



## NO TEARS FOR MORO THE REAL TERRORIST-- THE BOURGEOIS STATE

The workers and oppressed will shed no tears on the death of Aldo Moro, head of the Christian Democratic Party and former Prime Minister of Italy. We refuse to be moved by the loss to the world of one of the lowest and most hateful forms of human existence-- a bourgeois politician. The scum of the earth.

As Malcolm X said about the assassination of John F. Kennedy: "It's just a case of the chickens coming home to roost."

Our solidarity is with the working class and oppressed in Italy. With all victims of capitalist exploitation. And with all fighters against this system of unemployment, repression and war.

The place of all revolutionaries and those who claim to defend the working class is with the unconditional defense of all fighters against capitalist oppression, including the Red Brigades. Not with the bourgeoisie and its state. Not with the real criminals of this world.

We denounce the lying hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus which is using Moro's death to pose as the defenders of "democracy." In order to defend their police states.

The hypocrisy of Carter who called the death of Moro "a contemptible and cowardly act." This REAL coward who sits atop the largest military power in the world, his fingers on weapons of mass destruction, whose government's hands are still wet with the blood of hundreds of thousands of innocent Vietnamese.

Schmidt of Germany who called on "all governments for even closer cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism." This Social Democrat who murdered Karl Baader and his comrades in cold blood in their prison cells and dared to call it "suicide." This is the "closer cooperation" he wants!

And finally, the hypocrisy of the Stalinist apparatus of the Kremlin, with the blood of millions of revolutionaries and workers on their hands, dared, through the mouth of the Spanish Communist Party which betrayed the Spanish Revolution, to call this "a crime against Italian democracy and democracy in all of Europe." We know what kind of "democracy" the Stalinists are interested in--THE DEMOCRACY FOR THE HANGMEN!

No defense of these hangmen and their "democracy." The real terrorists, the real violence comes from the armed states of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, with weapons for the repression of

billions of people.

How can anyone dare equate this repression with the weapons of a handful of terrorists? How can anyone dare raise the slogan, "Neither with the Red Brigades, nor with the State" which places both on the same level?

Let there be no confusion about this inside the workers movement. The anger of the working class must not be focused on the Red Brigades and others like them who mistakenly substitute isolated acts of individual terror which accomplish nothing fundamental, for the mass action of the working class, BUT AT THE STALINIST APPARATUS whose betrayals, above all in Italy, have pushed hundreds of thousands of young workers away from the unions, away from traditional methods of working class struggle, into the dead-end of individual terrorism.

It is the Stalinist bureaucrats who are the GRAVEDIGGERS of the revolution. They are the ones who must be smashed and driven out of the workers movement.

The real enemies of the Stalinists in this situation are the real revolutionaries, those who wish to continue the Russian Revolution of 1917 led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. They are trying to use the fact that the masses of workers see terrorism as no solution in order to attack LENINISM-- the revolutionary policy and strategy for the working class-- the collective action of the working class to destroy the bourgeois state.

By attacking Leninism they defend the police states of the bourgeoisie and its "democracy" against the real, revolutionary, democracy of the working class-- WORKERS DEMOCRACY and the fight for its government-- the WORKERS GOVERNMENT.

The central task for revolutionaries in this situation is not only to denounce these traitors, not only to defend all revolutionaries, but to renew the fight for Leninism, to RETURN TO LENIN by building the revolutionary party of the working class, the Fourth International.

The place for all young workers who want to begin this fight, who want to respond to Moro's death and the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie by saying: DOWN WITH THE EUROPE OF HANGMEN! DEFEND ALL REVOLUTIONARIES AGAINST BOURGEOIS TERROR! is in the Revolutionary Youth International which will be holding its Third Congress in Paris on May 27th.

Join the RYI-- Join the fight against the REAL terrorists-- the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists and their states, May 11, 1978

TRUTH



## FREE SANTIAGO ALEGRIA! LEGALIZE THE PORE!

A first victory has been won in the campaign to free Soldier Santiago Alegria, militant of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Spain, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

The military, after imprisoning Santiago Alegria for over three months have withdrawn the accusations against him-- the charge of illegal association as well as that of the supposed robbery of the weapons from the El Pani air base. His case has been passed to civilian jurisdiction, to the District Court of Terrassa.

As our readers should know, at the beginning of this year the Francoist police launched a provocation against our party in Spain. Under the pretext of a supposed robbery of weapons from the El Pani air base militants of the PORE in Terrassa were arrested as well as soldier Santiago Alegria, a militant of the PORE who was doing his military service at the air base.

This provocation against the PORE was the beginning of a series of provocations in Spain and also in Italy and France whose objective was to organize an attack against the youth and the revolutionaries who refused to accept the terms imposed by the monarchy and the bourgeois state.

This first victory is the result of a mobilization undertaken for his freedom, demonstrations, positions taken by unions and factory committees and an international mobilization in France, Sweden and the United States. It is also the result of the work of

the Commission of Inquiry organized in Spain to find out the real facts about this "robbery."

The Commission was able to unmask this police provocation. In this situation the police were forced to withdraw its accusations against Santiago Alegria and the PORE.

If the military has withdrawn its accusations, the struggle against the provocation has not finished. Those really responsible for the robbery and the instigators of the provocation have not yet been unmasked. And the torturers of Santiago Alegria remain unpunished.

And Santiago Alegria was brutally tortured by the Francoist police. A living testimony to the "democratic road" and the "change" that is supposed to have taken place in Spain since the death of Franco. A living testimony to who the real terrorists are in this society!

The Commission of Inquiry found that Santiago Alegria was interrogated by the police all day and all night, with only two hours in between interrogations. He was beaten by specialists who beat him in the head and around the ears, with kicks to the testicles and who threatened to torture his wife in his presence.

At night he was tortured by being forced to crouch down on the floor, his hands closed by handcuffs placed around his ... knees under which they placed an iron bar and raised him off the ground with it. He passed many hours suspended in this position by the bar. The weight

of the body rests on the back of the knees and the fingers are crushed by the handcuffs. The police even amused themselves by turning the bar around and around, which multiplied the pain.

They also tortured him by binding his hands and placing short wooden sticks between his fingers and by twisting the sticks tore his flesh off. For 15 days after this Santiago was not able to even feel his hands and now he is still unable to bend his fingers.

The case is still not finished. Not finished until every last one of these torturers is punished by the justice of the working class! Until every working class organization, especially those who have been shamefully silent to date, takes a position against these crimes.

The fight is not finished. The monarchy is mistaken if it thinks that by this retreat, it will force our party into silence.

Santiago Alegria must be freed of all charges, including the civilian ones. All charges must be dropped against ALL militants of the PORE, DOWN WITH THE POLICE ATTACKS AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES!

FREE ALL ANTI-FRANCOIST FIGHTERS IN SPAIN!

LEGALIZATION FOR THE PORE!

May 11, 1978

TRUTH



# JIMMY CARTER IN TROUBLE



Another occupational impairment of miners — acute hearing loss.

By JON COHEN

It is now obvious to everyone that the government of Jimmy Carter is in trouble. Every passing day brings another bit of bad news for this lying hypocrite of "human rights" who sits at the head of the executive committee of the US ruling class — the imperialist bourgeois state.

