

TRUTH



ORGAN OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA - SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

TURN UNIONS INTO WEAPONS FOR ALL WORKERS AND OPPRESSED!

The Carter government is in crisis. It is the struggle of the American and international working class which has forced this crisis. You don't believe it?

What better picture could there be than the head of the largest imperialist power in the world, standing with his ally, the Shah of Iran, on the White House lawn as clouds of tear gas came across from a massive demonstration against the Shah's visit just yards away?

Carter, with his silly grin, pretending nothing was happening as all those around him, including the Shah, started crying and wiping their eyes. And later, Carter trying to make a joke by "apologizing to the Shah for the air pollution in Washington today."

When someone makes jokes like that they are really shaking inside. This demonstration was the largest demonstration and most violent one in front of the White House since the Vietnam War. The fight of the Iranian students for their freedom has touched a responsive chord in the American working class.

The American working class wants its freedom too and is ready to fight for it. Carter knows this. His "human rights" fraud is a desperate attempt by a terrified bourgeoisie to convince the American working class that Carter and the Democratic Party stand for freedom too.

Carter and the Democratic Party stand for "freedom" all right. Freedom to exploit and smash the working class and its youth. But Carter's government is in crisis today because the Democratic Party has been unable to convince the American working class that this is the kind of "freedom" they want.

Striking iron ore workers in northern Michigan and Minnesota carried signs in a recent demonstration saying "We are Not Second Class Citizens." They, and hundreds of thousands of workers and youth around the country refuse to accept what is now an all too well-known fact about bourgeois democracy-- the workers, those who produce all the wealth, those who give their sweat and blood for a greedy few, are second-class citizens in this country.

WORKERS RIGHTS, not phoney "human rights" must mark a new turn in the mobilization of the American working class. For decades blacks have been waging a struggle in this country against the fact that they are second class citizens. All the "reforms" of bourgeois democracy have meant nothing; unemployment among black youth is at 70-80%!

Not only black liberation, but the liberation of the entire working class rests on the fight for Workers Democracy. First-class citizenship for the working class and the oppressed in this country is incompatible with the continuation of capitalism, even its "democratic" form.

As the iron ore workers have learned, as the miners and auto workers have learned, this means that the fight of the

working class in their unions can no longer be restricted to "economic" questions. The struggle in the unions today is a political struggle of the working class for ALL OF ITS RIGHTS against the capitalist attack.

The jailing of the Stearns miners, the conviction of the Trenton Seven auto workers, the impending S. 1437 law in Congress prove that if the unions are to survive, they must launch a political offensive for the rights of the entire American working class and oppressed.

Today the unions are not yet our weapons. Workers-- we will remain second class citizens as long as we have this SECOND CLASS LEADERSHIP in the unions, the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, the lackeys of Carter and the Democratic Party in the workers movement.

An offensive to turn the unions into weapons of the entire working class and the oppressed, to win full rights for the working class, is an offensive for a new, revolutionary leadership for the unions. American workers today can settle for nothing less than an all-out fight for freedom. And it is only revolutionaries who can lead this fight for freedom, those committed to abolishing this system which reduces the working class to Second Class citizenship.

The fight for freedom and for its leadership will make the unions once again into weapons for the working class and the oppressed. This struggle begins with the young workers in the mines, in steel, in auto, who have to take the lead in renewing the leadership of the workers movement, to take the lead in transforming the unions into weapons of the entire working class.

With the fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS, THE UNIONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS, the Revolutionary Worker Youth, the US arm of the Revolutionary Youth International is fighting alongside of the Trotskyist Organization to mobilize the unions in the fight for Workers Democracy by fighting to renew the leadership of the unions, to build a revolutionary leadership to make the unions into an arm of the revolution.

This is the road to defend the striking iron ore workers, to free the Trenton Seven and the Stearns miners, to win jobs for all, and impose workers control of production. This is the road to first class citizenship.

To organize this fight the RWY is organizing a Conference, open to all working class youth, but above all those in auto, which holds the key to the situation of the working class as a whole, for WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS, THE UNIONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS in Detroit on December 4th, to build the Revolutionary Worker Youth as the motor force in the construction of this new leadership in the unions.

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'AMERICAN UNIONS RIGHT WING ANYWAY,' SAYS STALINIST SCAB



"IT'S NOT REALLY STRIKE BREAKING...
AMERICAN WORKERS ARE TOO RIGHT
WING TO UNDERSTAND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE."

New Haven, November 15-- There is probably nothing worse in the labor movement than for a worker to cross a picket line. The only thing worse is to try to give an excuse for this inexcusable act.

This is what Santiago Carrillo, the leader of the Stalinist Communist Party of Spain tried to do as he crossed a picket line of striking Yale University workers in New Haven, Connecticut today. According to CBS Evening News Carrillo's first response was, "American unions are right-wing anyway."

This slanderous statement, typically Stalinist, identifying the American working class with its reactionary leadership, is even more slanderous when it concerns the Yale strike. These cooks, maids and janitors have been engaged in a bitter six-week strike. The administration has refused to negotiate with them and gangs of right-wing students have been organized to attack the picket lines.

The strike has gained national prominence. It is worth noting that Secretary

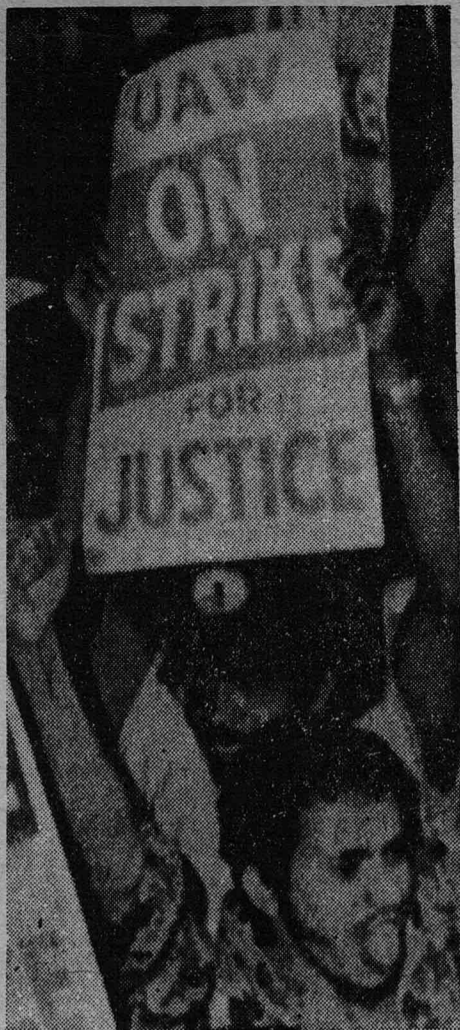
of Labor Ray Marshall refused to cross the picket lines to give a speech, so did US Senator George McGovern and Israeli Social Democrat Golda Meir.

Now American workers have a more practical idea of Stalinist "proletarian internationalism" and "Euro-Communism." Carrillo is the first Western Stalinist leader to be invited to the US since World War II. He is here to lecture the US ruling class on the virtues of "Euro-Communism"-- the rejection of the proletarian revolution in favor of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism.

Carrillo is LYING when he says: "Spanish labor could never understand how strikers could prevent someone from their own side from speaking." Both Spanish and American workers have had enough of this kind of "democracy" always used by right-wingers and capitalists to break strikes. Like the "right-to-work laws" in the South that prohibit union organization,

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Win the unions to the side of the revolution



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The fight in the unions, to make the unions take the leadership of the fight for Workers Democracy and to construct its leadership, is a step in the regroupment of the vanguard of the working class in the US in the preparation of the world revolution and the construction of its world party, the Fourth International.

This fight will enable the RWY to send a delegation to the Revolutionary Youth International's WORLD METAL WORKERS CONFERENCE FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE that will represent the best young fighters of the American workers. Fighters ready to make the working class first class citizens, not only in the US but throughout the world. November 17, 1977

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Besides, speak to who? To the children of the American ruling class at Yale? Yale, which until very recently refused to even admit blacks, Jews and other minorities? To the lackeys of the CIA called "political science" professors?

Carrillo could have given his speech, OUTSIDE of the university. We are sure that the Yale workers would even have made a hall available to him. The union had even sent him a telegram in ADVANCE begging him to support this strike. It was no trap or surprise.

