



Reject latest mine contract...

THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE!

The national strike of 180,000 coal miners is now entering its third month. It has become the single most important event in this country.

Everyone is beginning to sense that something important is at stake. Every class conscious worker is beginning to sense that a change is taking place in the struggle of the American working class. That something is being tested out that goes beyond the basic demands of the miners or the threats of layoffs and power blackouts.

That it involves the White House. That it involves who is going to run this society.

A struggle that concerns rights. WORKERS RIGHTS. A struggle that concerns democracy. WORKERS DEMOCRACY. The struggle of the miners has revealed the struggle of the working class as a whole to fundamentally change this old system of unemployment, repression and war.

The powerful and determined struggle of the miners has forced the hand of this government which claims to be "of the people." The fact that the miners are not isolated, but have the support and represent the aspirations of all workers has forced Carter, this lying hypocrite of "human rights" to act.

THE ENEMY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE! This government, run by the capitalists is an enemy of every single worker in the US!

After months of silence, while the coal bosses were trying to break the strike with their massive stockpiles, while all the bourgeois papers were "advising" the miners that they were going to lose, Carter intervened in the coal strike.

When? When the coal bosses were up against a wall! When their stockpiles were down. When they would be forced to give in to the miners. When the struggle of the miners has posed the question of who is really going to run the mines-- the workers or the bosses.

Carter intervened to save their necks and property. Not that this is anything new. But it is now out the open. A direct challenge of the capitalist government to the working class-- Who is going to run the show?

Not that this has been done without difficulty. The miners strike has revealed the deep crisis of the US bourgeoisie. They are not yet prepared and fear an open confrontation with the working class.

The hesitations, the threats, Carter's ludicrous "deadlines," reveal this fear and hesitation. The working class is on the

offensive and they know it.

Carter has delayed invoking Taft-Hartley because he knows the miners will defy it. He has delayed nationalization because beyond the lying fraud of government "neutrality" shamefully supported by every traitor of the working class from Arnold Miller to Doug Fraser to the American Communist Party, the real question of control will be raised-- **WORKERS CONTROL OF THE MINES** based on the strike committees of the miners.

As one more excuse to invoke Taft-Hartley, Carter and the UMW bureaucrats have submitted the latest shameful provocation called a "contract" to the miners. This contract represents nothing that the miners are fighting for.

On the key question of the right to strike this contract only plays a dirty trick. Instead of penalizing ALL miners who honor picket lines, this contract allows the coal operators to FIRE the leaders of wildcat strikes and all those who participate in picket squads.

Already 800 miners at P&M have rejected this "independent" agreement. It is certain that it will be rejected by the UMW as a whole.

This will give Carter the excuse to invoke Taft-Hartley and move to government seizure of the mines.

The entire workers movement must mobilize against this! Not only to defend the miners, but because behind this attack is the bourgeoisie's preparation of the counterrevolution and open confrontation with the entire working class.

These preparations are in the works. Young workers should understand that this Taft-Hartley law, which George Meany, like the traitor he is, now calls the "law of the land," was passed by the ruling class in 1947 to smash the post-World War II upsurge of the working class.

It is a law against the general strike. It is a law against the union shop and in defense of the "right to work" laws in the South. It is a counterrevolutionary law!

While they threaten Taft-Hartley, the National Guard is being used in Indiana to move scab coal. In Congress they are working on the S. 1437 anti-working class laws which will make wildcat strikes illegal and outlaw the Fourth International. They are trying to legalize the crimes of the CIA and FBI.

The working class must make its own preparations. It must turn this miners strike into a mobilization of the entire working class to defend its rights and to lead a fight for **WORKERS DEMOCRACY** against the counter-



revolutionary plans of the capitalists.

Our enemy is in the White House. Our strength is in the factories, the unions, the independent organizations of the workers throughout this country. We must fight to:

-- Reject this contract. A Special Convention of the UMW must be called immediately to elect a new bargaining committee, to throw out Miller and Co. and to elect a leadership ready to fight for **WORKERS CONTROL OF THE MINES**.

-- Auto and steelworkers must break the chains of mere "solidarity" imposed by the bureaucrats-- a "solidarity" that consists of canned goods and money. A young miner in Pittsburgh responded to this by telling a steel union bureaucrat: "Come out to the picket lines if you want to show solidarity."

Special Conventions of the UAW and USW must be organized to build real support for the miners-- workers defense guards to block scab coal, mass picketing and demonstrations.

-- A central mobilization of the entire working class, led by the unions in basic industry must be built to defeat Taft-Hartley, smash S. 1437 and all reactionary anti-working class laws.

In 1947, 300,000 workers in Detroit demonstrated against Taft-Hartley and called for a general strike. Today the fight to defeat it and S. 1437 must be developed into a fight of the entire working class for **WORKERS DEMOCRACY**.

-- On the basis of this fight the leadership of the working class must be renewed. The bureaucrats must be thrown out; the working class must break with the Democratic Party and join the fight to build an organized party of Workers Democracy-- the **WORKERS PARTY, US Section of the Fourth International**, which will lead the fight for a Workers Government.

Now is the time to go forward and take up where the miners have begun.

A fight which will be centralized in the meetings of the Revolutionary Young Workers who are fighting alongside the Trotskyist Organization of the US to rebuild the Fourth International in the US, which will be held in Detroit on March 12th and in Chicago on March 17th to draw the lessons of the miners strike and go forward in a revolutionary mobilization of the working class. February 26, 1978 **TRUTH**

WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS

On Sunday, February 19th a militant of a working class organization was stabbed with a knife by a Nazi. The stabbing took place in Detroit as the Nazis tried to enter a meeting held by the "Community Labor Committee" organized by UAW Local #600 to combat the threat of the Nazis who have recently opened up an office in a Detroit working class neighborhood.

The militant was Jan Freedman, a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League. We condemn this attack as an attack against the entire working class movement. The working class must see that these Nazi vermin are punished.

The responsibility for this stabbing lays squarely on the shoulders of the UAW bureaucracy. Instead of fighting the Nazis the "Community Labor Committee" is based totally on a strategy of reliance on the capitalist courts and the police to fight the Nazis.

They were also forewarned. The Nazis were discovered at the first meeting of this "Committee."

When an attempt was made to throw them out, it was the UAW bureaucrats who intervened, saying, "They have the right to be here as long as they don't disrupt."

This cowardice only made the Nazis bolder and led to this stabbing. What is going on in Detroit is not unique. Throughout the country fascist gangs and hired gun thugs of the bourgeoisie are getting bolder and bolder in their attacks on the working class and its organizations.

In Chicago, fascist gangs openly terrorize blacks in Marquette Park. Two miners have been assassinated by gun thugs since their strike began. And on January 30th in Cleveland, an unarmed striker, Thomas Moss, Jr. was shot point-blank in the face and murdered by a hired company goon working for the National Investigation bureau.

These professional strikebreakers are part of a growing "private" police force in this country which now employ over twice the number of official police force in

this country.

It represents nothing else than the preparation of the counter-revolution in this country.

Only the foolish or conscious traitors of the working class will fail to be warned by these attacks. They must be stopped and stopped now.

Only the independent organization of the working class can do this. Every strike, demonstration rally, meeting of the working class and its organizations must be protected by **WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS**, ready to take whatever actions necessary to protect the working class and its organizations.

This was the immediate, practical proposal that the Trotskyist Organization of the USA made to this "Community Labor Committee" immediately after this stabbing took place.

We call on all working class organizations and militants to join in the formation of such a defense guard for the next meeting and for every working class action in Detroit.

SWP: In the shadow of Carter's "human rights"

By JON COHEN

You cannot escape US imperialism. Or its shadow. It covers every corner of the globe.

It is the policeman of the world. The survival of this rotten system of capitalism and Stalinism depends on it.

But this policeman is in trouble, deep trouble. In fact, it has been hanging on by the skin of its teeth since 1917. Only wars, brutal repression and the collaboration of Stalinism has kept it alive all these years.

Its trouble begins with the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people on this planet hate imperialism. Not only do they hate it, but throughout the world the working class and its youth are engaged in a revolutionary offensive to overthrow it.

The world revolution and how to stop it is the fundamental problem in front of US imperialism today and at the same time the source of its deepest crisis.

This is also the problem in front of the US Socialist Workers Party, which falsely claims the banner of the Fourth International in the United States. You cannot be a revolutionary in the United States without being for the revolutionary overthrow of US imperialism.

Not just in words, but in action. The fact is that the CENTRIST and PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY character of this organization is most clearly revealed in their stance between US imperialism and the revolutionary offensive of the working class. In the way in which their policy is an OBSTACLE to the fight to reveal the true nature of US imperialism and to lead the working class in a fight to the finish against it.

Why are we concerned about this? Why should anyone be concerned?

Because the SWP capitulates to imperialism in the name of our party, the Fourth International--the only revolutionary banner in front of the working class today. Also because the SWP was once a revolutionary party.

It was once the pillar of the Fourth International. The bourgeoisie and the Stalinists consciously use the capitulation of its present leadership as a club in front of the efforts of the working class to rebuild the Fourth International in the US and to regain the place that it once occupied in the class struggle in America.

A struggle to regain the revolutionary opposition of the Fourth International to US imperialism.

The SWP of today stands in the shadow of US imperialism. Inside the workers movement they have placed themselves in the left wing of bourgeois democracy and are part of its last line of defense in face of the fight of the working class to overthrow it.