Every new public opinion poll shows his popularity declining. According to a recent Harris poll 64% of the public gave him a negative job rating overall. When it concerned the economy he received a 72% negative rating. Among blacks who voted for Carter in the 1976 election by a margin of 86-14%, he received a 53% negative and among union members, 63%.

And they have already begun to talk about the 1980 Presidential elections — 2 1/2 years beforehand! A survey was published showing Senator Edward Kennedy being favored by Democratic voters over Carter and Jerry Brown of California is already testing the waters for 1980. And last week, Carter went on a "campaign trip" out West.

All of this is compounded by open splits in the administration and Congress over domestic policy — "energy," inflation, jobs, etc. and over foreign policy — the Panama Canal treaty and the arms sales to the Middle East being the latest examples. And everyday there are articles in the press saying "NATO allies troubled by Carter foreign policy" which quote the dissatisfaction of the European bourgeoisie with the Carter administration.

It is obvious that sections of the bourgeoisie are openly dissatisfied with the policies of the Carter administration and are seeking a solution to the crisis of their government.

What does this have to do with the working class? Isn't all of this just "politics?" Simply a case of "thieves falling out?" Or in any case, something that does not really concern the day to day lives of American workers and youth.

But in fact the crisis of the Carter government is the result

of something deeper going on in American society and throughout the world. Something that public opinion polls, newspaper articles and the like are only pale reflections of. The cause of the crisis of the Carter government is the class struggle, and more particularly, the offensive of the American working class that has taken place in the last few months.

The miners strike placed this out in the open. The hesitations, the vacillations, the meaningless threats, and finally the use of Taft-Hartley which no one obeyed by the Carter government which showed its total inability to effectively control the mobilization of the working class. It was during the miners strike that the real criticism of the Carter government by sections of the bourgeoisie began. If Carter could not control the US miners, they wrote, how could US imperialism possibly be able to control the situation in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Europe?

The actions of Carter during the miners strike and the response of the miners and all the other workers throughout the country who showed their solidarity with the miners demonstrated that the Carter government no longer had the authority or confidence to control the working class through "traditional" means. By claiming to be a "friend of labor," or through ties to the trade union bureaucracy.

It marked the end of "human rights" as an effective maneuver of the bourgeoisie against the US and world working class. Of course Carter will continue the use of "human rights" as a way to masquerade the preparation of the counterrevolution. But it has been totally ineffective as a maneuver to win the working class over to support for the bourgeois state and its dying "democracy."

It is necessary to pass to open repression against the working class. It is necessary to begin the preparations for civil war against the American working class. It is necessary to draw all the conclusions from the miners strike and the mobilization of the working class and be consequent — the bourgeois state and its apparatus must be strengthened.

And this is the most important source of the crisis of the Carter government and the US bourgeoisie. How to control the mobilization of the working class here and around the world and how to develop a unified strategy to be able to do this? And how to do this in a situation in which the working class is becoming more and more defiant towards the bourgeoisie and its apparatus?

This is why the working class must be concerned and why it has a fundamental stake in this crisis "at the top." It concerns the question of who is going to rule this country in the future and whether or not the bourgeoisie will be able to block the struggle of the working class for its own power and government. It concerns the fight to defend the most basic rights of the working class today against the preparations of the bourgeoisie for war and repression.

It was not accidental that during the miners strike an Editorial appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of February 19th entitled: "The Consensus That Died at Tet." It marked the 10th anniversary of the offensive of the NLF in Vietnam which is supposed to have marked the beginning of the end for US imperialism in Vietnam. THE NEW YORK TIMES is nostalgic for the "consensus" — anti-communism — that supposedly "died" in Vietnam.

They write: "no matter who won the big battle, it exposed a new American consensus: that the price of rescuing Vietnam from Communism had outrun the benefit and should not be paid. It thus destroyed the consensus for containing Communism almost everywhere our leaders thought necessary at virtually any price. It destroyed our willingness to let the Presidency manage containment with minimal interference by the public and Congress."

They go on to complain that for example, the "success" of the US in Chile was spoiled by Congress and to argue for a more "realistic" policy and go on to conclude: "The consensus that collapsed at Tet was a useful as well as harmful political tool. Without it,

there would have been no Marshall Plan of aid to Europe or much other foreign aid to poor nations. Much has been gained from its demise, but with NO COMPARABLY CLEAR PURPOSE (our emphasis) in its place, something has also been lost."

Finally, they say that "without a consensus about which objectives are paramount, no President can easily restore discipline or regain a full sense of purpose and command."

What does all of this mean, in plain English? It means that in order to restore the weakened position of imperialism, weakened by the world offensive of the working class since 1968 and opposition at home, it is necessary to "restore a consensus," "restore discipline" and "regain command."

And "consensus," "unity," "command" and "discipline" have always meant one thing and one thing only for the US bourgeoisie. And it hasn't been democracy or human rights. It means REPRESSION and WAR.

They are telling Carter that the only way can regain the confidence of the rest of the bourgeoisie and carry out their wishes is to step up his plans for repression and war against the working class.

It is also no accident that along with this kind of "advice" in the bourgeois papers comes similar "advice" from academic advisors to the US bourgeoisie. In a report to the Trilateral Commission, a group of "elite" advisors to the bourgeoisie whose members make up a substantial portion of Carter's Cabinet (Secretary of State Vance, National Security head Brezinski, Secretary of Defense Brown and Secretary of the Treasury, Blumenthal) entitled: "The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies" by Michael Crozier, Samuel Huntington and Joji Watanuki, these "advisors" concluded that contemporary democracies were "ungovernable." They complain about the "decline of respect for authority" and state that the "elites" are prevented from governing effectively because they are "victims of electoral blackmail."

The present crisis, according to Samuel Huntington, "is mistakenly attributed to capitalist economies when it is, in fact, a product of democratic politics!" (1)

These are not right-wing fanatics. Not members of the Nazis or KKK. They are the theoretical advisors to the Carter government — to Carter, to Vance, to Brown, etc. Giving them the "theory" to prove that is not capitalism which is to blame, but "democracy," and more specifically, the working class.

They are telling Carter that his troubles come from the fact that he doesn't understand this well enough, that he isn't "strong" enough.

And the last months have seen Carter and his government apply this theory. The S. 1437 Bill to destroy the rights of the working class and its organizations which is now in the House of Representatives. The "reform" of the FBI and CIA to legalize the secret police apparatus in the name of "national security." The huge increases in the military budget and especially the build-up taking place in Western Europe. And now the call in the government to restore the draft in the face of the "failure of the peacetime army."

Make no mistake about it. The bourgeoisie understands the nature of its crisis and understands that there is only one way to resolve it, with or without Jimmy Carter — through repression and war against the working class. While talking out loud about "human rights" and their great love for "democracy," their close advisors are preparing the intellectual rationalizations for the suppression of democracy in this country, for a fundamental attack on the democratic rights of the American working class.

The working class must understand the nature of this situation as well. And it must understand that its most dangerous enemies are not just Carter and the US bourgeoisie, but the treacherous leaders inside the workers movement who are trying to hide the character of this situation and who are trying to prevent the working class from protecting itself in the face of this attack on its rights.

Those who are trying to pretend that this bourgeois "democracy" which has now been judged to be an obstacle to important sections of the bourgeoisie, which the bourgeoisie is getting ready to dispense with completely, CAN BE REFORMED. Like the trade union bureaucrats who think more jobs can be won through an amendment to the federal wage laws. Like the Stalinists who think that there is a "progressive" wing to the Democratic Party. By trying to keep the Democratic Party alive.