But unfortunately crossing a picket line is not the worse thing Carrillo has done in his life. During the 30's he participated in the assassination of the Spanish Trotskyists, left-wing anarchists, and POUM leader, Andreas Nin. The "modern" Carrillo openly defends the NATO alliance and just weeks ago he signed the Moncloa Pact along with the fascist parties and the Suarez government to freeze wages and crush the workers mobilization.

Collaboration with imperialism was the price he payed to get his passport into the US, just as collaboration with fascism was his price of admission into the Moncloa Palace. The bourgeois press is making a big deal over this incident at Yale. They want to prove that this is "communism."

But American workers know it by another name--Stalinist treachery. Class collaboration got him his passport. Spitting on the American working class got him the "respectability" of Yale University.

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

On October 16th workers at the Chrysler Trenton Engine plant, Local #372 of the UAW, voted to take strike action to defend the leaders of a heat walkout at Trenton last summer. The workers were fired from their jobs for participation in the wildcat and were convicted of criminal contempt in early October by a Democratic Party judge, who the UAW bureaucracy helped get elected.

This action on the part of the Trenton workers, as well as the heat wildcats themselves in auto, show the central importance of the unions. They can either be used to organize the workers to extend their rights and conquests, and defend those they already have, or they can be used to elect Democratic Party judges who throw workers leaders in jail.

The fact that the Trenton workers took a stand against the so-called "impartial" proceedings of bourgeois justice and a Democratic Party judge to boot, is an example to the entire American working class that the Democratic Party and the UAW bureaucracy which supports it cannot be trusted in any way to defend the rights of the workers. To the contrary, they are the ones who are leading the assault on the auto workers.

RWY DISCUSSIONS

How can this stand by the Trenton workers be the launching point of an offensive of all workers -- from the steel workers who have been hit with massive layoffs to the miners? How can the unions become the weapons of the working class in defiance of the traitors who now run them in the interest of the preservation of capitalism? These were two of the important questions that were discussed by Ford River Rouge Stamping workers around the meeting of the Revolutionary Worker Youth. "One year of the auto contract and Carter, what next?"

The meeting clearly showed that these questions are important to be resolved because an entire generation of the working class in the United States has been brought up under conditions in which the unions were under the hegemony of a conservative and cowardly leadership. Masses of young workers today view the unions as only one more institution looking for money, dues, and giving nothing in return but the bureaucratic run-around.

But these feelings toward the unions, which amount to seeing them as institutions of the preservation of capitalism, rather than the reverse, are not the fault of the unions themselves but of the class collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy, and the regimentation of the internal life of the unions in order to defend this class collaboration.

IMPORTANCE OF WORKERS DEMOCRACY

Thus the fight for WORKERS DEMOCRACY in the unions is key to winning masses of workers to take up the struggle against the anti-worker plans of Carter and the ruling class he represents. This fight is to reclaim the unions as organizations of the working class -- free of special privileges, businessmen parading as workers leaders, and free of the COURTS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE RULING CLASS.

The trade union bureaucracy tries to picture the conquests of the workers and the rights they still have left as gifts of benevolent American capitalism. Workers at Ford River Rouge remember the UAW's "Henry Ford, have a heart" campaign which ended in defeat for the workers. Countless other examples of such class treachery arise every day --

but these are all lies. Falsehoods, designed to conceal the fact that every right and conquest of the American working class, including the right to unions themselves, was won through bloody confrontations with American capitalism and its government.

It is in order to prepare this confrontation, which is the only means of defending the working class -- or any of its leaders -- that the Revolutionary Youth International has concentrated its struggle in the United States for the World Conference of Metal Workers, around the fight to win the unions to the side of the socialist revolution. The meaning of this Conference, held under the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe, is to arm the working class in the struggle for power. In Europe, the working class mass organizations -- unions and political parties -- are under the domination of the Stalinists, and their policy of "peaceful coexistence." But in the US, the mass organizations of the workers -- the trade unions -- are under the control of a bureaucracy which looks directly to American capitalism for its support. So the fight to prepare the revolution in the US passes through the unions and the struggle to rid them of



the lieutenants of the bosses.

The trade union bureaucracy begs the courts for small scraps in return for holding the unions in check, then cries "foul!" when the courts throw strike leaders in jail. They elect a president with the weight and resources of the unions, Jimmy Carter, a representative of the capitalist-backed Democratic Party, then retreat when this same president organizes an offensive against the workers. They run the union like it was a church or a school, then blame the workers for not coming to meetings.

Can they be defeated or are the unions hopelessly lost?

SAVIORS OF THE BUREAUCRACY

Whether or not the bureaucracy can be defeated is not an academic question. Every strike raises this question. It is a life or death matter for the victory of the workers.

The Stalinist American Communist Party and the centrist Socialist Workers Party, two of the largest claimants to the banner of revolution in the United States, hide behind the not-so-liberal wing of the unions in the face of the need to prepare the workers for the class battles ahead.

The American CP joined the trade union bureaucracy in cheering the gathering of several local-level bureaucrats of the UAW for a discussion on the "shorter work week." Some bureaucrats even went so far as to raise the demand, "a shorter work week with no cut in pay." Forgetting the precise formulation of this demand, the important fact is that it, like every other demand that the bureaucracy takes up, becomes another cam-

paigned to elect the Democrats next year. The CP--USA has actually built permanent coalitions with the Democratic Party in several key cities in the United States and heralded it as a "progressive" step.

The centrist Socialist Workers Party also holds up the more clever union bureaucrats as saviours of the workers. So they fought to put Ed Sadlowski in office in Steel, after Sadlowski had watched his own Steel district be massacred with layoffs, now they put up Harry Patrick of the United Mine Workers bureaucracy as the latest champion of the "labor party" despite the fact that Patrick was instrumental in beating back the wildcats of the miners.

The policies of these two organizations are important because there is a "meeting of the minds" going on between the more clever bureaucrats and the bankrupt centrists and Stalinists. Both are coming to an agreement that workers movement must find a hand to hold in the midst of their crisis -- the crisis of "what to do next?" in the face of the upsurge of the working class in the US.

WHAT TO DO NEXT

No, the unions are not lost. The only means to rebuild them is through a political struggle against the class collaboration of the bureaucracy. This is above all a struggle for the leadership of the unions, for the workers to win WORKERS DEMOCRACY by ousting the traitors. It is a political line as well against the ruling class, the bureaucracy, "saviours" like Sadlowski and Patrick, and false "revolutionaries" who support them, and the working class, its strikes, its rights and conquests on the other. One side of the line means defeat, the other can rally millions of workers in the unions against the anti-worker attack of the ruling class.

To do this it is necessary to build the Revolutionary Workers Faction in the UAW to wage a political fight against the bureaucrats, and their supporters among the Maoists, Stalinists, and centrists. It is necessary to provide a leadership to the struggles of the auto workers, even before the last bureaucrat is kicked out of the UAW.

Only by reclaiming the unions in the United States, the only mass organizations of the working class, will it ever be possible to construct a mass Workers Party. But the building of the Workers Party, against the support of the trade union bureaucracy for the Democrats is a necessity as well for the unions from the point of view of combatting the false parties of the workers who fear an all-out fight with the bureaucracy.

The question of how to organize to win the leadership of the UAW, local and international election campaign, and campaigns of recall, and of how to give a political solution to the strikes and mobilizations of the auto workers, will be the task of the Conference being organized by the Revolutionary Worker Youth -- WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS; THE UNIONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS, on Sunday, December 4th in Detroit.

Through this Conference the RWY seeks to convince all workers that the only future for the unions and the working class

is the socialist revolution. And the only means to prepare the socialist revolution is through the fight to reclaim the unions as organizations of the working class. November 17, 1977

BAKKE CASE: REAL RIGHTS FOR STUDENTS - NOT PHONEY REFORMS

City (A) Citizens District Council, Communist Labor Party, Kenneth Cockrel-Atty, William King-Atty, William House-Atty, National Assoc. of Human Rights Workers, International Socialists, Operation Get Down, Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism, Southeastern Mich. Community Action Program-UM, Team for Justice, Organized Workers Services (Wayne Co.), Erma Henderson-Councilperson, Greater Young Socialists Alliance (WSU), John Conyers, Socialist Workers Party, NAACP-Oakland Co., National Coalition of Labor

PARTIAL
LEY (WS)

FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision

ITf Bakke WINS

By ANN NELSON

Allan Bakke is a white student in California who charged "reverse discrimination" against the policy of the University of California Medical School in setting affirmative action quotas. The California Supreme Court, agreed with Bakke, said the affirmative action quotas admitting a certain number (16 in this case) of minority students was unconstitutional. The case is now before the US Supreme Court. If the California decision is upheld by the US Supreme Court, affirmative action programs throughout the country will be eliminated.