What is the real nature of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign? It is a last-ditch effort of imperialism to regain its shattered image around the world and to lead a brutal offensive against the workers revolution in the name of "democracy." In the hope that the old leader-

ships of the working class, the Stalinists and Social Democrats, aided by the centrists, will join this campaign by keeping alive the illusion that bourgeois democracy represents some kind of alternative for the workers.

It is designed to give the US bourgeoisie time to prepare the counterrevolution with a "democratic" cover. And above all it is designed to give a cover to the campaign of imperialism to destroy the socialist conquests of the workers in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Despite the fact that these countries are dominated by the Stalinist bureaucrats who are loyal servants of imperialism, capitalism has been overturned in these countries and the bourgeoisie is committed to its return for its very survival.

US imperialism, through the mouth of its preacher, Jimmy Carter, has put the screws to all the so-called leaders of the working class. It has put the screws to the SWP as well.

Because there is no half-way house in this affair. Either one says, along with Lenin and the Third International and every revolutionary since that: "the most democratic of bourgeois republics are only a machine to oppress the working class to the mercy of the bourgeoisie," that, "there is no milieu between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. All dreams of intermediary solutions are only reactionary lamentations of the petty bourgeoisie." (The First Congress of the Third International, "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Proletarian Dictatorship"), or one accepts "human rights," bourgeois democracy, and all that goes with it.

To put it simply--workers democracy or bourgeois democracy. Carter's "human rights" or the revolutionary fight of the working class to overthrow capitalism and establish their own government.

And no amount of talk about how Malcolm X, a revolutionary, once used the word "human rights" can explain away the fact that the SWP's defense of it today is a defense of bourgeois democracy against the workers revolution.

By pretending that the working class has some place in this "human rights" campaign they place themselves in the shadow of US imperialism. As the "most consistent defenders" of this trap of bourgeois democracy, they are "the most consistent" obstacle to its overthrow by the working class in the workers movement.

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Thus, Hugo Blanco could say in Detroit: "If Carter called a conference of all parties to discuss 'human rights' we would be the first ones there." Or, as they repeat, the "logic" of Carter's "human rights" campaign has led him into a "contradiction"--the more he talks about "rights," the more he will be forced to imple-

ment them.

A lie. An illusion which can only serve to deceive the working class about the true nature of this campaign--repression against the working class. A campaign in which the working class has no place, not even as "left" critics.

The SWP followed a long road into this swamp of bourgeois democracy. A road which began with their abandonment of the Fourth International in 1963 when they joined the Pabloite United Secretariat. An abandonment which had its consequences.

The US government and the bourgeoisie are aware of these consequences. They have always paid particular attention to the existence of the Fourth International in the US.

They even went to the trouble to jail its leadership under the Smith Act during World War II--the only political party which suffered such repression, because of the then "revolutionary" SWP's intransigent opposition to the imperialist war. The revelations of the massive spy operation of

the FBI against the SWP since then then testify to the government's concern about the Fourth International.

What must have been its surprise when, in 1963, after the assassination of Kennedy, the leadership of the SWP wrote a letter of condolences to his widow? An "astute tactic"? Perhaps.

But the road that the SWP was taking became much clearer during the anti-war movement of the late 60's when the SWP proved its usefulness to the bourgeoisie by becoming the "best builders" of an anti-war movement which kept the rage of the youth within the framework of the Democratic Party, under a bourgeois leadership.

That the SWP had passed the test of "respectability" for the United States bourgeoisie which was seeking a "respectable" left opposition to hold back the growing working class offensive was confirmed by a US federal judge in 1974 who declared that the SWP: "presented no threat to the current government of the United States."

Into the swamp of bourgeois democracy. Into the shadow of "human rights." A framework which determines every basic policy of the SWP today.

From its "Bill of Rights for Working People" which was the basis for their 1976 Presidential campaign whose basic purpose was to say that the demands of the working class in the US can be met through "eight more amendments to the US Constitution," that is, by reforming the bour-

geois state.

To its proposal for a reformist, national, "labor party" to block the break of the working class and the youth from the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy. To maintain the national isolation of the American working class.

To its daily interventions in the class struggle. Calling young workers who shouted down Hubert Humphrey at a Jobs Rally in Washington, D.C., in 1974 "undemocratic."

Calling miners who burned their contracts in disgust in 1974 "ultra-lefts." Today refusing to call for the rejection of the UMW contract and the removal of Arnold Miller in the name of the "right to vote."

Calling for federal troops to protect blacks in Boston. Defending free speech for the Nazis and KKK. Calling for the reform of the CIA and FBI.

Supporting every liberal scheme of the bourgeoisie to deny full equality to blacks--like busing, "preferential hiring," and "affirmative action."

Into the swamp of bourgeois democracy. In Jimmy Carter's shadow. Having nothing to do with the preparation of the American revolution.

All this is codified in the "theoretical" resolution adopted by the United Secretariat in preparation of their 11th Congress, called "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" which not only guarantees the bourgeoisie's rights under capitalism, which they are already doing, but promises that

A NEW CAPITULATION

From the beginning of the miners strike we said that this strike would be decisive for the entire working class because the fight of the miners represented the fight of all American workers for their own democracy, Workers Democracy.

We also said that this strike would decisively test all the so-called leaderships of the working class, since it was our opinion and remains our opinion that only a revolutionary leadership can provide the solution that the miners are seeking. In particular we denounced the total passivity of the Stalinist American Communist Party and the centrist Socialist Workers Party who have offered ABSOLUTELY NOTHING to the miners strike which only represents their backhanded support to the Miller leadership.

But we have to go even further. Because they have gone even further, in particular the pseudo-revolutionary and centrist Socialist Workers Party whose greatest crime is that they lyingly claim to represent the Fourth International in the US.

The miners strike has demonstrated their total dependence on bourgeois public opinion and middle class hysteria as the determinant of their policy.

The February 17, 1978 issue of THE MILITANT, their paper, came out with a front page headline titled: "Step up solidarity with coal miners! Strike not settled until ranks vote." The first three sentences read: "The coal miners strike is not over. It will not be over until the ranks of the United Mineworkers have had a chance to read, discuss, and vote on a contract offer. Until that time, the need for solidarity with the miners is greater than ever."

Let us look closely at this statement. It was written just after Miller announced the proposed

settlement. Before the Bargaining Council had rejected it. At a decisive moment.

Would the hysteria that the bourgeoisie had been building up during that week about layoffs, power shortages, and the panic of the middle classes force the miners to accept this rotten contract? Would the miners back down? Would the government force this contract down their throats?

To all this these pseudo-revolutionaries responded: "strike not settled until ranks vote." NOT A SINGLE WORD ABOUT THE NEED TO REJECT THE CONTRACT!!! NOT A SINGLE WORD ABOUT HOW TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE!!!

No. These bourgeois democrats defend the "right to vote." What does it mean? It means these centrists are down on their knees in front of Carter, the coal bosses, Arnold Miller and all their middle class, anti-working class friends in NOW, NAACP, etc., saying: "Please, don't smash the strike just now, give the poor miners a chance to vote on this stinking contract."

"Human rights." Phoney democracy. When the miners struggle had nothing to do with the "right to vote" on a contract that was a total insult and provocation. And the response of the SWP leadership was just as insulting.

Of course, in the next issue, on February 24th, they try to cover up their tracks. Having discovered that the miners had no intention of voting on this contract or letting Carter send troops into the mines, they are a little bolder.

They generally let it be known that the contract is bad, they even whimper a few "criticisms" of Miller like: "Miller has allowed himself to be cut off from that strength" (the rank and file up-

surge) (!!!) and then go on to talk about how to strengthen the "negotiating team" (Miller and the other bureaucrats.). Normal opportunism.

But it was their first reaction, joining in the hysteria to shove that contract down the miners' throats that is the most telling. Before they had a chance to really test which way the wind was blowing.

Militants of the SWP should consider this first reaction of their leadership. Its willingness to join the first stampede of middle class public opinion against the working class at the first drop of a hat.

It recalls something of the past. The beginning of the fight in the SWP in 1940 and how Cannon described the first reaction of the Shachtmanites. A description that describes more than just the two sworn Shachtmanites on the Political Committee of the SWP today: "We are living in serious times. We stand on the eve of grave events and great tests for our movement. People who can be disoriented or swept off their feet by rumors and gossip and unsupported accusations will not be very reliable soldiers in the hard days coming. The petty bourgeoisie, after all, do everything on a small scale. The gossip and slander of the opposition is not a drop in the bucket compared to the torrents of lies, misinformation and slander poured over the heads of the revolutionary fighters in the coming days of the war crisis through the propaganda mediums of the class enemy. . . It is not difficult to foresee that those who succumbed already at the feeble anticipation of this campaign

inside our party can be engulfed by the first wave of the real campaign." (THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY, James P. Cannon, p. 13)

Military tribunal against Fourth International in Spain FREE SANTIAGO ALEGRIA



DELEGATION OF STRIKING MINERS CONFRONT NON-UNION COAL BOSS

the "workers revolution" will guarantee the bourgeoisie's rights after the revolution as well!

They have one more promise for Jimmy Carter... As we said earlier, one of the basic aims of this "human rights" campaign was its cover for the attack of imperialism against the socialist conquests of the workers in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

The SWP is well on the road to abandoning even as a formality one of the central tenets of the Fourth International--OUR UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE of the Soviet Union and the other workers states against imperialism.