Jimmy Carter and the bourgeoisie are indeed in trouble. But there is only one POSITIVE SOLUTION to this crisis. It is not the preparation of war. It is not the "consensus" of anti-communism. It is not repression. It is not the suppression of democracy. It is not the reform of the Democratic Party.

The only positive solution resides in unleashing the only constructive and DEMOCRATIC force in this society — the working class — which alone can end the crisis of capitalism and provide a better future for all of humanity. Not through backroom maneuvers, but through an OPEN and MASS struggle for power, for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT based on factory committees and councils of democratically-elected workers delegates which will seize power from the bourgeoisie, smash its police and repressive apparatus and rule in the interests of the working and oppressed population.

The fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT is not a distant perspective. It is an immediate perspective in all the mobilizations of the working class today, a perspective that can be built and made into a reality by fighting at every moment in the class struggle for the total independence of the working class from the bourgeois state, from its parties, from its police and courts and from all those who serve its interests.

The weapon in leading this fight is the construction of the independent party of the working class which will lead this fight for power, the WORKERS PARTY, the US Section of the Fourth International. In response to the crisis of Jimmy Carter, the construction of this party is the most immediate and central task in front of the working class today.

It is the positive response of the working class to the cynical and deadly maneuvers of the rich and their hangers-on. May 10, 1978



# FRASER LOWERS DEMANDS -- SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW NOW

By FRED VITALE

Last week Doug Fraser, head of the UAW, offered to "reduce" the demands of autoworkers for the 1979 contract if the auto barons would lower prices of their cars. Already bargaining away the rights of the autoworkers a FULL YEAR in advance!

At the same time, a top Carter aide announced that inflation is raging out of control and that "the greatest difficulties come on the labor side." The UAW, United Steelworkers and other "high visibility" unions must "give up the 10% annual raises."

To keep the rights they've won and protect themselves against further attacks, to protect themselves against the GOVERNMENT-CAUSED inflation to stop the growing repression in the factories, autoworkers must organize a SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE UAW. This is the only way for the autoworkers to DECIDE THEMSELVES what their demands are and what is to be done about them.

Do not let Fraser bargain them away without so much as a vote! Such a Convention should be open to all tendencies in the UAW and all tendencies represented. We think that this demand can be supported by every militant in the UAW.

## INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER STRIKES

Many autoworkers might say-- "they're going to do what they're going to do." Fraser and the others will never support it, so its going to be very difficult to get.

Let's take a look at the miners strike. The leadership of the United Mine Workers didn't want to strike. When they did strike they sabotaged it at every step. But the young miners, fighting for their rights in the coalfields, organized mass meetings and caravans; they stopped Carter's Taft-Hartley Law; they prevented the capitalists from destroying their union. And in the course of this fight, they built a mass opposition to the Miller leadership.

All this was an unpleasant SURPRISE to the capitalists. But it wasn't to the auto and steelworkers who supported the miners strongly.

That's because what happened in the mines was simply the most powerful expression of the offensive of the WHOLE American working class against the capitalists and their government. A mobilization which is going on in the UAW.

On April 13th a 1400-worker UAW local at an International Harvester plant in Louisville, Kentucky went on strike over incentive pay cuts and piled up health and safety grievances. And, Harvester has earned the notorious distinction of being the first capitalist to try and break a major UAW local since the union was founded! They shipped in hundreds of foremen from around the country to man this crucial parts plant.

The UAW International refused to stop this. And, to add insult to injury, they demanded that the UAW foundry workers cross the lines!

The workers organized a 1,000-man mass picket to stop the scabs. After a few pickets were injured and then a few scabs beat up and their cars damaged, Harvester got the message. The scabs disappeared.

Workers were laid off at other plants in violation of seniority and refused layoff benefits because of the Louisville strike. At Harvester's East Moline, Ill. plant workers walked out in protest, manning the picket lines wearing hoods to prevent retaliation (a lesson learned from Trenton and Essex).

Similar strikes are brewing at other Harvester locals in the wake of more layoffs.

The International leadership has refused to call a national strike. They've refused to fight for layoff pay for the thousands laid off. Once again, they've tried to break a strike.

The autoworkers have refused to obey Fraser's traitorous commands. The UAW workers are absorbing well some of the lessons of the miners strike. This is obvious preparation for what the capitalists have planned for

the autoworkers next fall. It's also what the bureaucrats will do. It's part of their support to Carter's plans against the workers.

**THROW OUT FRASER! YOUNG WORKERS WIN BACK YOUR UNION!**

The fight for a Special Convention gives autoworkers the means to express themselves on the demands they need; on the means to win them. It's an opportunity for us to fight for the ONLY way to end this betrayal -- throw

Fraser and his henchmen out! Build a revolutionary leadership! It is the fight for the young workers to win back their unions. To make the unions defend the youth from the growing repression in the factories.

This is the fight for Workers Democracy -- for the workers to control their own organizations, for the workers to control the whole society and the UAW can play a crucial role in this fight. May 9, 1978

## FREE VLADIMIR KLEBANOV! FOR INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS IN THE USSR & EASTERN EUROPE

The Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International have begun an international campaign to win the liberation of Vladimir Klebanov, a Soviet coal miner imprisoned in a Stalinist "mental" hospital for his attempts to organize an independent trade union to defend the rights of the working class in the USSR against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Similar developments have also taken place in Poland where workers who are fighting to continue the struggle unleashed in the general strike of June 1976 have also made initial attempts to form their own trade unions, free, and independent from the Stalinist state apparatus. Several clandestine newspapers are being published by these workers in different regions of Poland.

But the fight that is now taking place in the USSR is even more important. The USSR is the center of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The political revolution in the USSR -- the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the restoration of the rule of the working class on the basis of the gains of the October Revolution -- is the key to the growing revolution throughout Eastern Europe.

On January 28, 1978 a group of Soviet workers, representing workers from every major region in the USSR, held a press conference in Moscow to announce their intention to form an independent trade union to defend the rights of the working class in the USSR. In February they launched the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers of the USSR which has 200 public members. Their leader, Vladimir Klebanov, a former coal miner, has spent many years in the shameful "psychiatric" hospitals of the bureaucracy for his defense of the rights of the coal miners.

Since February Klebanov and many of his comrades have been arrested and confined to mental hospitals. In the past his "mental disease" was diagnosed as "having a paranoid development of the personality" with "a mania for struggling for justice."

Klebanov and his comrades must be freed! The persecution

of working class militants who dare stand up for their rights and the rights of their fellow workers must stop! Smash this bureaucracy which calls "a mania for justice" a mental disease!

Nothing is a greater disgrace to the world working class than the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin which jails working class militants in the name of "socialism" and which refuses the working class the right to ANY independent organization, even trade unions.

The "trade unions" in the USSR and Eastern Europe are nothing but weapons of the Stalinist bureaucracy to crush the working class. They are totally integrated into the state apparatus. Every mobilization of the working class in the USSR and Eastern Europe in the last years has confronted these "unions" and has posed their destruction.

