



Trotskyist Candidate for Detroit Mayor says

YOUNG WORKERS OF THE FORD RIVER ROUGE STAMPING, ALL READERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF TRUTH AND "RYW" --

NOW'S THE TIME!

Join the US Section of the Revolutionary Youth International and build the Leninist party!

By JON COHEN

Some important lessons were learned in the last two weeks in our fight for Mayor and City Council of Detroit, which we have said begins with our fight to organize the strike movement at Ford River Rouge.

We have won significant support at the Rouge for our fight to elect a strike committee in Stamping to lead a sit-down at the Rouge. The Revolutionary Workers Faction of the Trotskyist Organization and Revolutionary Worker Youth has won the support of over 50 workers for its Resolution for the UAW Convention. Over 100 copies of TRUTH were sold at the Rouge in the last two weeks. The Revolutionary Workers Faction is now a real fighting force inside the Rouge.

The young Stamping workers I spoke to at Rouge last week were prepared to go ahead with their union meeting, despite the fact that all the bureaucrats were off in Los Angeles. This is testimony enough against all those who say that the young workers still have illusions in these bureaucrats at Local #600 or that they still have to "pressure" the bureaucrats into taking up the fight that can only belong to the young workers.

It was not just a question of holding the union meeting as a symbolic act. The young workers are not interested in symbolic protest. But the fight to hold the union meeting anyway was a political fight. The only way to fight for the demands of the Stamping and Rouge workers -- against the work loads and overtime, against the layoffs and repression is to go all the way with our fight and not wait for the bureaucrats or anyone else to take it up. In short, it was a fight for the class independence of the workers.

But still, our forces weren't organized to hold the union meeting anyway on May 15th. Organization... This is the question which I spoke about in the last issue and it remains the key. Despite hundreds of workers who support us, if they aren't organized we can't go further.

And organization can mean nothing else than the fight to construct our party, a Leninist party, the leading party of the working class. A Leninist party is what we need to fight against the belief that the workers can solve their problems without a party, spontaneously. A Leninist party to fight all other parties, the Democratic Party and the party of Stalin.

A Leninist party begins with leaders, and especially those young workers who are leading the fight to organize the workers today. Our party, our movement needs leaders, which can only be those young workers who are in the forefront of the class struggle.

I propose this to all the young workers who have bought our press and support our proposals -- become a leader of the Revolutionary Youth International in order to build the Fourth International, in order to RETURN TO LENIN means to return the workers movement to the young workers and only you can build Lenin's party.

We are growing, but not fast enough. I think that you will see that we can grow a hundred times faster and become a hundred times more powerful if you actively fight to become a leader of the RWY and build it circles yourself.

Time is of the essence. We have to continue and expand the offensive of the autoworkers. The next meeting of the National Committee of the RWY will be on Sunday, May 29th. It will discuss a PLAN OF ACTION to continue the fight at the Rouge and to build a mobilization for the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International in Barcelona on July 9-10 and the Conference of the Youth of the Two Americas in the US on July 4th.

This May marks the 40th anniversary of the final revolutionary offensive of the Spanish working class in the Civil War, an offensive that was crushed by the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie. The Second Congress of the RYI will be celebrated by organizing a march of young workers from all over the world to the Telephone Exchange in Barcelona, the site of the last resistance of the Spanish working class.

What the Spanish working class lacked in 1937 in order to fight the fascists and the Stalinists was its party. The only thing which can insure the victory of the Spanish and American revolution today is this party, the Fourth International. It is up to young American workers as well to continue the heroic struggle of the Spanish working class of 1937 by building the party of Lenin today. The stake of our fight at Rouge and in Barcelona is the same.

The Plan of Action to organize for the Second Congress of the RYI will begin with a rally of Rouge workers at the Local #600 at the Rouge. We will be organizing the fight in steel by fighting for a National Assembly of the USW to throw out the contract and lead a national strike. On the week of June 26-July 4th the RWY will organize a Week of Action for the United Socialist Republic of the Two Americas, rallies and demonstrations to stop US support to the dictatorships in Latin America, to support the struggle of the Argentinian workers. On July 4th the RWY will hold its Conference of Two Americas and elect its delegation to Barcelona and we will celebrate the Second Congress of the RYI in the US on July 9th with a meeting in Detroit in defense of the Spanish Revolution. The RWY is also planning a series of educational classes to arm the young workers in this fight.

Throughout these actions, I will be fighting for Mayor of Detroit. The best way to bring down Coleman Young and capitalism in Detroit is to join with the fighting youth who are preparing the American revolution with our party.

Beat the heat this summer by making it even hotter for Coleman Young, the auto bosses, the bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Come to the next NC meeting to become a leader of this fight and to be with our comrades in Spain this summer. May 22, 1977

Revolutionary Workers Faction of UAW maps out campaign to take over Locals!

DRIVE THE BUREAUCRAT "OFFICIALS" OUT!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL
Detroit - May 22 - On Sunday, May 22nd, young workers from the Stamping and Specialty Foundry Plants at Ford River Rouge and a Chrysler Plant met to draw the lessons of the struggle of the Revolutionary Workers Faction (RWF) to win the leadership of the UAW and mobilize the masses of workers against Carter's attack.

They drew the conclusion that while the Revolutionary Workers Faction had won tremendous support for its struggle since its conference in March, above all in the Stamping Plant at Ford River Rouge, that what was necessary was to actually organize these workers in the Revolutionary Workers Faction to carry out its tasks.

The RWF decided to take up a fight to rally Rouge workers at UAW Local #600 under the banner TAKE OVER THE STAMPING UNIT OF THE UAW! THROW OUT WASHINGTON! ELECT A STRIKE COMMITTEE! REDUCTION OF WORKLOADS NOW! to associate all the workers engaged in this mobil-

ization to the executive committee of the RWF which will meet after the rally to plan the mobilization of the faction for the UAW local meetings normally held the third Sunday of the month. On this basis the faction will deepen its fight to take over the whole UAW, to transform the special convention planned this fall into a general assembly of auto workers to organize the fight to REJECT THE DECISIONS OF THE CARTER/FRASER UAW CONVENTION AND THROW HIM OUT!

The Chairman of the meeting - Jon Cohen, National Secretary of the TO and candidate for Detroit Mayor - emphasized that the fight to realize this plan was the only way to defeat the opportunists, in particular those of the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party, organizers of TIME-TO-UNITE who are constantly trying to diminish the confidence of the young workers in their own capabilities, trying to turn them toward pressuring the treacherous bureaucrats of the UAW, the lackeys of the capitalists so-called Democratic Party, into



RWF AT CANCELLED STAMPING MEETING

leading their struggles.

WHAT'S DECISIVE

One young worker brought up the fact that 200 workers had been at the Stamping unit meeting that had voted to strike, that there were 3,000 in the Stamping Plant, that this thus was not a majority. The militants of the Trotskyist Organization argued that in any event it was clear that the majority of the Stamping workers wanted an end "to the total situation," as one worker put it, that what was decisive was the determined political action and organization of the revolutionary leadership, through this it is possible to win the majority and develop their confidence in the capacity to indeed put an end to the total situation.

UNITY?

A number of workers expressed the desire to work with TIME-TO-UNITE in this effort, in particular a young Palestinian worker, a leader of the Palestinian workers at the Rouge.

The militants of the Trotskyist Organization argued that it was necessary to work with everyone who wants to fight to take over the Stamping unit, elect a strike committee and lead a sitdown for an end to the speed up, forced overtime and layoffs. They said they were willing to continue to fight to win TIME-TO-UNITE to this fight but that it would be false to abandon the struggle to take over the Stamping Unit and elect a strike committee and revert to their policy of petitioning the strikebreaking bureaucrats in the interests of "unity," a false unity that would lead to defeat.

James Williams, a member of the Executive Committee of the RWF and a Stamping worker, explained that he had tried a number of times to win their agreement in this, even to get them to participate in a debate on the way forward for auto workers, if they disagreed, but they refused. Instead, they threatened to beat him up if he continued to distribute TRUTH, REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER, or the RWF bulletin, as well as all the other supporters of the RWF.

David Heffelfinger, National Secretary of the RWY made an amendment to the resolution, proposing an immediate campaign against the slanders and threats of TIME-TO-UNITE. With out an end to the slanders and threats, there can be no unity. He said he felt that in the course of this the best militants of TIME-TO-UNITE could be won and that the false nature of the leadership would become clear to everyone.

Representatives and supporters of the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party who were present sent said they would consider joining in the preparation of the rally and publishing a statement in their press against the attacks of TIME-TO-UNITE.

The resolution as amended was voted unanimously. The faction voted to place another young worker from the Stamping Plant and one from Specialty Foundry on the Executive Committee of the faction. The EC met following the meeting to prepare the publication of its bulletin with the resolution. Each member decided to take responsibility for the distribution and organization of the workers in his section. Stamping workers emphasized the importance of the regular publication of this bulletin taking up all the problems in the plant.

This meeting was proof of the will of the young auto workers to take their fate into their own hands. All that is necessary is to organize. JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS FACTION! RALLY, JUNE 12th at LOCAL # 600.

