

## Reagan Regime On the Skids

The events of the last few weeks show that the Reagan regime is already in deep difficulties, if not open crisis.

The signs were already there. The opinion polls revealed that Reagan, despite his supposed "mandate" and "honeymoon," already had a higher dissatisfaction rating and a lower satisfaction rating than either Carter or Ford at a similar point in their presidencies.

And the tempest in a teapot over Alexander Haig's powers to "manage crises" (!) actually revealed that Haig, by being the point man for Reagan's failed attempt to rally the American people to support intervention in El Salvador, was already expendable.

But it was two nearly simultaneous events that showed the real extent of the problems.

First, the response of workers and the oppressed to the attempted assassination — from complete lack of interest in Reagan's fate to open enthusiasm — revealed that it was no longer a question of passive "opinion." Reagan is *despised* by the working class.

Then came the vote of the coal miners to strike. This decision, unimpeded by any tears for the president, showed in action the fundamental cause of the Reagan regime's difficulties. The working class isn't buying Reagan, his policies, his El Salvador intervention, or anything else. Its abstention in the elections is not being reflected in abstention from action today.

This miners' strike, as we pointed out in the last issue of *Truth*, has the potential to open up the General Strike. This General Strike can bring together and give a political focus to the hatred for Reagan. It can centralize and give a political solution to all the movements directed against imperialism: black, anti-draft, union.

The spectacle of Alexander Haig, shaking in his boots, announcing in a quavering voice, "I am in control," reveals the real lack of control over the situation, internationally and in the U.S., that the Reagan regime has.

A right-wing nut put a bullet in Reagan's lung. We can put the stake through his heart.

*General Strike to bring down Reagan!*  
TRUTH

From the battlefields of El Salvador to the coalfields of the U.S. . . .

## Defend and Extend the Revolution!

*Boycott the El Salvadoran Junta  
General Strike to Bring Down Reagan*



Armed youth in El Salvador. Youth in U.S. need to be politically armed to prepare the revolution here.

**INSIDE:  
LESSONS OF  
THE  
ANTI-WAR  
MOVEMENT**

(Page 6)

**WARSAW WILL NOT BE ANOTHER  
PRAGUE!**

*The Tanks Shall Not Pass!  
We Are All Polish Workers!*

(Poland: Page 5)

**Apprentices of Vichinsky****The Slanderers Find New Adherents**

(In 1972, at the proposal of Pierre Lambert of the French OCI, the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International was dissolved. The League of Revolutionary Socialists of Hungary (LRSH) opposed its dissolution and organized a Faction for the Maintenance of the International Committee. Faced with the liquidation of the International Committee, the organizations adhering to the Faction formed the International League — Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI). Its struggle finally culminated in the rebuilding of the Fourth International in January 1976.

The response of Lambert to the formation of the LIRQI was a campaign of Stalinist slander against Michel Varga, a leader of the LRSH and the IC, as an "agent of the CIA and the KGB," as well as a campaign of physical attacks aimed at the silencing of the LIRQI and preventing the rebuilding of the Fourth International.)

oOo

In our last article, *Truth* summarized the main conclusions of an article which appeared in *La Aurora*, newspaper of the PORE, Spanish section of the Fourth International. To give any credence to the idea that the slanders against Michel Varga could be considered as merely the logical consequence of an opportunist policy is to give support to the slanders as a permissible form of struggle. No! There is a class line between the workers movement and the methods of Stalinist slander. We promised to take up a fight in *Truth* against the manifestations in the USA of the slanders against Michel Varga and we begin this here.

First, we must see the role of the pseudo-Commission of Inquiry and the organizations which composed it. This pseudo-Commission was formed after the French LCR, the SWP (both part of USec) and Lutte Ouvriere (France), British WSL changed their support for a Commission of Inquiry into the slanders, called by the International League, and adopted the position of the Spartacist League (USA), an organization which, as we will see, has played the role of handmaiden to the slander campaign launched by Lambert against Varga.

Ostensibly the pseudo-Commission was formed as an "objective" body, but in reality its purpose was to "verify if the 'accusations of the OCI have a basis or not,' rejecting the position of the LIRQI which demanded that the Commission of Inquiry be constituted on the basis of recognition, *a priori*, that the accusations of the OCI were slanders."

Thus these organizations, after having condemned the slanders of the OCI and its physical attacks, which in fact increased during the year-long deliberations of this pseudo-Commission, were seized with "doubt." This "doubt" of Varga's innocence (without ever having produced one shred of evidence of his "guilt") became in fact the eventual *conclusion*, as well, of the pseudo-Commission!

We are reminded of the small town sheriff in the South, who, coming upon the bound and gagged body of a black man, announces, "must have been suicide." Such objectivity!

