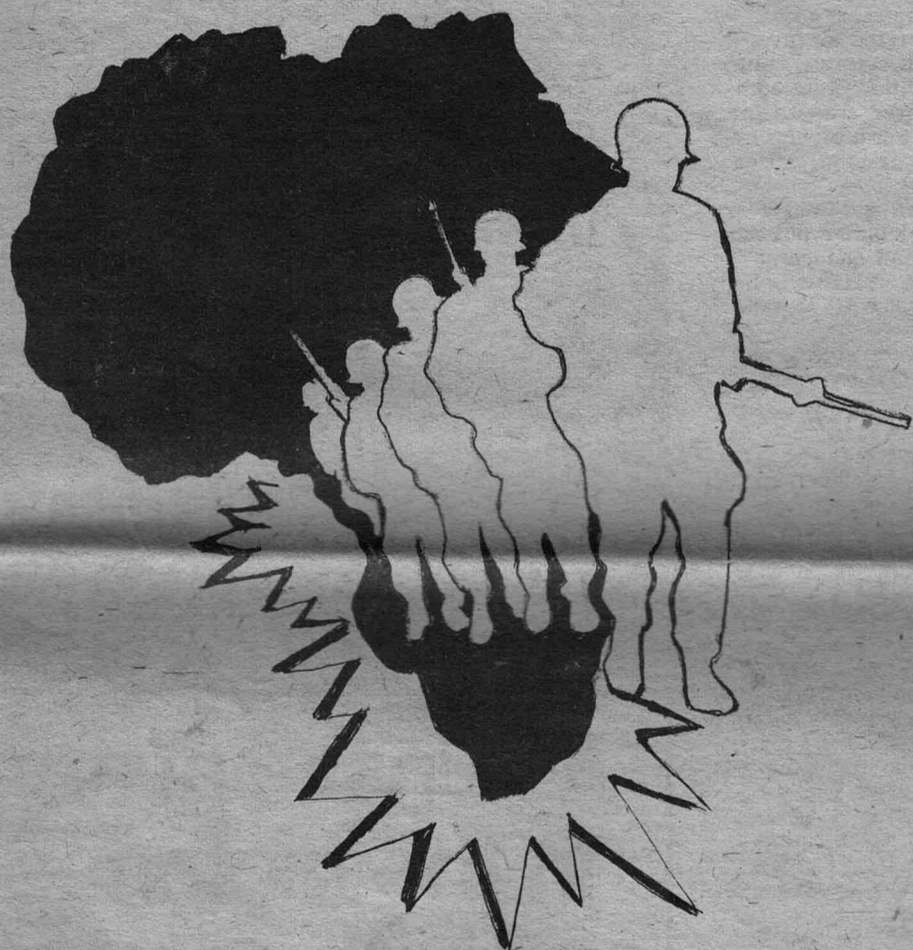




NO MORE VIETNAM! IMPERIALISTS OUT OF AFRICA!



Africa must be free! American workers must come to the aid of the working and oppressed masses of the African continent who are struggling to free themselves from imperialist domination.

Imperialism-- the "highest stage of capitalism"-- is crumbling throughout the world. And in their death agony these imperialists are more dangerous than ever. They are now desperate in their last-ditch efforts to crush the coming world revolution.

Last week French and Belgian troops invaded Zaire in order to crush a rebellion in Shaba (formerly Katanga) province against the regime of the imperialist lackey, Mobutu. They were aided by 18 US Air Force C-14s.

They called it a "rescue" operation. To save "whites." Against the "atrocities" of the rebels.

Lies. And besides, haven't we heard all this before? Isn't this how imperialism always hides its bloody adventures?

Didn't the war in Vietnam start as a "rescue" operation? Americans were only "advisors." Saving Vietnam for "civilization" from "savages."

Racist, imperialist lies. The only way to cover up for the fact that imperialism can only keep its shaky hold on the world with brute military force and fierce repression against the working and oppressed masses.

It is not "whites" that the US, France and Belgium are really protecting. It is their imperialist investments--\$200 million in direct US investment in Zaire, \$1 billion in loans to American

banks.

But it is not just a matter of investments. It is the threat of REVOLUTION-- the socialist revolution that is sweeping across Africa and which will be an inspiration to the revolutionary struggles of those under imperialist domination throughout the world.

And this doesn't mean that the imperialists are there to fight what they call "communism"--the influence of the Cubans and the Soviet Union. If Cuban troops are present in Africa, if the Kremlin is sending military aid it is NOT to spread the African revolution. It is to contain and crush it in the service of imperialism-- as the Stalinists crushed and deformed the revolution in Southeast Asia, in China, and in Latin America.

The imperialists are preparing to drown the African revolution in blood. France has already sent troops into Chad and the Western Sahara. The African lackeys of France just met in Paris to form an "African Security Force." Even their Belgian "allies" are now accusing France of having "other than humanitarian interests in Africa." Indeed,

And now Carter has used the events in Africa in order to re-arm US imperialism for direct military intervention around the world.

Last week Carter "complained" about "Congressional restraints" on his ability to intervene militarily in Africa. The State Department has begun a "survey" of the "restrictions" that forbid or limit covert military assistance.

All this legislation is against COVERT activity. Secret. Undeclared war. Against wars led in secret by the CIA behind the backs of the American working class. Unable to openly declare war, Carter wants the "restrictions" on the CIA lifted.

To try to crush the African masses in silence. To again practice the racism and genocide of imperialism in secret.

The American working class must not allow another Vietnam. Carter must be stopped now.

Andrew Young, the Carter administration's Uncle Tom for foreign policy recently declared: "There's enough support in this country and in the Congress for us to do openly anything we want to do in Africa."

The hell there is!

IMPERIALISM OUT OF AFRICA!
STOP CARTER'S WAR PLANS!
LONG LIVE THE UNITED
SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF
AFRICA!

May 25, 1978

TRUTH

Rehire the Romeo strikers!

On May 11th, 1,800 members of UAW Local 400 at Ford's Romeo Tractor plant in Michigan led a wildcat strike that shut down Ford's only North American tractor assembly plant for five straight days. The strike was sparked by the harassment of a worker in the welding department.

But it was just the last straw in a series of incidents in the plant which are typical of the slave-labor policies of Ford Motor Company-- harassment, brutal speed-up, forced overtime, unsafe working conditions and cowardly union representation.

The unity of the workers was solid in the face of the refusal of Ford to negotiate and the 100 police sent in with riot gear by the "democratic" state in order to keep the plant open.

Through mass picketing the workers were able to shut down the plant and stop production-- only

one worker crossed the picket lines.

But the unity of the workers was once again betrayed by the SCABS in the UAW-- the union bureaucrats-- who once again showed the UAW workers what they really are-- agents of the bosses inside the workers movement.

The UAW International, led by Doug Fraser, refused to sanction the strike, declaring it "illegal." The Local 400 bureaucrats were repeatedly shouted down by the workers as they unsuccessfully tried to order the strikers back to work.

And to make things even worse, the UAW bureaucrats ordered the workers back to work while Ford has fired 17 leaders of the strike. They refused the workers demand for no reprisals before they would go back.

Every UAW militant must join the fight to REHIRE THE ROMEO STRIKERS! Ford's attack on them

and the treachery of the bureaucrats is AN ATTACK ON EVERY UAW WORKER.

It is nothing new. In the last years the UAW bureaucracy led by Fraser (who gained his rise to fame by sending in 1,000 goons against the Mack Avenue sit-down strike in 1973) has joined with the auto companies in repression against the most militant workers in the UAW. They allowed over 40 committeemen to be fired by Chrysler in Indianapolis two years ago, allowed seven Trenton Chrysler workers to go to jail this year for leading a heat-walkout last summer, and recently brutally crushed the strike of the Essex workers in Elwood, Indiana.

This leadership must be thrown out now! Another summer is approaching and this means that conditions inside the auto plants will become even more brutal and intolerable. Three Ford Rouge

workers died last summer! The Romeo strike shows that the UAW bureaucrats will crush any attempt to fight back against these conditions.

The most militant workers must be protected against the bureaucrats and the bosses. A new leadership must be built for the UAW, a revolutionary leadership of young workers committed to making the UAW a weapon of the working class once again.

STOP THE SLAVERY IN THE FACTORIES!

UNITE AGAINST THE REPRESSION!

