

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Doug Fraser For President . . . of Chrysler!

EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE UAW!

Doug Fraser has finally found his proper home. Contained in the latest contract agreement between the UAW bureaucracy and Chrysler is a "letter of understanding" which will make Fraser a member of the board of directors of Chrysler in May 1980.

The Chrysler vice-president for industrial relations called Fraser "a man of intellect, imagination and integrity." No one has better earned his place on Chrysler's board of directors.

It is said that Fraser's father and grandfather were socialists. But long ago Doug decided to use his "intellect and imagination" to make up for what he never had--integrity.

He decided to earn his living by being a traitor. Beginning in the 40's and 50's when he jumped on the bandwagon of McCarthyism and joined Walter Reuther in burying democracy in the UAW. But he earned his real stars by serving his real master, which was never the UAW, but was always Chrysler.

When two black workers occupied the power plant at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant in order to win the firing of a racist foreman in 1973, Fraser attacked Chrysler for "giving in" to the workers. When the sit-down movement spread to Chrysler's Mack Avenue plant, Fraser sent a 1,000 man goon squad armed with clubs and iron chains to drive them out.

And when the massive layoffs in auto began in 1974-75, what did Doug Fraser do? He became a POLICE COMMISSIONER and helped fill the jails with unemployed autoworkers.

But all this was just a pre-

lude. Tomorrow he plans to sit on Chrysler's board of directors, a "historical first" for the U.S. labor movement.

One of the most treacherous actions in the history of the American working class.

Because this action, part of the UAW bureaucracy's campaign to "save Chrysler," is a frontal attack on the rights of not only the autoworkers, but of the entire working class.

What's the big deal? What harm could Fraser do sitting on the board, worse than what he's already done? Didn't Fraser say: "I'm going to represent the autoworkers on that board and I'm going to speak out on their behalf anytime I believe that the board acts contrary to the interests of the workers"?

But the VERY EXISTENCE of Chrysler is contrary to the existence of the workers! Their very existence is based on the exploitation of workers.

And Fraser's action is one of the most treacherous actions in the history of the American working class because it comes during an unprecedented crisis of capitalism and his going on Chrysler's board is an attempt to make the working class responsible for this crisis.

At a time when Chrysler has just announced third quarter losses of \$460.6 million, part of \$721.5 million already lost this year, Fraser is trying to tie the fate of the UAW to a sinking ship.

Fraser wants workers to believe that the task of the most powerful union in the country is to save capitalism.

When the task is to SAVE THE WORKING CLASS.

Fraser's sitting on the board of Chrysler will not save ONE JOB, keep ONE FACTORY OPEN, win ONE RIGHT for Chrysler workers. But it will help organize unemployment, repression and war-- the conditions for capitalism's survival.

But what can be done about Chrysler? Fraser has gone as far as he has because of the real sentiments of autoworkers who are seriously concerned about Chrysler's situation; its effect of workers in Detroit, on workers throughout the world.

It is not a time for fictions and we don't propose dreams.

BUT THE BIGGEST FICTION IS FRASER'S. That capitalism can be saved and that the workers have a responsibility for its crisis. This is the biggest fiction, a fiction supported by the Stalinists and the pseudo-Trotskyists who have abandoned the Chrysler workers to Fraser.

The biggest fiction is that the workers can do nothing about Chrysler. Fraser's treachery, the capitulation of the Stalinist and the pseudo-Trotskyists, have reinforced this fiction.

It's not true. The most realistic solution to this crisis is the understanding that EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON THE WORKING CLASS-- on its consciousness, on its organization, on its program.

The layoffs, the plant closings, the inflation, can be fought. Not by fighting to save capitalism but by fighting to destroy it and to impose WORKING CLASS SOLUTIONS to this crisis. Solutions that are not for the stinking fat cats on Chrysler's board, but solutions

for the masses of youth, workers and oppressed. Solutions that can rally them into action and break the passivity that the bureaucrats are trying to impose.

Autoworkers must take immediate action to repudiate Fraser's treachery. The UAW wasn't built in order to have its leadership sit on the board of directors of Chrysler. The sweat of autoworkers shouldn't go to pay the salary of a company man and a cop.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to build the Fourth International in the U.S., proposes that autoworkers fight for the following resolution in all UAW locals and factories and fight to implement it:

We resolve:

1. The White House wants "more" concessions for Chrysler-- We say: NO CONCESSIONS! NO TO THE CHRYSLER CONTRACT!
2. Fraser OFF CHRYSLER'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS-- NO COMPANY MEN IN THE UAW!
3. Not "save Chrysler" but-- WORKERS CONTROL OF CHRYSLER! -- organized by democratically-elected factory committees.
4. An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW-- to confront the auto crisis, to forge a workers program and a workers leadership and make the UAW a fighting organization again.

An EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW to draw the line between those who want to save Chrysler and those who want to save the working class and its youth.

November 1, 1979

TRUTH

**"Electoral campaigns must be carried out
not in the sense of obtaining
the maximum number of votes,
but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses
around the watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution."
Lenin**

The Watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution

Lenin said: "Electoral campaigns must be carried out not in the sense of obtaining the maximum number of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution."

Bravo! A clear statement of the campaign for the youth in the 1980 elections at last! In the midst of all the scandal mongering by the two major bourgeois candidates -- "Milk Bribe" Connally and "Chappaquidick" Kennedy--it's good to hear Lenin bring up the matter of POLITICS, and PRINCIPLES. And after the bourgeois politics of the Socialist Workers Party and (anticipating the future) Communist Party campaigns, it's high time we heard the word REVOLUTION.

The fact is that young people will not listen long, if at all, to campaigns that seek to get "the maximum number of votes..." The most radical have already drawn the conclusion that the ballot box is not the vehicle for revolution. But that does not mean we are against electing fighters for the Socialist Revolution to office. Think what fools they could make of the puppets of the capitalist class!

And this must be the method of the army of the Socialist Revolution. Use every opportunity to spread the word about the revolution. Take advantage of public forums, strikes, unions in order to expose the lies of the bourgeois and centrist candidates. And where the forces gained through such a campaign are sufficient, advise workers, students and young people of the best means of struggle, and organize them into the army.

This is the campaign the Fourth International will fight for. A campaign to prepare the revolution and build its army of revolutionaries. And we will build this army around the "watchwords of the proletarian revolution."

-- BEWARE! THE TERRORIST STATE! The governments talk about "terrorism," the governments and the centrists and Stalinists can all agree on the need to fight "terrorism." But what is the source of terror in society? It is this system and above all the bourgeois state. The state, in the words of Engels, of "prisons" and "armed bodies of men" to suppress the working class. Connally and Kennedy both are some of the foremost bourgeois proponents of a "stronger government" (read: more terror). Yes, the Workers Government must be strong, but the terrorist state must be destroyed!

-- SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! North and South of the American continents, East and West of the Berlin Wall! No to the national isolation of the revolution, no to socialism in one country is our cry! The revolution will set its goal as sweeping away the last remnant of imperialism, or it will fail to win. For the revolutionary unity of the working class of the Americas against Carter AND Castro. Free the imprisoned leaders of the independent trade union movements in Russia, Rumania, Poland.

Enlist in our army and join our campaign around the WATCHWORDS OF THE REVOLUTION. JOIN US ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF LENIN AND TROTSKY!
TRUTH October 31, 1979

NOT CARTER, NOT KENNEDY BUT THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE!