Thus, we totally support the fight of Klebanov and his comrades to organize their own trade unions in order to defend the most basic democratic rights of the working class like the RIGHT TO STRIKE, the RIGHT TO ORGANIZE INDEPENDENTLY OF THE STATE. The fight for free and

independent trade unions is totally linked to the fight to prepare the political revolution to restore the power of the working class in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

American workers must also totally reject the slanders of the Stalinists and their allies which try to crush and discredit this working class opposition which is fighting for the true interests of the workers in the USSR.

Particularly venomous are the slanders of the American hacks of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Stalinist American Communist Party. In the April 11th issue of the DAILY WORLD in an article entitled: "Trade Union for 'dissidents' -- what will CIA think of next?" the CP attempts to dismiss the working class opposition in the USSR which is facing severe police repression as simply the work of the CIA!

This is always the Stalinist response to political opposition -- police slander and lies. And they use the typical language of all bureaucrats and cops all over the world. These long-time activists and militants are called "unemployables," "social misfits who can't hold a job in the Soviet Union" and "malcontents," by

the DAILY WORLD. The language of repression.

They fail to explain how over 200 "CIA agents" would willingly put their lives on the line, suffer brutal repression and torture in the Soviet "psychiatric" hospitals. But then again, the American CP has called every revolutionary mobilization of the working class in the USSR and Eastern Europe "the work of the CIA."

But this slander does have a political purpose. Its purpose is to prevent the American working class from joining up with the fight of the Soviet workers and the workers in Eastern Europe. By trying to discredit and slander the working class opposition in these countries they want to prevent the American working class from smashing the policy of PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE between the Kremlin and imperialism, from forging the link between the social and political revolutions.

It was no accident therefore that Ed Sadlowski, the reformist trade union bureaucrat in the USW who was the pride and joy of the Stalinists and centrists, found himself in Prague, Czechoslovakia last month at the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions -- the Stalinist controlled unions that Klebanov and his comrades are fighting to destroy. This is his idea of "union democracy" -- democracy against the working class! The "democracy" of the Democratic Party and the Stalinist prison camps.

From betraying the steelworkers in the US to betraying the workers in the USSR and Eastern Europe. One policy. One betrayal.

The fight to free Klebanov and his comrades and to build independent trade unions in the USSR and Eastern Europe will get no support from the Ed Sadlowskis or any of the lackeys of US imperialism. It is up to the working class and above all its youth around the world to defend Klebanov and to turn the trade unions into weapons of the workers and the oppressed throughout the world.

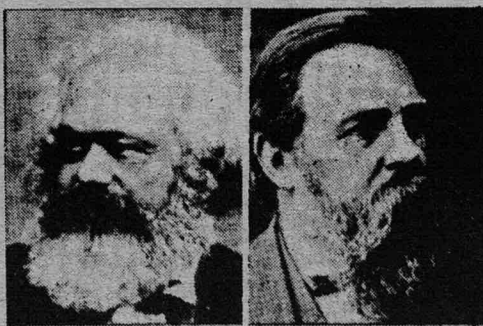
J.C.  
May 10, 1978



WORKERS GATHER IN POLAND



# SPANISH CP DROPS LENINISM



By ANN NELSON

On April 21, 1978, at its Ninth Congress, the Spanish Communist Party (SCP) voted 968 for, 248 against and 40 abstaining, to drop "Leninist" as part of its definition of itself.

This section of Carrillo's (SCP head) "theses" read:

"The Spanish Communist Party defines itself as a Marxist, democratic, and revolutionary party, which incorporates Lenin's contribution, insofar as it is applicable today, as well as that of the other great revolutionists... On this basis, there is no room for any such restrictive conception as that defining Leninism as the Marxism of our day."

The vote of the Congress is supposed to further "prove" the SCP is moving even further down the "Eurocommunist" road toward becoming more "democratic." The theses of the Congress also said: "...we Spanish Communists have overcome Stalinism, and we are regaining the democratic and anti-bureaucratic essence of Marxism."

Why this move? Why now? What does this mean? These are the questions that the Spanish workers and workers internationally are asking.

Most importantly, the Spanish Communist Party stands to lose much of its credibility and membership if it doesn't appear to include the ranks in the decisions. There has been much opposition, particularly from the youth of the CP, and from youth outside of it to change its class-collaborationist policies. The regional organization of the CP in the Asturias and the CP in Catalonia rejected Carrillo's "theses" on "Leninism" vs. "democracy." At a pre-con-

ference in Asturias, more than one-fifth of the delegates walked out, protesting the bureaucratic handling of the conference.

Recently the SCP signed the "Moncloa Pact," an austerity program, with the fascist government of Spain. The "democracy" that the Spanish Communist Party maintains is not democracy within its organization, but the "democracy of the public order," which they openly say they support, that is the "democracy" of the fascist government.

Why does the Communist Party want to bury Lenin now? They are doing it now to add to the confusion which exists in this period among the working class in Spain. The young workers are being attacked as "terrorists" by the bourgeoisie, and by the official leaders of the workers' movement.

So the SCP adds to the confusion by equating Leninism with terrorism and by defending the "democracy" of the bourgeoisie.

## CENTRISTS

Recently in INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS (May 8, 1978) in an article by Gerry Foley, this centrist leader of the Socialist Workers Party complains:

"The furor over dropping the definition of the party as 'Leninist' was apparently useful to the Carrillo leadership in another respect. It drew attention away from the fact that there was no discussion at the Congress of the results of the CP's work in the period since Franco's death or of the keystone of the party's strategy in the recent period, the signing of the austerity pact with the Suarez regime (the Moncloa Pact)."

What the SWP says is that "even though the CP has dropped Leninism, it's still not democratic." This is

the only conclusion that can be drawn when the SWP leaders discuss the dropping of "Leninism" as a diverting tactic as Foley does in the above paragraph. The centrists have continued to applaud the "Eurocommunists" hand-holding with the bourgeoisies of their countries as a step away from Stalinism.

The article in INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS continued to point out how "undemocratic" the Spanish Communist Party is, and push for the SCP to adopt the resolution sent from their French sympathizers to the Congress which calls on the CP to "rehabilitate the leading members of Lenin's Central Committee, including Trotsky."

This is the ultimate confusion which is created by the centrists. Carrillo has already said that he has nothing against Trotsky, which only proves Carrillo will SAY ANYTHING.

But for Carrillo to renounce the Moncloa Pact, or the "democratic road to socialism" would be another story. The centrists can't criticize this because they help reinforce the same false illusion in the "democracy" of the bourgeoisie.

The Spanish Communist Party never was Leninist. So what the SCP vows, in their statements at the Ninth Congress, is not just to bury Lenin, but to attack Leninism. Carrillo, the head of the Spanish CP says "we're not abandoning Lenin."

But in fact, Carrillo has begun to develop a theory to go along with the act, that: "Leninism's not Marxism in this epoch."

Carrillo has echoed the bourgeoisie in its campaign against "terrorism," which is nothing but a cover for an attack on the vanguard of the working class and its youth.

Carrillo said of Aldo Moro, the recently slain head of the Christian Democrats (bourgeois party) of

Italy: "a valiant man who brought the Christian Democrats and the Italian Communist Party together." The Communist Party of Italy has called the Red Brigade common criminals.

At the same time, the centrists like the SWP are busy denying that they have anything to do with terrorism, thus also refusing to defend the youth who are the real targets of this campaign against "criminals."