BANISH "TIME-TO-UNITE" MEMBERS WHO CONTINUE THREATS

DEFEND JAMES WILLIAMS!

JOIN THE WORKERS DEFENSE GUARD

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA.

On Friday, May 20th, James Williams, a member of the US Section of the Revolutionary Youth International and the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW, was threatened by Claude Williams, a supporter of the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party and a leader of "Time to Unite." Claude Williams said if James continued to distribute REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER and TRUTH that "Time to Unite" would "take action," that is beat him up.

The Stalinist leadership of the RCP and "Time to Unite" is panicked by the increasing determination of the masses of autoworkers to take over their union, throw the bureaucrats out and organize a strike themselves to win their demands. They hate TRUTH and REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER, the organs of the party and the youth leading this struggle. They see no way to block this struggle and maintain the power of the cowardly bureaucrats they refer to as "brothers," but to threaten physical violence against its leaders. Past experience has proven that they will carry these out if they are permitted to.

This is the method the Stalinists have used all over the world to maintain imperialism. For this they have earned the hatred of the advanced workers and youth from Chile to the Soviet Union.

The Secretariat of the Trotskyist Organization condemns the perpetrations of these threats, types which Trotsky himself once described as the syphills of the workers movement. We call on every



JAMES WILLIAMS (RIGHT) AT RWF CONFERENCE

honest militant of "Time to Unite" who truly wants unity to take up a fight within his organization to stop this campaign. Without this there can be no unity.

We call on every youth, worker and proletarian militant, especially those of the SWP and the other organizations which claim to be Trotskyist to join our defense guard, to support our struggle to drive these gangsters and their brother union bureaucrats out of the workers movement with letters to union newspapers, statements in their own press, and letters to TRUTH.

DEFEND JAMES WILLIAMS!
Finish With Stalinist Methods in the Workers Movement!
LIVE THE PARTY OF LENIN AND TROTSKY!
May 23, 1977

Indianapolis striker supports

Vitale against Fraser

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

Los Angeles, May 17-- The Revolutionary Workers Faction candidate for UAW President, Fred Vitale, received the support of four delegates at the UAW Convention. Among them was a delegate from the Indianapolis local which recently engaged in a militant strike which was finally broken by Fraser.

The bourgeois and union press all said that the UAW Convention and Fraser's election was completely sown up. They lie. Even pushing up the date of the delegate elections, keeping revolutionary workers off the ballot, and bringing in the retiree vote could not keep all militant opposition out of the Convention.

The Trotskyist Organization of the US was the only party which waged any fight against Fraser

and the only party which gave any representation to the thousands of fighting auto workers. All the others abstained.

The union bureaucrats succeeded in keeping our candidate off the Convention floor. The delegates which supported us were still not prepared to wage the necessary fight.

But on the basis of the support that we alone received in this fight and the experience that we gained, we alone are becoming increasingly capable of leading this fight.

After the next UAW Convention the bourgeois press won't be talking about how it was all sown up-- they'll be whining about the "communist youth conspiracy."

TROTSKYIST CANDIDATE FIGHTS TO ORGANIZE PALESTINIANS FOR WORKERS GOVERNMENT

By ANN NELSON

Dearborn, Michigan, May 15-- This Sunday, over 500 Palestinian workers marched through downtown Dearborn on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of the Zionist Israeli state, when the mass of Palestinians were driven from their homeland. The central slogan of the march was for self-determination for the Palestinians, their right to their homeland against Zionism, US imperialism and the collaboration of the Arab bourgeois regimes.

The Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth of the US support this struggle for self-determination and came to the march to win the Palestinian workers to the fight of the Fourth International for the United Socialist Federation of the Middle East, and more concretely, to win the Palestinian workers to support the fight of the workers at Rouge to organize a

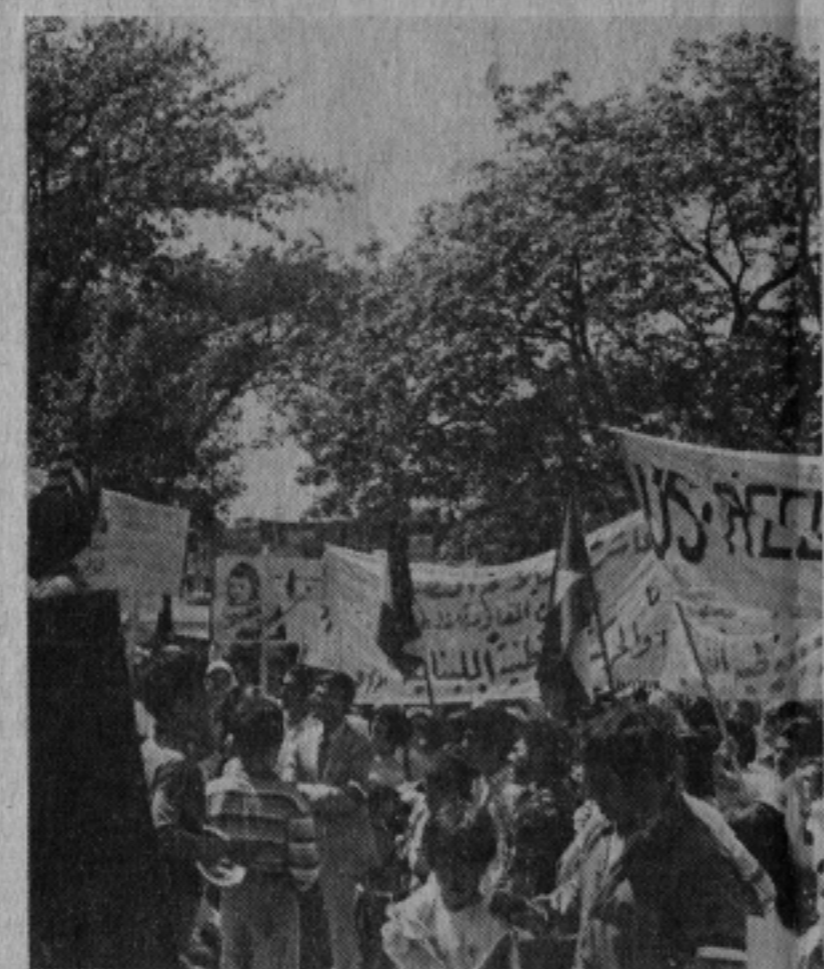
strike.

Palestinian workers in Detroit have an important role in the class struggle in Detroit, and above all in auto. Detroit has the largest concentration of Arab workers in the US. Over 5,000 Arab workers work in the auto plants and at the Rouge they have led a militant struggle for their rights.

This has meant a fight against the UAW bureaucracy. In 1973 thousands of Palestinian and other autoworkers held a demonstration against an Israeli Bonds dinner at which Woodcock was a recipient of an award for the money the UAW has given to Israel. This militant struggle has resulted in some victories.

Local #600 (Rouge) was forced to sell over \$63,000 of its Israeli Bonds. And when the Executive Board

(CONTINUED TO BACK PAGE, COLUMN 3)



TRUTH

Organ of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION OF THE USA,
Section (Sympathizing) of the
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL,
WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Published bi-weekly in Detroit
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From our editorial board

An open letter to the workingclass supporters of Trudy Hawkins

SWP candidate for Detroit Mayor

As you know, the Trotskyist Organization of the USA is running our National Secretary, Jon Cohen, for Detroit Mayor. This weekend, the National Committee of the US Section (Sympathizing) of the Revolutionary Youth International will be selecting candidates to run for City Council.

In this issue of TRUTH we're publishing our Platform of Combat to build a party to lead the working class to power. In the next days the militants of the TO and RYW will be organizing discussions of this Platform among the young workers in Detroit, fighting to mobilize and organize them to realize it and put our candidate on the August ballot.

We assume your candidate will be running on the basis of your "Bill of Rights for Working People" as did your candidates last fall. And we assume you support this because you think that this is the way you can best unite the workers and oppressed masses of Detroit against the Democratic and Republican parties of the auto barons. You think in this way you can best advance the cause of socialism and build its party.

It's impossible to under-emphasize the importance of uniting the working class and its organizations in this election. The whole primary system established by the bourgeoisie is designed to keep everyone off the ballot but the top-running Democratic Party candidates.

This is why we ask you to seriously consider joining our fight for the candidate of the working class on the basis of our Platform, to organize united Workers Action Committees to carry out this fight.

To unite the working class it is necessary to base yourself on the acquisitions of the most combative sectors of the working class, organize them, lead them in the fight to win the masses of workers. This is the only way the workers party will be built in the US and it will be built in leaps and bounds. This is our objective in our campaign. This is what we had in mind as we drew up our Platform.

But with your Platform-- "the Bill of Rights for Working People"-- you never will be able to appeal to these young leaders, organize them, transform them into builders of a combat party. This whole idea of a "Bill of Rights for Working People" flies in the face of all their experiences, especially those of the young black workers.

They already fought for a Bill of Rights. More and more they draw the conclusion that these rights can be assured only through their independent organization in a fight for power. More and more they seek a party ready and willing to lead that fight.

