

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The KKK Assassinations, the Hostages in Iran, One Thing in Common . . .

THE ENEMY IS AT HOME!

The bankrupt government of Jimmy "human rights" Carter is a mortal threat to every worker and youth. Bankrupt both politically and morally, this government has been moving from crisis to crisis in the last six months in a desperate attempt to survive until 1980.

Crippled and cornered like a rat, the Carter government has passed to a policy of open provocation. A few weeks ago it was the "Cuban crisis" (now long forgotten) and the "invasion" of Guantanamo Bay.

On Nov. 9 a "computer mistake" triggered a six-minute false national defense alert, sending jet interceptor planes up throughout the world to meet a "missile attack from the Soviet Union." Shades of "Dr. Strangelove."

Now Iran is "the enemy." U.S. imperialism created the Shah, organized his army and his torturers and supported him down to the last minute. Jimmy Carter called the Shah "my friend."

This government which daily deports thousands of poor workers struggling to survive has allowed this mass murderer to live in the U.S. for "cancer treatment."

As if the rot of this monster could be termed a "medical" disease.

A "national emergency" has now been declared in response to the taking of the U.S. embassy in Iran. An embargo has been placed on Iranian oil, Iranian assets in the U.S. have been seized. And instead of deporting the mass murderer the government has begun a vicious campaign to deport Iranian students-- who have done nothing! A precedent which will allow them to deport ANYONE.

Nationalist and chauvinist propaganda is being whipped up in the same "factories" that created the "Cuban crisis" and the "coup" in South Korea. And the "spontaneous" demonstrations being

organized around the country against "Iran" have the same mark-- "CIA."

Not that American workers and youth aren't disgusted with the Khomeini government. They should be. It is an anti-working class, counterrevolutionary government trying to bury a revolution.

Carter has given the Khomeini regime the perfect opportunity to hide the truth about it-- that Khomeini is the REAL TOOL of U.S. imperialism in Iran. Carter is perfectly willing to sacrifice some hostages in Iran in order to restore the dwindling credit of this counterrevolutionary regime in the eyes of the Iranian masses.

But Khomeini isn't the problem. **THE ENEMY IS AT HOME!**

The "Iranian affair" is another attempt to hide this and give the Carter government a few more months of breathing room. The real truth is that **THIS GOVERNMENT IS THE MOST HATED GOVERNMENT IN U.S. HISTORY!**

Carter's popularity is now at 16%-- ten points lower than Nixon's when he resigned. This government is discredited and bankrupt.

THE ENEMY IS AT HOME! The cold-blooded assassination of five communist militants on Nov. 3 in Greensboro, North Carolina by the KKK proves this.

It was no "shoot-out" as the capitalist press claims. It was a carefully planned assassination **ORGANIZED WITH THE AID OF THE POLICE.**

The assassinated militants-- Sandra Smith, James Waller, William Sampson, Cesar Cauce, and Michael Nathans-- were all well-known militants of the Communist Workers Party with long histories of civil rights and union organizing in the Deep South.

They are our martyrs and we will avenge their deaths. **THE**

ENEMY IS AT HOME!

Carter has said NOTHING to condemn this assassination. Not ONE WORD has been uttered by any of the bourgeois Presidential candidates.

They didn't have to. Their mouthpiece, that collection of lies that is called the NEW YORK TIMES, wrote in their Editorial on Nov. 6: "Tragedy on the Fringe" that "violence on both sides" should be condemned and basically, that the assassinated militants **GOT WHAT THEY DESERVED.** This is the line of the "democratic" American bourgeoisie.

It is also the line of the corrupt trade union bureaucracy like the UAW Local #600 Executive Board (Ford Rouge) which turned down a resolution condemning the KKK is favor of one that attacked "all violence" in North Carolina.

Who are these people who are silent and complicit in this bloody political assassination? **THE SAME PEOPLE** who are organizing the nationalist and chauvinist reaction over Iran.

It is the same people and the **SAME REACTION.** Because the enemy is not in Iran but **AT HOME.** The enemy is all those who defend and cover for this terrorist state and its hired thugs.

The KKK and the reactionary furor over Iran have one thing in common-- they are designed to prepare the way for an open confrontation with the U.S. working class.

All the previous attempts have failed; Carter's "trial balloons" have gone nowhere, the KKK has no mass support.

But this reaction must be fought. Consciously and politically. The working class must arm itself in face of all those in the workers movement who are trying to disarm the workers in face of this reaction.

The Stalinists, like Fidel

Castro, who have defended Carter as a "moral" man. The pseudo-Trotskyists who shamefully deceived the American working class by calling Khomeini a "revolutionary" and who criminally paved the way for the Greensboro murders by calling for "free speech for the KKK and Nazis."

The condition for fighting reaction is the construction of a new, revolutionary leadership for the vanguard of the working class in a conscious combat to prepare the American revolution against Stalinism and pseudo-Trotskyism.

A task today centered in the fight to found the WORKERS PARTY USA, the party of the world revolution in the U.S. A fight which the Trotskyist Organization /USA calls on you to join.

It is the only alternative to reaction. One of the pseudo-Trotskyist organizations recently wrote in a leaflet: "America is going down the tubes."

No! The working class is alive and well-- it is U.S. IMPERIALISM THAT IS GOING DOWN and with it is everyone who has hitched themselves to its shadow, including the so-called "revolutionaries."

The "enemy" is not our "national sickness" but is U.S. IMPERIALISM and all those tied to it. And by fighting to build the only party that can lead the break with U.S. imperialism, the WORKERS PARTY, the U.S. working class can take the lead the only fight for freedom worth fighting for today.

The enemy is at home and the solution is at home-- the preparation of the revolution and the construction of the party to lead it.

November 15, 1979

TRUTH

TRUTH

We Demand the Future!

That is the common cry of us all!...At least of those of us who still think about the future as something we can change. The Revolutionary Young Workers/USA is organizing a conference on December 1 and 2, 1979, at Wayne State University, in order to build this future!

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? That is what we must discuss. When Lenin wrote this pamphlet in 1902 he faced the same fundamental problems that the revolution faces TODAY. First, though every force and prejudice imaginable from drugs to religion opposes it -- we must take up POLITICS and the struggle for revolutionary consciousness. The "old hands" at revolution were not up to this in 1902, they tried to block the youthful revolution from seeking answers by demanding "freedom of criticism." By which they explained they meant that the struggle for theoretical clarity on the aims and goals of the revolution must give way to freedom of politics. Lenin said then, "'Freedom' is a grand word, but under the banner of freedom for industry the most predatory wars were waged, under the banner of freedom of labor, the working people were robbed."

And under the banner of "freedom" and individuality the most common and binding illusions and false roads are taken. The youth take many of these paths. The path of simply giving in and reconciling to capitalism and the status quo. The path of mysticism and doubts which lead to complete confusion and worse. But the path of the future, the means of changing this rotten present,

is the road of the workers socialist revolution.

There are other roads in POLITICS. The road of Ted Kennedy or Carter, of entering bourgeois politics and becoming a puppet of the capitalist class. The politics of slanders and muckraking like in the 1980 elections. This is a political future which is ready to be buried.

There are the politics of CONCESSIONS of the trade union bureaucrats like Fraser, president of the UAW. A policy which is responsible for the 50% unemployment rate among youth in every advanced capitalist country. "The best" the system has to offer. It is a future for flunkies and Benedict Arnolds.

And there is the politics of the REVOLUTION. Which demand a break with all the old and bankrupt leaders, and a constant struggle to "say what is," and expose the lies of the enemies of the working class and the youth. The enemies of any kind of future except BARBARISM.

The REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL is the army of the socialist revolution, an army of youth. We call on those who choose the revolutionary road to march with us. Abandon the enemies of politics, and silence, the politics of our enemies!
PREPARE THE REVOLUTION!
RETURN TO THE ROAD OF LENIN!
ENLIST IN THE WORLD ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION!

TRUTH
November 14, 1979



ENLIST IN THE WORLD ARMY OF YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES!

Youth Conference

"YOUTH AND THE
1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS:
A REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE"

December 1 & 2

Wayne State University Student Center
Anthony Wayne Drive & Kirby, Detroit, Michigan
Open to All Youth and Youth Organizations!

P.O. Box 07066
Detroit, MI 48207

Editor: Jon Cohen
Editorial Board:
Kevin FitzPatrick,
Margaret Guttshall,
Ann Nelson, Rich Tetrault

Published Bi-Weekly In
Detroit, Michigan
By TRUTH PUBLISHERS

Subscription Rates:
U.S., Canada, Mexico:
\$2 for six month introductory;
\$5 for one year;
\$10 for two years.
Airmail to Latin America
or Europe:
\$10 for one year.
Inquire for other rates.