**Meeting • November 7th • 8:00 p.m.
62ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

**1088 Rademacher, Detroit, Michigan
(Near Livernois and Lafayette)**

Enlist in the Army of the Revolution!

TRUTH

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The Prophets of the Revolution

VS.

The Prophets of Doom

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Not a single bourgeois newspaper has been without its "celebration" of the Great Depression. Ten years ago the economists and the media were saying, "it could never happen again," today they have nothing left but to say, "it wasn't so bad after all." The DETROIT FREE PRESS summed up this bankrupt social outlook in the conclusion to its Sunday magazine extravaganza: "The Depression strengthened its survivors..."

So in the twentieth century, where man's accomplishments can be measured in technological and scientific advances in all spheres of knowledge and practice, the ruling class would have us go back to the laws of the jungle. A jungle for us, but not for them.

The latest statistics bear this out. Unemployment is growing, tens of thousands of workers in auto and other basic industries are being laid off every week, inflation in September continued to run at plus 13% a year. At the same time the oil industry records massive profit gains of up to 100% and more over last quarter's record profits. The bourgeoisie can afford to be nostalgic about the Great Depression.

Here is a system that according to the government's own figures has been unable to increase the standard of living of workers for more than ten years. These are the figures for American workers, and this is supposed to be the best that capitalism has to offer, isn't it? If we add in unemployment, (the bosses are never unemployed so they have neglected to count this factor in their statistics) then the total wealth of the working class as a whole has decreased dramatically in these ten years. Is there cause for alarm?

Yes, for the bourgeoisie there is indeed cause for alarm. The Great Depression "mania" sweeping the newspapers and magazines is not intended to be a lesson in economics for the working

class. Though it cannot be denied that there is a real push on to make the workers swallow an economic system which has failed so miserably over the last century. What is more important is the psychology of demoralization which the ruling class wishes to infuse in us.

But one small item of history has been neglected in the penetrating analysis of the Great Depression. And that is the fact that not only did the American working class refuse to accept the Depression, but a pre-revolutionary situation was opened up in the United States in the thirties. Industrial unionism grew from nothing to the most powerful union movement in the world. Millions of youth were attracted to the revolution, inspired by the Russian Revolution in 1917. The sitdown strike hit the capitalists with fear and forced them to submit to unionization and the demands of the workers. The revolutionary International was reborn in the Fourth International after the Stalinist degeneration and eventual liquidation of the Third International. All this occurred in ten years, the better part of it in less than five.

Today the situation is far more ripe than in 1929 for a revolution. The fact that the only item left for imperialism to glorify is the Great Depression shows the deep crisis of a thoroughly decadent ruling class. The maneuvers around "human rights" having failed, Jimmy Carter's pleas for "national unity" and "sacrifices" are the only tools left to stop the crisis of imperialism from turning into a revolutionary crisis. The notion, 'we must live with depressions and misery' is what the "economic" policy of the bourgeoisie is reduced to.

'We must live with depressions and misery!' How many would accept this ridiculous and demoralizing conclusion if there were any alternative to it? And there is a revolutionary alternative! The key to resolving the crisis of imperialism to the

favor of the majority of humanity is in the PREPARATION OF THE REVOLUTION on the political and organizational level.

Two tasks which cannot be separated. Without the struggle for revolutionary consciousness we are left with the "economics" of the bourgeoisie -- the "Great Depression. Not one of the candidates for President of this future "ghetto" of America would say any different. Their only quarrel is over how best to disarm the youth and the working class politically in face of a revolutionary confrontation.

The most important link to the reactionary bourgeoisie is the reactionary alliance of trade union functionaries and pseudo-revolutionaries who fear as well the revolutionary confrontation. An alliance which stretches from Castro to Fraser and stretches the bounds of logic as well.

The arguments of these traitors are the most important ones to combat, they are arguments of despair but they reinforce the illusions of the working class in an automatic solution to the political and economic crisis of imperialism.

Douglas Fraser has developed these arguments to their limit in order to "Save Chrysler." It is difficult to view the tenth largest corporation in the United States, and one of the largest in the auto industry worldwide as "bankrupt." It is hard to picture the president and chairman of this corporation making only \$1 a year. But even if Lee Iacocca were to appear at the Salvation Army in rags, that would not justify a system which has nothing to offer but -- Depression! Of course the publicity stunts of Chrysler are only to support traitors like Doug Fraser.

In fact, the core of capitalism is the upside-down "logic" of a system that holds back social production in the boundaries of private property. After all, the human race does not live in caves and hunt their food on a daily basis. Though for all the forces of production, the factories, advanced techno-

logy of transportation and communication, for all the scientific knowledge that has been amassed by mankind over the centuries -- the future which is being glorified to us is the daily struggle for survival!

It is as if the brain were cut off from its senses. We live in an age of social production in which the majority of the population, the working class, is reduced to a survival existence. A system in which the production of energy, steel, automobiles and the spheres of knowledge are controlled by private speculation, trade wars and recessions. A system in which the least productive class, the bourgeoisie, which owns nine-tenths of the wealth, plays no useful function except to maintain with all the power at their disposal this anarchical and decaying system.

Marx is often quoted by the more sophisticated bourgeois apologists as having predicted the "inevitability" of socialism. And since it hasn't happened, that proves he was in error. So the argument goes.

But what Marx predicted was the inevitability of the revolutionary crisis. The crisis which is here now and poses the alternative: Socialism or Barbarism. The Fourth International is not a prophet of doom, though we must warn the working class and youth in the sternest terms that NOTHING WILL GET BETTER without the forcible overthrow of the existing order.

We are the prophets of revolution, and our first task in the construction of the army of socialist revolution is to arm the generation that holds the future in its hands. THE REVOLUTION MUST BE PREPARED. The crisis of imperialism will not be resolved automatically. It will not be any easier to fight as the crisis gets deeper. The task of every worker who cares about the future is to build this future with the Fourth International now.

THE TROTSKY CENTENNIAL



Leon Trotsky: A Revolutionary Life!

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

November 7 marks the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky. It also marks the sixty-second anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The life and work of this great revolutionary are inseparable from the fate and the lessons of this great revolution, from its origins to today.

What is the particular significance of Trotsky's life? Is it just an occasion for a eulogy, for empty praise of a "great man"? NO! We leave that to all those who want to "praise" Trotsky in order to BURY him.

Lenin wrote about what is done after the death of great revolutionaries. "Attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons (holy pictures -- KF), to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their NAMES to a certain extent for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its SUBSTANCE, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

And that is exactly the case today with Trotsky. All the Stalinist vermin who denounced him as a "Gestapo agent" and "poisoner of workers" today announce that he "made contributions," that he "was not an enemy of socialism."

This kind of "canonization" is to be expected. The real harm comes from the ranks of those who claim to be Trotskyists. These "followers" of Trotsky praise the "changes of position" on the part of the Stalinists. They call for this to be "completed" with Trotsky's "rehabilitation."

That is, the Stalinists are encouraged to announce that the revolutionary they murdered was, after all, "not guilty." The lie is that this "rehabilitation"-- which Trotsky and all the martyrs of the Fourth International would have rejected with utter contempt -- is intended to proclaim the STALINISTS "not guilty."

"Not guilty" of murdering a

revolutionary in order to betray the revolution. "Not guilty" of slandering a revolutionary in order to confuse and demoralize the workers. "Not guilty" of being the chiefs of world imperialism, of counterrevolution.