This is particularly important in the United States. In the face of the reactionary anti-communist campaign of US imperialism, American Trotskyists have always maintained their defense of the gains of the October Revolution DESPITE and against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The SWP does not just support the "Euro-Communist" Faction of the Kremlin which seeks to restore capitalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Nor do they only support the bourgeois democratic currents in these countries.

But now they openly call for the "disarmament" of the USSR. They try to maintain that the US and the USSR are "equal" evils. This only hides the real relationship of forces and the real danger--imperialism.

And now they have admitted into their ranks, into their National Committee and Political Committee the sworn-Shachtmanites of the former Revolutionary Marxist Caucus. The people who Cannon and Trotsky fought a fight to the finish with in 1940.

An open acceptance of anti-communists who speak in the name of socialism. A declaration to the middle class that anti-communism and "Trotskyism" are now in fashion again--our party is your party."

This brings us to our final point. There is a social basis for the present policy of the SWP. It did not come out of thin air or out of someone's head.

Lenin spoke of "All dreams of an intermediary solution are only reactionary lamentations of the petty bourgeoisie." It is precisely on such dreams and on the petty bourgeoisie that the policy of the SWP is based.

There is nowhere in the world where the middle classes and the

petty bourgeoisie have a greater social weight than in the US. Nowhere in the world where the "dream" of the middle classes of finding some kind of solution between the working class and the bourgeoisie is the strongest.

And nowhere in the world do the petty bourgeoisie and middle class exert such a poisonous influence inside the workers movement. Where, because of the absence of a mass workers party any middle class or petty bourgeois democrat can claim to be part of the workers movement, or even worse, claim to be a workers leader or to build a workers party.

The SWP had become a transmission belt for this middle class influence, this petty bourgeois "dream" of a reform of bourgeois democracy. They have taken advantage of the workers' disgust with Stalinism and the proud name of the Fourth International to do this.

This is why the fight to build a proletarian party in the US today is above all a fight against the SWP and its leadership.

One final thing. No one should be fooled by their argument that the real Fourth International is "sectarian". Or that we will not defend "democratic rights."

Precisely the opposite. It is the SWP who has NOTHING to do with democracy. Real democracy.

In the fight for Workers Democracy the working class takes the leadership of the fight of the entire society, from the most oppressed to the middle classes and petty bourgeoisie for their democratic rights. Including the most basic bourgeois democratic rights that capitalism is unable to grant.

Democracy is the most important CLASS question in this society. Only the working class can lead the fight for it and only the workers revolution can guarantee it.

The fight to unmask these centrists who masquerade in our name is an essential part of the preparation of the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization which will rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

We prefer it out here in the daylight. With the working class and the oppressed.

Jimmy Carter's shadow is getting smaller and smaller and soon it will be awful cold and lonely in the shade.

February 24, 1978

Once again, as in the days of Franco, the Spanish monarchy is organizing political trials against working class militants for "illegal association" and "illegal propaganda."

And once again, military tribunals have been formed to attack the Spanish working class, this time, Santiago Alegria, soldier at the El Pani air base, accused of belonging to the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the Spanish section of the Fourth International which has been declared "illegal" by the Francoist monarchy.

Also facing trial are Toni Rius, worker in Terrassa and member of the PORE, accused of "illegal propaganda," and Martin Pretel, worker at AEG in Rubi, member of the PORE and accused of "illegal association and propaganda."

The Spanish police and government began this attack on the PORE through a provocation, accusing our comrades of the robbery of weapons from the El Pani base.

This initial provocation has been shattered. First of all, because the Spanish workers and youth who mobilized in defense of our party did so not because the PORE has anything to do with terrorism, but because of the political fight of the PORE to consequently prepare the Spanish revolution. This mobilization and the success of the fight of the PORE to establish a Commission of Inquiry to investigate this provocation forced the police to cover their tracks.

A few weeks ago a mysterious "Anti-Communist National Army" (ENA) claimed responsibility for the robbery of weapons. An organization which no one had heard of before and which no one has heard from since. An organization certainly invented by the Spanish police to cover up their tracks just like the equally mysterious "Popular Justice Commission of Investigation" which recently appeared in Barcelona to "investigate international connections" of recent bombings.

The police have gone even further in their haste to cover up their provocation. Over 50 soldiers at the El Pani base were sent home on leave and haven't yet returned. They obviously also know too much about this "robbery" and the fact that the arms had to have left the base in military trucks with military authorization. A "transfer" from one group of counterrevolutionaries to another.

What is taking place today in Spain is not something isolated. The attack against the Fourth International is not a "Spanish affair" as if, "Well things are different over there."

It is part of a conscious response of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy to the working class throughout the world, above all in Europe. Unable to confront the working class and its youth head-on, the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus must undertake the preparation of the counterrevolution in a disguised form.

This has taken the form of an attempt throughout the world to single out the most revolutionary, most militant, most determined fighters of the working class; the vanguard and isolate them from the rest of the working class. In order to prepare the counterrevo-

lution, the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists are attacking the leadership of the workers mobilization.

With the cover provided by Jimmy Carter's lying "human rights" campaign, the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists are leading the attack on the working class and its leadership in the name of "democracy," and by trying to identify all revolutionaries with "terrorism."

UAW bureaucrat Marc Stepp calls wildcat strikes "undemocratic." The bourgeois press leads an attack against striking miners as "criminals" for trying to prevent the combined efforts of business, the government and the police to move scab coal. S. 1437 prepares to jail striking workers as "blackmailers" and extortionists." In Germany, the Social Democratic government murders Baader and his comrades in their prison cells, and calling this "suicide," proceeds to enact a vicious anti-working class law allowing unlimited police searches and preventive detention.

In France, in the framework of a hunt against "terrorism," the right to political asylum is abolished, 240,000 police searches took place in Paris during a recent kidnapping and the Minister of the Interior in France has issued a public call for people to inform on "common or political criminals."

It should now be clear why the Revolutionary Youth International has launched a massive campaign against this Europe of the bourgeois and Stalinist policemen and why our fight to free Santiago Alegria is part of building a large and mass mobilization of the working class youth and its organization throughout the world against their brutal repression being prepared in the name of "human rights."

As a young miner put it to us when he gave his support to the fight to free Santiago Alegria, it concerns: "Everyone who has felt a cop's billy club up against their throat." It concerns the young miners, auto workers, students, all the working class youth in the US.

And it concerns a fight in the center of world imperialism, against the policeman of the world, against its CIA and FBI, against its reactionary laws and government.

Already the US Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria, founded and impelled by the Revolutionary Youth International but

open to all working class organizations and militants in the US has had its first results, expressed in the support given to the founding meeting by UAW workers from Ford River Rouge, the greetings from the Stearns miners, from the UAW workers at Ford Torrence in Chicago, the resolution passed by the Wayne State University Staff Association.

But still not one word from the "responsible" revolutionaries, those organizations who speak of revolution on holidays (sometimes) but when it comes to preparing the revolution or to defending revolutionaries against repression they are silent.

Like Santiago Carrillo who recently announced his intention at the forthcoming Congress of the Spanish CP to renounce Leninism forever, "because now it is the terrorists who speak in the name of Lenin," the US Socialist Workers Party is silent about the repression against our party in Spain because to say something would demand an explanation of why they are legal in Spain and why we are not. Now that the Fourth International is under attack in Spain, the SWP doesn't want to have anything to do with "revolution," not even answering the letters we have written them.

Or they respond with Stalinist slanders, another way of proving their loyalty to the US bourgeoisie. Like the US Spartacist League which responded with a "defense" of Santiago Alegria, by accusing us of "fingering" our comrades in Spain, a truly Stalinist slander.

They do not want to lend their "good name" to the defense of Santiago Alegria. A "good name" that no honest worker would come within ten feet of.

Young revolutionary workers in the US should stop to think for a second. This doesn't just concern Spain. But what will these organizations do TOMORROW when it is YOU that is attacked by the police and the government?

Forget Spain for a second. Where do these "responsible" revolutionaries and "slanderers" stand in regard to the American revolution, to your struggles today?

Their silence or slanders about Santiago Alegria is above all a position regarding you and your revolution. And their position has nothing to do with the fight of the Fourth International or the American revolution.

J. C.
February 23, 1978

Resolution of Wayne State University Staff Association

We of the Wayne State University Staff Association ask for the freedom of Santiago Alegria, we demand that the charges against him be dropped, that this provocation against the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Espana (PORE) be stopped, and that the PORE and all anti-francoist organizations be legalized.

We reject the attempt of the Spanish government or any other government to label all opposition to their policies as "terrorist." We see this attack on Alegria as an attack on all workers organizations and their leaders. We think that it is important that all workers organizations, unions and sincere democrats, no matter what their disagreements, condemn the imprisonment of Alegria for "illegal association" and support the legalization of all anti-francoist organizations in Spain. Adopted, Staff Association meeting, Feb. 14, 1978

THE TRUTH ABOUT MALCOLM X

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

"You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker. He can't be anything but a bloodsucker."

"Freedom -- By Any Means Necessary!"

Nearly twelve years have passed since Malcolm X rose to speak and was shot down by the US government's hired guns. Today very few young people know much about him, know what distinguished him among all others. His name appears together with a slew of so-called leaders of the black masses. Or he is whispered about disparagingly on the side.

