

TRUTH



WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE!

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ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA

SECTION (SYMPATHIZING)

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

STAND WITH THE MINERS!

SMASH TAFT-HARTLEY!

Jimmy Carter prayed to God, Arnold Miller put his faith and \$40,000 into a public relations firm.

But neither God nor Madison Avenue could prevent the 180,000 striking coal miners from overwhelmingly rejecting the latest contract offer. It was rejected by a better than 2-1 margin.

The feelings of the miners were expressed by a miner in Pennsylvania who said: "If Carter says this contract's a fair shake, they can take that peanut farmer back to Georgia and bury him."

God didn't put this peanut farmer, this hypocritical preacher into the White House and Jimmy Carter has no intention of relying on God to end the miners strike.

He is there to serve the capitalist class and to use its methods--anti-democratic repression.

Carter has invoked the reactionary Taft-Hartley law to order the miners back to work for an 80-day "cooling off" period, 80 days to allow the coal companies to build up their stockpiles again, 80 DAYS OF SLAVE LABOR for the miners.

This law is backed up with the use of federal, state and local police. Threats of massive fines against the UMW at the national and local level. Denial of food stamps to miners who have gone without pay for 90 days.

Don't believe that this so-called "law of the land" is the only method of the government. Long before it was "legal," the government began using federal and state troops to move scab coal under secrecy and wartime conditions.

Private gun thugs are hired to ride along with scab truckloads of coal to protect non-union mines and terrorize strikers. And now the lowest-- in Pennsylvania the coal operators have hired MOTORCYCLE GANGS to move scab coal.

They talk about "violence." But not about the two miners murdered during the strike. Or about the 100,000 Americans who have lost their lives mining coal.

The source of the real violence is this government of US capitalism which is refusing to grant the miners their most basic rights and is preparing for open confrontation, for CIVIL WAR against the working class.

Taft-Hartley was passed in 1947 as part of the post-World War II offensive of imperialism to crush the working class around the world. Around the world it was Yalta, Potsdam, the Marshall Plan, NATO and SEATO.

In the US it was Taft-Hartley, to make the general strike illegal, to smash any national strike which

threatens the ability of the bourgeoisie to govern. It is not just a "bad" law. It is a COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY law.

Today there are new preparations for this counterrevolution. S. 1437, the National Intelligence Reform Act, the Labor Reform Act. All designed to "legalize" repression against the working class.

The stake of this strike goes far beyond the miners. It is the affair of every American worker.

It is a strike which has unmasked the character of bourgeois democracy. Unmasked the "democratic" and "human rights" facade of US imperialism.

The alternatives revealed by the miners strike are fundamental. Workers Rights or the rights of the greedy few. Bourgeois democracy or WORKERS DEMOCRACY.

The miners strike is just a beginning. A test of the future. Beyond the miners strike lies the open confrontation being prepared in the US and around the world-- Who is going to rule this country?

The confrontation is coming. It is inevitable.

The question now in front of the working class is-- Will the



working class be prepared?

Will it be united? Will it be organized? Will it have a leadership capable of leading this struggle? Will the working class be able to win?

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA, US Supporters of the Fourth International believes that there is only one way to prepare for this confrontation. Only one way to guarantee victory.

By building the only weapon that can lead the working class to victory. ITS PARTY. A revolutionary, international PARTY of the American working class.

Not the Democratic or Republican parties. Not the parties of Stalinism, but the WORKERS PARTY USA, the party of the Fourth International, to fight for a Workers Government.

A party that must be built today by fighting for EVERY American worker to take their stand with the miners. To join their struggle by taking it up in their factories and unions.

SMASH TAFT-HARTLEY!
VICTORY TO THE MINERS!
March 8, 1978

TRUTH

EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE UAW

No one can deny the fact that the miners strike is a central concern for all autoworkers. Above all because the fight of the miners-- for the right to strike, control over health and safety, rejection of their reactionary leadership and the confrontation with the government-- is the same fight of the autoworkers.

But the situation is also very specific. The auto corporations are using the strike as a club against autoworkers. They are threatening mass layoffs. And in the meantime, to prepare for the layoffs, they have started working overtime-- 12 hours a day!

Autoworkers must take the situation into their own hands!

They have already shown their support to the miners through resolutions, donations of food, clothing and money. The International just gave \$2 million

and Local #600 gave \$10,000.

We are not against the fact that Fraser gave \$2 million. It is one of the better things he has done with the autoworkers' money in a long time.

But if he is doing this it is only to keep the situation in his own hands. And certainly to prevent autoworkers from doing something about Taft-Hartley, the overtime or the layoffs.

Autoworkers themselves must decide how to support the miners and stop the layoffs!

They must take the situation into their own hands!

This is why we are calling for an EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW to decide how to support the miners and fight the layoffs. This CONVENTION must be based on democratic elections of delegates from every major department and fac-

tory who best represent the interests of the workers.

It must be empowered to take all possible actions, including the election of a new leadership ready to do so in order to meet the demands of the situation.

It must prepare a national resistance to Taft-Hartley-- the organization of defense guards, blocking scab coal, stopping trains carrying troops.

In response to the "energy crisis" it must fight the layoffs by first of all demanding that the auto bosses and power companies OPEN THEIR BOOKS so that the real nature of the "shortages" can be determined.

In place of Fraser's proposal that the government seize the mines, and to prevent any layoffs, the Convention must discuss a proposal for WORKERS CONTROL OF THE

MINES AND AUTO PLANTS so that no workers will be hurt by this

"crisis" created by the bourgeoisie which is refusing to grant the demands of the miners.

These are some of our proposals. But above all it is necessary to take the offensive and initiative in this situation as the Fraser bureaucracy cannot be trusted to do anything in our interests.

The autoworkers must decide themselves, democratically, what to do.

We think that all tendencies, parties, organizations and militants in the UAW can unite around this proposal to build a unified action of the UAW in defense of the miners and in defense of the autoworkers themselves.

THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW!
March 8, 1978

The only "democratic" nationalization-- workers control of the mines!

By JON COHEN

You can see it. Through today's miners strike you can see the coming American revolution. All the fundamental questions of its preparation are being raised today in the coalfields.

You can see something else. You can see some smoke and behind it you can see all the enemies of this revolution lining up side by side trying to hide the character of the miners struggle, trying to divert or confuse it or openly trying to crush it.

The most dangerous enemies do not always have guns. Jimmy Carter and the coal operators have more subtle weapons and friends than the National Guard or the gun thugs.

Political weapons. Called illusions. Confusion introduced into the workers movement to hide its real aims and struggle. And above all to hide the struggle for power that it taking place.

Confusion introduced into the workers movement designed to attack the CONSCIOUSNESS of the working class about its historical mission-- the socialist revolution. Confusion introduced to hide the anti-working class nature of bourgeois democracy and its state.

Those responsible for this confusion are Jimmy Carter's friends inside the workers movement-- above all the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists of the American Communist Party.

In the last weeks they have intervened in the miners strike to do everything possible to prevent a confrontation between the miners and the Carter government and to disarm the miners and entire working class.

There is a division of labor taking place. Carter has invoked Taft-Hartley. He is going to send federal troops to force miners back to work. In Congress he is preparing the S. 1437 Bill which attacks all the fundamental rights of the working class. He is going to give a "legal" cover for the CIA and FBI.

But there is a problem. In the mines, in the auto plants, in the steel mills, the workers are refusing to obey Taft-Hartley, have organized their own mass caravans, picket squads, national solidarity with the miners.

Any kind of respect that Carter might have had in the most advanced sections of the American working class is rapidly disappearing. Something must be done to restore his authority. Or at least an illusion of authority.

Here the division of labor enters the picture. In steps Carter's allies in the workers movement-- the bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Their solution to the miners strike, their alternative to Taft-Hartley?--

FEDERAL SEIZURE OF THE MINES.

At first they advanced it tentatively. A few steps at a time. To test the water. But now it has become a stampede.

Beginning with Doug Fraser and Arnold Miller, then George Meany and now virtually every labor bureaucrat or advisor to the labor bureaucracy are advancing federal seizure of the mines as a solution.

According to the script, Taft-



WEST VIRGINIA MINERS MEET TO PROTEST CONTRACT OFFER

Hartley favors the coal bosses. Federal seizure of the mines would be an alternative the miners would accept, the bureaucrats claim, because the government would be "neutral", "democratic," and of course the miners would obey the "law of the land" more readily than the coal operators. They even hint the miners might get paid a little bit more this way.

And of course every young miner would be proud to go to work every day under the American flag, instead of "Consolidated Coal," just as happy as they were getting shot at and killed under the American flag in Vietnam!

They have carried this lie into the mines. Now in every bourgeois paper or TV show, every miner that appears talks about how federal seizure of the mines would be a good solution; something they would accept. The smokescreen is getting thicker.

And now the Stalinist American Communist Party has entered into this scenario, as loyal advisors to the trade union bureaucracy which is desperately seeking a way out of the crisis that the miners have caused for them and for Carter who they put into office.

On February 23rd, in their paper, THE DAILY WORLD, through the words of a miner they introduced the following: "federal intervention could go either way, good or bad. Back

in World War II during the takeover the Federal government did good work setting up the UMW Health and Welfare Fund, but the bad part is that they allowed the coal operators to mechanize the mines which eventually cost 300,000 miners their jobs. So it can go either way."

"Either way." Just a matter of 300,000 jobs!

Then on March 2nd it was made official by George Meyers, chairman of the National Labor and Farm Department of the Communist Party who stated in the DAILY WORLD: "We must clearly differentiate between two kinds of government takeover. One is a takeover to break the strike, in which the mine owners would retain control over the profits. The other is the government's taking over the mines and running them with democratic controls in which the union and the communities WOULD HAVE SOME VOICE (our emphasis) in their operation. The first is union busting and the second OF COURSE WE SUPPORT (our emphasis)." This statement is full of treachery. It is part and parcel of the international policy of the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin which throughout the world represents the last prop of support for the dying bourgeois regimes.

In France it is called the Common Program. Guaranteeing to the bourgeoisie that if the Stalinists come to power through elections they will keep the bour-

geois state and private property intact. In Italy it is called the Historic Compromise, the support of the Italian CP for the government's program of austerity. And in Spain, it is the support to the institutions of fascism, with the Spanish CP stating recently that it supported "all actions of the forces of public order in the framework of a democratic conception of public order."

And in the United States it is the "liberal-labor-black" coalition of the working class and the Democratic Party and now "democratic" nationalization of the mines by the government. In which the union "would have some voice." How generous of them!

This "democratic" nationalization is a dangerous lie of the bureaucrats and the Stalinists in order to hide the real character of the capitalist government and bourgeois democracy. It is designed to provide a "left" solution to the crisis of the bourgeoisie in order to give the capitalists more time to prepare the counterrevolution.

No. Sorry. There is not a "good side" and a "bad side" to the capitalist government. There are not "two kinds" of government takeover. There are not "good" capitalists and "bad" ones. There is not "reactionary" and "progressive" bourgeoisie.

There are only the interests of the working class and the interests of the capitalists and their government. Fundamentally opposed.

There is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, even in its most "democratic" form and there is the oppression of the working class.

This isn't meant to be a lecture. This isn't meant to be just a repetition of fundamental Marxist principles. It is the lesson of every single struggle of the working class throughout its entire history.

