

International Workers Organizer

International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction
Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International
/e-mail: fltinternational@ymail.com • www.flti-ci.org



SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

September 2020

Accompanied by the support, the solidarity and the greetings of hundreds of revolutionary workers and dozens of currents and organizations of the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat...

*We, Trotskyists of the Collective for the
Re-foundation of the Fourth International/ FLTI*

Pay tribute to comrade Leon Trotsky

**80 years after his murder
at the hands of Stalinism**



- Revisionism and opportunism liquidated the Fourth International
- Our fight for its Re-foundation under the 1938 Program

Presentation

Last August 22 and 23, from the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI we paid our tribute to León Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International.

In this tribute, promoted by “El Organizador Obrero Internacional” (International Workers Organizer) the FLTI newspaper, we were surrounded by dozens of currents, internationalist organizations of the world working class and hundreds of Trotskyist militants who participated in it. Together with all of them, we fight daily against this rotten world capitalist system and the treacherous leaderships that support it. This tribute was paid via teleconference and in it dozens of interventions, greetings and messages from all the organizations that accompanied us in these days were expressed. They were also present to pay tribute to Trotsky 80 years after his assassination.

We were accompanied by organizations and militants from currents that are in the forefront of huge battles of the world proletariat. This shows that Trotskyism and Trotskyists have begun to break our isolation, imposed by the successive and cruel partial defeats to which the treacherous leaderships led the various assaults that the masses have been leading since 2008 in the face of the catastrophe of the world capitalist system. With this second outbreak of capitalism manifest

bankruptcy in 2019-2020, and the consequent deepening of the terrible sufferings of the masses, here and there, under these objective conditions, the exploited are waging enormous battles, uprisings, and revolutionary offensives. At times class clashes are diverted and betrayed by reformist leaderships. Other times, these fights resurface with greater momentum.

The “siren songs” of reformism and its perfidious policy of class collaboration are followed by hard blows from fascism, whether generalized as in Bolivia or by winning the streets against the rising workers, as in the United States or Lebanon, where the bourgeoisie of Hezbollah tries to crush the revolution that started there. Imperialism threatens to bring “new Syrias” and bloody massacres to the revolutionary processes that are underway. Here and there the “social peace” is exhausted. Class reconciliation is already unbearable. “Reformism without reforms” accompanies the crises of parliamentarism as soul to body. Decisive clashes are underway that will be defined in the streets and in the civil war among classes.



The mechanisms of deception of the bourgeois regimes and the “siren songs” of class collaboration are overcome by strong blows from the left of the masses. This has happened in the USA, where renegades of Trotskyism, Stalinists and various social-imperialists were hanging on the coattails of Sanders (who was trying to bring the martyred exploited to the feet of the Democratic Party) when they were surprised by the uprising of the black people and the whole of the American working class. The masses are attacking the police stations and begin to organize themselves in combats against fascism in the fire streets of Portland, Wisconsin, etc. This clearly paints the crisis of reformism.

None of the revolutionary actions of the masses that are underway, whether in the Middle East

Table of Contents

* Main speeches of the Trotskyists of the FLTI

- Presentation of the tribute days, by comrade Martín 6
- Speech from Madrid by Paula Medrano, leader of the Spanish State Workers' Democracy and the FLTI 8
- Speech by Carlos Munzer, leader of the FLTI and director of the paper The International Workers' Organizer 10
- Speech by Alejandro Villarruel, leader of Avanzada Obrera - Black List of the Río Santiago Shipyard in Argentina, adherent to the FLTI 21

* Salutes and speeches of Trotskyists and internationalist organizations from all over the world

- From Idlib, Syria, intervention by Steif Abu Izen, correspondent for the paper “The Truth of the Oppressed” 23
- Speech by Abu Muad, from the editorial committee of the paper “The Truth of the Oppressed” 24
- From Japan, salute by the JRCL-RMF 25
- Speech by Shiva Mahbobi, spokesperson of the organization “Campaign for the Freedom for the Political Prisoners in Iran” 26

- From France, salute by Claude Marill, member of the Unitary Intersindical Tendency, Emancipation (education branch) 27
- Speech by James Sakala, leader of WIL of Zimbabwe and the FLTI 28

* Salutes from sectors of the vanguard who are facing the attack of the murderous states

- Salute by Mario Gonzalez, father of Cesar Gonzalez (one of the 43 students disappeared by the state) representing the parents of Ayotzinapa 29
- Message from Claudia Pafundi, member of the “Commission of Condemned Workers, Relatives and Friends of Las Heras” (Argentina) 29
- From Bolivia, salutations of the Association of Dead, Wounded and Victims of the Senkata Massacre, El Alto - South Zone, La Paz 30

* From Latin America, homage to Leon Trotsky by the internationalist workers

- Israel Cervantes, a worker fired from GM Silao (Mexico) 31
- Greetings from Grupo Comuneros of Cali, Colombia 32
- Speech by Milenka López, by the LSTI of Bolivia 32

or in Africa, in Europe, in the Pacific, or in the Americas, were prepared or organized by this "New Left" made of Stalinists, bourgeois political swindlers and former Trotskyists tied to their fate.

An enormous process of radicalization is opening up within the world proletariat and in it Bolshevism is fighting and living, and also the possibility of regeneration of the revolutionary movement, on the condition that they fight hand in hand to reconstitute militant internationalism in the ranks of the world working class.

How can we then forget to mention here, the greeting sent by comrades from the **"Association of Victims, Dead and Wounded of the Senkata Massacre"** who accompanied us, raising their demands for justice and fighting against the murderous Bolivian state.

Comrade **Claude Marill from the "Emancipation" Unitary Inter-union Tendency of France** also sent his greetings, he who for decades has been fighting in the heart of the French proletariat.

On the day of tribute to Trotsky we read the letter sent by the comrades of the **JRCL-RMF, the revolutionary Marxists of Japan.**

The Trotskyists of the FLTI were not alone in this tribute. From the heart of the civil war, from encircled Idlib and divided Syria, comrades of the **revolutionary and internationalist fraction of the partisans of the Syrian revolution** took part in our tribute.

From the Iranian resistance, one of the toughest class wars of the exploited against the exploiters, came a greeting from comrade **Shiva Mahbobi, spokeswoman for the organization "Campaign for the Freedom of Political Prisoners of Iran."**

Trotskyist workers from Africa, both from Zimbabwe and Marikana, paid tribute to Trotsky, as well as comrade **"Cheo" Navarro,** leader of the FLTI, **who was a member of the Simón Bolívar Brigade** that went to fight in the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979.

All of them will be presented below, together with leaders of the **"National, Trade Union and Popular Coordinator" of Colombia who are fighting for the general strike, workers dismissed from the GM of Mexico** and comrade **Mario González, father of one of the 43 disappeared teaching school students from Ayotzinapa,** among others who were present at this tribute.

An era of counter-reformism has already opened. As Trotsky affirmed, a Marxist current that in a situation like this is not capable of finding a way toward the masses, deserves to die. Such is the challenge that we Trotskyists take up in this

tribute we paid to Comrade Trotsky, 80 years after his assassination.

We present below the different interventions and greetings that were part of these intense days, grouped by blocks and not necessarily the order they had in the tribute to Trotsky, for a better organization of the concepts expressed there and to highlight the valuable messages of the participants who accompanied us.

The Trotskyists of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI pay our tribute to Leon Trotsky reaffirming that the program, the theory and the strategy of Trotskyism have passed the test of history, but the Trotskyists have not.

We defined the moment and our struggle to recover and refound the Fourth International. We made a historical balance sheet of the great battles of Trotskyism and also of the thousand attempts of entire generations that from 1940 on, sought to retake the course of the founders of the Fourth International.

We reaffirm, however, speaking to the new generations of the international revolutionary movement, that **these attempts failed as a result of revisionism, opportunism and adaptations to Stalinism and other treacherous leaderships.**

This led the forces that speak in the name of Trotskyism today, 80 years after his assassination, to be paying tribute to Trotsky, as happened in São Paulo, along with his executioners, with opportunist wings of Cuban Stalinism that try to "dress in red" and to cover up the former Castroist bureaucracy, which as a new ruling class is getting rich at the expense of Cuban workers (after betraying the revolution throughout the Americas) with Trotsky's figure. When we talk about this we refer to a recently appeared group named "Commune", which has been dressed as a leftist by all the renegades of Trotskyism who ultimately ended up paying homage to Trotsky with those who yesterday received in Havana Mercader, the hitman who assassinated the founder of the Fourth International, with honors and fanfare. So low, the liquidators of Trotskyism have carried the clean banners of the Fourth International. All of them are part of a "New Left" where ex-Trotskyists coexist alongside remnants of the social democracy and the forces of the old Communist Parties that the bourgeois regimes have preserved as internal police in the unions and workers' organizations in a large part of the countries of the world.

Comrade **Martín,** a member of the FLTI, referred to these issues at the presentation of these two days of tribute. Likewise, comrade **Paula Medrano,** from Democracia Obrera (Workers' Democracy) of the Spanish State and leader of the FLTI, intervened from Madrid re-

Special Dossier International Workers Organizer



[Download PDF](#)

garding the fight of Trotskyism in the 1930s and the founding of the Fourth International.

Comrade **Carlos Munzer, leader of the FLTI and director of the newspaper "El Organizador Obrero Internacional"** closed the first day, making a historical balance of 80 years of struggle and attempts to resume the fight of the founders of the Fourth International and also of 80 years of selling out by revisionism and opportunism of the flags and of our world party. The fight against revisionism and liquidationism in the Fourth International was the central axis of his intervention.

Comrade **Alejandro Villarruel,** a member of the Advanced Workers group of the Rio Santiago Shipyard (ARS) (Argentina), completed this vision by stating how the crisis of the Fourth International, which was liquidated and dissolved even organizationally by revisionism and opportunism, is a decisive factor that has exacerbated the crisis of leadership of the world working class in moments of open bankruptcy of the capitalist system. This has aggravated the contradiction between objective factors, more than mature for the proletarian revolution, and the crisis of leadership, which is nothing more than the overabundance of treacherous leaderships that at every step undo and disorganize what the masses build in their revolutionary struggles. .

We were accompanied in this tribute to Trotsky by the revolutionary Marxists of the

Pacific, the comrades of the **Revolutionary Communist League of Japan - Revolutionary Marxist Fraction (JRCL-RMF)**, with whom we from the FLTI maintain a fighting bloc, fighting in common at the international level. The comrades of the JRCL-RMF vindicated Trotsky's unwavering combat against Stalinism and put forward their own historical vision of Trotskyism, as the reader will be able to see in the letter from the Japanese revolutionaries that we are publishing.

As we have already said, we were able to pay tribute to Trotsky together with these comrades because together we fought in Hong Kong, in Syria, in Chile, in China against the Stalinist beast that became a new ruling class and also in the anti-Stalinist and anti-imperialist class battles of the Ukrainian working class.

Our struggle to set up an international bloc that allows the reconstitution of militant internationalism in the world working class finds in the JRCL-RMF one of its main promoters. Their support for the political prisoners of Las Heras, their decisive campaign of struggle alongside the Chilean rebel youth, marching to the embassy of that country in Tokyo not long ago, their fight for the Syrian masses and their solidarity with the Leon Sedov Brigade, are a clear example of this internationalist praxis, which on our part we seek to conquer throughout the world labor movement. This practice is the opposite of the renegades of Trotskyism's, who on "festive days" gather in pompous congresses where they swear fidelity to Marxism and to the theory and program of the Fourth International, and then betray them every day in their respective countries.

For the reader who will enter our website to see all the videos, greetings and messages from these days, we want to highlight the interventions of comrades from Syria and the Middle East. **The Trotskyists fighting in the civil war, on the front lines of the events of revolution and counterrevolution in the Middle East, paid their tribute to 80 years of the assassination of Trotsky.** That is why we reproduce the intervention of **Abu Muad**, from the newspaper "The Truth of the Oppressed", who referred to the combat of the Leon Sedov Brigade in the Syrian revolution, the tribute to its martyrs and the fight at the international level against all currents of the renegades of Trotskyism.

Then came from **Syria, comrade Steif Abu Izen**, correspondent for "The Truth of the Oppressed", who from the heart of "*the free land of the Syrian revolution in Idlib*" addressed us on this 80th anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, denouncing the selling out and massacre of the revolution and raising the need to unite and coordinate all the revolutionaries of the world, from Syria to Lebanon to Chile to Europe.

Comrade **Silvia from Brazil, a member of the Editorial Committee of "The Truth of the Oppressed"** and comrade **Amir Hakim**

Al Amery from Naples, a tireless fighter for the Syrian revolution and the entire Middle East in Europe, also spoke to pay homage to Comrade Trotsky.

As part of this fight for militant internationalism against the treacherous leaderships, the voice of the resistance of the Iranian proletariat that today is fighting against the counterrevolutionary regime of the ayatollahs could not be absent. Comrade **Shiva Mahbobi, spokeswoman for the organization "Campaign for the Freedom of Political Prisoners of Iran" (CFPPI)**, spoke at these days in tribute to Leon Trotsky, claiming the need for international solidarity to combat dictators and oppressors like the ones of the Iranian clergy regime. The comrades of the "Campaign for the Freedom of the Political Prisoners of Iran" come to carry out, on 06/20, an international day for the freedom of all comrades who are imprisoned by the Ayatollah regime, which we support and are also promoting from the FLTI.

Regarding this fight for the freedom of Iranian political prisoners and against executions, we reproduce the greeting that leaders of the Black Vests of France sent to that day of 06/20.

We reproduce the letter in tribute to Trotsky sent from **France by Claude Marill**, a fighter for years in French Trotskyism, who was a fighter for the independence of Algeria against French imperialism, a former founding militant of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) of the Unified Secretariat and current member of the "Emancipation" Unitary Inter-union Tendency (from the education sector).

Comrade **James Sakala, a dismissed worker and delegate in the David Whitehead textile factory in Zimbabwe and leader of the Zimbabwe WIL and the FLTI**, was part of this journey for the 80th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination from **Black Africa**. The comrade referred to the fight to unite the black working class from Africa to the US, following the slave route. From the WIL of Zimbabwe, they actively participated in the enormous strike and struggle of the Marikana workers in South Africa, where they maintain an enormous job under the banners of Trotskyism in the depths of the Anglo-American mines.

From Colombia, we received the intervention of comrade **Sinforoso "Cheo" Navarro, leader of the FLTI, a former member of the Simón Bolívar Brigade** who went to fight the Nicaraguan revolution in the late 1970s. In this tribute to Leon Trotsky, the comrade vindicated this internationalist experience in which he was



Mobilization of JRCL-RMF and Zengakuren youth in Japan

a protagonist, also clearly marking the lessons and strategic differences with the policy carried out by the Morenoite current.

From Latin America, prominent and advanced sectors of the Latin American working class are fighting against imperialism, who are in an open process of rupture with the old union bureaucracies, Stalinists and agents of the bourgeoisie in the movement, took part in this day in homage to Trotsky.

Comrade **Carlos García, leader of the International Committee of the "National, Trade Union and Popular Coordinator" of Colombia**, presented the resolution took by its more than 70 member organizations to call for a "Continental Gathering of Workers' Organizations and All Those Who Fight", which has been published in the latest issue of "El Organizador Obrero Internacional" ("International Workers Organizer").

Other members of the National Coordinator of Colombia also took the floor, such as Edgar Ospina from the group "Democracia Directa" (Direct Democracy), founder of the Colombian PST and the LIT and prominent leader of the Morenoite current during the 1980s. He greeted the audience and raised the balance elaborated by his current on the crisis of the Trotskyist movement. This position was the subject of a debate and was answered by different interventions that we will soon make public, as part of a balance of the principled break we made with the MAS and the LIT-CI in 1988 from the TBI. That is because 80 years after the assassination of Trotsky, the trenches between reformism and Trotskyism must be established, black on white, before the vanguard of the world proletariat.

From **Cali, Colombia**, the comrades of the "**Comuneros**" Group sent their message in homage to Comrade Trotsky and to comrades and fighters who fell in the fight against the Duque government and the regime of the 9 US military bases.

From **Mexico**, comrade **Israel Cervantes, a worker fired from General Motors in Silao**, took the floor to pay tribute to Trotsky, from the maquiladoras where imperialism super-exploits the working class.

As a decisive contribution to the current combat of the working class in the American continent, the comrades of the **LSTI of Bolivia /FLTI**, elaborated on the thousand and one opportunities that Trotskyism had, mainly in the acute battles of the Bolivian working class such as the revolutions of 1952 and 1971, and the balance sheet of the intervention of the forces of the Fourth International in those events.

In addition, in these days of tribute emotional greetings were heard that cried out for justice for the martyrs of the working class and endorsed the fight of the Trotskyists who suffered the massacre in the prisons of the old USSR and the murder of leaders of the Fourth International as Leon Trotsky, Rudolph Klement and Leon Sedov, at the hands of Stalinism.

Thus, **they paid tribute to Comrade Trotsky who suffered in their own flesh the massacre, the persecution, the jail and the most cruel attacks of the murderous bourgeois states, as did from Bolivia members of the "Association of Victims, Dead and Wounded of the Senkata Massacre"**. Also taking part in this tribute to Trotsky were comrades from the **Commission of Condemned Workers of Las Heras, their Relatives and Friends** and comrade **Mario González, father of César Manuel, one of the 43 disappeared teaching school students from Ayotzinapa (Mexico)**. Likewise, comrade Lourdes Hidalgo, an immigrant worker in Argentina and a survivor of the massacre at the Luis Viale clandestine textile factory, intervened giving an account of her struggle, raising the cry of the black people and the US workers of "no justice, no peace".