REHIRE THE ROMEO STRIKERS!
May 24, 1978

TRUTH

REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS MUST LEAD FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION

By JON COHEN

It's going to be a hot summer. Already in the last few weeks a series of spontaneous rebellions have broken out in several large cities which indicate the growing rebellion of the American working class and above all the youth against this society of unemployment, repression and war.

These "disturbances" (as the bourgeois press calls it) and the fierce repression of the bourgeois state are just indications of the things to come in this country as more and more sections of the working class seek to finish with this old order.

The working class must defend the fighting youth. It must defend all fighters against bourgeois repression against this racist, reactionary regime of Jimmy Carter and his "democracy."

The Revolutionary Young Workers, the US Section of the Revolutionary Youth International must be in the forefront of the struggles of these youth. It must be in the forefront of the fight to defend all victims of bourgeois repression. And in this fight it must win the fighting youth to the fight to build the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, in the US as the weapon of the working class youth in their fight to bring down the Carter regime.

The rebellion of the youth is taking place throughout the country, above all among the most oppressed sections of the working class. Let's look at several examples.

HOUSTON

On May 7th a rebellion broke out in Houston, Texas in the Chicano barrio during a celebration of the Cinco de Mayo (Mexican Independence Day). It was also the first anniversary of the murder of Joe Campos Torres by the Houston Police-- the police were convicted of murder by a Houston jury and given a ONE YEAR!! jail sentence by a Houston judge.

Fighting broke out between youth and the police which quickly turned into a police provocation as the police arrested hundreds of youth and sent an occupation force into the barrio for several days. The Mayor of Houston won a resolution from the City Council declaring a "state of emergency" in the area, giving him power to close public buildings, stores and to impose curfews.

The bourgeoisie has used this provocation as an excuse to launch a campaign of vicious repression against the Chicano youth and their organizations in Houston. Not only the "state of emergency," but a wholesale attack on working-class organizations has been launched.

The Police Chief of Houston

has recently declared that he wouldn't stand for "Marxist-Communist-Maoist-Anarchist-Trotskyite agitators who hide behind bushes and read DAS KAPITAL over bullhorns."

Three leaders of People United to Fight Police Brutality, organized by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party have been arrested on felony rioting charges. Travis Morales, Mara Youngdahl and Thomas Hirschi are being held in jail with the outrageous bail of \$500,000 EACH! They are being charged with inciting a riot.

Under Texas law, anyone involved in a riot is guilty of all crimes committed during the riot, even if the person was not personally involved. By this, the three are accused of nine felonies, including four arsons and three aggravated assaults. They face over 20 years in jail.

At least 30 other people face charges as well.

This is bourgeois "justice." In a city where a policeman who tortured and then brutally murdered a young Chicano is given a one-year suspended sentence, the most reactionary kind of police repression is being organized against the Chicano youth and their organizations who are daring to fight back against this racism and oppression.

It exposes all those who say that Chicanos can win their rights through this system and through the Democratic Party.

DROP ALL CHARGES!

JUSTICE FOR JOE CAMPOS TORRES!

DRIVE THE POLICE OUT OF THE CHICANO COMMUNITY!

CHICAGO

The attack on immigrant workers and students in the US is only preparation for a wholesale attack and repression against the entire American working class. Using those most vulnerable and most exposed to bourgeois law and its repression-- "foreigners"-- the bourgeoisie is preparing a campaign against all "outside agitators"-- anyone in this country who dares to fight for their rights.

The US government has taken a new step in this direction with the arrest of 193 Iranian students in Chicago who are now facing deportation hearing for their political activity in the US.

The action stemmed from a demonstration of several hundred Iranian students in downtown Chicago on May 18th against the repressive regime of the Shah of Iran, one of US imperialism's most loyal allies.

But only 11 of the protesters were arrested and charged with any kind

of illegal activity! But 193 Iranians were detained by the Immigration Service. According to the NEW YORK TIMES:

"In what officials acknowledged was a relatively unusual action, all of those who were detained but not formally charged were turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for investigation of their alien status. Since they all declared they were born in Iran, we believed at that time that it would be worth processing them," declared an immigration official.

This is a vicious and totally undemocratic attack on the political rights of immigrants and every American worker. What ever happened to "innocent until proven guilty"?

It doesn't exist for workers and oppressed in this country. And it is no coincidence that this attack comes at a time of massive social protest in Iran against the bloody regime of the Shah and his secret police. The US government is doing its share here at home to keep the Shah and his repressive regime alive.

If they are allowed to get away with this attack, even worse will soon come. American workers should never forget how the US government has treated "foreigners" in this country-- as a means to crush the entire working class. The 10,000 "Bolsheviks" deported to Russia in the 1920's. The thousands of Japanese citizens placed in concentration camps during World War II. "La Migra" against the Chicanos today.

DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST THE IRANIAN STUDENTS!

DEFEND THE RIGHT OF POLITICAL ASYLUM!

DETROIT

The youth in Detroit have learned a lesson about fascism and how to fight it. And they have begun to break from the treacherous policies of the liberals, union bureaucrats and the centrists which have failed to stop the Nazi threat in Detroit.

For several months we reported on the opening of a Nazi bookstore in Southwest Detroit, just blocks from Ford River Rouge and UAW Local #600. After repeated maneuvers by the trade union bureaucracy, the left Democratic Party and the Stalinist to head off any kind of mass mobilization to drive out the Nazis, a court order was obtained and a judge evicted the Nazis from their office.

"Victory!" cried the trade union bureaucrats and the Democrats. They even held a celebration in the old Nazi office. "A victory for coalition politics" cried the centrists of the Socialist Workers Party, "This is the way to do it,"



HOUSTON, TEXAS

Militant/Ne

Against slavery in the factories and in the streets!

Meeting!

Revolutionary Young Workers

Hear report of David Heffelfinger, delegate to World Congress of RY!

SUNDAY JUNE 4th 4:00 pm

WSU Student Center--2nd Floor

they said.

But guess what? Three weeks later the Nazis have reappeared. This time with an office on the Northwest side. Surprise. The Nazis don't respect the system of "justice" in this country like the liberals and centrists!

But the black and white youth in Northwest Detroit have had enough of "coalition politics." Enough of the total prostration and cowardice of the liberals and centrists.

Since the Nazis opened their office on May 20th hundreds of working class youth have demonstrated daily against the police and the Nazis and have tried to throw them out. On Saturday morning the police closed off the neighborhood as rioting against the police broke out with hundreds of youth throwing rocks and bottles at the police and the bookstore.

Over 55 people have been arrested or ticketed since May 20th-- of course all of them anti-Nazis-- the police continue to stand an armed guard over the Nazi office.

Although spontaneous and not organized, this represents the first real attempt of the working class and its youth in Detroit to unite and mobilize independently against the Nazis AND the police who protect them. No reliance on the Demo-

cratic Party or the trade union bureaucracy. No calls of these youth for the police or the bourgeois state to "ban" these Nazis. The youth just want to kick their heads in!

ALL CHARGES MUST BE DROPPED against these anti-fascist fighters. The workers and youth must organize independently to drive out the Nazis from Detroit.

Workers and youth from all over the country must be mobilized to stop the planned Nazi march in Skokie, a Jewish community, which has been again declared legal by the US Appeals Court on June 25th.

Houston, Chicago, Detroit... It is just part of a picture. An international picture of a joint campaign of the bourgeoisie and Stalinist bureaucrats to crush and isolate the most revolutionary and combative wing of the working class-- the youth.

While Carter is trying to get the legal "restraints" removed that prevent him from starting a new Vietnam in Africa, he is preparing the same kind of repression in the US against the American working class. Houston, Chicago and Detroit are just examples. So is the S. 1437 Bill now before the House of Representatives which will attack all basic democratic rights in this country. The "reform" of the CIA and FBI.

The youth must fight back. Not just in the US. But throughout the world and as part of an international organization. This is the fight of the Revolutionary Youth International organization-- A GAINST THE EUROPE OF HANGMEN! THE REAL TERRORIST IS THE BOURGEOIS STATE! A fight open to all working class organizations and all working class youth.

The young workers in the US must organize their fight against repression as part of this international fight. By joining the Revolutionary Young Workers of the USA in order to build a mass, independent organization of fighting youth and to build the party, the Fourth International, to lead this fight to victory.

The fight against repression is our fight. A fight which is and can only be revolutionary. May 25, 1978

The Battle of Chile

LESSONS FOR TODAY



CASTRO AND PINOCHET-- A picture tells a thousand stories.