SUBSCRIBE TO TRUTH!

- Six Month Introductory (\$2)
- One Year (\$5)
- Two Years (\$10)

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Make checks payable to TRUTH.
Send to TRUTH
P.O. Box 07066, Detroit 48207



The Only Realistic Solution, the Only Permanent Solution . . .

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Every young person who is thinking is asking themselves the question, "who is responsible" for the racist and nationalist provocations of the last weeks. What is the political meaning of the murders of militants of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, the anti-Iranian pogroms, and the so-called "shift" to conservatism? Practically the entire political spectrum from Jimmy Carter to Brezhnev, from John Birch Society to the Communist Party USA will blame these provocations on the American working class.

At a demonstration against the Greensboro provocation, the Spartacist League, only saying without shame what every other centrist group would like to say, announced that "America is going down the tubes." Agreeing with the government, they said of the Greensboro militants, "sure they were hysterical and crazy."

The Fourth International says NO! The responsibility for these provocations rests wholly with the PASSIVE and TREACHEROUS leaders of the American workers movement -- from Doug Fraser of the UAW to Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. More precisely these provocations are the product of a Holy Alliance of the Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucrats and the pseudo-revolutionaries.

Every time Doug Fraser opens his mouth, another worker loses his job in order to "keep Chrysler alive." And it is all the fault of workers anyway because they are too greedy. Can you believe it? Not finance capital, the largest banks and corporations who run Chrysler and who are pulling the strings in this affair, but the workers -- are too greedy.

Carter and his government are not conducting this campaign of PROVOCATIONS and anti-worker attacks from a position of strength. The refusal of the working class and the youth to submit to the plans of "austerity" and "sacrifices" produces the political crisis of the Carter administration. This is a government which passes from blunder to blunder. But that does not make the animal any less dangerous.

The bourgeoisie is preparing ITS dictatorship. All the presidential candidates from Kennedy to Connally speak of the need for "strong leadership and strong government." Kennedy, the darling of Fraser and the labor statesmen, is a leader in Congress of the repressive S-1722 bill. A bill that would

give organizations like the KKK a "free hand" to deal with the radical youth and the working class.

Behind them, and their calls for "strong leadership" and "national unity" the FBI and the CIA, together with all the police powers of the bourgeois state are preparing their apparatus of STATE TERRORISM. Even the most liberal Democrats now cry about the "ineffectiveness" of the CIA and the FBI.

Yes, this TERRORIST STATE is dangerous. But it is ready to be smashed into a thousand pieces. Already each new "crisis" forces it to shed its "parliamentary" and "democratic" facade. Were it not for the treachery of the Frasers and the rest of the "official" workers movement, this crisis would have already been resolved in favor of the working class.

That is the fear that the ruling class is plagued by. The fear that one day all the crap they throw up as a smoke-screen to the irrationality of their system will blow up in their faces. That is why in the end they prefer to depend on naked blind force -- the police, prisons and the fascists -- to defend their world order.

And for that matter, that is the fear of the faction of the international apparatus of Stalinism, the so-called "Euro-Stalinists" who have groveled before the hallowed "democratic state" for fear of the consequences of the workers socialist revolution. They have much to fear. The entire international working class owes them for the betrayal of the Russian Revolution. In every country, the working class has been touched by the betrayals of the Stalinists and their centrist shadows, whether they know it or not.

That is why this Holy Alliance has accelerated its attempts to disarm the working class. That is why the "Euro-Communists" began their campaign against Leninism. Now more than ever when the working class needs to be armed with the correct understanding of the tasks of the revolution. Above all else, they reject the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, the working class organized as the ruling class, is the only means to resolve this crisis. It is the only permanent solution open to the working class and the youth besides BARBARISM.

The last weeks are proof that this reactionary government, this TERRORIST STATE, will not

crumble by itself. It will not "fall like Rome" of its own corruption. Rather it will grow more and more vicious.

In face of these counter-revolutionary preparations, "realism" dominates the politics of the union movement. "What else can we do but make concessions?" But these "realities" are lies. Their purpose is to conceal the true reality -- that every concession leads to more provocations and places workers in a more precarious position.

Concessions will not stop the crisis of imperialism. They will only prolong its death agony. An agony which can only be ended by the working class. The "crisis" in all its varied forms proceeds from the fact that the working class has not been defeated, it has refused simply to submit to the attacks of imperialism and Stalinism.

The meaning of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT for today is a policy of NO CONCESSIONS, NO SACRIFICES!

When Chrysler announced Dodge Main would be liquidated, the Trotskyist Organization announced that the "re-structurization" of the auto industry was a PROVOCATION to see how far the ruling class could go in its anti-worker plans. And we said that there was no time to lose in stopping this maneuver.

AND WHEN FRASER AND THE REST OF THE "OFFICIAL" WORKERS MOVEMENT LET THIS PROVOCATION PASS BY, GAVE IN TO IT, THEY PREPARED THE GROUND FOR ANOTHER PROVOCATION, FOR DEEPER ATTACKS.

By now it should be clear that the ruling class will not stop at anything. That the future they prepare is one of total BARBARISM. The racist and nationalist provocations of the last weeks are only the "tip of the iceberg."

Look at the "concessions" that have already been made! The pact of Castro and the Sandinista government to contain the Nicaraguan revolution to a "bourgeois national revolution." The movement in the United States to "Save Chrysler." The defense of the "democratic rights" of fascists.

These concessions are responsible for the "conservative shift." A shift which is less real than it is a reaction of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class to the impotence and dishonesty of the union bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionaries.

These concessions are responsible for the Iranian provocation and the pogroms of the Carter government, organized by right-wing groups and the police.

And no doubt many Americans sympathize with the movement for "national unity," because that is the movement which is being organized by the union bureaucrats. And many have drawn the conclusion that the "revolution" must be a repugnant thing, because of the total hatred of the Khomeini regime for the Iranian masses.

In fact, the POLICY of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT stands discredited in the eyes of the youth today, because it is linked not only with the betrayal of the October revolution, but also because it linked with every new betrayal of the pseudo-revolutionaries and Stalinists. It is linked with the bureaucratic, dictatorial old order of the unions, the bureaucrats and the TERRORIST STATE, which the centrists support in the name of "democracy."

The American working class has not abandoned the struggle against the anti-worker plans of "austerity." They have simply rejected the PACIFIST half-way, half-ass, solutions of the centrists and the "official" labor movement. But they have done so in confusion, with illusions. Illusions which are propagated by the same professional confusionists who preach "concessions."

What is the mood of the American working class? That is a question that has received a lot of play lately. No doubt the consciousness of the working class IS contradictory -- but it is not at all passive or moderate. The American working class as a whole is seeking an alternative to this system and it is rejecting all the old frameworks of collaboration.

In their place the Holy Alliance rushes to erect new ones. As long as these traitors are allowed to speak they will bring on more provocations, more repression for the working class.

Now is not the time for a PASSIVE response. The working class as a whole senses the need for a forceful solution. But it has not yet silenced the traitors in the "official" labor movement who are responsible for prolonging the "crisis" of this system.

THEIR solution is class collaboration and buying time for this corpse of "democracy." The solution of the working class must be to take away the "freedom" of the ruling class. The freedom to exploit and oppress.

We are FOR the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

THE TROTSKY CENTENNIAL

Trotsky's Party Today

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

In our previous article about the hundredth anniversary of Trotsky's birth, we quoted Lenin on how the enemies of the revolution try to turn dead revolutionaries into plaster saints. In this article, we want to emphasize what Lenin said about the theory of these revolutionaries. The counterrevolutionaries, said Lenin, try to strip it of its "SUBSTANCE, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

In the same way that Trotsky's revolutionary theory is expressed above all in the party that he founded, the Fourth International, so the attacks on that revolutionary theory find their sharpest expression on the same point.