The proof of this is in the results of your last election campaign. They were lowest in the working class cities, highest in the university towns. Our candidates, despite our small size and despite the short amount of time we've been here, were better known at the Rouge than yours. A young worker who has recently joined the RYI, has known and worked with one of your candidates for sometime, and didn't even know he was a revolutionary.

This best you could do with this platform, comrades, is attract a few young workers for a short time. They hate all the opportunists, NAACP, Raza Unida, NOW types in and around the SWP. They will never feel comfortable there and they'll never stay.

And these young workers, comrades, are the key to the unification of the working class, the construction of its party and the victory of socialism. The question of the program is decisive. This is as nothing to do with the petty bourgeois abstractions of the Spartacist League. It concerns the very practical task of the construction of a revolutionary combat party.

Thus we say to you: take up a fight in your organization for one candidate of the working class on the basis of this Platform, for the organization of Workers Action Committees. Do you agree, disagree? What changes do you propose? You can begin by fighting for your organization to join us in the rally at Local #600, to join the defense guard against the Stalinists. Representatives and supporters of your organization present at the meeting of the RWF already said they would consider this.

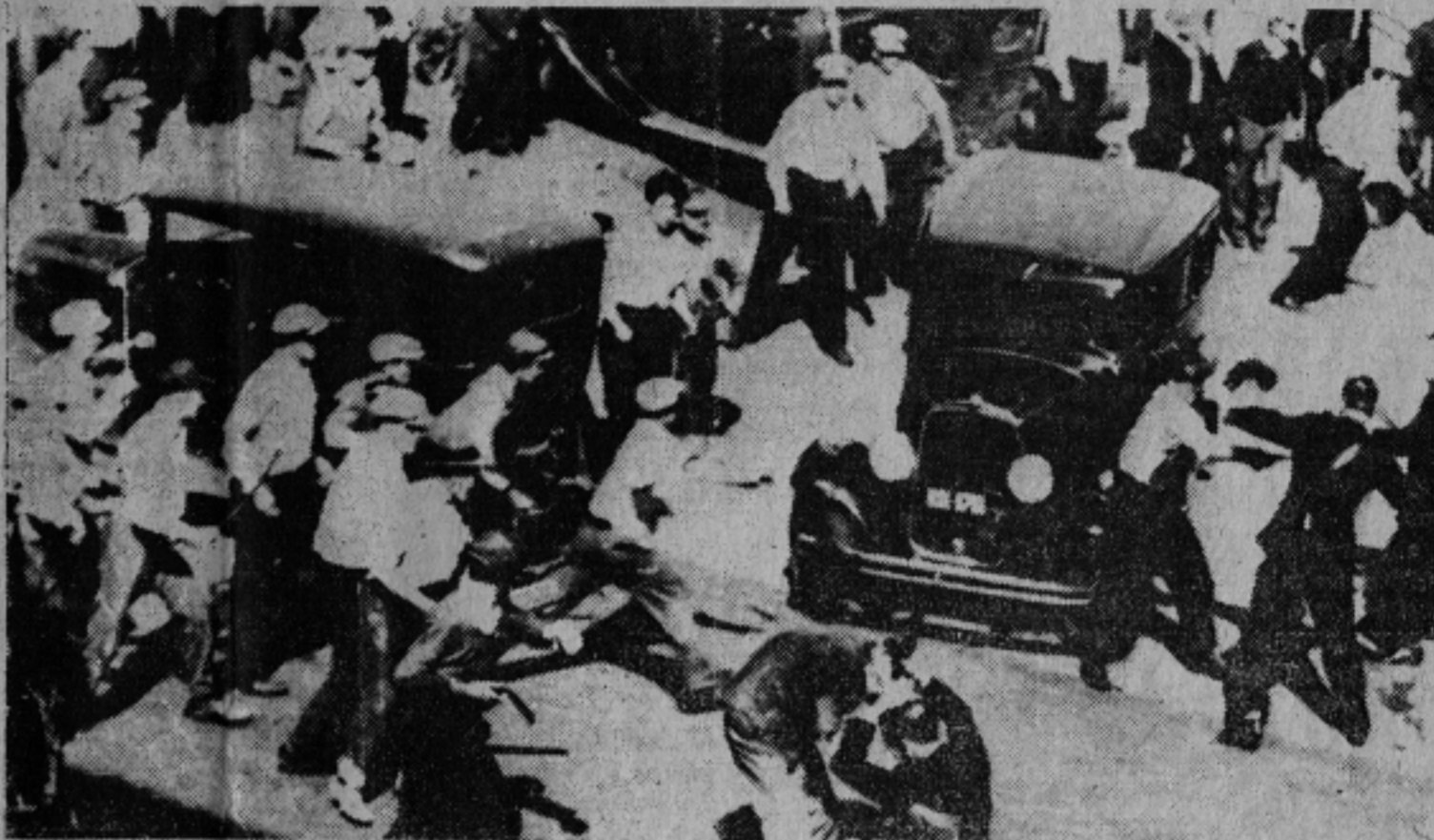
This is a means to begin to regroup the proletarian wing of the SWP in Detroit and throughout the Midwest.

It is clear to us, as it must be more so to you, that the most right-wing elements of the leadership of the SWP have really deepened their efforts to crush its true proletarian militants.

You have no task more important comrades, than fighting at the side of the Trotskyist Organization to mobilize and organize the working class youth to build their party, to defend the gains of the Fourth International in the US against this attack. This is the meaning of the struggle for one candidate of the working class on the basis of this revolutionary Platform. In this way, comrades, you can take your place in the struggle to complete the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International against its enemies!

The Struggle of the Fourth International to Lead the Unions

Our Fight Today



By JON COHEN

The question of the tasks of the Fourth International in the trade unions today is one of the most essential questions facing young revolutionaries in the United States in their struggle to RETURN TO LENIN, to construct the Bolshevik party capable of leading the working class to power. It is one of the questions of the American revolution and every party in the working class determines their position in relation to the American revolution through their policy in the unions.

Today, despite the fact that only 25% of the American working class is organized in trade unions, the trade unions are the central arena of the political combat of the working class. For good reasons. The most powerful and important sectors of the working class -- the autoworkers, steelworkers, Teamsters, miners, rubber workers, dockers, etc., are organized in the union.

For these workers the unions are the only means they have for their own self-defense, as a means to combat the attacks of the government and employers. At the present time, the unions are the only mass organizations of the American working class, uniting workers where they are the most powerful, at the place of production. Our task is to defend these organizations, to fight within them to strengthen them and transform their fight into a fight for the revolutionary transformation of this capitalist society.

RENEW THE LEADERSHIP

The Trotskyist Organization, as the Fourth International in the US, is leading this fight for the revolutionary transformation of the unions, for a revolutionary leadership on the basis of the Program of the Fourth International. All of our own experiences-- in our fight to expand the auto strike this fall, in our fight for delegates to the UAW Convention, for a sit-down at the Rouge demonstrate that the question of a revolutionary leadership for the unions is the most burning question facing the trade unions today.

The centrists try to make the workers believe that the fight in the unions is something routine, dull -- their book on the unions is ROBERTS RULES OF ORDER on parliamentary procedure. In fact, the unions are the most explosive question in American working class history. Haymarket Square-- the first May Day, Pullman, the Ludlow Massacre, the Seattle General Strike, Minneapolis, San Francisco of 1934, the Flint sit-downs, the Memorial Day Massacre -- this is the history of the workers struggles for their unions, a violent and explosive struggle.

This is why the workers need a bold and audacious policy for their unions and this means fighting, not by the "rules of the game," but for leadership and nothing else. The center of the fight of the Fourth International is the constant fight to renew the leadership of the unions, to throw out the old bureaucrats who stand in the way of the workers struggles and lead the present offensive of the working class.

We base our policy on the young generation of the proletariat. All of our policies have as their goal winning this young generation of the working class to the Fourth International, to build a new, revolutionary leadership for the working class.

We believe that the young workers will settle for nothing less. We are fighting to continue the historical combat of the American working class and anyone who says that the workers struggles can and will proceed through stages is lying about the history and present fight of the working class. There have never been stages in the American workers' struggles in the unions, it has either been -- renew the leadership through the youth, or stay in one place and see all our gains wiped out by the bosses and the government.

And this struggle cannot be realized without the fight to organize the break of the workers and their unions from the capitalist parties, above all the Democratic Party into a fight to realize the present demands of the workers and to construct the party of class independence, the Workers Party, as their weapon of combat and organization. This is also

the lesson of all the past and present combats of the American working class. There are no stages in this fight to construct the workers' own party either.

ARE WE TOO SMALL?

To the young workers who have joined in this struggle with us to renew the leadership of the unions, we say that first of all our fight to transform the unions into revolutionary weapons is not a question of numbers. The actual size of the Trotskyists in the US today is small in comparison with the masses of workers or even other workers parties. But the decisive question in the entire history of the workers movement has been the RELATIONSHIP of the party to the working class, which is not a numerical question.

Trotsky wrote about the Communist Party of Germany before Hitler's seizure of power, at a time when it had millions of members: "Everything depends on the interrelation between the party and the class. A single employed communist who is elected to the factory committee or the administration of a trade union has a greater significance than a thousand new members, picked up here and there, who enter the party today in order to leave it tomorrow."