This lie is intended to cover up the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism. To present its crimes as mistakes that it is possible to correct. And, above all, to "let bygones be bygones," to get on with the collaboration with Stalinism -- IN THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION!

That is why, while the dead Trotsky is praised, the living Fourth International, which incorporates the life's work of Trotsky, continues to be the object of slander and persecution. Not just from Stalinism -- supposedly "changed" -- but particularly from the pseudo-Trotskyists, from the renegades from the Fourth International.

That is why the French OCI has launched its slander campaign against Michel Varga and the Fourth International, accusing them of being "agents of the CIA and the KGB." That is why the Pabloite "United Secretariat," along with others from the centrist swamp, joins in this campaign secretly or openly.

A LIFE TO FOLLOW

So when we write about Trotsky's life we are trying to draw from it the revolutionary essence that the enemies of the proletariat are trying to hide.

When the young Chicago Black Panther, Fred Hampton, was murdered by the cops and FBI, everywhere a slogan appeared: "Fred Hampton -- live like him!" This slogan is far more appropriate to Leon Trotsky, to the MODEL and EXAMPLE that his life can be for the youth.

In 1937, three years before his assassination, Trotsky was defending his political struggle before the Dewey Commission which had been convened to investigate the "charges" of the Stalinist Moscow Trials. This Commission,

due to the fight of the Trotskyists, was able to definitively pin the label of frame-up on these Moscow Trials, to make the very name MEAN frame-up.

At the end of his closing statement, Trotsky summed up his revolutionary optimism. He said, "The faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolayev -- this faith I have preserved fully and completely."

Part of the "icon" of Trotsky is his "genius." Superhuman, Olympian, the "prophet." What they hide is that Trotsky was once a young revolutionary who became a revolutionary LEADER through POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

The lessons of Trotsky's life, beginning with the revolutionary youth of eighteen, are these lessons of political struggle, of the preparation of the revolution.

The fires of faith in truth, reason, human solidarity, which were never extinguished in Trotsky, are the ones that burn in the rebel youth today. But this rotting society seeks to destroy these things. TRUTH -- after Vietnam and Watergate? REASON -- in the Age of Aquarius? HUMAN SOLIDARITY -- in the "me decade"?

All these fires can be kept alive only by the means that kept them alive in Trotsky, the means of struggle for the party, for the power of the working class. The lessons of Trotsky's life find their expression today in the fact that only his party, the Fourth International, can offer the youth a future through building the Revolutionary Youth International and the party.

THE TIMES

Lev Davidovitch Bronstein was born in the Russian Empire in 1879. Already the corruption and decadence of the Czarist regime were well advanced. The boy who would become Trotsky would grow up in a society that was rotting on its feet.

On his father's small farm he saw the misery and oppression of the peasants and the laborers. In the cities he saw the disgusting brutality of the regime, its crude national oppression.

All these things reacted on his character. In his autobiography, MY LIFE, he relates a "minor" incident. Bronstein and his fellow students rebelled against an ignorant teacher. When the crackdown came he discovered that the class was "divided into distinct groups: the talebearers and the envious on one side, the frank and courageous boys on the other, and the neutral and vacillating mass in the middle." That minority of the "frank and courageous" was one that would grow increasingly disgusted with the decay that it saw around it and would set out to destroy it.

Today, in the U.S. as well this minority of the "frank and courageous" exists. It too wants to fight all the rot that it sees. But it can do this only on the basis of the lessons and experiences that those other youth have handed down. Now more than ever, the youth are confused and disoriented. Now more than ever, they need the party that would be built by one of their own on the basis of all the struggles of his generation.

The boy grew older. In 1896 he arrived in Nikolayev. There he slowly became active in a group that discussed revolutionary ideas. At first, like youth today, young Bronstein was unconcerned about "politics." The word didn't exist, but the idea was the same -- "uncool." But if he wanted to remain true to himself, to stay "frank and courageous," the only way was to actively take up the struggle AGAINST the brutality, oppression and ignorance that he hated. That is, politics.

This choice exists for the youth today, as well. They can go along with imperialism and those who support it -- and in the process say goodbye to everything decent in themselves. Or

they can fight imperialism, become political and stay "frank and courageous."

THE POLITICS

The youth had made his choice. He would "side with the under-dog." But this choice was for him, as it is for youth today, only the beginning of the struggle.

The group in which young Bronstein became active was influenced by "Narodnikism" (populism). This was a theory of the Russian middle classes who saw their salvation and democracy as resting on the peasants -- under the leadership of the middle classes. These together were "the people" opposed to the "aristocracy" of the Czar and his supporters.

The names change but the ideas remain. These same false ideas -- that "democracy" is obtainable without the working class coming to power, that the leadership belongs to the middle classes, that the "people" and not classes are the determining factors in social change -- remain in existence today.

If young Bronstein wanted to go forward on the path he had chosen he had to reject this mess of confusion and disorientation. He had to go over to MARXISM. But at first he struggled against it -- "dry, narrow, impractical stuff." But then he discovered that it was only this clear, firm theory which really offered a solution to the problems that faced him. It alone was really "practical," because it alone showed what to do and how to do it.

In the same way, youth today have to reject the modern versions of populism. They have to reject nationalism, the idea that "the revolution" will just happen, the idea that "the people" can get "democracy." They have to reject all the intermediary, halfway solutions that deny that the task is the organization of the working class for the seizure of power.

It was only when Bronstein had

come over to Marxism -- and he was no "expert" then -- that he could take his "faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity" with him into the workers' district of Nikolayev. This was the only way he could keep this faith -- by carrying it into action in the working class. Otherwise, it would have remained empty sympathy that would have died.

The struggle of the youth today for these three things also cannot exist outside the struggle that the Fourth International offers in the Revolutionary Youth International. Reason, truth and human solidarity can exist -- today as in 1897 -- only in the struggle for Marxism, for the party, for the working class.

The South Russian Workers Union was founded by Bronstein and his young comrades. It soon numbered over 200 members. These "inexperienced" youth became the bane of the cops' existence. Eventually, the union was discovered and broken up, with Bronstein and others jailed and exiled to Siberia.

But this was only a setback. It was almost part of the education of these young fighters, something to steel them in their revolutionary devotion.

The young Bronstein, who would soon become Leon Trotsky, already was well along on the road he had chosen. He had come over to politics. He had come over to Marxism. That was how he had gotten as far as he had.

Now he was faced with a new choice. He had to come over to Leninism. He had to face the reality of the absolute necessity for the strictest and most centralized organization and discipline, for the party to be a fighting organization.

Trotsky shrank from this. Like many youth today, he thought this was too "hard." This was the hardest of all his fights. And it was resolved only in 1917 when Trotsky finally saw that his views -- the Permanent Revolution, the working class seizure of power in Russia -- could become real only

through THE PARTY that Lenin had built. When he fully realized this, he realized it once and for all. That is why Lenin could say that once Trotsky grasped that the Bolsheviks (revolutionaries) could not unite with the Mensheviks (opportunists) in one big party -- "since then there has been no better Bolshevik."

Trotsky's coming over to Bolshevism and Lenin's "rearmament" of the party are the political basis for the Russian Revolution. In turn, they are the basis for all the revolutionary changes and struggles since then. When the Fourth International calls on the youth to Return to Lenin, it means that they must bring into action today all the lessons and experiences and gains that are summed up in 1917.