By ANN NELSON

On May Day 15,000 Chilean workers from 31 different trade unions, took to the streets in a new upsurge against the fascist regime of Pinochet.

The working class of Chile is taking the offensive. Many of the fascist heads of the unions, put there by Pinochet, have been forced by the workers to resign. Earlier this year, the working class of Chile, refused, even under the threat of repression, to rubber stamp the dictator's "referendum" calling for a vote of confidence in the government in reaction to some criticisms of the United Nations that Chile "might" be violating "human rights."

The offensive of the working class in Chile is a part of a new mobilization of the proletariat and peasantry throughout South America.

In Arequipa, the second largest city in Peru, workers have been engaged in a general strike against the military regime of Bermudez. Thirty-one workers have been killed in the strike against a 50% increase in the price of gas and food, and against a decree by the government which legalizes mass firings of workers.

In Bolivia, Argentina, Panama, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua, workers and peasants have been engaged in an upsurge against the military governments, against the inflation, unemployment and repression. This mobilization of the proletariat throughout Latin America is supported by the mobilization of the US workers, and particularly the miners, as well as by the struggle of the workers throughout Europe.

BATTLE OF CHILE

About four years ago, the Chilean proletariat, suffered the most brutal repression ever seen in Latin America. Given the present mobilization of the Chilean workers and the workers throughout the Americas, it is more important than ever to know why the fascists

were able to take over the government in 1973. To prevent another Chile and draw the necessary lessons for the victory of the working class this time.

THE BATTLE OF CHILE is a film directed by Patricio Guzman, which is playing at colleges and small theaters in the United States. The film is made up exclusively of actual footage of the mobilization of the working class and the events which led to the fascist take-over on September 11th.

The film shows the massive demonstrations of the Chilean workers, peasants and youth and their determination to defeat the fascists and establish socialism. Also seen are the meetings of the Cordones Industriales, the elected organizations of the workers which began to act as the government of the workers. The Cordones Industriales are seen in the film organizing marches against the fascists and organizing the distribution of food during the strike of the truckowners, organized against the revolution.

In contrast, the Unidad Popular (UP) government, of Allende, debates endlessly in the halls of Congress, in its pursuit of the "peaceful road to socialism," re-

fuses to arm the workers, and calls instead for the masses to "trust in the military."

The final parts of the film show the first assaults of the fascists, in which one cameraman films his own death, and ends with the seizure of the government by the military in September with the speeches of the fascist generals seen on television.

Throughout the film, the power, anger and force of the workers mobilization is felt, but instead of the workers seizure of power, and the establishment of a workers government they got the flowery but empty speeches of Allende. And all the while, the fascists who are advised and financed by US imperialism are organizing and gathering confidence and strength,

WHY UNARMED?

The film is subtitled, "The Struggle of an Unarmed People," but doesn't say why the people were unarmed. The masses of Chile were unarmed, because of the policy of the popular front. The Chilean Communist Party and Socialist Party, supported by the centrists, ran the country for the bourgeoisie. This gave the fascists, supported by the United States enough time to prepare the coup.

The film, which apologizes for the Stalinists, tries to make the fact that the people were unarmed look like a "mistake." This is what Corvalan, head of the CCP, says today. "The real causes of our defeat are in ourselves, they are in our tactics, we must look at the Chilean people... we didn't know... to integrate the army into the movement... we didn't know to take up with the Christian Democrats" (from the French Edition of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, April, 1978)

Corvalan's fear is that the Chilean workers will again build the Cordones Industriales and go forward to take the power away from both the fascists and the bourgeoisie.

So today, Corvalan's plans for Chile involve the deeper treachery of the old leaderships. During the coup, the Chilean CP denounced those who showed a "lack of faith" in the army as reactionaries and fascists. Today, Corvalan wants to increase that alliance with the army and join openly with the Christian Democrats in forming an "anti-fascist front."

This should be called the "anti-worker front" because it is being planned in order to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie over the masses of Latin America. And even more, to insure the rule of the military governments over the masses of Latin America. Just as the Stalinists have made an agreement with the Francoist monarchy in Spain, they hope to be able to keep the juntas in power by changing only one or two

of the leaders.

In Argentina the Stalinists are supporting the "progressive" wing of the fascist Videla regime ("it could be worse," they say) which is responsible for the deaths of over 10,000 workers and militants and which has put as many militants in its prisons.

They also support Torrijos in Panama and the imperialist Canal Treaty. The reason why the Stalinists support these regimes? In order to work for "democratic change" and the "peaceful transition to socialism."

The lesson of the battle of Chile is above all that of the treachery of the Stalinists who have everything to lose from the revolutionary struggle of the masses which will destroy their very existence.

The Stalinists are frantically trying to work out new compromises with the murderers of the Latin American proletariat. Each time their support to the bourgeoisie becomes more open and complete, as with their proposal to join with the Christian Democrats in Chile who participated and helped to organize the fascist coup.

The Brazilian proletariat has just begun a strike wave, the first since the military took power. On April 18th the people of Panama demonstrated massively against the Canal Treaty, while the American Communist Party was calling the Treaty "progressive."

A clear policy for the masses of the Americas can come only from the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution. The Fourth International is being rebuilt in the United States by the Trotskyist Organization of the USA.

The Chilean section of the Fourth International can be built only in a resolute struggle against the class collaborationist policy of the Stalinists and to destroy its influence in the workers movement in Latin America.

Our goal is the Socialist United Republic of the Two Americas. This is the lesson of the BATTLE OF CHILE. May 25, 1978

1968 DRESS REHEARSAL OF WORLD REVOLUTION

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

Every day it seems more like 1968. Strikes, Mass demonstrations, Confrontations with the police, Everyone talking politics, thumbing their noses at the old order and the opportunists who support it. Youth, workers -- shot. Massive propaganda campaigns aimed at turning the majority of the people against the youth.

This similarity is not accidental. The international uprising of 1968 which reached high points in France and Czechoslovakia was a massive break of the working class, especially its youth, with the old leaderships and their policy of suppressing the working class and its interests in favor of the capitalist class and its. This uprising marked the beginning of a massive and worldwide confrontation of the working class with the capitalist class, of the revolution and the counterrevolution.

While the bourgeoisie and its reformist and Stalinist lieutenants have tried for over a decade to contain this confrontation, it has not succeeded. Thus, once again this fundamental conflict is coming to a head. Yet this time it embraces almost the entirety of the workers and oppressed peoples across the world. Its intensity has multiplied a thousand times and the stake -- socialism or a profound defeat for the working class -- is much higher.

1968 was like a dress rehearsal for the world October revolution, as 1905 was for the Russian Revolution of October, 1917. Thus, we who are responsible for leading the working class to power today can, indeed, must, learn a great deal from 1968, by studying it, drawing all the lessons we can from it, and apply them, as Marxists, in the class struggle today.

It seems that young workers and militants in America remember bits and pieces of 1968 -- "Chicago," "May-June," "Prague Spring." They are aware of its importance and they are interested in it, even if they are not fully conscious of it or knowledgeable about it.

All the enemies of the working class are trying to take advantage of this to push their own accounts of 1968 on the working class, accounts which invariably distort the true meaning of 1968 and obfuscate, if not openly and dishonestly deny the decisive role of the International, the world party, before, during, after, and since this struggle.

Our account will be different.

FRANCE

On March 22nd, 1968 young students at the state university in Nanterre, a suburb of Paris, occupied an office.

Sick of a decade of stifling Gaullist rule, they demanded control over their studies, freedom to think, create, study.

The state-run university responded by threatening to expel the students. Students in Paris organized a solidarity demonstration. The decrepit and corrupt Gaullist regime sent in riot police. Instead of being cowed by this show of force, the students formed barricades and armed themselves with whatever they could.

The fight was on. Most of Paris was on the young student's side. The police weren't able to push them back. They took over the Odeon, a large theater, and began to hold massive meetings, to discuss what kind of society they wanted to have, to formulate the proper actions, to make calls to the masses of workers. Young workers joined them.

In all the discussions and actions their feeling of the identity of their interests with those of their counterparts across the world, their disgust with capitalism and Stalinism, came to the fore. Posters of international revolutionary heroes were not the property of sects, but of the masses of youth.

