



FORWARD

Build the Party of Lenin to lead the working class!

Support the Trotskyist Organization candidates for Detroit Mayor and City Council!

The pages of the bourgeois press are filled with the latest maneuvers of Carter and US imperialism. Several weeks ago it was Carter's "human rights" offensive that made the headlines. Next it was his tax proposals, including his proposal to take back the rebate he promised during the election campaign. Now it is the "energy crisis" with Carter and the bourgeoisie claiming that this is the central question facing the workers in the US.

This is the bourgeoisie's strategy -- to place at the center of everyone's attention THEIR plots, lies and maneuvers against the working class. Even the so-called leaders of the working class; the Stalinists and the centrists, along with the bureaucrats fall into this trap, determining their policy and positions only as a response to the maneuvers of imperialism, offering no perspective forward.

We say the opposite. That in the present situation there are only two things which are decisive, everything else is secondary. First is the revolutionary mobilization of the working class in the US and throughout the world, which DETERMINES all the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist apparatus. Second is the fight of the working class to construct its party, the leading party of the proletariat as its only instrument throughout the world to organize and lead its struggles.

This is what the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists try to hide from the working class. They don't want the workers to think about their struggles, their demands and problems, and wish to prevent them from drawing the conclusion as to how to advance -- through the construction of their party.

This is the central lesson for workers in the US gained at the Fifth World Congress of the Fourth International. It determined that what is key in the present situation is this offensive of the world working class and its youth and the political offensive of the Fourth International to organize and lead this mobilization as the condition for its success.

The central question in front of the working class today, in every struggle, is the combat to RETURN TO LENIN, to construct the leading party of the working class in the heart of every fight, as the answer to every struggle of the workers. This leading party, because of the nature of its policy and combat, can only be the Fourth International.

Our party, how to build it and with what policy is at the center of every fight the American workers are undertaking today. All the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie are directed against this fight of the working class to construct its own party independent from the Democratic Party, the Stalinists and the centrists.

The election of Carter insured nothing for the bourgeoisie. The continued strikes of almost every sector of the working class are an expression of this fact; that the victory of the Democratic Party failed to contain the struggles of the workers.

But even more important is the fact that this mobilization has developed an even greater level of consciousness, expressed in the attempt to break the stranglehold of the trade union bureaucracy on the workers; the agents of the Democratic Party in the workers movement.

In auto, the fight of the UAW workers has continually broken out of the grip of the bureaucrats. The fact that at Fremont and Indianapolis and elsewhere the auto companies were forced to directly intervene against the workers' strikes because of the inability of the bureaucracy to control them is an expression of this.

This is also true in steel where even the local bureaucrats know that the masses of steelworkers are prepared to organize a rebellion against the no-strike pledge. Or in Atlanta, Georgia, where the overwhelmingly black sanitation workers found their strike directly confronted by the "liberal" and black Democratic Party administration of Maynard Jackson.

These are the real questions in front of the American working class. How to organize and lead this break from the Democratic Party and its allies and what party to build in its place?

This mobilization is still confused and disorganized largely because of the treachery of the Stalinist and centrist organizations who claim to represent the workers. Thus, there is a glaring contradiction between the struggles and lessons of the Atlanta sanitation workers and the policy of the Communist Party which is the most ardent defender of the "liberal-labor-black alliance" with the very Democratic Party that is crushing the workers' strikes. It is in glaring contradiction with the policy of the centrist Socialist Workers Party which says, concerning Atlanta: "bring back the days of Martin Luther King, Jr." whose central role as well was to channel and derail the black movement back into the Democratic Party.

In the same way these organizations act as the last line of defense of the trade union bureaucracy. In steel they argued that the best the workers could hope for was Sadlowski and now, in the face of the national contract, they argue that the best the workers can hope for is a few isolated, local strikes. In auto, they argue that it is "premature" to replace the UAW bureaucracy on a national level and instead the workers should

CONTINUED ON BACK

"...you got no representation, you got nothing."

Throw strikebreaker Fraser & his contract out of the UAW Convention Elect Vitale President!



FREMONT CALIFORNIA STRIKERS BETRAYED BY FRASER

By MARGARET GUTTSALL
Detroit, April 24 -- Autoworkers across the country -- from Fremont, to Indianapolis, to Dayton, and Kalamazoo -- are going on strike. What do they want? "An end to the total situation," as one young worker at Ford River Rouge put it. They don't think that Carter and the rest of the so-called Democratic Party and its lackeys in the unions can be trusted to bring this about.

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA is fighting to organize this movement and lead it to victory by building

the leading party of the working class and its faction -- the Revolutionary Workers Faction -- in the United Auto Workers (UAW). For it's true, as this same young worker said: "You got no representation you got nothing!"

This is the central problem being brought forward by the most combative young workers in this mobilization: What are we going to do for leadership?

Are we capable of representing ourselves? Should we ignore Woodcock, Fraser, the rest of the UAW bureaucrats: the convention they're preparing in LA? Can we reform them? Is it necessary to replace them?

LEADERSHIP

The Trotskyist Organization says: Yes! No, No. Yes. Organized on the basis of a correct policy, there are no others better capable of leading the masses of autoworkers organized in the UAW than the young workers coming forward in the strikes today.