So with the burial of "Leninism," the Communist Party of Spain plays in supporting the repression of the fascist state. They are trying to pass off this repression as the result of the policy of the "terrorists" and "provocateurs" of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de Espana (PORE, Section of the Fourth International) and the CNT (anarchist, Spain) etc.

The centrists chime in, busily denying that they advocate "terrorism" and saying in the same breath that the imprisonment of our comrade Santiago Alegria, a soldier in Spain for "terrorism" and "illegal association" is not "for a political reason, it's just one of those things."!

The SCP buries "Leninism," and calls for the bourgeois "democratic public order" (against "terrorism") because they know very well that it is only the revolution headed by the Leninist party, that will bring a real change, and bring down the fascist state.

The PORE, is not confused about this attack on "terrorism" and is preparing its Fourth Congress. It will meet under the banner: "With the Fourth International Prepare the Struggle to Take Power." This is the only answer for the youth who are being beaten down within the SCP, who are being thrown out of the unions in Spain, and who are being thrown in prison by the Monarchy.

Forward to building the Fourth International! May 11, 1978

# WORKER

By BARBARA PUTNAM

120,000,000 American saw "Holocaust" on TV in April. "Holocaust", a pseudo-documentary depicting the Nazi takeover of Germany in the 1930's, focused on how they stripped the Jewish masses of all dignity, degrading and murdering them, forcing them in concentration camps, gassing them to death and burning the bodies in giant infernos.

This 9 1/2 hour long movie shown in four parts, plays on the fine sentiments of the American working class, its sympathy and solidarity with the underdog and the hatred they feel for the Nazis and all they stood for. Dangling these horrors in front of the working class is like an obscene, veiled threat; the message is this: Stick with the bourgeoisie and "democracy" -- or FASCISM!

This explains the lurid detail of "Holocaust" -- its horrible "realism". "Holocaust" pretends to educate, but like all bourgeois propaganda, leaves out what is truly educational -- what the working class NEEDS to learn, and replaces it with distortions and lies.

"Holocaust" is designed to frighten the working class by depicting how easy it was for the Nazis to take over in Germany; to make them forget what the conditions really were that made fascism possible and to make them lose confidence in their own ability to finish the class struggle by taking power and forming a Workers Government.

The ruling class, whose leaders sponsor such projects as "Holocaust" are not motivated by the desire to stop the centuries old persecution of Jews. The airing of "Holocaust" is aimed at arousing patriotic sentiments for the "good guy" USA, depicted as the force that saved Europe from fascism. It is primarily to mobilize support for the Begin regime in Israel against the "fascist" Palestinians, as the Carter regime makes preparations for war in the Mideast.

Lets get some of this straight. The Jews that Hitler's armies snuffed out were largely masses of oppressed and working class Jews. The wealthy, many of them Zionists, bartered for their freedom. In many documented instances, the Zionists made deals with Hitler, collaborating with the Nazis in the "holocaust". Some of them like Begin, the current head of Israel, took part in building the Zionist movement, not to liberate the masses of Jews, but to liberate themselves to set up an independent imperialist nation in the Mideast utilizing Hitlerism and the destruction of the Jewish masses as the reason.

Begin, and those like him used methods of terrorism and butchery to come to power in Palestine. "We will be your watchdog in the East," Begin and the Zionists promised the US and its allies, who badly needed to find a bastion of imperialism as a base of operation against the rising tide of working class revolution in Europe and in Eastern Europe.

"Holocaust" did not go into the Nazi-like methods of the Israeli regime, how they starved hun-



# WORKERS REVOLUTION: ANTIDOTE TO FASCISM



YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES -- HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION, 1956

facts, the Stalinist inheritors of the corpse of the 3rd International brag about their great leader Thaelmann, head of the Central Committee in Germany who was murdered by gassing in a concentration camp. In the DAILY WORLD, the newspaper of the American Communist Party, they claim Thaelmann LED the struggle against Hitler's fascism!

Led the struggle against! He and the whole leadership of the Communist Party in Germany INSURED THE DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION through their perfidious policy of revising revolutionary internationalism and replacing it with nationalistic slogans like "socialism in one country" and proposals designed to support the nationalist interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Those who really led the struggle against Hitler and the fascists were the forerunners of the Fourth International today which stands as the only truly revolutionary international of the working class. Trotsky and the Left Opposition laid the basis for the formation of the Fourth International by organizing a faction to defend the theory, policy and organization of working class revolution against nationalist adaptations to the pressures of imperialism which capitulated to class collaboration and reformism, leaving the working class leader less to face the Nazi butchers.

The Left Opposition fought to win the most determined communists back to the road of revolution and did not break with the 3rd International until it was completely clear the Stalinists had renounced the organization of the socialist revolution. This conclusion was drawn after the defeat of the German working class and the failure to extend the workers revolution of Russia throughout Europe.

The Stalinists refused to draw a balance sheet of this defeat and instead began to justify it under the slogan begun by Thaelmann -- "After Hitler US!" They have continued a policy ever since of subordination of the working class to the interests of world imperialism under the rubric of "detente" and "peaceful co-existence" in today's struggle.

As the German CP zig-zagged the workers began to lose their confidence in finding a revolutionary leadership to pave the way to the workers government. Despairing small capitalists, lawyers (like the villain, Mr. Dorf in "Holocaust") teachers, petty clerks and functionaries who could not see any reason to believe that the working class of Germany could achieve what they had in Russia began to turn to the fascists for leadership. They could see no other way out of the inflation, unemployment and poverty -- whole sections of the working class went with them, demoralized by the instability and weakness of the Communists and other leaderships.

In these conditions the Nazis, with razors and clubs and arms,

were able to penetrate the unions, destroy every last vestige of working class organization, including the destruction of the Social Democracy which had hope to wait it out for better times -- including Thaelmann and other leaders of the CP who thought they could get ahead by holding back the workers revolution -- the majority of the CP, the Stalinists fled Germany with passports, but, and Trotsky pointed this out -- the German workers could not get a passport.

"Holocaust" did not show how fascism is capitalism's reserves which is unleashed against the working class when bourgeois democracy can no longer keep the revolution from bursting the political and police fetters of imperialism. How Begin will resort to fascism as fast as any other imperialist who feels the ground slipping out from under their feet.

The Thaelmanns and the Social Democracy played to lose, just as their followers today are playing to lose. In Italy the Stalinists and Christian Democrats take part in a brutal campaign of repression against the youth under the slogan "Drive the terrorists out of the factories!" In Chile, which fell to the fascist coup, the Stalinists played to lose with reformism until it was too late, and the bloodbath against the working class began. In Spain, they support the Francoist Monarchy by lies that it is becoming more "democratic" paving the way for another fascist bloodbath. Throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR they bludgeon the advance of the working class political revolution to make them lose, and to set them up for fascism.

Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, which the Fourth International is based on, that the bourgeoisie uses all sorts of devices to inject poisonous racist hatreds into the working class including anti-semitism to keep it divided internally. Hitler wrote a book for them which they pretend mock horror over, "Mein Kampf". Trotsky wrote the antidote to this book, the Transitional Program which utilizes all the lessons of the long struggle of the working class to free itself from exploitation and oppression. Its purpose is to PREPARE the revolution, to build the winning party.