The workers

At first the masses of workers were blocked from joining the young students in this struggle. The leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties and the unions denounced the young students, called them fanatics, petty-bourgeois. Centrist leaders of the youth claimed the youth was the revolutionary force and had no need for workers. They denounced the unions making no distinction between the Stalinist leaders and the workers.

But the determination of the youth, the violence of the police, and the obvious identity of the young students and workers interests in the battle against the Gaullist regime strengthened the workers' resolve. On May 13th the CP, SP, and union leaderships were forced to call a one-day general strike against the government repression of the students.

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) at that time the Trotskyist organization of France and the Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International had fought for some time for a general strike to bring down the Gaullist regime. It succeeded in winning the leadership of workers at Sud-Aviation in Nantes. So instead of going back to work on May 14th workers elected a strike committee, occupied the factory, held management hostage, and issued a call for their comrades across the country to follow suit.

From there the strike spread to Renault/Cleon, then to Renault plants throughout Paris, then to those in the provinces. From there to workers in every industry across the country.

Everywhere the workers organized themselves in mass assemblies, began to discuss, to take action to defend themselves against the

Gaullist police who constantly harassed the strikers. In short, the working class fought to take charge of its own fate, to build its own power, which is the essence of revolution.

Sud-Aviation - Nantes - the Trotskyists

At the Sud-Aviation plant and in the town of Nantes the French working class, led by the OCI, went the farthest.

Not only did they kick off and inspire a general strike throughout the country, but they elected a Central Strike Committee including representatives from different unions which took offices in the City Hall in Nantes and virtually ran the town.

It controlled the distribution of food, medical supplies, transportation. It controlled the prices in the stores. It organized mobile defense guards which beat back the police a number of times. It issued communications.

The Internationale was played over loud speakers.

REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION

It was this profound mobilization, revolutionary transformation of the masses, in which the International Committee of the Fourth International was a decisive factor, which prevented the Social Democrats and Stalinists from imposing the French bourgeoisie's solution on the workers.

Shortly after the strike began, Seguy, the Stalinist leader of the largest French union, the CGT, went to negotiate with De Gaulle, as was his habit. But when he came back to the workers at Renault and began to enthusiastically describe the deal he had made, the workers were silent. They stared at him. He mumbled something. They began to chant, "Don't sign. Don't sign."

The Stalinists were incapable of controlling the workers. The government began to fall into disarray. The workers began talking about organizing their own political power, their own government. De Gaulle left the country and went to Germany to talk to the troops. Masses of young people in the streets marched singing: "Adieu, De Gaulle, Adieu." ("Goodbye, De Gaulle, Goodbye.")

While the OCI fought for the strike committees to extend and strengthen themselves and assume more functions, it was not yet able to win the confidence of the masses. The centrists, which falsely claimed to represent the Fourth International, made it appear not to be a serious contender for power.

There was no one to lead the working class in the organization of its own government and the suppression of the reactionary Gaullist state. Power lay in the street with no one to pick it up.

DeGaulle came back, promised elections. The CP fought to get

the workers in line. The OCI was banned. The workers, sector by sector, factory by factory, went back to work.

They went back not in defeat, but with determination. They knew they had been betrayed but they still hoped the elections would give them a way to rid themselves of Gaullist rule.

PRAGUE

In Czechoslovakia, where the bourgeoisie had been expropriated but where its Stalinist agents still held political power, the revolution unfolded somewhat differently.

In January, 1968, in order to head off the growing discontent of the workers and intellectuals, especially the youth -- the result of over a decade of Stalinist rule which included terror and murder as in the USSR -- the governing Communist Party announced a new program, a new party role, and a new leadership.

The CP would end the censorship. It would lead a free discussion throughout the country. It would fight the bad conditions faced by the workers. Novotny, who had been the head of the party and the government during the 50's, was replaced. Dubcek took over.

Independent organization

But the youth took this as an opening for themselves. They began to intensify their struggle. They began to organize themselves independently of the Stalinist party, to discuss, to formulate demands. They wanted freedom to think, to create. They wanted free trade unions and the right to strike. They wanted to control the economic planning.

The masses of Czechoslovakian workers, intellectuals, and youth began to develop a public balance sheet of the previous decades. They tried to bring out the truth about the trials and executions which the Stalinists organized in 1950 against alleged counter-revolutionaries. They demanded that all having anything to do with this be removed from their posts, and punished. They demanded that Kalandra, a Czechoslovakian Trotskyist who "disappeared" in 1950, be rehabilitated.

Stalinists split

Even the April Congress of the CP, which adopted the now famous program for "Socialism with a Human Face" and affirmed the party's leading role in the struggle taking place in Czechoslovakia was unable to block the independent character of the struggle and bring it under control. The Stalinist apparatus was splitting and disintegrating. The responsible for Slovakia was replaced. Then the head of the Trade Union Congress. Then the Minister of the Interior. One

after another.

The Kremlin was terrified. Its power was threatened. So in August of 1968 it claimed a counterrevolution was afoot in Prague. That healthy forces wanted its help, and sent in 600,000 troops. But once again, instead of being destroyed the masses' resistance grew.

Militants destroyed train tracks to stop the troops. They sat down in front of them. They armed themselves with whatever they could. They switched street signs so troops couldn't find their way to public radio and TV stations still under workers control. They leafleted the soldiers. Talked to them.

Power

But once again, the International, thanks to the destructive work of the centrists was not yet able to organize this power into a government, to lead a political fight to crush the Stalinist apparatus.

The International Committee especially the Hungarian section, the League of Revolutionary Socialists, fought in Europe for the defense of the Czechoslovakian workers and intellectuals and the political revolution but had no organization in Czechoslovakia.

It, like all the sections of the Fourth International in Eastern Europe and the USSR had been destroyed by the centrists, led by Pablo, who despite urgent letters from East European Trotskyists calling on them to intensify the struggle against Stalinism, declared workers democracy a perspective for the next century. Stalinism the progressive force for this century and began to liquidate the Fourth International. This as East European Trotskyists fell at the hands of Stalinist assassins and Soviet Trotskyists died in slave labor camps!

So when masses of youth in Czechoslovakia turned away from the Stalinists, looking for the Fourth International, they saw not it, but the Pabloites, who told them to "unite" for the program of "Socialism with a Human Face," the reform of the Stalinist Party, and Dubcek himself.

The 14th Party Congress

How false this policy was became clear.

So great was the resistance to the Kremlin occupation that the Czech CP was forced to go ahead with the party Congress it had planned. It was held clandestinely, in factories, under the protection of workers. Everyone was there, from Husak (the present ruler of Czechoslovakia) to the Pabloites.

But while the Czech CP was forced to break with the Kremlin and oppose the invasion, it was incapable of organizing a revolutionary struggle against it. To do so would mean to rely on the masses and crush the strata of apparatchniks in which the CP was rooted. The CP had been forged

TION

Shoulder to shoulder. The bourgeoisie and Stalinism on their knees. This was the beginning of the new period. This was the promise of 1968.

Consciousness

The consciousness of the masses of this -- of the identity of their interests and their opposition to the bourgeoisie and Stalinism -- was decisive in the opening, the evolution, and the conclusion of the struggle in 1968.

To the degree that they had and acquired further confidence in their own forces they were able to go forward. To the degree this confidence was diminished, they were held back, forced to look again to the old leaders.

The workers took the initiative in '68. They drew the conclusions of their experiences since the betrayal of the general strike in France, the revolutions in Germany, Hungary, and Poland. The unemployment, inflation, repression, the war in Vietnam. They decided they had no choice but to trust in themselves, that they were sick of the old order and the Stalinist leaders who supported it.

'68 was a defensive, Pavlovian response to an "economic crisis." The crisis of the bourgeoisie was the result of the offensive undertaken by the masses.

Similarly, they continued that fight, shouted "Don't Sign!" because they were conscious of their interests and more confident in their ability to meet them than that of the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie.

It was beginning from this that the possibility of power for the working class and the possibility to destroy the bourgeois state and Stalinist apparatus was posed.

And finally, because our party, thanks to the centrists, was not yet able to lead these aspirations of the working class to fruition, to constitute it as the ruling power, false consciousness, all the old illusions in reform of the bourgeois state and Stalinism was strengthened.

It wasn't the alleged stupidity of the workers, their fidelity to the Stalinists, which blocked the road in '68. It was the centrists who confused the working class and eroded its confidence.

The party

This brings us to the final and most important lesson of 1968.