Woodcock, Fraser, and their local lackeys, from the presidents to the committeemen, can't be ignored. They're running all over the country trying to break up the strikes the workers are organizing, attacking the leaders of these strikes. They're preparing this convention of the UAW in LA to consolidate this work and take the control of the UAW even further out of the hands of the autoworkers than it already is. The fired leaders of the workers struggles won't even be allowed in.

Nor can Woodcock, Fraser and Co. be reformed. As agents of the Democratic Party and the Carter regime -- that is the company's party and the company's government, they are absolutely devoted to the maintenance of this racist, imperialist system, which lives by sucking the life out of the working class. Breaking up union meetings and strikes is part and parcel of this.

This treacherous leadership which falsely claims to represent the autoworkers must be replaced with a revolutionary leadership which is utterly devoted to the cause of the working class!

Thus the Trotskyist Organization of the USA is fighting to rally the most militant and far-sighted worker-leaders that have come forward in the course

of this mobilization at the doors of Solidarity House, UAW World Headquarters, under the banner: STRIKEBREAKER FRASER OUT! REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS CANDIDATE VITALE IN!

GENERAL STRIKE FOR THE RECALL OF LAID-OFF WORKERS NOW!
It's demanding that the resolution of the Revolutionary Workers Faction (RWF) be placed on the agenda of the UAW Convention, its candidate be placed on the ballot, its delegation be seated, and the UAW CONVENTION be brought BACK TO DETROIT, and opened up to the masses of autoworkers, especially those who have been fired for their struggles in defense of their fellow workers. The TO/USA is preparing a conference of the RWF to draw the lessons of its struggle and elaborate its plan to win the leadership of the UAW.

A DECISIVE STRUGGLE

The outcome of this struggle in Detroit, at Ford River Rouge, above all at the Dearborn Stamping Plant, will be decisive for the whole working class. These workers are in a position to break the isolation of the workers striking across the country with decisive action in the heart of the auto industry. Thus the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization to organize and lead the Stamping workers mobilization, above all against the opportunists of the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party ("Time-to-United") and the abstentionists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) warrants the attention of all workers and militants.

I ask the patience of the readers of TRUTH so I can recount it in some detail. It's full of lessons for everyone.

IN THE DEARBORN STAMPING PLANT

DSP workers were at the head of the strike last fall. They've rejected their unit contract twice and in the last weeks they've developed a powerful mobilization to assemble themselves, set their demands, take a strike vote, and among the most advanced and audacious workers, to throw out Willie Washington, a hated old drunk who wants the DSP workers to pray to God to change their situation. DSP workers want him and his cohorts out. They want a leadership which will truly fight for their interests. Over 200 DSP workers turned out for a union meeting on Sunday, April 17th, with these things in mind.

The Trotskyist Organization fought to organize and lead this struggle. It drew up a resolution for the union meeting with a militant of the Revolutionary Workers Faction of Local #600 and it forced the bureaucrats to allow Gerald Jenkins, a member of the Revolutionary Worker Youth, and me, a member of the leadership of the TO/USA, to attend this meeting.

But because we hadn't gone far enough in the organization of a leadership within the Stamping Plant on the basis of the revolutionary policy of the Trotskyist Organization, each time that we or the most militant workers brought forward the proposal to throw out Willie Washington, the opportunist leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), organizers of "Time-to-United" at the Rouge (Bob Parsons, John Abbot, et. al.), were able to draw us out.

They were able to confuse and demobilize the workers and turn them back to their proposal to beg Woodcock, Fraser, Rinaldi (head of local #600) and Co. for strike authorization, never mentioning that these same bureaucrats were at that very moment, off breaking strikes! These professional confusionists' campaign to "fight the company, not the union," is a campaign to fight the workers who want to throw the company men out of the union.

Many Stamping workers felt this, but because we hadn't sufficiently organized them as a revolutionary leadership against these opportunists, we weren't able to throwout Rinaldi, Washington, and Co., elect a strike committee as the new leadership for the Stamping workers, and mobilize the masses of Rouge workers for the Rally at Solidarity House and the RWF Conference and break the isolation of the striking autoworkers across the country.

FORWARD

The realization of these objectives is critical for the whole working class. Thus the Trotskyist Organization is concentrating its preparation of the Rally at Solidarity House and the RWF Conference in a political offensive to win the Stamping workers to our fight to build the leading party of the working class and its faction in the UAW, to organize them in Revolutionary Worker Youth Circles to build this party and faction. We're fighting to prove to them that only a leadership organized to fight for our revolutionary policy can resolve the problems of the autoworkers.

It's necessary to: CONTINUED ON BACK

Carter's Energy Plan: PREPARATION FOR WAR AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS!

By JON COHEN

There is only one thing we agree with Carter concerning his "energy plan." It is indeed the "moral equivalent of war" as he said. Yes, the "morality" of the rotten and corrupt imperialist bourgeoisie. And war against the working and oppressed masses of the United States.

In just three months Carter has shown the true face of the Democratic Party regime and stripped away all pretense that his government would be one of reform, that it would be any different from Nixon-Ford. After his election Carter said "Anyone who thought I would do much about unemployment was naive."