The second day of tribute to Trotsky was presented by a video of comrade **Jorge Terracota, an internationalist revolutionary who collaborates with "The International Workers Organizer"** with his opinion columns, making real contributions of Marxism against reformism and the struggle for militant internationalism. As a revolutionary personality, he has waged an enormous battle for the Syrian revolution and the heroic fighters of the Leon Sedov Brigade in it.

These two days of tribute culminated with the intervention of Comrade Carlos Munzer, who closed the event, specifying that the physical attack on Comrade Trotsky was part of a counter-revolutionary civil war organized by imperialism through social democracy and Stalinism against the leaders of the revolutionary internationalist fraction of the world working class in the 20th century.

The tragedy of the abandonment of the international center of Coyoacán by the old leaders who deserted after the assassination of Trotsky, returned to their countries and left the national sections adrift and isolated during the war.

This is what started the process of degeneration of the Fourth International during the Second World War, an issue that worsened throughout the 20th century to the present day.

In this final intervention, the policy of the renegades of Trotskyism who marched to unified parties with or directly raised the program of Stalinism was denounced. Stalinism has once again raised its head, reintroduced by the bourgeois states in the leadership of the unions and mass organizations in all the world. The tragedy is that the forces claiming to be "Trotskyist" accompanied Stalinism to its grave in 1989 and later revived it as Lazarus and supported it from the left, as has already been fully demonstrated.

In its great majority, "Trotskyism", in the 21st century, operated a definitive passage to the camp of reformism. Their regrouping in Havana with a wing of political impostors of Castroism and Stalinism is the most reliable proof that a liquidationist current revolted against the foundational bases of the Fourth International and seeks not to leave any traces of them. These currents support Sanders who is preparing a death trap against the revolutionary struggle of the American working class. With the excuse of publishing a book by Trotsky in Havana, they whitewash Cuban Castroism's blood-stained dirty clothes. As part of the PSOL, the NPA and other "anti-capitalist" currents, they serve and support the old Bolivarian bourgeoisies, the left-wing union bureaucracies and the regimes of imperialist European Union. Everyone is embracing the fascist al-Assad and his bloody counterrevolutionary policy, and all this has led the Fourth International to the most serious crisis of its entire existence.

They have crossed the Rubicon. They are with Stalinism theoretically, politically and organizationally. They are together with the Kurdish Stalinist Communist Party (PKK) -therefore they are tied to world Stalinism- which put the Kurdish people and their YPGs to act as a fifth-column in the Syrian revolution, and then as direct agents of the US imperialists, defending its oil companies in northern Syria, under the orders of the US military bases in Rojava.

Carlos Munzer affirmed in his speech that the situation of the Fourth International presents a bleak scenario, but at the same time he stated that the worsening of the objective conditions of the class struggle at every step has made reformism blow up and they will continue to do so, without letting it live in peace. In the processes of radicalization of the masses, new detachments of the proletariat seek a path to militant internationalism and revolution. There we Trotskyists will find our way to the masses, without looking for shortcuts or the line of least resistance.



Association of Victims Dead and Injured of the Senkata Massacre (Bolivia)

Our homage then culminated in our commitment to recover the Fourth International, our world party, driven to the mud of ignominy and betrayal by years and decades of adaptations, reformism and opportunism. The struggle to re-found the Fourth International is inseparable from recovering its clean flags because it is what the working class needs in this historical epoch of crises, crash, wars, revolutions and fascism we are living in.

This last intervention, which is accompanied by the validity of the key issues on the program of the Fourth International, will be published soon in this section of tribute to Trotsky and also in the section on polemics with the reformist left of our website, as part from a balance sheet of the Fourth International, 80 years after the assassination of Trotsky

We invite the comrades who enter our website to read this tribute that represents a step forward in the struggle to re-found the Fourth International, knowing that for this new historical period our current, maintaining the revolutionary lessons of the litmus tests of the world class struggle of the last decades, is breaking its isolation, leaving behind all the opportunistic pressures to look for shortcuts and easy ways to build itself, as well as any pressure to the sectarian decomposition of political invalids who will never reach the battlefield, such as our Transition Program raises.

We have earned the just hatred of traitors hanging on the coattails of Stalinism and the bourgeois parliaments and of vendors of old formulas already defeated by Marxism, presented today as saving panaceas. They won't stop us.

In these days we have taken a step forward. The forces that we presented in these days are the forces that the FLTI fights alongside with every day. They bring us closer and closer to the key focal points of the world proletariat, deepening our struggle to regroup Trotskyist cadres in order to lay the foundations to begin fighting for the new vanguard insurrectionary Bolshevik parties in the hot spots of the world revolution. •

Main speeches of the Trotskyists of the FLTI

Presentation of the tribute days, by comrade Martín

(excerpts)

“The tribute to Trotsky in São Paulo with Cuban Stalinism has united the renegades of Trotskyism with the Casotrite who persecute and murdered the Trotskyists”

Comrades, we are starting the first day in homage to comrade Leon Trotsky, assassinated at the hands of a Stalinist KGB agent, namely Ramón Mercader.

We believe that this activity is fundamental, because we consider that the combat the Fourth International gave, its program, its strategic and theoretical legacy, are still more valid today than ever. (...)

In these days we will try to demonstrate what was the fight that Trotsky and the Trotskyists gave, the internationalist revolutionary Marxists who carried out the historical task that culminated in the founding of the Fourth International.

But we are seeing in these days different talks and conferences around Trotsky and, fundamentally, we humbly believe that what those who today honor Trotsky are doing has the objective of castrating the program of revolutionary Marxism and Trotskyism, nicking its revolutionary edge and leaving Trotsky and the Trotskyists as harmless icons.

The bourgeoisie has done just that with every revolutionary and all sectors in history that fought in defense of the oppressed worldwide throughout the history of mankind. First, in life they persecute them, slander them, falsify them, denigrate them, revile them and, once they are dead, they try to surround them with a harmless halo only with the aim of appeasing the oppressed and transforming those revolutionaries whom they had chased and killed tirelessly into herbivorous lions or icons that do no harm.

But we want to stop fundamentally at one

of the conferences in particular, among those that have been held by different organizations that claim to be Trotskyist, which is the one that has just been held in São Paulo, Brazil, under the name of “Mario Pedroza”.

That conference had a precedent in the “Leon Trotsky Encounter” held in Havana, convened by a person named Frank Hernández who, precisely, is the son of militants of the Stalinist Communist Party of Cuba.

Comrades, there, in Cuba, capitalism has just been restored. It was in Cuba that Stalinism, led by Fidel and Raul Castro, harbored León Trotsky's murderer, Ramón Mercader, honored by Stalinism in the USSR with the Medal of Honor for having fulfilled that counter-revolutionary role.

They got together last year and are getting together again today, not by chance in São Paulo. This huge regrouping that is rising today, has united, not the Trotskyists paying homage to Trotsky, but unfortunately, it united those who want to speak in the name of Trotskyism together with those who have persecuted, murdered, imprisoned and massacred him, the



Trotskyists and whatever revolutionary factions have risen up in the world since the beginning of the 20th century.

It's not by chance. We just have a huge problem. All the conferences that the left is holding aim to define the crisis of leadership that the world working class has today. But what they are trying to hide is what we are going to define in these two days the FLTI is paying homage to León Trotsky.

We must remember that in the 19th century when the working class began to swell its ranks, and began to strengthen as a class, it did so by entering the fight against the bourgeoisie as a homogeneous class, because it had understood that it was a single class on a world level. That is, it understood in its combat that it could not fight in each country,

other than fighting as an international working class.

Militant internationalism was one of the central foundations for which the working class fought. One of the greatest examples in the 19th century is the fight for the eight hours, which ended with comrades Chicago martyrs hanged on America's gallows. On May Day, all of us workers remember our martyrs.

In the 19th century, when Marxism entered into political struggle and fought internationally with anarchist currents such as that of Bakunin, such as that of Proudhon, with which they fought in common, for example in the Paris Commune, where the working class took Heaven by storm in Paris but could not advance to take and destroy the citadel of power in the whole France and, from Versailles, the bourgeoisie regrouped and conspired together with the Prussian bourgeoisie, and advanced and murdered all the revolutionary workers of the Paris Commune.

No one at that time would have come up with the idea that currents that were then debating very fraternally though without diplomacy about what was the best program for the proletariat's struggle to achieve victory, would end up in persecution, slander, even imprisonment.

We did see this in the twentieth century, as it happened with the social democracy, when the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party led by Kautsky, allowed the entrance to that slaughterhouse where the workers killed each other on behalf of the imperialist powers in the First World War, against what revolutionary workers such as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg rose up. Their fundamental war cry was "the enemy is at home" because, precisely, the enemy that had to be destroyed was German imperialism.

There, what Marxism in the imperialist era called the "split of socialism" took place, because the decadent phase of agony and decomposition of capitalism is sustained, not by the strength of its armies, by the strength of its general staff, or due to the strength of its employers' political parties; it was sustained and continues to be so up to this day, precisely because it corrupts and buys the upper layers of the labor bureaucracy and aristocracy, and they are not only embodied in Stalinism and social democracy, but also in the union bu-

reaucracy against which workers and youth fight on a daily basis worldwide.

Precisely, the crisis of leadership that none of the currents that come together to pay tribute to Trotsky today can explain, is that there is a sector, which consists of the upper layers of the working class that have been bought and corrupted to deceive, to dent the edge of the fighting of the working class and, finally, after demoralizing and dismantling them, putting them at the feet of the bourgeoisie. Against that first split of socialism, which was that of social democracy, the Third International stood up, headed by Liebknecht, Trotsky and Lenin, who demonstrated to the working class that power could be seized as was done in Russia in 1917 and they also showed the world working class that heaven could be taken by storm. While the social democracy said that capitalism and its states were empty shells that could be filled with a content that was now bourgeois, then worker and that by advancing in an evolutionary way, socialism could be conquered peacefully.

This enormous treacherous theory, later taken into their hands by Stalinism, was precisely what led, in its hands, to corrupt the Third International. (...)

And after the victorious revolution in Russia was isolated, after the revolutionary processes of 1918-19 were defeated together with the revolution of the Workers' Councils in Germany, of 1921-22 and 1923-24, they allowed the bourgeoisie to surround the Workers' State. And, in that isolation, a privileged layer incarnated in Stalinism arose, against which the International Leninist Bolshevik Left Opposition, headed by Comrade Leon Trotsky stood up (...)

Comrades. They have just met in São Paulo, precisely where in 1997 a huge counter revolutionary international was set up that gave sustenance and new life to Stalinism that in 1989 fell and handed over the workers' states



Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht

that we had in a third of the planet. In 1997 the Sao Paulo Forum was set up first and then the World Social Forum later, which included bourgeois leaderships such as Chavismo, such as Aristide from Haiti, such as General Gutiérrez from Ecuador, even with Lula, who later ruled like everyone else. We have known Brazil for 13 years and he handed that country over to imperialism and gave up the entire struggle of the labor movement in the '70s and '80s.

Those who gather in São Paulo today are led by Stalinism in Cuba that has just handed over the Workers' State to the US imperialists. Precisely in 2008, Stalinism with Fidel and Raul Castro, made a deal with Obama, the Democratic Party president of the USA at that time and handed the island over to Coca-Cola and Cargill. It is no coincidence that now they want to dress up as Trotskyists and pay their tribute as they are doing today in São Paulo.

We are going to do the opposite, because we want to show that the program and strategy of the Fourth International and its theory have passed the test and are now more relevant than ever and that is why it is the only place from which we can speak to the working class, because it is the only place from which an unblemished flag to fight for and with which to succeed (...)

Comrades, let us advance in this reflection, on this journey that seeks to give the combatants of the world working class an unblemished flag to fight for which, for us, today more than ever, is that of the Fourth International founded in 1939. •

[See full presentation](#)

Speech from Madrid by Paula Medrano, leader of the Spanish State Workers' Democracy and the FLTI (excerpts)

*“Why were the Trotskyists so persecuted?
Because they were the ones who fiercely fought to defeat the Stalinist
bureaucracy that expropriated the struggle of the USSR proletariat.”*

Good afternoon. I have a difficult task. It is not easy to talk about how the Fourth was founded; about the enormous struggle that the Trotskyists waged in the 1930s and about what happened after the assassination of Leon Trotsky. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 and was a synthesis of the historical experience and the continuity of scientific socialism of two generations: one that in 1902 in Russian Marxism, and since 1905 in German Marxism, stood up to face the betrayal of reformism in the World War I, which led to the slaughter of the world proletariat; and the other, the generation that survived that combat and confronted Stalinism.



Paula Medrano, of the leadership of the FLTI-CI

Today we can see, in the tributes being paid to Trotsky all over the world, that everyone speaks of “Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International” as something romantic. They even present him as one more fighter for socialism. The discourses of the different currents of the renegades of Trotskyism that one could see in these days are full of clichés. But the reality was different. The fight to found the Fourth International was not a bed of roses. It was riddled with stabs from the back of Stalinism, from the Moscow Trials, where they murdered the best of the Bolshevik fighters, where they sent thousands of them to concentration camps.

As comrade Martín said, when the Fourth International was founded in September 1938, just a few months before, in February, Leon Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov -who was the one who organized the Left Opposition from exile-, was assassinated on Stalin's orders.

Why so much fury? Why so much persecution of the Trotskyist movement? Why were we persecuted all over the world? Because, for those who do not know, Trotsky, for a long time, did not have a visa. He was exiled around the world, until he was able to get one in Mexico.

Why did they persecute us so much? Because the Trotskyists fought to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy. Because they were the ones who denounced that Stalinism was expropriating the struggle of the proletariat of the USSR. Because the Trotskyists knew that removing the Stalinist bureaucracy from the Workers State was part of the struggle for world revolution.

We were persecuted because we were the ones fighting to set up a new International, and to recover that proletarian internationalism which existed before Stalinism liquidated the Third International. Anyone will remember that in order to conquer the 8 hours, world strikes were carried out. That proletarian internationalism was the one that liquidated Stalinism, and for which Trotskyism left blood, sweat and tears to put it back on its feet. (...)

We were the only ones who argued that no conquest could be maintained if the working class did not take power. And at that moment, the key

of the Stalinists and reformists was to take away from the working class its struggle towards the seizure of power.

We're going to go a little further back. From the mid/late 20's. Stalinism emerged from the decomposition due to the isolation of the Workers' State, and what it did was to carry to the end what social democracy had not been able to achieve at the beginning of the 20th century, which was to liquidate the revolutionary internationalist fraction of the world proletariat. That is what Stalinism did with the assassination of Trotsky and the persecution of all Trotskyists.

Trotsky and all the Bolshevik old guard suffered the same as the masses and the German and European proletariat who could not seize power. They suffered the same conditions of resistance and suffering as the masses of the USSR, who had already exhausted their energies after having been fighting for 4 years in a huge battle against 14 imperialist armies. Those conditions were the ones that led to the emergence of a cynical counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, which led the Workers' State, OUR Workers' State, to its complete degeneration.

From there on, Trotsky and the Trotskyists, from within the USSR, fought tooth and nail to recover the Third International. They made the Left Opposition, and were, as always, persecuted by Stalinism.

Leon Trotsky and the Trotskyists aimed to put back on their feet a new Kienthal and Zimmerwald, the same one who in 1914 stood up and faced the betrayal of the Social Democracy that voted for war credits in World War I, but now they wanted to do so to prepare the struggle for the Seizure of Power in World War II, after it and in the whole subsequent historical period. That is why they wanted to stand up and fight to found the Fourth International.

80 years after Trotsky was executed, what we want to denounce today is the falsehood and the imposture of the renegades of Trotskyism about the revolutionary positions and the combat that Trotsky and the Trotskyists gave. Because this is not about clichés. This is not about ro-

mance. It is about the Program and how we do so that the working class seizes power.

So, to pay homage to Trotsky and the Trotskyists is to take into our hands the lessons that Trotskyism left in its struggle against Stalinism and fight for the proletariat to also take them.

We have seen thousands of examples from the whole left and the renegades of Trotskyism in particular of calling to vote for Evo Morales in Bolivia, of asking for the millions of votes that Chávez needed, of handing over the Transitional Program to Chávez... The problem these people have is that, the slogan, the fundamental principle of Trotsky and the Trotskyists who fought to found the Fourth was to fight against all class collaboration. One of the greatest lessons of the Fourth, and which can be seen in the Transition Program, is the struggle against the Popular Front, whether in France or Spain.

Comrades, in Spain Stalinism said -and later we will see that today the renegades of Trotskyism propose the same thing- that to win the war against Franco it was necessary to ask for arms from the "democratic imperialisms". Doesn't that sound familiar? Because if we look at the LIT-CI statement when the Syrian revolution began, they say the same.

On the other hand, the Trotskyists in the 30's proposed that, to win the war against Franco, it was necessary to expropriate the bourgeoisie and take power. We proposed the same thing for Syria, and said that the most powerful missile that the Syrian working class had was that of expropriation.