These uprisings were spontaneous eruptions. The workers didn't all get up one day and decide, "I'm sick of DeGaulle and Novotny." They were prepared, even if they were not directly led, by the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International since 1953.

The IC continued to fight for the independent mobilization and organization of the working class to meet its demands, the renovation of the trade unions, and the construction of parties to lead the workers to power, when the Stalinists and centrists were developing their theories of neo-capitalism, saying capitalism could meet the workers demands, of peaceful coexistence, together with peaceful reform. When they were denouncing and crushing the workers of France, Berlin, Poland and Hungary for not coinciding with their theories.

1968 was a profound affirmation of the International Committee's struggle against Stalinism and the Pabloite liquidators of the Fourth

International.

Further, as was outlined above, the IC was the only organization which intervened in the massive movements of 1968, to take them forward.

Thus it is no wonder, that in reading account after account of 1968, be it by the bourgeoisie, Stalinism, or centrism, there is no mention of it. Here it was, what everyone thought was just a small, fanatical sect, the obvious inheritors of the future.

The centrist United Secretariat, the liquidators of the Fourth International, which as was said above, went into 1968 with the theory workers democracy was not on the agenda, that Stalinism was progressive and could be reformed, that revolutionaries should critically support it, was forced to modify its intervention for obvious reasons.

It continued to argue that neo-capitalism and Stalinism could meet workers demands and to orient toward the liberal wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy -- Dubcek, Castro, (even after he supported the invasion!) -- but it argued that youth were the vanguard and denounced the working class, trying to make an identification in the minds of student youth and young workers between the masses of workers and Stalinist leaders.

In this way the United Secretariat could keep pace with the hatred of the youth for Stalinism, but dissipate it, make sure it wouldn't hurt it.

Thus in the elections in France after the strike when the contest was clearly one between the working class and the bourgeoisie, even if the workers candidates were Stalinist, the centrists fought for abstention. And in Czechoslovakia, when to the advanced workers it became clear a new party was needed, the centrists simply organized a mish-mash, proclaimed it a new party, and made a joke out of the whole idea. The United Secretariat, liquidators of the FI, didn't change one bit during '68. They just tried to look more radical.

The IC and the rebuilding of the International

The Revolutionary wing of the International Committee on the other hand, fought to draw the lessons of '68 and correct the problems.

It determined that while it had indeed played the only positive role, that even it had not sufficiently understood the international character of the struggle, the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe as what could unite France and Czechoslovakia. The decisiveness of the construction of the party.

It determined that it had seen things too much in a national context, counted too much on the workers committees and not fought to actually construct the party in the mobilization.

Thus it resolved to undertake an offensive for the Socialist United States of Europe, build the Revolutionary Youth International as an independent mass organization for the world party, and in this complete the rebuilding of the FI, see that the FI was never again confused in the minds of the masses with the centrist betrayers.

The first acquisitions of this struggle were expressed in the conference of East European militants in 1969 which began to rebuild the sections in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia, and in the massive rallies of the RYI in Bouget and

Essen under the banner of the world revolution and the FI.

But as the readers of TRUTH know, this struggle was not brought to a definitive victory as rapidly and as easily as was thought possible at the time.

A liquidationist wing began to develop within the IC itself which tremendously delayed the completion of these tasks.

Nevertheless, the battle waged against it enabled the revolutionary wing of the IC not only to assume all the acquisitions of the IC in the uprising of '68, but to bypass them, to go on to complete the rebuilding of the FI and take its rightful place today at the head of the fighting youth, when all the other parties are arrayed against it, slandering the youth, slandering the party, just as they did in '68.

AMERICA

One of the most important things about this account of 1968 is that from it American workers can see what a revolution and a revolutionary party is really like.

Revolution is not rioting and chaos in the street like the bourgeois and Stalinist slanderers say. It is above all a massive transformation of workers consciousness and organization. Where they take

control of their own fate, organize themselves in meetings, debates, and do whatever is necessary to effectuate this. Yes, organize militias, and violence to stop the bourgeoisie and its hired scum who want to keep the workers slaves.

And a revolutionary party is not, above all, small bands meeting in secret, issuing statements, conspiring, although this is often necessary, but it is the leadership of the masses, the sons and daughters of the proletariat, its best and most capable fighters.

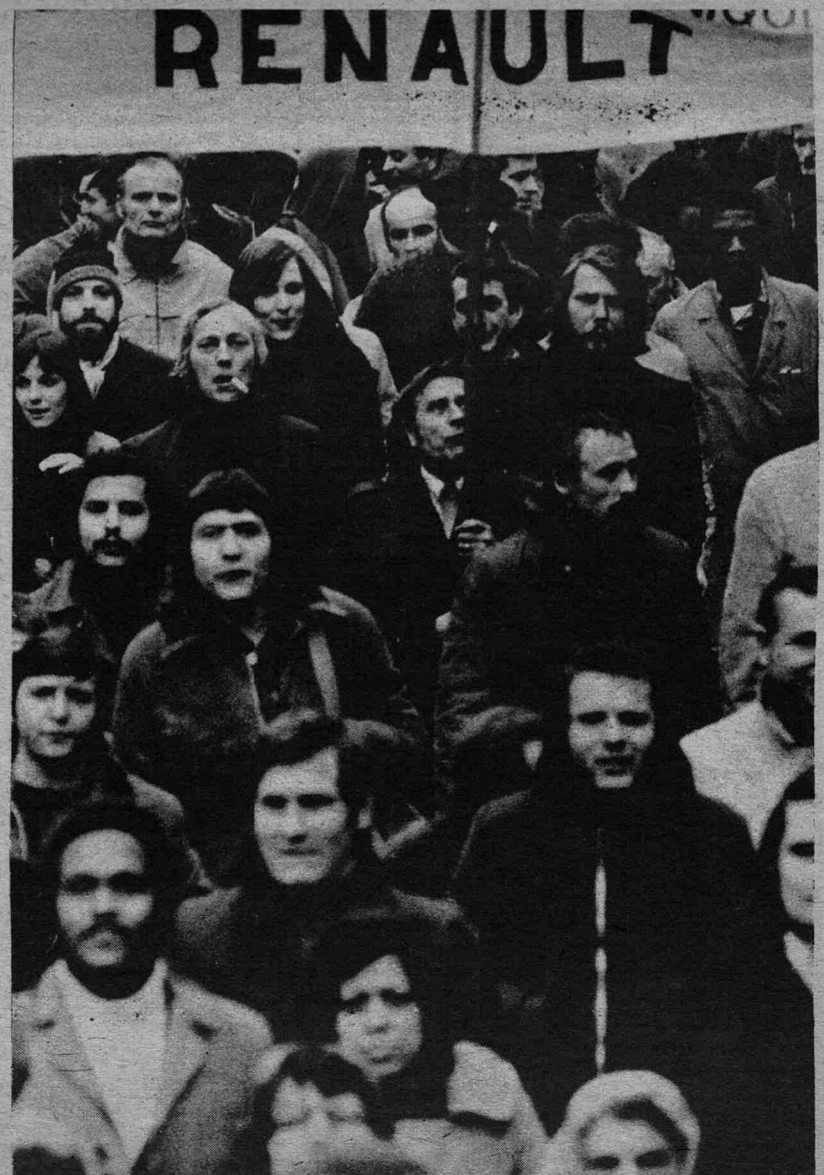
And American workers can see that this stands in marked contrast to what is supposed to be the revolutionary party in America -- the Socialist Workers Party.

Indeed, throughout the period, the SWP was identified entirely with the liquidators of the Fourth International.

That is why we founded the Trotskyist Organization and are fighting today to complete the rebuilding of the American Section of the Fourth International.

We're fighting to assimilate all the lessons of the workers struggle and apply them.

Without this the world proletariat will not be able to pass from its 1905 to its 1917. It needs its American section and the American proletariat to do this. May 25, 1978



“They didn't ask me for any documents”

AN OPEN LETTER TO HECTOR MARROQUIN

Dear Comrade Marroquin,

As you know, the Trotskyist Organization of the USA, the Revolutionary Young Workers and the US Committee for the Liberation of Soldier Santiago Alegria have endorsed and supported your campaign for political asylum from the very beginning. Our endorsement was read at a meeting you spoke at in Detroit. We have sent a letter to the Immigration Department which should be in your files. We have offered all possible practical support to your Committee in Detroit.