He wasn't kidding. In a matter of weeks Carter has: proposed a cut in unemployment benefits, kept the minimum wage to \$2.50 an hour, cancelled his proposed \$50 tax rebate, set in motion the machinery for wage controls, and proposed an "energy plan," the center of which is a proposal to allow gas and oil prices to rise and a tax on gasoline.

But one thing should be clear. This

"energy plan" of the bourgeoisie has nothing to do with the interests of the working class in the US -- it is not their "crisis." It is part and parcel of the entire attack of the US bourgeoisie against the working class in the US and throughout the world.

The point is that it is the bourgeoisie which is in crisis. Their "shortages" are merely the expression of the fact that capitalism is a dying social system, a system that can no longer expand the wealth of society, a system that can no longer produce enough to meet the world's needs.

The only way the capitalists can get their profits, is not by expanding production and increasing society's wealth, but by attempting to drive the working class into the ground, through unemployment, inflation and taxes. They must increase their efforts to do this because the working class is not a passive spectator, it is engaged in a constant fight against this dying order, a constant fight for its own demands against capitalist oppression.

Through this "energy plan" Carter



wants the American workers to accept this state of affairs. To accept capitalist crisis and barbarism as a permanent condition, to think that "shortages" are a "national" problem, and to accept the right of the bourgeoisie to crush the working class.

No cooperation with any aspect of this "energy plan!" No cooperation with any of the Democratic Party politicians!

CONTINUED ON BACK

The road forward in Argentina -- Build the Party of class independence!

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The main question facing the workers of Latin America and especially those of Argentina is the re-building of the party of the working class -- the Fourth International. For despite the continued mobilization of the Argentine workers and despite the deepening crisis of the military dictatorships, it is the question of leadership, the party which remains the condition for the continuation of this mobilization.

The Fourth International and the Trotskyist Organization have led a struggle to link the mobilization of the workers of the Two Americas against their common enemy -- US imperialism. In the face of Carter's demagogic sermons for "human rights" in Argentina, including his maneuver of cutting off direct aid to Argentina while channeling military aid through other Latin American regimes, the TO has organized the US workers against the plans of Carter and to directly support and fight alongside the auto workers of the Ford Cordoba plant in Argentina, the stronghold of the Argentine working class.

Yet it is not enough for the struggle to remain on this level, it is the tasks of the construction of the party which remain to be clarified and resolved, above all, for the workers of the Two Americas.

In particular, it is by way of exposing the role of the centrist "United Secretariat" of Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel, and its American supporter, the Socialist Workers Party, that a true balance sheet of the mobilization of Argentine workers can be drawn.

At the time of the coup in Argentina the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores (PST, Argentine section of the USec) was THE party which the working class looked to for leadership -- the Stalinists had been discredited in the eyes of the workers.

But only days before the coup, in a situation where the workers had forced the Peronist regime to cede to large wage gains and other demands through a powerful general strike, the PST was passively pursuing a campaign for the coming legislative elections, restricting its proposals to the level of "democracy" while imperialism and its puppets prepared their coup.

On the other hand, the Mandel wing of the "United Secretariat" was putting forward a policy of guerrilla warfare, outside of the struggles of the working class, supporting the initiatives of Castro and other petty bourgeois forms of struggle. Each in his own way abandoned the Argentine workers to the impending coup.

But militants of the SWP -- it is

your leadership which bears total responsibility for this policy as well. Your leadership above all supported the policy of the PST -- including the translation on Argentine soil of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and the "labor party."

Is there really any difference between the policy of your leadership in the US -- to call for federal troops to protect blacks in Boston and calling proposals for workers defense guards "sectarian" and the policy of the PST, which in the face of the coup called arming the workers "sectarian" and instead signed a pact with the Peron regime for "respect of democratic rights?"

Your leadership remains silent about the balance sheet of Argentina because it bears major responsibility for the defeat of the Argentine workers and because it is pursuing the same liquidationist policy in the US.

Today while the Videla regime houses more than 6,000 militants and workers in prison, steps up its tortures and while the fascist bands multiply their attacks against the workers, Oscar Smith, the centrists continue to counsel the workers to restrain

CONTINUED ON BACK

Join Our Rally at Solidarity House April 30!

Meet at the RWY headquarters, 3310 Junction, Noon. Rally, 1:00pm.

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
PO Box 07066, Detroit MI 48207

From our editorial board

The 5th World Congress of the Fourth International

We are publishing in this issue the Central Resolution adopted by the Fifth World Congress of the Fourth International. The purpose of this Congress was to draw a balance sheet of the fight of the Fourth International in the last year, to develop our plans for advancing the struggle of the working class in the coming months and to elect an international leadership committed to carrying out this fight.

In addition to the Central Resolution, the Fifth World Congress discussed an Organizational Resolution which concentrated on the methods of the construction of the world party and centralized the discussion on the crucial importance of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, our journal, as the international organizer of the party and the working class.

It discussed the implantation of the FI in Eastern Europe. One of the most fundamental acquisitions of the Fourth International and the proof of its maintenance of the historical continuity of Bolshevism against Stalinism is precisely the existence and the combat of its sections in Eastern Europe.

In the face of the present situation, what is crucial and determining is the political offensive of the FI to construct its sections in Eastern Europe and to present the FI as the only organization capable of leading the struggle of the working class against Stalinism.