But the participants in the pseudo-Commission have necessarily seen to it that the nature of their deliberations would come to light — by accepting the Spartacist League, well known for its gossip, into its company, they also ensured that all the real dirt would be brought out. Thus we learn from *Workers Vanguard* that the real purpose of the commission for the SWP and LCR was "to clean up the leadership of the OCI" in order to proceed with an intended "reunification." A reunification which has since been blown to pieces by the revolution in Iran and Nicaragua. And the commendable SL, that paragon of journalistic propriety (indeed far surpassing the *National Enquirer*), can it ever allow itself to be outdone?

Indeed no!

Thus we see that the "objective" SL changed its position concerning the slanders according to opportunist expediency. First it applied for negotiations with the OCI after the slander campaign against the LIRQI had begun. Being rebuffed, it informed the LIRQI later that it had always been for a Commission of Inquiry of "distinguished personalities" of the "International Trotskyist Movement" in which, because of the SL's relative youthfulness (such modesty), it could not participate.

And from here, the SL overcame its modesty to become the mouthpiece of the pseudo-Commission. This change of position, not accidentally, coincided with the adherence of the *Truth* group of the USA to the LIRQI in February 1975.

But the SL is still only the sales agent in this scheme of slander and deception, the prime movers were those who tried to cloak themselves in "objectivity." In-

terestingly enough, to this day the SWP has never mentioned the existence of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, or the "Varga group" as they refer to it, in their press (though it is spoken of, as we know, in that organization to cast "doubt" on us).

The preface to *The White Paper*, which contains the results of the work of the Commission of Inquiry into the slanders against Michel Varga, answers this seeming paradox well:

"... Why do they pretend to ignore us? Because they consider us a group without importance? Then why did they go to the trouble of the Varga affair? Through a desire to defend 'workers democracy'? We can see how the Pabloite leaders understand and defend this! And if this was the case, why did it take them three years after the slanders had begun to form a 'commission of inquiry'?"  
D.H.

**Truth Is Your Weapon!**

Inside the movements in the United States representing struggles against U.S. imperialist rearmament and its Holy Alliance with the Kremlin bureaucrats, we fight to *organize* the revolutionary vanguard based on the Political Resolution of the 6th National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA (printed in *Truth* #129), to *organize* its delegates to the World Workers Conference. A central element of this plan is the fight for subscriptions to *Truth* at an introductory price of \$1 for 3 months.

One hundred subscriptions to *Truth*! The results of the subscription campaign have deepened, but must go much farther to achieve this goal. The results to date represent the political struggle for a revolutionary orientation in the anti-draft movement, on the terrain of the struggle in auto for a Special Convention, among youth organizations and groups that oppose the Reagan regime and in the working class neighborhoods, Poletown and the Hispanic barrio in Detroit.

In particular, at the El Salvadoran teach-in held in Detroit last week, the struggle to win organizations opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador to the World Workers Conference gained three new subscribers to *Truth*.

The sub campaign must go much farther, must be centralized and concentrated politically to yield the best political results.

To achieve the goal of 100 subs: at the factories and local where 1,100 Ford workers petitioned for a Special Convention of the UAW, against the concessions, (Local 900) 10 subs; at UAW Local 174 where the party made a strong fight for a Workers Candidate and a Workers Party in the elections: 5 subs.

In the anti-draft movement, in CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft): 10 subs. At high schools actively involved in the anti-draft movement: 10 subs each.

In the Latin American/El Salvadoran solidarity organizations: 5 subs. In the barrio in Southwest Detroit: 10 subs.

In this manner, in the fight to enlarge the readership of *Truth* and to broaden the influence of the only revolutionary party in the world, the Fourth International, we prepare Madrid.

Every new subscriber represents a step in the political organization of the revolution in the Americas. The subs are a gauge of the combat to regroup the forces of the revolution against all attempts to "pressure" or reform. Against the mas-

ters of the world: *Subscribe to Truth; it is your weapon!*

Each issue of *Truth* will report the progress of the subscription campaign up to and beyond the World Workers Conference. Each new subscriber will receive a copy of the Resolutions of our 6th National Conference.

BARBARA PUTNAM

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# The Workers Revolution is Not Negotiable

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER

The revolutionary unity of the two proletariats of North and South America is the key to opening the revolutionary crisis of U.S. imperialism and the Reagan government.

The methods of working class struggle, the General Strike and the union boycott of the repressive dictatorships, the strengthening and development of the independent organs of the proletariat, the popular assembly based on workers councils uniting the workers and peasants and the independence of the unions from the bosses' government and from imperialist rearmament are the only response which can bring victory to the revolution in the Americas. The other alternative is that of imperialism, with its back to the wall, and the blind attack on the revolution initiated by Reagan.