"MOST IMPORTANT WORK"

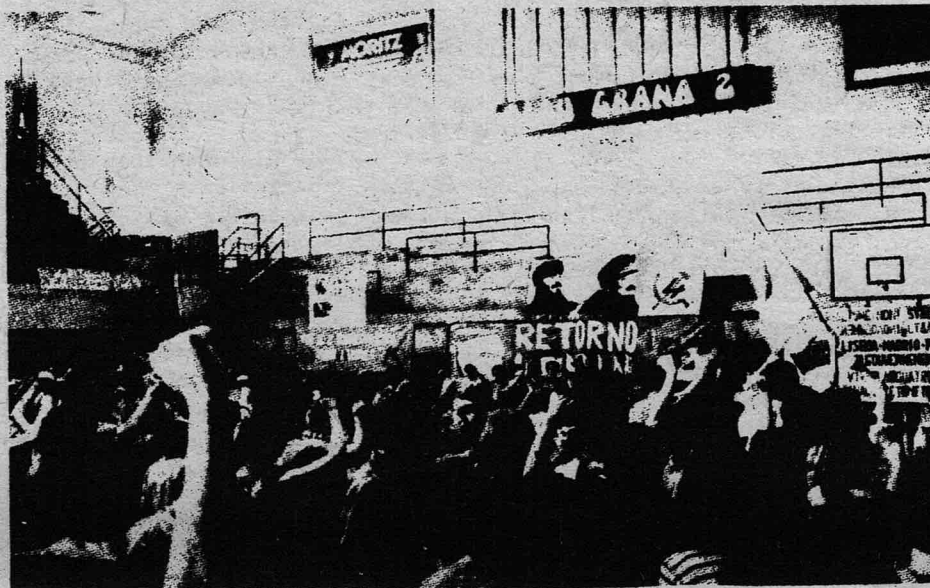
In his DIARY IN EXILE: 1935, Trotsky wrote about the significance of his struggle to build the Fourth International. "I think," he wrote, "that the work on which I am engaged now ... is the most important work of my life -- more important than 1917, more important than the period of the civil war or any other."

This is a very startling statement to those who want to present Trotsky as an "historic figure," and only that. "More important than 1917"! How can that be?!

The reason is very simple. 1917, the Russian Revolution, marked the BEGINNING of the world revolution. The question was not to see it as something in itself, but as something to be carried on, to be continued and developed on a world scale.

The Revolution gave birth to the Third International to carry this out. The betrayal of the Third International by Stalinism meant that a new FOURTH International was necessary. Not just to fight for the world revolution in general, but to fight for it concretely AGAINST STALINISM, the chief agency of world imperialism.

Thus everything that was represented by 1917 could have meaning only in the struggle for the party to extend it on the world scale. That is why the "revolutionary theory" of Trotsky does not consist of the theory of permanent revolution by itself, or the analysis of fascism, or the uncovering of the nature of



WORLD CONFERENCE FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE
Barcelona, Spain August, 1977

Stalinism. It consists of the party, of the Fourth International, as the means to make these ideas into material reality.

We are proud to call ourselves TROTSKYISTS today because we, and we alone, are carrying on this "most important work" of Trotsky's life today -- building the Fourth International against all its enemies.

CLASS INDEPENDENCE

From 1938 to now, the Fourth International has stood for one thing -- the class independence of the proletariat. The existence of the Fourth International gives the working class the leadership that it needs to accomplish its historic tasks. Without this leadership, without this party that sums up all the lessons and experiences of the international class struggle, the working class can fall under the domination of alien classes or forces representing these classes.

This is why the fight of the Fourth International from the very beginning has been concentrated in the fight against Stalinism.

Stalinism, the product of the isolation and betrayal of the Russian Revolution, is the chief force operating against class independence on the world scale.

The capitalist class cannot tie the mass of workers to it directly, so it must have Stalinism as its assistant.

It was Stalinism which was responsible for the defeats of the revolution internationally in the 1920's and 1930's -- China, Germany, Spain, etc. The fight for the world revolution was thus completely tied up with the fight against Stalinist domination of the working class.

The fight against Stalinism meant then, as it means now, above all a struggle to overthrow the police dictatorship that has usurped the socialist conquests in the USSR and, now, other countries.

The struggle against Stalinism internationally and against the Kremlin bureaucracy shows that the Fourth International sees the world revolution as one process. It shows the unity of the world revolution as a struggle for the social revolution against imperialism in the West, which is propped up by Stalinism, and as the struggle for the political revolution in the East, which depends on the progress of the Western workers toward the revolution.

The particular struggles, as complex as they are, are both reflections of the struggle for class independence. The working class must be organized on the world scale for its poli-

tical power. This is what the Fourth International was founded for and what it fights for today.

THE ENEMIES

This struggle for class independence is what has made and makes the Fourth International the chief object of hatred of all the enemies of the world revolution.

Naturally, imperialism carries on this attack openly. But its chief agent on this question, as on all others, is Stalinism.

This attack was and is carried out in all ways. It is carried out by physical attacks and by imprisonment and murder. It is carried out by slander on an unparalleled scale. And it is carried out by those who claim to be "revolutionaries," even "Trotskyists," but who are really centrists in the service of Stalinism, of the counterrevolution.

Stalinism did everything in its power to prevent the founding of the Fourth International. It physically destroyed its strongest section, the Soviet section, in the Siberian death camps. It assassinated its militants: for example, on the eve of the Founding Conference in 1938, the secretary of the International, Rudolf Klement, was kidnapped and murdered by the Kremlin's secret police. Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, "mysteriously" died in a Paris hospital. And in 1940, Trotsky himself was assassinated by one of Stalin's goons.

These crimes were organized and took place in the shadow of "the greatest frame-up in history," the Moscow Trials of the 1930's. Year after year, vicious slander poured out from the Kremlin. Trotsky and the Trotskyists were accused of being "spies" of American, German, British, Japanese (take your pick) imperialism, of being "fascists," "agents provocateurs," "saboteurs," "train-wreckers," "poisoners," etc. etc. etc.

All this slander was the "justification" for the attempts to destroy the Fourth Inter-

"I think that the work on which I am engaged now . . . is the most important work of my life — more important than 1917, more important than the period of the civil war or any other."

Trotsky, on his struggle to build the Fourth International

national. In fact, it was one of the means used in the attempt.

And so were the "political" objections of the centrists of all varieties. In the face of the greatest defeats of the working class in history, in the face of the greatest betrayals of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, these enemies of class independence announced that the founding of the Fourth International was "premature" or "artificial." Their political objective was to leave the working class without the party that could provide it with its class independence, to leave it helpless before Stalinism and imperialism.

These centrists existed all over the map, in organizations no one has heard of for forty years. But they also existed within the Trotskyist movement itself. Thus, from the very beginning, the struggle for the Fourth International has meant a fight inside the Fourth International itself for class independence.

One of the key opponents of the founding of the International was the Pole, Isaac Deutscher (later Trotsky's "biographer"). His followers asserted that founding the World Party of the Socialist Revolution would only be "making an empty gesture" and "committing a folly"!

Deutscher asserted that the Fourth International was "still-born." In this way, he tried to present as a fact what the Kremlin has set out to accomplish through slander and murder — the death of the Fourth International.

Remember the name, Isaac Deutscher. Because we will return to it again.

CRISIS AND REBUILDING

During World War II and immediately after, because of the threat of revolution growing out of the war, the attack on the Fourth International intensified. Stalinists and Nazis collaborated in trying to destroy the party and its militants.

The weakness of the International under these conditions and the consolidation of the counterrevolutionary Holy



WORLD CONGRESS OF 4TH INTERNATIONAL
Paris, France August, 1978

Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism created a severe crisis inside the Fourth International itself.

The crisis was over the very nature of the Fourth International. It had been founded by Trotsky as the party of class independence, as the party of "irreconcilable opposition." Would it be reconciled now to the world order of imperialism and Stalinism?

Once again, this crisis concerned the fight against Stalinism, the key to the fight within the Fourth International for class independence.

In this case, the secretary of the International, Michel Pablo, organized a pro-Stalinist faction within the world party and set out to completely subordinate it to Stalinism, destroying it in the process. The "originator and fountainhead of the new revisionism," in the words of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, was our old friend Isaac Deutscher. He was still pursuing the same ends — the death of the International, the destruction of the class independence of the proletariat — but through different means. Since the International had so regrettably proved NOT to be "still-born," he was going to see if he couldn't kill it outright.

The hopes of the Kremlin, Pablo and Deutscher were in vain. The revolutionary militants of the Fourth International would not replace the political revolution with the fantastic "self-reform of the bureaucracy."

The crisis produced a split in 1953, with the Trotskyists forming the International Committee of the Fourth International. From 1953 to 1972, this body carried on the fight for the Fourth International,

WORLD CONGRESS OF RYI
Paris, France Aug. '78



against its Pabloite betrayers.

The crisis of the Fourth International, the need to rebuild itself politically and organizationally as the unmistakable pole of revolutionary leadership, reached a climax in 1971-72 with the retreat of the British and French sections from the political tasks involved in the rebuilding. At that point, the International League — Rebuilding the Fourth International (originally a faction for the maintenance and development of the International Committee) took up the struggle for the rebuilding. It was in this struggle that the Trotskyist Organization/USA was created. A decisive termination of the crisis of the Fourth International was reached with its rebuilding in January 1976.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY

All those who stand against class independence, above all Stalinism and the renegades from the Fourth International, are still today the most vicious opponents of the Fourth International.