The Paris Commune. The Russian Revolution. Germany, Spain, France, Portugal, Chile.

And the miners strike today. The illusion of federal seizure of the mines that is proposed by the Stalinists is designed to disarm the miners and all workers in face of their inevitable confrontation with the capitalist government. It is designed to keep their struggle for their rights within the framework of bourgeois democracy.

Bourgeois democracy, which can give NOTHING to the miners or anyone else.

Above it is an attempt to block the fight for the independent organization of the working class. Their treachery goes beyond simply sowing illusions and confusion, simply attacking the consciousness of the workers.

They are attacking their organizations and attempts to build a struggle independent from the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats. A struggle whose logical conclusion is the struggle for power.

"Federal seizure of the mines" is not just a wrong solution. It goes against something. Something important.

The fight for WORKERS CONTROL OF THE MINES. This is no dream, no "crazy" solution. 100,000 miners who have died in the coal mines during this century, millions of disabling injuries, black lung disease, the destruction of the environment through strip mining are just part of the proof that the "disorder" and "chaos" in the mines today is caused by one thing and one thing alone-- CAPITALIST GREED.

That the only safe, orderly and democratic way to mine coal in this country is if the workers take control of the coalfields and mine coal for their interests and the interests of the entire society and not for the greedy few.

This is the only solution to the miners strike. This is the only "democratic" kind of nationalization possible-- the democracy of the working class and the oppressed.

Carter is against this. Doug Fraser and the Stalinists are against this. Because the independent organization of the working class and workers democracy means their downfall.

And they know that the struggle for workers control of the mines is on the agenda today in the coalfields and in every major industry in the country. They can see the revolution that is approaching as well as we can.

And they can see that in this struggle the working class will build a new leadership for the working class and the party which stands unconditionally for Workers Democracy and against all reformist and Stalinist illusions-- the Fourth International. March 8, 1978



GUN THUG-- MEMBER OF MOTORCYCLE GANG IN VIRGINIA HIRED TO PROTECT SCAB COAL

COMMITTEES OF ACTION TO SMASH S.1437 & TAFT-HARTLEY!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The rejection of the miners contract has again brought forth the howling cries of the bosses and their government. They are trying to defeat the miners strike by the old strategy of "divide and conquer." Key to this strategy is the attempt to make the miners strike look like an "economic" issue. They say the miners want more money, more benefits.

Certainly the miners and all American workers deserve a lot more economically than what they are getting-- massive unemployment and inflation. But the main issue in the miners strike is a POLITICAL one. The miners are fighting to defend their rights, especially the right to strike.

Many miners believe that this right, as well as the right to organize independently of the trade union bureaucracy, the government and the courts can be defended as a struggle against the coal operators for a decent contract. But others, especially now that Carter has invoked Taft-Hartley, are coming to see that the issues they have raised in their strike around the preservation of workers rights only can have a political solution. If this is not a fully rev-

olutionary conclusion, it is still a step in the right direction.

Behind the protestations of the coal operators and the government the miners want too much "economically" is the real understanding of the capitalist class and its government that the miners strike is really a political struggle to end capitalism. The passage of the S. 1437 Bill by the Senate in the midst of the miners strike is proof of the behind-the-scenes preparation for all-out war on the working class by American imperialism.

S. 1437, which is a political attack on the rights of the working class, is a response to the international mobilization of the working class. It is not restricted to the miners strike in its intentions, but rather, is a long-range attempt of the bourgeoisie to strengthen the repressive apparatus of their state at the expense of the workers.

Certain provisions in S. 1437, such as the re-enactment of the Logan Act, a 19th century law against "corresponding with" or having "intercourse with" a "foreign power" or "agent of a foreign power" make this clear.

Other bills in Congress, such as the National Intelligence Reform Act, which seeks to extend the covert activities of the CIA and FBI, also back up this scenario of the preparation of the counterrevolution by the international bourgeoisie. Carter's government took a prominent place in the Conference on International Terrorism which was just held in Europe.

Many workers may not know that the Taft-Hartley injunction being used by Carter was itself a result of the government's strike-breaking role in the post-World War II upsurge of the working class.

Passed in 1947, Taft-Hartley is specifically a law against the general strike in this country, done at a time when the whole world was in turmoil and workers in every country were fighting to extend their conquests.

Yet in the face of these preparations for war on the working class many of the workers' leaderships have either gone along with these preparations, as in the case of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which at its last convention passed a resolution in support of S. 1437, or in the case of the pseudo-revolutionary opportunists, have attempted to divert the attention of the workers.

The Stalinist American Communist Party is talking about "democratic nationalization," that is, Carter taking over the mines. What's the difference between "democratic nationalization" and "federal seizure" of the mines? When you come right down to it, nothing.

The Socialist Workers Party, a centrist organization, is deeply committed to holding up the government's "deal out the crumbs" programs. S. 1437 shows how totally impotent campaigns like the ERA and anti-Bakke are to changing capitalist society.

But even worse, they are schemes. Schemes to keep the

middle class and petty bourgeoisie happy, schemes to channel the anger and frustration of the working class into meaningless, empty reforms.

The Revolutionary Youth International is leading a central campaign in the US to Stop S. 1437 because IT does show the true nature of capitalism. It shows what lies behind Carter's Madison Avenue "human rights" campaign. And S. 1437 represents a real danger to the American working class, not to mention the Revolutionary Youth International, the Fourth International and all working class organizations.

Even the unions are threatened by this reactionary law. S. 1437 would make wildcat strikes a form of "blackmail" and "extortion."

The unions are powerless to deal with Carter and S. 1437 as long as they are in the hands of the opportunist, fat-cat trade union bureaucracy. But in the hands of the workers they are powerful weapons to defeat them. The miners strike has proved this beyond a shadow of a doubt.

The most significant things about the miners struggle is that almost all of it has taken place within the union. Yet less than ten years ago the UMW had one of the most corrupt and brutal leaderships around.

This in itself speaks to the importance of the fight to win the unions to STOP S. 1437! By taking up this fight in the unions a real mobilization against the Carter administration can be built.

And this is how the Workers Party can be built in the United States. Against US imperialism and Carter. For the socialist revolution and the Workers Government.

For these reasons we propose a common, united struggle of all working class organizations against this law, despite the differences that we have. ACTION COMMITTEES must be formed to coordinate an offensive against S. 1437 and also against the just-invoked Taft-Hartley injunction.

The meetings of the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, the US arm of the Revolutionary Youth International, which are being held in Detroit and Chicago in the next two weeks will make the fight for these Action Committees a central part of the mobilization of the entire working class to defend and continue the fight of the miners.

The RYW are now concentrating its fight in the UAW and is ready to unite with any working class organization and tendency in auto in a fight to finish with the repressive plans of Carter and the US government.
March 8, 1978

A NEW CAPITULATION - PART II

In the last issue of TRUTH we revealed the latest capitulation of the pseudo-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which lyingly claims our banner, the banner of the Fourth International.

This capitulation is revealed in their attitude towards the miners strike-- a prostration in front of the crisis of the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy and a refusal to offer any kind of revolutionary solution to this crisis.

They talk a lot about the revolution on holidays but have nothing to say to the miners who are engaged in a violent confrontation today with the capitalist state.

This prostration has continued to dominate the pages of their paper, THE MILITANT. The headline of their March 10th issue, precisely when the miners were voting on the contract, reads: "Coal miners debate contract."

Good, "objective" BOURGEOIS journalism. Not ONE call in the entire issue of their paper to REJECT this contract. Not one revolutionary demand to advance the struggle.

Instead of revolutionary solutions, the MILITANT reeks with hack, bourgeois, "objective" journalism of this kind. Thus, at the conclusion of the lead article we have the profound

statement: "Whether the majority of miners vote to accept or reject the contract, their struggle with the coal companies will not be settled."

A statement which could be found in the NEW YORK TIMES, the DETROIT FREE PRESS, or any other bourgeois paper in this country.

But don't be fooled. Behind all their meaningless "solidarity with the miners" which has nothing to do with how to go forward and their pretenses of "letting the miners speak for themselves" in place of offering a revolutionary policy, lies their real policy-- a centrist one.

A centrist cover for Carter's "human rights." In the March 3rd issue of the MILITANT they write: "The logical and necessary extension of their struggle (miners'ed.) is the formation of a labor party which would fight to replace the present government of a rich minority with a democratic government of the workers."

What kind of "democratic government of the workers" is this? Is it the dictatorship of the proletariat, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its state or is it some kind of reform of capitalism?

They don't say. But in another

article in the same issue, they make clear what kind of government this "labor party" will fight for. In an article "Why mine workers need a labor party" Cindy Jaquith defines this "labor party" as a party which would "stand up" in Congress and state legislature and propose new laws.

A "labor party" of parliamentary reform to make the capitalist state more "democratic."

Another trap for the working class. Another way to stop their break from the Democratic Party and block the formation of a mass revolutionary party of the working class.

In the shadow of Jimmy Carter and his "human rights,"

This is what is behind their "objectivity" and "solidarity" with the miners.

They copy the style of bourgeois journalism, because like the bourgeois papers, if they told the truth about what they believe to the miners, no miner or worker would buy their paper.

Their real policy is only a "left" version of Arnold Miller, Doug Fraser, and the "democratic nationalization" of the American CP.

They can't say anything revolutionary because they aren't.

J.C.
March 8, 1978

"If he's not an officer, he didn't do it."

THE FIGHT TO FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA

By ANN NELSON

A young worker, at a circle meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers said in a discussion about our campaign to free our comrades in Spain: "If he's not an officer, he didn't do it."

Soldier Santiago Alegria is awaiting a Military Tribunal for the crime of "illegal association." In civilian life he was a member of the PORE, Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

He was first accused of stealing arms which was quickly dropped because of the outrage of hundreds of workers over such an obvious frame-up.

The young worker in the RYW who served in Vietnam immediately knew that for a twenty-year old drafted soldier to steal three truckloads of arms was absurd. "It's the officers that do all the stealing," he said.

This is also the case in Spain. Only the police and their accomplices had access to the arms and the PORE has established a Commission of Investigation to expose the real facts behind this robbery.

The militant of the RYW is miles ahead of the centrists in the US who are all apparently blinded by the events in Spain and the attack on the most conscious section of the Spanish working class, the Fourth International.

With the growing support that our campaign to free Alegria is receiving not one of the so-called revolutionary organizations has given its support (except for the Spartacist League whose "support" consists of slandering the Fourth International.)

In past articles in TRUTH, we have emphasized several important political questions concerning the arrest of Santiago Alegria. We said that this is an attack on the whole working class, that the accusations of "terrorism" are just an excuse for the bourgeoisies in Europe and the US to carry out their anti-working class plans.

We have also said that the reason for the silence of the Stalinists and centrists is their support to the illusion of "democratization" in Spain and "human rights" in the US.

Recently the Spanish Communist Party and their party in Catalonia have come out in favor of the legalization of the PORE and for the Commission of Inquiry to find out the facts about the "robbery."

This is above all because of the increased pressure of their memberships which is resisting the plans for the coming Congress of the Spanish Communist Party which will try to eliminate any reference to Leninism.