Notice that now everyone is talking about "fascism" with a lightness that makes your hair stand on end. But in the 1930s, Trotskyism knew that the fate of the world working class was at stake in the struggle of the Spanish working class. It put all its forces and organized militias from all over the world to fight against fascism; TO COMBAT, comrades, not "to discuss", as the left is proposing today.

What the Trotskyists proposed in the 30's is nothing different from what we have proposed in relation to Syria, for example, when we said that all the international workers' organizations had to organize brigades to fight against the fascist Al Assad and his allies.

But look: Stalinism, which was the one that threw him over the edge and subjected the working class of the Spanish state to the Popular Front, the one that murdered not only the Trotskyists but also the anarchists, is the same one that the renegades of Trotskyism are paying homage today. 80 years later!

The Trotskyists did not only fight against this policy of the Popular Front. They also fought against Stalin's policy that led the Communist Party to enter as the "left wing" of the Koumintang in China. The Koumintang was the bourgeois nationalist movement. Its leader, Chiang Kai Shek, was invited as "honorary president" to the congresses of the Stalinist Third International. (...)

Another important struggle and lesson left by the program of Trotskyism and the Fourth International was the fight against centrism, which, at every step, tried to abort the left turn of broad layers of the working class. It was the fight against the POUM, for example, here in the Spanish State; the French turn in France; and a fight against the Single Fronts from above of Stalinism and Social Democracy that were strangling the road to the General Strike in England at the end of the 1920's; and of course, as I said before, against Stalinism in Germany, which, with its "Third period" policy, sold the proletariat out, divided and defeated before fascism. **It was Stalinism that allowed the emergence of fascism in Germany for having**



Meeting of the Left Opposition in Moscow 1927

sold out, divided and defeated the proletariat. That Stalinism is what the renegades of Trotskyism pay homage to today.

The Fourth International was founded as a continuity of Bolshevism facing the black night of Stalinism, fascism, the servility of the treacherous leaderships to the "democratic" imperialisms, which led to the tragedies of the defeats of the Spanish and French revolutions, and which subordinated the American and English working class to the imperialist butchers Roosevelt and Churchill.

We pay tribute, also today, not only to Leon Trotsky, but also to the Russian section of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, which faced the ignominies of Stalinism and Soviet bureaucracy from the prisons. The Russian section was centralized from the West by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, headed by Trotsky together with Cannon of the American SWP, Van Heijenoort, Rudolph Klement -the comrade who appeared floating on the Seine the day before the Congress of the foundation of the Fourth International. All of them, and many more, constituted an internationalist General Staff that gave continuity to the legacy of the Third International. (...)

Recently, documents from that Soviet section of the Fourth International were found; documents from those comrades who were part of Lenin and Trotsky's Party, but were resisting from the prisons. More than 130 Bolsheviks who were in the Ural prison, who were there from 1930 to 1933. Those comrades fought from prison for proletarian internationalism. They saw and posed the obligations of the Soviet workers to the German working class, because they saw that they would be crushed by Hitler. They asserted that in order for the USSR not to be crushed, the German working class had to take power; one of the fundamental lessons with which the Fourth International was founded. They called on the workers and soldiers of the Red Army to rise up against Stalin, to regroup their forces and to reach the gates of Germany so that the German working class would know that they were counting on the forces of the Soviet workers to crush Hitler. How different would history have been if the Fourth International had existed and had proposed that policy in relation to Syria! Today the comrades in Lebanon would not be fighting alone, nor separated from the Iranian working class, and the Palestinian flag would surely be flying over the entire Palestinian territory. (...)

That is why we want to pay tribute to those comrades in the Ural prison, who alone and in the worst conditions, like Trotsky, remained honest and internationalist revolutionaries. •

[See full speech](#)

Speech by Carlos Munzer, representing the Editorial Board of the paper The International Workers' Organizer, voice of the FLTI

“The greatest tribute that we can pay to Comrade Trotsky is to affirm that his greatest work is having founded the Fourth International together with thousands of revolutionary cadres in 1938.”



“If we manage to unite the working class every day and regain militant internationalism, we will create the best conditions to recover the Fourth International and refound it and set up vanguard revolutionary parties”

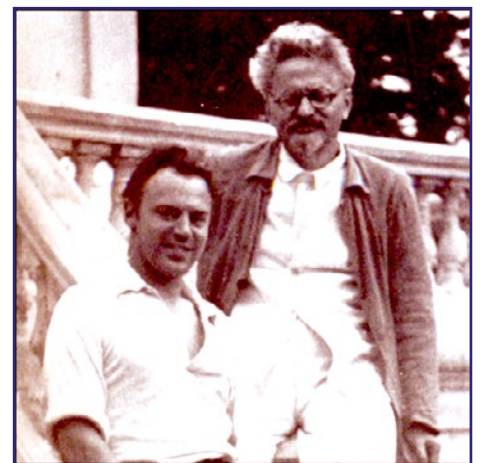
Comrades, we want to thank all of you who have joined us in this tribute that we are paying to our comrade Leon Trotsky. These have been two days of hearing and reading different speeches by leading internationalist organizations and militants of the world working class struggle. We have been surrounded by comrade representatives of the relatives of the heroic wounded, assassinated and political prisoners of Senkata, harshly repressed by the coup government of Añez. We have been able to listen to spokespersons of the heroic Iranian resistance and the struggle of the working class in the Mexican “maquilas”; the parents of the 43 disappeared by the Mexican murderous state; revolutionary militants among the Syrian partisans; personalities with an enormous combat tradition in the French proletariat; fighters of the most advanced organizations of the Colombian, Chilean and South African countries working class, as well as internationalist militants, revolutionary Marxists from Japan and leaders of the Editorial Board of “The International Workers Organizer” that has organized this tribute to Trotsky.

As it could not be other way, a period of crisis of reformism has once again opened that is attached to the bankruptcy of capitalism as the soul to the body. Reformism can no longer make miserable handouts appear as reforms before the working class. Class collaboration is no lon-

ger possible. Classes worldwide are entering a period that is not and will not be one of “social peace”, but rather of class war. We are in a historical period of counter-reform, which is and will not be anything other than the crisis of those who left neither traces nor tracks of continuity of revolutionary Marxism, that is, of the Fourth International.

I have seen and followed with attention the various tributes paid by currents claiming to be from the Trotskyist left, 80 years after Trotsky's assassination. None of them said and they all keep silent that our world party, the Fourth International, has been led to a terminal crisis. Only isolated currents and remnants remain of those that dissolved in the reformist parties or have directly adopted their program. The brutal crisis and liquidation of the Fourth International is a new obstacle in addition to those that the working class already has in resuming the path to socialist revolution.

It draws my attention the fact that they are not telling the truth to the Trotskyists and revolutionaries: the Fourth International, which three or four generations fought to build, failed because of opportunism, revisionism, and adaptation to treacherous leaderships. There is no thread of continuity left from the revolutionary lessons of the international proletarian struggles of decades. There is no thread of continuity left from the revo-



Leon Sedov and Leon Trotsky

lutionary lessons of the international proletariat's decades-long struggle. The currents that exist today are the result of brutal splits, whether in the post-war period as well as in 1989.

This has happened in a generalized way throughout the 21st century and especially in the last 2-3 years, with the neo-Trotskyist currents, breaking again and bursting into pieces around discussing how to give in and capitulate to the bourgeois regimes and Stalinism, as it happened with the ISO in the US that dissolved tied to the apron-strings of Sanders, the left agent of Wall Street.

The same happened with the group The Militant, which in its different variants has

been supporting imperialist social democracy and the worst of the native bourgeoisies in the semi-colonial world for decades. It is also the case of the PSTU of Brazil, which has lost a huge sector of its party that went to openly pro-Stalinist positions and is an ally of the PT and the PSOL.

Likewise, the Argentine Partido Obrero (Workers Party) has split after the experience it carried out in its "international current" together with the EEK of Greece and the DIP of Turkey, with whom they tried to set up a "revolutionary International" or "re-found the Third International" together with openly Stalinist parties such as the Unified Communist Party (OKP) of Mitina who is a secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the butcher Putin in Russia.

Let alone the FIT-U, which is the continuity of the old groups of Argentinean national-Trotskyism that had previously "splintered" and later united into a single party with the sole goal of rotating a couple of seats in the bourgeois Parliament.

Meanwhile, the so-called "anti-capitalists", who had renounced to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat decades ago, after years of openly betraying within Podemos and Syriza, they have now been thrown away, as waste after being used by those fronts of class collaboration, while in France they are on the verge of dissolution.

To speak about this crisis of the Fourth International is also to speak about the renegades of Trotskyism promoting open policies of class collaboration, subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, as is the case of the UIT-CI, which in Peru is within the Broad Front and had its leader Fernandez Chacon as a candidate of that front alongside old priests, imperialist NGOs and bourgeois environmental parties.

For its part, the LIT-CI, from its PST group in Colombia, has supported Gustavo Petro in the last presidential elections, a bourgeois candidate settled in the business chamber of Antioquia, an old informer and a man who sold out the Colombian resistance.

At the same time, from the PSOL of Brazil, Pedro Fuentes, the historical leader of Morenoism, was traveling to the United States to propose to the billionaire Sanders that he set up a "Socialist International". Meanwhile, all, absolutely all, the parties that speak on behalf of the Fourth International gave political support to the class collaboration front of the PT, Haddad and the church in Brazil, with the excuse of "facing Bolsonaro."

Let's tell the truth. The currents that have liquidated the Fourth International and come to embrace Stalinism and the waste of social democracy in the self-styled "New Left" have led the Fourth International to this prostration.

This crisis is undeniable. In the same way we see them now in the tributes to Trotsky that took place in São Paulo, in May last year all these currents traveled to Havana and in a solid thick wall classroom closed to the eyes of the Cuban workers and peasants -that is, behind their backs- they reconciled with Castroism. Cuban Stalinism today tries to praise the figure of Trotsky as a "personality of the socialist movement", as if this were a task of the same people who received Mercader with honors - as the Castro brothers did- when he was released from prison in Mexico in the 1950s, after assassinating Trotsky.

In the face of this, today we come to pay tribute to Comrade León Trotsky reaffirming that there is no other immediate task than to recover the Fourth International from those who led it into the mud of opportunism and servility to the bourgeoisie and its agents, and open the way to its revolutionary re-founding.

Comrades,

The greatest tribute that we can pay to Comrade Trotsky is to affirm that his greatest work is having founded the Fourth International in 1938 together with thousands of revolutionary militants. The World Party of the Socialist Revolution was the historical continuity of revolutionary Marxism that, since 1914, at the beginning of the First World War, regrouped its forces to confront the social-imperialist currents and later on Stalinism that betrayed one by one the revolutionary struggles of the working class.

Trotsky affirmed in 1940 that **the Fourth International entered the war as a "compact force"**. Revisionism in the Fourth International made a thousand and one attempts to falsify and erase his theoretical and programmatic legacy, but what life's experience shows is that the theory and program of Trotskyism passed the test; the Trotskyists, did not and that is why they burst into pieces before each lithmus test of the revolution and the counterrevolution.

The preservation of the Communist Parties by the bourgeoisie and the states in the leadership of the unions and workers' organizations of the world, where they play their counterrevolutionary role, is a decisive motor that brings permanent crises to the currents that long ago



Trotsky and Lenin

broke all ties with the Fourth International. In many countries they are simple photocopies of revived Stalinism and when not, they accompany it in its crises and decomposition.

Faced with this crisis, the only honest policy is to try to draw lessons and patiently explain why the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, no longer exists and what is the way to re-found it and put scientific socialism back on its feet, as revisionists and opportunists surrendered it to the class enemy.

To look for the origin of the crisis of the Fourth International is necessary to start from its foundation and the assassination of Trotsky. If the founding of our world party turned out to be a solid grouping of internationalist revolutionaries, despite the enormous casualties suffered and the counterrevolutionary blows from imperialism and Stalinism, the assassination of Trotsky was a severest blow to the Fourth International. As the comrades who preceded me said, it was a great counterrevolutionary milestone, because it liquidated the last of the great leaders of the internationalist and revolutionary left wing of the world working class.

But that terrible fact that hit our world party does not suffice to explain the bankruptcy of the Fourth International, its capitulations or adaptations in the last 80 years. It does not explain the sad spectacle of seeing their parties reviving the Stalinist scourge and adapting to those who strangled the international socialist revolution for decades.

The currents of "Yalta Trotskyism" and those of today also affirm that the crisis of the Fourth International is the result of the assassination of Trotsky. With this, they cover themselves with an aura of "weakness", hiding, in reality, that upon **Trotsky's death his leadership teammates, led by the American SWP and other revolutionaries, returned to their countries and left the international general staff, leaving all sections of the Fourth International**

adrift under conditions of war, revolution and fascism. This is called capitulation and adaptation to the hostile pressures of war and those imposed by Stalinism.

We want to pay tribute to Trotsky and the Trotskyists who fought until 1940 precisely because they did not succumb to these pressures, they did not adapt to them, they did not kneel before them and they were the perfect continuity of the revolutionaries who regrouped their ranks in the First World War in Kienthal and Zimmerwald, preparing the conditions for the victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the Third International. When Trotsky was expelled from the USSR, he did not go looking for a country to build a national party, but put all his forces together with the revolutionary Marxists to recover the Third International first and then to found the Fourth International.

We affirm that the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership, as the Transitional Program says, and that the current crisis of the Fourth International has only exacerbated as the 21st century started.

We affirm that there was not a single victory of the capitalists in the world, no crushed revolution, no victorious fascist coup, no fall of a worker state that was achieved by the intelligence and capacity of the bourgeoisie or by the strength of their armies. This did not happen because the international revolutionary Marxism that founded the Third and Fourth International did not leave a program and an unstained flag to fight for. We believe that the main struggles of the world working class have been defeated from within, because of the betrayal of their leaderships, as the comrades who preceded me have said.

In 1918, together with the October revolution in Russia, a huge revolution took place in Germany, led by the Workers and Soldiers Councils, which had rebelled against the war. They rose up together with their brothers and sisters who had already conquered the USSR, when the troops of imperialist Germany defeated on the battle front just returned. At the beginning of that revolution, the first assembly of the Workers and Soldiers Councils met with Karl Liebknecht, a brave socialist leader who had spent most of the war years in prison and knew and understood what it was about. He spoke there saying: "the enemy of this revolution is the one we see every day, they are the capitalists whom we recognize and we know that we must fight against them; the enemies are the soldiers of the junkers that we face and disarm. **But the most powerful enemy that we have, the most perfidious that we have, is the one that is here indoors**".

Liebknecht said a great truth. This is the truth held by the internationalist wing of the working class throughout the 20th century to the present day. This is precisely why the Third International was founded by Lenin and Trotsky against the traitors of the Second International.

The true enemy of the working class is not only the powerful armies, the insight of the bourgeoisie and this capitalist system that can no longer support minimally maintaining a civilization with the possibility of life on the planet. This system survives itself since the bourgeoisie in its phase of decline has bought a sector of the class that it oppresses and exploits and has corrupted it to make it take care of its interests, its businesses, its markets, its states

"This system survives itself since the bourgeoisie in its phase of decay has bought a sector of the class that it oppresses and exploits and has corrupted it to make it take care of its interests."

and its regimes. That and nothing else was the decomposition and cooptation by the imperialist bourgeois states of the Social Democracy and later Stalinism, the bureaucratic outgrowth of the workers' state.

All the opportunist and revisionist currents have risen against this Marxist position we have. They want to make everyone believe that the masses and their "backward consciousness" (what they call "crisis of subjectivity") are to be blamed for the defeats, or that they are caused by the intrinsic strength of the capitalist system. There is a very important tendency of reformism in Argentina, the PTS, which says that "this system partially develops the productive forces." For them, this system, which is in a mortal state of decomposition and parasitism, at times moves the wheel of history forward and the entire civilization advances. Although it does not do it totally, at least it does it "partially". That's what PTS university professor Christian Castillo said, while we were listening to him and we couldn't believe what our ears were hearing.

If the wheel of history advances forward, as Castillo affirms, then the working class fighting in



Rudolph Klement, Leon Trotsky, Yvan Craipeau, Jeanne des Pallieres, Sara Weber and Jean van Heijenoort in 1933

times of peace can achieve demands and raise its living standards within the current capitalist system, without fascism, counterrevolution or the treacherous leaderships crushing the working class before that. Or even without the danger that the crash and the crisis, which is the most recurrent thing in the imperialist phase, would sweep away all the conquests of the masses. The PTS affirms in fact that we are facing a reformist era at times. What an anti-Marxist theoretical revision to justify a reformist policy.

What the history of the 20th century and what is going on in the 21st century has shown that far from achieving this or that demand with this or that struggle, if we do not seize power, we lose all conquests, and even power itself if we stop fighting for the extension of the revolution internationally, as happened with the USSR and other former worker states.

What we see today is a world working class that has nothing to envy the proletariat of the 19th century and even worse. These people see the labour movement from the upper strata of the labor bureaucracies and aristocracies.