Finally, the Congress discussed the construction of the FI in the Two Americas, the fight to build the Fourth International as the only solution for the present offensive of the working class in the Two Americas against the

treachery of Stalinism and centrism.

This Congress has rich lessons for the American working class. We prepared this Congress in the US by holding our Fourth National Conference. The Conference determined that our entire balance sheet in the last year can be summarized in the necessity for us to deepen our political offensive in the American working class to win the leadership of the present struggles of the young workers and to construct our party as the determining factor in the class struggle in the US.

We have learned that these questions are not just "American" problems--they are the problems of the entire International and the world working class. This is what distinguishes our party from all others-- the fight to centralize all the local and national problems and experiences on an international level in order to arrive at an international policy to lead the struggles of the working class.

Our Congress had nothing in common with the "Congresses" of the so-called "United Secretariat" whose purpose is to "discuss" and afterwards each national section (and in many cases two or three national sections) goes off and does what they please. Their purpose is to liquidate the FI in the face of Stalinism.

Our Congress was part of the struggle to build a unified, democratic centralist International, the International of Lenin and Trotsky. This is why the Fifth World Congress was an advance, because it is the only way for the international working class and its youth to advance.

TRUTH & FOURTH INTERNATIONAL —

central weapons in the fight to Return to Lenin

The axis of the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA to Return to Lenin, is the struggle to transform THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (the organ of the Executive Committee of the FI) and TRUTH into the organizers of the party and the Revolutionary Worker Youth. And, on the basis of this fight, to develop a massive network of readers, distributors, contributors--organizers of the leading party of the proletariat.

In the next weeks we will be devoting our energies to responding to the problems that arise in the course of the workers mobilization and showing the way forward in FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and TRUTH. We ask our readers to discuss FI and TRUTH, to use them to organize their fellow workers to fight to realize the policy of the Trotskyist Organization, to write to TRUTH in order to let us and the working class know what progress is being made in the struggle and what problems are being encountered.

The FI has launched a campaign to sell 2,000 copies of every issue and to

win 1,000 subscriptions by the Second Congress of the RYL. In the US we are launching a campaign to sell 250 copies of every issue of FI and TRUTH and win 500 subs by August 1st.

When we ask you to get a copy or subscribe to the FI and TRUTH we are asking you to give us the opportunity to prove that our policy is correct and that we are continuing the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky. We are asking you to fight with us to build the party, not "to have something to read on your break"--the slogan of the centrists at Rouge.

We'll be printing sub blanks on index cards and placing them in an envelope addressed to TRUTH. You can drop your \$2 or \$5 for a supporting sub. We'll send you a button saying "Return to Lenin--read, discuss, distribute TRUTH."

Join this campaign and win your fellow workers and comrades to it. This is how Lenin built the party that brought down the Czar in Russia. This is the way we'll build the party that will bring down his 1970 counter-part--Carter and Brezhnev.

To the leaders of "Time to Unite" & the SWP — an invitation to debate

Many of the young workers who have taken up the fight to realize the policy of the Trotskyist Organization at Ford River Rouge, in particular to drive the bureaucrats out of the unions and elect a revolutionary leadership to mobilize the masses against the Carter regime have told us that the difference between the fight taken up by the TO and that of the leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) organized in "Time to Unite" and the SWP are still not sufficiently clear to them. They've suggested that we organize a debate with Bob Parsons or another representative of the RCP and "Time to Unite."

We agree. We invite "Time to Unite" to debate the Trotskyist Organization--"What is the Road Forward for the Autoworkers?"

We think that it would advance the class struggle in the US if the leaders of the RCP and "Time to Unite" took

a clear stand on the Platform of Combat of the TO in the UAW instead of responding simply with "bullshit" or worse--with slander and physical attacks.

At the same time we think it would be very instructive for the leadership of the SWP to come before the workers at Rouge, in particular Farrell Dobbs, to attempt to convince them that the decision they have taken not to fight for leadership of the trade unions, it being "at this time impossible" is indeed the conclusion of the struggle of Trotsky and Cannon in the US.

The Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW is holding a conference on April 30th. We think following it at 7:00 PM at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Worker Youth would be an opportune time. If that's not convenient, we're ready and willing to make other arrangements.

Calendar of struggle

Thursday, April 28 - 12 NOON - Meeting of the Rouge Sector of the RWY -
Thursday, April 28 - 3:30 PM - Rally at Gate #10 at Ford River Rouge -
Saturday, April 30 - 12 NOON - Meet at the Headquarters of the RWY -
Saturday, April 30 - 1:00 PM - Rally at Solidarity House - UAW World Headquarters - 8000 East Jefferson - Detroit -
Saturday, April 30 - 3:00-5:00 PM Revolutionary Workers Faction Conference -
Saturday, April 30 - Evening - Party
Sunday, May 1st - 3:00-5:00 Meeting of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Worker Youth -
Wednesday, May 4th - 12 NOON - Meeting of the Rouge Sector of the RWY -

Return to Lenin! Complete the rebuilding of the Fourth International Prepare the 2nd World Congress of the Fourth International

Resolution of the Fifth World Congress of the Fourth International



LENIN, THE BUILDER OF THE PARTY THAT LED THE RUSSIAN WORKING CLASS TO POWER

I. Based on the balance sheet of the experiences of the Fourth International since its 4th Congress and the characteristic of the new developments of the world upsurge of the proletariat, above all in Europe, the Fifth Congress of the Fourth International reaffirms the necessity to complete the task of the rebuilding of the Fourth International by deepening the political offensive to win the leadership of the struggles of the working class, concentrated in the slogan: RETURN TO LENIN!