The struggles that Trotsky went through to come to Bolshevism laid the basis for the youth of today being able to find an answer to their struggles. Politics, Marxism, Leninism. All these are summed up in the Fourth International today.

TROTSKY AND THE YOUTH

Through these struggles Trotsky kept alive the young revolutionary in himself. He had come to represent and incorporate everything that the youth sought in the revolution. That is why he was able to constantly inspire and attract them.

Lenin cried out to the writer Gorky: "Could anyone point out to me another man who could organize an almost model army in a year and win the respect of military experts? We have such a man."

The man was Trotsky. On the twenty-four fronts of the Civil War the Red Army that he organized and led defeated the counter-revolution. But this victorious military machine was not a technical triumph. Above all, it was based on the young workers who left the cities and went to fight and die for the revolution. And they fought under and were inspired by Trotsky. The devotion of the youth found its

example in Trotsky.

This is why today we pose the Revolutionary Youth International as the World Army of the Socialist Revolution. The same passion, energy and devotion that marked the Red Army and led it to victory must today inspire the youth. The RYI is the place for those who want to carry on the fight that began in 1917.

That is also why the struggle led by Trotsky against Stalinism, against the betrayal of the Russian Revolution, found its greatest support among the youth. Thousands of youth went to their deaths in the Siberian camps shouting "Long Live Trotsky!" just as their older brothers and friends had died in the Civil War for the revolution. That is why the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938 found its greatest support among the working class youth of all countries. That is why the program of our party proclaims: "the movement is revitalized by the youth."

After the founding of the Fourth International, Trotsky made a speech on the significance of this action which once again speaks to the concerns of the youth of today.

"Our party demands each of us, totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself.

"Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a part of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain."

To change the world. Not to live in vain. That is the meaning of Trotsky's life. That is the meaning of the Fourth International.

October 28, 1979



The Unity of the Struggle Against Imper

THE OCTOBER REV

TODAY

By JON COHEN

November 7 marks the 62nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution. It is called the "October" under the old Russian calendar.

Today this Revolution is ancient history to most youth. This wasn't the case with the youth of 1917. The Russian Revolution and the party which led it, Lenin's Bolshevik Party, was an inspiration to millions of working class youth throughout the world. Millions of worker and youth dedicated their lives to this revolution and to the fight to continue it throughout the world. It was a guiding light for an entire generation.

But now this Revolution sits in the shadow of the disgrace of Stalinism. Throughout the world, whether in the U.S. or the U.S.S.R., workers and especially the youth tend to identify this Revolution with the Stalinist bureaucracy which sits on top of it and aids its imperialist masters in preventing another October.

Whenever the subject of the revolution is discussed, someone says: "We don't want to wind up like the workers in Russia," or "at least we have democracy here." Not only is the October Revolution of 1917 not an inspiration to many youth of today, it is a Revolution that it totally identified in their minds with the crimes of Stalinism, a counterrevolutionary international bureaucracy which usurped this revolution in the service of imperialism.

The ruling class and its Stalinist servants may have succeeded in making the October Revolution seem like ancient or forgotten history to today's youth, but they haven't succeeded in burying it. This failure has not been due to lack of effort.

In fact, probably no other single action in human history has inspired such terror in the ranks of the oppressors and their servants as the October Revolution. No other action in human history has so unified all those on the side of oppression in a common hatred and a common campaign to destroy the October Revolution and its continuation.

Not the invasion of Soviet Russia by 17 imperialist armies. Not a bloody civil war. Not the 10 million people murdered by the Stalinist bureaucracy in its rise to power. Not Hitler. Not the billions and billions of words written against this Revolution in every bourgeois newspaper, in every bourgeois university throughout the world. Not the betrayals of the "revolutionaries" with their "God that failed."

They have not been able to bury the October Revolution. In fact, the spectre of

the October Revolution and its extension continues to haunt all those who stand for oppression today. From Carter to Brezhnev to Pinochet to Castro the fear and hatred of this Revolution unites them in a common cause.

Because the October Revolution lives today. 62 years of repression and terror, of lies and slander, of corruption and betrayal have not been able to bury it, have not been able to erase its essential meaning.

The October Revolution of 1917 was the first step in the world revolution and it is the world revolution which is being prepared today in the international mobilization of the workers and youth. In 1917 Lenin and his Bolshevik Party, by organizing the first successful workers' revolution in human history, by establishing the working class as the ruling class for the first time, by expropriating the bourgeoisie and opening up the rule of workers democracy, opened up the door of human history and fundamentally changed the relationship of forces on an international scale between the capitalists and the working class.

The death knell of capitalism was sounded. "Socialism" was no longer a dream, it was a reality. Capitalism can be overthrown by the working class and there is not a single honest person who can today stand up and say something different. And Lenin also proved that this revolution had an instrument--a revolutionary, international, BOLSHEVIK PARTY, which is the weapon of the workers and oppressed for the revolution.

Capitalism has never recovered from this Revolution. Because Lenin also showed the real content of the October Revolution when he uttered his first words upon arriving in Russia in April 1917 in order to directly lead the struggle for power. Lenin said: "LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!" and this was more than a slogan, more than a nice phrase, it was the very meaning of the October Revolution and is its meaning today.

This is why they have never been able to destroy the October Revolution and why it lives on today. Because it was always far more than an isolated event in Russia. It was instead the conscious and organized expression in Russia of the historical tasks of the world working class, the first step in the world revolution.

The October Revolution began the world revolution and every expression of the world revolution today is an expression and continuation of October. Far from being buried, this Revolution is the only living, historically progressive force in the world today.

It is more important than ever to understand this. Because today it is the world revolution that is being prepared in all the mobilizations of workers and youth throughout the world. The unprecedented crisis of imperialism and Stalinism, the collapse of its world order that was symbolized by the fall of the Shah and Somoza this year and the unbroken mobilization of the workers and youth means that new revolutionary explosions are being prepared on every continent. The continuation of the October Revolution is on the agenda in every significant struggle taking place in the world today.

It is on the agenda in Iran, in Nicaragua. In Poland and the U.S.S.R. In Western Europe. And in the U.S.

More precisely, the POSSIBILITY for the continuation of the October Revolution exists throughout the world today. It exists through the struggle of the Fourth International, the world party that is the continuation of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and Third International, which represents the possibility for the renewal with the October Revolution. Because the continuation of the October Revolution must be prepared and the Fourth International is the only party with the possibility of preparing this fight.

The October Revolution must be RENEWED. It lives on today, but not as an organized and conscious reality in the lives of millions of workers and youth. In fact, as stated earlier, most workers and youth identify the October Revolution with its betrayal, with Stalinism and its crimes. Most young workers see in the October Revolution not the world revolution, but its strangulation.

There will be no world revolution until this is changed, until October is renewed. Until the masses of workers and youth see the October Revolution as their own, see the fight of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party as the fight that they must continue today. Until the masses of workers consciously take up the fight for the real objectives of the October Revolution--the expropriation of capitalism on a world scale and the construction of the party that will lead this fight against all enemies.

RETURN TO LENIN!-- This is the slogan and the fight that is the most immediate conscious task in front of the workers and youth today and the construction of the party to lead this revolution.

The fight to RETURN TO LENIN! doesn't take place in a vacuum. The fight today to organize the massive renewal of the youth with the October Revolution is an organized fight

Stalinism and Stalinism

REVOLUTION

against the enemies of this Revolution who are also the enemies of the world revolution today.