The truth is that this revisionism, also in a state of decomposition, cannot explain why 200 million workers and peasants roam around the planet, like outcasts and landless migrants, looking for a country to live in, a bed to sleep in and a machine to work with, because this rotten capitalist system doesn't even give you that right. With Trotsky and revolutionary Marxism, and against reformism, we declare the productive forces have stopped growing in a harmonious, organic and balanced way on the planet for a long time. With 80% of civilization in semi-colonial countries' with their sources of raw materials plundered, reduced to backwardness and increasingly to barbarism; with 800 million workers away from the production process in each crisis and outbreak of the crash; with 40% of the

world's industrial capacity stopped; with nations and private companies that have lost all repayment capacity, destroying the world market itself, these people want the working class to believe that capitalism continues to play a redemptive role in history, as it did in the 19th century, when it advanced civilization in its own way. **Now what is advancing is chronic unemployment, the paralysis of most of the productive forces, strapped into national borders, the ruin of most of the world economy - despite the growth of this or that sector-, and a subclass of outcasts who will never even dream of entering the production process. Under this rotten capitalist system, man and nature are increasingly being driven to barbarism and destruction.**

It is enough to look at U.S. imperialism that in its attempt to maintain control of the world market through its transnational corporations and its army since 1989, what it has achieved is to destroy its own powerful American internal market. 40 million laid-off and homeless workers in the US are a blow to the nose for both reformists and liquidators of Marxism.

After two world massacres in the 20th century due to inter-imperialist wars, in the midst of brutal crashes and crises that are the norm in the world-economy of the imperialist capitalist system, after technological advances based on the war industry for destruction, no serious revolutionary who claims to be socialist can affirm that capitalism continues to play, even partially, a redemptive role in human civilization.

With the aforementioned thesis, all the revisionist and reformist currents of the Fourth International were eager to liquidate their program and remove from the world working class the perspective of the struggle for socialist revolution as their immediate task.

The reformists and enforcers of the Fourth International have refused to tell the workers the truth; the truth is that if we are wrong, we can only be worse in the framework of this rotten system. And if we do not fight and our decisive fight is not for the seizure of power, we will never be able to improve our standard of living and the conquests that we achieve will be lost.

This is what the internationalist revolutionary fraction of the world working class throughout the 20th century defined. Led by Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky, they waged an intransigent fight, stating that all the struggles we make for the most minimal demands every day, for bread, for wages, for living, for being able to speak, for having a piece of land to feed on, to free oneself from imperialism, cannot be achieved or resolved, nor can our struggle triumph, unless the working class

takes power by destroying the dictatorship of capital, its governments, regimes and states.

All over the world, these neo-Stalinist currents were heard saying (to whitewash the clothes of their political cowardice) that since 2008 "there have been no revolutions, but citizen revolts." Incredible, they want to go back three or four centuries, to the time of the bourgeois revolutions. They say that the working class has not intervened when the only thing the working class has done has been to fight while their leaderships betray them.

If not, what are the Middle East revolutions? "Citizen revolts"? How dare they treat pariahs as "citizens", with citizens' rights? You have to be a very vicious university professor to attribute the power of "citizen" to a slave worker in an oil well in the Middle East, when imperialism

"If we do not fight and our decisive fight is not for the seizure of power, we will never be able to improve our standard of living and the conquests that we achieve will be lost."

has drowned those countries in blood and fire to plunder the "black gold" of the entire region.

How would the slave route of the black workers of Africa who rise up in the United States be treated as "citizens"? How dare they treat the black workers of the United States who today rise up and rebel as "citizens"? How dare they treat as "citizens" the black workers of South Africa who have no salary and live in shacks to work as slaves in the mines? How dare they say that they are "citizens"? Citizens are the bourgeois, who have property rights, to educate their children, not to be killed by the bullets of a policeman. The workers are going to be citizens the day we take power and put the Paris Commune back on its feet, we take power as in the USSR in 1917. We are going to be proud citizens with the worker and peasant governments.

If this has not yet been achieved, it is because citizens like those now called "anti-capitalists" have surrendered the struggle of the international proletariat.

In recent days we have come to hear similar anti-socialist and anti-Trotskyist brutalities from people who claim to fight under the banners of the Fourth International.



Workers Militias in the Libyan revolution (2011)

Revisionism in Marxism was the key to decompose the world working class and form its cadres to support the capitalist system. This the Second International did by sweetening the bourgeois regimes, and Stalinism by falsifying the legacy of the Third International and Lenin.

You cannot pay tribute to the revolutionaries as university professors do, who give lectures from bourgeois universities to the workers' movement and have uprooted revolutionary Marxism from the revolutionary mass struggle and taken it to the university to throw waste of minimum and reformist programs to the working class. And then, they blame revolutionary Marxism for the "crisis of subjectivity" and "political backwardness." Marxism must return to the working class. This is the second point we want to affirm in this tribute that we pay to Comrade Trotsky.

The comrade who opened this day stated that among the tributes to Trotsky that were paid this week, there was also one performed in São Paulo.

We were invited by Frank García Hernández, the leader of the left wing of the Cuban Communist Party, to participate in their events, such as the one they had in San Pablo, and even to travel to Havana.

We told them: why are you disrespecting us? How is we Trotskyists are going to have a day of homage to Leon Trotsky with the Cuban Communist Party that pays 18 dollars a month to the Cuban workers and has already established the right of inheritance to reproduce private property as the new ruling class? How dares Castroism invite us to pay tribute to Trotsky, who fought for the broadest workers' democracy in the workers' state so that all currents in the democratic soviets and all the positions of those who

fight for the revolution are expressed? Castroism would never allow us to set up a Trotskyist party in Cuba to fight for this program, without imprisoning ourselves and shooting us.

We are Trotskyists. We are in favor of organizing a revolutionary civil war to sweep away all the former millionaire bureaucrats, partners of world imperialism, and end with all the medals and decorations that still remain. We are the party of the civil war to overthrow the Stalinist party of the new possessing classes that are in power in Cuba, causing the defeats of all the revolutionary processes in the Americas. We insist, if that Trotskyist party arises in Cuba, with the program that we propose here, its militants will be proscribed, persecuted and even assassinated, as happened with the Trotskyists in the 1950s and 1960s, when they were treated the same or worse than in Stalin's time.

We Trotskyists will return to Havana not to sell Trotsky's books and have him "rehabilitated" by the same ones who received his murderer Mercader with fanfare, but to revolt the Cuban workers and peasants to recover the lands that are being stolen by the Stalinist nomenclature. We are going to return to Cuba to fight against the new rich who steal 80% of the salary of each doctor who works outside the island, for them to pay for the countries, the yachts and the privileges of a new ruling class that not only reconstituted the private property, but also the right of inheritance to reproduce capitalist property.

NOT WITH US. No matter how much they call themselves "Commune" group, they are the ones that are destroying the workers' and peasants' Commune in Cuba. Their party, the Cuban CP has long been allied with the "Versailles" officials who live in Wall Street. They did so when they embraced Obama and called on the workers to trust the repressors and murderers of the Democratic Party of the US imperialist pirates.

I want to ask a question to Mr. Alan Woods, who speaks on behalf of British Trotskyism and brought the Transitional Program to Chávez; to the gentlemen of the American SWP, which was founded by Leon Trotsky in the 1930s and in recent days has threatened those who rose up in the United States to send picket lines against them to discipline them; to the gentlemen of the FIT-U who are striving for new seats in the Argentine bourgeois Parliament; to the "anti-capitalist" gentlemen, enemies of any socialist revolution set to destroy the system. My question is: what did they go to do in São Paulo with Castroism and the Stalinist theorists from Brazil, paying homage to Trotsky with the executioners who murdered him and other Trotskyists

of the Fourth International? I answer: it is simple; they are in a same party with them internationally. They are the other leg of the "New Left".

Comrades,
The Fourth International did not reach this situation of splinter, crisis and bankruptcy in a day. It took 80 years of yielding to hostile enemy pressures, of adapting to the reformist leaderships and then capitulating, later betraying and finally decomposing the Trotskyist movement.

In all the speeches that we have heard in their tributes to Trotsky, we have perceived these currents argue that he and the Fourth International were wrong in their prognosis after the Second World War. When the Fourth International was founded, a handful of three

"How are we Trotskyists going to organize a tribute day to Leon Trotsky with the Cuban Communist Party that pays the Cuban workers 18 dollars a month and has already established the right of inheritance?"

thousand revolutionaries who also represented the Soviet section proclaimed that our party was going to become a mass party at the end of World War II.

Let us begin by clarifying that the condition for becoming a mass party was not to betray or capitulate to Stalinism as they did during and after the war. The forecast of the Fourth International did not expect they would betray.

The founders of the Fourth International also warned that if the war regime survived, that is, if Stalinism emerged strengthened, the revolutionary parties could degenerate, as they actually did. This prognosis was accurate, because according to Trotsky, only Bolshevism with its international general staff as the internationalist left wing of social democracy, then in Kienthal and Zimmerwald and later in the Third International, could rise above the pressures that shaped it and lead the working class to take power. The Fourth International not only passed the test in its theory and its program, but also in its prognosis.

If the continuity was interrupted it was by



Meeting on Leon Trotsky in La Havana (May 2019)

the destruction of the general staff of the Fourth International and by its dissolution after the assassination of Trotsky. As a consequence of this, the national isolation of its sections took place, which was then followed at the end of the war, by a regrouping of caudillos and tendencies that year after year and revolution after revolution were digging their grave, adapting to Stalinism and Social Democracy.

We believe that Trotsky's prognosis was correct. The Fourth International could have become a mass party after the war. Perhaps this is going to sound strange to comrades from other currents, because everyone has said that Trotskyism was a marginal current. That is a lie, I regret to disappoint all those who have listened for a long time to Mr. Altamira, Mr. Alan Woods, the "anti-capitalists", the Albamontes, the Mercedes Petits, the Jack Barnes. But that was not the case.

In the first place let us clarify that for the founders of the Fourth International their insertion in the masses was not defined in a single revolution but in a whole historical period of crises, wars and revolutions. They affirmed that in these revolutions the new generation of the proletariat could learn. And, in this historical cycle of revolution and counterrevolution, the mass parties could arise that lead the working class back to the seizure of **power on condition of not betraying, on condition of not handing over the program to opportunism, on condition of not yielding to the reformism, on condition of not capitulating to the bourgeoisie.**

Comrades

The only thing Marxism didn't foresee at the end of World War 2, even before the war, was that the working class had too much power and was too militant. Despite their leaderships, against the "democratic allies" which, as in

France, joined Hitler to plunder northern Africa, the working class waged battles with the maquis, the partisans, with the workers in arms in the resistance during the war and at the end of it. The working class confronted fascism while the “democratic imperialisms” such as USA and England only entered the fight in Europe in 1945, as they were waiting for Hitler to crush and destroy the USSR, so the “democracies” could get the gains of the workers state. That is the historical truth.

Meanwhile, the sections of the Fourth International, separated country by country, ended up adapting to every pressure.

The Stalinists raised monuments to the generals and marshals of the Red Army, after the defeat of Hitler and the German army in World War II. But they had not been the ones who defeated them.

We can find the truth -and anyone can see it- in the head of the Red Army newspaper called “Red Star”, which covered the battle of Stalingrad. That journalist, on the one hand, had the official reports that he sent to Stalin in Moscow and, on the other, he had the real notes that he took on the battlefield with the Red soldiers. In the first notes, praises were sent to Stalin, because if not he would have killed him and his comrades on the battlefield. In the other notes -based on which a book that appeared in the archives of the former USSR has been written- this journalist was telling the truth to his colleagues. He said that on winter nights in Siberia, in Petrograd, on the outskirts of Stalingrad, the workers argued: “What do we do first? Do we defeat fascism or do we overthrow Stalin”? In the campfires of the frozen nights of Russia that fought fascism, the workers argued whether they overthrew Stalin at that moment or waited to defeat Hitler in order to later have the best conditions to go after Stalin.

20 million Soviet workers and peasants were killed in guerrilla warfare and war of positions against German army and during cutting off all supplies and supply lines, under no leadership of Stalin or other cowardly scoundrel traitors of the bureaucracy. They were millions of workers in the rear who destroyed the German army in the winter and ended up marching on Germany, advancing to liberate the European working class.

Trotskyism did not foresee such heroism of the masses, but its theory and its thesis of a “degenerated workers state” do explain it. The defensist policy towards the USSR of the Trotskyists in the 1930s was because they believed that despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, the workers’ state was a conquest of the revolution

and of the working class. The workers of the USSR gave their lives for their conquests: the nationalized productive forces, the right to work, education, health, etc. Millions of agricultural workers gave their lives to defend the land they worked. Conscience, as Trotsky says, lived in the property relationships. That was the engine of such great actions and revolutionary offensive.

Let’s see comrades, and let’s take a parenthesis, why did no significant sector of the Soviet labour movement defend the USSR in 1989? At that time there was no longer any conquest to defend. The Stalinist bureaucracy, becoming a new bourgeoisie, had handed over all the conquests



Soviet workers fight against the Nazi army in the battle of Stalingrad

“To affirm that the key to the crisis of our world party is because Trotskyists were very weak after Trotsky’s death, means covering up the capitulations and betrayals of the Fourth International during the war and the postwar period.”

to imperialism. The USSR was bankrupt. The supermarkets were empty. The workers fought for soap and toilet paper, just like the Bolivian miners, while Stalinism had fulfilled its pact with imperialism: it had generated the defeat of dozens and dozens of revolutionary processes in the West and had placed the world proletariat in an open crisis. These, and not other, were the conditions that led to the emergence of the Reagan and Thatcher governments, which in the mid-1980s began to directly control the decomposing USSR, through Gorbachev and the CPSU.

Those who did not measure up to the masses were the leaders. That is the thesis of the revolutionaries; this is the thesis of the Trotskyists. We missed that forecast. We did not see that even the masses would arrive at the gates of Berlin in Germany, revolting the entire Eastern Europe, despite and against Stalinism and also the ranks of the Fourth International that were scattered in the face of such mass offensive.

At the outset of World War II, the Red Army and its battalions marched on Germany. What had not been able to be conquered at the end of the First World War, when the USSR succeeded,

which was the seizure of power in Germany, was within reach at the end of the Second World War. The Soviet masses and the European working class made conquering a Soviet Germany that could function alongside the productive forces of the USSR a point on the order of the day. The

Stalinist bureaucracy contained the revolution in Berlin and sealed a deal with imperialism, guaranteeing that the revolution was not to advance towards Western Europe and they controlled the masses of Eastern Europe at the point of guns and tanks.

The French working class also had power in their hands, the maquis fought an enormous resistance to fascism and were armed.

In Italy and Greece the partisans were the ones who truly defeated fascism. Stalinism disarmed them and supported all the governments of imperialist Europe.

And now they dare tell us that “democratic fronts” must be made with the “progressive” bourgeoisie to confront fascism. We assert that it was the Greek partisans, the Italians in Milan, the French resistance workers, who defeated Hitler’s army and the fascist beast. And it was Stalinism that made them disarm at the end of the Second World War to “rebuild Europe”. Let them dare to deny us this truth! The “democratic” imperialisms, like the “fascists”, fought in the war for business, plunder and control of the world market.

To affirm that the key to the crisis of our world party is because Trotskyists were very weak after Trotsky’s death, because Trotskyism “was sectarian” and “did not have a correct program to intervene in the war and at the end of it” is an infamy to cover up the capitulations and betrayals of the Fourth International during the war and the postwar period. Weakness is not an excuse to betray or to adapt to the enemy.

Comrades,

Revisionism and its falsifications of the combat of the Fourth International over the last 80 years must be unmasked.

As we said, Trotskyism with its theory of the Permanent Revolution, which combined the tasks of the socialist revolution in the semi-colonial world, in the degenerated workers' states and in the imperialist countries, has passed the test of history. It even foresaw that petty-bourgeois leaderships would have to go further, as happened in the postwar revolutions in China, Cuba and Vietnam, due to the imposition and decisive weight of the mass movement, under exceptional conditions of crisis and crash. What Trotskyism and the Fourth International did affirm is that all those victories, if they happened, were going to be tactical, since Stalinism was going to capitalize them to use them as a battering ram to crush the world revolution with their prestige. This is what happened. **They were tactical victories and strategic defeats**, for Stalinism continued to control the world proletariat, subjecting it to a deal with the US imperialists. The Fourth International adapted itself to that infamous Yalta Agreement, to rescue the world capitalist system.

Comrades,

Not only was the Fourth International forecast totally correct, but, as we have already said, it did not contemplate betraying. That was the tragedy of the Fourth International in the Bolivian revolution of 1952.

Trotskyism could have led the seizure of power in there. The Bolivian working class, which had taken over the Trotskyists' program, the Pulacayo Theses, defeated the bourgeois government of La Rosca, armed itself with the COB (Bolivian Central Union) and formed workers' militias and then, due to the leadership crisis, handed over power to the bourgeoisie, to the bourgeois government of Paz Estenssoro.

The class-collaborationist bureaucracy of the COB handed over power to Paz Estenssoro. Meanwhile, the Trotskyists, who led and had the majority in the COB and the Mining Federation, gave tactical support and supported the bourgeois government of Paz Estenssoro from the leadership of the COB, then giving time for it to disarm the proletariat and reestablish bourgeois power. What prognosis could be made that would explain that the Trotskyists, those of us who were preparing for the revolution, were going to commit such capitulation and betrayal?

The new generation of Trotskyists has to

know that in Sri Lanka, in the Pacific, the Trotskyists had enormous influence and won the elections in the 1950s but ended up making a front with the bourgeoisie and destroying the revolutionary upheaval, so that later a fascist military coup came and crushed the masses.