They oppose us because we stand for now what the Fourth International was founded for: to give the working class its political independence. The Pabloites and all the other deserters from Trotsky's fight regroup around the so-called and misnamed "United Secretariat."

These pseudo-Trotskyists seek everywhere to subordinate the workers to the bourgeoisie through Stalinism. In Nicaragua, where they support the "reconstruction" of the bourgeois state. In Iran, where they support Khomeini. In the U.S., where they support the Demo-

cratic Party and the union bureaucracy. In the degenerated and deformed workers states, where they support "human rights." In Latin America, where they support Castro.

The degree of their opposition to everything the Fourth International of Trotsky stands for is so great that they are completely incapable of offering even the slightest political combat. The only thing they have at their disposal is SLANDER, slander of the worst Stalinist type, in order to try to destroy the Fourth International.

This slander is the centerpiece of their attempts to "reunify" against the Fourth International; it is its chief weapon. The slander of the OCI against Michel Varga and the International's Eastern European militants as "agents of the KGB and the CIA" is paralleled by the slander of the "United Secretariat," from "ultraleft sectarians" to charges that we support the Somozaist National Guard. This is the very nature of the political existence of the pseudo-Trotskyists and their fight against the Fourth International today.

Now, as then, the Fourth International stands for what Trotsky fought for — the class independence of the proletariat, for the destruction of Stalinism, for the unity of the world revolution.

At this time of commemoration of Trotsky's centennial and the Russian Revolution, we say that we and we alone have carried on this "most important work" of Trotsky's life, the building of the Fourth International as the continuity and development of 1917. We represent today, we alone, the continuity of that struggle for class independence.

Trotsky's last political statement, as he lay dying from the blows of the Stalinist murderer, were: "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Forward!"

Today more than ever, our victory is sure. Today more than ever, we are going forward.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
November 11, 1979

Enough of the "Humanitarian Aid" of U.S. Imperialism and Those in its Shadow
For the Revolutionary Unity of the Workers of the Two Americas!

The Revolution in Nicaragua and the An

By JON COHEN

On November 16-18 a Conference to organize "solidarity" with Nicaragua will meet in Detroit. This Conference is sponsored by the "National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People" and its stated purpose is to pressure the Carter government to provide more "humanitarian aid" to Nicaragua.

One of the organizations participating in this Conference, the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, has gone as far as to state: "For all supporters of democratic and human rights, and most especially for socialists, there is no more important tasks at this time than organizing the broadest possible campaign for emergency aid to the Nicaraguan people."

This Conference and the policy behind it is a dangerous fraud for the American working class. To every militant who has come to this Conference seeking a way to fight for the revolution in Nicaragua, and to every American worker who sees the struggle of the Nicaraguan workers and youth as part of a common struggle against U.S. imperialism, we say: NO AID, material or political, can be given to the revolution in Nicaragua by standing in the shadow of U.S. imperialism and its so-called "human rights." And workers and youth should be warned about all those who talk about "humanitarian aid" out of one side of their mouth while they betray the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and youth in the Americas, North and South.

"Humanitarian aid" is the program of the Carter government. And we've had enough of Carter's "humanitarian aid" which supplied the guns and bombs to Somoza. It was Carter's "humanitarian aid" which kept the Shah in power and it is still Carter's guns and planes which keep Khomeini in power against the workers and youth in Iran.

And now this motley collection of hypocrites plans to meet in Detroit in order to ask the government which was responsible for Somoza and his 30,000 deaths to help "reconstruct" Nicaragua. And dares to say that there is "no more important task" in front of "socialists" today!

What happened to the REVOLUTION? What happened to the simple proposition that revolutionaries should fight for the revolution? And that U.S. workers should fight to bring down U.S. imperialism?

Too simple for these left wing diplomats of "human rights." Too simple for those busy giving the Carter government a "humanitarian" image to worry about the revolution or the U.S. working class. Too simplistic for those in the United States who have chosen to "aid" the Nicaraguan workers and youth by living the rest of their lives on their knees.

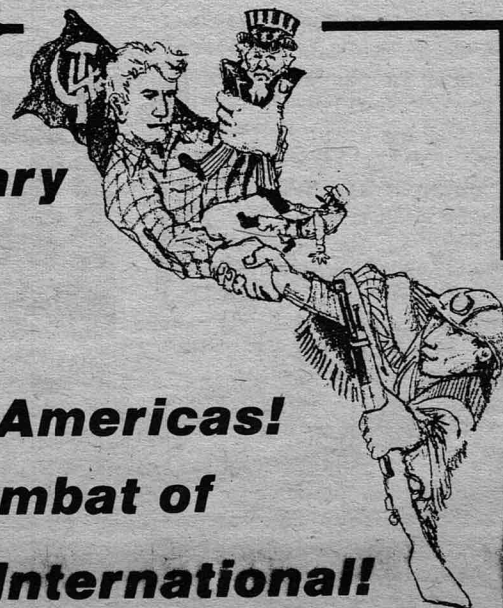
This is the real reason that this Conference of pseudo-Trotskyists, union bureaucrats, liberals and State Department "socialists" is meeting in order to organize Carter's program for "humanitarian" aid to Nicaragua. As an obstacle to all those workers and youth in Nicaragua and the U.S. who don't want to spend the rest of their lives on their knees alongside these "human rights" socialists. As an obstacle to the revolution throughout the Americas.

On simply a practical level this Conference will not contribute ONE IOTA of material or any other kind of aid to the workers and youth in Nicaragua. It is the Carter government that has the guns and financial aid that the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and the FSLN (Sandinistas) need to "reconstruct" the bourgeois state in Nicaragua. Not the poorest peasant in Nicaragua will receive anything worthwhile from this motley crew of State Department "socialists."

Because the real purpose of this Conference is to contribute to the confusion and PACIFICATION of the U.S. working class regarding its tasks vis-a-vis the revolution in Nicaragua and throughout the Americas. The real task of this Conference is to hide the revolutionary tasks of the American working class under the guise of "humanitarian aid."

And the real message of this motley crew is that it is necessary to live on one's knees and beg U.S. imperialism for "aid" BECAUSE THE REVOLUTION IS IMPOSSIBLE-- in Nicaragua and in the U.S. Thus, not only is this Conference a meaningless affair from the material point of view; it is also a conscious attempt to demoralize the working class-- to reduce the vanguard of the American working class, those most sympathetic with the revolutionary mobilizations taking place throughout the world, to collectors of canned goods.

**For the
Revolutionary
Unity of the
Workers
of the Two Americas!
Join the Combat of
the Fourth International!**



**TO THE CONFERENCE
OF THE TWO AMERICAS!
Madrid, Spain — December, 1979**

It is treachery. At a time when the U.S. bourgeoisie is consciously trying to whip up nationalist and chauvinist sentiment in order to support its counterrevolutionary policies, at a time when a clear statement of the revolutionary obligations of the American working class vis-a-vis the workers and youth in Iran, Nicaragua, the Middle East and elsewhere is urgently needed, these sewer "socialists" propose... that American workers and youth collect canned goods and write letters to Jimmy Carter!

Everything they say about the revolution in Nicaragua is designed to prove to U.S. workers that the revolution is impossible in the U.S. and around the world because U.S. imperialism is "too strong." They have counted money, guns and bullets and then figured what "principles" they would stand for.

For them, a revolution is impossible in Nicaragua because U.S. imperialism is "too strong." And likewise, the U.S. working class can do nothing about it besides asking for canned goods because U.S. imperialism is "too strong."

It is for this reason that these State Department "socialists," are engaging in a sickening campaign to make the American workers believe that the petty bourgeois Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) now at the head of the bourgeois state in Nicaragua is some kind of "revolutionary" leadership.

American Working Class

Since the American working class can do nothing about U.S. imperialism except collect canned goods, according to these "socialists" and pseudo-Trotskyists, perhaps they'll get vicarious pleasure by listening to the glories of the FSLN.

But this campaign of petty bourgeois sycophancy won't work because American workers and youth have never been interested in becoming vicarious revolutionaries. When an American worker finds the revolution, its program and party, he or she wants to find the real thing.

And the real thing is not the FSLN. In the last few months the FSLN has become virtually a shadow government for U.S. imperialism in Nicaragua. In return for "humanitarian aid" and guns the FSLN has pledged to keep private property intact in Nicaragua, to leave all

U.S. investments untouched, to restore a bourgeois standing army and to police the workers and youth who want to continue the revolution.

It was not the FSLN which overthrew Somoza, but the masses of workers and especially the youth who organized a general strike, organized their own mass organizations and led heroic combat against the Somoza regime. The FSLN FOLLOWED this combat and today, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, is moving to disarm the social forces in Nicaragua that overthrew Somoza and who want to continue the revolution.