In other words everything depends on our fight for leadership, a fight determined not by our size, but by our policy. This is the only way to win the masses of young workers who are not interested in talk or "suggestions," but in leadership and in a new policy. The only way for a party which is in the minority today to become the majority tomorrow is to fight for its proposals and be prepared to take the leadership of the workers struggles on the basis of these proposals. A party that hides its policy may think that it has millions behind it, but will find itself with nothing when the workers take decisive action. The centrists always use the question of "size" as an excuse for their refusal to lead.

WE CONTINUE THE FIGHT OF TROTSKYISM IN THE UNIONS TODAY

The Fourth International has a proud history of struggle in the American trade unions. In the 1930's, 40's and 50's, the Fourth International, through the fight of the Socialist Workers Party, led a fight for a revolutionary policy in the trade unions against the Democratic Party and the Stalinists. It was in the forefront of every struggle of the young workers to renew the leadership of the unions.

Then, it was not a question of numbers, but despite the relatively small size of the Trotskyists they played a decisive leadership role in the Minneapolis Teamster strike of 1934, the Toledo Autolite strike, the sit-down strikes in auto, the sole leadership of the opposition to the no-strike pledge during World War II and the leadership of the opposition to Walter Reuther of the UAW after the war. When the workers left the Stalinist Party in droves after World War II because of its support of the no-strike pledge, it was the SWP that they turned to because the SWP was the only revolutionary alternative to Stalinism.

This is our history, because we have continued this fight to renew the leadership, against the Stalinists and the Democratic Party, while the SWP has abandoned this fight. Nothing more discredits the name and the history of the FI in the US, than the policy of the groups which masquerade as Trotskyists, but who refuse to fight Stalinism in the unions.

Workers you know them. From the SWP, to SPARK, to such disgraceful spectacles such as the Spartacist League who call fired workers "idiots," they are all known by the workers as commentators, left critics of the bureaucracy and the Stalinists. They have nothing in common with those who leave the workers in the hands of the Stalinists.

THE SWP ABANDONS TROTSKYISM

The SWP, today, which has only its name in common with the SWP of the past, uses this proud heritage of Trotskyism in order to justify its present capitulation to Stalinism. As such it is an obstacle in our path to renew the leadership of the unions.

In a recent article in THE MILITANT (paper of the SWP), Farrell Dobbs, a former leader of the SWP and the leader

of the Minneapolis Teamsters in the 30's and 40's uses his own history to present the SWP's revisionist policy today. Dobbs was picked to do this, because he has the respect of the militants of the SWP for his fight in the past.

In "Socialist Strategy for the Labor Movement" Dobbs writes: "As that contradictory situation unfolds, opposition to the present official union policies can be organized on an expanding scale. Large numbers of workers can be brought, in stages, toward adoption of a class struggle program required to defend their interests -- if the left-wing forces in their midst proceed with the necessary patience and astuteness. It would be unwise for instance to begin with efforts to vote incumbent officials out of office so that correct policies might be instituted forthwith by a new leadership."

Our Program begins with the question of leadership, this distinguishes us from all others. Where did Dobbs learn this question of "stages" in the workers struggle? Not from the arsenal of Trotskyism, but from the Stalinists who have corrupted the workers movement with their "stages", from "socialism in one country", to the Popular Front, to alliances with "progressive bureaucrats." Not from the Flint sit-down strikes or the Teamsters either.

According to Dobbs: "If the rebel forces proceed, instead, by pressing at the outset for official adoption (11) or at least tolerance (11) of policies that will enable the workers to fight off the capitalists assault on their living standards, better results can be obtained... When the incumbents fail to respond adequately, more and more workers will come to recognize that the leadership personnel must be changed, and they will be ready to act accordingly... Instead of the bureaucracy splitting the workers to maintain its sway, the workers will be able to split the bureaucracy in their fight for rank and file control over the unions."

THE LANGUAGE OF THE STALINISTS

When does the Program of the Fourth International ever talk about the need for Trotskyists and revolutionary workers to beg "tolerance" of the bureaucrats? This is once again the language of the Stalinists, who begged the John L Lewis's, Phillip Murrays, Walter Reuthers for so much "tolerance" that they voted for the bureaucrats motions to expel them from the unions in the 50's!

Does any young worker believe that the strikebreakers (which Dobbs calls "leadership personnel") they recognize as the "official" leaders -- the Frasers, Abels, McBrides, Shankers, etc., will "tolerate" any opposition, or that they will change. Do they really have to be "exposed" further?

Dobbs doesn't really believe this either, nor do militants in the SWP. But as I said before, the American class struggle is explosive. It doesn't tolerate those who vacillate between reform and revolution. Either you fight with the Fourth International to renew the leadership, which the SWP has given up, or you side with the bureaucrats and the Stalinists against the workers. Dobbs and the SWP have tried to straddle the fence for too long, they said nothing about the unions during their entire "anti-war movement" period. Now that the workers have demanded a choice, it must be made, and Dobbs and the SWP are going over to the Stalinists, even talking their language.

This is why Dobbs doesn't mention Stalinism once in his article. To mention it would force him to combat it. This question of "splitting the bureaucracy" that Dobbs talks about is not just an interesting tactic as he would like us to believe. It is fundamental to the policy of the Stalinists in the unions. Just as the CP would like the workers to believe that there is a "progressive" (Coleman Young, John Conyers, George McGovern, etc.) bourgeoisie and a "reactionary" bourgeoisie, they want the workers to think that there is a "progressive" trade union bureaucracy (Ed Sadowski, Arnold Miller, Jerry Wurf, etc.) and a "reactionary" one (Meany, Abel, Fitzsimmons).

If this is true, then it would be just "common sense" to try to align the workers with this "progressive" wing and to split the bureaucracy. But the point is that this is a lie. While there is in-



When & Where

3363 Michigan
New
Headquarters
894-2559

All meetings are held at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, 3363 Michigan, Detroit. Unless otherwise stated.

Sunday, May 29, 1:30 PM--Meeting of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Worker Youth to draw the lessons of its struggle and elaborate its Plan of Action to prepare the World Congress of the RYI in Barcelona.

Monday, May 30, 2PM--PICNIC. Meet at the headquarters at 1:30 PM.

Tues, May 31st--12:45 AM meeting of the Executive Committee of the RWF of the UAW to prepare Stamping unit meeting.

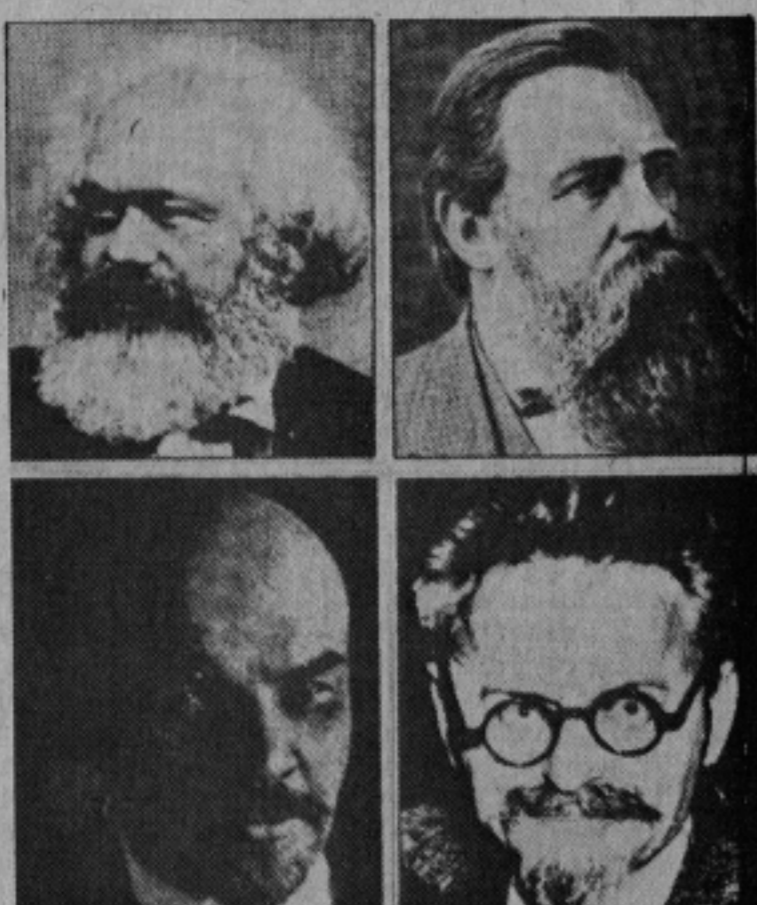
Wednesday, June 1st, 2PM--Meeting of workers defense guard to prepare distribution of RWF Bulletin and REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER at Ford River Rouge Gate #10. 3-4, distribution at Gate #10.

Saturday, June 4th-- 1PM RETURN TO LENIN educational class series; "The meaning of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO."

Sunday, June 5th--1:30 PM. Workers Action Committee meetings to prepare June 12th rally at UAW Local #600. (If bureaucrats call union meeting, the RWF will meet at 10:30. Watch the BULLETIN).