A group of capitulators, adapted to Stalinism, made the Trotskyists believe in the postwar period that the US was going to attack the USSR and then the USSR would be obliged to respond. They claimed that the USSR was going to defeat world imperialism and therefore it was necessary to be within the Communist Parties.

“The so-called ‘Yalta Trotskyism’ stated that in the post-war period there were ‘two blocs’ and ‘two economies,’ one ‘capitalist’ and the other one ‘socialist.’ They carried all the way the Stalinist ‘theory’ of ‘socialism in a single country.’”

Thus they dissolved the Fourth International within those parties. A revisionist theory of absolute adaptation to the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements put the Fourth International as an appendix of Stalinism throughout the second postwar period.

The new forces entering the combat for the Fourth International must know that from the 1940s on, Stalinism in Vietnam massacred hundreds of Trotskyists and their leader Ta Thu Thao, who had led enormous processes of struggle in 1936 and after, co-directing the great industrial strikes in Saigon, in particular the railroad workers' one in 1937. When this happened, the Vietnamese Trotskyists were isolated in their own country, as was the case with all the national sections of the Fourth International just leaving the war, due to the dissolution of the international center of our world party. Later, the forces of the Fourth International led by Michael Pablo, dissolved themselves within the Communist Parties, i.e. the same Stalinism that had persecuted and massacred the Trotskyists in the East, as happened in Vietnam.



Bolivia: workers militias of 1952 revolution

The capitulation and surrender of the so-called “Yalta Trotskyism” went too far. They openly revised Marxism, stating that in the postwar period there were “two blocs” and “two economies”, one was “capitalist” and the other one “socialist”. It is a typical vulgarity of obsequious of the counterrevolutionary forces that expropriated the victorious revolutions. Actually, there is one single capitalist world economy that even subdued the workers states for decades and ended up destroying them internally, turning the Stalinist bureaucracy into a direct agent of the transnationals and international finance capital to impose capitalist restoration. How can the countries that are backward in relation to the most advanced productive forces of the imperialist countries be independent from the world economy? **THE RENEGADES OF POST-WAR TROTSKYISM CARRIED THE “SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY” “THEORY” OF STALINISM ALL THE WAY.** In Yalta, they destroyed all the theses on which Trotskyism had been founded when it set up the Left Opposition as a fraction of the Third International.

The Marxist thesis is that the world-economy would be destroyed with the victory of the socialist revolution in the imperialist powers and at the international level, when the proletariat controlled the most advanced of the productive forces.

This shameful revision was held by the Pabloites and poisoned the Fourth International for decades, the same Pabloites who after 1989 pontificated that the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat was “no longer possible”. Miserable!

Comrades,

In 1953 the workers rose up in East Berlin under the Stalinist troops with the slogan of "wage increase". The metalworkers revolted against the Red Army that oppressed them. In 1956 the Hungarian working class rose up in Budapest shouting: "Out with the Stalinist bureaucracy!" "Long live the Soviet working class!" "Let Lenin's revolutionary soviets come back!"

Do you know what did the leadership of the Fourth International in Europe say, like all those who today affirm that "the working class is backward"? They said that the slogan "out of the Red Army from Hungary, from Germany and the whole Eastern Europe" could not be raised because that amounted to act in favor of imperialism. That is to say, according to them, a political revolution that expels the bureaucracy, destroys its power and its officer caste, meant to "act in favor of imperialism". For these people, to fight to set up the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils and provide the workers' states of Eastern Europe with a revolutionary and Soviet leadership meant to be an «agent of imperialism». For them that was «counterrevolutionary» because it was "acting in favor of imperialism".

When I started my militancy they told me that. Let the old leaders of Trotskyism show their faces and tell us that this was not the case!

How can they say very strait forwardly that the matrix of the crisis of the Fourth International lies in the theory and the program of Trotskyism, in its "insufficiencies"? This is a lie. You, the revisionists, the Pabloites, the Healyites, the eclectic centrists like Moreno -with a beginning but without an end in their turn to the right throughout the Yalta period- have "chosen the wrong party". All of them came to the Fourth International to hand it over to Stalinism tied hand and foot in the political revolution processes of the 1950s and 1960s. Then they broke up and they all unified again in 1963 under the leadership of Fidel Castro, with the excuse of recognizing the Cuban workers' state, to end up in 1989 all embracing Stalinism in the West. The eastern working class never stopped fighting. The new generations have to know that the Soviet workers, the workers from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, from the Donbass mines in Ukraine, rose up a thousand and one times against the bureaucracy and did not let it live in peace.

What did the Trotskyists say in the West? That "you could not support those revolutions, because they were in favor of imperialism". Dare you say this was not so!

Those who did not accept this position, such as the Healy current, the Lamberts (old partners of the PO and Altamira of Argentina) and the group The Militant, all entered the English Labor

Party saying that what was "progressive" was not Stalinism, but rather the Social democratic currents and it was necessary to make entryism there to build mass revolutionary parties. That is how they remained for about 50 or 60 years within the social democratic parties.

We insist that the tragedy of the Fourth International lies in the dissolution of the international center led by Leon Trotsky, Leon Sedov, Rudolph Klement, Abraham Leon, Jean van Heijenoort, James Cannon and the leadership of the American SWP. Some of them, like Trotsky himself, Leon Sedov and Rudolph Klement, were assassinated by Stalinism. The rest dissolved the international general staff after Trotsky's death. Thus, the Fourth International was stumbling throughout the postwar period become in what was called "Yalta Trotskyism."

How was Yalta sustained? What was Yalta, where the Trotskyists became pro-Stalinists or pro-Social Democrats and dissolved the Fourth International? It was an agreement by means of which imperialism was able to sustain itself after the Second World War, signed with Stalin. This agreement stipulated that the Stalinists would control the working class from the Berlin Wall towards Moscow and guaranteed that there was not to be a successful revolution in the West. That was the policy of "peaceful coexistence" of Stalinism in the Yalta-Potsdam Agreement. This ended with Stalin handing over the Third International to the "democratic imperialism" victorious of the war so to be able to enter the League of Nations.

The world of "peaceful coexistence" between imperialism and Stalinism was the world of Yalta in which the dissolved forces of the Fourth International, all ended up adapted to Stalinism shouting from the rooftops: "there are two blocs", "there are two blocs"... Meanwhile Stalinism gave survival to the world capitalist system by betraying every revolution that was within its reach.

Comrades,,

During those years and decades, in hard struggles among tendencies, the left wing in the Fourth International arose, pushed by acute mass revolutionary processes, which during a stretch of the path of our world party gave



The workers in Budapest tear down the statue of Stalin in the political revolution process – Hungary 1956

correct and principled battles and left threads of continuity, as for example the lessons of the Portuguese and Chilean revolutions, the Cordobazo in Argentina, the fight against the Vietnam War in the USA. Of all of them, we must also affirm that by revising the theory of the Permanent Revolution and the program of the Fourth International, with the pseudo-theory of "democratic revolutions", they all ended up adapted to Stalinism, as happened with Morenoism and not to mention the American SWP, who today ended up becoming the US section of the CP of Havana.

This acute process of tendency struggle occurred first during the second postwar period, around the discussion about the class character of the deformed workers states that arose in Eastern Europe, and then it developed in the generalized uprising of 1968-1974. A large part of the Fourth International reached that enormous revolutionary uprising of 1968-1974 within the Communist Parties, with which it had to break, since that rise was a left-wing blow against Stalinism and the entire Yalta Agreement.

When 1968-1974 came, most of the forces of the Fourth International had played the role of appendix of Castroism, with Cuba used as a "Berlin Wall" to contain the socialist revolution in the Americas. It was a fundamental stronghold of Stalinism's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with US imperialism.

There is no doubt that Castroism played a key role in strangling the revolution in Latin America. They were the ones who proclaimed in Chile that it was possible to take power and make socialism "by peaceful means", as Fidel Castro proposed. That was what he said when he was in Chile to the workers and soldiers who sought to arm themselves to confront fascism. Chile and Latin America were drowned in a bloodbath.

The 1968-1974 revolutions were defeated, the mass ascent was closed and once that had happened, the Soviet bureaucracy said: "if another ascent like this one that we have just defeated comes, there will be no trace of our privileges left."

Thus, at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, after cruel and harsh defeats of the proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracies began to openly prepare the capitalist restoration in the USSR and China. The Fourth International had anticipated that unless a political revolution could triumph in the USSR that expelled the bureaucracy from the workers' states, transforming them into the trenches of the world revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy would struggle to have property and become a new possessing class.

The key was that when the masses were defeated in 1968-1974, the bureaucracy desperately sought capitalist restoration. The productive forces of the workers' states were shattered. Through the arms race, the US had plunged the Soviet economy. The more the USSR and the worker states got into debt, the more the IMF and Citibank lent them money and controlled their economies

In 1975 Den Xiao Ping signed a treaty to Nixon for the selling out of the Chinese working class and in the 1980s the USSR under Gorbachev started the Glasnost and Perestroika with which an open process of capitalist restoration began.

Many "Marxists" today turn a blind eye on this process of decomposition of the former workers states and the sinister counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism in that period. The old Maoist bureaucracy was in competition to see which gang of all of them would win the favors of US imperialism to enslave their own working classes. At the end of the 1970s China invaded Vietnam, which was subordinate to Moscow, and provoked a bloody war between workers' states; that was the starting point of capitalist restoration in both. This was a tragedy that left no trace of the socialist revolution in the Pacific, where US imperialism had been crushed by successive defeats of the masses, from China to Korea and from Korea to Vietnam.

In the West, the revolutionary uprising of 1968-1974 had already been left behind: the British miners were defeated, as was the Italian working class; the revolutionary tides of pro-Vietnam struggle in the US had receded; the black night of the military dictatorship had already descended in Latin America. The great revolutionary uprisings of 1968-1974 had been completed and the bureaucracy began a desperate search to hand over the workers' states before another revolutionary wave comes.

The surprise of everyone, when 1989 came, is that the statues of Lenin fell, the statues of the revolutionaries, and the workers no longer defended the USSR.

The renegades of Trotskyism could not explain this. They got angry and hid their own capitulations and betrayals.

That is why 1989 is the year of the big bang. Don't be disoriented. All the "Yalta Trotskyism" parties splintered, though they really had huge influence in the vanguard. This happened to the MAS of Argentina, a powerful party that got Luis Zamora as a representative in the Congress and had more influence in the labor movement than



Fall of the Berlin Wall – 1989

"When the masses were defeated in 1968-1974, the bureaucracy desperately sought capitalist restoration. The productive forces of the workers' states were shattered."

all the currents of the FIT-U together today. The same happened to the French LCR, and to the American SWP.

That was because nobody could explain why the USSR fell in 1989. But neither could they explain why the Trotskyists had not been and were not involved during decades of fighting by the masses of the workers' states against Stalinism.

Trotskyism in the West stayed as an appendage of Stalinism, while in the East Stalinism was crushing the masses of the workers' states. Let's say it clearly. The catastrophe of the Marxist movement that started from there is due to the betrayal of its leaderships, not of the masses.

That's when our current was born, proposing in the year 1988 that the fate of the world working class was going to be defined in whether or not the USSR and other workers' states fell. In those years we still raised it in a confusing way, but the TBI of the MAS and the LIT-CI that engaged in that battle touched a sensitive nerve. The entire Trotskyist movement and its currents supported Gorbachev and his Perestroika. Everyone had said that Castroism was the «greatest revolutionary leadership in

history".

Why would starving workers within the USSR bled by imperialist plunder go to defend the workers' state? And why would the workers be Trotskyist if the Trotskyists were never with them when they faced the tanks of the Red Army that were crushing them on account of imperialism?

When we were in Japan, in a meeting with the leadership of the JRCL-RMF, they told us: "In 1956, in times of the Red Army massacre in Hungary, we broke away from the Japanese Communist Party. We were the CP's propaganda commission. The Trotskyists (in reality, the Pabloites and Mandelists, we said) came to ask us to re-enter the CP when we had broken away from it. Thousands and thousands of militants broke away from Stalinism in the Pacific after the Hungarian massacre. And the "Trotskyists" came to tell us to support the crushing of the workers' and soldiers' councils in Budapest! We did not abide by their democratic-centralism..." The tragedy was that the ones who later capitalized on this break with Stalinism were the Hochiminhist and Maoist currents that later imposed new obstacles on the Japanese working class and the entire Pacific.

You will see that the JRCL-RMF, even now, insists that Trotskyism does not fight to set up vanguard parties. Precisely, they refer to this, that they wanted to dissolve them in the Communist Parties in the mid-1950s and early 1960s.

We are going to pay tribute to Trotsky affirming that Maoism and Hochiminhism were strengthened in the Pacific because the traitors of Pabloism and other liquidationists of the Fourth International were servants of Stalinism. A Fourth International ready to lead the processes of political revolution against the Stalinist scourge would have played a central and decisive role among the revolutionary masses of the Pacific.

We have to tell the truth. It is these liquidationist currents that kept the name and the flags of the Fourth International and that is why they all blew up in pieces in 1989.

Western Trotskyism has a big problem. It has a lot to explain in history. And there is no juggler's game or magician that can hide this "elephant" in the room with an optical illusion. We Trotskyists in the West failed the world proletariat.

Because from 1940 to 1989, the only thing Western Trotskyism did was submitting and subordinating itself to Stalinism. And, after 1989 they cried because the workers were "backward" and "not Trotskyist"! and they blamed the working class, dragged into misery and decomposition by the Soviet bureaucracy that gave out the workers' states, for their own betrayals and their own capitulations.

It was revisionism that once again liquidated Trotsky and his legacy, this time not physically, but his work, the greatest work of founding the Fourth International with a correct program and theory.

What has prevented socialist revolutions from being a fact at the end of the 20th century, what has allowed such a "backwardness" of the consciousness of the masses, is that our world party and our leaders and we were not up to the task, i.e. the fightings of the masses.

The masses staged a revolutionary wave in the 1950s. They fought in Hungary, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Ukraine. The Belarusian auto workers rose up. They fought in St. Petersburg and against the Vietnam War, where US imperialism suffered the biggest beating in its history. They were raised in the French May, in the Industrial Cordons in Chile, in Bolivia, in the Cordobazo in Argentina. There were huge revolutions like in Iran and the Middle East. Beginning in the 1950s, huge anti-colonial revolutions also developed in Africa and the scoundrels of Pabloism called for support on all fronts of Stalinist class collaboration with the black bourgeoisies that handed them over. Don't lie anymore. Stop. **It is long ago they have broken with the Fourth International that they still use because it is a place from where you can speak to the masses, without lowering your eyes.**

Comrades,

What we Trotskyists have to affirm today is that, in that battle within the international labour movement, divided by imperialism between a layer of corrupt bureaucrats, settled in the labor

aristocracy, and the vast majority of the working class, exploited and subjected to unprecedented sufferings, the counterrevolutionary fraction paid for by capital has conquered, for adaptations, revisionism and capitulations.

The struggle to re-found our world party means to return for the program of political revolution against all the privileges of the workers' bureaucracies and aristocracies, against their privileged salaries and theft in the mass or-



French May – 1968

"The leadership of the JRCL-RMF, they told us: 'In 1956, when there was the massacre of the Red Army in Hungary, we broke away from the Japanese Communist Party (...) The Trotskyists (actually, the Pabloites and Mandelists, we said) came to ask us to re-enter the CP.'"

ganizations. It is a decisive battle to expel the bureaucracy from the trade unions and open the way to self-organization and workers' democracy in all the organizations of the struggling masses.

We must re-found the internationalist fraction of the world working class, that of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, that of the Trotskyists who never surrendered in the concentration camps of the USSR, that of the founders of the Fourth International.

We must pick up the continuity threads of the correct partial battles that, even as centrists, correctly waged sectors and wings of "Yalta Trotskyism" and after 1989. It is in that fierce struggle among tendencies, factions, nuclei and parties that Marxism lives today.

Our world party and its currents have long ago crossed the Rubicon. The decomposition and submission to the Stalinist parties has even led to the organizational liquidation of the Fourth International.

Some time ago we learned of an event featuring a private security team hired by the Partido Obrero led tire union in Argentina; this team takes care of the country club of the

union... it seems a lie, the Trotskyists running unions and hiring private security. When we found out about this we did not believe our tire worker comrades that were telling us the news.

Afterwards we saw that the PTS leader of that union was beaten by those hirelings because he had different positions than the rest of the leadership!

We know this because we also had tasted it firsthand. With us it was not only about slander and amalgam, but also about blows to the head. It does not surprise us.

But we also know that next to this sector that has decomposed, there is a whole wing of the revolutionary movement that seeks a Marxist and scientific explanation for so much ignominy, failure and betrayals.

When he was alive, Trotsky himself affirmed that his most important battle was to give continuity to the battles of revolutionary Marxism in the 20th century, founding the Fourth International. Had it not been for this, not a trace of scientific socialism would have remained in history. It was that handful of Trotskyists who founded our world party who still give us time to get back on track. They did not capitulate. They did not adapt. They did not betray.

That is why the opportunists came to occupy the Fourth International, to speak from there to climb into the regime and make a career in the unions. But thousands of workers who seek to unite their struggle and make the socialist revolution also came and continue to arrive. Our task and our goal in this tribute to Trotsky is to fight hard so that these new generations of revolutionary workers find and destroy every lesson of opportunism, liquidation, careerism and declare war along with us on all those scoundrels, as Trotsky says, that "speak of pacifism without peace, of bread without revolution, of reforms without any reform for the masses".