It was the Fourth International which has long led the struggle against Fascism and does so today. It is the Fourth International that leads the fight on the world-scale to defeat the losers who have allowed fascism to rise again and again -- the Stalinists and centrists, the chief obstacle to the victorious workers revolution. May 11, 1978

hundreds and thousands of Palestinians to death in refugee (concentration) camps, their use of the "cluster bombs" used in Vietnam, and hundreds of other atrocities.

Our sympathy and solidarity with oppressed Jews does not extend to the Butcher, Begin, to all Carter's imperialist allies in the Mideast. They want to turn it into a gigantic concentration camp for Palestinians and working class Jews as well, to forestall the workers taking power.

This single most important event since the workers took power in the USSR in 1917 -- the catastrophic defeat of the German working class that set back and delayed the socialist revolution for decades DOES have an explanation. The bourgeois propagandists behind "Holocaust" want us to believe it was only the work of madmen or the result of something deep within "human nature", or worse, "man's inhumanity to man." But the working class deserves an explanation outside of bourgeois platitudes that shroud the great events in mankind's history in sentimentality and lies. Why Hitler? Why the Nazis? Why does fascism arise and how can we prevent it? This is what the workers want and

need to know.

In 1918-1919 and again in 1933 a direct struggle for power on the part of the German working class was taking place, but by the end of 1932, the fascists took power. How did this happen?

During this period the leaderships inside the workers movement in Germany lied to the workers telling them that revolution wasn't possible and that all they could expect was to pressure the bourgeois government for reforms. The biggest party of the working class, with a following of millions of workers both in and out of the trade unions, the Social Democratic Party, kept organizing the workers for reforms. This stopped the German workers from building up a revolutionary apparatus and paralyzed their revolutionary energies. The Social Democratic leaders assassinated Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German revolution.

The delay in seizing the revolutionary moment and extending the victory of the working class of Russia to Germany and across Europe, drawing the world proletariat into the vortex of revolu-

tion is directly related to the crisis of the Third International and its adaptation to the pressures of imperialism in its death agony. It was the vacillating and cowardly policy of Stalin and his followers, usurpers of Lenin's party, that led to the defeat of the German working class and thus forestalled the revolution, strengthened the Nazis and allowed their victory.

This is what really happened: At one point the German CP took over 6,000,000 votes. This more revealed the depth of agitation in the working class for a change in the regime than actual influence of the CP. Their adventurism and sectarianism thoroughly isolated them from the heart of the struggle in the unions -- separated them from the advanced and Social Democratic workers. Instead of trying to unite all the working class parties and organizations, no matter how conservative against the fascists -- as Lenin and the Bolsheviks would have done, they accused the Social Democracy of being "social fascists" driving away the Social Democratic workers who were the majority in the trade unions. In certain instances they even voted for the fascists against them.

Today, trying to cover up these



# WHITE PAPER

## WHY THE SLANDERS? AGAINST WHO?

### Document 4.1

#### First Conclusions

The history of the affair and the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the slanders that were presented in the preceding Third Part permit us to draw the first conclusions in the inquiry.

a) the slanders appeared at a precise moment, when there was formed on an international level an opposition to the change of policy proposed and realized by the leaders of the OCI during the international Pre-Conference of July 1972. Constituted by six Trotskyist organizations, this opposition defended a precise political line, affirmed and developed many times. It was against the dissolution of the International Committee, for the maintenance and development of the 4th International as international center, it did not consider the Organizing Committee created at the initiative of the OCI to be such a center; it was against mixing the Program of the 4th International to the policy of Popular Fronts as certain organizations were developing and which the leadership of the OCI seemed more and more ready to accept; it was against the turn that the leadership of the OCI was taking in France towards this same policy by abandoning the slogan of the Fourth International and the International Committee of "workers-peasants government" in favor of the slogan of "CP-SP government."

All of the documents submitted to the Commission on the subject of the precise circumstances in which the slanders were launched showed that in place of fighting this opposition through the means of a political struggle, the leaders of the OCI made use of police slanders.

b) the person of Michel Varga, on which all the slanderous attacks of the leaders of the OCI were launched, was only a pretext in reality, a smokescreen to:

-- turn the attention of militants of the OCI and other organizations from the political problems at stake and to prevent the free confrontation of positions through

police slander, which would serve to "explain" everything,

-- to hide from its militants the existence of an international faction and its policy

c) thus, the police slanders became the central weapon in defending the new orientation of the leaders of the OCI and to fight the orientation of the Faction for the Maintenance and Development of the International Committee and the International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International.

Other facts reinforce these conclusions. At the same time they guided the inquiry towards the questions which the Commission had to respond to.

1. The absence of course of any proof to the slanderous accusations against Michel Varga.
2. The many aggressions against militants of the International League and the rebuilt Fourth International.
3. The invariable extension of the slanders to all militants of this organization, as well as to all those, notably in the OCI, who solidarized themselves with the Fourth International.
4. the fact that the leaders of the OCI knew perfectly well of the activities and political positions of Michel Varga in the years 1958-1962, activities and positions on which all their slanderous accusations are based.
5. the fact that the leaders of the OCI took up the Stalinist slanders against the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and against the militants in emigration who wished to continue it.
6. the attempt to physically destroy the Trotskyist organizations in Eastern Europe for the first time since Stalin and the Stalinists succeeded in doing it in the 40's and 50's.
7. the Stalinist nature of the methods used to discredit Michel Varga and the 4th International.

The present Fourth Part will, consequently, give the reader the main elements of these facts, which the Commission studied,

### Document 4.3

#### Did the leadership of the OCI know the activities of Michel Varga between 1956 & 1962?

The entire campaign of slanders led by the leaders of the OCI since June 1973 and the entirety of publications, articles, brochures, leaflets, etc. are founded only on a part of the archives stolen from Michel Varga. It concerns the part which covers the activities of Michel Varga between 1957 and 1962, the year of his adhesion to the International Committee of the Fourth International. The only material elements presented by the leadership of the OCI are these extracts of the correspondence of Michel Varga with numerous personalities in the Hungarian emigration during these first years after the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

It is this activity of Michel Varga and his opinions then that the leaders of the OCI affirm to have only discovered in 1973 when they came into possession of the archives of the latter.

The Commission of Inquiry stated that:

1. even admitting that the content of the letters of Michel Varga dating from this period were a "revelation" for the leaders of the OCI, one can not find in these documents published by the OCI any kind of proof of an agent whether of the CIA or KGB or of any kind of political police in the world, which would be the "provocateur in the Fourth International" sought by the leaders of the OCI. These letters and documents do not constitute a proof of the affirmations of the latter.
2. The testimony received by the Commission prove, on the contrary, that the leaders of the OCI are lying as to their "surprise" and "indignation" to have just seen the

activities and opinions of Michel Varga during the period under discussion. This testimony demonstrates that not only were they informed, but even more, that they were not the only ones among the militants of the International Committee to know these facts.

And, outside of the direct proof of this testimony, there exists another proof of the fact that the leaders of the OCI are acting with full knowledge of the facts while simulating a "discovery": the slanders are being very careful not to publish the correspondence

that Michel Varga had undertaken, at the same time, with the leaders of the OCI, notably with Pierre Broue, the summaries of the discussions that they had with Michel Varga, the articles published in different magazines, notably in the magazine "Studies" of the Imre Nagy Institute. By hiding this part of the archives of Michel Varga and including public documents, the leadership of the OCI wishes to hide the fact that Michel Varga was convinced and won to the Fourth International in the course of a political struggle over several years during which a clarification of his real itinerary was made, as a militant and a leader of the Hungarian revolution who was trying to continue it.