RETURN TO LENIN: Lessons of the communist workers' struggle

The meaning of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO



1. THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY -- Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, 1847. (Saturday, June 4)
2. STATE AND REVOLUTION -- VI Lenin (date of class to be decided)
3. WHAT IS TO BE DONE? -- VI Lenin
4. TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM -- Leon Trotsky (The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International)
5. RESOLUTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL 4TH OPEN CONFERENCE REBUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS -- January, 1976
6. RESOLUTIONS OF THE 5TH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL -- April, 1977.

These works are available from the Revolutionary Worker Youth. The first class will be held June 4th and the rest every two weeks after.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (with an Introduction by Leon Trotsky published 1847)

"All history is a history of class struggle" where "oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." These words from the Communist Manifesto are the greatest theoretical acquisition of the working class and completely refutes the policy of Stalinism which is to share the globe with the imperialists in the name of "communism". There can be no "peaceful co-existence" of the classes, either socialism and the rule of the working majority, or utter barbarism.

"Political power, properly so-called," said Marx, "is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." and that the bourgeois state is nothing more than the executive committee for managing the common affairs of the

whole bourgeoisie (the capitalist class). The Popular Front type of government which the Stalinists and their centrist followers (those who preach revolution, but practice reform), a "coalition" of classes and the anti-imperialist fronts made up of Stalinists, centrists and the national bourgeoisies of Latin America are still nothing more than what Marx said, "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

But what about the workers state. Won't the workers government be as bad as all the governments that have gone before? Does n't power corrupt, after all isn't this human nature? Marx lays all these arguments against the workers revolution to rest in the pages of the Communist Manifesto -- the Communist revolution "sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, . . . sweeps away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally. . . . With the abolition of capitalist private property is the abolition of corruption, the domination of capital over all of human existence. And it is when the proletariat "during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class," "by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class. . . ." and yes, the proletariat organized as the ruling class will have its state, will have smashed the bourgeois state and concentrated the power in the hands of the vast majority, the working class in order to suppress the capitalist class and prevent the return of capitalism.

The workers state, or as Marx first named it, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is indeed "the organized power of one class for oppressing another. . . ." but the difference is that the "conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally" will be swept away by the working class revolution and "will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class." and then there will be communism -- classless society.

The "organization of the proletariat as a class (is) consequently its organization into a political party," one aim, one army, one banner; the banner of the international working class, the banner of socialist revolution -- "the Communists disdain to conceal their views and

aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution." This militates against the namby-pamby leadership of the Socialist Workers Party who lay claim to the banner of the Fourth International in the US -- who conceal the aim of revolution, because this is no longer their aim -- they only try to organize the workers inside the legal framework of the bourgeoisie and will never lead the working class to power. They gave up the struggle in favor of dependency on the Stalinists to lead the working class -- to defeat.

We, the Communists of today "fight for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class;" just as Marx said in 1847 of the Communists then "but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." The interests of the Communists is with the working class movement as a whole. We do not pretend to organize only the American workers, or the French workers or the Polish or Arab workers -- no, our party is the world party of the socialist revolution, we are not sectarians who attempt to tie the workers up in a narrow national framework -- we do not build black parties, Chicano parties, women's parties, etc. etc., we start with the international party and its program just as Marx and Engels did -- first the International, then build the national sections to unify the entire struggle of the working class.

Just as the founders of our movement, Marx and Engels had to do, we have to fight the rotten leaderships in the workers movement to build this world party, the Fourth International, and cleanse the ranks of the workers movement of opportunism; prostration before the bourgeoisie. Today, the central enemies of proletarian revolution are the Stalinists and the centrists who demoralize the working class with their constant collaboration with the old order of capitalism. In every way, they try to conceal their aims, sharing the power with capitalists, and claim to be leading the fight for socialism.

These are the questions we will discuss and apply to today's situation. You have nothing to lose but your chains!

By BARBARA PUTNAM
We are beginning a class series to educate young workers and militants in the history of the workers struggle against capitalism and the history of the world party of the working class. The first work, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels 130 years ago, the MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, is the most widely read document in the world -- even more so than the Bible. It serves as a guide to the young generation of the working class today to complete the historic task of the working class, to take the power into its own hands and abolish private property and set up a workers government. The principles on which the first International (the International Workingmen's Association) of the working class was founded are the backbone of our program today. The entire series is planned in such a way as to take up the burning questions facing the working class in its struggle for emancipation from wage-slavery: the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, why the bourgeois State will be smashed, what our program is and how it has been and is being carried out.

Latin America, Europe, and around the World

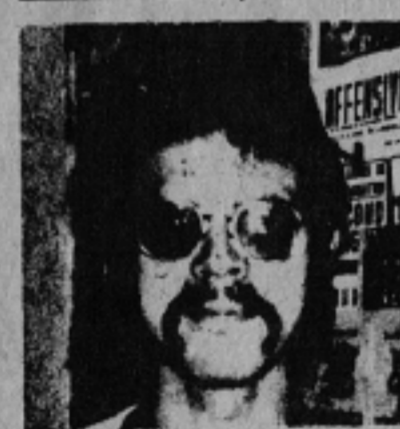
Spain--Barcelona--May 1st ALL OUT TO THE MODELO!

"All Out to Modelo!" was the cry which was heard in the May 1st demonstrations in Barcelona. Only 600 youth and workers succeeded in concentrating within 200 yards of the Barcelona prison. Violent confrontations occurred at this distance from the prison. They were, in fact, the most violent confrontations of the entire day. The police doubled their forces inside the prison. It was protected for the entire day by the special anti-riot forces. "May 1st: The Entire Working Class to the Doors of the Prisons!" was the lead slogan of LA AURORA, the organ of the PORE, Spanish Section of the Fourth International which appeared on April 30th. This was the struggle of the PORE which a large part of the demonstrators on May 1st responded to. A vast campaign of agitation and propaganda unfolded in Barcelona with sales of LA AURORA at SEAT, Hispano Olivetti, and Roca, with placards and leaflets calling the workers on May 1st to go to the door of Modelo, to demand the freedom of the political prisoners.

On April 30th there was a meeting of some 100 people, for the Committees of Action to organize a workers march to Modelo. This meeting was presided by a member of the Committee of Action of Barcelona and of the Committee of Action of Valles, as well by a member of the Revolutionary Youth of Spain and a member of the leadership of the PORE. At the meeting several greetings from workers of different factories in Valles were presented. The meeting, which concluded with all present standing and with fists raised singing the INTERNATIONALE, had the objective of gathering together the forces ready to organize this march to Modelo. This fight was taken up in the unions and in the factories. The different comrades who intervened insisted on one point; the so-called "democratization" of the monarchy is a farce. The political prisoners remain in jail, demonstrations continue to be prohibited and heavily repressed, including

those for May 1st, and for this reason, nothing will come of negotiations and pressure to obtain the freedom of our companions, it is possible only if the working class presents itself in front of the prisons and demands their liberation. This was the task of the meeting. To go in an organized fashion to the demonstration, convoked by the unions-- with the exception of the Workers Commissions (CCOO), to Modelo. The leadership of the unions had convoked the demonstration-- for the right of trade unions, seeing that militants had taken up the proposition to go the Modelo, and how since the first demonstration in Barcelona with violent confrontations and barricades, the intent of all the demonstrators has been to arrive at Modelo. Particular mention should be made of the Workers Commissions controlled by the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party of Catalonia, who organized a picnic at a beach some ten miles from Barcelona. While the demonstrators were confronting

the police force of the "democratic" monarchy! And why not? The LCR, the sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat of Mandel (which the US SWP is in solidarity with--Ed.) was at this picnic, and its role was fulfilled to perfection; militants of this organization were in the defense guard. A lie, this is what this democratic farce of the Francoist monarchy is. A lie supported by the Communist and Socialist Parties who are trying to make the workers participate in the fake Cortes of Suarez. The PORE proposes and struggles to organize the BOYCOTT OF THE CORTES OF THE MONARCHY and must strengthen its struggle to organize this march to the prisons to free the political prisoners, as a means of unmasking all those who fill their mouths with words about democracy and allow the anti-Francoist fighters to remain in prison, while they prepare the elections to the fascist Cortes. D.M., May 5, 1977



"Sit down, sit down!"