But Malcolm X was different. HE was an uncompromising champion of the black masses interests. And he was willing to fight for and win their rights by whatever means necessary.

He knew it would take a REVOLUTION to get what the masses of blacks needed and he fought all the false leaders who sought to subordinate their struggle to the demands of the Democratic Party government (at that time led by Kennedy and then Johnson), who sought to confine their methods to non-violence, passive resistance, in order to win liberal sympathy. -- "The head of the Democratic Party's sitting in the White House. ... "Don't be talking about some crackers down in Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia -- all of them are playing the same game. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the cracker party." -- "I'm for anybody who's for equality. I'm not for anybody who tells me to turn the other cheek when a cracker is busting my jaw."

When Malcolm first took up this struggle he did so in a confused fashion. He thought blacks should aim for a separate state and thought they could bring this about with a semi-religious movement associated with Islam.

However, his commitment to the cause of the oppressed masses led him to abandon this policy and in the last year of his life he sought a more proletarian and political one.

Yet he never did become a Marxist. He never did see the working class as the only one which could bring freedom to the masses of blacks; the construction of its party as the key to victory. In his last months he began to build the Organization of Afro-American Unity whose name itself illustrates this fundamental problem.

FALSIFIERS

Why was Malcolm X assassinated? Why have all the politicians, liberal, labor and black leaders who denounced this act at the time carried on their own form of assassination -- tried to obliterate this man from history; falsified and maligned him and the struggle he represented, said he was racked with nothing but "hate" and "violence."

To ask the question is to answer it. Malcolm X was a threat to them. He spoke the truth. And to speak the truth about Malcolm X is to speak the truth about the



situation before the workers and oppressed masses today. Revolution, not reform.

Just as his assassins didn't want a revolutionary around in 1965, so today their more liberal allies don't want young people to know that it was this revolutionary and others like him who truly championed the interests of the masses in this society and rejected all compromise with the existing order. Not Martin Luther King who was murdered by the very class with which he sought collaboration.

The liberal allies of Malcolm's assassins want young people to learn that everyone who opposed "working within the system" was a fanatic, an advocate of indiscriminate violent attacks. In this way they hope to confuse the youth, to convince them there is no way out.

A shining example of this conspiracy of lies is the first Five Million Dollar NBC special -- MARTIN LUTHER KING. Malcolm X is introduced with the question: "Why are you so full of hate?" His appearance closes with the remark -- "Can't you bring our people anything but violence?" The other man is, of course, Martin Luther King. NBS presents the divergence between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King as one between hate and love, violence and peace. It's a lie.

The real divergence was this: Are the masses going to organize themselves independently and get what they need by whatever means necessary or are they going to subordinate their aims and methods to the bloodsucking Democratic Party government? That was the issue. Revolution or reform.

It reflected, albeit in a distorted fashion, the fundamental divergence between the interests of the fighting proletariat and its corrupt leadership.

The rest of this film presents the struggle of the black masses of the 60's as a creation of Martin Luther King and the Southern Conference Christian Leadership (SNCC). Condemnation of Malcolm X is almost always associated with deification of King. So untrue is the film that Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, is suing.

That Malcolm X's struggle should receive this treatment from the bourgeoisie and its intimate lackey's is not surprising.

What is far more despicable is

that the Socialist Workers Party, on whose platform Malcolm X spoke several times when he was alive, is participating in the coverup.

When Malcolm was alive and in the period immediately after his death, the Socialist Workers Party not only adapted itself entirely to the worst aspects of his nationalism, they issued treatise after condescending treatise arranging and rearranging his speeches aiming to prove he was turning into a Marxist.

Now, twelve years later, they too print his name along side a slew of others. They've chosen to reprint an utterly mediocre and insipid speech by Jack Barnes to honor Malcolm X's memory.

The SWP doesn't want young people to know about the deep-going split in the "movement" of the 60's reflected in the debate between Malcolm and King, either.

Malcolm X's REVOLUTIONARY speeches can't be used to defend fighting for this sham affirmative action, begging assassins to protect you, or advocating "free speech" for fascists. King's speeches can be used. Not Malcolm's.

The SWP isn't on Malcolm's side. It works hand in glove with Malcolm's political opponents. It works hand in glove with the Urban League, the NAACP, ad nauseum.

And needless to say they are not about to criticize Malcolm X for not fighting to organize the working class and it's party. They've never waged a fight to organize the working class and it's party. They've never waged a fight within "the movement" for this orientation themselves.

They lie like the rest because the truth will hurt them. Falsification of the past is necessary part of their false policy of the present.

The Trotskyist Organization carries on the revolutionary tradition of the American working class, of which Malcolm X was a part. That's why it can speak the truth about him, even though it has profound differences with him.

Malcolm X was a revolutionary, a man of great intelligence passion and courage. His assassins (and King's assassins) took orders from Washington. The working class must find these cowardly men and punish them.

February 22, 1978

France: A REVO

A particularly glaring character talk. Truth always being revolutionary to hide the truth so.

The centrist Socialist Workers Party recently devoting an entire issue to miners strike without giving

They become even bolder. Here, they assume, are not very knowledgeable about

Like the February 10th issue article entitled "10,000 Trotskyists" which were their comrades, the Spanish. And the fact that they conceal Spain which the Francoist Trotskyists, by declaring it illegitimate

The latest example of this is THE MILITANT. "Revolutionary Workers Government" it says

"Workers Government?", so. Maybe things are better with everyone here knows that the Working People?"

But if you go ahead and read what kind of "Workers Government RUN BY THE PARTIES! The entire article France, the LCR are pressuring possibilities."

Call it a Popular Front. Call it ahead and call it an "astute, astutarian" French Communist Party

But please don't call it a Workers Government based on the seizure of power of the bourgeois state, a government based on the industrial class -- its councils and factories Fourth International.

Don't pretend that the LCR don't pretend that this "Workers and Social Democratic butchery anything to do with Trotskyism"

It only concerns double tail. Below we are printing an extract from the French Section of the Fourth International (LOR) which makes

It also makes clear that in March it is only the LOR and real WORKERS GOVERNMENT French revolution as the key Socialist United States of Europe

Read it yourself. You won't be disappointed. February 17, 1978

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE

Comrades,

Through this letter we wish to begin a public debate with your organization on the occasion of legislative elections. We have published our Platform and announced our intention to intervene in the legislative campaign with candidates since October. We do not pretend to be astonished knowing this, you did not think proper to invite us to the union meetings which led to your agreement with the OCT. CCA. For a long time, you refused in regard to us to keep about the existence of the L'Ouvriere Revolutionnaire or only speak of us as an obscure "Varga group", in any case a total blackout concerning propositions and political action. But now you have a good chance to change this attitude by accepting the proposed debate and publishing this letter in the Tribune in your daily which until now you have always kept closed to us although you have opened it up to all organizational groups or committees that you call the "extreme left." On our part, we commit ourselves to publishing your response in the VERITE DES REVOLUTIONNAIRES. We are going to raise some



Ford workers for Santiago

We support the fight for the immediate liberation of Soldier Santiago Alegria, for the legalization of the PORE and all anti-Francoist organizations. We send our support to the US Committee which is organizing this fight in the US.

We see this fight as the same fight that the miners are fighting -- for their rights and against Jimmy Carter.

FREE SANTIAGO ALEGRIA! LEGALIZE THE PORE!

S. R. and D. C., UAW #551 Chicago, Illinois

FORD CHICAGO ASSEMBLY

Legislative elections: REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

istic of centrism is its use of double-
volutionary it is necessary for pseudo-
h and to use the proper language to do

ers Party (SWP) makes an art of this.
re front page of the MILITANT to the
re position on the contract.

hen it comes to international ques-
merican workers and their own militants
out many questions.

of the MILITANT where they wrote an
exists in Spain" which, as we pointed
, they failed to describe the policy of
ld have made it clear to everyone that
CR have nothing to do with Trotskyism,
usly hide the existence of our party in
archy has declared to be the real Trot-
and the object of a brutal repression.
le is in the February 17th issue of
ary Socialist Candidates Campaign for
on the front page.

nds good," some people will say.
he United Secretariat in France since
SWP only fights for a "Bill of Rights for

d the article you will find out precisely
ment" they are talking about. A
RENCH COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST
is devoted to how their comrades in
the CP and SP to "take up their res-

ll it class collaboration. Even go
ctic" designed to "expose" the "sec-

ORKERS GOVERNMENT -- a govern-
power by the working class, the destruc-
police, army and apparatus. A
pendent organizations of the working
y committees and led by its party, the

as anything to do with this fight. And
rs Government" composed of Stalinist
rs and hangmen of the working class has
n or the Fourth International.

and opportunism.
en Letter written to the LCR by the
ernational, the Ligue Ouvriere Revolu-
clear the centrist nature of the LCR,
these crucial elections coming up in
its candidates who are fighting for a
in France in the fight to prepare the
o the fight throughout Europe for the
pe.

find any doubletalk here.
TRUTH

N LETTER LCR

the fundamental questions which
separate us, in particular in the
elections.

Your affirmed goal is that in
these elections the workers should
express by their votes for your can-
didates or those who you support a
defiance and a warning towards the
French Communist Party, FCP, and
French Socialist Party (SP).