It is also coming at a time of increased repression against the working class and its parties. The farce of "democracy" in Spain is becoming clearer and clearer.

More militants of the PORE have been arrested, recently Federico Lax, member of the Factory Committee of the textile factory, Circular in Terrasa.

In recent weeks, as well, tens of militants of the CNT, ETA, the PCE(i), and MPAIC (organization

CONSEJO DE GUERRA

contra el soldado Santiago Alegria acusado de asociación ilegal al PORE

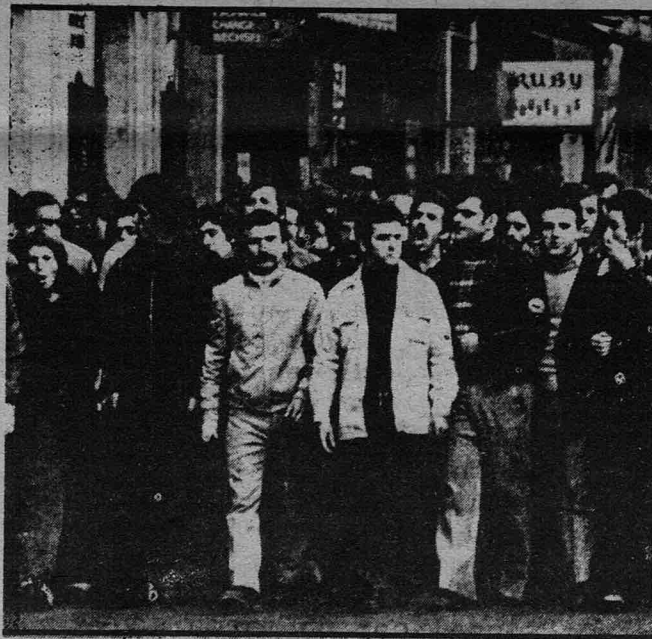


Trabajadores: ¡Por las libertades! ¡Por la legalización del PORE!

¡LIBERTAD PARA SANTIAGO ALEGRIA!

¡ABAJO LA MONARQUIA DE LOS CONSEJOS DE GUERRA!

P. O. R. E. POSTER



DEMONSTRATION, WITH LEADERS OF P. O. R. E. IN FRONT LINES.

for the independence for the Canary Islands) have been arrested, as well as a trial against a leader of the LCR for calling for a Republic in their press.

A recent demonstration of the JCC (Communist Party youth) in Barcelona calling for the right to vote at 18 years of age was brutally attacked by the police.

The trial against Els Juglars (see article) reveals this repression as well.

The use of the Military Tribunals is a forewarning of the plans of the Francoist monarchy to smash the whole working class. Now the vanguard is the object of the attack, but only in preparation for attacking the whole working class.

The silence of the centrists in Spain and the US, especially those who claim to represent the Fourth International is criminal, because their refusal to join any mobilization against this attack only gives the European bourgeoisie

and Carter more time to prepare the counterrevolution against the working class.

It is linked to the repression being prepared in the US through the attack on the miners strike and Taft-Hartley. A young miner from Stearns, Kentucky saw this when he gave support to Santiago Alegria in the name of "everyone who has had a cop's billy club up against their throats."

The Revolutionary Young workers has written all youth organizations in the US which claim to be revolutionary to join the campaign to free Santiago Alegria. Silence is not acceptable.

Young workers and militants of other organizations should continue this fight in their unions, factories, schools to Free Santiago Alegria and For the Legalization of the PORE and all Anti-Francoist Organizations. March 7, 1978

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

"The military is the basic pillar of our national being, given its transcendental mission."

So declared the prosecutor in Barcelona as a Military Tribunal sentenced four members of a theatrical group, "Els Juglars" (The Jugglers) to two years in prison for "insulting the armed forces."

The Military Tribunals not used since the days of Franco, are now back-- the first instance being the Tribunal being prepared against Santiago Alegria. Indeed, they are the "pillar of our national being"-- the pillar of Spanish fascism.

The play, directed by Albert Boadella who fled the country before the trial, deals with the military execution of the anarchist, Puig Antich in 1974.

It was approved by the Ministry of Culture last September, but under Spanish "democracy" the military has the right to independently prosecute.

It is now against the law for an artist to "insult" the military in "democratic" Spain.

The Stalinists and reformists are defending these artists by demanding the application of the Pact of Moncloa.

For us, the fight to free them and the fight for freedom of artistic expression is totally linked to the fight to bring down the Moncloa Pact, to organize a Workers Cortes and for the legalization of the PORE and our comrades.

FREE ALBERT BOADELLA AND ELS JUGLARS!
DOWN WITH THE MILITARY TRIBUNALS!
FREEDOM OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION!
March 7, 1978

The Spanish Communist Party takes a position

On February 15th a meeting took place between delegations of the PORE, the Spanish Communist Party (PSC) and the Communist Party of Catalonia (PSUC). The meeting was convoked by the PORE to propose an agreement concerning the provocation against the PORE. At the meeting the following agreements were made:

1) To support the constitution of the Commission of Inquiry to publically make clear the facts.

2) To demand the legalization of the PORE, solicited by the PORE before the Minister of the Interior.

3) To propose at the next meeting of the "Entesa dels Catalans" (a coalition in the Senate) to take up these demands.

On February 18th the "Entesa dels Catalans" publically demanded the legalization of the PORE.

A "turn" has taken place in the attitude of these parties. Certainly due to the pressure of their militants and the campaign of mobilization taken up by the PORE to unmask the provocation and demand the legalization of the PORE. It is far from our intention to give illusions about the position of these organizations; if after months of silence they have found it important to take a position, it is for some purpose. During this time many things have happened, the most important being the detention of militants of the PORE and the Military Tribunal against Santiago Alegria. Now it is necessary to hope that this agreement will be translated into action. The next meeting will discuss the basis for the Commission of Inquiry proposed by the PORE as well as concrete proposals with respect to the legalization of the PORE and the release of Santiago Alegria.

(From LA AURORA, #159)

MOVIES



BLUE COLLAR: A MOVIE THAT TELLS IT LIKE IT ISN'T

By BARBARA PUTNAM

BLUE COLLAR-- "The real Detroit-- on and off the assembly line"-- this is how the movie now being shown around the country starring Richard Pryor, Yaphet Kotto and Harvey Keitel is being advertised.

The movie, which was shot in Detroit and in a Kalamazoo auto plant (the three major auto companies having refused permission to shoot it in their factories) deals with the lives of three autoworkers, "Zeke" (Richard Pryor), "Smokey" (Yaphet Kotto) and "Jerry" (Harvey Keitel).

In their frustration with the lying, corruption and betrayals of the union officials of the "Auto Assembly Workers" union, they rob the union hall and uncover secret ledgers revealing the loan sharking of the bureaucrats with the membership's money.

They attempt to blackmail the union officials, threatening to spill the beans to the FBI whose agents lurk around the plant throughout the movie. Smokey is locked in a spray paint booth by the union bureaucrat's goons and dies. The other two, under extreme pressure for their lives and the lives of their families, become a "committeeman" and a foreman.

In the final scene, Zeke and Jerry are at each other's throats as the workers look on. A hopeless refrain begins echoing Smokey's words, to the effect:

"They divide us, race against race, white against black, black against white. Young against old, old against young, etc. . . . All to keep us working for them."

The message? The workers can't trust the government (true enough), they can't trust the leadership of the union (true enough) -- they can't even trust each other -- UNTRUE! This is the big lie of BLUE COLLAR. Workers can and must trust themselves. The objective of BLUE

COLLAR is to slur over this fundamental truth in favor of a picture of hopelessness for auto-workers.

BLUE COLLAR is interesting because it touches on "the way it is" in a distorted way, brings to the screen some of the sense of toil and struggle in the auto plants where the workers are under the most intense pressures to give in to either the company or the union bureaucracy and turn away from mass struggle.

Pressures that drive workers berserk, -- like the man in the movie who repeatedly smashes his forklift into a canteen machine when he loses yet another coin to the ravenous coin-eating monster. BLUE COLLAR touches on the social realities of high-handed, cruel and stupid foremen, of swindling union officials so low they would mess up a worker's wife and kids for vengeance, who establish a rotten pecking order inside the union that corrodes it and persecutes the workers, disorganizes them in face of speed-ups, layoffs and the intervention of the government in the union. BLUE COLLAR only touches on these realities in order to deceive.

The factory scenes of this movie which pretend to be "vigorous realism" are false. Autoworkers are portrayed as loafing around all day and only working when nagged constantly by foremen.

The attitude of most workers is to share the load, to work together in SPITE of everything. They always have and always will attempt to work in a better way, ways that benefit all of them.

In spite of the competition between the workers for jobs, they try to realize their dream of a world united, a world of the working class and oppressed working for the common good. You will find none of this in BLUE COLLAR. What you see is workers so de-

moralized they rob the funds of the union; just a reflection of the methods of the bureaucrats, and end up selling out, dispersed by the bureaucrats and the FBI.

Autoworkers in the downtown Detroit theater where I saw the movie truly enjoyed a scene where Smokey thrashes two of the rattiest and scrougiest union goons ever -- seconded only by those who broke the Mack Ave. Stamping sitdown strike in the summer of 1973.

That was satisfying to see -- but maybe that was the point of its being in the movie -- to evoke an emotional response and defuse the pent-up hatred for the bureaucrats.

But where are the important scenes from the "real Detroit?"

How the workers shook the city in 1973, and the whole country for that matter -- their wildcat strikes that moved like lightning from plant to plant? How they built the first all-black revolutionary workers organization -- DRUM (Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement) dedicated to fundamental change in the UAW.

Where are the work-stoppages organized by militant autoworkers -- where are the heat walkouts? You will find no organized independent struggle of the workers in BLUE COLLAR, no search for POLITICAL leadership to finish with bureaucratism and finish with the FBI.

The autoworkers side of the story is being made every day, in real life. Instead of portraying "real life," BLUE COLLAR represents the wishful thinking of petty bourgeois cynics who dump off on the working class their own hopelessness in order to provide an explanation for their prostration to the bourgeoisie, and to justify their growing hatred and disbelief in the working class as the agent of revolution.

March 7, 1978

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FROM THE WHITE PAPER

DOCUMENT 3.1 THE HISTORY OF THE AFFAIR

(Report presented by Marek Kantor, in the name of the Fourth International to the First Session of the Commission of Inquiry, March 18, 1976)

Comrades,

My presentation, which I am making in the name of the Fourth International will try to give to the Commission of Inquiry a history of the growth and development of the campaign of police slanders of the OCI. There are an enormous number of facts. The Commission finds itself in the possession of many documents and testimonies which have been given to it by the Fourth International. There are the documents which constitute the proof that there was and still are vile police slanders. There are the documents which show that the causes for this were political. Consequently, I will try to present the principle facts which marked the appearance and the road of the slanders, as they were in their elementary political context.

The police slanders were publicly launched for the first time in June 1973, in issue #617 of INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES. However, the beginnings of the affair go much further back. They begin in July 1972. At this time, from July 1-4th, the Second Session of the Pre-Conference of the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International was held in Paris. It had the goal of preparing the Fourth Open Conference, from this comes the name "Pre-Conference."