Not so for Brezhnev and the equally panicked apparatus of the Kremlin. "Everything is negotiable," said the aging Stalinist counterrevolutionary, as he was helped off the podium at the 26th Soviet Communist Party Congress. This is Moscow's response to Reagan — to the rear, march!

Retreat before imperialism means an increase in the attacks on the revolution, which brings with it the immediate threat of Kremlin tanks invading Poland. But always in the service of imperialism.

It is a retreat without precedent. In agreeing to extend the range of Western military observations to the Ural Mountains, to recognize the Camp David accords which give U.S. imperialism a direct presence in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, the Kremlin sets the stage for the entire Stalinist apparatus as well as for those who live in its shadow.

Its disciples fall into line. Fidel Castro assured Reagan at the 26th Congress that Cuba had nothing to do with the revolution in El Salvador. And why not? He has already lent his name to the invasion of Poland by Kremlin tanks.

And what has this to do with the revolution in El Salvador and U.S. workers? Everything.

"Is the blood of the Polish workers to be shed on top of the blood of the Salvadoran peasants?" A sharp question, asked not by one of the present leaders of the revolution in El Salvador or Poland, but by the Mexican novelist, Carlos Fuentes, writing in *The New York Times* (March 5, 1981).

Yes, it is clear, even well understood by the bourgeoisie, that the "deal" has been struck. Brezhnev and Castro have negotiated away the Western hemisphere to give Reagan and U.S. imperialism a free hand in Central America. So-called "communists" extend respect for private property to respect for colonial intervention in America's "backyard."

But to have a deal, each party must get something. In this case it is a one-sided bargain. The Kremlin gets no guarantees from imperialism.

The present leadership of the workers movement and the tasks of the revolution must be judged from the point of view of the workers and militants in the front lines



Coal miners in U.S. make getaway after attacking scab coal convoy.

of the battle — from the vantage point of the Polish workers and the street fighters in El Salvador. Here is the source of the desperate attempts of imperialism and the Kremlin to rearm themselves: Who is for negotiating away the advances of the revolution and who is for extending them?

## Borge and Friends Speak

Commander of the Revolution Tomas Borge, leader of the Sandinista FSLN, Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior, made very clear where he stands in a speech to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission on October 10, 1980.

Everything is negotiable for him too. More loans for the capitalists and their increased role in the economy. Protecting the National Guard from the "excesses" of the workers. Better prison conditions for counterrevolutionaries.

"We want to become a shining example for the whole continent in the area of human rights . . ." says Borge.

Which means concretely, "We have promised in all seriousness not to send arms or troops to help the Salvadorans, and we have kept our promises. Mr. Carter can rest assured that we are keeping our promise not to send arms to the Salvadorans."

Following in the wake of the retreat of the Kremlin, this is where Borge is trapped — and it is a danger for the revolution in Central America that this is so. And in a similar vein, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in El Salvador said: "Sooner or later, the United States will have to talk and we will always be ready to talk, though not to surrender" (*New York Times*, February 24, 1981). And if it takes ten years of murderous intervention for U.S. imperialism to "talk," as it did in Vietnam, what then?

In the same article, Salvador Samayoa, spokesman for the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FFMLN) assured Washington that the Kremlin was not arming the rebels in El Salvador, in fact he says, ". . . three of the five guerrilla groups in the FFMLN were strongly

anti-Soviet."

Take care, Mr. Samayoa, you offer a bone to the imperialist monster but it will take your whole arm before it is satisfied!

None of these attempts to placate Reagan has worked. If anything, they are taken as a sign of weakness by imperialism and as an open invitation to extract more concessions from the revolution. After all the assurances offered by Borge, the U.S. still cut off all aid to Nicaragua. And the "talks" proposed by the FDR have been rebuffed, failing to halt the sending of more guns and more advisers to prop up the bloody junta.

Gentlemen. Isn't it clear yet? The revolution is not negotiable!

No one should be fooled by the Reagan administration's *White Paper on Communist Intervention in Central America*. The policy has two objectives: (1) an attack on the revolution and the socialist conquests of the workers of Eastern Europe and the USSR; and (2) an attempt to extort further capitulations from the Kremlin while demanding that it take more responsibility for crushing the revolution.

## Open World Workers Conference

It is not the movement of workers and youth, not the revolution, that is in retreat. It is the revolution that is the basis of the retreats of the Kremlin, but at the same time it is the retreat of a cornered animal. This is the meaning of the Madrid Conference on European Security and Cooperation, which has been transformed to become a Conference of counterrevolutionary rearmament under the blows of the revolution.