The Fourth International, as Trotsky said,

does not rest on the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie, nor does it drink from the talks of the bourgeois parliamentarians and their precincts. The Fourth International does not speak to governments, it does not speak to the bourgeoisie, it does not speak to traitors.

The Fourth International speaks to the workers, to those on the front lines, to the comrades of the rebellious Mexico, to the masses that resist in Syria. The Fourth International speaks to the heroic Iranian resistance. It speaks, today more than ever, to the black workers who have revolted the working class in the United States and that are a guarantee of stopping the future wars that US imperialism is preparing to get out of the impasse of the crisis of the capitalist system. It speaks to the Chinese workers who are struggling to regain their unions, to those in Japan who daily fight against the US bases, to the heroic American proletariat that is transforming itself into the iron fist of the world working class.

The Fourth International speaks to the miners and workers of Bolivia that are the future of the Latin American revolution. The Fourth International denounces the governments of the capitalists, the "siren songs" of the bourgeois parliaments and the trap of their plebiscites. The Fourth International unmasks at every step the sweetened forms of the dictatorship of capital. The Fourth International speaks only to the working class and in the language of the revolution.

Comrades,

A small group like ours struggles to be a pivot for the revolutionary workers of the world to regroup their ranks and coordinate their combat. **Fighting to restore militant internationalism as a daily combat in the workers' ranks, we fight for the American workers to unite with the workers of the Mexican maquilas, so that the workers of Syria break the siege and unite with the workers who are rebelling in Lebanon, Iraq and Tehran. We fight for the working class of Africa to rise up together with their brothers from New York, Pennsylvania, Portland.** If we succeed in uniting the working class every day and recovering militant internationalism, in that combat we will create the best conditions to recover the Fourth International and refound it and set up revolutionary vanguard parties.

Our struggle is committed to that, to unite the scattered threads of continuity. The working class must put back on its feet a world fraction of the most exploited sectors of the working class, which are supported by the struggle and the revolutionary onslaught against the citadel of power, to defeat the aristocracies and labor bureaucracies that are the enemies that sell us



Uprising of the black people and the workers in USA

out and leave us unarmed against the enemy from within the revolutions and struggles.

The great lesson that we want to draw in this day of tribute to Trotsky is to say what Comrade Liebknecht raised and what Trotskyists suffer: "the enemy is inside."

"If we manage to unite the working class every day and recover militant internationalism, we will create the best conditions to recover the Fourth International and refound it and set up vanguard revolutionary parties."

Every worker who is listening to me knows that what prevents him from fighting in his factory, what causes layoffs, isolated struggles, revolutions that are massacred, is the leaderships bought by the capitalists with the coins that fall from the wealth gained through the exploitation of the labor movement and the plunder of the colonial and semi-colonial world. Those corrupt leaderships bought with the money from the slavery of the planet's waged slaves, are responsible for surrendering us from within.

That is why we fight together with the workers who promote workers' democracy and the independence of workers' organizations with respect to the bourgeois states at every step. With them we fight for the self-organization of the masses and to conquer the weapons to fight fascism and defend ourselves from the attacks of the repressive forces. We fight tooth and nail to set up the bodies of power of the workers and the people in struggle because it is from there that the victory of the revolution is prepared in the pre-revolutionary or revolutionary periods.

The Fourth International disappeared and entered into crisis because it abandoned this revolutionary Soviet strategy, because it ca-

pitulated to the counterrevolutionary fraction of the workers' aristocracy and bureaucracies, because it got on its knees before them and thus left no traces of our movement.

But despite so much liquidationist policy, revisionism could not destroy the legacy, the program and the theory of Trotskyism, which did pass the test. In the hands of the new generation of revolutionaries, this program is going to get back on its feet. Because the working class is going to try again and is trying again.

Reformism can no longer give the working class anything else. This capitalist system is a catastrophe. New wars are being prepared. Bolshevism is already a necessity and history is looking for it to give the masses the leadership they deserve.

For our part, we want to be a pivot because there are hundreds and thousands of cadres in the world who seriously seek Trotskyism to lead the working class to victory.

Comrades,

We pay tribute here to Comrade Leon Trotsky. For us, this tribute surrounded by revolutionary and militant organizations of the world working class is an obvious symptom that enormous processes of radicalization have begun, which must be organized, coordinated and centralized at the international level to hit hard the general staff of the reformist left and bankrupt capitalism and pave the way for socialist revolution. •

Speech by Alejandro Villarruel, leader of Avanzada Obrera - Black List of the Río Santiago Shipyard in Argentina, adherent to the FLTI (excerpts)

“The crisis of leadership of the proletariat is the fundamental law that has defined, ultimately, the survival of the decomposing capitalist system, in its imperialist phase”

Good afternoon, comrades. For me it is a pride and an honor to be at this table, on this anniversary of the assassination of Comrade Leon Trotsky, debating the enormous tasks that comrade Leon Trotsky carried out and left us to carry out. (...)

In the 20th century, imperialism achieved three great conquests over the world proletariat, corrupting, in order to survive, the aristocracy and the upper layers of the proletariat. It corrupted and co-opted the Second International in the First World War, which guaranteed that the proletariat of the imperialist countries would shed their blood among class brothers on behalf of the different powers. The Third International was destroyed from within by Stalinism, which acted as a true “Trojan Horse” within the workers’ state, after the defeat of the European and German revolution in particular and in the middle of the isolation of the USSR. Then, imperialism achieved a new victory at the end of the 20th century, supported by revisionism and liquidationism that ended up handing over the Fourth International to Stalinism in ‘89, just when the latter became a new ruling class, liquidating the enormous conquests of the socialist revolutions. (...)

Comrades,

We are entering the discussion of the crisis of revolutionary leadership which, as Comrade Trotsky said, is the crisis of humanity. The irrefutable proof that the leadership crisis has only worsened is the passage to the field of reformism of the liquidators of the Fourth International who today, on this 80th anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, are in common homage with Stalinism, and Castroism in particular.

The 20th century, like the 21st century that is underway, ratified that imperialism is not sustained by its vigor or by the development that it imposes on the productive forces, increasingly constrained by national borders and settled in heinous parasitism of monopolies and cartels. This rotten system is sustained by what Lenin called the “split of socialism”, that is, in the division of the workers’ ranks and in the corruption and decomposition of the workers’ bureaucracies and aristocracies, used as a true internal police within the workers’ organizations around the world.

The fall of the workers’ states in 1989 marked a milestone in the confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution of the many that marked the 20th century. It was a colossal blow to the world working class, its conquests and internationalist consciousness.

That blow and that defeat were due to the surrender of the workers’ states to imperialism by the perfidious and sinister former Stalinist bureaucracy, which had become a new ruling class. It was this counterrevolutionary action by the leadership of the world working class that ultimately gave the capitalist system a survival, which in 2008 and 2020 again exploded into the air. That is why we affirm that the crisis of leadership of the proletariat is the fundamental law that has defined, ultimately, the survival of the decaying capitalist system, in its imperialist phase. (...)

The fall of the workers’ states in ‘89 opened the greening of revision-



ism in Marxism, just as it had happened with the betrayal of the Second International in the First World War and then with the Stalinist scoundrel, usurper of the October Revolution, who developed that farcical theory of “socialism in one country”, which ended up destroying the workers’ state and the Third International.

In ‘89 the reformist forces that were in the Fourth International followed bourgeois charlatans who said that socialism had historically died and referred, as Fukuyama did, to the fall of the workers’ states as “the end of history”. They stabbed Marxism in the back, claiming that capitalist restoration, as they continue to say today, was guaranteed by the “political backwardness of the working class” and by a vigorous capitalist system. They deny that this was because of the betrayal of the Stalinist leadership that handed over the former USSR, Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam and Cuba itself to imperialist prey, becoming a new bourgeois class. So the working class of the former workers states had no more conquests to defend before the capitalist restoration. The Stalinist bureaucracy, having turned into a direct agent of imperialism, caused a brutal catastrophe in the former worker states.

These currents also had said throughout the Yalta period that a new cycle of expansion of the productive forces, of a historical nature, had opened of the capitalist system. And they continue to say this even today, in the midst of a global crash, of two heart attacks in the world-economy such as those of 2008 and 2020 and an acute pre-heart attack such as that of 1997-2001, which suggest that the norm of the bankrupt capitalist system consists of its crisis and not its expansion.

A cruel revisionism attacked Trotskyism and revolutionary Marxism from behind... speaking in its name and destroying it again from within.

I want to stop for a minute at the PTS of Argentina. This current only in the year 2005/2006 recognized that capitalism had been restored in the USSR. 15 years later!!! The PTS shed the udder of Stalinism and recognized capitalist restoration, although it still maintains that Cuba is a decomposing workers’ state. The argument? That since 1989, “capitalism was not functioning normally in the former USSR” because there were mafias, parasitism and decomposition... A brutality. That is the normal functioning of capitalism in its imperialist times, which reformism denies.

The PTS, apart from raising its own revisions like this one, is also known for copying other revisions without even naming the authors. Thus, copying the libretto of the old Mandelist currents, today “anti-capitalist”, they argue that there is a partial advance of the productive forces. At least they should have announced that this had been copied from Mandel, the greatest revisionist in the second postwar period and the greatest agent of Stalinism, destroyer of the Fourth International. This was a fallacy during Yalta on Mandel's part, but he had a better and more camouflaged world to show and not the current catastrophe of human civilization that the “Albantomism” of the Río de La Plata today sweetens.

These revisions in Marxism, beyond being laced with drops of rabid Stalinists like Gramsci (who is passed off as “progressive”), pursue the sole objective of proposing to the working class that it is not necessary to make a socialist revolution to improve their standard of living, get their job back and even be able to live. *“Imperialism spreads democracy and we are ready to take it to the end.” “Capitalism develops the productive forces. Let us fight then - they affirm - because we can achieve improvements”...* within the framework of this rotten system of war and barbarism.

This is the matrix of the revisionism of the entire 20th century, which has already been proven in history: first by leading the Fourth International to a brutal crisis in the Yalta period, then to blow up into a thousand pieces in '89, and finally to go over to the side of reformism in the 21st. century, causing the deepening of the crisis of leadership to an extreme degree, by liquidating the Fourth International and its revolutionary program. (...)

All of them today are where they had to be: they organizationally liquidated the Fourth International. Beyond facades of national sects with satellite groups that they maintain to cross-dress as Trotskyists, in their key places of intervention they are part of the “New Left”.

In Argentina it was not necessary to invent much since with the FIT-U they dedicated themselves to rapidly propagating these reformist ideas from the bourgeois parliamentarianism, from where the entire revolutionary edge was castrated at a thousand and one attempts by the workers' vanguard to set up a revolutionary leadership.

Today they are all within the “anti-capitalist” parties in Brazil, in France, in Greece, in the Spanish State, in “Broad Fronts” as in Peru or as union appendages of the Stalinist bureaucracies, which the bourgeoisie preserved after the 1989 to keep them as prison guards of the international labor movement.

In South Africa they entered a common Party with the Communist Party leadership of the COSATU, which invited them to a congress, but before entering they had to put on the T-shirt of Chávez and Castro. And they put it on.

Today in the USA the ISO was dissolved to support Sanders, who spoke of socialism. The SWP went to organize pickets to discipline the revolutionary action days of black workers.

And in Syria, comrades, where together with the aristocracy and the worker bureaucracies that lead the Communist Parties of Europe, they desynchronized and isolated the fight against Bashar al-Assad. They prevented the revolutionary days in Greece from uniting with the revolution taking place in North Africa. They openly supported al-Assad and when not, the “democratic” generals of the ESL, representatives of the Sunni bourgeoisie that gave in the revolution from within, as did the LIT-CI. They got tired of asking the US for weapons, the “democratic”



2011: The Syrian revolution begins

imperialism... The US sent Putin, ISIS and the PKK to crush the revolution, it cleaned the skies for al-Assad to slaughter the masses and now Turkey is going to strangle resistance in Idlib. The LIT-CI tied the luck of a revolution to US imperialism. Unbelievable.

Everyone, absolutely everyone, was attached to the PKK and Kurdish Stalinism that is a partner of Zionism and that together with al-Assad attacked the best of the Syrian revolution in the fighting in Aleppo and today is a bodyguard Corps of the US imperialist oil companies in Raqa and Deir Ez Zor. And so they have ended.

If in Spain, in 1936-on, the CP was the fifth column killing the POUM militias and the Trotskyists from behind, in Syria, those who were revisionists and liquidationists have now become the CP, slandering the resistance as in Spain Stalinism had done in the 1930s. They made themselves so much of the CP, they love them so much, they cry so much, that Altamira of the Partido Obrero (Workers Party) went to put his shoulder to help Darya Mitina -the leader of one of the Communist Parties in Russia- to set up the Third International.

They all came together to support Sanders, the expression of Wall Street, who they say is a socialist. The PTS raised, in front of the revolutionary days of black and immigrant workers, *“Committees to clarify the death of George Floyd”*, demanding the police, the FBI and the imperialist bourgeois state and the Democratic Party to be transparent, while the masses in their revolutionary action days destroyed the State apparatus with what they had at hand, burning the police stations and setting up Communes, as they are doing in Portland. (...)

The leadership crisis, ultimately, is the overabundance of treacherous leaderships. And now, those who speak on behalf of the Fourth International, and hold Latin American Congresses, are dissolving what remains of the liquidated Fourth International in Havana, at the feet of a new Cuban bourgeoisie that stole Cuba on wheels, restored the right to inheritance, and now their children are going to keep the factories and bank accounts. This new bourgeoisie needs a «left» to cover its left flank so that they keep stealing. Yesterday they did it for Stalinism in Moscow; today they are doing it for the liquidators of the socialist revolution in Cuba. (...)

The destruction of the Fourth International in the last period is a decisive factor that has deepened the crisis of leadership of the proletariat at a time of a brutal crisis of the capitalist system and of huge mass uprisings that threaten to break into a revolutionary torrent at the world level.

Our conviction and our struggle are to recover our world party and re-found the Fourth International. This is the best tribute we can pay to Comrade Leon Trotsky and to the founders of the Fourth International. (...)

[See full speech](#)

Salutes and speeches of Trotskyists and internationalist organizations from all over the world

From Idlib, Syria, intervention by Steif Abu Izen, correspondent for the paper “The Truth of the Oppressed”

“We need an institution in which we can coordinate and organize ourselves. At the head, we have to have revolutionaries with an international vision to be able to succeed in each country.”

Greetings and thanks to all those present, to the revolutionaries from all over the world. Freedom to all political prisoners and honor to the revolutionary martyrs of the world!

We Syrians, from the free land of the Syrian revolution in Idlib, salute all the revolutionaries of the world. We have to be a single fist, striking against the same enemy.

I am one of the survivors of the 4-year siege on the city of Homs by the forces of the Russian regime, the Iranian regime, the Lebanese Hezbollah regime and of course the al-Assad regime. In this encirclement to Homs we had to dig and make our rooms underground in order to survive, and we had to eat even grass so as not to die of starvation.

Now, we revolutionaries denounce that they surrendered Syria, the leaderships of the revolution surrendered the liberated territories, such as Homs, Ghouta and others. 100% of the liberated areas were handed over to the regime, to Russia, to Iran, to Hezbollah. They handed over the cities that we revolutionaries had liberated with our blood. They gave up the fight for freedom from the beginning.

That is why we have to set up another leadership from the Syrian people, from the Syrian revolutionaries. Together with the revolutionaries of Chile, Iraq, Iran, France... We are all the same revolution, the same fist, we have to be together.

Today, the revolutionaries of the world have to unite under the same banner, the same program; the same international party to be able to coordinate all the revolutions that exist, from Chile to the Middle East. We have seen how they have stood in solidarity with the Syrian revolution against the Assad regime. We are revolutionaries who fight for freedom, democracy, revolution. We need an institution in



which we can coordinate and organize ourselves. At the head we must have revolutionaries with an international vision to be able to succeed in each country.

After 10 years of revolution, you have seen that there are many countries intervening in Syria: Russia, Turkey, Iran, Hezbollah, the US, Egypt, and many other countries. Today we understand that it is the governments of Iran, Russia and Lebanon which were with the Assad regime, and not their peoples. We revolutionaries also have to stand together and strike as one fist against the regime of al-Assad, of Iran, of Russia. It is a necessity, and it is the order of the day, to be able to coordinate. If they can do it, why can't we? We have to unite the revolutionaries of the world, under the same organization, under the same banner, for the martyrs, for the triumph of the revolution.

To finish, I'll give an example. Today we need to be a fist, the same flag, the same fight, as with the Chilean revolution. We are the same fight, the same fist. We could do this type of coordination in other parts of the planet and be the same re-

volution. We need to be the same revolution, as with Lebanon, with Europe, with the revolution of the martyrs in Iraq. To defeat all those who sold us, all those who sell the blood of the martyrs, today we have to fight the same revolution, with the same flag, together, a single fist.

For example, with the Chilean revolution, which raised the flag of the Syrian revolution and the Chilean flag was raised in Idlib. Today is the time to coordinate like this. Today it is the time to have this organization, under the same banner, to fight against those who attack and betray us.