The importance of the task determined by the 4th Conference Rebuilding the Fourth International and the 4th Congress, to complete the change in the relationship between the Fourth International and the working class is confirmed by our own development and by the evolution of the class struggle.

Since the 4th Congress, our struggle to realize this task, the balance sheet of our activity, has been characterized by an unequal development whose dominant trait is that we have begun to surmount the weaknesses of our struggle, but in a manner that is still fragile, as the discussion at the 5th Congress itself has demonstrated.

This in a political situation where the conditions of this change in relationship between the Fourth International and the working class have evolved in a relationship with the movement of the proletariat itself which is deepening, in a contradictory manner, its offensive on the world scale and in particular in Western and Eastern Europe.

This march forward of the working class is characterized by its contradictory aspects: on the one hand the proletariat, above all its youth, is trying to stop the counterrevolutionary plot of the treacherous apparatuses, centrally that of the international Stalinist apparatus, but on the other hand, and in this same movement, its evolution remains marked by a profound confusion and political disorientation which, in the absence of the determined combat of the Fourth International, permits, in the last analysis, the Stalinist apparatus to continue to control and lead to defeat, the repeated assaults of the proletariat and its youth.

This international upsurge of the working class doesn't stop the deepening of the crisis of the international Stalinist apparatus and imperialism. In reaction, imperialism and the Stalinist apparatus, each on its own terrain, develops an offensive against the entirety of the gains and conquests of the working class. The faction of the apparatus which calls itself "Eurocommunist," confronted by these new characteristics of the class struggle, and thus the necessities which they imply for the salvation of the imperialist order, goes so far as to support the Sacred Union with the bourgeoisie (Italy-Spain) or to orient itself toward the realization of such a union as in France. This Sacred Union prepares civil war against the masses, above all in Spain, where the decisive confrontation of the working class with the Francoist monarchy is imminent because the Fourth International is not only present in this battle but also fighting to organize it.

However, this international movement of the working class, characterized by its contradictory aspects, of which each country in Europe (East and West) and the Americas (the USA and Latin America) offers an example, is the determining element of the political situation around which is ordered the maneuvers and counterattacks of imperialism and Stalinism. It is in relation to this movement and the historical interests of the working class and not beginning with the counterrevolutionary maneuvers and plans of imperialism and the bureau-

cratized leaderships of the workers movement as did those who led the different attempts to liquidate the Fourth International in 52-53 and after.

The entirety of this movement of the working class characterized by these contradictory aspects brings out the necessity to take up a political offensive to make up for our delay, expressed objectively and negatively by the political disorientation of the proletariat, as a condition to lead and make the revolutionary process conclude in the seizure of power.

II. The advances and delays of the Fourth International are expressed fundamentally in the gap which exists between the struggle to take the leadership of the proletariat, the echo that we encounter in the working class and its youth when we resolutely occupy the different terrains of the mobilization, and the weakness of the translation in terms of organization of the youth in the entirety of this combat.

Thus, each time that our intervention encounters such an echo in the working class (strikes, demonstrations, struggles in the unions and in the elections) the results have provoked a surprise in our own ranks as an expression of the insufficient political preparation of our interventions from the point of view of organization and their pursuit. This timidity in our intervention, if it is expressed in different combats that we engage, takes its greatest importance and is concentrated in the problems of the conquest of the youth to the policy and program of the Fourth International.

The Fifth Congress affirms that the political offensive that the Fourth International must take up consists above all in appearing before that proletarian youth as the party which wants to immediately organize and lead their struggles. This is the sense of our combat to "Return to Lenin," it is a question of the offensive to build the leading party.

The Fifth Congress insists on the necessity for the Fourth International to rid itself of this timidity which is expressed in the policy of "propositions" to the working class and its youth. We must fully renew with Bolshevism, and assume the continuity of the Fourth International by ridding ourselves of these things from our own past marked by the crisis of the FI and the different centrist attempts to liquidate it for the benefit of Stalinism. This demands that we cease to appear in the struggles as an organization among others which "proposes" its policy, that we distinguish ourselves as the builders of the leading party, continuer of that of Lenin, against the treachery or capitulation of the other organizations, as the party which fights to realize its propositions, organize the youth and resolutely directs its struggles against the illusions and confusions presented by the Stalinist apparatus and its centrist allies.

The current characteristic of the class struggle and the balance sheet of the FI since its 4th Congress renders more and more understandable this problem which is at the heart of the different mobilizations of the proletariat and its youth and which we must consciously express in political, thus organizational terms, the construction of the leading party.

The unequal and contradictory character of the offensive of the working class is determined by the confused putting forward, positively and negatively, of this problem-- the attempt to fight the Stalinist apparatus on the one hand, the turn to spontaneist solutions on the other. These elements bring out the necessity of the political offensive that the FI engages and which



MILITANTS OF THE SPANISH SWP

is expressed in a concentrated manner in the combat to "Return to Lenin."