Sergio Ramirez, a leader of the FSLN government, recently declared: "The principal task is to disarm the irregular forces. We don't have any choice because the weapons aren't in good hands."

They are in the hands of the workers and youth who made the revolution and overthrew Somoza!

This counterrevolutionary line was echoed by the FSLN in its paper, BARRICADA, which declared: "It is not as if the workers today have carte blanche to do anything they want" and called on workers to "seek harmony in work and justice in order to consolidate and deepen the revolution."

It is also worth noting that Trotskyism has been declared "counterrevolutionary" by the FSLN and a group of militants who claim to be Trotskyists, organized into the Simon Bolivar Brigade, were recently expelled from Nicaragua and turned over to the Torrijos government in Panama where they were beaten and tortured.

If an honest militant wants to do something at this "Solidarity" Conference in Detroit the least they could do would be to expose the BACKSTABBERS sitting complacently at this Conference claiming to be "humanitarians" and even "socialists." BACKSTABBERS organized into the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" whose American representatives are the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

When the FSLN expelled THEIR COMRADES in the Simon Bolivar Brigade they cheered. When Fidel Castro jailed all the Trotskyists in Cuba, burned all of Trotsky's books, and denounced the Fourth International as "in the service of Yankee imperialism," the SWP said: "You've got the right ones, they're crazy, not reasonable like us." And when the Chinese

Stalinist bureaucracy jailed the Trotskyists in China 30 years ago these BACKSTABBERS called their own comrades "refugees from a revolution."

Just the kind of people you'd like to have working on the line next to you or walking on your picket line! But right at home at this Conference of "humanitarian" aid and backstabbing.

And it is these same people who yesterday called Khomeini a revolutionary and who today call the Fourth International "cops." From these backstabbers, it is a compliment.

But it is not enough to just expose these backstabbers. Already they are discredited in the eyes of militant workers and youth. It is necessary to expose their treachery with a revolutionary program and revolutionary solutions. Although they are discredited their treachery and demoralization can still be passed off inside the American working class because the most militant workers and youth aren't sufficiently armed to fight them. On a political level the American working class remains passive.

The level of consciousness and organization of the American working class lags behind the objective developments taking place in the world today. Contrary to all the myths of the pseudo-Trotskyists and the FSLN supported by Castro, U.S. imperialism is NOT "too strong." In fact, all the events in the world today indicate that it is an UNPRECEDENTED CRISIS. And that all the petty bourgeois traitors in the working class are rallying to the aid of U.S. imperialism, not because it is "too strong," but because imperialism NEEDS THEM MORE THAN EVER.

Every factor, every event, every sign in the world situation today is an indication, on the contrary, that the REVOLUTION IS APPROACHING. It is this alone which explains the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the panic of all those who stand in its shadow.

The pseudo-Trotskyists must cheer on Castro and the FSLN, they must pretend that only a bourgeois revolution is possible in Nicaragua and that the American working class can only send canned goods in order to hide the TRUTH and their utter TERROR in the face of the truth -- that the revolution is approaching and is being prepared throughout the Americas, North and South.

We refuse any discussion of the revolution in Nicaragua or ANYWHERE ELSE without a discussion of the American revolution and the tasks of the U.S. working class in preparing it. And for those who haven't caught on yet -- the American revolution will not be the collection of canned goods.

The American revolution will be organized and prepared through the construction of the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, throughout the Two Americas. This means the fight to found the WORKERS PARTY in the U.S. as a concrete step in forging the revolutionary unity of the workers of North and South America.

This is the most immediate way to "aid" the revolution in Nicaragua. It is not a way of ignoring the starving or destruction in

Nicaragua but is in fact a way to REALLY take a step towards ending the poverty and oppression in Nicaragua and Latin American by organizing the revolutionary combat of the U.S. working class against U.S. imperialism. This is the key to the entire situation in the Americas.

In contrast to this Conference of State Department "socialists" organized in the shadow of Jimmy Carter's "human rights," the Fourth International is organizing a Conference of the Two Americas in Madrid this December. A Conference organized in the broad daylight of the revolution.

The State Department won't be welcome at this Conference, nor will the leadership of the FSLN or the United Secretariat of Backstabbers. But all revolutionary youth are welcome, along with all militants of other organizations who want to take up a combat to break out of the shadow of "human rights" and join the fight to prepare the revolution. November 13, 1979

A Weapon to Build the Conference of the 2 Americas!

dynamik
of the cuban
revolution
the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen

This pamphlet is a reprint of the series published in TRUTH last fall against the pseudo-Trotskyists identification of the Cuban Revolution and Fidel Castro, for the Fourth International to lead the Revolution against imperialism in the 2 Americas.

A CENTRIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

A TRUTH PUBLICATION
DECEMBER, 1978
25 CENTS

Send your name and address with 50 cents to:
TRUTH, P.O. Box 07066
Detroit 48207

Castro at the "United Nations":

A Pledge of Allegiance

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

On October 12th, during the week of the U.S. government's "simulated assault" on Cuba, Fidel Castro came to New York -- Capital of World Imperialism -- and addressed the United Nations as the representative of the "Conference of Non-Aligned Nations."

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party hailed this trip as a "timely and effective parry to the threat of U.S. aggression": the speech as "a masterpiece of socialist, anti-imperialist education."

On October 17th an anti-working class coup directed by the U.S. government took place in El Salvador; on October 26th, in South Korea; on November 1st in Bolivia. The U.S. government also decided to give shelter to the Shah of Iran.

Coincidental? We don't think so.

Castro, under the direction of the Kremlin, pledged allegiance to U.S. imperialism in no uncertain terms.

"...I have not come to injure with unnecessary adjectives the powerful neighbor in his own house."

"...I have the duty to struggle to achieve cooperation among peoples..."

"...I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution. I have not come to ask or to wish that the world be violently convulsed..."

He warned U.S. imperialism that if it didn't present a new face to the peoples of the world it would be swept away.

"...I have come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic... And in the holocaust, the rich, who are the ones who have the most to lose in this world, will also die."

And he offered his proposals and complete cooperation in this project.

Like UAW Doug Fraser's "Pledge of Allegiance," Castro's was a signal to U.S. imperialism. It went ahead with its counterrevolutionary plans in El Salvador, South Korea and Bolivia, knowing it would get no opposition from Castro or the rest of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The pseudo-Trotskyists' political support to this pledge makes them just as responsible as the rest for these coups.

But these coups cannot stop the revolution. The intransigence of the youth and workers in countries like Iran and Nicaragua has shown this and the Holy Alliance of imperialists, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists knows this.

"The standard of living of the average American has to decline."

**Paul Volcker,
Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board**

"The present way of life, especially in the industrialized countries, may have to undergo a radical and painful change."

**Castro at the UN,
quoting approvingly from a UN document.**

"... a masterpiece of anti-imperialist, socialist education..."

**Gus Horowitz of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party
on Castro's speech (THE MILITANT, Oct. 26, 1979)**

Castro's trip to New York, his speech and the despicable attempt to pass this off as the socialist revolution was above all an attack on the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and its organized expression -- Leninism, the Fourth International. An attack in accordance with the precedent set by the Eurostalinists. This is the only thing that can stop the revolution.

To go to the United Nations at all, especially in the midst of a "practice attack" on Cuba, is an attack on the revolutionary consciousness of the working class.

Is the United Nations an extension of the imperialist state, a "den of thieves" as Lenin called its predecessor, the League of Nations, a pseudo-democratic front behind which this very attack on the Cuban revolution was organized or is it something else?

Castro would like us to think that it and the imperialist state which directs it are "representatives of the people" which can be reformed. "Don't worry about U.S. imperialism, it can be talked out of being itself." This is the message. Not a brilliant piece of "revolutionary diplomacy," but a despicable piece of treachery.

And what does Castro propose to the "peoples of the world," to "their representatives" assembled in the "United Nations"? 1) Formal independence of the oppressed nations; 2) a change in the terms of trade between the imperialist and the oppressed nations; 3) the cancellation of the debts of the oppressed nations; 4) reliance on the "socialist countries"; 5) the establishment of an international development fund and an international agency to oversee it.

A hundred years of working class struggle, according to which the masses of the oppressed nations can only win their independence and freedom in a confrontation with imperialism, through the destruction of imperialism and its lackeys, is thrown right out the window. And

not one word of explanation from either Castro or his pseudo-Trotskyist press agents.

What about Lenin's IMPERIALISM? Trotsky's PERMANENT REVOLUTION? The most recent experiences of the working class -- Vietnam, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Iran, Nicaragua? and what about the role of the "socialist countries," Castro's dishonest euphemism for the Stalinist bureaucracy, in all this? Who told the workers to trust in the lackeys of imperialism and put down their guns from Vietnam to Bolivia?