3. The re-establishment of the truth on this precise point was judged to be important for three reasons:

- a) the lie about the so-called "revelations" makes clearer the slanderous character of the campaign of accusations against Michel Varga. It is a supplementary proof. And not just any old proof, given that the entirety of the campaign of slanders is

based on these so-called "revelations."

b) this lie also clears up the fact that in order to try to throw discredit on Michel Varga and the Fourth International, and lacking any kind of proof, the leaders of the OCI tried to make use of a chapter in the life of Michel Varga where he had political positions which were later publicly repudiated when he joined the Fourth International.

c) the amalgam made between the errors and political positions repudiated by Michel Varga himself and the slander of a so-called "double agent of the KGB and CIA" constitutes, for the Commission, still another proof of the goal sought by the leaders of the OCI: to hide, with the aid of these so-called "revelations," and by using former weaknesses (imaginary or real) of a revolutionary militant, the profound political and strategic differences which oppose the OCI to the International League and still later to the rebuilt Fourth International.

The Commission heard three testimonies, other than that of Michel Varga, on the precise fact of the "revelations":

-- the testimony of a Hungarian militant, O. Cs. former founding member of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary, presently a militant of the French LCR.

-- testimony of a Hungarian militant, Ladanyi Janos, former founding member of the Hungarian Revolutionary Socialist League, today not a member of any organization.

-- testimony of a Polish militant, Marek Kantor, militant of the Fourth International and its Polish section, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland.



# AND IN WHOSE SERVICE?

## Document 4.3.1.

### Testimony of O. Cs.

(. . .) And consequently, I do not think that you can constitute a viable, credible Commission of Inquiry.

Secondly, I wish to make precise several points which were said in the introduction concerning the LCR. We have never refused to take part in a commission, we have refused any conditions which would have demanded a condemnation of the OCI before the inquiry.

The third thing that I wish to make even more precise is that in a commission in which there are organizations representing certain movements but which have a disfavorable position towards your movement, does not constitute a worthy obstacle to refuse this movement.

But it is of course understood that the Ligue will never sign a conclusion if it does not have all the proofs at hand, even with those who are in this commission and who are unfavorable towards your organization.

Following, there are some imprecisions in your introduction. It is said that we said that we would never use the free tribune of their journal (referring to journal of the OCI -- trans.) until they denounce the violence. No, this is not exact. We said that we will not open the free columns in OUR journal until they denounce the violence. And in relation to this, I wish to say that the violence of the OCI was exercised at the time when Varga was still in the OCI and where the OCI committed violence against revolutionary militants and among others, against militants of the LCR. At that time, this is to say that the change of the OCI did not occur at the moment of the expulsion of Varga, it was already a practice which we fought. Happily we are numerous enough to defend you against this violence. We have other methods also to stop it. But this is another question. These are the introductory things that I wish to say.

This said, despite the fact that we reject your Commission of Inquiry, I am going to speak in my own personal name, having known Balazs very well, even from a distance, and having been a founding member of the organization. The objectivity or relative objectivity of my testimony is based on the fact that first of all -- on theoretical, ideological questions -- we are in opposition, more exactly, we have differences, secondly, that a break came about over questions of methods, methods used for the creation of an organization, but I believe that this is not under discussion here. Having said this, I can show no partiality on this plane towards Varga.

Therefore, I can affirm that the accusations, the reality of the facts which Varga is accused of -- at least what I know of his correspondence (I do not know the translation into French nor the publication of this translation, I only know the documents in Hungarian)

--these documents by themselves, at least the parts which could be incriminating, by which one is trying to accuse Varga, are authentic documents. This is a point that it is necessary to make precise.

The second fact that it is necessary to make precise about these documents, through which he could be incriminated, is that these documents were neither kept unknown or hidden by Varga. During our meeting together in 1962 Varga very clearly explained his itinerary to me himself. Let it be said that I did not have any personal contact with Varga after 1956 because I disapproved of the general orientation of his movement, the fact that he tried to create a Imre Nagy center in Brussels. And in fact, it was he who explained very clearly to me; with this goal -- but clearly defined, this goal -- of continuing the action begun in Hungary, he tried to obtain means, and effectively, financial means, to set up this organization; and, as he said, he hardly regarded the people who were ready to aid them. BUT IN ANY CASE, as this is a fact that, outside of Varga, we have been able to verify, in any case those who financed them never posed any political conditions for this financing -- and above all Varga, of that which I know of him, would have never accepted a hostile political position in order to lead an action.

While this group edited a review which called itself "Pluralist Socialism," I believe, if my memory is exact, and it is true -- and I don't think that anyone would deny it -- that behind it was the hand of the CIA, etc. -- that was evident, evident that the funds of these supposedly innocent associations were financed with a calculation of the CIA -- this was known -- this proves nothing. Above all that the action and the profit of the CIA was the fact that under this rubric, "Pluralist Socialism" they gathered together a certain number of people of different types, who in the name of democracy and socialism led a certain ideological activity -- not espionage, ideological -- which was against socialism, against the essence of the revolution of 1956. Therefore Varga himself very quickly saw this and broke with this organization, this committee and in fact he took the library and the archives of this organization. He took them with the goal of continuing the combat on another basis, authentically proletarian, revolutionary, etc. the principles which we had discussed.

For all of these facts, that I have just given, were not hidden from us by Varga, but at the very beginning he explained this to the founding members and we were agreed to create an organization. But our condition was: that this organization not be something vast, without foundation, but something very determined, with a social basis, that is, pro-

letarian, the second condition was that it be on an international basis and therefore must adhere to the existing proletarian movement where we were, in France. And Varga proposed to us at the time that he accepted this basis, but at the same time he proposed to join up with the Lambertists. And practically speaking, this is how these two points came together and how Varga led us to the OCI.

During our meeting, adhesion to the OCI, we found ourselves -- I do not recall at whose house -- but in any case, Lambert and the leadership of the OCI were present. The OCI explained its past, its history, over which we made a certain number of criticisms, they also made some self-criticisms, notably over the position which they took during the Algerian War; and secondly, Varga, at this meeting, explained his own movement, among other things, his past, and parallel to Lambert, he made a self-criticism. He explained how this library had been stolen and with what goal, etc. for these things were essentially known to everyone. He spoke of this activity -- I had seen some letters on his part -- but he repudiated them completely. And I must explain more, to understand things, that for us, given the context in which all this took place, it was perfectly understandable since we left our country in a certain situation and found ourselves in a totally foreign situation. For a great many comrades in their adaptation and lack of knowledge of things committed a certain number of stupidities and errors. As much as Varga himself we considered these things as a stupidity, even more positively since he had completely and cruelly drawn all the conclusions and repudiated this past.

Therefore to sum up this chapter, for us it was evident that these letters, these accusations in itself constituted no proof that he was an agent of the CIA, that is, that he represented a foreign interest, hostile and antagonistic towards the movement that he in reality represented, first of all.

Secondly, and by knowing Varga well enough, I think, without having any proof, without being able to give proof, that it is practically excluded that Varga could be an agent of the KGB. I personally think that for us it is even ridiculous, given his past, his activity, with all the differences which we can have, he has led from a certain moment a consequent struggle against the bureaucratic deformation of the regime and for me it would be a gross surprise to learn that Varga could have changed sides.