This means a struggle against the HOLY ALLIANCE against the world revolution today. A Holy Alliance that has been in effect since October 1917. It includes the bourgeoisie, led by U.S. imperialism and the slime that follows its orders throughout the world.

But this Holy Alliance would not be operative without the active participation of the international Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin. Since this bureaucracy gained power in Russia in the late 1920's on the basis of the delay and setbacks to the world revolution it has become the greatest enemy of the world revolution.

Stalinism has taken the lead in the attempt to bury the October Revolution. In Russia and Eastern Europe it has turned the gains of the October Revolution into a concentration camp for the workers and youth.

In China, Cuba and Southeast Asia they have betrayed workers revolutions against imperialism and have organized police states. And in capitalist countries, from Germany and Spain in the 30's to Chile and Argentina today, it is the Stalinist apparatus that has cleared the way for fascism.

Previously, they did all this in the name of the October Revolution. That was still when they had some credit in the eyes of workers and youth. But today, in face of a massive and growing disaffection with Stalinism among the most militant workers and youth, they have been forced to undertake an attack directly against the October Revolution.

The so-called "Euro-Communists"--the Communist Parties of France, Spain, Italy and their supporters in Eastern Europe-- today proclaim themselves "anti-Leninists." According to them, the October Revolution was all a mistake, it was Leninism that led to Stalinism and thus... the revolution is impossible and it is necessary to fight instead for bourgeois "democracy."

This anti-Leninist campaign is a campaign designed to cover up the crimes of Stalinism and their present support to the bourgeois terrorist state apparatus and to attack the consciousness of the most revolutionary youth who are seeking an alternative to Stalinism.

If the youth will no longer support Stalinism, the "Euro-Communists" are trying to see to it that they don't find their way to the revolution either, to October and its continuation through the fight of the Fourth International. In this anti-Leninist campaign, which is the organized expression today

of the Holy Alliance against the October Revolution and the world revolution that has been in place since 1917, the Stalinists are aided by the pseudo-Trotskyists who talk in the name of the Fourth International in order to help bury the October Revolution by covering for Stalinism's crimes.

As the October Revolution is again on the agenda, these pseudo-Trotskyists become more and more open enemies of the world revolution. Thus, they support Khomeini in Iran, support a bourgeois government and call for the repression of revolutionaries in Nicaragua and reprint Fidel Castro's Stalinist grovelings to U.S. imperialism in their paper. They too are in utter terror in face of the spectre of October.

RETURN TO LENIN! is a fight to re-arm the young generation of the working class against these traitors in a conscious fight for the renewal of the leadership of the working class. A fight to return to the October Revolution by building the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

The Fourth International represents this possibility for the renewal and continuation of the October Revolution. Our forces are small today, organized in only a handful of countries. Our size is nothing compared to the size of the Stalinist or Social Democratic parties. Even the pseudo-Trotskyists, who spend most of their time liquidating their sections and destroying militants as revolutionaries, probably have more warm bodies than we do.

Thus, how can we make the claim to represent the continuation of the October Revolution, of Bolshevism? How can we possibly succeed against the combined forces of imperialism, Stalinism and the pseudo-Trotskyists, all of which are actively working to bury October?

We can succeed because we represent the organizational, political and historical continuation of the October Revolution and thus represent the possibility of joining our combat with that of the masses of workers and youth throughout the world who are seeking the October Revolution and its continuation. While all the other leaderships in the working class today represent the defeats of the past and the terror of the bourgeoisie in face of the spectre of the October Revolution, only the Fourth International represents what is living

and what is the future of the working class-- the world revolution.

Because the Fourth International is the only organized force in the world consciously fighting for the unity of the SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS. The social revolution against imperialism and its capitalist servants. The political revolution against Stalinism to restore the gains of the October Revolution in the U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe, Cuba and China.

The unity of the struggle against imperialism and Stalinism, the struggle for the social and political revolutions, is the axis of the fight to continue October. It is the axis of the combat of the Fourth International.

This is why the Fourth International is organizing two conferences this year and the beginning of next year-- a CONFERENCE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN MILITANTS FOR THE RETURN TO LENIN and a CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE TWO AMERICAS. It is not a question of two separate affairs, but one struggle, a struggle for the unity of the world revolution against its enemies-- imperialism and its Stalinist servants.

The unity of the two most powerful proletariats in the world, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. workers, is the key to the success of the world revolution. And this unity can only be forged in a struggle against imperialism and Stalinism EVERYWHERE.

A unity that won't be built by supporting Carter's "human rights." Or by supporting the "progressive" national bourgeoisies and Castro's "non-aligned" nations. It can only be built by fighting for the world revolution and the party that is preparing it-- the Fourth International.

While we are honoring the anniversary of the October Revolution, the bourgeoisie is commemorating another occasion-- the 50th anniversary of the stock market crash and the beginning of the "Great Depression." It is fitting-- the bourgeoisie is celebrating its impending ruin, while the working class today has the possibility of using the lessons of the October Revolution to organize a future for itself and all of humanity.

Join the Fourth International and take part in building this future!
October 30, 1979



World Congress of the RYI
July, 1979 -- Paris France



The Pabloite "United Secretariat" and Latin America

Changing Cars on the Train of Opportunism

By GERARD LAFFONT

The "Conference of the Two Americas" that the Fourth International is preparing with the objective of regrouping in its ranks the American working class vanguard is, above all, a political struggle for delimitation. A delimitation of the Bolshevik program of the Fourth International against centrism, the principal obstacle to its construction as the revolutionary leadership of the American proletariat. And especially against those currents like the Pabloite "United Secretariat" that usurp the banner of the World Party in order to drop it at the feet of Stalinism.

The "Draft Resolution on Latin America" approved by the majority of the U.Sec. for its coming XI Congress, a veritable concentration of opportunism, demonstrates once again the urgency of this delimitation and how it concentrates all the problems of the socialist revolution and the party capable of leading it to victory in the Two Americas.

The Pabloite "Draft" is a pitiful composite worked out between Mandel (with Livio Maitan and other "strategists" of this caliber, the former "theoreticians" of "Latin American guerilla warfare as the method of the construction of the revolutionary party") and the wing of the U.Sec. led by the U.S. SWP. A composite which is trying to patch up the open crisis in the Pabloite ranks in face of the bankruptcy of its orientation, above all in Latin America. Trying to find the most opportunist and capitulationist "magical synthesis" which is in reality only another form of the capitulation to Stalinism which took place in the two preceding Congresses. It concerns an attempt to block militants from reaching a real balance sheet of the orientation of the U.Sec. A balance sheet which will lead them to a search for the Fourth International, breaking

with Pabloism.

Without any doubt this balance sheet is urgent. Not only for those militants of the U.Sec. who want to find an orientation in face of the present crisis, but also for all the advanced workers and youth in the Two Americas. In reality, in this document, which tries to erase the resolutions of the IX and X Congresses on Latin America as errors, Mandel abandons guerillaism... but falsifies its content in order to continue to give support to Stalinism. He says:

"The strategy of guerilla warfare... has proven to be a disaster... Its principal characteristic was its total dependency on the exemplary actions of small groups. The guerilla currents did not succeed in forging a correct program for giving leadership to the proletariat and to unite them with the peasants and the oppressed masses in a consequent struggle against the dominating classes. They fell victim to the increased repression. They became isolated from the masses at the very moment that the masses unleashed immense proletarian mobilizations."