But what's the big deal? Castro's proposal may not be a real solution, but it certainly can't do any harm. Won't there be a revolution anyway if it doesn't work, as he suggests in his speech ("...It's doubtful that the world capitalist system would survive...")?

NO! There won't be any revolution without a conscious combat to prepare it, to assimilate the lessons of the class struggle, apply them in the combat for power, against any illusion in the spontaneous disappearance of capitalism or any future for the masses under this system.

Castro's policy of pleading with imperialism to reform itself is in direct contradiction to this struggle. It is a policy of refurbishing and reinforcing the imperialist state, a policy of TOTAL SUPPORT to imperialism's "final solution" to the "Third World Problem": the leveling, regimentation and final decimation of the working class of North America.

The U.S. government can no longer crush the mobilization in the oppressed nations because the U.S. working class won't let it. So now it has no choice but to confront the U.S. working class. It's carrying out a political campaign to "Sacrifice for America," preparing a strongman government and a depression.

Castro in his UN speech said "waste" in the "consumer societies" was a basic cause of the poverty and oppression of the masses of the oppressed

nations and approvingly quoted a UN resolution which calls for an end to this "waste" and said "The present way of life, especially in the industrialized countries, may have to undergo a radical and painful change." Castro too wants some sacrifices from workers of North America, but allegedly for "the children who haven't a piece of bread."

Is there a fundamental difference between the imperialist policy and Castro's? No! The conquests of the workers of North America, their standard of living, their culture, are conquests of the workers of the world. The combat for these conquests has raised the standard of living and culture of the oppressed masses of the world. To abandon their defense not only would lead to no improvement in the situation of the oppressed masses of Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, but to the decimation of both.

The revolutionary unification of the proletariats of the Two Americas, of the U.S. and the USSR and the destruction of the imperialist state and the Stalinist bureaucracy which supports it is the only solution to the poverty and oppression faced by the majority of the people on this planet. U.S. youth and workers must take the lead in this struggle.

Castro's UN speech was above all an attack on this struggle. An attempt to paralyze the U.S. working class with the guilt of the petty bourgeoisie which does live off the labor of the workers of the oppressed nations and the U.S. An attempt to get the workers to lay down and accept U.S. imperialism's plan of sacrifices, depression and strongmen in the name of "children without bread." A direct intervention against the working class in support of the U.S. bourgeoisie!

The pseudo-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party completely falsified the content of this speech, tore quotes out of context and virtually rewrote it in their introduction, in an effort to make it resemble something anti-imperialist, revolutionary, BECAUSE THEY AGREE WITH CASTRO.

Their job is to sell it. They may have been able to do this in 1963 -- convince a whole generation that not the Cuban workers, but Castro made the revolution -- but they won't be able to do it in 1979. The Fourth International is arming the youth with the lesson of the past and the perspective for the future -- the revolution, for the Return to Lenin!

November 14, 1979

After the Founding of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN)

Political Revolution and the Independence of the Proletariat

By ALAIN CAVALIER

(REPRINTED FROM LA VERITE NO. 99)

The importance of the following article is not limited to its particular subject, the founding of a party in Poland which claims to be independent of and opposed to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The significance lies in the fact that Poland represents the most advanced example of what is going on throughout Eastern Europe. The desire of the workers for open struggle against the bureaucracy is being channelled by all the friends of "human rights" into means that are not only futile, but actually destructive of the workers' own goals.

On this basis, we can understand the role of the different political groupings mentioned in the article.

The ROPCIO is the Committee for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights, the most open advocate in Poland of imperialism as the protector of "democracy" and "human rights." Leszek Moczulski is a founder and former leader of the ROPCIO, who recently broke with it in order to better carry out the same policy -- culminating in the KPN.

This counterrevolutionary perspective of "human rights" is the same one defended by the pseudo-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" in their service to Stalinism. Thus it is no surprise to find ROUGE, the newspaper of the chief European section of the USec, the French LCR (Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire/Revolutionary Communist League), greeting the formation of the KPN and discovering the "new reality" about Polish nationalism.

Against the enemies of working class independence, against the opponents of the political revolution, the Fourth International is fighting to organize the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin, the road to the rebuilding of the party of political revolution in Eastern Europe.

Recently in Poland, the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), a new party which defines itself as the "first oppositional party in Poland," was formed. This was announced on September 1, at a Warsaw demonstration organized by the ROPCIO and dissidents from it organized around the publication DROGA (THE ROAD).

At this stage, we do not know the program of this party. All that we have is a ROUGE interview with the KPN's spokesman, Leszek Moczulski. Moczulski explains the reason why a party was founded: "A political party is something different. It must, on the contrary, seek to come to power in order to transform reality in accordance with its program."

In fact, this is what gives this party its importance. It was founded on the basis of a conglomeration of elements representing social forces counterposed to each other and whose programs are mutually incompatible.

Thus, Moczulski tells us: "Certain groups that are part of the Confederation, especially the Movement of Accord of Polish Socialists (implanted especially among the workers of Nowa Huta -- the immense steel works on the outskirts of Cracow, in Katowice, in Lublin and, more recently, in Lodz), think that it is necessary to build a truly socialist system, including a very advanced socialization of the means of production, but also a system of workers self-management or, rather, the government of the associated producers over the means of production. Other groups, on the other hand, consider that statification of the economy leads straight to totalitarianism and foresee a broad scope for private initiative."

Based on this, a first fact has to be raised. Many workers have joined this party because it poses the question of power. They count on giving it their desire to put the working class in power on the basis of the socialist gains in the economy by driving out the Stalinist bureaucracy. A section of the workers in Poland, drawing the balance sheet of their different

movements, wants to constitute itself into a political party distinct from the bureaucracy in order to struggle for power. For them it is not a question of exchanging one bureaucratic group for another, but of driving the bureaucracy from power.

The second fact is that these workers are not really independent from the bureaucracy because they are tied up, inside this party, with its most right wing elements as well as the Catholic Church and with those who want to reintroduce capitalism into Poland.

The bureaucracy is the agent of imperialism within the degenerated and deformed workers states, in the USSR and in Eastern Europe. In its midst the bureaucracy develops the forces that want to restore capitalism.

In reality, the class independence of the workers from the capitalists is the only thing that guarantees their independence from the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Workers who want to organize a political party distinct from the bureaucracy in order to seize power must therefore break all ties with the bourgeoisie and its representatives in Eastern Europe. This party is the section of the Fourth International in Poland, which in reality is the first party founded to contend with Stalinism for political power.

Why is the KPN a confederation? Moczulski responds in this way: "We have to reconstitute a political life in Poland, if we want it to play any role at all. From this flows the necessity of the existence of openly active political parties" (the only way to institutionalize this "political life"). And the first point of the statutes of the KPN adds: "The KPN is a party uniting in its midst groups that are independent both politically and ideologically, as well as those which in the course of their development will make the decision to transform themselves into independent political parties." And Moczulski says that all this heads in the direction of the establishment of a Third Polish Republic.

This Confederation would like

to be the Third Republic already. The only thing missing is for it to take power. Its goal is the "institutionalization" of a parliamentary democratic state with "workers" and bourgeois parties emerging from the same mold and respecting the same order -- a republic in which the state power exists as an entity cut off from the masses. Institutions are always the expression of the rule of one class. These institutions -- of a Third bourgeois Republic -- could only be the result of the restoration of capitalism. The Confederation's goal, from the beginning, has been to integrate the working class into the restoration of capitalism and into its state power.

That is impossible. The restoration of capitalism can be accomplished only by means of civil war against the workers. If the restorationists spread illusions to the contrary inside the Confederation and among the workers, this is to disarm them in advance.

"A Party, To Do What?" is the title that ROUGE chose to give to the interview with Moczulski. It is a question that ROUGE does not answer, neither as "the KPN, to do what?" nor as "a section of the Fourth International, to do what?" This is because the LCR has never been for the formation of a party contending with the bureaucracy for political power. As far as ROUGE is concerned, it has always been a question of being against the only party which does exist -- the section of the Fourth International. Today, it appears highly sympathetic to the Confederation. This is, in any case, what emerges from the introduction and the questions in the interview. Prudence is the rule despite everything, because it is a question of not making a turn too quickly, which could surprise the LCR's militants.

Let us quote a section from the introduction: "Nationalist language" (the KPN is united around the demand for an independent Poland -- TRUTH) "in a Poland which is no longer a multinational state, expresses

Save Chrysler? The Price is Too High!

A Movement for the Revolution in the UAW!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The "generosity" of Douglas Fraser knows no bounds. He was asked in a recent interview if the UAW would have to make still more "concessions." Fraser replied, "Yes, it's possible," leaving open the option that Chrysler workers may not get their "deferred" benefits after all. Fraser considers the matter settled. "I am sure they (Chrysler workers) would respond affirmatively."