It was at this pre-conference that the deep political differences between on the one hand, the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary (LRSH, Section of the International Committee since 1963) and the Committee of Organizations of Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe (associated to the International Committee since its creation in 1970, at the Switzerland Conference); and on the other hand, the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), followed by the Bolivian POR, the LOM of Mexico (all sections of the IC) and by other organizations and sympathizing groups of the International Committee.

It concerned major differences, programmatic, touching the fundamental problems of the construction of the world party of the socialist revolution and the rebuilding of the Fourth International. The OCI put to a vote the proposition to dissolve the homogenous International Committee, based on the Transitional Program of the Fourth International, and to replace it with an Organizational Committee for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, a loose organization, without precise political boundaries and where "each organization would be responsible for its own policy." On their side, the LRSH and the Committee of Organizations of Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe (composed, outside of the LRSH of the "Walka Klas" group of Poland, "Proletar" of Czechoslovakia and "Proleterska Avangarda"

of Yugoslavia) fought to maintain the International Committee as an international Trotskyist center firmly applying the principles of the Program, an indispensable condition for taking to its conclusion the principal task of rebuilding the Fourth International, that is, to prepare the leading center of the imminent international proletarian revolution.

By a majority vote the Pre-Conference dissolved the International Committee and formed the Organizational Committee. The Trotskyist organizations of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were in the minority and immediately announced their intention to continue the political combat inside the Organizational Committee in view of creating a faction on the basis of their positions to reverse the decision taken at the Pre-Conference.

A political combat began. After a document of the LRSH of June 12th, the Committee of Organizations of Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe and the LRSH presented a long document of clarification to the International Bureau at its meeting on October 14th. (1) In January 1974, the Faction, "For the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee" was constituted by the Trotskyist organizations of Eastern Europe and the Trotskyist Organization of Spain. (2) It would be joined, in March, by the Trotskyist Group of Morocco. (3) It is this international faction, which following the definitive break with the Organizational Committee led by the OCI in April, would give birth to the International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International.

All of these documents and positions are in the possession of the Commission of Inquiry as essential weapons of its work to establish the truth.

But let us return to the period which followed the Second Session of the Pre-Conference. It will be marked by the repeated and growing attempts of the leadership of the OCI to deviate the international political clarification of the differences on the terrain of bureaucratic pressures, denigration and provocation. The "incidents," as they were called at the time, already began two days after the close of the Conference.

On July 6, 1972 the Political Bureau of the OCI voted a resolution condemning two militants of the LRSH, comrades Alex and Antoine for "an anti-OCI attitude" at the Pre-Conference, where, mandated by their organization, these militants actively opposed the new opportunist orientation of the OCI. The LRSH reacted immediately and demanded that the Political Bureau of the OCI annul this resolution, considering that it placed into question the political

and organizational independence of one national section in relation to another national section, in this case, the OCI. The leaders of the OCI made use of the fact that a portion of the Trotskyist militants of Eastern Europe were refugees in France and because of this were also members of the OCI.

Thus, for example, Michel Varga, leader of the LRSH, was at the same time a known member of the Central Committee of the OCI and its Political Bureau. This is a normal internationalist principle, in a revolutionary International, which tries to see that militants of other sections, living outside of their countries, will also participate in the struggle of the workers in the country they are living in. But from this, to wish to impose the discipline of a national section on militants of another section and further, on questions of international strategy and this during an international conference, was a qualitative step that we were not ready to accept. Even more because this strangely recalled the maneuvers used by Stalin inside other parties of the Comintern after Lenin's death.

The only discipline that we could accept was that of an international center functioning on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. Here we touched the fundamental problem of the entire political struggle which we opposed to the leadership of the OCI: the necessity of giving the world proletariat its international party with a world program and strategy for the revolution. That was why we defended the International Committee at that time, which was not openly such a center, but from which it was necessary to go further and rebuild the Fourth International. This is what we did. On the contrary, the leadership of the OCI headed towards a national opportunist policy of capitulation to Stalinism. Where, from the beginning, the application of this new orientation consisted in the attempts to submit the Eastern European organizations (and later, those who followed us) to the desires and national policy of the OCI.

For two months the Political Bureau did not respond to the letter of the LRSH. This, however, did not prevent it from putting this resolution into practice, making it public among certain militants of the OCI and by demanding the vote of the Committee of Organizations of Communists (Trotskyists) of Eastern Europe. The latter voted against. In such a situation, where under the pretext of "double membership" the Eastern European militants living in France were being forced to renounce their political positions through administrative measures, we decided to withdraw from the OCI in order to eliminate any confusion over this and to clear up the ground for the international clarification which had barely begun. This was decided on September 2nd and we asked, at the same time, of the OCI the creation of a Commission of Contact between the OCI and the Hungarian League and the Eastern European Committee of Organization in order to "elaborate and together define the forms and means for our participation in the class struggle in France."

The reaction of the leadership of the OCI was hysterical. Through cries and threats they

tried to make us believe that to leave the OCI was the same as abandoning Trotskyism. This clarified even more things, since in the absence of an international center incarnating the Program of the Fourth International, the touchstone of orthodoxy and loyalty to Marxism became, in one blow, "the attitude towards the OCI." Still another conception and practice sadly reminiscent of Stalinism.

Parallel to this, during August, another strange accusation began to take shape--insidiously, in many forms, but very clearly--that the Trotskyist Organizations of Eastern Europe "had no political position" and therefore... "it is necessary to find the real motives for the differences." The leadership of the OCI clearly tried to hide the existence of our many documents and counter-resolutions as well as the fundamental political document that we were preparing for the International Bureau on October 14th. Inside the OCI militants asking for a discussion on the decisions of the Pre-Conference, deeply troubled by the dissolution of the IC, found no discussion of the differences which had appeared. It was the period preceding the 18th Congress of the OCI and nothing more normal (and urgent) would be that at least the results of the Pre-Conference would be freely debated and the opinions confronted in the preparation of such a Congress. Even more since it concerned, as was the case, the central question of the international character of the Fourth International that was being destroyed. But the contrary happened. A powerful "normalization" began inside the OCI which very quickly turned into a "hunt after Vargaite," being considered a "Vargaite" any militant having doubts (not speaking of positions contrary to the leadership) about the dissolution of the International Committee, or even after, about the slanders. The argument that "they have no political position" served from the beginning to cut short the political clarification of our positions in the ranks of the OCI.

At the same time, and this is the most important thing for this Commission of Inquiry, the same "argument" allowed for the search for "motives" for the political differences besides those on the political terrain. This would be police slander.

This appeared for the first time on September 23rd in a situation already poisoned by two other attempts of the leadership of the OCI to "force us to our knees" according to an expression of a member of the Central Committee, Marc. Thus, at the Central Committee meeting of the OCI on September 9th, one accused Michel Varga (4) of making compromises with the Stalinist bureaucracy" and they tried to impose on him the framework of a national section to "discuss" the orientation of the Eastern European organizations, while we were fighting for an INTERNATIONAL CLARIFICATION. Of course, when it concerned fighting the policy of the OCI in France, and namely its support to the

Union of the Left of class collaboration, this was, for Lambert and Just, a central question in order to prevent an international explanation of "their" policy. Michel Varga left this meeting of the CC judging that this blackmail and insults were unacceptable. The second attempt, much grosser in terms of consequences, tried to take under the control of the OCI the work with the Yugoslav Workers Alliance, work led by the Yugoslavian Trotskyist group, "Proleterska Avangarda."

But on September 23rd the affair passed to a qualitatively new level. "The hand of the KGB" was suggested as a plausible "motive" for the differences "to look at." The person who "suggested" this was Pierre Broue (in the documents submitted to the Commission of Inquiry he appears under the pseudonym of Scali) in a private conversation with a Czechoslovakian militant, Etienne. According to Broue, the "suspicion" fell on the leader of the LRSH, Michel Varga. But, Broue added cynically, this was only a "hypothesis" but Broue, "already acted as if it was true." In a less explicit manner the same thing was said to another Czech militant, Rosa, this time by someone else. It therefore did not concern a still hidden action, but rather led by some members of the highest bodies of the OCI. An immediate letter of the LRSH and the Committee of Organization demanded that the leadership of the OCI refute Pierre Broue through a public letter to all militants of the organization. We sent our letter to the majority of the organizations which were members of the International Organizational Committee and, awaiting the response of the OCI, we suspended all contacts.

During the same conversation Broue said two other things: 1) the LRSH and the Eastern European Committee of Organizations "were not Trotskyist Organizations," the only ones who were Trotskyists were militants who were at the same time members of the OCI; 2) "if this continues, the OCI will cut off all aid." As if the "hand of the KGB" was not a sufficient "argument," now the blackmail was made precise by the threat to suppress all material aid (and of course, this being vital for the construction of revolutionary parties in Eastern Europe) that the International Committee, notably the OCI, gave to the young Trotskyist sections of these countries.

The Political Bureau of the OCI responded with a declaration of principles condemning any attempt to slander Michel Varga and in which appears that famous phrase which immediately was no longer spoken about: "IF BY CHANCE, COMRADE SCALI DECLARED THAT COMRADE VARGA WAS AN AGENT OF THE KGB, HE WOULD HAVE BEEN DENOUNCED AS A TRAITOR TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL." We accepted this declaration. On the contrary, we did not accept the declarations of Pierre Broue in the course of a confrontation between him and Etienne; Broue did not retract his affirmations and began a tortuous and hypocritical piece

SUPPORT THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE PAPER

"If by chance, Comrade Broue declared that Comrade Varga was an agent of the KGB, he would have been denounced as a traitor to the Fourth International." (Declaration of the Political Bureau of the OCI, 9/29/72)

of gymnastics to try to "explain" his slanders. But what was more significant was the furious, paranoiac reaction of Lambert. We were accused of "provocation," of "slandering Scali, an "old worker militant," and above all of having informed the other organizations of what had happened. From slanders we became the slanderers. However, the internal commission of inquiry of the OCI about the affirmations of Scali, promised by the Political Bureau, never saw the light. On the contrary, the same police slander was advanced by Broue, this time against Etienne in a personal letter and in a form barely disguised ("in the service of who do you work, Etienne?", "you have many faces, Etienne," etc.)

On a terrain thus "prepared," the meeting of the International Bureau of the Organizing Committee for the rebuilding of the Fourth International took place. On October 14th, even before discussing the agenda and at the moment when the four Eastern European organizations put forward their fundamental document of several dozen pages, the delegation of the OCI declared, to the great surprise of the organizations present, that it was "breaking all relations" with us. Our organizations were qualified by Lambert and Just as "enemy organizations" to "destroy," as "political agents of Stalinism." One did not yet

speak of the CIA nor of the GPU. The agents of Stalinism that we were was still "political." This unilateral break, which we refused to accept, was a very clear blackmail towards the other organizations, a call to follow the OCI without discussion of our fundamental document which called on constituting a faction for "The Maintenance and Development of the International Committee." A voluminous "Report to All militants" was distributed at this meeting and following, during an extraordinary general assembly of the Paris region of the OCI.