At the same time we have repeatedly asked you, and the organization to which you belong, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to support the campaign we have organized in the US to win the liberation of Soldier Santiago Alegria, a militant of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain, the section of the Fourth International. Under the guise of a provocation (now totally unmasked in Spain) he and several other militants of our party in Spain were arrested and charged with "illegal association" (our party remains illegal in Spain). Originally Santiago Alegria faced a military trial, due to the mobilization in Spain for his release these charges have been dropped and there are only civil charges against him now.

We have addressed ourselves to you personally several times. Not as a "maneuver" as your leadership may believe, but because we feel that there is a strong similarity to your cases-- both being part of an international campaign of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists to persecute the revolutionary youth under the cover of a campaign against "terrorism." We felt that your taking a stand vis-a-vis the persecution of the revolutionary youth in Spain would strengthen your fight in the US-- it would show the US bourgeoisie the international unity of the revolutionary youth against this attack and would demonstrate that your case was not an exception, but that it represents the policy of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists throughout the world.

We also believe that it is your duty as a militant who claims to stand on the program of the Fourth International to come to the defense of our party in Spain, despite our deep political differences. The PORE has been declared illegal in Spain precisely because it submitted the Program of the Fourth International adopted in 1938 by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International to the Spanish government as its Statutes. It is this Program which the Spanish government calls "terrorist."

But you and your organization have been totally silent. Two weeks ago in Chicago, before several hundred people, you stated in response to a question from a militant who supports our campaign to free Santiago Alegria, that you were unable to give a response because you "did not have suf-

ficient documentation."

We don't know what you mean precisely by "documentation." But in any case it is not a reasonable response since all possible types of "documentation" have been available to you and your leadership.

On February 7, 1978 we addressed a letter to the Political Committee of the SWP (copy enclosed) in which we sent the declarations of our party concerning this case, clippings from the Spanish bourgeois press (MUNDO DIARIO, EL PAIS, DIARIO 16 among others) and a copy of an article in COMBATE, January 12, 1978. COMBATE, as you know, is the paper of your party in Spain-- the LCR. In this article, your comrades mentioned the arrests and called for the legalization of our party as well as the liberation of our comrades.

An article also appeared in the French bourgeois paper, LE MONDE referring to these arrests. As far as other organizations, the February 10, 1978 (#192) issue of WORKERS VANGUARD had an article on this subject.

In the United States this campaign has won the support of the striking mines in Stearns, Kentucky, UAW Local #600 (Ford Rouge), UAW Local #551 (Ford Chicago Assembly), the Wayne State University Staff Association and numerous other individuals. In Spain, the support has also been numerous among which have been the factory committees of AEG Rubi, AISMALIBAR in Montcada, the general assembly of workers in FISCHER IBERICA, the CCOO of Graphic Arts, the workers of Roco Radiadores, INB COPEN, CRES-TON. In Majorca, the local organizations of the Socialist Party, the LCR, OCE, JEC, and JCR supported the campaign.

On February 15th the Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC) and the Communist Party of Catalonia (PSUC) took a public position in support of the campaign to free Santiago Alegria and for the legalization of the PORE. On February 18th, the "Entesa dels Catalans" which is the parliamentary fraction of the "left" in the Cortes passed a resolution in this sense.

This should be sufficient "documentation" of the matter. If you have any questions, you are certainly free to write us.

But we don't think "documents" are the real problem, comrade. After all, we asked for no "documents" when we heard of the attack against you. We asked for nothing, because like all Bolsheviks, we UNCONDITIONALLY DEFEND any revolutionary militant in the face of bourgeois state. Hearing about your case was enough for us and should be enough for any revolutionary.

And you have also stated proudly about the SWP, that in contrast to the US government, "they never asked for documents" when you came around their organization and expressed interest in their politics. You, better than anyone else should know that obsession with "documents" is for the bureaucrats

and police of the world, not for revolutionaries.

No comrade, it is not a question of "documents." Perhaps you are misinformed or perhaps your leadership has disciplined you into silence. But the question is political. To fight for our legality in Spain would be necessary for your leadership to explain publicly why your comrades are "legal" while we are not. It would force your leadership to explain the contradiction between the real and brutal repression taking place

in Spain today and your position that the Spanish government is "evolving towards democracy" and your absurd proposition for a "Bill of Rights For Working People" as an amendment to a fascist Constitution!

We understand these reasons. But we still believe that no kind of "democratic centralism" or political prostration can or should explain the silence of revolutionaries in the face of repression against other revolutionaries. If you are indeed sincere about

your commitment to the Program of the Fourth International and really see your fight for asylum as part of the revolutionary fight of the youth around the world against bourgeois repression we ask you to reconsider your position and to break your silence and that of your organization.

Comradely yours,

Ann Nelson, for the US Committee to Free Soldier Santiago Alegria



“Government by the People?”

Under the pressure of a working class less and less disposed to accept the lying, briberies, scandals, cover-ups and venality of the ruling clique, "disclosure" legislation was passed last year to make politicians reveal their incomes and liabilities. The Carter Administration with the sanction of a citizens lobby called Common Cause pushed for it to show if there are any "conflicts of interest among Senators and Congressmen."

This sudden interest in "ethics" on the part of the Carter regime is to try placating the workers with a show of "cleaning up" after the Watergate mess, Koreagate and the myriad of lesser scandals surfacing each day. The "disclosure" legislation is supposed to show whether or not bourgeois politicians "used their positions to swell their bank accounts."

From the beginning, the legislation incorporated various loopholes for these politicians to squirm out of, including a provision that any member of the House of Representatives could announce before April 30th that they "planned to retire" to avoid filing disclosure statements. Twenty-eight of them chose this route!

While workers live on a really hand to mouth existence, their "representatives" in Senate and Congress get a nice fat salary of \$57,500 for House members and even more for members of Senate. Carter calls on the workers to stop being so piggish and make more "sacrifices"; he calls on their "representatives" to disclose their incomes over \$57,500. Nice and "democratic" isn't it?

Several of the Congressmen proved to be millionaires in an account of the disclosures in the

New York Times (May 4-- "Members of House Disclose Data on Outside Income and Liabilities"). Seventeen Senators are millionaires and some multimillionaires but the reporting of their assets and liabilities is so imprecise "net worths could not be determined." (NY TIMES, May 20, '77 in the Senate are Millionaires, Reports Under New Rules Show")

Congressmen had holdings in utilities companies, savings and loan institutions, stocks with shares worth hundreds and millions, summer homes worth \$100,000. Take for example Rep. Stewart B. McKinny of Connecticut. He has seven residences each worth over \$100,000, at least \$400,000 worth of stock in Proctor & Gamble Co. and \$500,000 in other stocks; or Rep. J. William Stanton of Ohio who has extensive real estate holdings in oil and gas stocks and four savings accounts carrying deposits of between \$15,000 and \$50,000; Senator Malcolm Wallop, a wealthy Wyoming rancher has a "net worth at anywhere from \$1,015,000 to \$5,580,000."

Yet the party leaders examining the statements "turned up no glaring abuses." (11)

You can rest assured workers, some of these politicians are poor just like you. Fourteen live only on their \$57,500 salary and some are even in debt up to \$30,000 to \$900,000 dollars worth. (A worker couldn't even get into that kind of debt let alone make that kind of yearly salary.)

While these disclosures are going on, an "ethics" bill is in the making that would make the "ethics" of bourgeois politicians the subject of Federal legislation with "criminal penalties for abuses." They have already made their

"ethics" clear; to flout their assets in front of the working and oppressed masses who live in roach-infested housing, drive cars that are falling apart, have no money to wield any power, no \$100,000 summer homes in which to wile away the summer in luxury, no \$50,000 bank account to pay their gas and electric bills.

The Congressmen say they are "worried about the underlying problems attendant to the voter's perception of them as wealthy people" in these revelations about their incomes. What they really worry about is something that goes much deeper-- the class difference between rulers and ruled, between money and power and poverty, -- the "glaring abuse" is that they pretend to govern in the interests of all when they clearly represent big money -- those who exploit and oppress the working class for their own piggish benefit.

The ethics of the workers revolution is to put an end to these "glaring abuses" by smashing the bourgeois state machine that is crushing them. The ethics of the workers is to end the careers of their bourgeois dandies through establishing a Workers Government based on the democratic organs of power of the vast majority, the working class; workers councils and factory committees, with true representatives of the popular will subject to immediate recall and receiving no higher pay than the average worker.