The Bakke case is only a part of the attack of the American bourgeoisie. The As part of the attack on quality education for all, the right of workers for a decent education. The attack of the bourgeoisie is a political AND economic attack on the US working class. In order for the US workers, particularly the most oppressed workers, to develop an offensive against Carter's lethal and oppressive campaign, it is necessary for workers to take matters into their own hands. This is a main lesson of the American and international working class: **ONLY THE WORKING CLASS CAN DEFEND ITS OWN RIGHTS--** independent of the bourgeoisie.

ernment on particularly black workers and students. It must be defeated. Of course, the "alternative" the Carter government proposes is "preferential layoffs". As well, it wishes to provide situations where students are fighting for the miniscule number of positions available in Law and Medical schools. This is the view of the Stalinists and particularly of the Socialist Workers Party: "Affirmative Action or Seniority," says one of the SWP pamphlets on the question.

The SWP would like workers to think that what is at stake is the struggle between "white racist workers" and blacks. They want workers to think their true democratic rights will be granted by the rotten capitalists, they hide the necessity of workers to act independently to win anything.

The SWP has in fact joined hands with such defenders of democracy as the "Young Democrats," the NAACP and Ken Cockrel. These bourgeois supporters have no intention of even thinking about Jobs for All or Quality Education for All. They all of course support Carter and you can't support the working class at the same time. Or can you? The SWP also has no intention of fighting for jobs for all, and despite the sly winks, their "socialist miracle" will not come

CLASS COLLABORATIONIST

HONOR ROLL

through such rotten coalitions.

SWP WANTS TO 'BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR'

In Michigan, the SWP, the International Socialists, and petty bourgeois democratic organizations of every shape and hue have joined together with the above mentioned Democrats, in a coalition to "bring pressure to bear on judicial and government officials, not to abandon affirmative action." It cannot be more clear. To develop "Bakke" as a movement which is "independent" from the WORKING CLASS but NOT from the bourgeoisie is to betray the gains black students and workers have won in their bitterly fought struggles. The policy of the leadership of the SWP is the same policy they implemented in Boston with "busing." It is utterly anti-working class, and pro-bourgeoisie. And all of the centrist organizations; the Spartacist League, the International Socialists, etc. are following the lead of the SWP.

WORKERS DEMOCRACY OR "HUMAN RIGHTS"

Young workers and militant students can see the government support to the Bakke case for what it is: a further attack by the government on blacks, students and workers. Everywhere in the US and around the world, the capitalists headed by US imperialism have increased the repression and attacks on youth and workers.

In the unions, the bureaucrats physically attack the workers during strikes and they also attack their consciousness by telling them to "vote Democrat" for the "friends of labor." The government aggression through the police, the National Guard, through cut backs in education, unemployment and rising prices, AND Bakke, is their answer to the growing conflict between the classes. The way forward for students and workers in the face of this attack, including against Bakke, is to make their fight one for WORKERS DEMOCRACY, to demand through demonstrations and strikes, their democratic rights, not the "human rights" of Carter and his Stalinist and centrist supporters.

The centrist leaders of the SWP deny the class character the struggle against Bakke must have. In a recent editorial in the MILITANT they pose the question: **JOB BLAS OR JOBS?** The editorial says that "Jobs for all" is what the union bureaucrats say in opposition to "affirmative action" when they have no intention of fighting for jobs for all. This is true.

The trade union bureaucracy is the hatchet man for the government in the unions and will never wage a fight for jobs of all workers when they stood silent while thousands of auto workers were laid off. But, why then, does the SWP join in a coalition with THESE SAME BUREAUCRATS and MORE members of the Democratic Party, to wage a "broad campaign" against the Bakke decision?

BECAUSE THE SWP HAS NO INTENTION OF FIGHTING FOR JOBS FOR ALL EITHER. Do they think that maybe Carter will decide to be a "nice guy" and allow affirmative action quotas to remain? Or maybe they think the courts upon which they wish to bring "pressure" are independent of Carter's wishes? Perhaps the SWP leadership doesn't think racism is as much a part of capitalism as unemployment is.

Another recent article in the MILITANT on the cutbacks in education did not mention the Bakke case once. This is not an accident. For them the Bakke case is a "single issue," not a part of the fight against the government for jobs and education for all. The SWP wants to reform Carter through Allan Bakke.

A REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The Bakke case is a part of the Carter Government's attack on the working class. No one can defeat this attack but the workers themselves. To the unemployment we say: **JOBS FOR ALL!** To the rising prices we say: **A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES!** Because of their system of unemployment and poverty for the working class, the bourgeoisie also attacks education by saying it's no longer necessary for everyone to go to school. This is the reason for the Bakke case.

To this we say: **OPEN ADMISSIONS! FREE EDUCATION FOR ALL!** This must be the answer of the youth, workers and students: **Down with Bakke! OPEN ADMISSIONS, JOBS FOR ALL!** The fight to defend our rights is a WORKERS fight, it is a WORKERS fight, it is a REVOLUTIONARY fight against the rotten Carter government and all it represents! Students: support the fight for real rights -- not phoney reforms!
November 16, 1977

S 1437: CAPITALIST 'BILL OF RIGHTS'

By FRED VITALE

A new "Bill of Rights" is how Democrats and liberals describe the S.1437 bill now in Congress, also dubbed "Son of S.1." As a complete revision of the Federal criminal law, they claim it will bring fairness. Actually, this bill is meant to deprive the working class of any INDEPENDENT ACTIVITY. Therefore, the bill is aimed also at the organizations of the workers-- the unions, and its parties. It lays the basis for banning demonstrations, assemblies, mass picketing, wildcat strikes, newspapers and organizations. This law, while it cannot regulate the battles between the oppressed and the government can be a real weapon against the workers. It would legalize much of the present illegal actions of the government, and extend others. It can only be stopped through what it wants to prevent -- the independent activity of the workers.

WORKERS RIGHTS VS. CAPITALIST RIGHTS

This law is an excellent example of what "freedom" means for the workers in the heartland of imperialist "democracy." All of the imperialist's rights are strictly protected-- the right to break unions, the right to search and seizure under the flimsiest pretext, the right to force you to testify, the right to use confessions obtained under torture. In a word, the right to protect their property within society in every way is completely inviolable. S.1437 makes workers guilty until proven innocent. The capitalists

can lock the doors of their factory and deprive thousands of the right to live. If the workers set up a picket to stop scabs they're guilty of extortion! Youth protesting unemployment, especially under slogans like **JOBS FOR ALL** and **WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION** could appear to "create the danger of damage to property" and mass arrests would follow.

Such rights as freedom of assembly and speech already hollow, would be lifted out of the books. Any protests against capitalist violence such as against trials or on the military bases will all be declared illegal.

Any activity can be criminal if it "interferes" with the defense of the US. Any strike, demonstration, any NEWSPAPER, OR ORGANIZATION, could fit under that category. They've already used similar laws against the Teamsters, hospital workers, and now would be able to move against miners, auto and steelworkers for "disrupting our energy supplies, "and hurting the economy."

THE VOORHIS ACT

S.1437 allows capitalists to conspire, fixing prices around the globe, but no US worker can belong to any international workers organization without registering the organization, and everything about it, with the government! This law, the Voorhis Act is directed particularly against the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International, the only international party and youth organization of the working class.

The workers struggle against S.1437 must include the demand to ABOLISH THE VOORHIS ACT, for we will not defeat US imperialism at home if we cannot fight together with our brothers and sisters overseas who fight it as well. The struggle against the Voorhis Act is particularly important today as the government, with the trade union bureaucracy, is gearing up a vicious nationalist campaign to blame unemployment, inflation, short energy supplies, on the Japanese and German steelworkers, on the Palestinians, and Arabs.