But this mistrust exists today and
is developed on a mass level in the
working class and its youth as at-
tested by the crisis of the Union of
the Left and in particular that of
the Stalinist apparatus which is
above all the expression of a crisis
of defiance in its regard by large
sectors of workers. As well, at-
tested by different movements and
tending processes, among others the tens
of thousands of votes that your
lists received in the last munic-
pal elections, the distrust which
is developed towards the trade
union leaderships during the dif-
ferent strike movements like the
last one at EGP, the weak mobili-
zation in the day of action on
December 1st.

These different elements have
also been warnings towards the
leaderships of the FCP and PS.
They have also taken this into
account in order to polish up their
counterrevolutionary arsenal.
In such a situation we think

that a revolutionary vanguard can
in no way be content to be the
passive reflection of this objective
movement.

In Spain, for example, hundreds
of thousands of workers are fight-
ing in the factories and have taken
to the streets to affirm their op-
position to the Moncloa Pact sign-
ed by the SCP and the PSOE with
the Francoist monarchy. One
cannot hope for a more massive
mistrust or defiance or more ener-
getic warnings towards the old
leaderships of the workers move-
ment. The workers in Spain can-
not spontaneously fuse with the
revolutionary program and renew
their political leadership outside
of the intervention of the van-
guard.

In a more burning fashion, the
same problem is posed in France.
To the tens of thousands of workers
who voted for the lists "For Social-
ism, Power to the Workers" in the
municipal elections, you propose
that they again express a defiance
towards the FCP and the SP which
they have already affirmed.
While, precisely, they are seeking
another road than what the FCP and



the SP proposes to them. These
workers, like others, you call to
put pressure on these parties so
that they will go into government
together to realize an anti-capital-
ist program.

While each day the leaders of
the FCP and SP give new guaran-
tees to the bourgeoisie.

While they break apart struggles,
while they are forced to assume
their counterrevolutionary role
which unmasks them more and
more every day, in small things
as well as in large things.

While above all large sectors
of workers confusedly feel the be-
trayals and seek another road, an-
other political leadership.

In such a situation your policy
can only disorient the advanced
workers, reinforce illusions and
cover up the breaks that the work-
ers mobilizations have opened up
in the apparatuses of the FCP and
SP.

You thus explain your path in
the polemic which you oppose to
Lutte Ouvriere (ROUGE #537):
"We, revolutionaries, openly say
that this policy is opposed to that
of the CP and SP and that we have
no confidence that they will do
anything good. But you, workers,
who have confidence in them,
you believe that you can push them
to adopt this class policy. We say
to you: let us go through this ex-
perience together."

One can ask what such an ex-
perience, even if you go through
it with them can allow the working
class to bring its mobilization to a
higher level? Until now the

governments set up by the FCP and
SP, governments of Popular Fronts
or class collaboration, have only
served to demobilize the workers
while the bourgeoisie profited
from this respite to prepare its
counter-attack.

One can ask why the presence
of the CP and SP in the govern-
ment will allow one to definitively
unmask their treasons before the
workers, since the growing guar-
antees that they are giving to the
bourgeoisie, their policy of break-
ing struggles are, if they are
placed in the open by revolution-
aries, sufficiently eloquent?

But you say: "We, revolution-
aries, we openly tell you that this
is opposed to that of the CP and
SP and that we have no confidence
that they will do anything good."

Here, comrades, you confuse
your internal bulletins and your
brochures with a limited distribu-
tion with your daily press!

This press, aside from holidays
where you publish a Platform, is
content to describe struggles that
the Stalinist leaderships or "self-
management leaders of the CGT
and CFD. utilize to break up or

deviate struggles. There are many
examples of this. The latest being
the Michelin conflict.

While the CGT leadership led
an offensive to liquidate the total
strike in the name of eternal "new
forms of action," while they ar-
rived at this on December 29th,
you explain (ROUGE, 12, 29, 77):
"But it is necessary to give a new

breath to the strike by bringing it
to a higher level. THE UNIONS
HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE OR WISHED
TO RESPOND TO THIS ATTEMPT."
(undeclared by us).

This double language, on the
one part trying among yourselves
to convince yourselves that you re-
main loyal to revolutionary goals,
the other which you hold out every
day to the working class is particu-
larly clear in your Platform.

You affirm to be for preparing
the general strike, the dictator-
ship of the proletariat, the workers
councils and the Socialist United
States of Europe.

But you propose that the workers
mobilize for something else, for a
government of the FCP and the SP
which will satisfy the catalogue of
demands which occupies half of
your Platform.

You explain to them that the
"national strikes" or
"general" of a day, that is, the
days of action without any to-
morrow, which are a center-
piece of the policy of breaking
struggles by the Stalinist and re-
formist leaderships, "must be-
come part of a plan of struggle
which the unions must elaborate



in common with assemblies of
workers unionized and non-union-
ized." As if these days of action
were not already part of a plan
of demobilization! As if it were
simply necessary to make their
preparation more democratic!

And you hurry to put the slogan
of the Socialist United States of
Europe under the table in favor of
a "Europe of workers opposed to the
Europe of capital" in the common
Platform signed with the OCT and
the CCA. Thus, the Stalinist bur-
eaucracy is "forgotten" and at the
same blow the struggle for the
Socialist United States of Europe,
conscious expression of the strug-
gle to forge the revolutionary unity
of the proletariat of the USSR and
Eastern Europe with that of West-
ern Europe against imperialism
and Stalinism.

We think that the common de-
nominator of all these countor-
sions is your capitulations before
the task of renewing the political
leadership of the workers move-
ment against the Stalinist appar-
atus. From this flows the entirety
of your political positions, small
and large.

From this flows the goal that
you fix for the elections: to be the
reflection of the distrust which has
developed among the workers with
regard to the CP and SP, to give
them a warning so that these par-
ties will realize the objectives for
which you judge yourselves in-
capable of mobilizing the working
class.

Because we think this distrust is
not enough by itself to win.

Because we think that it is ne-
cessary to transform it into a con-
scious fight to realize the indepen-
dent objectives of the working
class, which demands a renewal of
the political leadership.

Our Platform for the elections

develops the means and the transi-
tional objectives-- in particular,
workers control over production
and the banks-- so that the work-
ing class can achieve its unity on
the basis of its class independence
and develop its mobilization to set
up its own government, the result
of centralized workers councils.

Our Platform does not make this
mobilization depend on the good
wishes of any party which claims to
represent the working class. It poses
the necessity to remove from this
mobilization those who oppose it
and to elect new representatives of
the workers to develop it.

If we wish to engage this debate
with you today it is because we
think it of vital interest for the
future of the revolution in France
and in Europe.

For the stake of these elections
is not only, as you affirm, that
the FCP and SP wish to set up a
government to apply a "left" aus-
terity. It goes beyond this as the
Preamble to our Platform explains:

"In the desperate attempt of the
bourgeoisie to delay and hide the
preparation of the inevitable con-
frontation with the working class,
these leaderships (CP and SP)
play a primordial role; that of
trying to channel the mobiliza-
tion within the present structure in
order to protect the power of the
bourgeoisie; the state, reinforced
by the Gaullist constitution of
1958; including by occupying its
key posts, while in its basements,
the weapons of fascism are being
prepared."

Communist greetings,
The Political Bureau of the Ligue
Ouvriere Revolutionnaire, French
Section of the Fourth International
January 4, 1978
FROM LA VERITE, #68



DELEGATION OF FRENCH WORKERS CONFRONT BOSSES

Slanders of centrists against the Fourth International Stalinist half of "human rights"

By ANN NELSON

In past issues of TRUTH we have reproduced documents from the WHITE PAPER of the Commission of Inquiry which investigated the slanders of the French OCI against Michel Varga and the Fourth International. The Commission of Inquiry came to the conclusion which is carefully documented in the WHITE PAPER, that the slanders of the centrists are purely Stalinist in nature and a substitute for political combat.

The centrists-- the American SWP and Spartacist League, the French Lutte Ouvriere and LCR formed their own commission, which was nothing but a continuation of the lies because it accepted the accusations of the OCI (we are "provocateurs" and "cops") as having foundation requiring proof.

But their commission backfired against them and even they couldn't come to the conclusion that there was any "truth" to the slanders. The Spartacist League, dismayed at the failure to throw dirt on the Fourth International came to their own "conclusion" that Michel Varga (a leader of the Fourth International and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956) was a "dubious figure." The SL, not daring to say "cop", accuse us of the classless equivalent of cop: "dubious figure."

The SL has published "Documents of the Varga Affair" which reprints as truth an interview with Michel Varga by a bourgeois Spanish newspaper which was in fact a distortion and in some cases a falsification of the things he said.

The LCR in Spain, comrades of the American SWP has called for a commission of inquiry to investigate the "use of fascist methods" by a member of the Spanish Section of the FI (the PORE), who has simultaneously been accused by the Stalinists of being a "CIA agent."

From France, to Spain to the United States, these centrists continue the slanders which we said would not end with their commission. Why? Because they can not explain their support to the "democracy" of the fascists in Spain, and to Carter's "human rights" in the US, or their capitulation to Stalinism. These slanders never were against one person, and certainly were not an "affair."