But the fact is NOTHING IS SETTLED! First in the sense that autoworkers have not been defeated. On an international scale, from work stoppages in Spain to the Chrysler Canada wildcats, there is a resistance to the crisis of this system. The plans of austerity and "sacrifices" have not been accepted, AND WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT A CONFRONTATION.

Every two-bit trade union bureaucrat has become elevated to the level of "labor statesman" in this crisis. Every shade of pseudo-revolutionary has become a "prophet of doom." It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish the warnings of pseudo-revolutionaries from the predictions of Wall Street.

The centrists welcome the holocaust. "This will knock some sense into the workers heads," they say, "if not, they are bound to be defeated anyway." The Socialist Workers Party says of the auto contracts of American workers, "nothing is gained but nothing is lost either." That is the position of ninety percent of the pseudo-revolutionary "left"; they are neutral in the face of the coming confrontation; if the workers win they will support them, if they lose, it is proof that nothing could be done anyway.

There is another sense in which NOTHING IS SETTLED. The autoworkers have not accepted this counterfeit "movement" as good coin, neither have they accepted Fraser, nor his "house opposition." Those who have accepted the contract, as one accepts the coming of night and day, have accepted it for lack of any alternative. But there is no movement among the workers to "Save Chrysler" or this rotten system. And as TRUTH goes to press, three large Chrysler locals have rejected the contract.

And well it might be! The price of saving Chrysler is higher than a few percent of wages and government bail-outs.

The outright prostration and complete retreat of Fraser in front of the anti-worker armies of Carter's "new beginning" is a signal to the bourgeoisie to heighten their preparation of the counterrevolution. The KKK murders in Greensboro, the "Depression" mania in the media and the anti-Iranian protests are the responsibility of Fraser and the traitors of the union bureaucracy. By retreating they have opened up the most oppressed sections of the working class to attack.

This is the full "pound of flesh" that the rabid American ruling class wants to extract from the workers and youth of the world. And the youth and the proletariat are looking for an alternative to this barbarous future, but handicapped and disgusted with the swamp of pseudo-revolutionaries it sees.

"The working class is not responsible for this crisis, and they should not be made to pay." That is the chorus sung by the centrists. Behind the notion of this "crisis" which they say has no class basis, they hide the fact that this "crisis" is a conscious act of the preparation of the counterrevolution. Make no mistake about it. This crisis is a DIRECT product of the working class. Both of its REFUSAL to submit to the attacks of imperialism, and of the difficulty of resolving the crisis of leadership in the workers movement.

If it were not for the struggle of autoworkers for their living standards and rights, if not for their refusal to accept the Vietnam war, the wage price controls under Nixon, if not for the international vanguard role of autoworkers in France, Spain, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and since -- Chrysler would be five or ten years ahead of itself, and not only autoworkers but the entire working class would have submitted to the most miserable and barbaric existence long ago.

And if it were not for the failure of this miserable "left," a centrist malignancy, and its subservience to the trade union bureaucracy, the capitalist class would have already been expropriated, and the working class installed in power. Yes, this crisis is the product of the working class and the youth who have REFUSED TO SUBMIT. But the retreat and the blood being shed by workers and youth is ENTIRELY DUE TO THE

TREACHERY OF FRASER AND HIS HOUSE OPPOSITION.

They have even given this rotten Holy Alliance a name. The "Save Chrysler" movement. A movement from the start that had the goal of confusing and disorienting autoworkers and the new generation of youth. "You may get rid of the rats but you must burn down the barn." Chrysler with its stinking, inhuman working conditions can be "saved", but only at the price of mass layoffs, wage cuts and the intensification of exploitation. We are on a boat, all of us cannot be saved, so the youngest and most militant must jump into the mouths of sharks. While those who are left will be forced to drink seawater in order to survive.

That is the "Save Chrysler" movement. And it will never "save" Chrysler. It is a movement to buy time for the preparation of the counterrevolution. In every country there is a "Save Chrysler" movement going, but under another name. It is a movement to save this rotten system. And the pillar of the support to these movements is the Stalinist apparatus, the trade union bureaucrats and the centrists who live in their shadow.

The "Save Chrysler" movement must die in order for the workers to live! This movement has been rejected by the working class youth but it has not yet been silenced. As long as it continues to speak in the name of autoworkers, more blood will be spilled, more jobs lost.

As long as this "movement" of union bureaucrats, Democratic Party officials and pseudo-revolutionaries stands, it is meaningless to "seize the factories" as the centrists are demanding. Yes, we are for seizing the factories, we are for battle, but first we must seize Fraser by the neck and silence him.

The revolution must be prepared. Not a sitdown strike, not a national strike, not a thousand strikes by themselves will make the revolution. In order to make the socialist revolution, in order to resolve the "crisis" in favor of the vast majority, the real producers of wealth, the workers and the revolution must have their spokesmen, their leaders, their soldiers and their generals. This can never happen while Fraser and the rest of the "official" trade union

movement are lieutenants in the opposing army!

We are for an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW. A convention prepared through assemblies and the elections of workers delegates in the most decisive factories, not a convention organized by the bureaucrats. Every organization claiming to be "revolutionary" should commit itself to organizing and preparing this convention.

An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION to develop a workers program and a workers leadership for the struggle. Demand the reorganization of the economy to provide for JOBS FOR ALL. Nationalize the auto industry under workers control. Launch a campaign of relentless education and political preparation of the entire working class for the workers socialist revolution.

An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION to elect a workers candidate in 1980. A spokesman for the oppressed to lay bare the lies of Kennedy, Carter, Connally and the rest. A campaign to mobilize the youth for the proletarian revolution.

But we are not issuing ultimatums. The Trotskyist Organization says that this struggle, with its full content of the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION can begin now. By constructing the ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION.

This is a struggle that can relentlessly be conducted every day in the factories, the unions and the streets. To paraphrase a famous saying, "one good militant is worth a thousand strikes without leadership or direction!" One revolutionary worker, armed with the watchwords of the revolution, can turn the tide in a decisive factory. And one factory can turn the tide for the revolution.

That's the content of the demonstration being built by the Revolutionary Young Workers and the Trotskyist Organization at Dodge Main. The Dodge Main workers have seen a lot of centrists come and go. They have heard Fraser, they have heard his shadows. There is only one thing they haven't heard -- the last word of these traitors. We are demonstrating to win one, two or a hundred, whatever we can, to fight with us to silence the "Save Chrysler" movement and prepare with us the revolution. BUILD A MOVEMENT FOR THE REVOLUTION IN THE UAW!

November 14, 1979

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Free Peter Uhl and His Comrades!

On October 23, the courts of the Czechoslovak Stalinist bureaucracy convicted six oppositionists of "subversion of the republic" and sentenced them to prison terms of up to five years.

These militants belonged to the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (known by its initials as VONS). This is a sub-group of the "Charter '77" movement that bases itself on the Helsinki Accords between imperialism and Stalinism.

This trial is the latest in a series of arrests, trials and executions throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR. The Stalinist bureaucracy has to return to the "classical" methods of Stalinism, dispensing with its "democratic" facade.

The bureaucracy accuses the VONS militants of "subversion," but it is the bureaucracy which is guilty! For more than thirty years it has subverted the socialist conquests. In 1968 it unleashed the Kremlin's tanks on the workers struggle for power. Since then it has tried to "normalize" -- politically paralyze through repression -- this same working class.

This trial shows that this "normalization" has not succeeded and that the bureaucracy has only one solution -- more repression.

The trial itself was organized on the classic Stalinist model. The defendants' supporters were barred from the

courtroom, with only bureaucratic flunkies allowed in. The secret police photographed and trailed those who waited outside.

And the "charges," of sending information to publications financed by the CIA, is classic Stalinist frame-up at its worst. All oppositionists are "in the pay of the CIA," etc. etc. But it is the bureaucracy which works hand-in glove with it around the world.

The WEAKNESS, the crisis, of the bureaucracy revealed by the necessity to hold this trial presents immense openings for revolutionary struggle against Stalinism. But the youth who support VONS and who seek to have its militants freed need one thing more than anything else. What they need is CLARITY, political consciousness.

But they are deprived of this precisely by those who lead VONS or "Charter '77," which base themselves explicitly on "human rights." For "human rights" is one of the main elements of the attempt to rebuild the Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism.

Petr Uhl, who was branded as the "ringleader" of VONS and received the longest sentence, is a well-known militant of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat." In common with the politics of this agency of Stalinism, Uhl does not stand for the Trotskyist program of

POLITICAL REVOLUTION but for the worn-out lie of the "reform" of the bureaucracy.