HOW TO STOP S.1437

This bill can only be defeated as part of the offensive by the workers against the counter-revolution launched by the bourgeoisie. It cannot be divorced from the struggle in the unions to turn them into weapons for the whole working class against the capitalist government. This law cannot be stopped by pressure on the Democratic Party as the trade union bureaucracy and the Communist Party/USA wish us to believe. It cannot be ignored or stopped spontaneously, which is the attitude of the SWP. No.

It can only be stopped by organizing and mobilizing the workers for their rights, workers democracy against Carter's phony democracy.
**STOP THE S.1437
ABOLISH THE VOORHIS ACT!**

WHITE PAPER - A WEAPON

By ANN NELSON

In the last issue of TRUTH we published our first excerpts from the WHITE PAPER OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY. The article concentrated on the role of the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party in legitimizing the slanders of the French OCI against our comrade, Michel Varga.

Michel Varga was a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and is a leader of the Fourth International. These slanders, which have been extended to all the militants and sympathizers of our Party, were maintained "as needing proof" by a counter-commission begun by the American Spartacist League and supported by the SWP. The SWP considered this "commission" and its task of calling slanders, "accusations requiring proof" so important that it sent three of its leaders to Europe to participate in its work.

Meanwhile, the SWP has not printed ONE WORD in their press about this "commission" or about the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization USA even though it is very aware of our organization and its fight. This is in fact, the "reason" for their "commission." To hide the true policy of the Fourth International around the world and in the US.

The "sister" organization of the SWP in France, the LCR, now says that the affair is closed since their counter-commission has reached its "conclusions." The SWP was always silent about their support to the slanders. They are quiet for one reason: in order to be able to renew the slanders and re-attack the proletarian policy of the Trotskyist Organization. Under the guise of the "Varga Affair" the SWP tries to hide the policy of the TO from their militants.

But the Trotskyist Organization is armed... armed with the TRUTH about the Stalinist nature of the slanders, who they aid and what they hide... we will use the WHITE BOOK AS A WEAPON.

STALINIST SLANDERS ARE NOT NEW

Although not of the same magnitude or quality as the Stalinist terror of the bureaucracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe, the US bourgeoisie, and their Stalinist and centrist supporters have similar methods with which American workers are familiar.

When the Trotskyists of the Left Opposition were first expelled from the Communist Party in 1928, for defending the Russian Revolution against the betrayal of Stalin, the slanders began. James Cannon, the Trotskyists' leader was an "agent of imperialism" and anyone in the CP who spoke out against the expulsions of the Trotskyists was also expelled.

The basis for the slanders against the Fourth International in the US and around the world are the same: to turn attention away from those who are fighting to develop the gains of the Russian Revolution, of October, those who are exposing, in the struggles of the workers, the help that Stalinism gives to imperialism. And today, the slanders of the OCI and the refusal of the SWP to call them slanders serves the same function, as a substitute for political combat.

THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

The US Spartacist League, which thinks the Fourth International is "dead," initiated the pseudo-Commission in the

name of "objectivity" and "Spartacist League principles." They said that it was impermissible for the "accused" to sit on the commission, as it would not then be "objective." With all their so-called principles, the petty bourgeois SL cannot recognize a Stalinist slander. As for "objectivity," the Spartacists did the workers movement the favor of publishing the "results"--that Michel Varga was a "highly dubious figure"--over a year before the pseudo-Commission even met! Some "objectivity"!

If the Fourth International is dead, as these miserable centrists claim, no wonder they show no principles in attacking it. In Spain they said that the leadership of the PORE was responsible for the arrests of six members by the Franco government. They said that any party which refused to accept the clandestinity imposed by the Franco regime, and which openly fought to mobilize the Spanish working class for its own government was "provocative." By the way, they have never said anything similar about any other organization in Spain, including the centrists who suffered many more arrests and saved their comments for a typically choice Spartacist moment--when our militants were being tortured in Franco's jails!

The SL made a similar accusation against the militants of the Trotskyist Organization at Ford River Rouge in Detroit. They said that our call for the massive distribution of communist literature against the company's ban on such literature was a "provocation." And as well they picked the right moment to make their criticism--when two of our militants were arrested for supposedly being on Ford's property. And of course they refused to defend them.

To put it bluntly, this organization is a "rat group"--living off the crumbs of the Fourth International and whatever scraps the imperialists, the Stalinist police, the fascists--it doesn't matter to them--throw their way.

SUPPORT THE WHITE PAPER IN ENGLISH

We are printing here for the first time in English two documents from the First Section of the WHITE PAPER entitled: Why The Commission of Inquiry? We will be printing documents from the next three Sections as well as the Resolution of the Commission of Inquiry in future articles in TRUTH.

The Declaration of the International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International (June 1973) was the first statement of our organization on the slanders, after a letter from Michel Varga calling on all organizations to form a commission of inquiry. The second document speaks for itself.

To all young workers, students, and militants of the working class: the WHITE PAPER is above all for you, from the only party which has nothing to hide, the Fourth International. We call on you to support the publication of the WHITE PAPER in English whose publication is planned for Spring of 1978 to coincide with the Congress of the Trotskyist Organization -- Rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International. November 16, 1977

AVERTISSEMENT

Le présent recueil livre aux travailleurs, jeunes et militants du mouvement ouvrier international l'ensemble des documents qui ont constitué la base des travaux de la Commission d'Enquête sur la campagne des calomnies, menée par l'Organisation Communiste Internationaliste française contre la IVème Internationale et un de ses dirigeants, Michel Varga. En publiant les conclusions de la Commission d'Enquête, ce Livre Blanc présente, ainsi, à tous les travailleurs et révolutionnaires toute la vérité sur ce que certains appellent, à dessein, pour brouiller les faits, «l'affaire Varga».

Constituée le 23 Novembre 1975, la Commission d'Enquête a travaillé pendant plusieurs mois et a tenu 3 sessions publiques, les 18 Mars, 14 Mai et 3 Juin 1976. Elle a rendu ses conclusions, dans une résolution, à la troisième session, où a été également décidée la publication du présent Livre Blanc.

Above is a copy of the first page of the Table of Contents of the French Edition of the WHITE PAPER. The entire WHITE PAPER is over 250 pages covering some 150 documents. The French Edition can be obtained by sending \$5.00 or 25 Francs to : La Quatrième Internationale, 6, Impasse Poule, Paris, 75020, France.

DECLARATION OF THE REBUILDER OF THE FO

In #617 of the paper, INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES, organ of the Federation of Workers Committees of Alliance, is published a long article, unsigned, titled "Provocations in the Fourth International." This slanderous article, directed against Michel Varga, member of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary, section of the International League/Rebuilder of the Fourth International, is a true police action whose methods are well known to all those who are fighting against Stalinism. The examples are many: many militants who were in disagreement with the political line followed by their party, while they were publicly denounced by the bureaucrats to the bourgeois or fascist police!

The content of the article is not new to us either. The accusation brought by "Informations Ouvrières" is, nothing more or nothing less, than that Comrade Varga was an agent of the CIA and GPU (Russian secret police -- trans.) for a long time!

And to "demonstrate" this, the imitator of Vichinsky* promises some "irrefutable proofs."

In fact, the "irrefutable proofs" of the leadership of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI... for, of course, it concerns it; Lambert, the editor of "Informations Ouvrières," is the leader of this organization) concern extracts of the letters of Comrade Varga dating from 1958, that the latter had left with other documents to an old Trotskyist militant.

In 1958, that is, two years after the crushing of the Hungarian revolution by the tanks of the Kremlin bureaucracy and while it was isolated from the international workers movement. In 1958, that is, during a period when Comrade Varga had fallen into grave political confusion. Militant from Eastern Europe, educated by the Stalinist party, it was difficult for him to renew with Marxism and its organizational incarnation, above all when he had seen those, who for him at that moment represented the October Revolution, crush by the force of tanks the revolution of the Councils of Hungary of 1956. The opinion of Comrade Varga was known and public; it was beginning from his positions in 1958 that the present leaders of the OCI had begun long discussions to win him to the Fourth International.

Down with hypocrisy, lies and slanders!
Workers democracy!

The method now used by Lambert is already worn out. It was used against Trotsky when the Stalinist bureaucracy attacked his non-Bolshevik past. For Comrade Varga, he is attacked for not being a... born Marxist! This revisionist conception of the Marxist vanguard in Eastern Europe who are formed alone in struggle, without the conscious intervention of the Fourth International, is not a new fact which appears in the present vicious campaign of slander. It only reappears a new time. It is testimony of a revisionist political line! The leadership of the OCI affirms: "The Reiss Faction is the Fourth International." It in this way charges a faction of the bureaucracy to make the political revolution in Eastern Europe.

