaped after being arrested, a real dragnet was launched from New York to California. In Detroit the Secret Service arrested a student and his roommate in Washington, D.C., Mehdi Fazelzadeh-Haghighi and Mehran Abdeshah, for "threatening to kill President Carter." mind these students had never been near Carter, nor even to a demonstration; the arrests would be used to try to harass, intimidate and persecute ALL Iranian students in the U.S. Even the bourgeois judge had to throw out this charge in favor of a lesser charge of possession of a weapon and certain "violations" of immigration laws. When Mehdi and Mehran go to trial in March, this trial must be turned around; let the workers, the youth and the oppressed also be the judge.

FREE MEHDI FAZELZADEH-HAGHIGHI AND MEHRAN ABDESHAH! TRY THE TERRORIST STATE! February 25, 1980

### "Police" Brutality

In recent weeks there has been an increase in the coverage of police brutality by the capitalist press. In Battle Creek, Michigan, a city of 41,000 (23% black) blacks, outraged by flagrant brutality against them have picketed, demonstrated and begun publishing a newspaper called the "Black Alleged News." Inside the Vernor Station (2nd precinct), in Detroit, a black man, Fred Warren, was beaten to death by police, dying of a ruptured spleen.

To nearly every working class youth in the central cities in the U.S., to any black or Latin, these incidents are THE FACTS OF EVERYDAY LIFE. Police records show that 3-5% of all homicides are caused by cops and even the experts think it's probably 3 times that. After the newspapers printed an article in which prisoners testified that Fred Warren was worked over with cattle prods, they were flooded with calls by workers and youth complaining of the same thing. It is not even illegal to use them. For the population the U.S. has, it

ranks in the TOP THREE WORLD JAILERS, along with the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR and the racist government of South Africa.

This is American democracy. This brutality must end. Only the workers themselves can stop it.

The bourgeoisie attempts to placate workers with "investigations." Who do they send? The FBI! The FBI has organized assassinations of militants, blacks and workers like Fred Hampton and Mark Clark since its inception in 1926. Or they have the joke called "internal investigations" based on the lie that it is an individual cop here or there rather than an entire system of terror and repression.

The U.S. government, confronted daily with the world revolution, is rearming itself. It is revitalizing the FBI and CIA with new "charters" and funds. The Secret Service, which is supposed to "protect the President" has 1552 agents and a budget that has increased 30 times since 1963. Senate bill S.1722 rewriting the

federal criminal code not only attacks basic democratic rights, but broadens the scope of activities defined as FEDERAL crimes to further strengthen the state.

Workers and youth who know of "police" brutality need to politically arm themselves against the U.S. government, the terrorist state. The capitalist press calls it "police" brutality to hide, to protect THE BOSSES OF THE POLICE — Carter, the U.S. Supreme Court, all the courts, judges prisons and army (with their parliamentary cover, the Congress, Senate and so on). These people are the ORGANIZERS AND MENTORS of the police.

Workers need their own army — to protect themselves, their neighborhoods, their organizations from attack, to organize their offensive to finish with this terrorist state.

We need our own workers guards to patrol the police whenever they enter a working class neighborhood and to protect every worker and youth from the police attack.

We need workers justice — which begins when the terrorist state is disarmed by the workers socialist revolution. February 25, 1980 F.V.