There can be no "cleaning up" the rotten corpse of capitalism -- the only way is to clean it out through the means of working class revolution. May 23, 1978 B. P.

FROM THE WHITE PAPER

Document 4.3.2 TESTIMONY OF LADANYI JANOS

We are printing below an excerpt from Part Four of the WHITE PAPER OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY: "The Organization Communiste Internationaliste of France Leads a Campaign of Slanders Against Michel Varga and the Fourth International." Part Four is entitled: WHY THE SLANDERS, AGAINST WHO, IN WHOSE SERVICE?

The excerpt is in the form of the testimony of Ladanyi Janos, a former militant of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary and the French OCI, who is no longer affiliated with any organization.

This section of the WHITE PAPER and the testimony develops the question of the total lack of proof to the slanders of the leadership of the OCI against Michel Varga, not only in terms of the question of being an "agent of the CIA and KGB" but also in terms of the accusations about the supposed "past" of Michel Varga.

As our regular readers should know, and for the interest of new readers, we have been publishing excerpts in English from the French edition of the WHITE PAPER for the last several months in order to familiarize American readers with the campaign of slanders and provocations led against a leader of our party, Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and against the Fourth International itself by the leadership of the French OCI, an organization which has abandoned the Fourth International.

American workers should be familiar with this campaign of slanders because it is not a "French" affair. We have proven in these pages that this campaign is in the service of world

STALINISM, the international apparatus of the Kremlin which is the most deadly enemy of the working class throughout the world, Stalinist methods must be fought wherever they appear and especially when they come disguised in the name of Trotskyism.

American workers should be familiar with this campaign of slanders because they have also been taken up by organizations in the US -- by the US Socialist Workers Party which joined a "commission" in France designed to cover up and whitewash the leadership of the OCI and by the Spartacist League, which has taken up the slanders of the Stalinists by calling Michel Varga a "highly dubious figure" and by refusing to aid in the defense of our comrades in prison in Spain because the Fourth International is also "dubious" according to them.

But above all, the campaign for the WHITE PAPER in English which we hope to develop through these excerpts in TRUTH is a POLITICAL weapon. By understanding through the WHITE PAPER the political fight led against these slanders -- against Stalinism, for the class independence of the proletariat, for the defense of the Fourth International and its rebuilding -- American workers can arm themselves against revisionism and arm themselves for the construction of the Fourth International in the US.

DOCUMENT 4.3.2

TESTIMONY OF LADANYI JANOS

(written deposition)
May 18, 1976

Comrades,

This is my response to your letter of May 5, 1976 informing me of the meeting of the Commission of

Inquiry against the slanders against Michel Varga and asking me to testify in this affair.

For five years I was a member of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary and also a member of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (for the rebuilding of the Fourth International). Since then I have left these organizations and have not participated in any political activity properly speaking. But since my departure was not a break with the ideas and goals which the organizations in question defended I have continued to read, more or less regularly, their publications. It is through this that I know of the differences between the two organizations as well as the accusations brought against Michel Varga.

Given the nature, the style, etc. of these accusations, I would have made the following remarks much sooner if I had known how to reconcile this with my organizational neutrality. I am now doing it at your request.

As for "evidence", "elements," I have none in my possession, at least to my knowledge. But whoever has followed this affair, if only from afar, can ask to what purpose would evidence serve here?

There are so many weaknesses in the arguments of the accuser that there can be no question, it seems to me, of an investigation of a judicial nature: why would Michel Varga have left compromising documents at the home of a militant at the same time that he was mounting his "provocations" against the organization this militant belonged to? How can one be an agent of the CIA and the KGB at the same time? And besides, how can the OCI pass over this last point (agent of the KGB) without any commentary? (The latest articles in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES dealing with the affair only speak of "agent of the CIA")? How can one declare

someone guilty without denying one of the major acquisitions of the French Revolution, without establishing one's guilt in a convincing fashion? How can one base oneself, without denying all kind of rationality, on vague analogies (by citing Malinowski and the writings of Marx on who knows what kind of provocateur) in order to spread accusations?

These questions can be multiplied, but I will stop at one of them which I consider of capital importance and which I have some observations to make on the subject: how can it be that at precisely the moment when the OCI has discovered a "provocateur", it also has political differences with him? Did this "provocateur" create an act of "differences" in order to cover, in some way, his retreat? If one accepts this type of reasoning, one must profess to being a theologian of the workers movement and the step is taken towards Stalinist methods.

I cannot say anything about the political differences in question, but I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that the ideas defended by Michel Varga since his break with the OCI, through the publications that I could read, are in no way distinguished from the ideas that he defended at the time when he was a member of the OCI with myself.

I have not seen Michel Varga for years, that is, since I left the mentioned organizations: he is a man who enjoys friendship, but not private relationships.

I have known his profound hatred of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the regime of private property, I have also known the force with which he has defended the principles which flowed from this: refusal of all political regimes presently in place in the world; the political independence of the proletariat; the necessity to rebuild the Fourth International, organization of the world party of the proletariat.

I can establish this brief resume because of many discussions which still remain vivid in my memory. An example:

If Michel Varga always spoke with sadness about those of his comrades who were executed or imprisoned after the crushing of the revolution of 1956, he had no illusions, it seems to me, about the people who received their political education in a Stalinist party. He repeated a thousand times: a Stalinist can be recognized in particular in that he has no confidence in the workers, or even worse, that he mistrusts them, in that he does not see questions from the "subjective" point of view of the workers, but through the "realistic" point of view of those who think themselves destined to ad-

ministrate over the workers. In any case, he always refused to be "on the left" of a power dominated by a Stalinist party. (I recall his violent reactions to the suggestions sometimes made in this direction by Albert).

Michel Varga is not a politician, but a revolutionary. At

To finish with this sketch of the political ideas of Michel Varga, I must add that towards the bourgeoisie the attitude to take was presented in a more simple manner, since, except in the extreme case of fascism against which "we will even make an agreement with the Devil," it is the natural enemy.

As for the "documents" distributed by the OCI, I see no revelations in them and, given the presence of political differences, I think that it is an effective means of pressure, if not blackmail. Above all in a period when the CIA has become the explanation for everything.

Why no revelations? Because everyone knew that Michel Varga worked in the beginning with the Imre Nagy Institute and that this Institute was not financed by men of good intentions. Several times Varga spoke to us about the "rage of the Americans" following his departure, taking for himself and the organizations to which he belonged a great deal of material, of which I myself used the library in order to develop my Marxist knowledge. Besides this, I have seen several journals published by this Institute and I know that a discussion was led in these pages, at the time, between the OCI and Michel Varga.

I do not think that the latter found it incompatible with workers morality to "rob" the robber, and it is said often enough that the only means which are justified are those which try to assure the victory of the proletariat. To use an analogy, I think that to use these accusations against Michel Varga would be the same as to consider L. Trepper as a vulgar spy.

In the field of gossip, I will only take up the "anti-Semitism" of Michel Varga to immediately oppose the "chauvinism" of this article in INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES where the author speaks about this foreigner unable to get rid of his accent and to integrate himself in an organization (or in a community?). (If my memory is good, this article dates from the summer of 1973). It is striking that Michel Varga is accused at the same time for both his very good and his very bad integration.... This can appear very dialectical, but hardly convincing.

Having become a simple reader of the working class press, I have followed this affair with shock and a certain amount of disbelief. How can the OCI use the methods that it has always condemned?

I think that such an attitude on its part can only lead to placing into question the sincerity of its intentions and to reinforce the isolation, inside the workers movement, of the organizations in question, isolation of which this sordid quarrel can only be the most bitter fruit.

Greetings,

JEAN LADANYI JANOS

P.S. Without wishing to commit myself to future discussion concerning this affair, I assume complete responsibility for what I have said and am therefore ready to clarify it if it becomes necessary.

Letter sent: to the Commission of Inquiry -- to the leadership of the OCI

ROUGE ELECTIONS -- NEW LEADERSHIP NEEDED

By FRED VITALE

The unofficial tallies from the elections at UAW Local #600, Ford River Rouge plant are in, 21,463 total votes cast including 2,000 - 3,000 retirees. Since there are approximately 28,000 workers at the Rouge, almost 10,000 workers, mostly young, did not vote. They saw no clear alternative to the bureaucracy. The militant wing of the UAW was not heard from.