Once again, I want to thank everyone who has supported the Syrian revolution, everyone who is witnessing this testimony today. Thanks for all those who have stood up for the Syrian revolution, for the world revolution, for our martyrs, for the release of political prisoners.

Thank you very much, a huge greeting to this meeting.

[See intervention](#)

Intervention by Abu Muad, from the editorial committee of the paper “The Truth of the Oppressed”

“The martyrs we have in Syria died and gave their lives for setting up an international party; for setting up the Fourth International”

Good afternoon comrades. First, to greet all those present today (...) Indeed, we have to pay tribute to all the comrades who gave their lives, to the last drop of their blood, to set up an international party, who were betrayed, who were sold out... I will never forget the nickname Trotsky had, which was “the prophet without a land, without a passport”. Nobody wanted him in his land.

That goes back forward to today. We had the honor of having brought Trotsky’s legacy to those “far-off lands” as many say, which is the Middle East, a “world” where “they live in war,” where there are “barbarian tribes”, as the left likes to say. We had the honor of fighting side by side with comrades from the Middle East who were rising up in a revolution, which was a chain of revolutions, where the engine was basically hunger and hardships suffered by people who live on top of seas of oil. We had the honor of having learned, with those comrades, to fight day by day. We had the honor of having been in Syria, where they have been in a revolution for almost 10 years... a revolution that, actually, could not have been more sullied, more slandered, more bastardized by the left. We really had the honor of being able to name the brigade that fought along with these comrades after Leon Sedov, the son of comrade Trotsky, who was also killed.

Now, everyone wonders how people from Argentina and other countries could come to fight in the Middle East. That is the legacy that Trotskyism, left us, internationalism. (...) I think that what we have to explain patiently, because Stalinism and the left have taken care to erase it, because it is not a question of “here” and “there”. The case is that the working class is one. It is a world class and the revolution that begins in one country has to be supported by all the other countries so that it can succeed.(...)

We could not believe, while we were suffering the hardships on the battle front, the slanders that the left was directing at us, which translated into nothing less than defeat. To be isolated, to be pointed at by the whole of the international working class was something that translated into blood. Now, the blame does not lie with the workers, but with their leaderships, which were the ones who did things we never thought they would do. I remember in 2016, when there was a surge in Syria, thousands of workers arrived on the shores of Europe, fleeing the barbarism and massacre



Leon Sedov Brigade

of Bashar al-Assad, Putin and Iran, the working class woke up again. The European working class began to take the side of the Syrians who came to tell their truth... And the left invented a revolution, which was “the revolution of Rojava”, saying that we had to support the Kurdish people, because “the only progressive revolution in the Middle East is that of the Kurdish people.” They didn’t care about Tunisia, they didn’t care about Libya, they didn’t care about Bahrain, they didn’t care about Yemen, they didn’t care about Syria. Not only did they not care from the point of view that they didn’t contribute anything, but they cared very much about siding with the oppressor. The “Trotskyist” left was with Bashar. The “Trotskyist” left said that Russia, the biggest ally of the mass murderer of the Syrian masses, “delivered humanitarian aid”. The left took it upon itself to say that we were “barbarian tribes”. The left took it upon itself to say that the greatest enemy of the Middle East and the world was not Bashar, who massacred women, men and children, but that it was the Islamic State, a state created by imperialism to justify its misdeeds.

Today is a day when we must also remember that the martyrs we have in Syria are martyrs who died and gave their lives for this battle. Not only for the Syrian revolution, not only for the Libyan revolution, not only for the Lebanese revolution, but they have given their lives to set up an international party; to set up the Fourth International. The Fourth International is the one that is going to help us... it is going to be the feather that will counterbalance each of the leaderships. Because what happened in Syria was that there was a leadership crisis. The bourgeoisie takes the

post in the rebel countries, and diverts, with its actions, all types of revolutionary struggle. It buys, corrupts and massacres.

Therefore, today more than ever, we have to raise that flag that thousands of comrades left behind when they fell on the battlefield. We have to remember one of our great leaders, who was Mustafa, and his son, Abu Al Baraa, who were the first to raise the Trotskyist flag inside Syria together with us. The good thing about comrades who die giving this fight is that they never disappear, that is, their ideas continue, the legacy remains. But it remains in our hands and we have to continue to carry it out. Today, the Leon Sedov Brigade exists. Today, the Leon Sedov Brigade writes. Today, the Leon Sedov Brigade publishes. Today, the Leon Sedov Brigade raises the voice of every oppressed person through the Haqeqa Al Maqhoureen (Truth of the Oppressed) newspaper, where it tries to be a hinge so that every revolution in the world can be unified and the working class can finally strike as one.

It has been an honor for all of us to be able to know Trotskyism in the way that we knew it. It has been an honor for us to have fought and to continue to do so together with the FLTI, which was the only Trotskyist organization that approached the battle front, put everything in place to continue there and continues to do so to this day. (...)

We have to build an international party that does counterbalance in the revolutions, because those who are and speak in the name of Trotskyism have only done so to betray, to besmirch and to defeat each of the revolutions. They are shoulder to shoulder with imperialism. They are in charge of being the ones who mark the cross so that we, the Trotskyists and the revolutionaries, are looked for, persecuted, wanted to be finished as Trotsky finished, with a pickaxe over our heads.

So, today more than ever, we have to stand firm, stand up and fight side by side, unify the revolutions and understand that it is not Syria, that it is not the Middle East, that it is not Europe, but that it is my home, your neighborhood, the neighborhood of the comrades. Today we do it in Syria and tomorrow we will do it wherever we are. The revolution has to succeed anywhere. We deserve a leadership that makes us succeed.

Nothing more, comrades.

[See intervention](#)

From Japan, salute by the JRCL-RMF

“Revolutionary Marxists must fight together internationally for building revolutionary vanguard parties that overcome Stalinism”

Dear comrades,

I am sending a salute to your event on the 80th anniversary of Leon Trotsky's assassination, wishing it to be an occasion for revolutionary advance.

We the JRCL organized the 58th International Antiwar Assemblies in Japan on August 2nd together with Zengakuren and the Antiwar Youths. Revolutionary Japanese workers and students received the letter of solidarity from the FLTI-CI with great internationalist enthusiasm. In these assemblies, we renewed and fortified our resolve: “Fight to break through the crisis of war erupting amid the US-China cold war!” “Revolutionize the dark 21st century world covered with wars, poverty and tyrannies by an internationally united struggle of the working class!”

Today US imperialism is revealing its decay in every respect more than ever. The rulers of the neo-Stalinist state of China under the signboard of “market socialism” are laying bare their nature against the toiling masses, a nature as an enemy of the working class. This is the reality that the contemporary world is showing us today, nearly 30 years after the collapse of the Stalinist USSR.



For the winning of a revolutionary overturn of this “dark 21st century world”, the revolutionary spirit of Leon Trotsky who staked his life on the struggle against Stalinism must be revived. His soul as an anti-Stalin revolutionary must be continued to live. On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of his assassination, most of those who style themselves ‘Trotskyists’ do nothing and keep silence. They have reduced themselves into groups of civil activists worshipping the flags of ‘ecology’, ‘human rights’ and the like. In the middle of such a situation, it is greatly significant that you are organizing this event to commemorate Trotsky.

In his effort to break through “the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the working class”, Trotsky proposed the ‘Transitional Programme’; however, he did not fully develop the pursuit of the construction of a vanguard party organization. While reappraising Trotsky's achievements including what he left unaccomplished, revolutionary Marxists must fight together internationally for building revolutionary vanguard parties that overcome Stalinism. I believe this is the way to revive Trotsky's revolutionary spirit today.

For strengthening the international solidarity of revolutionary Marxists

From Brazil, Silvia, of the editorial committee of the newspaper “The Truth of the Oppressed”

“For me it is a great pleasure to be here paying tribute to Trotsky, our comrade. I wanted to make a small contribution on the revolutions in the Middle East, especially now with an ongoing revolution in Lebanon (...) Neoliberal capital devastated Lebanon, it destroyed the economy, put the country in total misery “

[See intervention](#)



Speech by Shiva Mahbobi, spokesperson of the organization “Campaign for the Freedom for the Political Prisoners in Iran”

“We believe in revolution and we believe and we know that one day we will overthrow this dictatorship as well and to achieve live worthy of a human being.”

Hi everyone. Thank you for having me here. My name is Shiva Mahbobi. I am the spokesperson for Campaign for the Freedom for the Political Prisoners in Iran. I'm also a women's right activist.

We live in a world where millions are living in poverty. Not because there's no money in the world, quite the opposite. There's enough wealth in the world so that every single person can live a happy, standard life. But that is not happening, why? Because in capitalism making profit is the priority and looking after people is not profitable. So that is not happening now.

The crisis of COVID-19 is another example that shows that people's lives do not matter in the system. Government in different countries have different means and resources to help people. People die in every country because of the COVID crisis, not because there's no money in the world, to spend on hospitals or medications or to prevent the virus. It's because the governments do not spend money on people, so people die every day.

The pensioners who worked all their lives, now they're left in a care home and they die, because there's no money to spend on them. Well, that's not true. There's money, but the system, the governments, do not spend their money on the citizens.

So while the exploitation creates war and all this creates more, at the same time people who fight against the system. People who fight for freedom and a better world, they get suppressed,

they get assassinated. They are taken to prison, they get torture, they get executed.

Did that really work? Did that push people away from fighting for freedom and a better world? I don't think so. You are in Latin America and Latin America has a long history of fighting for freedom and a better life.

Take an example of myself. I'm an example of many many other women and men in Iran who have been fighting for freedom. I was only 10 when the revolution of 1979 started. I saw people being killed, kidnapped, tortured, beaten on. My own friend at a very very young age was arrested, raped and executed. Many families lost their lives.

I'm sure you guys in Latin America and many other country, listening to this you relate to what I say.

So, I've witnessed many things. They even arrested me at the age of 16, and I spent more than 3 and a half years in prison. But did that stop me? It didn't. It actually made me more angry. It actually made stronger to fight for a better world; to fight against this brutality.

So, right now, in Iran, if I take to Iran after 41 years, after killing and executing thousands of people, by the Islamic regime in Iran, the fight has not stopped. Right now that I'm speaking



with you, more than 40 factories and workplaces are going on strike.

So, although those brutalities happened, they assassinated many people outside of Iran, even now they arrest activists. They put them in a horrible situation in prison, but the fight is going on and we have not stopped.

One example of that is one of the very well known labour leader activist Jafar Azimzadeh, who is now in prison. Unfortunately, he contracted the virus, the COVID 19 and instead of giving him medication and transfer him to a hospital, they have transferred him to a prison with even a worse condition.

What they do is to put activists in that situation, very well known activists, so they die of COVID or different kind of illnesses and then the Islamic regime claims that they died due to natural causes.

So, all these years in Iran we've been fighting against the Islamic regime. We had the revolution to get rid of the dictatorship to have a better life; a life that every human being deserves to have. But that didn't happen because the Islamic regime hijacked our revolution.

But we have continued. We believe in revolution and we believe and we know that one day we will overthrow this dictatorship as well and to achieve live worthy of a human being.

But the key is the solidarity. Every one of us fights in different countries, the key we are together in this fight. We all together can make a difference. Thank you.

From Naples, Amir Hakim Al Amery, fighter for the Syrian and Middle Eastern revolution in Europe



“I am not a communist because I am Muslim, but I support you and support the Fourth, and I am very interested in what happened to Trotsky. Because Trotsky is a martyr “

[See intervention](#)

[See intervention](#)

From France, salute by Claude Marill, member of “Emancipation” Unitary Intersindical Tendency (educational branch)

“With emotion and modesty I send you this message from France on the occasion of the commemoration of the death of L. Trotsky, a great figure of proletarian internationalism.”

Message on commemoration of L. Trotsky's death

Comrades:

With emotion and modesty I send you this message from France on the occasion of the commemoration of the death of L. Trotsky, a great figure of proletarian internationalism. This message is that of an old union activist whose only ambition is to maintain a place among those who, today, militate within their union organizations to oppose the opportunist deviations that commit themselves to the policies of the bourgeois state. For almost a century the bureaucratic leaderships of unions and political organizations have sent us into the quagmire of class collaboration.

As member of an inter-union unitary tendency called “Emancipation”, we strive to build an opposition against the federative union leaderships whose permanent betrayals with their policy of class collaboration try to exhaust, with their incessant dilatory maneuvers, our fighting potential.

In the context of the current acute social crisis, the priority of ending the capitalist system is winning over the militant collective conscience. (...)

I stopped being a member of the LCR in the 1990s after it abandoned the Chechen people in their irreducible fight against the Russian colonial tutelary power, which on that occasion massacred a third of the Chechen population and reduced its capital, Grosny, to rubble...(..)

Painful and scandalous betrayal that will leave the field open to an oversized Russian imperialism, without real industrial resources, to assert its power and determination of the appetite for conquests in the face of a retreating US imperialism, on the defensive, after its

calamitous adventures in Afghanistan and Iraq and having, in addition, to contain the increase of China's power in the southern hemisphere.

After these betrayals, the American hegemonic power leaves Moscow its role as gravedigger to the advancement of revolutionary struggles. This is how the struggles of the peoples in the Caucasus, then Syria, in Crimea, in Donbas were defeated or contained and it will certainly be so

tomorrow in Belarus if the workers' insurrection movement take it to the seizure of power.

The bureaucracies of the left, but also those of the extreme left, try to maintain the survival of their organizational power by consolidating such role “games” between imperialist powers. Inscribed in the paradigm called “American anti-imperialism”, they reinforce the international forces linked to Moscow to crush, in their spheres of influence, any will of the peoples for revolutionary independence.(...)

Great was then our surprise when we learned of your direct armed support with the insurgents of Aleppo in the fight against the crypto-Nazi regime of the bloody Bashar al-Assad... and all the international forces that are allied to him.

I want to pay tribute to the Katiba Leon Sedov, made up of more than a hundred fighters who fought to the last breath against tyranny and continue this fight today in Idlib!

Your involvement in the Syrian revolution will be historic!

On the contrary, we can only deplore and condemn the illusion of a ghostly revolutionary Rojava whose leaders linked to the PKK-YPG, closely corseted by the American and Western imperialist powers, will be held accountable for the diversion of the anti-colonial combat of the Kurdish people against the Turkish state, in pursuit of imperialist interests.

Their betrayals reached ignominy when YPG forces allied with all reactionary forces, including ISIS, to bring down the revolutionary people of East Aleppo. Since 2011, the revolutionary dynamics of the Syrian people, associated with that of the Kurdish people, would have allowed the reaffirmation of their own objectives. This historic revolutionary meeting between the Kurdish and Arab peoples will not have taken



Mobilization in France

place. The Palestinian people are therefore more isolated in their fight against Zionism.

The exacerbated crisis of capitalism pushes the peoples to rise up even within the dominant powers.

In the US, the black people threaten the White House, in Hong Kong the people continue the Tiananmen Square insurrection (...) In Minsk the workers' revolt is still shaking the Kremlin. The peoples of South America are retaking the torch of the impulse given by the Arab revolutions that was also retaken by the Sudanese, Algerian, Malian, and Lebanese peoples...

In France, let's impose the withdrawal of French imperialist troops from Iraq, Syria, Libya, Mali and West Africa! Restitution of the territories colonized by the French colonial power!

The world revolution resumes its relevance. The Leninist Trotskyist Fraction is one of its engines. I salute your fight and your determination.

Your desire to associate without sectarianism all the revolutionary forces, even those that do not participate in your historical current, gives you credit. We must appreciate your full support for the Greek anarchist comrades, a great example of generous workers' solidarity.

Very modestly I tell you “see you soon”, comrades, for the present and future struggles. The paths of revolutionary freedom will be, as you know, long and painful.

We owe all of our confidence to you to set and maintain the goals!

You carry our hopes!(...)

Speech by James Sakala, leader of WIL of Zimbabwe and the FLTI

“As we pay tribute to Leon Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International, we all need to remember that their struggle and program live, continue and is rooted in the black workers of Africa, following the route of the slaves to the blacks in the USA”

Revolutionary greetings from the Trotskyists in Zimbabwe, in the black Africa representing also Southern Africa, from Marikana, where 34 miners were massacred for fighting in strike for wages and decent life against Anglo American. We are rooted in the workers struggle, which is not only African, it is the same struggle with the revolted workers and black people in the US following the route of the slaves. It is the same struggle with the Black Vests in France, as the immigrants, against the imperialist powers that plunder Africa and the subjugated people and then close the borders, deport immigrants and treat the workers in the imperialist centres as those in the subjugated people. Imperialism kills us here as the workers in Marikana and also there as George Floyd.

The struggle for proletarian internationalism of the South African workers is side by side with the revolutionary masses who are fighting today in Zimbabwe, Mali and those who are resisting in Syria and in Palestine; those who are fighting in the imperialist countries like the Black Vests of France. The mine workers in Peru. The best allies we have in this struggle are our brothers uprising in USA. With them we blow the imperialist transnationals that plunder here in Africa and over exploits and kill us when we are there in USA. From Portland and Washington to Marikana and whole South Africa, same struggle!

In order for us to win and fight for the victory, as the Trotskyist program says, we need to solve the crisis of leadership, that means, remove the leaderships that betray our struggle.

In here we are under a political struggle against Stalinist groups across Africa, which as in South Africa are the main support of the regimes. We also confront the ones that speak in behalf of Trotskyism like in Zimbabwe is the International Socialist Organization, which supports a bourgeois party MDC.