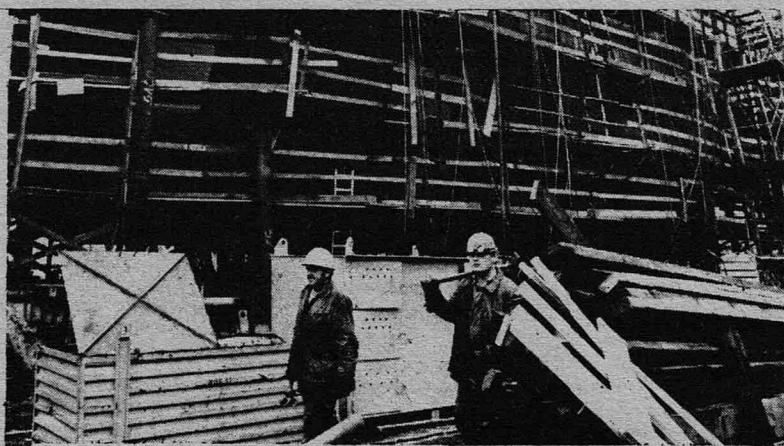
The centrists are playing the perfect friends of Stalinism by throwing dirt on the Fourth International by trying to demoralize the working class and by calling on the bourgeoisie to become "democratic" or take up the "true struggle for human rights."

The SWP in the US has been completely silent about their role in the centrists counter-commission, preferring instead to whisper "dubious" or to call us "spies" as one member of the SWP recently did. They can not say anything about our policy of fighting for the independent organization of the workers or our fight to expose Carter's "human rights" lie which is only a cover for the preparation of a vicious attack on the American workers. Because the SWP would then be forced to explain its own support to "human rights."

The documents reprinted below show how the slanders against particularly the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution served no

purpose other than to demoralize workers and discredit the revolution. The centrists say that the leaders who fought and died in the first important battle against the Kremlin bureaucracy were "provocateurs."

But the Fourth International says no! Young workers-- use the WHITE PAPER as a political weapon against those who slander our party and the struggle of the workers. Lies are a sure sign of bankruptcy, that is why the capitalists and the Stalinists have been using them for so long. Now the centrists follow suit.



POLISH SHIPYARD AT GDANSK

Was the Hungarian Revolution led by provocateurs?

This is the old slander of the Kremlin apparatus against the Revolution of 1956. To defend itself against a working class revolution, against a revolution of armed workers councils. Khrushchev, Kadar, Brezhnev and all the Stalinist leaders have always slandered this revolution as "the work of imperialism," "provocation of the CIA," work of "counterrevolutionaries, anti-communists, enemies of the working class..." "a spy plot," "Zionist plot," etc. An entire arsenal of slanders has been developed against this revolution and tons of dirt have been thrown at its leaders and martyrs. Just like previously against the workers in East Berlin in 1953, and more recently against the Czechoslovakian workers in 1968 and since then against the Polish workers during the insurrection of 1970 and the general strike of June 1976.

Imre Nagy and other leaders of the revolution of 1956 were executed and thousands of workers massacred by the Kremlin's tanks precisely on the basis of these slanders. Michel Varga himself was accused several times, and notably as co-defendant in the phoney trial of Imre Nagy as being an "agent of the CIA" and many other things.

After the crushing of the revolution by the tanks of Khrushchev, the bureaucrats sought all possible means to "prove" that the Hungarian Revolution was a "provocation" and a "counterrevolution." They never succeeded in doing so and today no worker or honest militant any longer believes slanders of this type. The Moscow Trials in the 30's against the Bolsheviks, the trials in the 50's throughout Eastern Europe (the Rajk Trial in Hungary, the Slansky Trial in Czechoslovakia, Kostov in Bulgaria), the slanders against the Hungarian Revolution, against Prague Spring and against the insurrections of the Polish workers-- demonstrated to all workers and militants devoted to the cause of socialism how Stalinist slander is used to stifle and crush the struggle of the working class for socialism in order to maintain and "legitimize" the power of the Stalinist dictatorship over the workers in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The "proofs" of the Stalinists were forced to give way to the reality of the powerful struggle of the workers,

militants, youth and socialist intellectuals of these countries.

Taking as their own, and by "making precise" the Stalinist slanders against Michel Varga and other militants of the Hungarian Revolution, the leaders of the OCI only give the Kremlin and Kadar "new" arguments. In their content (and including in their form) the latter are not really new. As far as the fabrication of "irrefutable proofs," the bureaucrats and the laboratories of their political police are still the masters of this and it is difficult, if not impossible, to surpass them on this score.

However, what is new is the "Trotskyist" cover, the support of "revolutionaries," which is offered to the Kremlin and which tries to give a gloss or "authenticity" and "seriousness" which the Stalinists and their slanderous propaganda lacks. "Look--" Kadar and Brezhnev will say, "we were right. It was of course a counter-revolution. Even the OCI says that among the leaders of this counterrevolution there were some agents of the CIA which they unmasked."

At the same time the second inseparable piece of the slander of "double agent," has also the same meaning. In fact, outside of the slander according to which any revolution or movement of the working class in Eastern Europe is the work of the CIA and imperialism, the political police of these countries (KGB in the USSR, STB in Czechoslovakia, or MSW in Poland) have always tried to "explain" that these movements constitute a trap held out by... the political police themselves and that consequently, the workers and socialist militants must be on guard.

The Hungarian Revolution was also explained as a "provocation of the KGB," as well as, for example, the movement of the Polish students in 1968 which was, "among other things," of course, a "provocation of the MSW" and its head at the time, the sinister general, Moczar. Such an "explanation" is never publically given, one insinuates it, one brings it into the different workers and oppositional milieus through the means of agents of the political police and bureaucrats of the Stalinist party. All of this to dissuade the workers and militants from organizing

in an independent manner, by terrifying them in advance with infiltration and police provocation. The fierce repression which reigns in Eastern Europe makes the constitution of an independent organization extremely difficult, of a committee, a clandestine journal...? "Therefore"... any organization are traps held out by the police to decapitate and neutralize oppositionists-- explain the bureaucrats and the Stalinist political police.

The leaders of the OCI bring an obvious support to the slanders of the Stalinist leaders and the revolution itself.

(French Edition, pages 182-183)

OCI ATTACKS HUNGARIAN EMIGRATION OF 1956

In its hatred of the Revolution of 1956, the Kremlin apparatus has, during the long years which followed the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and still does today, concentrated its efforts in pursuing and denigrating the Hungarian emigration, using fictitious pretexts, but also some weaknesses, errors and reactionary political positions among certain Hungarian exiles belonging (or having evolved) to the right and to all sorts of bourgeois currents.

One of the targets of these slanderous attacks, which out of habit creates an amalgam between the bourgeois currents of this emigration and the socialist and revolutionary currents in order to better discredit the latter, was precisely the Petofi Circle which Michel Varga was, during the revolution, one of its secretaries. The Petofi Circle was also presented by the Stalinists as a "nest of counter-revolutionaries," "imperialist spies" and "agents in the pay of the CIA" acting to "weaken and overthrow the worker-peasant power" in Hungary. The slanderous publications of the OCI are destined to give ammunition to the Stalinists, who feel the cruel lack of it.

Thus, not only one of the secretaries of the Petofi Circle would have already been a

"double agent provocateur" in Budapest, but the entire struggle of Michel Varga, once in exile, to continue the fight of the Petofi Circle is presented by the leaders of the OCI as the work of the CIA, "financed by imperialism." To such a point that the Petofi Circle, which continued in emigration under the impulsion of Michel Varga and other militants of the Hungarian Revolution, appears in the publications of the OCI between quotation marks-- "Petofi Circle."

But the leaders of the OCI still do not dare to call the quotations by a name, they do not openly say that the Imre Nagy Institute and its review, "Etudes," were "agents of the CIA." No, they are content to take up the old slanders of Kadar against this very Imre Nagy Institute, that is against the socialist Hungarian emigration. "Since the CIA wished to place its hands on the Institute"... "therefore"... "all those who collaborated with it were agents" -- say the bureaucrats. The leaders of the OCI do not say more, they are content to bring Kadar some "proofs": the letters of Michel Varga, the budget of the Institute, etc., presenting all of this as "revelations."

The cynicism of the slanderers and the clear consciousness that they have their role as providers of "proofs" to the Stalinists, appears when one reads the dozens of pages of Hungarian emigres, cited helter-skelter, in a monstrous amalgam. The Commission sees in the publication of these names a denunciation, complementary to that of Michel Varga himself, of these emigres as "agents of the CIA," or "agents of the KGB," or those who "got their fingers wet."

The proof of the fact that it concerns a conscious and premeditated denunciation is furnished by the selection of certain names, printed in their entirety (around 40) and other where only initials are cited (around 10). One denounces certain ones, but not others, and of course no explanation is given about this choice.

The Commission considers that the collusion between the slanders of the Kremlin against the Hungarian Revolution and the slanderous publications of the OCI is a certain fact. This collusion oriented the Commission in searching for the origin of the campaign of slanders led by the leaders of the OCI in Stalinism itself. Outside of other elements which demonstrate this collusion, presented in the WHITE PAPER, the latter is particularly explicit. Wishing at any price to denigrate Michel Varga and the Fourth International, wishing at any price to find a "proof" for the "provocation," why did the slanderers need to slander and denigrate, by ricochet, with an amalgam created with the are of the Stalinists, 40 militants of the Hungarian revolution?