The 5th Congress affirms that it is precisely the balance sheet and the rich experiences of the Fourth International which allow today the deepening of the turn engaged to take the leadership of the working class on the different terrains of its mobilization and which must allow us to affirm, in practice, and by political elaboration, this nature of our party, its combat for the leadership of the proletariat and its independence against the counterrevolutionary apparatuses and the centrist organizations which try to align the working class with imperialism.

Thus our own experience brings out that the principle source of the elaboration and enrichment of our policy is precisely the combat to assume in the class struggle this nature of our party, to lead and organize the class struggles. Only such a fight allows us to nourish our policy, renders us capable of developing it against the tendencies toward the sterile repetition of formulas, toward routinism, which can only transform the character of this policy-- to take the leadership of the revolutionary mobilizations of the proletariat-- into its negation.

The 5th Congress insists on the necessity to give to our offensive to Return to Lenin, for the leading party that is the inheritor of Bolshevism, its full political meaning-- that is to say the translation of every intervention and its capitalization in terms not only of the construction of the party but also of its revolutionary apparatus, centrally, beginning with the distribution and the development of its journal--THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

This central organ of the World Party and each of its sections is the principal means through which the leadership of the Fourth International must lead and orient the entirety of this combat. It is the political weapon of each militant to build the Fourth International, intervene and organize the youth in the class struggles.

III. The entirety of the balance sheet of our activity and the clarification of the orientation of the Fourth International in the class struggle and its current characteristics makes clear the necessity to conquer the leadership of the proletariat by the conquest of the youth. In other words, the Fourth International must renew the workers movement and its leadership by taking the leadership of the youth, in particular by dissipating the illusions which exist within its ranks, and giving it confidence in its own force.

Fourth International the RYI

International

Barcelona. July.

The 5th Congress affirms the necessity make more precise our balance sheet this terrain and to define more precisely the immediate task of the FI as being the preparation of the Second Congress of the RYI which is the centralizing element of the entirety of our political offensive to "Return to Lenin."

It is in this framework that the entirety of the particular tasks of the Fourth International must be taken up resolved in the class struggle (the masses and the construction of the apparatus of the party, implantation in Western Europe and the Two Americas).

The 5th Congress insists on the fact that this conquest of the youth whose present stage of centralization is the 2nd Congress of the RYI is the basis upon which to support our combat to lead to the conclusion of the change in relationship between the Fourth International and the working class.

It calls for a constant political fight against the centrist organizations--in particular the centers of the liquidators of the FI--which constitute, at the side of Stalinism, a supplementary barrier in the path of the socialist revolution and which participate actively in the Stalin-

the fundamental problems for the development of the proletarian revolution -- the class independence of the proletariat, its world party and the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, constantly opposing the policy of treachery or capitulation of the counter-revolutionary apparatuses and their centrist allies. This in relation with the preoccupations and the problems that the workers and militants pose in the face of the treachery or profound crisis of the different Stalinist and centrist organizations.

The FI prepares the 2nd Congress of the RYI as a rally of the best revolutionary fighters of the working class youth, those who are engaged in the fight for the revolution, for the Socialist United States of Europe, the young fighters organized by the RYI in the class battles (strikes, mass actions, fights for leadership of the unions, etc.), the representatives of the strike committees or picket lines, of the entirety of the fight to renew by the youth the proletarian movement and its leadership.

The 5th Congress makes precise that this combat demands as much a constant battle without concessions against the different illusions and con-



MEETING OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE LEADERSHIP OF WORKERS
DEMONSTRATION IN BARCELONA

attempts to crush the class independence of the proletariat, take up and develop the entirety of the illusions and confusions which characterize the current offensive of the working class.

The crisis of these centrist organizations is directly linked to that which reverses the international apparatus of the Kremlin. Their destruction is determined by our political offensive to "Return to Lenin," at the heart of which is the construction of the leading party, the discussion of its nature and its program are the fundamental elements of direct intervention in the crisis of these centrist organizations.

The development of these questions our propaganda through the different problems which the workers face in Western and Eastern Europe, must be the center of the political elaboration of the FI as conditions to lead the mobilizations and organize the proletarian youth.

Thus our combat to Return to Lenin, centralizes not only the problems posed by the class struggle and our interventions but also permits us to make more precise our tactics and respond to the problems of the militants of the Stalinist and centrist organizations pose.

It is thus that the preparation of the 2nd Congress of the RYI, centralized the slogan and the policy of "Return to Lenin," that the Fourth International must pose in a living manner and constantly enriched by its experiences



Spain: There won't be any democracy without the legalization of the Fourth International

By ANN NELSON

The bourgeois newspapers are continually reporting that the Communist Party of Spain has been legalized, trying to support the illusion that this is a sign of the democratization of Spain, and that the government of Juan Carlos is different than the Franco regime. But in fact, the case is that in Spain, the mobilization of the workers and youth, the demonstrations and the strikes are aimed directly at the Fascist government, to bring it down.

The legalization of the Communist Party on April 9th, was the only alternative for the Fascist government to try to insure the participation in the elections to the Cortes, which the Communist Party advocates, against the direction of the masses and the PORE (Spanish Section of the Fourth International) which is to boycott the fascist elections. The CP was legalized to break the struggle of the masses, to force them to accept the continuation of the Francoist Monarchy.