This "critical" "balance sheet" in reality is trying to wash the face of the Castroite leadership and through this the Kremlin bureaucracy and its CPs. According to Mandel, what the guerillaists lacked was "their capacity to link up with the masses" and to "forge a program."

But this is false, because they HAD a program! It was the program of alliance with the so-called "progressive" national bourgeoisie, in reality tied to and in the service of imperialism, in order to realize a "national," "democratic revolution" against imperialism. It was the program of the Kremlin... with weapons in their hands.

The illusion that the guerilla strategy under the

inspiration of Castro was something distinct from the open policy of class collaboration led by the Stalinist parties in Latin America captured and wasted the energy of many young revolutionaries. Mandel, who contributed to this, today is washing his hands.

A new resolution. Period. And as if he had nothing to do with this disaster, even more, with this betrayal of Marxism and this revolutionary generation, he now "discovers" that: "Some elements of the guerillaist currents, whose differences with the CPs were limited to the armed aspect of the struggle vs. the peaceful road, continued to accept the theory of revolution by stages and other fundamental points of the Stalinist strategy. This explains the facility with which many supporters of guerillaism, like Hector Bejar in Peru and the ALN in Brazil were later able to collaborate with bourgeois and reformist political forces."

Thus guerillaism, according to the U.Sec., was not a means of Stalinism, through its Castroite agent, to deviate and lead the radicalized youth to a bloody dead-end, but a "mistaken tactic" of a "revolutionary leadership," that of Castro, a "natural Marxist" as Mandel was fond of saying in those years. Castro, who was supposedly defying Moscow, as Mandel still puts forward today, in this "Draft Resolution," without blushing from shame.

Things become clearer when one takes up the problem of the Cuban revolution: "although from the beginning there were bureaucratic deformations, they were not of great importance, not deep enough to indicate the existence of a hardened bureaucracy or the need for taking up a political revolution."

Of course! This was at the time when Castro was imprisoning Cuban militants who called themselves Trotskyists, and

when Mandel was an "economic advisor" in Havana!

Today, he "candidly" asks: "Do parasitical economic privileges exist? Must the Fourth International continue to act on the basis of the supposition that the Cuban leadership, under the impact of the revolutionary advances in the class struggle, especially in Latin America, and under the influence of a strengthened Fourth International, will show a differentiation in its ranks and allow important components to evolve towards a Leninist policy and towards norms of workers democracy?"

The question (which is already a program in itself!), isn't answered... at least apparently. Because the U.Sec. continues to give Castro advice on what he should do in Africa "in order to extend the example of the Cuban revolution," after labelling as "errors" Castro's support to the "anti-imperialist governments" of Echevarria (Mexico), Velasco Alvarado (Peru), Torrijos (Panama), the intervention in Ethiopia, the support to the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin's tanks... What an unhappy "error" Stalinism is! It is clear that what is necessary in Cuba is not a political revolution in order to give power to the Workers Councils and throw out the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy! It is only necessary to "correct" these "errors"!

But in reality for the U.Sec. it concerns not only peacefully "correcting" the Castroite bureaucracy dependent on the Kremlin, but the entire international Stalinist apparatus as well. The "guerilla strategy" is abandoned as a "bad method" ... in order to adopt a new form of support to Stalinism and class collaboration!

"The form in which the necessity for class independence will possibly be expressed will be through the organizations that the workers today consider

as their class instruments." (The Stalinist and reformist parties, it later explains).

"In the majority of cases the only working class organizations with a mass character are the unions... The struggle for the political independence of the working class tends to converge with the pressure of the unions in this sense; this is why the unions take the initiative in the creation of mass workers parties."

That is, it is necessary to "pressure" the gangster bureaucrats like the Peronists or the governmental Mexican trade union bureaucrats, or their "left wing."

But "pressure them better"! ... the Pabloites tell us. "The workers have pressured them many times... The deficiency of these political actions until now is that they have only been temporary or partial."

Thanks to the Pabloites the pressure today will be harder. This is their new "strategy": "Mass workers parties which challenge the dominating class on all political levels," they say. And what is the objective of these parties built on the basis of illusions towards Stalinism and the reactionary bureaucrats?

"The overthrow of the capitalist GOVERNMENTS and its REPLACEMENT by workers-peasants governments." In other words, and despite the intent to hide the thing with revolutionary phrases, it is necessary to "replace" one government by another at the head of the bourgeois state, and not to destroy it, building through the mobilization of the masses against it the councils of the workers, peasants and soldiers, that can be the ONLY basis for a REAL Workers and Peasants Government, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In other words, according to these usurpers, the role of the Fourth International would

be to "form parties" that are distinct from and opposed to Bolshevism and the International; "labor" parties in order to replace the present bourgeois governments... by other bourgeois governments. But in reality this is only pure hot air, designed to hide their capitulation to Stalinism and through it, to the national bourgeoisies and imperialism.

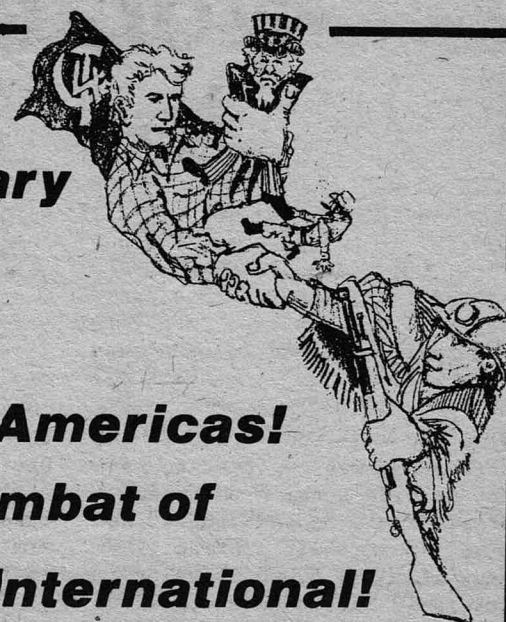
Workers and militants who doubt this can look towards Nicaragua and hear what the U.Sec. says-- support to the FSLN and the attempt of its leaders to form a bourgeois government after the fall of Somoza. This is the meaning of the "criticism" of guerillism-- the FSLN did not "isolate" itself from the masses, thus they support it along with its capitalist program of "national reconstruction." The Pabloites change cars but are still on the same train of opportunism.

This is the reality which they want to hide behind Jesuitical self-criticism and "new strategies." But the living development of the class struggle forces them to reveal themselves and exposes them at every step of the way.

This is what working class and revolutionary Latin American militants must begin to understand. The road of the revolution, of the class independence of the American proletariat, can only be its struggle for its revolutionary unity, against imperialism and its Stalinist agent. Its party can only be the Fourth International. For its construction in face of centrist opportunism we open up the doors of the Conference of the Two Americas and call you to join this fight.

REPRINTED FROM LA AURORA #223, PAPER OF THE SPANISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

**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**

**A Weapon to Build
the Conference
of the 2 Americas!**

**dynamic
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.

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An International Struggle

Workers Control of Chrysler

By FRED VITALE

(News Item) -- Doug Fraser, head of the UAW, was reported to say that he didn't think Chrysler workers would be so "stupid" as to vote down their contract.

(News Item) -- 5,000 Chrysler workers in Madrid have organized partial work stoppages and along with unemployed workers have held mass assemblies to fight the imposed wage guidelines of the monarchy. 300 workers voted to support the resolution of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International calling for an immediate coordination of all delegates from the auto industry.