This collusion also explains the striking identity between the method of elaboration of the slanderous publications of the OCI and notably the brochure, with the method of elaboration of the "acts of accusation" set up by the bureaucrats against the different "enemies of socialism" and "imperialist spies." It is enough to

compare the style, the amalgam, the insinuations of the brochure with, for example, "The Verdict in the Affair of Imre Nagy and His Accomplices" or the texts of accusation against Laszlo Rajk, London, Slansky.

The Commission judged it instructive and revealing to present some extracts of official documents, "elaborated" on the offices of the Hungarian political police against Imre Nagy, against Balazs Nagy, against the other leaders of the Hungarian Revolution, against the Petofi Circle, etc.

French Edition, pages 183-184

DOWN WITH THE ATTACKS AGAINST THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

(Letter of Michel Varga to the International Bulletin, #5, Jan. 1974)

After a silence of several months, the leadership of the OCI has begun to show several of its cards. The true content of the slanders clearly appears. It is the attack against the Hungarian Revolution.

In two consecutive numbers of INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES (#636 and 638), this leadership directly attacks the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. It is exactly the content, the language, and the tone of the daily paper of Kadar, "Nepszabadsag" including the utilization of the term, "the so-called Petofi Circle," thus attacking all efforts to continue the Revolution of 1956.

Such a resemblance must make all militants think about the meaning of this campaign. That we badly understood the revolution of 1956 at the time, and that I myself committed errors, is undeniable. For, by identifying Marxism and Communism with Stalinism, I wished to fight them. Well? In place of explaining the tragic meaning of the rupture of the continuity of Bolshevism-- which they make fun of in the course of the years which followed as "stupidities" on my part-- these pitiful leaders keep very quiet about the fact that in 1956 they regarded the Hungarian Revolution from afar. They were then occupied with Messali Hadj.

My errors were only gross reflections of theirs! My conceptions were published in the form of the introduction of the first issue of the review, "Etudes," of the Imre Nagy Institute, as well as in the article signed by B. Nagy which appeared in the next issue. If they will take the trouble to publish both of them, those, who prefer this type of publication to the balance sheet of their own policy-- everyone will be able to see the degree of cynicism and hypocrisy of these men who avidly read all the issues of this review. If this is not enough, it would be necessary to publish the voluminous correspondence which I had with Pierre Broue. It is composed of at least a hundred letters, which were stolen as well. But we are facing falsifiers, this will hardly advance us.

For our activity at the time, we searched for money everywhere. And so? One who does not search for it is an imbecile; but only one who makes it a goal becomes its prisoner. In any case, for Lambert it is incomprehensible, for in the "discussions" in 1972 he tried to win us over through this means as well. The slander which the leaders of the OCI NOW use is exactly of the same nature of that which the

bureaucracy accused and hung Imre Nagy, who had "entered into relationships with the embassies of the capitalist countries."

The petty bourgeois hatred of these leaders escapes no one. They find the means to unscrupulously accuse another man who is transformed, according to their conceptions of relations between militants-- into my "right arm." Politically, this man is a sort of left populist, if a comparison of this type is possible. From the point of view of character the cynical and "ingenious" Lambert has a great deal to envy. In face of defeats and betrayals of all types and unable to find a solution towards Trotskyism, he became demoralized and recoiled into private life. And this, one can only regret. For he represented something in the workers movement in Hungary, paying with six years in a concentration camp for his "socialist-populist convictions. One would like to know who, in these conditions, are the obscure translators of my archives for Lambert!

For it is not by chance. The fear of seeing their opportunist policy unmasked can explain the paranoia (the knowledge of the personalities aid in this) as well as the fury and the slanders. But the hatred of the recent articles is particularly and visibly directed against the Hungarian Revolution, still at this stage "only" against all those emigres who wished to continue it.

For the question is namely, what does the Lambert-Just leadership want? If it concerns wishing to destroy me personally (what an important goal!) --as the comrades of the SLL have written-- they are wasting time. And they know it. Confusedly, this leadership also realizes that the International League is not submitted to my personality as Lambert imagines the OCI is to his. "Historic leaders" are unknown among us. In this regard it is characteristic-- and normal --that the last articles are indignant because B. Nagy did not submit his plans to Lambert, who he hardly knew at the time. Even retrospectively, he takes the right of supervisor over someone who was not linked to him either personally or organizationally, nor to the Trotskyist organization. What this leadership is trying to understand, even if this is difficult, is that with or without me the International League cannot be destroyed, political problems can not be hidden.

In these conditions the only profound motivation for these slanders is revealed in the recent articles: to throw dirt on the revolution of 1956. For the moment, through me, but already they have not stopped here. In advance, I denounce the shameful attempt to attack this revolution and the desperate attempts of the Imre Nagy Institute. The collusion between these attacks and that of the Kremlin is evident. The virulent attitude of the entire "left" at the time (and still today) against 1956 is thus justified by the leadership of the OCI.

The loop is tied. The profound roots of such a collusion is the political degeneration of this leadership, characterized by the position of "evolutionary development" by degrees, the class struggle, against the preparation of the revolution and thus by the adaptation to the organizations called "traditional" and their cadres. For the Hungarian Revolution was a revolution. One well understands now, in the light of these latest articles in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES the fury of

these leaderships in the face of my criticisms, certainly faltering and gross, of "national communism" or in the face of my refusal to identify the Reiss faction with the Fourth International.

My person counts for very little here. It serves as camouflage. Behind it Lambert-Just launch themselves against the Hungarian Revolution in their fear of ALL revolutions. It is equally independent of my person that I denounce this odious attempt. The response to their personal attacks will come. Be certain of it. But it is more important to affirm above all, principles without letting them be dragged into the swamp. The Lambert-Just leadership is preparing to take up the function of the failed Pabliste leadership, compromised and in open crisis. It must therefore rid itself of the "complex" of revolution, beginning with the Hungarian Revolution. It prepares new blows to do it-- of course, with treacherous references to 1956-- that I denounce in advance.

No member of the OCI can be complicit in this business. The slanders serve to hide it and distract you. Without this content they have no meaning and still less interest.

What a crime; "From the first months" I wished to continue the organization of the Petofi Circle where in Hungary I was one of its secretaries. At this moment the Stalinist bureaucracy had already declared that the Petofi Circle was only a nest of vipers organized and financed by imperialism. In the act of accusation of the Imre Nagy Trial-- in which I figure-- the principle point was this slander. For the instant the Lambert-Just leadership try to hide that they are using exactly the same accusation as the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It first attacks the fact that we wished to continue 1956 and this "from the first months"... after the crushing of the revolution.

We did not ask for Lambert's authorization. We did not even know of his existence which he was very careful to hide during the revolution. (WHITE PAPER, French Edition)

P.S. The latest slandering article says: "From the first months of his stay in Western Europe (January 1957) until January 1958, Balazs Nagy took up two public tasks: set up a political organization which play so important a role in the Hungarian Revolution..."



STALINIST TANKS, 1956

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CORRECTIONS

In the last issue of TRUTH there was a technical error in the article entitled: "Join the Committee To Free Santiago Alegria." The next to last paragraph on the front page should read: "A young autoworker at the meeting correctly responded to the lying slanders of the Spartacist League about "lack of credibility," and "fingering our militants," by demanding of them: "Why don't you all tell it like it is?" Why don't these pseudo-revolutionary centrists tell the truth to the US working class and its youth about their policy?" We apologize to our readers for this error.

ARE WILDCAT STRIKES UNDEMOCRATIC?

By FRED VITALE

"Wildcat strikes are undemocratic." So spoke Marc Stepp, head of the Chrysler Division of the very "democratic" UAW. He was speaking about the wildcats at the Trenton Chrysler plant last summer. The first one occurred because of the 130 degree heat, the second because of the vicious repression against the leaders and militants of the walkout.

Who are Marc Stepp and the UAW bureaucracy to speak about things being "undemocratic"? They have done everything from suppressing dissent at union meetings to stealing contract ratifications, to beating up scores of militants, to complete support for the biggest imperialist government in the world! It's almost amusing to hear the bureaucrats who support the Shah of Iran suddenly become worried about undemocratic actions by the workers.

There is an element of truth in Marc Stepp's statement, although that truth speaks against him and his fellow tyrants. It is not the formal question of whether the workers voted to strike, even though at EVERY opportunity the autoworkers have had to vote, they voted overwhelmingly to strike.

No. It is a POLITICAL QUESTION. Yes, the wildcats have been undemocratic in the sense that they have not been built from WORKERS DEMOCRACY. The wildcats have remained spontaneous, without the election of factory committees which EXPRESS the organized strength of the workers today, and can lead, centralize and organize their struggle.

The wildcats as well as the local strikes that have occurred in auto, have not really been victorious. They haven't won the reduction in speed-up, stopped job elimination or harassment which the workers struck over. With factory committees the autoworkers could respond INSTANTLY to these strikes, to organize sitdown strikes, to set up picket squads and defense guards, to spread the strike, to confront the bosses with the demands of the workers.

In other words, factory committees elected by the workers can LEAD the workers struggle and in so doing take it OUT of the hands of the bureaucrats who always betray the workers, who always "lead" in fact, undemocratically.

This struggle to elect factory committees is the ONLY means for the workers to defeat the opportunists, TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THEIR UNIONS. Its only in such a struggle that a revolutionary leadership can be built that can actually REPLACE the opportunists and not merely fill in for them.

The example of the Trenton Seven is an excellent one. The opportunists of the Stalinist Communist Party, the Maoists of all

varieties the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, all supported the Trenton 7 Defense Committee, established by the local bureaucrats to "aid" the seven leaders being railroaded to federal penitentiary.