Concentrated on the "person" of Michel Varga, the "Report" which we understand was under preparation for several weeks, was full of insults, threats, accusations of "duplicity," "lies," "maneuvers," using an incredible amalgam of facts that tried to prove that Michel Varga worked for Stalinist forces, that he "sought obscure motives," etc. The same "obscure motives" would be raised during the course of the meeting by a theatrical performance of an "incident." Lambert and Just, who "as usual" chaired the meeting, saw (after five hours of debate) a tape recorder on the table of our delegation and began to let out great cries of "surprise" and "indignation." "Who are you recording the discussion for?"... And to summon one of our comrades to bring the recorded tapes to him. All of this in the face of our indignant protests and... the fearful silence of the other delegations, with the exception of the Trotskyist Organization of Spain which defended our positions. A shameful play!

Thus, the principled struggle led by the four Trotskyist organizations of Eastern Europe and the TO of Spain was reduced by the leadership of the OCI to the "affair" of a man, Michel Varga, who was Machiavellian and had many sides, thereby not openly saying that he was a police agent, but the amalgam of facts-- true and false-- and opinions carefully "arranged" drew the clear line to such an explanation.

Through these different facts a clear constant appeared: the leadership of the OCI wished at any price to destroy "through all means" the Trotskyist organizations of Eastern Europe. The same attempt would be developed towards the Spanish and Moroccan comrades. The forced and precipitous dissolution of the International Committee as an attempt to destroy the Fourth International through its only continual international center since the Pabloite split in 1953, tried to get rid of the main obstacle bothering Lambert/Just in their turn towards Stalinism. It was therefore necessary to attack the Trotskyist forces which opposed this.

The new policy of the leadership of the OCI was already appearing at this time. Today it is clearly affirmed. The struggle for the workers-peasants government in every country and in France and for the Socialist United States of Europe was replaced by the slogan, "CP-SP Government." In Eastern Europe the fight for the political revolution and the construction of the parties of the Fourth International gave way to the support of the "left wing" of the bureaucracy (for example, the Dubcek current of Peilkan) and centrist currents wishing to reform Stalinism and proposing bourgeois democratic parliamentarism. Slander served as the indispensable support of this opportunist policy against Trotskyism and the Fourth International, defended and continued by our organizations. The attempts of destruction were many: they sent "emissaries" into Hungary and Yugoslavia to "convince" militants and sympathizers that the organizations of the Fourth International in Eastern Europe were covers for the activity of the KGB and the CIA, at the same time that they proposed to them (if they proposed anything) the support of "liberal" bureaucrats-- this at the very moment when the Stalinist bureaucracy was leading a campaign, orchestrated by the Kremlin, against Trotskyism and that some militants accused of belonging to the Fourth International were put on trial in Yugoslavia. In France, Lambert destroyed, pure and simple, the Yugoslav Workers Alliance, a result of the mobilization of the Yugoslav workers against the bureaucracy of Tito and the bourgeoisies of France and Germany, impelled by the Trotskyist group, Proleterska Avangarda and certain militants were forcefully integrated into Force Ouvriere (Social Democratic trade union-- trans.) or thrown into the most complete confusion. In Hungary, the entire organization of the LRSZ was taken apart by the joint repression of the police of Kadar and this campaign of the OCI which provoked the abandonment of any combat by militants deeply de-

moralized by the Stalinist methods of Lambert/Just.

The following months were spent by us in organizing the faction in the International Organizational Committee, with the Trotskyist Organization of Spain and the Trotskyist Group of Morocco. On their part, the leadership of the OCI used the time in between the next meeting of the International Bureau, in April, to "normalize" the French militants who, after reading the famous "Report" fell into a complete confusion and disarray. In all the cells, questions concerning the dissolution of the inter-

national Committee and the differences were raised. The responses of the leadership were varied, willfully confusing and threatening. We were called "saboteurs," "enemies," and "provocateurs" who "wished to destroy the OCI." A campaign for "the defense of the OCI" developed. One demanded that militants demonstrate "an OCI spirit." At the same time the leadership prohibited the reading of the "International Bulletin" edited by our faction beginning in January 1973. All personal contact with militants of the faction was forbidden and punished. All this happened. Let us recall, on the eve of the 18th Congress of the OCI. No discussion of the international problems raised by the Second Session of the Pre-Conference took place.

It was replaced by a campaign against the so-called "Vargaism," which it was necessary to condemn, but without militants knowing the political orientation. The 18th Congress had this sad merit of burying, without discussion, with a hasty vote on a small paragraph in a huge resolution, the dissolution of the International Committee and the condemnation of "Vargaism." Thus, the leadership of the OCI succeeded in preventing the Congress from discussing and pronouncing itself on a fundamental change of political orientation, that is, on the abandonment of the rebuilding of the Fourth International. This was its meaning and this is why it was necessary to fight the real "provocation"-- our opposition to the opportunism of the leadership of the OCI-- under the cover of the so-called "Vargaism." Beginning with this Congress, any militant who doubted, or would be against, would be punished for the violation of the rules of "democratic centralism," the vote of the Congress being the law.

Here and there, as by chance, the police slanders reappeared. Some militants spoke of the GPU, others of the CIA. For months this was the only "explanation" which was permanent, nourished by all kinds of noises. The terrain was being prepared, they proceeded to terrify hundreds of militants by a "provocation" as impressionable as it was shapeless and fleeting.

The campaign would be precipitated and made more precise following the break of the faction "For the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee" which intervened at our initiative at the meeting of the International Bureau in April 1973, and with the constitution of the International League-- Re-

builder of the Fourth International. We broke due to a precise political fact: the leadership of the OCI now openly opposed the construction of new revolutionary parties, sections of the Fourth International. This new line, already developed in France towards the support of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, accompanied by these attempts to destroy our young sections, was affirmed without ambiguity in the virulent opposition of Lambert and Just to the participation of the Trotskyist Group of Morocco at the meeting of the International Bureau. For the Trotskyist Group of Morocco had just constituted, within the African Marxist Group, an independent nucleus of the new party of the Moroccan proletariat and joined the faction. It was a special "defense guard" of militants of the OCI, handpicked and led by Francois De Massot, member of the Political Bureau of the OCI, which made its sudden appearance in the meeting to prevent the Moroccan Trotskyists from participating, by force. After leaving the documents declaring the break, the delegates of Spain, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Morocco left the meeting, accompanied by this commando squad whose task was to "expel" us.

On May 16th an internal "Informational Note" of the OCI made the campaign of slanders official. Dedicated to the so-called "Varga affair," the note said: "What were his exact objectives at the beginning? We still do not know (and perhaps will not know for a long time) the exact motives of Varga and the goal he pursues. On the contrary, the sabotage is evident and comes from afar. Documents which have just appeared will be published in time. The important thing is to identify what kind of trap Varga cooked up to trap Trotskyist militants who were headed towards Trotskyism."

What sabotage? What documents? How did these "appear", as in a dream at this given moment? The doubt increases. The trouble and the confusion of the militants of the OCI grows. Expulsions of militants who were not ready to swallow the pill, began to fall. These expulsions continued after the publication of the slanders when they forced the militants to vote that Michel Varga was a police provocateur.

The first slanderous article was published in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES #617, in June. Others followed, repeating and "bettering" the so-called "proofs" of the first, as well as modifying them. The famous green brochure, "Provocation in the Fourth International-- Itinerary of the Provocateur Varga" was published in March 1974. It was directly in face of the constitution of the International League that the leadership of the OCI now took up this campaign in public. The "explanation" of the political differences raised at the Second Session of the International Pre-Conference would finally be found...

Such an "explanation" would "be the reason for" the successive aggressions against the militants and distributors of the OCI-International League Faction, regrouping militants of the OCI, expelled and inside the organization who

were fighting for the correction of their organization. It served to invariably extend the same slander to all militants of the International League. It would be adapted to the feelings of militants and geographical and political circumstances according to the country: In Eastern Europe it was the KGB, but in Latin America the KGB would disappear completely from the columns of INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES to not upset the leadership of the OCI in their alliance with the Stalinists and their policy of pushing the workers into the arms of a "CP-SP Government" in France.

The Commission of Inquiry must also know that outside of the OCI no other organization of the International Organizational Committee took up these slanders publicly. Their leaders, following Lambert, did it with low voices each time they were threatened by a political intervention of the Fourth International.

All of this clearly demonstrates I believe, that the person of Michel Varga only was a pretext for the OCI in order to slander the Fourth International and Trotskyism as such. Slander always follows opportunism in politics. It is always a logical and indispensable complement. An opportunist end justifies and demands the lowest means. This was the case for example, in the campaign of slanders, without parallel in history, of Stalin and the Stalinists against Trotsky, against the Left Opposition and the Fourth International in the 30's. The same attack of Stalinism, through the intermediary of the OCI against the Fourth International is reproduced today. For the goals of the slander against Michel Varga were clear from the beginning: it is a combat to the death of Stalinism against Trotskyism and its revolutionary policy. This short history has tried to show this. The documents which are in the possession of the Commission prove this. To cleanse Michel Varga of this shameful attack consequently goes along with re-establishing the true history of this precise fact.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) International Bureau; coordinating organism of the Organizational Committee for the rebuilding of the 4th International, designated at the Pre-Conference.
- 2) Trotskyist Organization of Spain; now the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain (PORE) Section of the Fourth International.
- 3) African Marxist Group (GMA); regroupment of African militants who were associated to the International Committee and whose goal was to impulse the construction of sections of the FI in African countries, notably, at the time in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Dahomey. The Trotskyist Group of Morocco, now the Revolutionary Workers League of Morocco, was the first to constitute an independent organization inside the GMA, at the beginning of 1973.
- 4) Michel Varga was a member of the Central Committee of the OCI, elected at the 17th Congress and in this regard he would present his own resignation from the OCI in front of this body.

YOUNG WORKERS! THE ROUGE SPRING ELECTIONS ARE YOURS

By FRED VITALE

"I'm in favor of federal seizure of the mines ... I doubt if the young miners would heed a Taft-Hartley order..." (Doug Fraser, quoted in the DETROIT NEWS.)

The miners strike has opened up a new level in the offensive of the American working class. It is in the lessons of this strike that the workers can learn how to advance at the Ford River Rouge plant Spring elections for Local UAW officers.

This strike shows the plot between the capitalist government and the trade union bureaucracy AGAINST the workers, especially the young workers. How can we smash this plot? By building our own Party, our own revolutionary leadership which can lead the whole working class and lead its unions as well.

SPRING ELECTIONS CRUCIAL

The spring elections are crucial to smashing this plot and building this leadership. They are crucial to getting a decent contract in auto. Why? Because what's at stake in these elections is the workers struggle for their rights over the bosses' rights.

The workers with their wildcats, local strikes, heat walkouts (all happened at the Rouge last year) have been trying to solve the problems of unemployment, layoffs, poor working conditions; the crisis of this society.

Fraser, head of the UAW bureaucracy, along with local leaders like Mike Rinaldi or Hank Wilson have answered these strikes, etc., with Carter's "democracy." They have attempted to sabotage every strike (like the Stamping strike last summer) support the rule of the bosses in the factories, the Democrats in the government, and now they call for federal seizure of the mines! In other words they stand for capitalist dictatorship.

The vast majority of workers in the UAW do not think that the Fraser regime rules in their best interest. Thousands of workers across the country have battled against it. These workers must and can be regrouped THROUGH THESE ELECTIONS. This is the first step towards winning the unions to the side of the revolution, to throwing out the bureaucrats.