The revolution advances, but because of its present leadership which retreats behind the Kremlin, the revolutionary battles still have a dispersed and disorganized character.

The revolutionary leadership is necessary. For the workers and youth in the front lines this conclusion is a product of their struggle to *organize the revolution*.

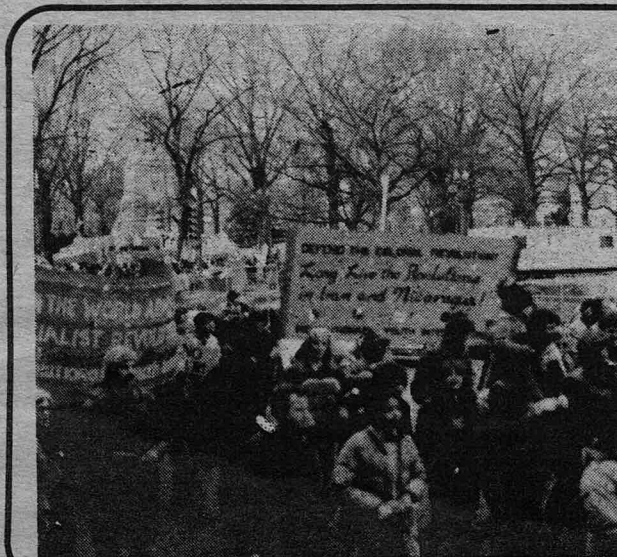
In this manner the Fourth International tries to clarify for the workers and youth of the Americas the road forward and to join with them in common struggle.

It is necessary to address, in particular, the Socialist Workers Party, because it claims to represent the Fourth International.

Since the outbreak of the revolution in Nicaragua, the SWP has maintained that the FSLN is a "Bolshevik" leadership, and for twenty years it has maintained that Castro is of the caliber of Lenin and his comrades. But now it is openly clear that these leaderships want to have nothing to do with Bolshevism or Leninism.

Once again, only two alternatives are present: to turn our backs on the trap of "peaceful coexistence," on a period which is dead, or to retreat in the wake of the Kremlin.

The World Workers Conference, being organized by the Fourth International with groups and tendencies from around the world who want to overcome the present disorganized character of the revolutionary confrontations, is the means by which the leadership of the workers revolution can be forged in a combat to *organize the revolution!*



## RESOLUTIONS

Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist Organization/USA

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# Rearm the Workers Movement • Pre

## Support for Conference Grows!

World Workers Conference,  
Madrid, Spain, April 18 and 19.

On April 18 and 19 the World Workers Conference will meet in Madrid, Spain, to map out a plan of the oppressed against the rearmament of imperialism and the Kremlin and to build a leadership for this struggle.

Already a number of parties and organizations in the Americas, Europe and Africa have decided to build and participate in this Conference.

From the Americas — a faction of the Chilean Socialist Party. From Europe — the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) of Spain, the Left Socialists of Poland and of Hungary, as well as representatives of the inter-factory committees (MKS) of Poland and of the free union movement (SMOT) of the USSR. From Africa — the Moroccan Revolutionary Workers Group, the Pan-African Party and the Burundian Workers Party.

Representatives of circles of revolutionary youth in Peru and the RYI's Leon Sedov Circle in Poland will be present. So will be delegations from the International Executive Committees of the Fourth International and of the Revolutionary Youth International, and from their sections in different countries in the Americas and Europe.

Coordinating Committees have been formed in a number of countries to build the Conference. The next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Youth International (RYI) will centralize this struggle and the final preparations for the Conference.

In the United States, the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA have waged a fight to win the support of the anti-draft movement and the movement in the UAW for a Special Convention to this Conference. And a number of individuals have decided to support it.

In the coming days the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA will be fighting to show all organizations which oppose the rearmament of U.S. imperialism and of the Kremlin that they have a stake in the outcome of this Conference, that its purpose is to organize the confrontation developing between these movements and the Reagan regime, to overcome the conflict developing between these movements and the

policies of their leaderships which are rooted in "pressure" politics, by building a new leadership of the workers movement. In this way we will deepen the support and participation in the Conference from the United States.

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International has prepared a draft manifesto for the Conference which is being distributed and discussed among all its supporters and participants.

The Manifesto — *For the Socialist United States of Europe, for the new working class leadership of the revolution* — says that the revolution is, in the words of Marx, "the locomotive of history," that the choice for the working class is war or revolution and that the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the unification of the revolution in Western and Eastern Europe, is the only way for the workers of the world to advance in the actual realization of the revolution.

It proposes the combat for the General Strike in every country to bring down the bourgeois and bureaucratic regimes as the concrete means with which to build the Socialist United States of Europe, as well as international campaigns to defend the revolutions in Central America and Poland. It calls for the election of an international liaison committee to coordinate the fight.