The UAW bureaucracy has just concluded its unprecedented "contract" with the Chrysler Corporation. This contract, even more than the others at Ford and GM, is a SOCIAL PACT with the corporation and the government to accept the closing of Dodge Main, and the "reorganization" of Chrysler -- unemployment, speed-up, wage and benefit cuts and plant closings.

Why is Chrysler, along with the UAW bureaucracy and the Carter government doing this? Is it because Chrysler is "unprofitable"? Is it because of the "economic" crisis of this system?

The reason for the liquidation of jobs and factories at Chrysler has NOTHING to do with "economics" whether that of Carter and company or of the false "Marxist" and "communist" economics of the centrist organizations in front of Dodge Main and other Chrysler plants. The reason is POLITICAL.

The capitalist system of ruling this planet along with their Stalinist junior partners is in an unprecedented political crisis. To save their rule, the capitalists must DESTROY the most powerful factories which are the home of the most organized sections of the world working class, where the working class is the strongest. It is a program of liquidation of auto proceeding around the world, with its SHARPEST expression in the U.S.

Even more, the capitalists have started in the U.S. against the Chrysler workers because they constitute the single greatest

threat to them, concentrated in Detroit, the "Motor City." The U.S. bourgeoisie, to reassert itself INTERNATIONALLY, must disarm and crush the workers first in its home territory.

This is the ONLY WAY to explain the apparent contradiction between the drive for profits by the capitalists from the workers and the dismantling of the plants where the exploitation is the highest, the workers most productive -- auto.

Beginning with this understanding, the Marxist understanding of political economy, the workers and youth can combat this program of liquidation.

In the first place by breaking the political chain forged by Fraser, the Democratic Party and Kennedy with the opportunist parties, the Communist Party/USA and the Socialist Workers Party around the necks of the workers and youth. A chain to strangle their independence, to isolate them from the workers and youth of the world, to KEEP the youth away from the workers in the realm of this false "democracy" and its ballot box. And, through this POLITICAL attack, to bring to this discredited government a NEW authority through the 1980 elections to move against the workers in the 1980's.

Fraser has said as much. In a speech at Wayne State University in Detroit: "I agree in principle with what they call in England the social contract." That is, the agreement between the English Labor Party, the Stalinist and centrist parties and the unions to hold down wages and benefits, to increase layoffs in return for "saving British Leyland" and other "reforms." (!)

Among the youth of the high schools, the sons and daughters of the autoworkers, and the universities there is one demand overwhelmingly clear -- the right to work. Will this contract save any jobs today or in the future?

No. As part of this agreement, Dodge Main is to be closed in 1980. The Lyons, Michigan Trim plant and Outer Drive plants will remain

closed. There is not ONE JOB GUARANTEED by this pact. In fact, THE OPPOSITE. The UAW bureaucracy has argued that they will accept ANYTHING to "save Chrysler." Investing the workers' pensions and wage cuts have already been used. Like the U.S. general during the Vietnam War who "destroyed the town in order to save it" (!) This is the logic of these "leaders."

The combat of the youth for the right to work and that of the autoworkers must be united in a platform against the liquidation of auto. The youth have a decisive role in this combat. The workingclass strongholds, the factories that must be the first battalions of the international socialist revolution, are at stake. THE FUTURE for the youth -- the revolution -- is at stake.

There is much talk today on the streets and in the factories of "unity." More than ever, thinking workers and youth see the need for a united and total response to the provocations by this ruling class and its government. And it is very unclear to the vast majority of them, and confusing as well, why all these organizations and parties claiming to be "revolutionary" and "communist" can't be united, while they claim they can "unite" the workers.

The workers and youth have been "united" on a false program of DEPENDENCE on this system a thousand and one times. Depending on the bureaucrats to call a strike. Depending on the Carter government, or the Democratic Party, or Castro, to fight for jobs, schools and a decent life. A dependency fostered, encouraged and led by the opportunist parties and the centrists.

And so today the workers and youth are in fact NOT UNITED. What else can it mean to organize workers and youth to "Save Dodge Main" but to ISOLATE the Dodge Main workers from the rest of the autoworkers, to relegate the youth to a cheering section and place them ALL depending on this system for their salvation? What else

can it mean to call on the UAW bureaucracy to organize sit-down strikes at Chrysler factories like various centrists do, once again isolating these workers, leaving the youth with no role in this combat, and placing them ALL at the service of the bureaucracy?

These policies, in reality of no unity and dependence, are the policies of the living dead. A policy for a unified struggle of the workers and youth must be based on a combat for independence. In the first place, independence from all the treacherous leaders. Independence of the organizations of the workers -- the unions -- by wrenching them from the hands of the traitors now controlling them.

Specifically, through an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW. Organized through mass assemblies of workers. Electing their delegates along with delegates from the youth, laid off workers and related industries. An Emergency National Convention to UNITE and LEAD the workers and youth in a massive class response with the first point on the agenda -- THE RIGHT TO WORK -- WORKERS CONTROL OF CHRYSLER.

This is the means to an INTERNATIONAL united struggle. Not the "trade union" solidarity of bureaucrats, or the "solidarity" of the Stalinists and centrists to beg for aid from the imperialist government for Nicaragua or ANY of the programs of dependence. But rather standing shoulder to shoulder in a common political combat for the same goals with the methods of the international socialist revolution.

This is the combat of our party, the Fourth International, and why you should join it. It is the same in Spain, the U.S. and throughout the world.

And it is this mobilization we call on all Chrysler workers and youth in Detroit in particular to take up with us as the Chrysler workers must take on the social pact engineered by Fraser. Workers Control of Chrysler! The international struggle against the liquidation in auto!

October 30, 1979



THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL Is Your Weapon!

All around the world the signs of the new turn in the international class struggle are appearing.

The events in Korea, for example, are not something remote or separate from the struggle of the workers in the U.S. and Europe. On the contrary, these events are another sign that the framework established by the counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance at Yalta and Potsdam -- which included the division and occupation of Korea -- is continuing to shatter.

But this new turn only makes all the issues of the conflict between revolution and counter-revolution sharper. It demands a new turn also -- a retaking of the initiative, to use the military term -- on the part of the working class.

The ability of the working class to overcome the confusion and disorientation sown in its ranks by its enemies depends on its party, the Fourth International. The struggle of the party to prepare the working class is not some general task, some general striving to do more or to do better.

As the Resolution of the October session of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International (TRUTH #103) says: "The Fourth International ... must regain the initiative in order to overcome its delay, a delay which consists in a delay in the preparation of the party through its central organ, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ... The entire party must be centralized around the regular monthly production and distribution of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The offensive of the party is the offensive for THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL."

The latest issue (#75-76) of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL in English is appearing together with this issue of TRUTH. Its publication expresses both the basis for the victorious development of the new turn and the delay that threatens it.

There are four articles in this issue. An editorial dealing with the boycott of the Madrid "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" in 1980. A report on the Fourth World Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International. A brief declaration of the RYI on the struggle to free Klebanov and Borisov,

the imprisoned Soviet trade unionists. An article on the struggle for the political revolution in Hungary.

The common theme of these articles is the struggle to finish off the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism, particularly the struggle to unite the workers of East and West, to unite the political and social revolutions -- through the WORLD party, the Fourth International.

These articles are obviously of urgent concern to the workers and youth. But their critical importance is deprived of its full and necessary impact because of the DELAY in their appearance.