The policy of the PORE in the last weeks has been to point the way forward for the Spanish working class, to build confidence in its own independent mobilization against the government, and to put forward the demands and proposals to lead the Spanish workers and youth to victory. The repression in Spain has not let up at all, in fact, the repression by the civil guard has increased in the Basque country, and the prisons fill with political prisoners.

The PORE points out that a main obstacle to the freedom of the political prisoners is the policy of the Spanish Communist Party and its cry for "amnesty". In LA AURORA (The Dawn, newspaper

of the PORE) the Central Committee of the PORE says "Who can free the prisoners? The Spanish Fascist government? This is the meaning of asking the government for amnesty. Or the workers on strike?"

The answer of the Spanish workers and youth was given when on March 15th, 15,000 workers gathered in Barcelona in a demonstration for amnesty. 8,000 of the demonstrators decided to rally and march to the Modelo prison under the banner of the PORE which said WORKERS MARCH TO OPEN THE PRISONS!

The PORE has prepared to further the struggle of the Spanish working class. It says in LA AURORA that the workers have an important interest in the freeing of the political prisoners, and in preparing the struggle to win rights and freedoms. The PORE is preparing this struggle with the construction workers in Barcelona, by beginning the general strike through the strike of the construction workers on April 22. This is being prepared with a workers committee to organize a WORKERS MARCH TO THE PRISONS.

The political objective of the workers march to the prisons, and the general strike is to unite the workers against the Francoist regime and the collaboration with the apparatuses, and to elevate the different struggles of the Spanish workers and youth to organize the Political General Strike and prepare in this way the boycott of the fascist elections to the Cortes.

The young workers of the JRE (Spanish Section of the Revolutionary Youth International) have taken a leading place in the mobilization alongside the PORE to bring down the Spanish Monarchy, to

fight for the Workers and Peasants Government in Spain. The PORE and the JRE demand the legalization of the PORE in the struggle for the General Strike.

The JRE is preparing as well the holding of the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Youth International in Barcelona this summer. The JRE is preparing a rally at the telephone exchange at the beginning of the Congress. The telephone exchange was where the Trotskyists and the revolutionary militants of the CNT, made their last stand in the Spanish Civil War in 1938 against the Fascists and the Stalinists.

After the Congress, the Revolutionary Youth International will organize brigades to go to Eastern Europe to develop further the fight of the Socialist United States of Europe, to defend the workers in Poland. The JRE as well is fighting for a large public hall in which to hold the RYI's II Congress.

The youth and workers in the United States have a tremendous stake in the fight of the Fourth International and the youth in Spain. Above all by preparing in the US their own struggles against Imperialism and the apparatuses which support it, as well as defending the struggles of the Spanish working class. Support in the US the struggle of the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Worker Youth to prepare the Second Congress of the RYI in Barcelona, to RETURN TO LENIN!

ACTIVE WORKERS BOYCOTT OF THE TREACHEROUS CORTES OF SUAREZ!
BRING DOWN THE MONARCHY!
WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT!
LONG LIVE THE PORE!



"Sit down, sit down!"

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

The upcoming UAW Convention occurs in the midst of a strike wave in local after local. The UAW bureaucracy's privileged position is threatened by these strikes. More and more workers see them as the main obstacle to winning against the companies. The most glaring example is the strike of Local 1226 in Indianapolis.

Here, after a foreman struck a worker (who was immediately fired) and nothing done to the foreman, the workers went on wildcat for ten days. On the 11th day, Chrysler fired 23 union officers, including the president. Doug Fraser came down from Detroit and after telling everyone that it was a "losing situation," sent them back to work, THE NEXT DAY Chrysler suspended 44 workers who set up picket lines, despite Fraser's orders.

These walkouts and local strikes have not succeeded in winning our demands. Our struggles remain uncoordinated and unplanned. We have not yet forged a new, revolutionary leadership which is the only weapon that can plan, coordinate and lead our struggles to a successful conclusion.

We will not find this leadership in those who continue to support the bureaucracy while claiming to be for change. The Communist Party, with its supporters in the bureaucracy, particularly at Local 78 in Detroit, has submitted a resolution for the UAW Convention "asking" the UAW "to prepare the 1,750,000 members for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay." How? "By amending the Federal Wage and Hour Act to a 35 hour work week at forty hours pay."

In other words, lobby Congress, put pressure on the capitalist parties. The last issue of SOLIDARITY was filled with the same stuff written by the bureaucrats. The results? Cuts in unemployment benefits, higher gas prices!

We have learned something from Indianapolis and Fremont. No trust in the UAW bureaucracy, even the local bureaucrats who are incapable of fighting Fraser, and no trust in the Stalinists and centrists.

We can only rely on our own forces. At Fremont and Indianapolis once the bureaucrats led the workers out of the plant their struggle became isolated and disorganized. What must be done in a situation like that is to sit-down in the plant, assemble all the workers together INSIDE the plant, formulate the demands and elect a factory committee to lead and organize the struggle. This is the only way to bargain from a position of strength, to stop the company from isolating militants and to keep the bureaucracy from controlling the strike.

The lessons of Fremont and Indianapolis, as well as the lessons of all the struggles of the auto workers to date all prove that only our own INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION inside the factories can successfully lead our fights. FACTORY COMMITTEES, to lead a daily fight to control working conditions and stop harassment is at the center of the fight of the Revolutionary Workers Faction of the UAW.