So what, young workers might say. What's so important about

the UAW for a revolutionary change? What's so important about the River Rouge Plant?

The UAW, the mass organization of the autoworkers, is the backbone of the workers movement. The auto industry is the most important capitalist industry. Through the UAW, 700,000 militant workers, 50% of them black, tens of thousands of them young, can be reached. With a revolutionary leadership of the UAW, these hundreds of thousands can be mobilized for the revolution in the interests of all the oppressed.

But it's not just a good idea. It is absolute necessity. The UAW once belonged to the workers. Now the agents of the Carter government control them, claiming to represent the workers. The workers' new, revolutionary leadership can't be built without

throwing out the old one, without completely defeating them in the eyes of all the autoworkers.

The miners have begun this struggle in their union. For them to it must become a conscious struggle to build a new leadership.

"O. K. But what's so critical about the Rouge?" It's the largest auto factory in the Western world, with the largest local (30,000 members) in the biggest auto town in the country.

What's at stake in these elections, young workers, is not only the next year in the factory, but part of your struggle for a real FUTURE. The Trotskyist Organization is the only organization to bring the struggle for a revolutionary future for the young workers to the center of the fight in the union and in these elections.

Because we are fighting for this, we're the only organization that can fight the problems the young workers face every day.

LAYOFFS

Carter has just announced he is invoking Taft-Hartley against the miners. All the bourgeois papers are screaming about the layoffs sure to come because of the miner's strike. Fraser and Co. want the government to "seize the mines" and bring the unruly young miners IN THE UNITED MINE WORKERS UNION, under the direct control of the government. This is the plan of Fraser and Carter. And they

would use it against the autoworkers too.

The autoworkers must stop the layoffs and keep the government out of the mines!

The only way to do this is through a National Emergency Convention of the UAW to take up how to stop the layoffs and defend the miners. These questions are too important to be left in the hands of the bureaucrats alone. This Convention must be open to all tendencies in the UAW, to present their plans.

And as the way to begin this mobilization, the TO is fighting for resolutions in the locals demanding the convening of this Convention and the election of delegates.

And there are other important questions. Beginning in April, overtime will be mandatory in the Stamping plant. Constant harassment continues for missing days. The Dearborn Assembly Plant where 1300 new workers will be hired will be hit with line speed of 68 cars an hour.

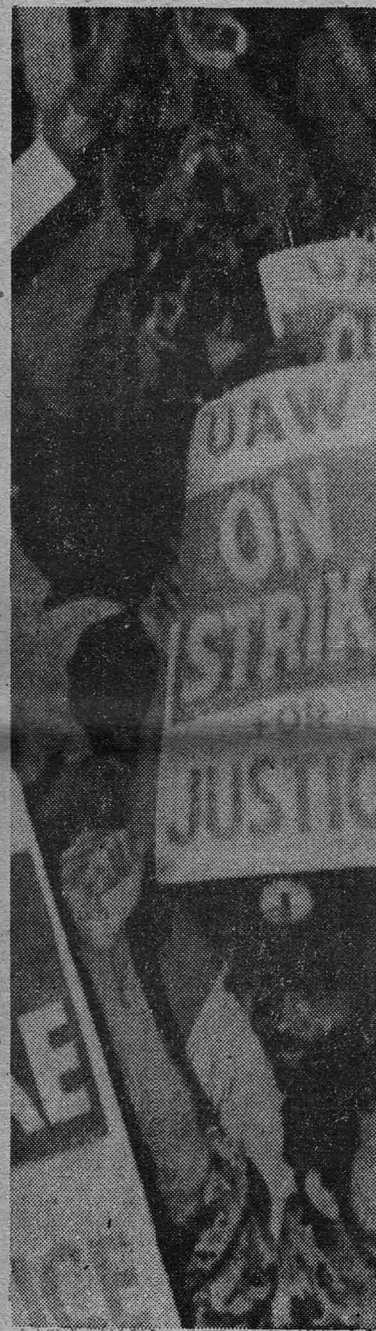
We don't think that there should be ANY forced overtime. Recall the 190,000 workers still laid off from 1975! The harassment will end when its the WORKERS who set the production standards and job loads on the lines. These are some of the major demands of the elections.

UNIONS ARE CRITICAL FOR YOUNG WORKERS

Most young workers don't really see the union or the elections as having anything much to do with them. The main reason for young workers thinking this way is that the union leadership is just like the cops, school teachers and others who oppress and suppress the young workers. But, unlike the government, the unions have belonged to the workers and we must reclaim them.

Furthermore, the continued existence of the Fraser regime, despite the constant assaults against it by the workers has in some ways strengthened his hand. The fact that he can still break strikes with impunity discourages workers.

So young workers avoid or dismiss the UAW and the fight for revolutionary change in it. And this, too, strengthens Fraser and Carter's hands because the most



FORD RIVER ROUGE WORKERS FORM MASS PICKETS ON FIRST DAY OF NATIONAL FORD STRIKE -- 1976

militant aren't taking them on directly.

In the UAW there are opportunists who talk militant but invariably end up supporting Fraser and Carter against the workers. The Shorter Work Week, All-union Committee founded by Frank Runnels of Cadillac Local #22. They want to get the present UAW holiday plan in all contracts, as if this has increased employment at all. They're inviting Fraser to come and speak at their next meeting in April.

The Stalinist Communist Party with their Autoworkers Action Caucus (one of their principal spokesmen is Lasker Smith, former vice-president of Local #2). They think that this Committee is just fine. This gimmick of paid personal holidays leaves untouched those really responsible for unemployment, the Carter government. It channels the workers actions AWAY from finishing with Carter to appealing to him. These opportunists, by separating the fight against unemployment from the fight against Carter and Fraser confuse the workers. For this reason, they have become the MAIN OBSTACLE to the workers reclaiming their unions.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS FACTION

In order to make this fight for workers rights, to win the UAW to the revolution, the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Young Workers are organizing a Faction in the UAW. The faction is open to all the autoworkers.

The Revolutionary Workers Faction/UAW is not like the opportunists. We won't hide anything, aren't looking to get off the line and into a comfortable chair. We support and extend every action of the workers against the bosses, bureaucrats and Carter.

We want Workers Democracy in the UAW, and make the UAW for the working class. The first step is to regroup the revolutionary wing through the spring elections.

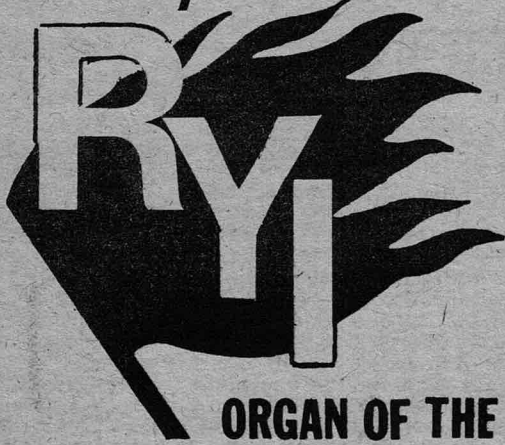
Young workers! Fraser's "concern" for the attitude of the young miners is only the beginning of his attack with Carter on the workers. Do not take it lightly! Join the RWF/UAW! Participate in the spring elections!

March 8, 1978

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"the youth is the flame of the proletarian revolution!"



INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

2ND YEAR No.16 FEBRUARY 1978 25¢

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL



FREE SANTIAGO ALEGRIA SANCHEZ

Revolutionary Youth International

Declaration

FREE SOLDIER SANTIAGO ALEGRIA!

STOP THE PROVOCATION AGAINST THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN SPAIN!

LEGALIZATION FOR THE PARTIDO OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO OF SPAIN!

DOWN WITH THE BOURGEOIS AND BUREAUCRAT POLICEMEN OF EUROPE!

Young workers, young fighters!

Santiago Alegria is going to be brought before the military tribunal.

He was serving his military service when he was arrested by the military police.

Act of accusation: "member of an illegal party, the PORE, preparing an armed insurrection against the Monarchy."

At the same time the monarchist government and the press, basing themselves on the Moncloa Pact, have organized a powerful provocative campaign to put the PORE in the same category as a terrorist organization, and the Juventud Revolucionarios of Spain, our section, as its armed group.

This is the only means they have found to try to cut us off from the masses.

Why?

The PORE is not "legalized" while practically all other parties are in Spain, because it refused to give up its Program and its practical struggle to finish with the Monarchy, to destroy the bourgeois state and to install a government of workers and peasants councils.

Because it struggles consequently for the revolution.

This terrorizes the Monarchy.

The Monarchy calls this terrorism in order to better attack.

Why?

Because the bourgeoisie and bureaucrats are terrorized by the depth of your mobilization which they want to strangle in blood.

And first of all, the most conscious and combative elements, our party and our organization of world youth, as well as you, young fighters.

This Europe, it is a Europe of hangmen.

They work hand in hand to organize and plan the repression.

It is a central attack against you.

Look,

They have created a "European Convention for the Repression of Terrorism" placing in jeopardy all fundamental rights, including the right to political asylum.

In their documents they call you "common law" and throughout Europe you will be hunted.

Under the banner of "human rights" sung by Carter, they wish to suppress all democratic rights.

CONT' PAGE 4



WORKERS DEMOCRACY AND THE UAW ELECTIONS



By JEROME TOLBERT

There is an election coming up this Spring, (May 5). Many of you may not know this, it probably seems like a little ways off, but it is now! It's now when you should start thinking about who's running, why, and what will be the outcome. May 5, is not that far off. Some people, like myself, would think that an election would bring a change. Well, if it doesn't, May 5 might as well never come.

A change, a change, and what could we hope for in a change. Two minutes more for break? Dismissal of a foreman or two? Fine, wonderful, for wage slaves who know no better!

We are conscious human beings! Give us not your rejects of Supervision. Give us not more time to ponder the woes of overtime and production. But give us Workers Democracy! With Workers De-

mocracy the union would become a mighty tool in the hands of the workers. People would start taking an interest in their jobs and themselves; layoffs could be dealt with. We need a SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES: Divide the work among all available workers with no cut in pay.

You may ask yourself, how can this be done? We must organize ourselves independently, in our own democratically elected committees. We should elect a workers strike committee to plan and prepare our struggle. There were no independent organs this past July, so many of us suffered in the scorching heat, three of us died. How many of us will die this Summer or the next?

We should elect a Workers Defense Guard to protect the workers during a strike and rid us of the Nazi scum, just as Henry Ford's

Government protects the Nazi's bookstore.

Oh. Did I say strike? Well, let me let you in on something else. The government is trying to pass a bill called the S. 1437, which will put workers in jail for the better part of their lives for striking, or as the law really puts it, "subjecting any person to economic loss or injury to his business or profession." We must bring the weight of our unions against this law. Only if we control the unions can this be done.