The Transitional Program affirms that "only the party of the Fourth International is able to lead the Soviet masses to the insurrection." At the moment, when courageously, Ignace Reiss joined the Fourth International, he broke with the Reiss Faction which was a faction inside the Kremlin bureaucracy! The International League denounces this falsification of the Program in order to better capitulate to Stalinism! For the leadership of the OCI the Reiss faction is the Fourth International. For us, it is necessary to win some militants of this faction, as Reiss himself was won to the Fourth International, as was Michel Varga, by building the Trotskyist organizations in Eastern Europe.

A SERVICE GIVEN TO IMPERIALISM AND THE BUREAUCRACY!

It is not by chance that the same issue of "Informations Ouvrières" did not say a WORD about Brezhnev's visit to Pompidou (prime minister of France at the time -- trans.), the same day. The shameful character of this campaign of slander appears better when one places it in the context of the international situation: the accentuation of repression in Eastern Europe and the capitalist countries, the accentuation of the collaboration between imperialism and the bureaucracy of the Kremlin. In face of the growing revolution, the ranks of the world counter-revolution are closing in order to better attack the international proletariat. The leaders of the OCI know perfectly well the entire struggle against Stalinism which was led and is led by Michel Varga, founder and Secretary of the Petofi Circle, the leader of the

**LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE
STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
& THE NATURE OF THE SLANDERS!
SUPPORT THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE
PAPER IN ENGLISH.**

AGAINST STALINISM

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INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Hungarian Revolution of 1956. They thus place themselves on the side of the Stalinist bureaucracy to aid in destroying the weak Trotskyist vanguard in Eastern Europe!

This attack against Trotskyism, in the name of Trotskyism, is a new step taken by the Lambert-Just leadership in its hysterical campaign against the groups and organizations which, refusing the opportunist abandonment of the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International by the OCI, after the split with the SLL (now the British WRP--trans.) formed the International Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the IC. For Lambert-Just, this organized opposition to their capitulationist and liquidationist policy towards the Fourth International became too dangerous because it is the inheritor of all the gains of the International Committee, of Bolshevism and the continuators of the work of Leon Trotsky!

The proclamation of the International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International, which poses the problem of the rebuilding of the 4th International as an immediate task and sets up the organizational basis for a leading center, this struggle centralized on the international level made Lambert-Just swing into the camp of those using the outlawed methods of the workers movement, of those who prefer slander to the political battle, those who on the basis of "irrefutable proofs" which they are not, expelled, exiled, and shot opponents! The International League--Rebuilding the Fourth International denounces these methods foreign to workers democracy! To slanders, we oppose the political clarification of the struggle for the rebuilding of the Fourth International!

The #1, #2, #3, issues of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN* and all the documents which appeared before advance an analysis of the international political situation fundamentally different from that of Lambert-Just. It is the political line of the offensive for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, which has begun, for the political and organizational independence of the proletariat, placed in jeopardy at each step by the Organizational Committee which replaced the IC! And, to bury the political discussion on the problems of the International, Lambert-Just invoked the importance of the campaign for the March 1973 legislative elections.

But the laws of history are stronger than the apparatus! The discussion began to be taken up in the organization. Criticisms appeared. It was necessary at all cost to deviate the discussion through a "sensational revelation" and to numb the militants at this point! At the same time the Lambert-Just leadership forbid the reading of our documents and called for violence against the militants of the International League.

Down with the memories of the Moscow Trials!

The International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International energetically rejects the slanders brought by the leadership of the OCI against Comrade Michel Varga. These Stalinist methods used by the Stalinists against opponents in general and Trotskyists in particular must be condemned by any honest and sincere worker militant! The International League calls all worker militants and their organizations, in particular those who claim the Fourth International, to vigorously oppose these methods and denounce those who use them and who place themselves outside the workers movement.

NO--to slanders, falsifications, the methods of the Moscow Trials!

DOWN WITH THE ATTACKS AGAINST THE TROTSKYIST MILITANTS OF EASTERN EUROPE! WORKERS DEMOCRACY! STALINISM NO! BOLSHEVISM NO!
LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE--REBUILDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

- Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary
- Trotskyist Organization of Spain
- Trotskyist Group of Morocco
- Trotskyist "Proletar" Group of Czechoslovakia
- Trotskyist "Proleterska Avangarda" Group of Yugoslavia
- Trotskyist "Walka Klas" Group of Poland

* Vichinski-- Prosecutor in the phony Moscow Trials, 1936-39

* Ignace Reiss (Porecki)-- Polish Bolshevik, one of the leaders of Stalin's counter-espionage network in Europe in the thirties. In 1938 he publicly broke with Stalin and joined the Fourth International. Assassinated near Lausanne, France a week later.

* INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN -- organ of the LIRQI at its foundation.

L'Organisation Communiste Internationaliste
de France

mène une campagne de calomnies
contre Michel Varga
et la Quatrième Internationale

LIVRE BLANC

des travaux de la
Commission d'Enquête

The WHITE PAPER cover

Supplément à --La Quatrième Internationale-- n°55

'The methods of the Rajk trials' East European militant's testimony

London, July 6, 1973

Dear Balasz, (Michel Varga --trans.)

Number #617 of INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES has come to my attention by chance. I have read the article entitled "Provocations in the Fourth International" which leads a gross and slanderous attack against you and repeats this absurd accusation that you are an agent of the CIA and the KGB, trying to support this thesis by citing letters that you wrote before you had formed your political position of today.

These methods strangely recall for me the methods which were used against those of us who were the accused in the RAJK trials, by the prosecutors from Moscow and Budapest, by the "creators" of these pre-fabricated trials. It is the reading of this article which forced me to write these lines. As you know, I am not in agreement with your political positions today, but our contacts, our common work, has led me to the firm certainty that you were always guided in your actions by a pure conviction and by honest moral considerations.

With friendly greetings,

Bela Szasz

Bela Szasz: Organizer of the Hungarian Communist Party in illegality, in the 20's. One of the leaders of the movement at the university. It was him, who in 1930 recruited Laszlo Rajk to the party. After years of illegal combat, he was active for several years in Western Europe. Returned to Hungary in 1945. Arrested with Laszlo Rajk and his comrades, Bela Szasz was destined by the police apparatus of Rakosi to play a prime role in the Rajk trials in 1953. Despite several months of uninterrupted tortures, forced to stand up all day and night, electro-shocks, bones broken, etc., he was the only one accused to never confess. He was condemned to 10 years in prison. In September of 1956, during the official burial of Rajk, which was transformed into a demonstration of several hundreds of thousands of people, and the prelude to the revolution, it was Bela Szasz who was the main speaker, accusing the bureaucracy. After the revolution was defeated he rejected offers of compromise on the part of Kadar and chose exile.
(Editorial Note)

Why the Fourth International remains illegal in Spain

By JON COHEN

As part of his shameful attempt to justify scabbing on the Yale University workers' strike, Santiago Carrillo, the leader of the Spanish Communist Party remarked to the NEW YORK TIMES: "The American labor movement has done nothing to promote democracy in Spain."

In order to answer this slander, not only of the American labor movement, but of the word, "democracy," itself it is necessary first of all to ask: What has Santiago Carrillo done to promote democracy in Spain, what does he mean by 'democracy'? Secondly, as part of answering this question, it is necessary to ask, What is Carrillo doing in the US, visiting Yale, Harvard and Johns Hopkins universities? And what is his Social Democratic ally, Felipe Gonzalez doing in the US at the same time, visiting in Washington with Vice President Mondale and Secretary of State Vance?

They are both "promoting democracy in Spain." Precisely. Their version of "democracy." A version of "democracy" that they are putting into practice with great regularity in Spain. Carter's "democracy." Mondale's "democracy." But not the US or Spanish working class' democracy.

It is obvious to everyone, for example, when the Shah of Iran visits Washington. He is there to get support for his bloody dictatorship. But maybe it isn't so obvious when Carrillo, the first leader of a Western European Communist Party since World War II to come to the US, arrives. After all, isn't the US government opposed to "communism?" Isn't it a victory for "human rights" that Carrillo was allowed into the US.