Among those that did vote, only 15,354 voted for Mike Rinaldi, notorious "leader" of the Local #600 bureaucracy who ran unopposed. Over 6,000 ballots were declared "void or blank" in voting for president. In other words, almost 30% of the workers expressed their opposition even with no alternative present.

Many unit presidents lost, only to be replaced by former presidents or "loyal oppositions." This happened in Stamping, Foundry, Frame Line and Parts Depot.

PROBLEMS REMAIN

While the bureaucracy will claim a "victory" there has been none for the Rouge workers. All their problems remain unsolved.

The speed-up continues unabated in the plants. Unsafe conditions and health and safety hazards plague the mills and work yards where 3 workers died last year. The heat, which killed Rouge workers every summer, will return again. Walkouts are guaranteed.

In particular, the repression against the young workers continues. Not only the harassment by foremen over production standards which sparked the Ford Romeo walkout last week, but also waivers of union rights.

Young workers are forced into deals where they promise not to file grievances, and gives up his union rights concerning disciplinary action for 30 days to a year! He is made into a virtual slave.

And when the workers do fight to impose their will, as in the Romeo walkout, Ford fired seventeen militants. The UAW bureaucrats forced the workers back to work with threats of even greater repression. Now these militants' jobs are in the grievance procedure -- where there is a two year backlog!

CONTRACT

The workers are still unprepared for the contract fight next year. While the miners strike marked an important change in the developing mobilization of the US workers, because they lacked a revolutionary leadership, they ended up with a substantially WORSE contract than what they had.

Time remains to prepare the

contract fight. But its necessary to sound the alarm. Young workers. Take up and continue the fight to WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS to build a revolutionary leadership.

RYW SOLUTION

We said several months ago: "Young Workers! The Rouge Spring Elections are Yours." We said that with a mobilization of the young workers in the elections for Workers Democracy, to win back their unions, that the militant wing of the UAW could be regrouped. That this was the first step towards winning the unions to the side of the revolution.

Advances were made in this fight. The April 2nd meeting of the Revolutionary Young Workers drew together workers from 3 UAW locals -- #600 (Ford River Rouge), #15 (Fleetwood) and #869 (Warren Stamping). They adopted a Call and Platform for the struggle of the autoworkers over the next months. (Available from all our distributors.)

It outlines our solution to the problems of the autoworkers. A fight for WAGES UP WITH PRICES and NO MORE LAYOFFS to stop the twin blows of inflation and unemployment. WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION to stop the speed-up, unsafe conditions. UNCONDITIONAL RIGHT TO STRIKE to stop the murders and slavery by Henry Ford. NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES so that the workers can build their own Party. Only this fight can transform the unions into weapons for the whole working class.



LEADERSHIP ACCORDING TO FRASER

The problem of leadership worries Doug Fraser, head of the UAW. In the May 14th DETROIT NEWS, he describes the need for new leaders as "the greatest challenge to his presidency." And rightly so.

How can Fraser and the other opportunists win the allegiance of the young workers? They can't do it on their own. Obviously, part of the answer is to make NEW opportunists from our generation.

Fraser goes on. "Hell, a lot of times we take guys who were making political waves -- not because they were making waves but BECAUSE THEY CAN GENERATE SUPPORT (our emphasis). That makes them attractive to us."

The "change of guard" will provoke and expose divisions caused by the growing mobilization of the working class. It's an opportunity for the young workers to win back their unions to finish with Fraser and his ilk. For this generation to take their place as leaders of the unions AGAINST ALL opportunists, particularly the "new breed."

"SECTARIAN POLICY"

This "new breed" has begun to appear -- Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers, the Miller crowd in the United Mine Workers. The Socialist Workers Party, claiming falsely the banner of the Fourth International, is trying to tie the young workers to these opportunists by supporting them and calling it a "tactic" to win "broader and

broader" masses of workers. It's not a question of a "tactic." The SWP pursues an opportunist policy in the unions.

They deny the decisive question, that of LEADERSHIP. In an article entitled "How Maoists Failed Test of Miners Strike" (MILITANT #18) they say that the bureaucrats are in a "contradictory position." On the one hand they "follow a program dictated by the bosses" and on the other, "they cannot survive for long without at least APPEARING (their emphasis) to be representing the members . . ."

But this isn't contradictory. The bureaucrats couldn't serve the capitalists WITHOUT appearing to fight for the workers. Which is just another way of saying that they are heads of the unions. Nothing more.

Continuing the same line, they say that "focusing attack on the union leadership rather than the bosses" is "sectarian logic." Now this is a "contradiction." The bureaucrats REPRESENT the bosses and their parties in the workers movement. There is no POLITICAL distinction between the bureaucrats and the bosses. To foster any idea that there is, is to SERVE the capitalists.

That's why this line "first against the company," is the line of the frightened bureaucrats and their Stalinist allies. In spite of these opportunists, 18,000 miners signed petitions to recall Miller during the strike! Or perhaps they are guilty of "sectarian logic."

Because they don't want to fight the bureaucrats, because they don't want to drive the capi-

talists' agents out of the unions, they attack the Maoists' "caucus." Not because of its Stalinist policy. No. But because it is a "caucus." (!)

Only with organization, a weapon for the workers to fight, can they drive the bureaucrats out of the unions and save the unions from the capitalist attack.

As leader of the Socialist Workers Party before it left the Fourth International, James Cannon said: "we want to develop the militancy of the workers in struggle AGAINST THE BUREAUCRACY (our emphasis) . . . This is the simple ABC statement of Bolshevik aims in the trade unions." (The Struggle for Socialism in the American Century). Simple. Too simple and Bolshevik for the SWP.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS FAC-TION

The fight of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth has been to build a Revolutionary Workers Faction in the UAW to be that weapon for the young workers to regroup the revolutionary wing of the UAW to win back their unions, a weapon with which they can build their own Party.

It is this fight which the autoworkers have taken up in the past and should continue and deepen in the coming months. The fight of the Trotskyist Organization corresponds to the needs of the workers for a new, revolutionary leadership that fight for Workers Democracy in this country.

May 22, 1978

TRUTH-ORGANIZER OF THE TROTSKYIST PARTY

The campaign we have begun for distribution of 100 copies of TRUTH and 100 subscriptions has gotten off to a good start. In the first week the TO divided into Teams to organize the struggle for TRUTH in certain factories, in working class shopping areas, Latin neighborhoods, union meetings and political events, rallies and marches and meetings of the workers movement.

Our emphasis is on factory distribution. At Ford River Rouge we sold 6 TRUTHS in half an hour, at Dodge Main, met 3 workers who gave us their names and sold 6 TRUTHS, at Fleetwood, 2 TRUTH and at the Hudson's downtown store sold 13 TRUTH. In the second week the figures are climbing.

Plans have been made through September to continuously develop sales and distribution which is a central part of our struggle to change the relationship of the TO to an important section of the working class, particularly the young workers in auto. Our objective in this campaign is to win them to get subscriptions based on

their understanding that the TO represents the Trotskyist (truly revolutionary) Party; the only leadership with an international revolutionary perspective; one they can take up as their own. The subs will be the gauge of the progress of this changed relationship.

The teams have reached agreement that the most basic work will be developed at the factories outlined above to implant the Fourth International among the young workers. Interviews, pictures of workers buying TRUTH and letters from workers and militants will support this campaign and give it life. As it unfolds we will concentrate the forces of the TO at particular factories such as during the elections at Fleetwood and Dodge Main, using varied tactics to reach the best militants, using TRUTH as a weapon and organizer, discussing the policy in TRUTH with young workers.

We'd like young workers and militants to join us in this campaign, distribute TRUTH with us, go to factories with the TRUTH teams and learn how to reach the

young workers who are filled with disgust for the scab leadership of the UAW, with the betrayers in the organizations and parties claiming to be "revolutionary" and "Trotskyist." Every young worker deserves a subscription to TRUTH to become a part of building the Trotskyist Party.

We propose to proletarian militants of the SWP to get subscriptions to TRUTH to answer the policy set out in its pages with THE MILITANT of your organization. The pages of our paper are open to your comments.

In this campaign we want to prove to you that TRUTH is the Trotskyist newspaper building the only leadership in the US working class ready to lead it to power, the only leadership fundamental, opposed to Stalinist degeneration and rotting imperialism. The only leadership that develops its cadres through preparing, in the bastions of the US working class, the seizure of power.

May 24, 1978