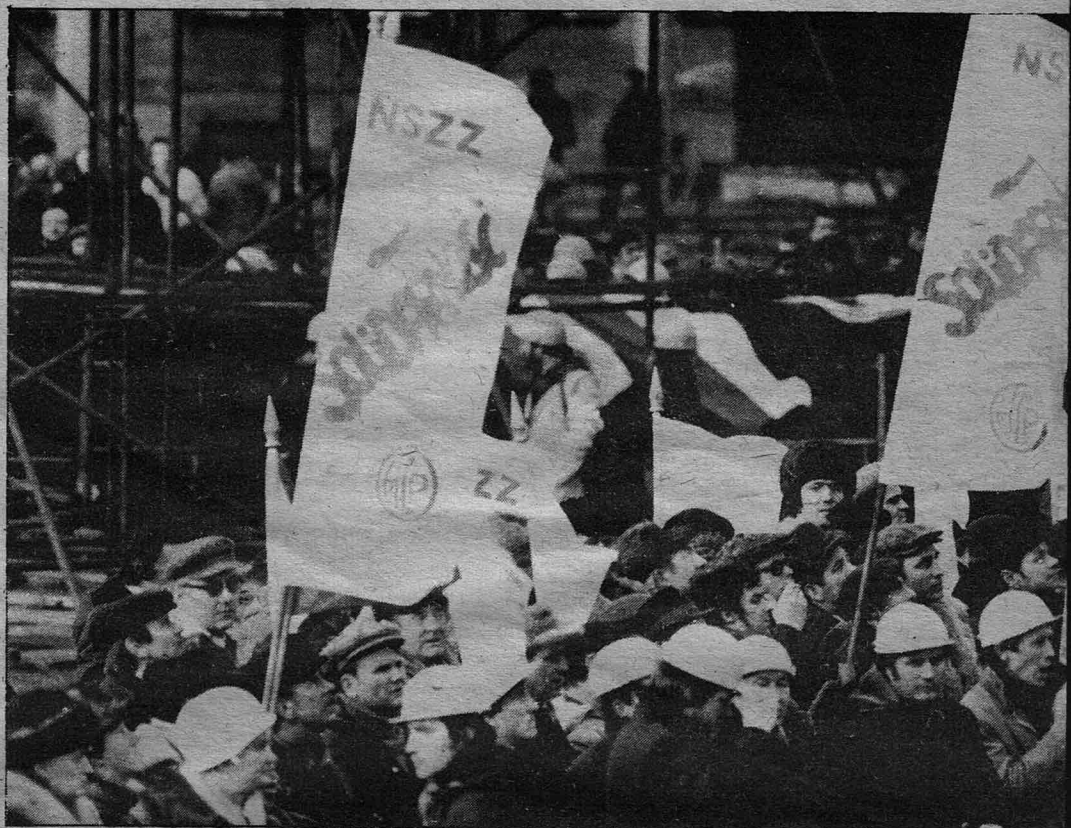
Contributions from other supporters of and participants in the Conference are also being prepared and will be made available and entered into the discussion at the Conference.

Tickets with which to build financial support for the Conference, in particular to finance the delegations from all the different countries, have also been issued.

This Conference is going to be a tremendous step forward. Confronted with a united working class, the Reagans and Brezhnevs of this world will never stand. So the slogan of Marx — "Workers of the World, Unite!" — is as true today as it was in 1848.

Youth organizations, workers organizations, and parties — support and participate in the World Workers Conference! Contact the Trotskyist Organization/USA or the International Young Guard/USA today! M.G.

## Defend the Polish Revolution



TOWARD THE REVOLUTION. Polish workers, marching under the banners of the free "Solidarity," are engaged in a revolutionary mobilization.

## Poland — The Situation

The situation in Poland is growing more acute from day to day. The Warsaw Pact powers have held a meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, site of the Kremlin's invasion in 1968. This meeting has issued a statement violently denouncing the Polish Revolution and the free trade union "Solidarity."

Those leaders of "Solidarity," the Walesa leadership, that managed to call off the general strike that had been scheduled in response to the Polish Stalinist regime's attack, announced that this would bring peace to the country.

But a policy of retreat never brings peace. The Kremlin's growing threats have one of two meanings. Either it thinks the cancellation of the general strike shows that the revolution is on the defensive and that this is the time to intervene decisively, or it thinks that the threat of military action can increase the confusion and disorientation caused by Walesa's action, thereby improving the potential for a successful invasion later.