WELL-BEATEN PATH

But Carrillo travelled a well-beaten path to arrive in the United States. Just before coming to the US, Carrillo, along with Felipe Gonzalez, the head of the Spanish Socialist Party, met in the Moncloa Palace in Madrid and with the head of the Spanish Government, Suarez, with the head of the Spanish police, Martin Villa, with the head of the fascist party, Fraga, signed the Pact of Moncloa which is an agreement to betray the working class in Spain. (See Statement of the Political Bureau of the PORE). All in the name of "democracy."

Carrillo's well-beaten path is even longer than this. The Moncloa Pact was just the conclusion. Since the death of Franco, the Spanish Communist Party, under Carrillo's leadership, has consistently supported the survival of the Francoist monarchy and its police apparatus against the struggle of the working masses to establish their own government. The first act of the "legal" Spanish CP was to hold a conference under the flag of Franco! It is the Spanish CP which is above all responsible for the fact that the farce of the Cortes last June was set up against the working class.

But Carrillo had to take another journey before being allowed in the US to "promote democracy." After saying in Spain, on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, "there are no Winter Palaces to take here," i.e. that there is no reason to organize a workers' revolution in Spain, Carrillo took a trip. He went to Moscow, where on the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, after saying that it was impossible in Spain, paid homage to the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin. This is the "dictatorship of the proletariat" Carrillo was saying, this is what you'll get if you storm Winter Palaces!

And the Kremlin bureaucracy made Carrillo's passage through the US Customs a little easier by refusing to allow him to speak in Moscow. Just to prove to Carter, Harvard and Yale that he was "clean."

ONLY THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Just like in the US there has been only one party which has opposed and led a consistent fight against Carter's "human rights," exposing the farce of bourgeois

democracy in the US, our party, so in Spain, it has been only the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International which has fought against the "democracy" of Carrillo and Gonzalez, for Workers Democracy in Spain-- a Workers and Peasants Government.

It is for this reason that the PORE remains illegal and was in fact the first workers party to be declared illegal in Spain after the elections to the Cortes. A fact no American worker will ever find by reading either the press of the Stalinists or the centrists, particularly those who falsely claim the Fourth International in the US!

The PORE was declared illegal because it was one of the few workers parties in Spain to oppose the farce of the elections to the phoney Cortes last June and the ONLY party to mobilize the working class against it, calling for a boycott and organizing marches on the prisons to free the political prisoners.

It was the only workers party to refuse to accept the conditions of the monarchy for legalization-- acceptance of the elections to the Cortes, acceptance of the Suarez government as the "constitutional" government in Spain, and abandonment of the proletarian revolution and any ties to an international party. For this, and for massively ORGANIZING the Spanish working class behind this policy, the PORE remains illegal.

The Moncloa Pact is PROOF that the PORE was correct. The fact that a pact had to be made OUTSIDE of the framework of the Cortes proves, that just a few months after its formation, this phoney Cortes has now been bypassed as a vehicle for controlling the masses.

CENTRISTS LEGAL, TROTSKYISTS ILLEGAL

The Moncloa Pact is also PROOF of the shameful capitulation of the centrists in Spain, above all those who speak in the name of the Fourth International, who made a pact as well with the monarchy in return for their legalization. Both the LCR of the "United Secretariat" and the LOC of the IC of Healy have been declared legal.

Legal for accepting the Cortes elections. Legal for dropping the hammer and sickle

and the "4" from their banners, legal for changing their statutes to abolish any reference to revolution and legal for obtaining the seal of approval of this same scab, Santiago Carrillo, who had to testify that they were "good Trotskyists" to the Suarez government.

Shameful adaptation to Stalinism in the name of "promoting democracy" is the policy of these centrists. Even their own writings prove how shameful they are. In INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, Gerry Foley writes of a mass demonstration in Madrid of workers in which: "marchers tended to raise slogans going beyond the limits the reformist parties have sought to impose. Large sections of the crowd started to call for the ouster of the monarchy and call for a Workers Government." (IP Nov. 14, 1977)

Whose slogans in Spain are DOWN WITH THE MONARCHY! WORKERS & PEASANTS GOVERNMENT! Ours. These are the slogans of the PORE only.

Not the slogans of Foley's centrist comrades. Down with the monarchy? Cer-



SECCION IV INTERNACIONAL

BREAK THE MONCLOA PACT OF BETRAYAL! DECLARATION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE PORE

WORKERS!

The leaders of the so-called "communist" and "socialist" parties have taken a new step, the gravest of all, in this already long road of betrayals of the working masses, which has led the great mobilization of the masses which began with the death of Franco to a dead-end. Today these parties have made a deal for a SACRED UNION with the government of the monarchy, including with the assassin of Vitoria, Fraga, so that the workers will continue to die in the streets, in misery, including in the jails. . . .

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain, Section of the Fourth International, warns all workers: if such an agreement goes forward, which converts the Spanish Communist Party (SCP) and the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) into auxiliaries of the police of Martin Villa, the repression, the unemployment and inflation will grow to gigantic proportions. It is an urgent duty of all conscious workers to mobilize against this pact, to denounce it and to organize the entire working class against it.

Those who signed this pact of betrayal in Moncloa wish to cover up its disgrace by saying that it is a "pact against the enemies of democracy," against the

"fascist provocateurs." FALSE, comrades: the fascists are well represented in the Moncloa pact, at the same table with Gonzalez and Carrillo! Represented by Martin Villa, who controls and protects the "uncontrollables" and the terrorists of the reaction. Represented by the Popular Alliance, the political arm of the Franco leaders and generals who are again hoping for a July 18th in the shadow of these temporary agreements. The leaders of the fascists, workers, are those who are part of the Moncloa Pact, those who are not represented are the workers, and it is against the working class that this shameful pact is directed! Shameful pact! Carrillo and Gonzalez, who agreed to a wage freeze, for unrestricted layoffs (up to 5%), to negotiate with the Francoist public order, cannot claim that the workers feel represented. Only bureaucrats who don't represent the proletariat, but the Stalinist leaders of the Kremlin, or the reformist Social Democratic bureaucracy, can consider the treachery of Moncloa as a victory!

Comrades:

They say we have to accept "sacrifices," which is what these people call unemployment and misery for working class

tainly not. Read the response of the LCR to the Moncloa Pact-- "A workers bloc must be formed in the Cortes to fight against all the political and constitutional projects of the bourgeoisie and to demand a referendum (!!!) on the form of government." Workers Government? Not the centrists; "and in this framework and along with all the workers and peoples organizations, to call for a vote for a republic (!!!!!)." (IMPREGOR, Oct. 27, 1977)

AMERICAN WORKERS

But contrary to what Carrillo thinks, the American working class has waged a fight to promote democracy in Spain. Real democracy. Workers democracy and the leadership of this workers democracy, the world party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

American workers have promoted this fight by fighting against these Stalinists and centrists in the US. By exposing how they support Carter's "human rights" fraud, including this fraud in Spain. And by preparing the American revolution through the construction of the FI in the US.

But a section of the American working class, the section led and influenced by the Trotskyist Organization, has played a more practical role in promoting real democracy in Spain. By its defense of the Spanish political prisoners, victims of Francoism. By its presence at the Rally in July of the International Working Class Youth in Barcelona this summer which organized an international march to free the political prisoners at the Modelo prison.

But even more importantly, by preparing the world revolution and building its world party we are promoting real democracy in Spain. This is why a massive mobilization of American working class youth in auto, steel and the mines for the Revolutionary Youth International's World Metalworkers Conference for the Socialist United States of Europe, which means a fight against these Stalinists and centrists at home, will be a powerful answer to Carrillo's scabbing and his slanders and a means to prove who really is on the side of the Spanish working class and its youth.

November 16, 1977

families in order to "defend democracy." As if this word was compatible with the ruin of the worker and peasant! What democracy are they talking about? If this is what it is, THE WORKER AND THE OPPRESSED WANT NO PART OF IT.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain declares that there is no democracy to defend, BUT THERE ARE MANY RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS WHICH REMAIN TO BE WON AND WHICH ARE DENIED BY THIS ANTI-WORKING CLASS MONCLOA PACT:

--They have agreed to a partial "amnesty" to justify new arrests. WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE FREEDOM OF ALL ANTI-FRANCOIST PRISONERS, THE READMISSION OF THOSE FIRED FROM THEIR JOBS, THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FASCISTS AND THE PUBLIC TRIAL OF THE TORTURERS AND THE ACCOMPLICES OF THE FRANCOIST TERROR.