So I'm asking you now, give some thought to what you want out of these elections this May 5, and if you would like to take up this fight, help build the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW, and join the Revolutionary Young Workers, Jerome C. Tolbert January 28, 1978

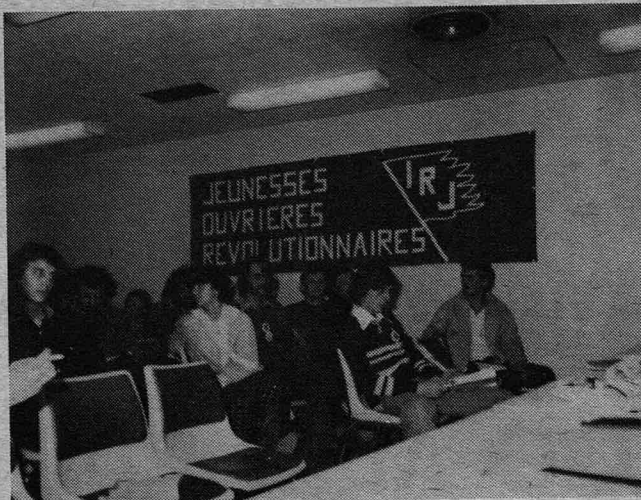
INTERNATIONAL YOUNG METALWORKERS CONFERENCE EXCERPTS FROM THE RESOLUTION

(adopted at World Metalworkers Conference, Paris, December 17, 1977)

We, young metalworkers, workers and students from Spain, France, Sweden and the United States, gathered together on December 17-18 in Paris at the call of the Revolutionary Youth International, address ourselves to all of you, young workers in our factories, young workers and militants of the entire world, to call you to take up the struggle that we have begun:

- to bring down imperialism and Stalinist bureaucracy
- to install the socialist power of the Workers Councils in Europe and throughout the planet
- to build the new World Party of Workers, the inheritor of the party of Lenin and Trotsky, AND THUS JOIN WITH US IN THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

(...)
We are gathered around these objectives which were those of Lenin and Trotsky and which are proclaimed today by the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International, because the experience of the struggles in our



factories and unions shows us, each day with more urgency, the necessity to unite our forces beyond the borders and oppressors, to organize the first ones to build the new World Party of the socialist revolution and sweep away the obstacle represented by the old, corrupt leaderships of the workers movement, Stalinism and Social

Democracy, in the struggle to free the proletariat, which is our future.

(...)
The leaders who have failed tell you: "socialism is Brezhnev and his tanks, or it is submission to the exploiters."

(...)
But, they are not the only ones to do this, comrades. Hand in

hand with them, an entire cohort of opportunists, including those who shamefully claim the Fourth International, like Krivine, Mandel, Hansen, Lambert and Healy, try to tell you: "it is under the guidance of the CP and SP that it is necessary to march or else leave the working class." Listen! They tell you that it is not the GOVERNMENT OF WORKERS COUNCILS, like those in October 1917, but that of the parties who are enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat which can satisfy your demands. They tell you that these parties have "changed" or can "change" the police regime of Kremlin masters without the working class overthrowing them and taking power in its hands!

(...)
And this is why, comrades, our struggle and our revolt against the power of the bourgeoisie and the domination of Stalinism, against all those who wish to chain us to their order, MUST BE ORGANIZED. In their fashion, the enemies of the revolution underline with each new day this necessity for the working class youth of all countries. If their slogan has become "terrorists out of the factories" it is because they are against our combat being organized, that it will renew with the lessons of Lenin and October. What they fear is that the conscious and organized struggle of the working class youth, in the first place those of the great bastions of metallurgy, will become the revolutionary ferment of the proletariat!

How can we accept the perspective proposed by the different "autonomous movements" which have come to light in Italy, France, Germany, and other countries, and which, this very day, are meeting in Strasbourg? At a recent Congress in Bologna, they called on leading the struggle "outside the factories and the unions..." Where, therefore? Must we stand on our knees in front of the bureaucrats?

We affirm that the socialist revolution can only be the work of the uprising of the working class, occupying the factories, imposing its law and its own solutions to the crisis through its Factory Committees, Councils and militias; centralizing them to smash the police, the army and the entire State of oppressors, thus bringing with it the working masses of the city and country in the path of the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT.

(...)
Abandon the unions? Must we thus leave them in the hands of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucrats? With their doing the unions have turned against the workers who built them to defend their interests. But, under a proletarian leadership, the will become the most powerful arm to raise up and lead millions of workers towards the installation of the power of soviets!

This is why, comrades, we have begun in each of our countries, around this objective and these demands, which are those of all the working class and the youth, the struggle for the unification of our unions in ONE CENTRAL UNION OF THE WORKERS, independent and democratic, with us regrouped in REVOLUTIONARY FACTIONS against the opportunist and bur-

eaucratic trade union leaders, DOWN WITH THE ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE AND PUSH THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH FROM THE UNIONS! PLACE TO THE YOUTH IN THE UNIONS! TAKE THEM IN OUR HANDS FOR THE REVOLUTION!

Comrades,
More than ever, the conquest of our future is common. From the streets of Budapest to those of Prague and Cracow, the wish of thousands of youth to rally their forces for SOCIALISM in an INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION OF THE YOUTH. This must be built in our factories, which will forge our revolutionary unity against the bourgeoisie and Stalinism! Under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, under the banner of the World Revolution, let us be the first to awake and give the real meaning to the saying of yesterday and today of the workers movement:

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!"

It is to forge this unity that we have engaged, with the Revolutionary Youth International, a mobilization in our factories and unions for the FREE ENTRY INTO POLAND OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT AGAINST THE REPRESSION constituted a year after the general strike of June 1976 in order to:

- bring light on the repression,
- demand justice for Stanislaw PYJAS and for all the workers assassinated and persecuted by the bureaucracy and the PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE which lying "amnesty" of Gierek wish to cover in order to prepare a new attack against the working class
- to thus support the fight of the entire working class and youth of the USSR and other Eastern European countries against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We address ourselves today to workers and youth in all countries in the first place to young communists and socialists to call you to join this battle, to elect your delegates to the Commission of Inquiry and to engage with us the boldest mobilization for its ENTRY INTO POLAND.

Comrades of Ursus and Radom and all Poland! This struggle above all yours. Join it! Demand the free entry of the COMMISSION OF INQUIRY! Enlarge it with representatives! MAKE IT THE FIRST LINK OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF OUR VICTORY

(...)
Young metalworkers! Young workers of the world! We call you to join the ranks of our International in the struggle we have begun for the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT in each country for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

It is this struggle that we are leading in Spain, forging a COBALT ALLIANCE OF THE PROLETARIAN YOUTH FOR THE "WORKERS CORTES" and to bring down the Monarchy by the revolutionary uprising of the workers. It is for this mobilization that our International will meet on January 7-8 in Barcelona, for the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Youth of Spain, in order to group in its ranks the largest forces of the working class youth

GUESS WHO'S COMING TO DETROIT?

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

A delegation from the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union will be in Detroit on January 30 and 31. Originally scheduled to go to San Francisco, the delegation preferred Detroit. "Detroit is a place of working people," said a representative of the Soviet Union according to the DETROIT FREE PRESS.

Young workers, our international of the working class youth, the Revolutionary Youth International, was founded with a demonstration at the foot of the Berlin Wall. Socialism, yes! Stalinism, no! That was our cry then and now. In March of 1978 we will hold our Third Congress, preceded by a demonstration in Paris with delegations of youth from over the world against the anti-worker, counterrevolution being masterminded by imperialism and Stalinism. Workers Democracy ensured by a Workers Government. This is the solution to the decaying capitalist system, and the Stalinist police-state. We call on you to join us in this fight.

Indeed Detroit is a working class city, and all the more important that Detroit workers understand the true character of Stalinism, the gravedigger of the Russian revolution. The head of the delegation, Boris Ponomarev masterminded the Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia in 1968. These gangsters, who call themselves "Communists," have done more damage to the struggle for socialist revolution and the emancipation of the working class, than the vilest villains of imperialism.

Unquestionably, without the international apparatus of Stalin-

ism, countless revolutions would have succeeded: Spain in 1938, Hungary in 1956, France, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in 1968, 1970, and 1976. The list could go on forever.

This is the whole purpose of "Detente" and "peaceful-coexistence," to betray the struggles of the workers by leading them back into the hands of their capitalist masters, and in the name of communism at that.

Capitalism it is true no longer exists in the Soviet Union. It was destroyed by the revolution of the workers and peasants led by the Bolshevik party -- named the Communist Party after the revolution. The factories, schools, public services, transportation, foreign trade, and economic planning were all controlled by the mass workers councils ("soviets" in Russian) elected democratically by the workers. Despite what is said in bourgeois history texts, this was the most democratic and fair government that has ever existed, and any worker can find this out for himself, it is a matter of historical record. But what is Stalinism? What happened to the Russian Revolution?

Stalinism annihilated the Russian revolution, and the leaders of the Russian working class, just as surely as they murdered and imprisoned thousands of workers leaders in Poland in 1976. And the Kremlin bureaucracy will add to its list of crimes until they are brought to trial by a jury of their peers -- the international working class.

The international Commission of Inquiry into the repression in

Poland, formed at the initiative of the Revolutionary Youth International is the means to bring these Stalinists to trial. We can't trust Jimmy Carter or the hypocritical servants of imperial America in government to bring the Stalinists to justice. Sure they talk about "human rights" but look who's going to be welcoming the Stalinists when they come to Detroit -- Coleman Young, Fraser of the United Auto Workers, and Henry Ford. It's workers rights we need, and neither the Stalinists or the servants of capitalism are about to give in to the just demands of the working class. Thus, the enlargement of the Commission of Inquiry with workers delegates from the unions is the means to unmask and bring to trial the Stalinist criminals.

Workers of Ford River Rouge, give an appropriate welcome to the Stalinist scabs who have come to visit the scab leadership of the UAW, and boss Henry Ford, a demonstration of support for the work of the Commission of Inquiry into the repression in Poland and the election of new delegates to this Commission.

Free the political prisoners of the Stalinist bureaucracy! Bring the real criminals to trial!

To counter any notion that these Soviet bureaucrats have a warm place in their hearts for "working people," the Revolutionary Young Workers is building an informational picket line at the gates of Ford River Rouge, which is on the itinerary of the Soviet delegation. They will also visit with Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, and Henry Ford.

RENCE

in the metallurgy factories, in the ranks of the YC and YS, in the workers commissions or in the CNT, are seeking a revolutionary solution to the present situation.

And it is in this mobilization that the Revolutionary Youth International will meet its conference of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKER YOUTH OF THE PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, FOR THE IBERIAN FEDERATION OF THE WORKERS COUNCILS and the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, in order to link the Portuguese revolution, threatened by fascism, to the struggles of the workers and youth of Spain and all the continent. For, only the power of the victorious proletariat throughout Europe, reorganizing the entire continent on socialist basis and on the free and fraternal union of peoples, can give a solution to national aspirations crushed by the bourgeoisie and its states and by the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It is under this banner, comrades, that the Revolutionary Young Workers of France fight for the UNITY OF THE YOUTH in order to massively regroup them around its revolutionary objectives during these coming legislative elections, with the candidates of the Fourth International. For, the failure of the 5th Republic and the "union of the Left" demonstrates that there remains no other road for the proletariat and the youth than that of the struggle for the power of the Workers Councils.

It is also under this banner, which is that of the unity of the workers of Europe and the Americas, that our International already fights in the ranks of the working class youth of the factories of Chicago, Detroit, in the bastion itself of imperialism. For, your force and your place in the world socialist revolution, young American workers, is as decisive as it is feared by our common enemies. Carrillo, by shamefully accusing you of being "more right-wing" than the Spanish fascists that he defends, wishes in his way to give you even more proof. For in order to submit you and defeat the international working class, imperialism and its allies must at all costs isolate and chain up the gigantic force which lies in your factories and your mines. It is you who we call!