By FRED VITALE, Candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Faction for President of the UAW

As the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Faction - UAW attending the UAW Convention, the first thing that struck me about the "Convention" was the total absence of young workers and blacks among the delegations. The UAW Convention was, indeed, closed to the masses of autoworkers as the RWF-UAW had been saying. In order to ensure none got in at the Convention itself a huge corps of Sergeant-of-Arms, goons of Woodcock and Fraser, stood guard at the doors and patrolled back and forth across the convention floor which was accessible only to delegates. The Convention "discussion" to the extent there was any, was closed as well to the burning questions facing autoworkers and their strike movement. Both the bureaucrats, Woodcock and Fraser notably, and their friends in the "Democratic" Party, Carter and Kennedy, studiously avoided any discussion of the strikes of dozens of locals. The RWF-UAW was the only organization of autoworkers that actually opposed the election of Fraser and fought to throw out Carter and the other representatives of the Democratic Party from the Convention. While several other "rank-and-file" organizations, including Auto Workers United to Fight, peacefully leafleted the Convention. As the only candidate against Fraser, I fought to get onto the floor and to oust Fraser and Carter from the Convention for the respective roles each had played in the attack against autoworkers and the breaking of their strikes. When I finally got on to the Convention floor I was set upon by the dogs of Fraser and forced out of the bureaucrats "private" meeting. Nevertheless, it is an important victory for the RWF-UAW that five delegates to the Convention signed our resolution and supported my candidacy. These includ-

ed a delegate from the Indianapolis local where Fraser had just broken a strike. (See front page article.) Significant as well, especially for Rouge workers, is the fact that Hank Wilson, President of the Dearborn Assembly Plant put himself forward as a candidate against Fraser. Wilson has led a campaign of intimidation against young workers and blacks in his unit who support the RWF-UAW and its candidates in delegate elections to the UAW Convention. Yet Wilson claimed he wanted to put more blacks in the leadership of the UAW. The reason Wilson was allowed to make his brief campaign for President (he withdrew the proposal minutes after he made it) and I was thrown off the Convention Floor was obvious. The Platform of the RWF-UAW to throw the bureaucrats out of the UAW and elect a revolutionary leadership was the only serious opposition to the UAW bureaucracy and its support to Carter's program of "sacrifices." It is important to remember that the fight of the Faction was represented not only by the fight made at the Convention, or not only by the donations of workers from Ford Torrence and the River Rouge Plant totaling \$75, but firstly by the fight led among the autoworkers of these locals to give leadership to the strike movement and throw out the strikebreakers. This is the only real way to judge the impact of the Revolutionary Workers at the Convention. Hundreds of young workers supported our Faction and fought with it at Ford Torrence, where I received more than 150 votes, and at the Stamping Plant and Rouge complex, where the workers joined us in the fight to throw out Willie Washington and elect a strike committee to lead a sitdown. What can be expected from this Con-

vention is already being felt by the workers of my local at Ford Torrence where a wave of harassment over "absenteeism" has begun. Naturally the union leadership is going along with the company's campaign. The UAW Convention was after all, directed against the autoworkers, especially the young workers and the blacks who are fighting for a new leadership and want to throw out the strikebreakers and friends of the Democratic Party. That is why we cannot accept the decisions of this Convention or the leadership elected by it. Our slogans for the fight in the UAW and the special Convention in September are: REJECT THE DECISIONS OF THE UAW CONVENTION AND TRANSFORM IT INTO A GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE

AUTO WORKERS FOR ONE CENTRAL UNION AGAINST CARTER'S ATTACK. To build the RWF-UAW and this campaign our Faction must fight to lead the struggles of the autoworkers and TAKE OVER THE LOCALS OF THE UAW demanding IMMEDIATE REDUCTION OF WORKLOADS AND RECALL OF ALL LAID OFF. As at the Stamping Plant where we are fighting to ELECT A STRIKE CO COMMITTEE we say don't walkout, SITDOWN, SITDOWN!

The last thing that we should feel about this Convention is that it was some kind of defeat. On the contrary, the true test of leadership is being prepared by the struggle of the Revolutionary Workers. In that sense, the fight we made for this Convention is the beginning of our victory!



"Nothing half-way"

By ANN NELSON, organizer of the Trotskyist Organization at Great Lakes Steel

Detroit, May 25, 1977 - In the last two weeks, at Great Lakes Steel, young workers have bought and distributed over 40 copies of REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER and TRUTH. Several young workers have agreed to join the fight of the Revolutionary Workers Faction - USW. The workers in Steel, want to take control of their working conditions, of health and safety and for wages to go up with the rise in prices. To all the young workers who despise the oppression of the steel bosses, and despise the maneuvers and collaboration of the old union leadership, join the Revolutionary Workers Faction and support its proposals at the general membership meeting on June 8th, which will take the vote on the local contract at Great Lakes. The union leadership is being very quiet because it is stalling for time, hoping that the anger of the workers will cool off. Sadlowski is stalling as well as McBride. One young worker said: "Sad-

lowski SAID a lot about doing something for women, but never DID anything when they began to get fired." The same worker also said: "The problem is the unity of the workers, and the obstacle is that there is no leadership, we need real leaders." The Communist Party has shown that it is not capable of leading this fight. It has a long history of supporting the bureaucrats and the Democratic Party, the policy of no-strike and Sadlowski. The Socialist Workers Party has been selling its paper with copies of the contract printed in it, saying we must continue to build "Fight-Back" and make Sadlowski a "Real leader." He IS a real leader, but against the desires of the young steelworkers. The RWF fights to: stop the unsafe conditions and for wages equal to the rise in prices -- by organizing a National Assembly of steel and immediately electing a strike committee and sending a delegation of workers to Chicago to organize this fight there. THROW OUT MCBRIDE/ABEL AND THEIR CONTRACT!

ed a left and right wing of the bureaucracy, there is nothing "progressive" about Ed Sadlowski or Arnold Miller. They remain in the Democratic Party, they remain loyal to the capitalist government. And not only will they never lead the workers struggles, but they instantly oppose them. How many times did Sadlowski ever call when he led the steelworkers in Chicago and try. How many strikes has Arnold Miller broken? This is the policy that Dobbs and the SWP has chosen in order to strengthen its position as the left wing of bourgeois democracy. Even Dobbs' proposal of a "labor party," once a proposition to Trotsky to combat Stalinism and the Democratic Party, goes even further down the line of adaptation to Stalinism. Dobbs not only maintains his position of a "labor party" as an intermediate stage in between the Democratic Party and a revolutionary party, an impossibility for the American working class, but now says that the American workers are not even ready for this. He doesn't propose to organize a labor party now, but instead proposes an educational? Because to compete with the Stalinists in "splitting" the bureaucracy means to ally oneself with the left-wing Democrats in the trade union movement. This requires "astuteness" and "astuteness." Instead of proposing to the American workers their struggle for their own party, Dobbs calls for "an anticapitalist united front" in support of "all progressive causes." Does breaking with the Democratic Party have anything to do with this "anti-capitalist united front"? This from the language of Trotskyism does it sound very similar to the "anti-monopoly people's front" of the Stalinists the "anti-imperialist peoples front" of the centrists in Latin America?

A WARNING

No one should think that Dobbs is merely confused. This policy is very conscious. Under the pressure of the class struggle, the centrists who speak in the name of the FI all over the world have opened their collaboration with Stalinism. They are no longer just spectators. "Left" critics as they were in the past. In Spain, the most advanced point of the workers struggle internationally, the centrist LCR of the "United Secretariat" which the SWP is in solidarity with, has moved from "left critics" to playing the role of strikebreakers for the Stalinists, where the Stalinists have been discredited in front of the workers. It was the LCR in Spain, not the Stalinists who posed the workers assemblies at Roca and fought to send the Roca workers and the building workers in Barcelona back to work without winning their demands, and with militants fired. In the US we can already say that the betrayal by Sadlowski would not have been possible without the SWP. Militants of the SWP -- you don't want this, believe that it will happen, but Dobbs is laying the political basis for the same policy as the LCR in Spain -- pass from critics or spectators to strikebreakers for the bureaucrats and Stalinists. Hasn't it started already? Don't the SWP leadership call the striking miners in 1974 who burned their contracts in disgust "ultraleftist"? Don't it call the young workers at the Mill 24th, 1975 demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C. who shouted down Bert Humphrey, "anti-democratic"? Finally, one "practical" point. Trotsky's argument with the German CP applies to the SWP today. By pursuing an opportunist policy in the unions, the young workers who are joining the SWP will join it in order to leave it to rot because they will find the policy of the SWP no different from that of the Stalinists or the Sadlowskis. With its opportunist policy, the SWP will find its real influence in the unions be almost nothing. For the proletariat militants of the only "practical" alternative is joining the fight of the Trotskyist Organization to rebuild the Section of the Fourth International and to politically destroy this centrist leadership. The Minneapolis experiences, the "downs of the 30's are on the agenda" once again today. Once again it will be the Fourth International and not Doug Fraser or Ed Sadlowski who will lead this fight. Dobbs and the SWP are seeking a place under the wing of the Stalinists and the "progressives," a place is with the revolutionary young workers who are ready to make the Fourth International the leading party of the proletariat.

May 22, 1977

TRUTH

ONE CANDIDATE OF THE WORKING CLASS

On this Platform - a platform of combat to build a Party to lead the Working Class to power!

I. BUILD A PARTY TO LEAD THE WORKING CLASS TO POWER! Down with Carter, Coleman Young and their police! Elect Jon Cohen! Organize a government of workers' councils and their defense guards in Detroit! A United Socialist Republic of North and South America!

II. TRANSFORM THE UNIONS INTO ORGANS OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES! ONE CENTRAL UNION! Unity of the autoworkers, steelworkers, and teamsters against the reactionary bureaucrats! Throw them and their contracts out! Organize the unorganized! General strike!

III. TAKE THE AUTO BARONS' PROPERTY! Let the workers, the rightful owners, control it! Organize factory committees to realize this! REBUILD DETROIT! Education, sports, music and art for the youth! Down with the capitalists' gangsters and pushers!