The practice of our common activity and even separated activity is an activity that is at least, if it can be said this way, contrary to the interests of the KGB. We directed ourselves towards Eastern Europe and we did not distribute toys, even if at the time we could not go very far, but we went as far as we were able to.

I believe that this is the essential things that I have to say.

## Revolutionary Youth International Manifesto.

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## A Review of F.I.S.T.



By ANN NELSON

"It shows how power corrupts..." is what Sylvester Stallone said about F.I.S.T. the movie directed and produced by Norman Jewison in which Stallone stars as Johnny Kovak, a union leader who rises to power in a story with obvious parallels to the life of Jimmy Hoffa, murdered leader of the Teamsters Union.

The movie does show how power corrupted the trade union bureaucracy who today sit on the gains the workers won in the 1930's through their strikes, protests and independent action. F.I.S.T. shows some of the struggle of the truck drivers in the 1930's when they were trying to build their union. It shows the lives of the workers, their daily exploitation and oppression. It shows the power of trade unionism in this country.

These things, along with Stallone's performance, make the film worth seeing.

Johnny Kovak, like Hoffa, starts out the movie as a produce loader in a non-unionized warehouse. He leads a wildcat strike that is betrayed by the phoney promises of the bosses and becomes an organizer for the then-small and powerless truckdrivers union - F.I.S.T.

At a decisive moment in his fight to organize the union, Kovak is forced to accept the support of organized crime in order to win a bitter strike. The movie presents this as inevitable, as if Kovak and the union had no other choice, no other way to win than through organized crime. The movie thus links the victory of organized unions in this country on a mass scale with the present-day corruption of its leadership. The authors seem to be saying that the two go together hand in hand.

But this is not true. It was not true for the labor movement as a whole and is especially not true with the Teamsters. The great labor battles in the 30's and 40's that built industrial unionism in this country -- that founded the UAW, USW, that built the IBT and UMW were won by the independent power and strength of the working class -- they need no help from the Mafia.

Industrial unionism, that is, the mass organization of truck

drivers, dockworkers and warehousemen into one, central powerful Teamsters union came about in the 1930's and 40's through a revolutionary struggle of the Teamsters, led by the American Trotskyists.

The American Trotskyists, led by Farrell Dobbs, won union recognition for the Teamsters in Minneapolis through a general strike that not only built the IBT in Minneapolis, but insured its success throughout the Midwest. Farrell Dobbs, as the first Secretary of the Central States Conference of Teamsters was responsible for organizing the first area-wide over-the-road drivers contract in the union's history. Even Jimmy Hoffa later said of Dobbs: "He was the master architect of the Teamster's over-the-road operations and was a brilliant strategist. He taught me everything that I know today."

And none of this was accomplished with the aid of the Mafia or any other elements of organized crime.

The movie presents Kovak's decision as if he had no choice. But in fact he did, just like Jimmy Hoffa had a choice -- there was nothing inevitable about the corruption of the IBT or any other union. It came about through a political decision -- to accept the framework of capitalism and to play by the rules the bosses play by -- corruption.

The movie also only hints at what the real purpose of the government's investigation of the IBT and Hoffa in the 50's was. The movie hints at it by portraying the investigating Senator (played by Rod Steiger) as a slick opportunist with his own political career at stake. And in fact some of this is historically true -- John F. Kennedy had his rise to power and fame through his role and that of his brother (who was chief attorney) in investigating Hoffa and the IBT.

But the real purpose of this "investigation" is not to attack corruption in the unions. Instead it was part of a full-scale attempt of the ruling class in the 50's to tie the trade unions to the state, to take away the basic rights of the working class. Thus, the investigations that are shown in the movie

paved the way for the anti-labor and reactionary Landrum-Griffin Act.

And just like the movie which shows crowds of workers outside of the Capitol building cheering Kovak when he walks out of the Senate hearings, the

working class, and above all the workers in the IBT instinctively defended Hoffa against the attacks of the US government. They defended him until his murder (clearly at the hands of the Mafia and enemies in the IBT) because despite his be-

trayals and corruption, they saw in Jimmy Hoffa a defense against the capitalist state.

Without giving away the plot of the movie -- it has an unhappy ending. In the newspapers they say that Stallone argued against this and wanted a happy ending. But the end to Kovak, like the end to Jimmy Hoffa, could not be happy.

Kovak, like Hoffa rises to power on the basis of the betrayals of the real interests of the working class. Like all bureaucrats, like all those who in the end accept capitalism, they do not believe in the power of the working class. They have no confidence in the ability of the workers themselves to win and defend their rights.

Thus, they turn to other allies -- the Mafia, the bosses, the government, the Democratic Party or even to traitors like the Stalinists -- because they have no confidence in the workers themselves. And unfortunately, there can be no happy endings for the Kovaks or Hoffas. They dig their own graves, are caught in their own betrayals. And once you betray the working class there is no turning back.

What makes F.I.S.T. a movie that is worth seeing is that it tells some of the truth about how workers lived and fought. It would have been even better if it told all of the truth.

In the face of the new upsurge of the American working class, Hollywood seems to be responding (as with BLUE COLLAR) with the message that unions are just like any other big business or syndicate. But this is only a dream of the petty bourgeoisie.

The workers who fought the battles in the 30's and who are fighting the battles in the factories and unions today know something different. They know what a revolutionary struggle by the working class can mean and know what kind of real, inspiring battles are yet to come.

F.I.S.T. shows some of these fights in an entertaining way. It also might interest young workers who would want to find out what the real history of the Teamsters is in the US, which is part of the real history of our party, the Fourth International. May 10, 1978

## TRUTH IS OUR WEAPON

With this issue we are launching a campaign of distribution and subscriptions to TRUTH from now until the Congress rebuilding the US Section of the Fourth International in September. 100 TRUTHS per issue! 100 TRUTHS in the hands of workers and proletarian militants! Every two weeks, 100 papers sold at:

- Ford River Rouge - Detroit
- GM, Fleetwood - Detroit
- Dodge Main - Detroit
- Ford Torrence - Chicago.

Our first priority is to sell TRUTH to young factory workers in the heartland of industry.

Teams of TRUTH distributors will intervene at these factories twice per week in Detroit and once a month in Chicago with the objective of organizing regular distributors INSIDE the factories, to begin a network of distributors.

We propose the Revolutionary Young Workers join this fight by setting their own plans and goals. We propose selling TRUTH not only in factories already mentioned, but also in working class neighborhoods on the week-end, finding out when there are union meetings in Steel, other auto locals,

Teamsters, Rubber workers, etc.

Copy sales have begun to increase with the warmer weather but sales are still low. We decided to launch this campaign to change that situation by keeping careful control of all sales and steadily increasing them. In two months we will evaluate the progress in TRUTH and decide whether to reset the goal and whether it will be appropriate then to begin a subscription drive with sub blanks to all militants and supporters of the TO and goals for subs. Each subscription is the true gauge of the deepening influence of the FI in the factories, schools and neighborhoods.

Related to this campaign of copy sales, 100 per issue, is a fight to organize discussion of TRUTH among the workers and youth who buy it. Watch these pages for meeting dates and places. There will be a record of sales each issue in this column showing how close we come to the goal of 100 per issue. READ! DISTRIBUTE TRUTH! FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE TO!

May 11, 1978