--They have agreed that the PORE and other parties who do not submit to these betrayals will remain illegal. WE ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS, FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF THE PORE AND ALL THE WORKING CLASS AND ANTI-FRANCOIST

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

'DETROIT WON'T BE PETROGRAD,' SAYS COCKREL

IST PARTIES.

--They have agreed to the coming of Tarradellas to Barcelona with the power of a viceroy of the monarchist Cortes in Madrid; all the power against the Catalan people, but NO power against the centralism of the State. WE FIGHT AGAINST THIS NEW UNITY IMPOSED BY SPAIN AND FOR THE FREELY AGREED ON UNION OF AN IBERIAN FEDERATION OF WORKERS REPUBLICS.

Workers:

Down with the Moncloa Pact of betrayal, which denies freedom, at the same time that it prevents the workers from fighting against the capitalist crisis, and which closes off any road to its revolutionary victory, to the taking of political power by the proletariat, supported by the peasants! Rights, real rights for the workers and the oppressed are not incompatible with the economic and social interests of the workers. On the contrary, they are incompatible with those of the bourgeoisie. For this reason all the attempts to establish a "democracy" and maintain the bourgeoisie in power are failing and will continue to fail: the interests of capitalism in crisis is the repression of the workers; what freedom demands is that the workers take power into their hands. The only stable basis for the rights of the workers and the people is:

- the expropriation of the banks, of the large factories and farms, immediately and with indemnification. Workers control of all industry by the factory committees and its central organs of representation. Socialist planning of the economy for the power of the workers.
- the dissolution of the repressive bodies of the bourgeois state and the arming of the people led by the workers committees or councils (Workers Cortes) formed by the direct representatives of the industrial workers and the oppressed people.

A Workers and Peasants Government, the result of this Council or Cortes of the workers, in order to take in its hands all political power.

--the unity of all the Spanish workers with all the workers who are fighting, whether in Europe of the monopolies or in the Stalinist regimes, to finish with the division of Europe, with the isolation of the Iberian peninsula, and the subordination of all the continent to imperialism through the bourgeois states or its Stalinist agents. The establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe and an Iberian Federation of Workers Councils with Portugal as the first step, in which all national oppression will be abolished and the recognition of all the rights of nationalities, including the right to separation.

Workers:

--The Moncloa Pact is the proof that there is no other program apart from the revolutionary program that the PORE proposes to you. For this reason the PORE is declared illegal while Carrillo and Gonzalez get together at Moncloa. All the parties which called you to participate in the treason of the monarchy's Cortes on June 15th, who promised you this or that, now have nothing to offer the workers. Nothing: because this shameful Pact converts the Cortes into a docile instrument of the Suarez government. There is nothing to hope from this Cortes: today policy is made by the government and its police, thanks to the Moncloa Pact.

IF they can carry out this Pact, Workers: in the face of the Cortes of the Monarchy, the PORE called for a boycott. It was correct, no one can deny this today. But today the PORE calls to seek a solution, to convert the coming elections for factory committees into a stage in the formation of a Workers Cortes, formed by delegates elected in every factory, with the goal of extending and centralizing the strike movement of the occupation of factories to overthrow the Monarchy and to prepare the conquest of power by a Workers and Peasants Government.



KENNETH V. COCKREL: "... I'm not calling for anything that's, like, far-fetched." *Detroit Free Press*

By JON COHEN

So spoke Kenneth Cockrel, just elected to the Detroit City Council in an interview in the DETROIT FREE PRESS entitled: Marxist Councilman Urges Move to Left. In the interview, Cockrel proved that he was no Marxist and indeed that nothing he was proposing had any resemblance to revolution: "So, I'm not calling for anything that's, like, far-fetched," said Cockrel.

Cockrel had to go to great lengths to reassure the Detroit bourgeoisie that he had nothing to do with "Petrograd," the October Revolution or with any revolution. Because, unfortunately, he is still associated in the minds of the Detroit working class with revolution, with Marxism, and this was the reason he was able to be elected.

Cockrel was the only candidate not supported by the UAW or AFL-CIO bureaucracy and the official Democratic Party apparatus to be elected to the City Council. His election and relatively strong showing was above all due to the reputation he gained in Detroit in the late 60's and early 70's as a radical

attorney and a leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement).

In particular, Cockrel was known for his defense of James Johnson, a Chrysler worker who shot and killed three men at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant after being unjustly fired from his job. Johnson was found innocent by reason of insanity, because Cockrel was able to demonstrate to the jury, that it was Chrysler and the US Government (Johnson was a Vietnam veteran) who was responsible for Johnson's anger. Cockrel also defended Hayward Brown who was acquitted of shooting three Detroit STRESS officers, a special police unit set up to terrorize the black community in Detroit.

These were victories for the entire working class movement in Detroit, they were not Cockrel's personal victories. While we disagree with the policies of DRUM and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, they were attempts to organize young black workers in the auto industry in a revolutionary direction, against the UAW bureaucracy, against support to the Democratic Party and those allied with it.

But for Cockrel and some of the other leaders of Drum and the League, the revolutionary fight of the young, black workers in Detroit simply became a stepping-stone for opportunism. Unable to truly organize young black or white workers on a lasting basis because of their own lack of a clear policy and leadership, Cockrel and others concluded that working class revolution was impossible, that reform was the only answer.

Thus, Cockrel now finds himself the leading proponent of the policy that DRUM and the League began by fighting--the Stalinist policy of "reform" of the Democratic Party, "the liberal-labor-black alliance" to hold back the mobilization of the working class and keep the stranglehold of the Democratic Party over the workers.

It is not an accident, that in another country thousands of miles away, another workers' "leader," Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish Communist Party said: "here there are no Winter Palaces to take," another laughing comment at the October Revolution in Petrograd in 1917. Carrillo said this as he signed a pact with the Francoist government, with the fascist parties, to hold back the mobilization of the working class and to organize the repression of the revolutionaries in Spain.

Cockrel has made a similar pact, not as formal, but just as Stalinist. His place in the maneuvers of the Democratic Party and the UAW bureaucracy in return for his promise for "no Petrograds," for keeping the working class tied to the capitalist system.

The US bourgeoisie is now everywhere hailing Coleman Young's election in Detroit as a great victory. Young is now being claimed as "the foremost black politician in the country." Finally, they think they have found a black politician who can control the working class.

Cockrel is part of this scheme, "now there is even a "marxist" voice in Detroit, they say. But in reality the bourgeoisie and all of its hangers-on are scared. The remark about "Petrograd" was not accidental. Everyone knows that if there is a Petrograd in the US it is Detroit, the center of the nation's most important industry, the home of the most militant working class.

Cockrel and Coleman Young have come out of the woodwork in recent years because a Petrograd is indeed being prepared by the workers in Detroit. A Petrograd that at all costs the Democratic Party and their Stalinist allies in the American Communist Party are prepared to prevent. And just like Petrograd of 1917, the Detroit Petrograd will succeed by exposing and breaking with the Mensheviks, like Kenneth Cockrel who stand in the way of its victory.

Workers:

In this path, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain calls all workers and militants of the unions and parties of the workers movement to mobilize to BREAK THE MONCLOA PACT OF BETRAYAL!

The PORE calls for assemblies to meet in all the factories and for meetings in the unions to discuss the significance of the Pact, to condemn it, to adopt resolutions to seek our rights, to fight the crisis through the means of the centralization of factory committees and the preparation of the general strike with the occupation of the factories. In particular, the PORE calls workers to respond to the new swindle of pseudo-"amnesty" by organizing a Workers

March of factories and unions to the gates of the prisons in each city, to demand the freedom of the anti-Francoists and the jailing of the fascists and the legalization of the PORE and all the workers and democratic parties, without exception.

DOWN WITH THE BETRAYAL OF MONCLOA!

FOR A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT! FOR A WORKERS CORTES OF DELEGATES OF THE FACTORY COMMITTEES!