This is the real meaning of the idea that the bureaucracy can or will "respect" "human rights." And it is this idea that Uhl and the Usec are directly responsible for spreading among oppositionists in Czechoslovakia.

On this basis, the ability of the oppositionists to defend themselves, above all POLITICALLY, is crippled. Thus, Uhl's speech to the court was his reading of the "Final Act" of the 1975 Helsinki Conference. That is, the "human rights" agreed to by his supposed imperialist enemies, together with his Stalinist persecutors! When the judge cynically ruled him out of order, Uhl simply sat down and announced that he had nothing else to say.

And that is the bitter truth. Uhl and the VONS militants do have nothing to say, beyond the fraud of "human rights." The defense of these militants, the struggle against the bureaucracy that jails and slanders them, can only be carried out on the basis of the policy of the Fourth International. FREE THE VONS MILITANTS! DOWN WITH STALINISM! BUILD THE CONFERENCE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN MILITANTS FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN!

TRUTH
November 12, 1979

above all the desire to overthrow the bureaucracy. It must be understood in a different way from what has previously been said on this question by Polish revolutionaries."

What does ROUGE mean by this? That it is necessary to come to terms with the Polish nationalists who have always been for capitalist restoration! Marxists don't have to "understand in a different way" the national question in Poland, even if it acquires great importance today. They have always fought for national independence from the Kremlin bureaucracy. ROUGE's introduction continues: "Finally, the existence of a current inside the KPN standing for socialism and workers power -- for the first time in Poland since the middle of the sixties -- is another important factor for its future and, more broadly, for the future of the opposition in its totality."

How can you say that the "current standing for socialism" influences the KPN when in fact it is the KPN alone which imposes its program on all its currents: the program of the installation of a bourgeois republic? On the contrary, the existence of this current poses the task of SEPARATING it and separating the workers from the KPN and from the restorationist forces by developing the program of the POLITICAL REVOLUTION. This is the task of the Polish section of the Fourth International.

Unless ROUGE takes as its own Moczulski's opinion: "But even if a decision for the reintroduction of the private economy were taken, it could not in fact be carried out. There are no social forces, no capital, in Poland that could create a capitalist sector of any importance, alongside the enormous statified sector that would certainly not be returned to private ownership."

And what is the bureaucracy? It is a bourgeois social force tending toward restoration. No capital? And what about the capital introduced in massive amounts by the bureaucracy itself through its deals with imperialism? And world imperialism? Isn't it a social force which can introduce itself into Poland, or is that country located on the moon?

The Fourth International bases itself on this profound movement now emerging in the Polish working class, the struggle for power in a distinct political party. This is what will pull the workers current out of the KPN. Alongside these workers, it is necessary to break with the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie, with the KPN, and be organized into a distinct party in order to develop the program of the political revolution.

This party is the party of the Fourth International. It is its section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland. October 15, 1979

Latest Issue of Fourth International!



Editorial:

Boycott the Third Security Conference

Hungary:

Building the Revolutionary Leadership
Fighting for the Political Revolution

Antoine Balint

4th Congress of the RYI:

Enlist in the World Army
of the Socialist Revolution *Alain Cavalier*

Free Klebanov and Borisov:

Declaration of the RYI

WRITE TRUTH, P.O. BOX 07066, DETROIT, MI 48207 FOR A SUBSCRIPTION OR SINGLE COPIES.

Fascism and the Police State VS. The Army and Future of the Youth!

By RICH TETRAULT

The youth face the task today of constructing the World Army of the Socialist Revolution. This Army represents the physical protection of the workers and youth, the organization and preparation of the world proletariat for the destruction of this decaying old order of bourgeois and bureaucrats. Clearly our Army, the Revolutionary Youth International, the school of revolutionary youth, represents the only solution for young people to bury the terrorist state of police and fascists in the struggle to prepare the world revolution, for the renewal of leadership among the youth.

The unprecedented crisis of the bourgeoisie, in particular U.S. imperialism, points to the utter bankruptcy of the old frameworks. This crisis forces the bourgeoisie to abandon the "democratic order", which it can no longer tolerate, in favor of the openly racist and repressive forces which made it possible for imperialism to dominate in the first place, lulling the workers into submission with talk of "democracy" and "rights for all." The resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party are clear examples of the reliance of the bourgeoisie on fascist forces to disrupt the independent mobilization of the workers and youth and block the break of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie to the proletariat.

But this alliance is an historical one, cropping up at nearly every situation in which the confrontation between the ruling class and the working class was most advanced. Trotsky wrote: "The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." The fascists prey on the disillusionment, despair and impatience of the petty bourgeoisie, inciting them against the workers and youth. This old order in its decadence

and collapse uses everything within its reach to maintain power over the workers. Certainly, the introduction of fascism indicates the final stages, the death agony of the old order. Only the working class with its program for the world revolution can avoid this situation and the barbarism that would follow.

There can be no mistake that the future being prepared by the bourgeoisie is one of a more repressive state, of more vicious attacks on the working class. The most recent event, in which five demonstrators at an anti-fascist rally in Greensboro, N.C. were murdered and many others injured as a result of an ambush attack by Klansmen and Nazis shows how the American ruling class accepts the slaughter of workers and those fighting for working class leadership, against this terrorist state. They accept the slaughter because they plan it every day for the workers and youth around the world, in the factories, schools, and on the streets. The real enemy of the working class is not simply the Klan and the Nazis but the TERRORIST STATE which is responsible for the organization and mobilization of these forces against the workers and youth. The task of revolutionaries must then be to seize the power of the state through the immediate struggle for the expropriation of the capitalists and the socialization of the means of production. Only in this manner can fascism be truly destroyed.

The opportunists and careerists of the Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist organizations merely allude to the socialist revolution in passing. They substitute petty bourgeois reaction for the conscious struggle for revolutionary leadership. Many of these "revolutionaries" go as far as to demand that the bourgeois state be responsible for disarming and disbanding the fascists. This treachery of the opportunists opens the working class to assault and conceals the real struggle in front of the working class, that is for

workers self-defense, for a WORKERS ARMY! The youth can have no illusions in the "democracy" of this dying system. Our future lies in the destruction of the police state, for the world revolution.

It is important to realize that today the great masses have to be won to the proletarian revolution. There is a certain hesitation among the working class to take up the banner of the October Revolution, an irresolution which has permitted a continuity but nonetheless cannot last forever. The Revolutionary Youth International clearly proclaims, THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE.

On November 7, the Revolutionary Youth International held a meeting celebrating the 62nd Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky. Young workers and students discussed the rich history of the workers movement, the lessons of the Russian Revolution and their significance for the youth today. Where are the great masses of youth today? They have totally rejected the politics of the Democratic Party, seeing in it false hopes and betrayal by bureaucrats and opportunists. They have passed over the large Communist parties of the Stalinists for it was clear that these "workers leaders" were busy leading the workers into betrayal, servicing the world imperialist apparatus. They came to the pseudo-Trotskyists organized in the United Secretariat (USec), of which the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is a member, only to find open collaboration and capitulation to the bourgeoisie and trade union bureaucrats. Trotsky warned the honest workers and youth of these traitors and opportunists. He cautioned the working class, making it clear that the struggle for a leadership to lead the proletariat, to prepare the socialist revolution was paramount in their everyday struggle.

The Revolutionary Youth Inter-

national fights to continue the struggle that Trotsky began when he founded the Fourth International in 1938 in the fight to put an end to imperialism and Stalinism. The youth today are faced with destroying the Holy Alliance that stretches from Kennedy and Carter to Brezhnev and Castro and which finds support in fascism and centrism. The proletariat must be confident in its strength; seeing the failures of the past as the failures of petty bourgeois leaderships. We are struggling for power and our program is that of the socialist revolution.

The RYI concentrates the questions in front of the youth in preparing a Youth Conference: "Youth and the 1980 Presidential Elections - A Revolutionary Alternative." The murder of communists in the U.S. by the fascists, the mass mobilization of fascism throughout Europe, in particular in France and Spain, the Iranian and Nicaraguan Revolutions, in general the world crisis of bourgeois and bureaucrats, indicates the immediate confrontation in front of the workers and youth. The workers must construct their army, must build their forces for the seizure of power. There is no other solution, no other road forward for the militant youth around the world. The RYI is preparing its response, is building its forces, is educating, training and arming its combat detachments.

Not Carter, not Kennedy, not fascism or centrism, but THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE! Join the RYI in building the Youth Conference, actively participate in developing a revolutionary situation through the class and party of the revolution.
-- FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKERS AND YOUTH THROUGHOUT THE TWO AMERICAS!
-- FOR THE WORLD ARMY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
-- JOIN THE RYI!

November 14, 1979