Naturally, as soon as they could they abandoned even this paltry defense. Only a factory committee could get everyone their job back without recrimination and its still necessary to elect a factory committee for the recriminations still stand, and the MAIN LEADER, Ralph Elkins is still fired.

At both Essex Wire last year and in the last weeks at a parts plant in Cadillac the capitalists are using scabs during UAW strikes. No longer is the rule "pickets for show" as it has been generally at the big auto plants. How can the workers lead a successful strike?

Not by changing the labor law, as advocated by the UAW bureaucracy. The capitalists' right to profit exceeds the workers right to a safe union job in the eyes of the government.

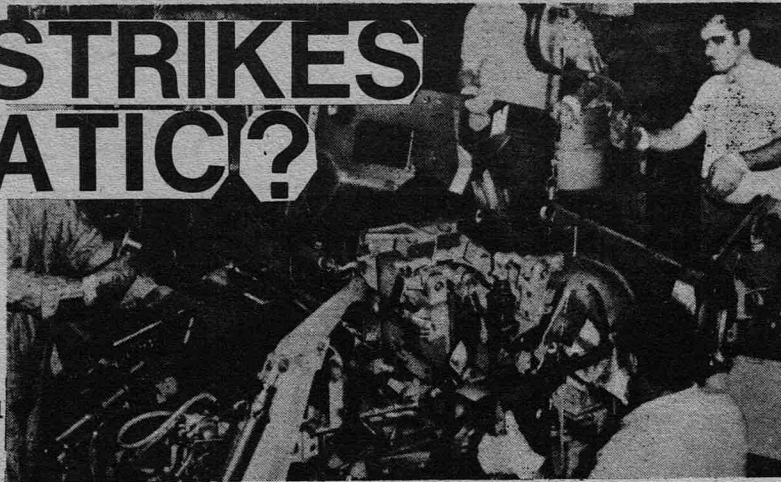
Now layoffs are coming -- whether it be the layoffs being blamed on the miners strikes, the almost complete shutdown of AMC, or the growing layoffs at Chrysler.

And how do the opportunists stand on the fundamental right of the workers to a job? The bureaucrats, mumbling under their breath, accept them. The Stalinist Communist Party wants job legislation, and nationalizing the companies so that we subsidize the capitalists with our taxes. The Socialist Workers Party wants to change the Federal Wages and Hours Act, so there are less working hours through "mass actions, demonstrations for 'jobs for all,'" "None of these activities can stop layoffs or even prepare for the only GUARANTEE against against layoffs, the Workers Government.

The opportunists create a make-believe world where laws stop layoffs (!), supporting the maneuver of the bureaucrats makes the workers stronger, (!) and putting pressure on the bureaucrats makes them fight for the workers. And in this happy little world of no clash or confrontation, the independent organization of the workers, Workers Democracy has NO significance. That's why all the opportunists attribute no POLITICAL significance to the independent organization of the miners, their armed picket squads, their mass caravans.

Yes, in a way the wildcats have been "undemocratic". But the MORE democratic they become, the MORE Marc Stepp and his ilk will see the already shaky ground under their feet open up to swallow them, and the workers reclaim their unions once again.

February 23, 1978



REFORM THE CIA?

By BARBARA PUTNAM

"Once and for all we must tear from the hands of the greedy and merciless imperialist clique, scheming behind the back of the people, the disposition of the people's fate." (Leon Trotsky, TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM, 1938).

The US Congress is considering a set of reforms introduced by the Senate Intelligence Committee called the "National Intelligence Reform Act of 1978." "It is the most significant protection of rights since the Bill of Rights itself," said Senator Birch Bayh.

Under the cover of Carter's "human rights" the FBI, CIA and National Security Council are being given a license to EXIST and to expand and centralize these instruments of repression. They want us to think restraints are being applied to the notorious spy agencies, when in fact the new "guidelines" allow provisions for the bourgeoisie to LEGALLY murder and spy on workers leaders.

Those who "violate espionage" are all who oppose the greedy and merciless imperialist clique.

When the capitalists first set up the CIA after WWII, it was expressly an anti-worker, anti-communist agency designed to root the workers leadership out of the working class. During the McCarthy period, the "Communist" Party and the Socialist Workers Party, (then the Fourth International in the US), were wire-tapped, hounded by the "I-Led-Three-Lives" FBI and "black-listed" from employment.

In more recent years, the CIA and FBI have spent their time studying "civil disorder" and perfecting political assassinations. Remember the Bay of Pigs? How the liberal John F. Kennedy utilized these agencies to organize Cuban capitalist exiles to attempt to overthrow nationalized property, brought about by the revolution in Cuba. Malcolm X, the Panthers, George Jackson, Martin Luther King, the list could go on... all murdered by the counterrevolutionary organizations of the ruling class.

Up to now the CIA and FBI functioned individually (secretly) "scheming behind the back of the people." The new laws would permit the head of the CIA, Stansfield, to "grant permission for covert operations and permit warrants to be issued for multiple searches of premises." Those who "violate espionage" are subjected to electronic surveillance, with the approval of a panel of judges completely outside the control of the populace. Translated, this means a stepping up and intensification of brutality directed to-

wards the LEADERSHIP of the working and oppressed masses.

If the S. 1437 Bill outlawing strikes and working class struggle in general is directed against the working class in its entirety, this new legislation to "reform" the police apparatus is directed primarily and specifically against the working class in its entirety, this new legislation to "reform" the police apparatus is directed primarily and specifically against the leadership of the strikes and "civil disorders", all in the interests of "national security" of course. There are even provisions protecting spys and agents to allow them the greatest freedom in attacking violators of "espionage".

First the bourgeoisie fights to pass the repressive anti-worker S. 1437 Bill calling strikes "extortion" and striking workers "blackmailers" and treating them under law as common criminals, next they come up with "reform" legislation for the CIA and FBI to "target" those who are "violating espionage laws," i.e. the most militant workers and the revolutionaries, through electronic surveillance, without of course, "intruding upon the exercise of constitutional rights."

As long as working class parties and organizations do not step outside the boundaries established by bourgeois democracy they can "exercise" their "constitutional rights"; but if they were to truly defend the interests of the working class and go beyond the limits imposed by the ruling clique, then they, like the Fourth International, would be "violating espionage" and "targetted" by the bourgeoisie. But they are afraid of the FBI and the CIA. So they will be good and do as the masters say.

The Stalinists and centrists (betrayers of the workers interests) are good at the exercise of the bourgeois laws designed to hold the workers at bay. Don't count on them to fight the CIA.

It is generally known throughout the workers movement what the CIA and FBI are but NONE of the so-called "revolutionary" or "socialist" or "communist" parties and organizations, and certainly none of the trade union officers are fighting to SMASH these "intelligence" agencies none outside the TO and RWY. They think complaining will eliminate the "worst abuses." They think then, that the CIA and FBI can be reformed.

The miserable policies being

put forward to confuse and disorient the workers about ending the careers of the FBI, CIA, et al, do nothing but provide a future for these anti-working class police organizations.

The Stalinists of the "Communist" Party, as is their habit, lead the way with a proposal for a BETTER law than the one proposed by the Senate Intelligence Committee. Their gripe is the S. 2525 bill just doesn't reform the CIA enough and cut down on some "abusive practices" (abusing what? The Constitution of course).

The law they agitate for was not drawn up by them, but by "Congressional liberals" the Democratic Party "Black Caucus. Its objective? To reform the FBI and make it "merely investigating criminal acts".

Internationally the Stalinists are agreed that the youth and revolutionaries are "terrorists" and advocate them being "driven out of the factories." The FBI would have their approval for investigating these "terrorists". After the S. 1437 passes making struggling workers criminals the Stalinists version of the FBI could then be free to spy, bug and murder "criminal" strike leaders.

Then there is the Socialist Workers Party, which has come a long way since its days as a revolutionary party. Now its a centrist party. Their reform for the FBI is to "open its books". They have been pursuing a lawsuit against the FBI for its harassment of their organization, but want to leave it intact, just open up the books. They deliberately twist the meaning of Trotsky's message to the working class above. They propose to "open the files" to expose the "most abusive practices" just like the Stalinists.

When Trotsky spoke of no secret diplomacy, no military secrets, and tearing from the hands of the imperialists, their ability to repress, destroy and subjugate workers and their leadership, he meant NO FBI! NO CIA! NO NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL! The bourgeois police apparatus, as any real Marxist knows, can't be reformed, they must be overturned by the mass action of the working class, just as the class who profits from their existence must be overthrown.

The task then, for the working class, and any organizations in it claiming to be workers leaders, is to "tear from the hands of the greedy and merciless imperialist clique"... "the disposition of the peoples fate."

There is no "human rights in the US" -- the existence of the spies and secret police, their FBI and CIA prove this. There is only a license for the bourgeoisie to destroy the working class with backhanded support from the SWP and CP and all the betrayers in between. No one has real individual rights, no "human rights" as long as the bourgeoisie is the one to decide what is the "national interest" -- only a Workers Government can.

We call on all working class organizations and parties, and on the unions to join a fight against the CIA and FBI in favor of SMASHING them as the only guarantee of "protection of rights" and to join us in the fight for action committees to unite the workers against the repressive S. 1437 law and these so-called reforms laws giving the edge to the capitalists.