In either case, the Kremlin has to calculate politically. Because even the most massive military force cannot by itself crush a revolution. On the contrary, it only poses the danger of spreading it into a general conflagration, of "infecting" the troops of the Kremlin and its satellites with the "germ" of revolution, of inspiring a general upsurge against Stalinism throughout Europe.

The capitalist press in the West may suppress the news of the strikes and organization of the workers in the USSR and Eastern Europe, but the Kremlin is all too familiar with these facts.

But if the Polish Revolution can lose its forward motion, be deprived of its dynamic character, that can create a situation in which military force can be successful, precisely as in Czechoslovakia.

And that raises the real danger to the Polish Revolution represented by the criminal policy of Walesa. The general strike was the question of the advance of the revolution. The decision to call it off — for the sake of purely formal concessions — was a decision to try to stop the revolution at the level of "reform," to try to avoid the confrontation that cannot be avoided, in which the question is not whether but how — how to win.

Lech Walesa may experience for himself the bitter truth of the axiom of Saint-Just, a leader of the great French Revolution: "Those who make revolution halfway are only digging their own graves."

In the ranks of "Solidarity," of the Polish working class, Walesa's policy has produced a wave of outrage. One speaker at the National Commission meeting that made the decision said: "It's you, Lech. You're not effective enough. You're getting tired and worn down." Two of those attacked in the Bydgoszcz incident that started the latest

# Compare the World Workers Conference

n!



trade union

## Sharpens

upsurge wrote: "We did not gain anything. Walesa has made bungled decisions. We can compromise on the supply of onions; but not when blood has been spilled."

At the same time, a polarization appears to be developing in "Solidarity," with Karol Modzelewski, a "moderate" and leader of the "reform"-oriented KOR, having to resign from his post in protest of Walesa's tactics, and with Anna Walentynowicz, a Walesa associate and a person who has announced that she is not a socialist but a (Catholic) "believer," being removed from the leadership of the Gdansk local.

This shows that the problem is not one of confidence in the existing leadership but of a lack of a solution that goes beyond the borders of Poland, that raises the possibility of breaking the isolation of the Polish Revolution, of changing the relationship of forces.

This is the meaning of the fight the Fourth International is making for an open struggle for the *Socialist United States of Europe* at the World Workers Conference in Madrid later this month. Pulling together and politically cohering the movements and militants on the world scale who are opposing in action the continued rule of Stalinism and imperialism is the key to opening a new and victorious perspective for the Polish Revolution.

K.F.

## U.S.: Defend the Free Trade Unions

Today the Kremlin's tanks are poised on the border of Poland ready to try to crush the movement for free unions and all that it represents, the struggle to overturn Stalinism. And the organizers of the free union movement in the USSR are being systematically hunted down and tortured, imprisoned and exiled.

Today more than ever the call of the free union movement must be answered by workers in the Western countries, above all in the U.S., pillar of world imperialism.

"We are a free and independent trade union movement. That's what the Polish workers are struggling for," say the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO (better known as the AFL-CIA by the workers of Latin America and around the world).

The participation of the AFL-CIO in the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" going on in Madrid is the attempt to render the movement for free unions harmless so that it can be crushed.

The free union movement of Poland and the USSR are fiercely independent struggles that refuse to play lackey to the world crisis of the Stalinist and imperialist heads of state as the AFL-CIO do. American workers must defend this struggle and not let the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO speak for them.

Victor Fainberg of the Soviet SMOT (Free Interprofessional Association of Workers) has been on a highly effective speaking tour in Europe organized by the Revolutionary Youth International. Unions in the U.S. must take up this campaign in order to bring the lessons of the fight for free unions to American workers.

A section of Local 42 of the OPIEU (AFL-CIO) discussed this but has not yet taken a clear position, though many members were sympathetic.

Fainberg's proposal for an International Trade Union Commission to defend the free trade unions is being taken up by unions and union sections in Europe. This must also be developed in the United States.

The campaign for Fainberg's tour and the struggle for the ITUC is something American workers can do now. Not "moral support" and verbal "solidarity," but a real combat to stop the Kremlin tanks and extend the revolutionary struggle of the Polish workers to the Americas is the task.

B.P.

## The Friends of Ronnie Reagan

"You are known by the company you keep," goes the old saying. So it is possible to get the big picture on the Reagan regime by looking at those whom it supports on the international scene.

On February 20, 1981, Reagan lifted the ban on Export-Import Bank financing for U.S. goods sold to the Chilean military dictatorship, at the same time inviting the Chilean Navy to participation in joint exercises with the U.S. Navy.

These "sanctions" had been applied by Jimmy "human rights" Carter in 1979, following the refusal of the Chilean dictatorship to extradite three "former" secret police officials to the U.S. The three were involved in the 1976 assassination of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier on the streets of Washington, D.C. which also led to the death of his co-worker, U.S. citizen Ronni Moffit, and serious injuries to her husband.