This is a key aspect in the political delay which confronts the party -- and therefore the whole working class.

How can we overcome this delay, not just contemplate and regret it? With THIS issue we must take up the "offensive for THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" that is the "offensive of the party."

Centralizing the entire party around the "FI" is not a task for some indefinite future. It means organizing with THIS issue for the goals outlined in it, for Madrid, for the Conference of Eastern European Militants for the Return to Lenin. This is the MEANS to put into practice the

struggle for the regular production and distribution of THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The struggle for the sale and discussion of this issue is a concrete step in the centralization of the party.

Take up the offensive for THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! Get it, read it, subscribe to it. Take up the political offensive of the party! Discuss THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL with us, bring its message to your comrades.

Take the first step on the path that leads to victory!

TRUTH
October 29, 1979

Latest Issue of Fourth International!



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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

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No Fictions!

For a Revolutionary Alternative

By RICH TETRAULT

The mudslinging and scandalous methods of the bourgeois politicians are more than engaged at this point. A point which is more than decisive with respect to the future of the youth. It is this future that we are preparing in the combat to arm the working class against all illusions; especially the illusions in the "democracy" of capitalist politicians.

Kennedy, Carter, Reagan, Connally and whatever other presidential "hopefuls" have all been hard at work preparing and cementing illusions while at the same time hiding all the main issues. A plan of attack aimed at confining the selection of leadership and control of society to a narrow, and for most workers and youth, totally disgusting framework. A conscious plan of bourgeois politicians to alienate the youth from deciding their future.

No future can be found in the fruitless effort to reform this decaying system or in reforming the equally-decayed ruling class that has led it to this point. The Revolutionary Youth International bases its existence on one struggle -- that is, THE REVOLUTION IS THE FUTURE! Every struggle of the working class, especially its youth, is based on the fight to prepare the revolution thereby laying the basis to determine our future.

As young revolutionaries, we call on our fellow workers, students and unemployed to join the RYI in the struggle for a Revolutionary Alternative in the 1980 Presidential elections. This is the fight to confront the "official" leaders of the government and their representatives in the workers movement. Very few people believe that Carter has the energy or the resources to continue. Since his administration began, Carter has been plagued by one crisis after another. Crises which above all reflect the increasing antagonisms between a decaying order, which he would defend to the very end, and a new generation which has maintained an offensive against that order in the struggle for power. This struggle for power can be realized only in the fight for a revolutionary political solution to the crisis of this old order, of U.S. imperialism. It is fairly certain at this

point that Carter will not be called in for an encore performance.

The U.S. ruling class can in no way "afford" to have a man in charge who cannot maintain control and impose his authority by whatever means necessary. So at this point, the U.S. bourgeoisie must search for a candidate who can do much more than simply continue to navigate an erratic ship on rough waters. He must be able to take total control of his machine and smooth the waters about him. He must be able to dominate the situation and that means submitting the workers and youth to a more vicious and repressive rule.

Continued domination through increased repression is the theme of the bourgeoisie in the upcoming elections. But who have they got that can carry out this attack? Perhaps an aging Reagan? Not likely! Maybe that brash young Jerry Brown who has befriended the likes of Hayden and Fonda? Or maybe John Connally who has stirred the interests of some of the biggest corporations in the U.S.?

Who are these people anyway and what business have they masquerading as leaders and champions of "democracy"? These "leaders" who, regardless of political affiliation, all carry the same program -- the organization of a recession, the reinforcement of a police state and the demoralization and pacification of the youth and workers. There are more than enough two-bit politicians seeking candidacy but the U.S. ruling class is in big trouble and needs someone who can attract wide support and who can play the game as ruthless as anyone else.

From within the ranks of the Democratic Party shines a light and from within steps one Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. No newcomer to national politics, this last remnant of "Camelot" has operated from the shadows of one of the most powerful political families in American history. It is necessary to view the Senator's achievements and history to further understand the nature of this beast and the reasons why the petty bourgeois bureaucrats, especially in the workers movement, have clung to him as their last hope.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy was elected President at which time

he instructed the Governor of Massachusetts to appoint Benjamin Smith to the Senate seat which Kennedy had vacated. Smith was to occupy that seat until 1962 when Ted Kennedy would campaign for the position. He had no training and no experience to speak of. Kennedy won the election but it wasn't so much a victory as it was a purchase. The Kennedys simply bought the election spending an estimated \$1.2 million.

From his position as Senator of Massachusetts, he joined brothers John who was President and Robert who was Attorney General of the U.S. in a new decade that marked the beginning of the Vietnam War and mass turmoil among workers and oppressed throughout the U.S. From the start, Ted Kennedy showed his support to the war. In 1963 he voted for the \$47 billion military appropriations bill (HR 7179). There were already 10,000 troops in Vietnam and a large part of this \$47 billion was to be used in Southeast Asia. In 1964 he voted in favor of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution which was the basis for Congressional approval of the war. In the same year he voted for a special \$1.58 billion appropriation specifically for the war effort in Vietnam. In the meantime he joined in the efforts to block attempts by other Senators to pass amendments to limit military funding. In that same year, Senator Kennedy was reelected to office spending another estimated \$1.2 million in doing so. In 1966 when a group of Senators attempted to have the Tonkin Gulf resolution repealed, he voted with the majority of his colleagues to keep the resolution in effect! These are not the actions of a person who opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Ironically Ted Kennedy seems to give the impression of being opposed to the war. This "opposition" began in 1967 when he was head of the Senate subcommittee on refugees. From here he criticized the intolerable conditions of the Vietnamese homeless. His criticism was clearly a tactic, since his real concern was that a great number of these refugees were joining the NLF. He never opposed the war itself. In much the same way, he criticized the draft but then he never supported those who resisted it.

During the heyday of the anti-war movement, Ted Kennedy could not be found to make a statement. Clearly a man who has trouble making up his mind, because taking a strong position means trouble from one side or another. Today this man feels he has perfected his occupation to such a point that he can lead this troubled nation forward. Or has he got more of the same old stuff in a more appealing package?

In July of 1969, Senator Edward Kennedy met near political disaster in the drowning death of Mary Jo Kopechne. Supposedly, the only person who had firsthand knowledge of exactly what had happened the evening of July 18 through the morning of July 19 concerning Miss Kopechne's death. We are expected to believe the Senator's less than complete testimony. Ten years later, the glaring inconsistencies in testimonies of witnesses and members of Kennedy's entourage remain as one of the century's great unsolved mysteries. However, what is no mystery, even from the initial inquest into the tragedy, is that Ted Kennedy was believed to have operated his motor vehicle negligently. In the wake of judges retiring, official denials, buck-passing and total confusion dealing with the death of a young woman, Senator Edward Kennedy was set free.

Today we find Ted Kennedy, still Senator of Massachusetts and still maintaining the same profile -- a liar, cheat and major enemy of the workers and youth. He is busy trying to pass a bill (S.1722) which will make it much easier for the government to attack youth and militant workers who oppose this old order. And he is campaigning for the Presidency.

Yes, this is the kind of man the U.S. ruling class is looking for. "Charismatic," arrogant, ruthless, and above all a strong-arm of repression. The role of the youth in the 1980 Presidential elections is to not allow this treachery to pass without a political confrontation. For a Revolutionary Alternative. The youth can put an end to the Kennedys and the traitorous "workers leaders." For a Revolutionary Army -- the Revolutionary Youth International.

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