Marikana miners

As we pay tribute to Leon Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International, we all need to remember that their struggle and program live, continue and is rooted in the black workers of Africa, following the route of the slaves to the blacks in the US. Long Live the struggle for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International.

Aluta continua

[See intervention](#)

Intervention by Sinforoso “Cheo” Navarro, leader of the FLTI in Colombia and ex-combatant of the Simón Bolívar Brigade



“The renegades of Trotskyism, together with the Stalinist reformists, have today become supporters to the bourgeoisie, finance capital and capitalists, because they know that if Militant Internationalism returns to the heart of the exploited, the revolution will return with the workers councils and the revolutionary leaderships to seize power “

[See intervention](#)

Salutes by sectors of the vanguard who are facing the attack of the murderous states

From Mexico, salute by Mario Gonzalez, father of Cesar Gonzalez (one of the 43 students disappeared by the state) representing the parents of Ayotzinapa

“we wanted to say to you that we respect you and admire the struggle of each one of you and of each organization and for wanting to have and open a better world.”

Good morning to you all, comrades

80 years after the assassination of Leon Trotsky, we wanted to say to you that we respect you and admire the struggle of each one of you and of each organization. We admire you for wanting to have and open a better world.

We wanted to tell you the 43 parents of family are sending you a warm hug because we see your struggles and, unfortunately, we are also in the same situation.

I wasn't able to connect because unfortunately we have a meeting to see what we'll do in the 6th anniversary. Yes comrades... 6 years without seeing our children, 6 years of strug-

gles, 6 years without going to their homes, 6 years of suffering, pain, despair...

We tell all of you that we are with you, that we keep on fighting for our children and they won't be able to stop us. We have to reach until the last consequences.

A warm hug to all of you... to each member of every organization... to the organization of Las Heras, to all those comrades that have always been on the lookout for the case of Ayotzinapa.

We tell you that we love you and we admire you a lot.

Fraternal and militant hug from the 43 pa-



rents of families.

Thank you very much

Claudia Pafundi, member of the “Commission of Condemned Workers, Relatives and Friends of Las Heras” (Argentina)

“We also suffered the betrayal of Stalinism; it was the Communist Party that betrayed us, it was which imposed isolation on us. That dark character named Mario Navarro from the Communist Party could never set foot on our town again, because it was he who gave up our fight”

From Las Heras we want to pay tribute to Comrade Trotsky, assassinated by Stalinism, and to all the revolutionaries persecuted and massacred for fighting for the world revolution. It is exciting to hear Mario from Mexico because they, the fathers and mothers of the 43 Ayotzinapa students disappeared by the State, gave an enormous example of international struggle, searching for their children from Alaska to Patagonia.

We lived that same experience in our town. The oil companies sentenced our comrades for life imprisonment and to jail, for fighting against job insecurity and in defense of our wages. But although they sentenced against us, today they cannot enforce the sentence, because we called from our town on all the workers of the world to confront the judgment that they were ruling on us. And those were the forces that allow us today, despite the conviction, to continue fighting toge-



ther with our families for our acquittal, joining the fight for the freedom of all the political prisoners in the world and for justice for our martyrs.

And in this tribute to Trotsky we have to affirm that we too suffered the betrayal of Stalinism; it was the Communist Party that betrayed us, it was which imposed isolation on us. That dark character named Mario Navarro from the Communist Party could never put a step on our

town again, because it was he who gave up our fight.

For this reason, the greatest tribute that we want to pay Trotsky is that of internationalism.

That is why today we are in a single fight from the International Network for the Freedom of All the Political Prisoners of the World and Justice for Our Martyrs.

We have fought together with Mario for six years looking for his children, with the Palestinian political prisoners, with Abdallah imprisoned in France and the Basque comrades imprisoned in the prisons of Europe, with the young Greek rebels, with the relatives of Senkata in Bolivia and also we do so with our brothers in Syria that are massacred in a huge genocide.

This fight is the one we want to strengthen.

A huge hug to all those who are participating in this very important day 80 years after the assassination of comrade Trotsky.

From Bolivia, salutations of the Association of Dead, Wounded and Victims of the Senkata Massacre, El Alto - South Zone, La Paz

Salutations of Gloria Quisbert, member of the board of the Association

“We need international and national support for justice for workers and peasants, so as not to be abused and for our rights not to be violated”

Good afternoon, a cordial greeting from La Paz, from the Association of the Senkata massacre of November 2019. Today we want to support this great tribute paid on the 80th anniversary of the great revolutionary Leon Trotsky who fought against Stalinism and was assassinated by it. Today he left us a great gift, the international unity of workers in the Fourth International that fights for socialism.

Many of us find ourselves seeking justice today, in homage to our comrade León Trotsky and also in homage to the founders of the Fourth International (...) We ask for the support of all of you for the great pain that cannot be forgotten. On August 19, we have completed nine months

of the massacre and the government does not want to listen to us. We are humiliated, persecuted, we are hurt and they hide everything (...)

We need international and national support for justice both for the workers and the peasants so as not to be abused and also so that they no longer violate our human rights.

Thank you very much.

[See full speech](#)



Words by Clotilde Cochi, member of the board

“... I want to make our voices known and ask you to unite the resistance struggles of the workers and peasants throughout the world, because they want to shut us up”

Hello, a warm greeting to all international countries and to the International Workers Organizer for the invitation that you have sent us. I am talking on behalf of the Association, I am a mother of one of the victims of the Senkata massacre that are still asking for justice...

This government is only giving us the runaround with lies after lies. They have not been able to solve anything for nine months. This government did not hesitate to send to kill the people and so far there has not been even the humanitarian aid that it has promised us. It is unfortunate that in the countries those who suffer the most are the humble families. Here in Bolivia we suffer discrimination and racism. I do not doubt much that if once they didn't hesitate to have our families killed, they will do so a second time; because again

they are threatening us with military repression. That is why the whole world must know everything that is happening here in Bolivia.

For the humble there is no justice. Therefore comrades, I want to make our voices known and ask you to unite the resistance struggles of the workers and peasants throughout the world, because they want to shut us up (...) We will continue to insist until they listen to us. For our children, for our husbands who have passed away and for the families who have been shattered. The Association of Dead, Wounded and Victims of the Senkata massacre in El Alto – South Zone - La Paz - is standing and we will continue to fight.

[See full speech](#)

Salute by Franklin Quisbert, wounded in the massacre of Senkata

“Our revolutionary comrade Leon Trotsky has left a great legacy for our generation; today we must take it in our hands and go forward with his fighting.”



[See full speech](#)

From Oruro, greetings from Rafael Lineo Morales, director of the National Radio of Huanuni

[See full speech](#)



Buenos Aires, Argentina

Message of Lourdes Hidalgo

Migrant worker, survivor of the massacre of Luis Viale textile workshop

[See full speech](#)

From Latin America, homage to Leon Trotsky by the internationalist workers

Israel Cervantes, a worker fired from GM Silao (Mexico) and a member of the union group “Generando Movimiento” (Generating Movement)

*“We ask for the solidarity of the other GM assembly plants,
in the US, Brazil, Argentina and the whole world”*

Very good afternoon to everyone. Receive a cordial greeting to the group of “The International Workers Organizer” from the group “Generando Movimiento”.

We are a group of both active and fired workers, who for a year have been leading a struggle for the reinstatement of the 16 workers fired in General Motors, Silao complex. We were fired for attempting union democracy, since 10 years ago, GM’s company imposed the Miguel Trujillo López union on us. As a result, we began to organize and the company, in retaliation, fired us. Not content with that, they had us like this for a year with the demand for reinstatement.

We hope that with the entry of the T-MEC and the 2019 new labor reform our demands will be resolved and we will be able to reinstate all of our fired workers.

Today we feel sad, because today



another GM colleague has just died due to Covid-19, since the safety protocols at the plant are really useless. This is the eighth worker to die and more than 25 workers are infected. And so far neither the GM company nor the union have come out to stand up for all the infected workers there are or say what they are doing for the workers’ welfare. Currently the union has simply gone out to tell the workers that these workers have not been infected inside the company but outside the plant. The authorities have really done nothing.

We have personally delivered letters of complaint to the President, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, and so far we have been ignored. We have been and are presently fighting for the welfare of all the workers inside the plant.

Currently, Guanajuato is in second place in terms of infections and the company has already sent 90% of the vulnerable workers to work. There have been layoffs of workers who have been working in the company for 20 or 25 years.

In fact, many of them sign a voluntary resignation, receiving miserable compensation payments ranging from \$45,000 pesos (US\$ 2,000) to \$50,000 pesos (US\$ 2,300).

We believe that it is the gravest thing that they are giving these miserable compensations. And with the salaries we have, unfortunately we don’t manage to cover the basic basket. This is why we have fought and continue to fight to improve the working conditions, not only of some, but of all the workers within GM Silao, and to be able to reach the other plants in San Luis Potosi and Ramos Arizpe in Mexico. We also ask for the solidarity of the other assembly plants, in the US, Brazil, Argentina and the whole world, since they are the most powerful.

Likewise, we demand comrade Sebastián Romero, a worker and fighter for workers’ rights, to be freed. He is a political prisoner and we hope that he will be freed soon. Thank you very much.



[See full speech](#)

From Colombia, greetings from Grupo Comuneros of Cali

“In this tribute to Trotsky we also want to pay tribute to two comrades that have fallen in recent days at the hands of the paramilitaries”

We wanted to be part of this tribute to comrade Trotsky 80 years after his assassination, the vile assassination perpetrated by Stalinism and imperialism. For us it is an honor to be here and tell you that we continue on the battlefield against reformism, against opportunism and national-Trotskyism.

At the same time, we want to pay tribute to two of our comrades who were pre-militant cadres: one is Comrade Harold Díaz Hernández. The comrade was a driver, a worker for the Llano Verde jeep transport company from a neighborhood here in Cali. The partner died in an attack in which there were 15 more wounded, including a 10-month-old boy. Today the last comrades left, those with the biggest fractures, very serious fractures in the legs and arms, and who are members of the Resistance Committee and, at the same time, of the Transporters Cooperative. We want to pay tribute to those comrades. They took part of the mobilizations and carried the flags of the Syrian Revolution and the Fourth International.

The same happened to comrade Jaime Monge, from ASOCAMPESINA (...) who was assassinated by paramilitary and government hitmen and to whom we also want to pay tribute on this day. Unfortunately we are doing it to fallen comrades. But despite that we continue in the struggle and go on raising the flags of the Fourth International, of the Transitional Program.

For us, the central axis is the support for world struggles, for the struggles of the Syrian people, of the Lebanese people, the struggle of the Palestinian people, the struggle of the resistance of black workers in the United States and just as we also propose it for our colleagues from France, the Yellow Vests and the Black Vests. Also for the struggle of the comrades from Bolivia and Ecuador, who have been savagely repressed and no one denounces it.

And we are for the freedom of political prisoners from all over Latin America and the world. Here in Colombia 7000 political prisoners were



Day of national strike in Colombia 11/25/2019

left unprotected, abandoned by the defectors and bandits of the FARC and the CP, just as they left the struggle and the organization of the movement, which today is headless. We need to reorganize it to continue the struggle and finally unify the struggle of the labor movement and the poor peasants' movement...

[See full speech](#)

Speech by Milenka Lopez, for the LSTI of Bolivia

“In Bolivia, Trotskyism could have led one of the first successful postwar revolutions, but the betrayal of the POR prevented it”

(...) We wanted to share a reflection and the lessons of a revolution where the program of Trotskyism was decisive: the Bolivian revolution of 1952 (...) We have seen that in the '52 revolution, the working class made the government tremble and broke the Armed Forces, split them up by setting up the worker and peasant militias and the soldiers' committees...

Bolivia was part of the revolutionary wave in the 1950s. There Trotskyism had a strong weight and mainly it had entered the heart of the Bolivian proletariat with its program, embodied in the “Pulacayo Theses”, which were adopted by the Mining Federation and later by the COB. That was the great revolution of '52. Unfortunately, a leadership that was up to the task to propose the seizure of power was missing. The tragedy was that the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) at that time ended together with the bureaucracy of the COB, at which head was Lechín, handing over power to the bourgeoisie of the MNR. Trotskyism could have done one of the first successful post-war revolutions and unfortunately it did not. And this was not an isolated event, but was part



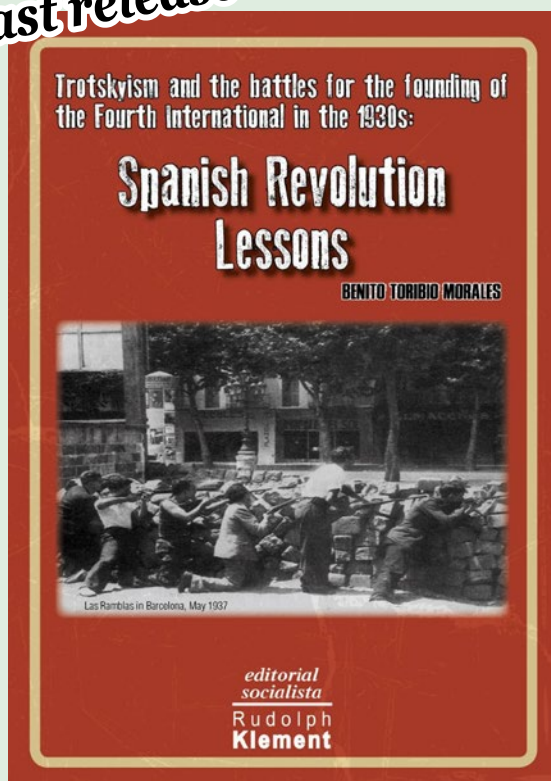
of the policy of a sector of the Fourth International led by Michel Pablo, which had the policy of dissolving the entire Fourth International and the Trotskyists within the Communist Parties. In the '52 revolution, its Bolivian section, the POR, under this guidance, returned power to the MNR bourgeoisie. They erased the entire program of Trotskyism and even what they themselves had made vote in the “Pulacayo Thesis” in the depths of the mining proletariat, which marks the fight against the popular front, the fight against fascism, the fight against class collaboration. Unfortunately all that was erased and the POR betrayed the '52 revolution.

That is the leadership crisis: there was a betrayal on the part of the leaderships, in this case the POR, and therefore the proletariat could not seize power. But, despite this betrayal, Trotskyism had a new opportunity in the revolution of '71 in Bolivia. The working class rose up again and set up the Soviet body that was the People's Assembly. Unfortunately, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, under the leadership of Michel Pablo, by not drawing lessons from its previous betrayal, ended up in a program of Bolivian exclusivism, with Bolivian particularities, revising the program and ending in a national-Trotskyism. It takes the program of looking for “red generals” and that is how in the revolution of '71 they raised the policy of the “Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front” and ended up making an alliance with General Torrez, once again betraying the revolution, in which Trotskyism again had the opportunity to seize power...

[See full speech](#)

We present ebooks from Rudolph Klement Publishing House edited in English.

Last release



Coming soon



**editorial
socialista**

**Rudolph
Klement**

www.editorialsocialistarudolphklement.com

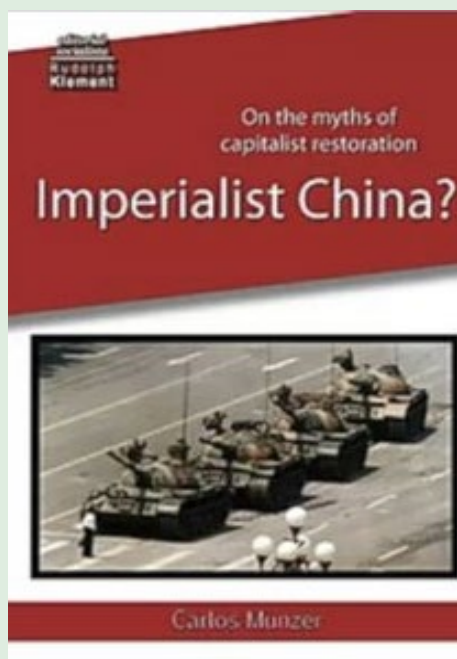
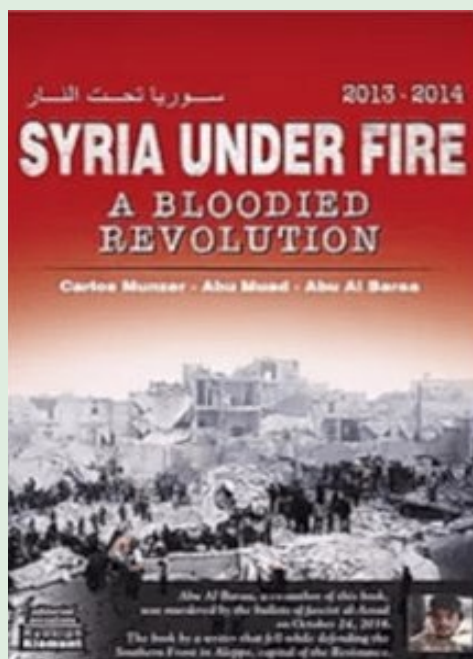
✉ editorialrudolphklement@gmail.com



Editorial Socialista Rudolph Klement



Editorial Socialista Rudolph Klement



To see all the ebooks
in English, please visit
our website where
you can buy them