But now, with Reagan in power and the rearmament of imperialism underway, all is forgiven, even what one liberal accurately labeled "state terrorism in the nation's capital."

Argentina too, likewise ruled by a military dictatorship, is back in imperialism's open good graces. Following Reagan's election, David Rockefeller, head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, paid a special visit to his Argentine friends to let them know that things would be changing.

And so they have. The new head of the

dictatorship, Gen. Roberto Viola, was warmly received by the White House. And his visit was followed by the announcement that the U.S. was renewing arms shipments and military aid to the dictatorship.

Nor is Viola the only one the welcome mat is out for. Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan, who last year crushed the student-worker insurrection in Kwangju, got to pose for photos with Nancy and Ronnie.

Still others have already made the pilgrimage to the shrine of imperialism or have their reservations in.

Sometimes words alone say a great deal. For years, U.S. imperialism has officially condemned South African racism, while fighting tooth-and-nail any practical actions against it. Then, on March 3, Reagan announced that the U.S. should be more "helpful" to "a friendly nation like South Africa." Blacks in the U.S. can get a picture of Reagan's intentions from that.

And when the fascists attempted a coup in Spain, Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that it was strictly "an internal matter," a message to the generals that they had nothing to fear from Reagan.

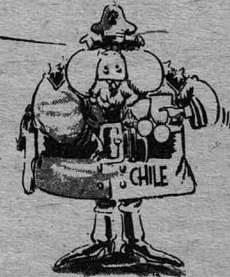
These few facts show that Reagan's intervention in El Salvador is no "mistake." They show that it is one aspect of a worldwide policy of reaction, repression and terror.

K.F.

THIS IS A MEDAL I GAVE MYSELF FOR KILLING ORLANDO LETELIER AND RONNI MOFFIT BY BLOWING UP THEIR CAR IN WASHINGTON, D.C.



AND THIS IS THE MEDAL I GAVE MYSELF FOR SUCCESSFUL TERRORIST ACTS CONDUCTED IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.



THIS HOISTER HOLDS THE 45 I USE TO SHOOT ANYBODY IN MY OWN COUNTRY WHO DISAGREES WITH ME. AND THIS LEATHER BELT AND ELEGANT HANDSTITCHED UNIFORM WERE MADE FOR ME BY THE STUPID PEASANTS.



AND SEE THESE? THESE ARE THE BOOTS KISSED BY ALEXANDER HAIG AND RONALD REAGAN.



# Lessons of the Anti-War Movement

## Part One: *What Was At Stake?*

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

The anti-draft movement in the United States is not a "protest" movement, strictly American in character. On the contrary, it is part of the turn toward the revolution on the world scale by the workers and youth, part of the *new current* developing in every country.

The emergence of the anti-draft movement shows this. It was an immediate response by the youth to Carter's attempts to rearm imperialism against the new upsurge in the world revolution that began with Iran and Nicaragua, that continues today with Poland and El Salvador. That is why it inevitably moved into opposition to U.S. imperialism's intervention in El Salvador.

As part of the fight of the Fourth International, above all through the World Workers Conference, to cohere and arm this new current, its section in this country, the Trotskyist Organization/USA, takes up the struggle to provide the political answers and perspective that the anti-draft movement needs for its victory.

One key problem that confronts the anti-draft youth is the question of drawing a complete balance sheet of the movement against the war in Vietnam.

Reagan and Haig, seeking to intervene in El Salvador, Iran and elsewhere, bewail the "Vietnam syndrome" that ties their hands.

At the same time, the supposed "lessons of the anti-war movement" are put forward by the current leadership of the anti-draft movement, especially by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP's youth group, as a means to justify the policies of *pressure on imperialism*, of "peaceful protest," of reform, of national isolation from the world revolution, in which they seek to confine this movement.

That is why, as part of our fight to deepen and complete the direction the anti-draft movement has already taken toward the revolution, we are going to take up the task of drawing out the *real* lessons of the anti-war movement.

We propose to do this, first of all, through this three-part series. Because of the role the SWP has played in both the anti-war and anti-draft movements, the series will focus on the book *OUT NOW!* by Fred Halstead, a codification of the SWP's views on the anti-war movement, as well as other SWP materials. But we are *not*, as such, writing a history of the anti-war movement or a polemic against the SWP.

Fred Halstead was the representative of the SWP in the major "coalitions" and demonstrations of the anti-war movement. For a number of years he was its director of anti-war work and was also its presidential candidate in the critical year 1968.