IV. JOBS FOR ALL NOW! Immediate reduction in working hours! Recall all laid off workers! A living wage! \$10 an hour! Wage increases in accord with price increases! Workers Control of production standards and job classifications!

V. STOP THE ATTACK ON THE DEMOCRATIC AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS OF THE YOUTH, THE BLACKS, LATINS, ARABS, AND WOMEN! End all discrimination in education, jobs, housing!

VI. UNITY WITH THE WORKERS OF LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE, AND THE WORLD AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS STALINIST AGENTS! US out of Cuba! Free the political prisoners in Argentina! Stop all support to the fascist dictatorship in Spain! Free the leaders of the Polish workers general strike!

VII. UNITE ALL WORKERS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS IN DETROIT AGAINST THE AUTOBARONS' REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES! Fight for an all workers candidate on the basis of this platform! For the right of all working class parties to be on the ballot in November!

PUT JON COHEN ON THE AUGUST BALLOT!

We have to get 3,000 signatures to put Jon Cohen on the August ballot. Militants of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth will be collecting these signatures at the plants and in working class districts. We ask you to sign them and take a petition yourself. You can get them from our militants, by calling or writing our headquarters.

Realize Lenin's Dream



By MARGARET GUTTSALL,
Organizational Secretary
Trotskyist Organization

The results of the political offensive of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth since the Fifth World Congress have been above all expressed in the increase in the distribution of TRUTH by both militants of our party and members of the RWY.

In the last weeks 127 copies of TRUTH were sold and \$30.00 was collected from these sales. Of this 127, 72 copies were sold at the Rouge, 17 at Great Lakes Steel, 14 at Harper and Wayne State in Detroit, 17 at the Palestine demonstration in Dearborn on May 15th, 4 copies at the UAW convention in Los Angeles and 3 copies at Ford Torrence in Chicago.

The political significance of these sales is not just in numbers. What the sales represent is the political and organizational influence of our party in the working class, in the bastions of the proletariat. The overwhelming percentage of the sales is in the factories and above all at the Rouge where the Trotskyist Organization has centered its fight. And the large number of sales is not just due to sales from outside the plant gate. A sizeable number of copies of TRUTH are being sold by young workers inside the plant.

I bring this up to argue against all those who say that size how big you are is what counts in the working class movement. We don't hide from the workers the fact that the Trotskyist Organization is still relatively small and that it is concentrated only in Detroit and Chicago. We don't hide it, because we believe that the political influence of our press in the US working class is greater than any other party in the US. The figures prove it.

Take the US Stalinist Communist Party for example. Everyone knows that they are very big, that they have a daily paper. But they give their paper away free at the plants! What can this prove? How can they tell the real influence of their press, how many workers really support their policy if they just give it away to everyone? What kind of political fight can their militants make to convince workers of their policy when they just give the paper away?

Or the Socialist Workers Party. They have been recently leading a campaign to sell 10,000 copies of their paper, THE MILITANT each week. Except for one or two weeks, the results have averaged in between 5-6,000 sold. Now, someone will surely say to me, "Well, 5,000 is certainly

1. The Fifth Congress:
-- in drawing the balance sheet since its 4th Congress as the beginning, still weak, of bypassing our own weaknesses.

-- and in face of the political situation characterized by an upsurge of the working class, but marked by a profound confusion and disorientation, affirms the burning necessity of strengthening in mass action the determination of the program of the world revolution and its party, the Fourth International, against all the treacherous, opportunist and centrist parties as the basis and the process of the selection of revolutionary cadres among the young workers, and the construction of the general staff of the proletariat.

It places this delimitation in the framework of a deepening of the political offensive to take the leadership of the workers struggles, concentrated in the slogan: RETURN TO LENIN. In this concrete manner, it poses the urgency of accelerating the process of the construction of Revolutionary Workers Parties, sections of the Fourth International in every country.

Such a delimitation, whose goal is to implant the Fourth International in the decisive centers of the world proletariat on the basis of the destruction of the liquidationist centers, by deepening, to the gain of our party, the crisis which is shaking the international apparatus of the Kremlin, can only be done in the fight to renew the workers movement, by organizing with our policy the proletarian youth in order to win the leadership of the proletariat.

2. The Fifth Congress reaffirms that the fundamental characteristic which distinguishes our Party from all others, is that the Fourth International takes up the problems of organization as highly political questions, as an integral part of its orientation, in other words, that it proceeds from the will, of method and principle to bring together theory and practice, to bring together policy and its organizational translation.

The five years of combat of the 4th International since the foundation of the International League have been marked by a struggle to clarify in action this relation between theory and practice, and more precisely, by a struggle against all types of spontaneism in the construction of the Party, which separate our orientation from the struggle for its application in the organization of the proletarian youth.

This struggle to rid ourselves of the remnants of the crisis of the 4th International, which has its foundation in the break between theory and practice, is not finished. The re-establishment of their unity is expressed precisely by the slogan RETURN TO LENIN.

The Fifth Congress rejects all attempts to reduce the determination of the party to an opposition of slogans to that of others, because this avoids the essential question of the strong and determined organization of the working class youth, and hides the abstention in the face of problems which arise daily in the class struggle, and hides the refusal to confront them by organizing the workers' actions.

In general, the Fifth Congress rejects the attitudes which place into opposition politics and the tasks of organization, by attributing the formulation and the execution of the latter to teams of specialists.

RETURN TO LENIN, therefore the affirmation of the party of the Bolshevik type in the class struggle does not reside in its propaganda, nor even in its intervention in and of itself. We are posing ourselves practically for the leadership of the proletariat. We are not spectators of workers struggles, but we organize the youth in order to lead the proletariat. This is why the problems of organization constitute a political preoccupation of the entirety of the party, of all its organs and militants.

It is in this framework that the party does not leave to spontaneism the solution of organizational

a lot more than 120, what are you bragging about?"

The point is that a revolutionary press, that is really revolutionary has no significance other than its implantation in the bastions of the working class, in the factories, as an expression of the party's daily struggles to lead and organize workers. 5,000 or 500,000, the SWP hasn't proven this with their campaign.

For example, militant sales, how well each militant of the party is organized behind their press. Given the public figures provided by the SWP, its membership is around 1,500. Their goal is thus around 6 copies per issue, 6 per week by each militant in the party. And they have actually realized closer to 3 copies per issue. The goal that we have set is 15 per week and we are realizing over 10 copies per week by each militant of the TO. There is no one in our party who is organizing without our press!

We always list the number of sales at each factory. In its statistical column the SWP never does, talking only of "cities". One of the things that distinguished the Bolsheviks from the Mensheviks in Russia is that while the Mensheviks built their party around the bourgeois electoral districts, the Bolsheviks built theirs around factories and factory cells. This is why, except for the introductory descriptions, the workers never know exactly what factories the SWP has influence in, exactly how many workers in each plant buy their paper around the country. "200 papers in Cleveland" means nothing for a young worker seeking a revolutionary party, trying to find out where they are and what their influence is.

And we can gather that their influence is small, compared to their size. The industrial, Midwest branches of the SWP; Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, are consistently below 50% of their goal. In Chicago they didn't even sell their paper during their campaign to get on the mayoral ballot, showing the divorce of this campaign from the life of the workers. And even though they sold a large number of papers which reprinted the steel contract, the next issue the sales dropped down, showing that reprinting the contract without saying how to go forward will bring no results.

These are some of the facts that prove that our press is the only press of the Fourth International in the US, the only Bolshevik paper. By the fact that more than any other paper in the US it is a workers paper, read and distributed by young workers in the key factories.

We still have a lot further to go in getting subscriptions for TRUTH which really hasn't advanced significantly. We are placing envelopes in each copy of TRUTH to make it easier to send in your subscription -- \$2.00 for three months, \$5.00 supporting. Just fill out the form provided, put your money inside and drop it in a mail box to get your subscription to TRUTH.

The next meeting of the National Committee of the RWY this Sunday will also take up the subscription plans for TRUTH and organize the campaign to realize our goals. Come to this meeting and continue our fight to build TRUTH, the Bolshevik paper in the United States. May 24, 1977

5TH World Congress resolution on organization

problems and technical tasks, in particular concerning the construction of its technical apparatus, but plans them, forces and uses the human and material forces to realize them. The resistance on the part of many comrades to accept certain tasks demanding a particular and professional training, and excluding them from the intervention in the class struggle flows from this attitude which treats organizational tasks as secondary.

3. The Fifth Congress states that still very often our agreements are revealed to be formal when they are confronted with the test of the class struggle through our intervention. The source of this resides in the fact that in the majority of cases, they are made around general orientations which, precisely, do not take up the problems and the tasks of organization.

Very general agreement -- concerning the necessity of the construction of the 4th International -- constituting the basis for the integration into the 4th International of the OMR of Chile, as its Chilean Section, and the constitution of the Latin-American Organization, were revealed to hide differences on international strategy and tactics, to the degree that they were made only as the results of discussions.

In general, the formal agreement which characterizes in many cases our recruitment, made on the basis of individual discussions, and not in the mobilization and organization of the proletarian youth as the fundamental means of the selection of a revolutionary vanguard.

In the face of the political situation which is changing with an accelerated rhythm, our political agreement, correct yesterday, will become insufficient, and consequently an obstacle, if they are not constantly bypassed by political elaboration which makes our orientation precise and formulates the new tasks and activities of organization.