October 15, 1977

The Political Bureau of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain (Section of the Fourth International)

WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UAW !
UAW FOR THE WORKING CLASS !
Revolutionary Young Workers Conference
SUNDAY. DECEMBER 4. 1PM.
WAYNE STATE U STUDENT CENTER
(NEAR) ANTHONY WAYNE DR. AND KIRBY

Help build the Revolutionary Youth International!
Sell tickets for its Benefit! \$3 each!
Saturday. December 10. 8 PM.
Wayne State U Student Center. 2nd floor
Kirby and Anthony Wayne Drive.
Good speeches, music, refreshments, door prizes.

WORKERS RIGHTS IN THE COAL FIELDS- DEMOCRACY IN THE UMW

A decisive battle for the US working class is being prepared in the coalfields today. The current contract of the United Mineworkers (UMW) with the coal companies expires on December 6th. The very existence of the UMW is at stake in this battle.

The coal bosses have said this openly. Their head negotiator, Joseph Brennan last month stated: "The question is, whether or not a proud labor union will meet in good faith bargaining with an industry and together forge a contract that will permit us to grow together, or whether we will fail, and therefore, see the DECLINE AND POSSIBLE EXTINCTION (our emphasis) of the United Mineworkers of America as a force in the national collective bargaining process."

The capitalist courts, their police and their fascist company goons have stated this openly as well. Eleven UMW militants were just sent to jail by a judge in Stearns, Kentucky and 68 others given suspended sentences after the state police brutally attacked a picket line.

The Carter government has stated this openly also. Increased production of coal is at the heart of Carter's "energy program." That is, increased profits for the coal bosses and deteriorating working and health conditions for the miners.

Every miner knows that this is a concerted attempt to smash a powerful mobilization of the mineworkers that has been sweeping the mines in the last years -- repeated national wildcat strikes, violent and bloody battles for the right to unionize, confrontations with the UMW bureaucracy. And every class conscious worker in the US knows that if the government, the courts and the bosses can destroy the UMW the entire US working class will feel the blow. It will be a massive defeat.

THE MINERS MUST NOT BE DEFEATED! Carter and the bourgeoisie have their "human rights." The fight of the miners is for the most basic rights of the working class. **THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!** -- any time, any place, for whatever reason the workers decide. **WORKERS CONTROL OF THE MINES!** -- under the leadership of committees, elected by all the workers, to supervise and control the day-to-day operation of the mines, control all health and safety measures. **A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS!** -- with wages to go up with prices and all the available work divided up among those able to work.

Miners -- don't let anyone tell you this is just an "economic" struggle against the coal bosses. It is a political struggle, against the entire US bourgeoisie and its government which is trying to crush you. **WORKERS RIGHTS IN THE MINES MEANS NO GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE MINES -- DRIVE THE COURTS, THE POLICE, AND THE GOONS OUT OF THE MINES!** The only way to really deal with the "energy crisis" is for the people who produce the wealth to run this country. The fight for the **WORKERS GOVERNMENT** is the

only solution to the problem of coal in this country.

Unrealistic? Miners, beware of those who talk to you in the coalfields of "realism." You know these "realists" -- who have held back all of your struggles, who oppose the wildcat strikes, who do nothing to help the Stearns miners or the miners in Harlan County who want to organize. These "realists" are the bureaucrats, who have held back all of the struggles of the miners. They are responsible as well for the attack on the UMW today.

There can be no workers rights in the coalfields, no battle against the bosses and the government, without Workers Democracy in the UMW. And there can be no Workers Democracy without throwing out the present leadership and electing a new, revolutionary leadership for the UMW.

Nothing can come out of the present leadership of the UMW, nothing has come out of them for over five years. And now, on the eve of the strike, at the time of the UMW's greatest danger, there are those who are coming along trying to resurrect this leadership, in order to derail the young, militant miners who want to throw them out and lead a victorious strike.

The Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the centrists of the Socialist Workers Party are trying to resurrect Harry Patrick, current Secretary-Treasurer of the UMW, leader of Miners for Democracy who broke with Arnold Miller and was defeated in the race for President this year. Patrick would have been buried months ago, and in fact was buried politically by the militant miners in the UMW after they saw him come out time and time again against their wildcats, after refusing them their right to strike over safety.

But the CP and the SWP are trying to do with Patrick what they tried to do with Sadlowski -- divert the workers from the real questions in front of them, tie them to the reformist wing of the labor bureaucracy and keep the workers mobilization in check. The ENA, the massive layoffs in steel today are the result of this policy!

So now, in the November 11th issue of the **MILITANT**, the paper of the SWP, they proclaim this Harry Patrick as a great leader. They claim he is for, of all things, a "labor party." But what kind of "labor party"? A "labor party" to save his neck!

Patrick says "The one thing you've got to take into consideration, the one thing in your movement, in any movement for reform, is that the real enemy is the company. That's the people you've got to get -- the company. Sure you want to change things that are wrong in the union and that takes time. . . you can't change things overnight. . . Go very slow. Go very careful."

Of course, we know why Patrick wants to go "slow" in changing the leadership. He's a bureaucrat. And he wants a "labor party" led by bureaucrats. But why do the bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the

centrists always put forward this idea that "the main enemy is the company?"

Workers never say this. They know that when you go into battle the question of who is leading the battle is the most important question. What's the importance of knowing who the "main enemy" is, if there is a leadership that cannot win? Or can the workers win spontaneously?

The centrists and Stalinists say this because they support the present leadership which the young workers are totally dissatisfied with and disgusted with. We say that the only way forward, the only way to win real **WORKERS DEMOCRACY** in the UMW and real workers rights in the coalfields is with a revolutionary leadership. Beware of those who

say this is "unrealistic." It is "unrealistic" to them because they offer no fight against the most "realistic" question in front of the UMW today -- the destruction of the union.

We propose that not only young miners take up this fight, but the entire working class support the struggle of the miners. Thus, we propose that the RWY take the lead especially in auto and steel in organizing support for a **NATIONAL GENERAL STRIKE TO DEFEND THE MINERS!** beginning with the expiration of the contract on December 6th and as a way to rally the young workers in auto, steel and the mines in the ranks of the RWY in the fight for **WORKERS DEMOCRACY** and its leadership.

November 15, 1977 TRUTH

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS



May 15, 1977 Palestinian demonstration in Detroit.

We condemn the latest act of mass murder committed by the Zionist regime of Israel. On November 9th, Israeli airplanes bombed and killed over 100 people, primarily women and children, in Southern Lebanon. This act of conscious genocide is nothing new for the racist, Zionist regime of Israel.

Nor is it something new for their latest Prime Minister, Menahem Begin. This mass murderer, as head of the fascist Irgun was personally responsible for the slaughter of 254 unarmed Arab villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948.

American workers have a special interest in condemning this attack. The Zionist state of Israel is nothing but US imperialism's puppet in the Middle East, imperialism's armed club against the working and oppressed masses in the Middle East.

Carter's "neutrality" on the latest Israeli attack expresses exactly what "human rights" means in the Middle East. Rights for the Zionist oppressors. No rights for the Palestinian people who want their land back.

American workers should not be deceived by the theatrical show acted out in Washington with the Israeli regime and its Zionist lackeys in the US, about a supposed "dispute" between US imperialism and Zionism. It only is a maneuver to hide from the US working class the crimes of Zionism.

This latest bombing was not an accident. It is the "practical" side to the counter-revolutionary settlement now being set up by US imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin to crush the Palestinians and the working and oppressed masses throughout the Middle East. Today's Cairo--Tel Aviv theatrics are only a small part of it.

We denounce the Soviet-American Statement issued in October as an attempt to assure the final capitulation of the PLO leadership to imperialism in the Middle East and to deliver a crushing blow to the resistance of the Palestinian masses, who for over 30 years have led a courageous struggle against imperialism in the Middle East for the return of their homeland. A struggle which has been betrayed at each step by their leadership.

Zionism is a club against the workers and oppressed throughout the Middle East, including the Jewish and Arab workers in Israel denounced by Begin as "Bolsheviks" for striking, ONE DAY BEFORE he launched his raid on Lebanon. There can be no "settlement" in the Middle East without the defeat of US imperialism's Zionist lackey.

Workers rights, not "human rights" in the Middle East as well! Down with Zionism! Stop ALL US Military Aid to the Israeli regime! DOWN WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY GENEVA ACCORDS! SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINE -- FORWARD TO A UNITED SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST!
SECRETARIAT, TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA,
November 15, 1977 SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Read TRUTH!

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