The best way to build the RWF now and to organize this fight for Factory Committees is to build the local rallies and the rally at SOLIDARITY HOUSE on April 30th, challenging the bureaucracy, demanding that they bring the Convention back to Detroit, open it up to all political tendencies and to support my candidacy for President of the UAW.

Let's make sure that Fraser has broken his last strike.

April 24, 1977



By ANN NELSON

"Nothing half-way" was the response of a young Great Lakes Steel worker (in Detroit) to what he thought the needs of the steelworkers today are. Said before the signing of the 1977 steel contract in Washington, this response is even more true today, after the blow against the workers in the signing of the contract and the renewal of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). More than ever the steelworkers are seeking a road which meets the full test of their needs.

The signing of the contract against the steelworkers is a fit time to begin TRUTH's column on the situation and the road forward for the young militants in Steel. Unlike the Stalinists of the Communist Party USA with their "Steel Sparks" or their "Trotskyist" supporters, the Socialist Workers party and their "Steel Notes", which both take the side of the left-wing of the USW bureaucracy through "reporting" their maneuvers, our column bases its content on the mobilization of the steelworkers themselves and develops the way forward for the militants in steel -- the building of their own independent leadership, the Workers Party.

The contract signed by Abel is an attempt to crush the steelworkers. It provides for a completely inadequate wage increase of 8% over three years, amounting to 2 1/2 cents an hour increase. It extends the Experimental Negotiating Agreement for three more years (it was under the threat that if the local presidents didn't pass this lousy contract that Abel said it would go to Federal arbitration, possibly meaning a worse deal). The contract is an open attack on young workers, TAKING AWAY present medical and insurance benefits, and giving job security to workers with twenty or more years seniority (whose jobs aren't particularly threatened).

The contract also sets a new precedent in class-collaboration by giving over \$500,000 in union funds, to be matched by the steel companies, for an indoctrination program for workers, on the "adverse affect of imports" and the importance of productivity for the good of "the company and the worker".

That the steelworkers will not accept this contract is certain. Even the local presidents, on the first vote in Washington, rejected the contract 148 to 143. After Abel threatened government arbitration, the contract was passed 193 to 99.

Already the 7,000 worker local in Lorain, Ohio unanimously rejected the pact, the same with Local 65 at South Works in Chicago. The question before the steelworkers is how to defeat this attack. Many local presidents are now making plans for local strikes, and this policy will be acceptable to Abel and McBride as well. What they seek to avoid at any cost is a national or general strike of steel, and a mobilization of the workers outside the framework of the control

CONTINUED AT THE TOP

of the local union bureaucrats.

A key part of the strategy of the union bureaucrats has also been the subordination of the needs of the workers in steel to the political policies of the Democratic Party, thus the significance of the indoctrination program to tell steelworkers what they know is a lie, that theirs and the steel bosses and the governments interests are the same. Even more significant is the attack on "imports" which is really an attack on the aspirations of the steel-

"Nothing half-way"

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

workers to broaden their fight in support of their international class brothers and sisters, particularly in Latin America and Europe.

In many cases, as in auto, the union bureaucrats have been discredited in the eyes of the workers. What continues to isolate and abort the mobilization of the steelworkers? The policy of the CP-USA, many of whom are local presidents themselves, is to wish that the steelworkers leave their fate to them. They supported Sadlowski, who on the questions of collaboration with the government and even calling a steel strike stands right beside Abel.

And when steelworkers look to the CP it makes no proposals on the way forward for steelworkers, and supports the policy of local strikes, all in the name of "communism".

The Socialist Workers party who reprinted the whole contract in the April 29 issue of the MILITANT, makes no proposal but again to support Sadlowski who is derailing the mobilization of the steelworkers by challenging the elections through the government in an effort to cool the steelworkers anger over their present situation and cloud the way forward.

The policy of the SWP in the unions was summed up accurately by Farrell Dobbs in the April 22 MILITANT: first we fight on the economic and democratic demands, and later on the political struggle. The result of this policy is that it is impossible to fight for the "economic and democratic demands". Dobbs goes on to say that this is not the time to fight for union office as the workers are sure to be defeated by the bureaucrats.

The only sure thing is that the contract just signed is a massive attack. That in order for the steelworkers to turn back this attack requires above all a political struggle for workers control of health and safety and production. To fight to immediately recall all laid-off workers by rejecting the ENA and leading the general strike of steel and challenging the leadership of the trade union bureaucracy on this platform.

This is the lesson of the struggles of the steelworkers and the way forward in the tremendous struggles to come, which can only be insured for victory if the steelworkers trust no one but their own leadership independent of the arbitration of the Democratic Party-run government and all the apparatuses which support it.

To do this, the Trotskyist Organization, US Section (sympathizing) of the Fourth International, calls on the youngest most militant steelworkers to take up the fight with it to build a Revolutionary Workers Faction in Steel, for the most militant workers to join the Revolutionary Worker Youth and its fight to Return to Lenin by building the party of the American revolution, the Fourth International!

DOWN WITH THE ENA!
Build the Revolutionary Workers Faction
in the USW!
April 24, 1977