Young metalworkers!
Today is only the beginning!
Gather our forces and be worthy
of the most worthy saying of the
working class youth which is that
of our International and yours:

THE YOUTH IS THE FLAME OF
THE REVOLUTION OF WHICH THE
PROLETARIAT IS THE TORCH!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!
DOWN WITH STALINISM!
FORWARD TO THE SOCIALIST
UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

RETURN TO LENIN!
LONG LIVE THE WORLD PARTY
OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
REVOLUTION!

JOIN US!

Resolution of World Conference of Young Metalworkers To miners in America and their brothers and sisters in Poland and Rumania

To the miners in America and their brothers in Poland and Rumania.

The World Conference of Metalworkers convoked by the Revolutionary Youth International addresses a special call to you, miners in America, whose union, the United Mine Workers of America, is under the assault of imperialism.

Miners--

You have entered this struggle with the handicap of a leadership in the UMW that has compromised and blocked your courageous struggle time and time again. These labor statesmen even now are preparing a new defeat for you by their begging allegiance to American capitalism.

They call for unity even as they bow down before the coal operators in the name of the preservation of profits and productivity. But this is a horrible lie. There can be no unity between the small minority of exploiters and the vast majority in society, the oppressed workers, the masses of unemployed youth.

Miners--

You are not alone in your struggle. Even now in the countries of Poland and Rumania where the capitalists have been expropriated, the hated Stalinist bureaucracy in the service of imperialism has leveled a fierce repression against the strikers in the Polish and Rumanian mines.

The stake of your struggle is that of the working class the world over. The stake of your struggle is the defense of your precious conquests -- your union which must be cleansed of the class-collaborationist bureaucracy. The fate of your struggle depends on your own independent organization -- the election of strike committees centralized on a national scale, the formation of defense guards to beat back the company guards and goons. The fate of your struggle depends on the fight for workers democracy in your unions and in society, a struggle defended with a workers government and by smashing the rule of capital.

It is these same objectives -- WORKERS DEMOCRACY, WORKERS GOVERNMENT -- that are the solution as well for your brothers in Poland and Rumania. It is with these objectives, summarized in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, that we held our international conference.

Turn aside those as the Stalinist Communist Party/USA who make your struggle a charity cause. Turn aside those as the centrist Socialist Workers Party who try to give new life to the class-collaborationist bureaucracy.

Take up this struggle with us now and win to your side the largest battalions of the international working class.

Long live the miners and their courageous struggle!

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**WHAT DOES THE
REVOLUTIONARY
YOUTH
INTERNATIONAL
WANT?**

MANIFESTO OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RYI



Police protect

Unite or falter

By DALE VERDELL

On Friday, January 4, 1976 two comrades and myself rallied to the cause now confronting us, THE NAZIS' REMOVAL. Upon approaching the place currently occupied by the Nazis, two police stood guarding the door armed with RIOT CONTROL NIGHT STICKS, under the sign of the swastika, ready for any uncalculated outbreak in violence. With this well within our frame of understanding, we asked them if a demonstration or rally would be held there on that day. In answering, one officer stated that he knew of no predetermined rally or demonstration. In surprise, one of us asked if they truly felt like officers of the Law ought to defend this place. His answer was that, "the Law protects you, the Law protects them; its our job ..."

Astonished we replied; "I hope you'll protect us when they become the Law." Then we promptly exited with no coercion.

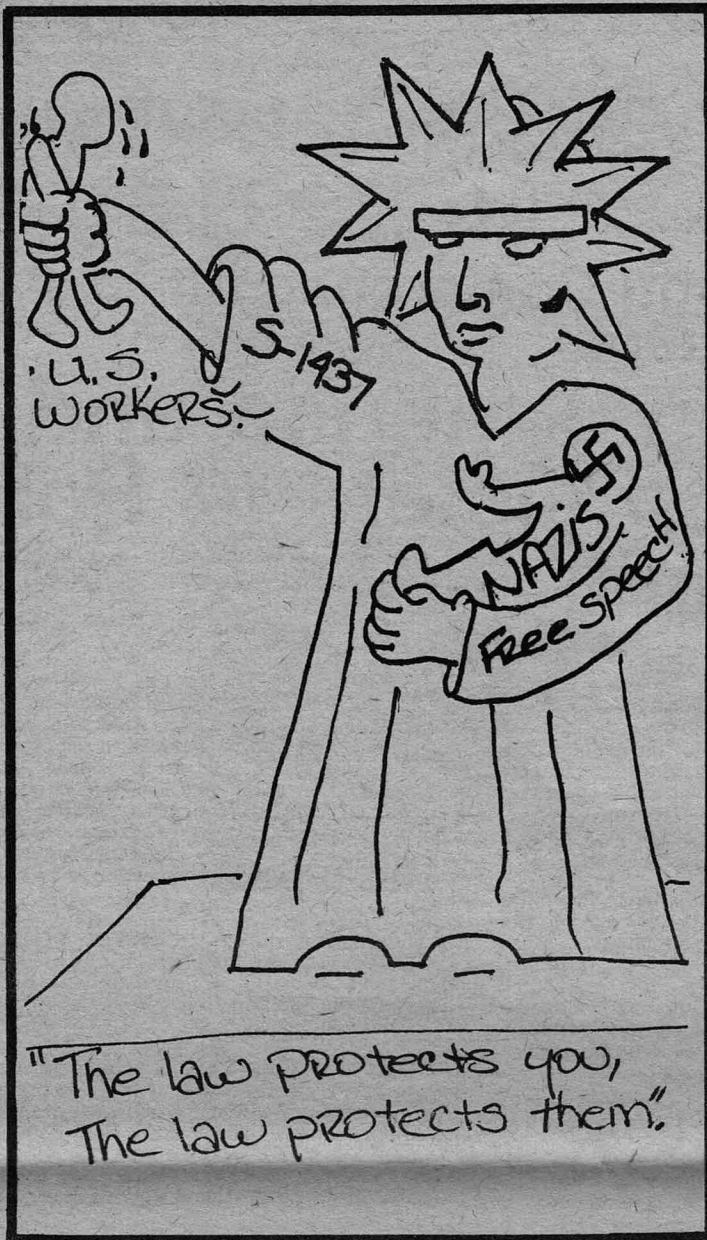
The Nazis have taken refuge in our own backyard, sprouting seeds of division among the working class. They know that the federal government shields them. For they stand firm behind "rights," to smash the rights of the working class. They pursue to make a mockery out of the working class. This is a cold slap in the face, to bring about a realization upon our parts, to use their philosophy would only help to bring us down to a lower level of degradation then they have achieved. But there is no doubt that they should be smashed.

The Revolutionary Youth International proposes to elect a Workers Defense Guard of Local #600, UAW to achieve this goal, and to see that Fascism, Nazism or other similar organizations never raise their ugly heads again.

So rally to the cause, comrades, and unite. Stand tall and firm. For never have we needed your support more than now. The unions, the RYI, and the youth stand to fight this threat to the working class against the will of the capitalists.

We call on all young workers who want to fight the Nazis to come to the next Circle meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers, where we will discuss what fascism is, and how to fight it.

January 29, 1978



Camejo: Left Comedian

Pedro Camejo, a leader of the SWP and their candidate for President in 1976, gave the speech at the central "rally" at the YSA Convention. This speech was a perfect illustration of the SWP's leadership of the youth -- making the revolution and the working class seem like a joke, making building a party of the working class an "in group" affair for "revolutionary" cynics. One line for the "backward" masses, jokes and cynicism for the party "cadre."

Just a few lines printed below show the phillistine nature of a section of the leadership of the SWP and how little they really have in common with the working class youth.

"The working class-- why it's like a drugged animal. Doesn't know enough to slap a parasite that lives off it."

"Young comrades are in too much a hurry to make a revolution-- you know, a lot of them try to hurry up the process. Come up with a lot of gimmicks. Like flushing all the toilets at once."

"It's good someone else called this march and organized this coalition against the Baake decision. We couldn't do it by ourselves. The bourgeoisie would just denounce it for being red."

"The revolution is like a pot of water. The Communist Party and Socialist Party are like cubes of ice in this pot. Our job is to get things hot enough so we can melt them."

"YSAers-- they're like bubbles of gas on top of a boiling pot of water. Just like you never know which bubble is going to pop off, you never know which person you're working with will bubble up as a YSAer."

Some youth walked out of this "rally" with the same feeling of disgust we had. Two YSAers said that they were going to go across the street and see "Star Wars" instead. Others walked out congratulating themselves for being part of such a witty, urbane, "in" group.

No one walked out with any amount of confidence in the proletariat or determination to make the proletarian revolution. That wasn't part of his "act."

M. G.
January 13, 1978

Meeting! Committee free Santiago Alegria

Sunday February 5 2pm

Wayne State U Student Center near Anthony Wayne & Kirby

Detroit Mi

cont'd from front page

Under this banner they assassinated Baader. Under this banner the Italian CP tells workers to denounce the terrorists in the factories. Under this banner Giscard extradited Croissant, organizes the police control of youth and the hunt after immigrants.

Under this banner they are meeting in Belgrade with the bureaucrats of Eastern Europe, with Giersek, responsible for the assassination of Stanislas Pyjas, organizer of repression against the workers who organized the general strike of June '76 in Poland.

This Europe, it is a Europe of the hangmen of Belgrade.

AGAINST THE "EUROPEAN CONVENTION FOR THE REPRESSION OF TERRORISM"! AGAINST THE EUROPE OF THE HANGMEN OF BELGRADE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL CALLS YOU TO MOBILIZE ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL!

The bourgeoisie is now concentrating its blows by trying to decapitate your mobilization. This by trying to destroy the Fourth International which expresses and consciously orients your combat.

Young workers, young fighters, the hour has come to counter-attack, centralized. You who are already fighting against the Europe of repression, it is necessary to develop and centralize this struggle on the international level!

Militants of the Young Communists, you cannot accept the denunciation of "terrorists" in the factories. Your place is with us.

Young militants who belong to organizations who stand for revolution, your initiatives and particular actions must now converge!

Together, whatever our differences may be, it is necessary to counterattack in a centralized way!

Immediate mobilization against the attempt of the hangmen of Belgrade to decapitate your struggle and to destroy the Fourth International!

Everywhere, form Committees for the Liberation of Santiago Alegria to prepare an international demonstration the day Santiago Alegria will go before the military tribunal.

FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE SOLDIER, SANTIAGO ALEGRIA!
Stop all judicial proceedings!

STOP THE PROVOCATION AGAINST THE PEOPLE!
LEGALIZATION OF THE PORE
and all anti-Francoist organizations in Spain!

AGAINST THE EUROPE OF THE HANGMEN OF BELGRADE!

Immediately the committees must be formed through actions, meetings, and demonstrations in front of the Spanish embassies.

Young workers, young fighters!
The RYI makes this proposition to you because it is built as a large political and international movement of the youth, because it fights against the Europe of the hangmen of Belgrade, for the Socialist United States of Europe!

JOIN ITS RANKS!

International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International
January 22, 1978