In other words, as our experiences have proven, in particular the formation of the international clique after the self-dissolution of the so-called "Bolshevik" faction, there has developed a complaisance towards attitudes of abstention in relation to the problems which continually come up in the class struggle and consequently, in relation to the different positions which are affirmed in the party.

4. The Fifth Congress rejects any conception which tries to transform democratic centralism into a "right of free discussion" or generally, to a series of formal rules outside of the political and practical combat of the 4th International.

For our party, the struggle to keep and strengthen democratic centralism is linked to the fight for the firm and intransigent maintenance of our orientation in its practical application. It constitutes a political and organizational delimitation fundamentally shaped in an iron discipline under one leadership, that of the winning of the leadership of the masses, which distinguishes in a radical fashion from the bureaucratic centralism of the liquidationist centers who hide and organize maneuvers and unprincipled agreements.

The Fifth Congress underlines that this principal aspect of the unity between theory and practice, expressed by the internal regime of the party and its policy, is still not sufficiently understood in the party, the result of which is that the departure of militants is often effectuated without a consequent political battle being waged on the part of the party against their position, and that they come back as easily as they leave, while the doers of the party are too often closed to the most combative elements of the proletarian youth.

The Fifth Congress underlines the necessity of strengthening the centralization and discipline to all levels of the 4th International on the basis of the deepening of the common comprehension of its tasks, which is only the way in which our party can appear to the proletarian youth as its revolutionary leadership. Our experiences testify that the lack of rigor and revolutionary determination has turned away tens

of young workers drawn by our activity.

5. The principle means for the appearance of the 4th International as the center of the preparation of the world revolution, as well as the homogenization of the party around its tasks in order to lead the working class, still remains the elaboration, composition, discussion and militant distribution of our central journal. The Fifth Congress characterizes as petty-bourgeois activism all activity which neglects, or refuses to place at the center of the combat of the party, its press under all its aspects, and which refuses, under the most different pretexts, to make it an absolute priority in relation to all other political and organizational tasks.

The Fifth Congress condemns as an incomprehension of the nature of the party that we are and that we are building, any attempt to make an opposition between the national press and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. From the point of view of its content, the Fifth Congress states that very often our articles have the character of an objectivist description of the political situation in which the activity of the party and its experiences disappear, while they constitute the central and determining element for the solution of the problems which violently confront the working class and its youth.

The deepening of the political offensive to take the leadership of the working class under the slogan of RETURN TO LENIN, must be translated by the growing affirmation in the class struggle of our central journal and in general of our press, as the collective organizer -- which Lenin spoke about -- and as the point around which the party is built.

It is only in this way that the 4th International can win the working class youth in the preparation of the Second Congress of the RYI in Barcelona. The distribution and centralization of its central journal is the principal means of the preparation and organization of this Congress.

In this sense the Fifth Congress insists on the necessity of opening up a battle on all levels of the party against the distrust of figures and the centralization of the distribution of the press, and against the routine and a-political fashion in which they are made as simply facts. It affirms that the political centralization of the press constitutes a means and a method of implantation in the class, it allows, not only the verification of our orientation, but to deepen it, and constitutes a barometer and a means of appreciation of the progress and setbacks of the party, and its links with the masses.

The Fifth Congress gives as a task to the new International Executive Committee and its Secretariat to centralize more the political elaboration and leadership of the party in view of the preparation of the Second Congress of the RYI in, and through, the edition and regular distribution of its central organ.

The central elaboration of our journal and the organization of international activity around it demands a strengthening of the organic links between the international leadership and the sections.

The Fifth Congress states that the 4th International has before it important progress to make to break with the negligence or the complete lack of political and organizational reports to the IEC, of correspondence and notes to our central journal, of dues and money gained from the campaigns we lead.

7. The Fifth Congress, understanding the construction of the apparatus of the party, in the first place as the permanent selection and education of its cadres, charges the IEC to prepare the set up of permanent cadre school, on the international level. It decides to hold after the Second Congress of the RYI a cadre formation camp, of which one of the points on the agenda will be the discussion of the content of such a cadre school, and the concrete forms for setting it up in the last half of this year. APRIL 1977

PALESTINE MARCH

(CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE)

of Local #600 passed a resolution supporting this demonstration, the young Palestinian worker who got the resolution told Mike Rinaldi, the President of the Local, that they did not want Rinaldi present at the demonstration to read it. "This is OUR victory, not yours," said the worker.

The march itself showed this militancy as well as the direction which the fight of the Palestinian workers must take. Despite the fact that everyone was in agreement with the slogan, "Self-determination for Palestine," all the different lines in the Palestinian movement were present.

As a young worker himself remarked, there were three lines expressed in the march. Despite the efforts of the militant workers, the line of the reactionary Arab bourgeoisie allowed the march to hear the hypocritical "greetings" of the Democratic Party politicians--Coleman Young, the Mayor of Dearborn, US Senator Riegle; who want the votes of the Arab workers, but who collaborate with US imperialism against the Arab masses.

The second line was that of the Stalinist US Communist Party who put forward the slogan: "UN Recognize the PLO." The PLO, who now has agreed to negotiate with Zionism and imperialism and the butchers of Tel Zatar in return for a small piece of land on the West Bank. And who is this "UN" anyway, but a "den of thieves" as Lenin termed the League of Nations, its predecessor?

The third line was that of the revolutionary Palestinian workers who reject this collaboration with the UAW bureaucracy, with the Democratic Party and who reject those in the Arab movement who collaborate with them. They want a Workers Government for Palestine.

There was also a fourth line in the march, that of the Fourth International, which is what the revolutionary Palestinian workers are seeking. Our candidate for Mayor of Detroit, Jon Cohen, came to the march to support their revolutionary struggle and to win support for the fight of our Faction in the UAW. It is significant that while Coleman Young, Rinaldi, "UN Recognize the PLO," all could exist together in the march, "Elect a Strike Committee at the Rouge" and "Join the Revolutionary Youth International" could not, and the Stalinist and petty bourgeois organizers of the march, including "Time to Unite," demanded that we take down our banners.

The revolutionary Palestinian workers, including a worker who held our banner, were convinced that this action by the Stalinists was wrong. Seventeen copies of TRUTH were sold at the march and a Palestinian worker who saw our fight there came to the meeting of the RWF and was convinced to lead a fight against the Stalinist attacks of "Time to Unite."

Our struggle at the Rouge, for Mayor of Detroit, and at the Palestine march is one struggle for the Palestinian workers. The link is the party--the leading party of the proletariat--the most burning question in front of the working class today whether in Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Spain or the US. The way to build this party is to join the Revolutionary Youth International in preparing its Second Congress this July in Barcelona. RETURN TO LENIN is the only way to support and build "the fierce resistance mounted by the Palestinians."

Correspondence Harper Hospital

Several strikes by Local 79 in the last weeks have begun to have a significant effect on hospital workers here at Harper-Grace. We are all beginning to think about organizing a strike ourselves. Last week there was a brief discussion among Housekeeping workers to this effect. What we all agreed on was the necessity to ORGANIZE ourselves, that we could not depend on the bureaucrats to win a victory for us. At the Carmel Hall nursing home for instance, after a long strike in which management brought in nuns as scabs, the workers only got a 20¢ an hour raise, from an average wage of \$2.30 to \$2.50, which is nothing at all.

As steward of Local 79, and a member of the Trotskyist Organization-USA, I am going to organize meetings throughout the Hospital with other workers to discuss our proposals for immediate action against the harassment and increasing workload at the Hospital, as well as organizing support for a resolution to ELECT A HOSPITAL WORKERS COMMITTEE at the next meeting of Local 79.

In the housekeeping and courier departments especially, but as well in many other departments, the administration is cracking down and trying to get more work out of less workers. The jobs in the Hospital are no longer just an "easy gig" and needless to say, our wages have not even begun to keep pace with the rise in prices. To enforce the new work pace and to keep us in line the management of the Hospital has begun a campaign of intimidation and harassment.

For example, and this one is for my fellow co-workers in housekeeping, Mike Wewlinski (the spelling may not be correct) a housekeeping supervisor who used to be a "lowly" courier and a houseman, has become known as "superduper" to the workers for his amazing abilities at harassment, rudeness, and upward mobility. An idea of the mentality of the up and coming "new" management at Harper-Grace can be understood by Wewlinski's repeated statements that he is going to "nail" this or that worker. He is not always so hard-hearted however, often, just before he gives a backbreaking assignment, he praises the floor you have not done in several weeks.

I am fighting to organize a circle at Harper-Grace to organize against the attack on hospital workers and to fight for the candidates of the Trotskyist Organization for Mayor and City Council. Though I know that there is a lot of general agreement on what needs to be done, it still remains disorganized at the Hospital just as it does among the working class as a whole. The first circle of Harper-Grace will meet on June 6th. It is an open meeting, and it is the first meeting built by the RWY at Harper-Grace. I hope to convince all those who come to join with me in building a circle at Harper-Grace. It's your organization of the REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKER as the name of our paper states. May 22, 1977 DAVID HEFFELFINGER