The writer of this series was active in the anti-war movement from the end of 1964 on. He soon came to agree with the SWP's perspective, eventually joining the YSA and then the SWP. In 1971, as a member of the Communist Tendency, he was expelled from the SWP. The fight that he had taken up then led to his joining the Fourth International as part of the 1975 founding of the Trotskyist Organization/USA.

The anti-war movement that began in the mid-1960's, which was not just an American movement, acquires its full significance from the decisive change in the world situation that occurred in 1968.

That year — the year of the French General Strike (its initial spark itself involving the activity of anti-war youth) and the "Prague Spring" above all, not to mention other aspects of that huge upsurge — marked the end of the imperialist stabilization that had been arranged by the Yalta and Potsdam agreements between imperialism and Stalinism at the end of World War II. It announced *the imminence of the revolution*.

The crumbling of this old order was both reflected in and expressed by the emergence of the anti-war moment. And that in turn demonstrates what was at stake in the fight for the fate of the anti-war movement.

Would it go forward on the road of revolutionary development or would it be confined within the constraints of the postwar period of imperialist stabilization, within its political framework of "peaceful coexistence"?

That was the significance of the policies advanced for the anti-war moment then. That is even more today, when "peaceful coexistence" is dead, the significance of the policies advanced for the anti-draft movement.

The policies advanced by the SWP — then and now — are policies of "peaceful coexistence." They are policies of "protest," of reform, of *pressure on imperialism*.

From the very beginning of *OUT NOW!*, Fred Halstead makes this clear. The first chapter in his book is called "The Old Peace Movement," by which he means that the anti-war movement was a *new* "peace movement," a continuation of and not a break with this combination of liberals, pacifists, Social Democrats and Stalinists that sought to reinforce "peaceful coexistence" between imperialism and Stalinism.

The "peace" in Halstead's "peace movement" comes from "peaceful coexistence."

Halstead makes it clear that this movement for which the SWP fought was not a revolutionary movement. He quotes an SWP statement: "It is the mass actions of the anti-war movement, organized independently of the two parties responsible for prosecuting the war, that can force delivery on the promises of the politicians, *no matter who is in power*" (emphasis in original).

Likewise, in response to a charge by pacifist David Dellinger that the SWP believes "that when the revolution comes it will take place through the armed struggle



April 17, 1965, SDS anti-war March on Washington.

of the working class, led by the SWP," Halstead says that "Dellinger does not state correctly . . . the SWP's view of a future American Revolution."

But why this policy from a party that claims to be Trotskyist? The answer is that by the time the anti-war movement began in 1964, the SWP had already become a different party.

In 1963 it had "reunited" with the Pabloite so-called "International Secretariat of the Fourth International," breaking with the fight that it had waged for 10 years against that same grouping.

In so doing, it also broke with the International Committee of the Fourth International (whose struggle was continued and completed by the 1976 rebuilding of the Fourth International) and with the fight for *the world center of the revolution*.

The Pabloites of the new "United Secretariat," reflecting the past period, did not see the *unity* of the world revolution. They saw it instead divided into "sectors," with the colonial revolution (under the leadership of Stalinists and nationalists) as its "epicenter," sending out shock waves to the other inactive "sectors." Thus, for the SWP, the anti-war movement was a strictly American phenomenon, only vaguely impinged upon by outside influences: "The Vietnam intervention became a public issue within the old peace movement coalition in 1963."

It is no accident that Halstead came to the fore in this period. He had been a member of the Weiss group in the SWP, the most pro-"reunification" element. So in 1964-65 Halstead was the right man in the right place at the right time.

That this was the framework for the SWP's perspective is made explicit in the only real statement it ever made on this question: a single discussion on its Political Committee on June 25, 1965.

In this discussion, Farrell Dobbs, then SWP National Secretary, contrasted the

SWP's revolutionary policy in World War II to its new views:

Under these conditions we applied strategic and tactical concepts which brought up to date the policies of Lenin

We visualized social revolutions erupting directly out of the inter-imperialist war and our policies were directed toward such an outcome . . .

Today, no one needs to be reminded that the unfolding world revolution took a different course than we had expected

Starting from the totality of the world situation that results from these basic objective conditions, it is necessary to think through the policies required at the present conjuncture" (reprinted in *Revolutionary Strategy in the Fight Against the Vietnam War*).

It was these "policies required," the policies of "mass, legal, peaceful protest," of pressure on imperialism, that the SWP put forward against a revolutionary perspective. They are the same policies it puts forward today in the anti-draft movement, where they are in even greater contradiction to reality.

This "peace movement" could never attract or hold the great forces set in motion by the revolution.

In early 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a youth group linked to the Social Democracy and thus to the Democratic Party, called an anti-war demonstration for Washington, D.C., under the slogan, "End the War in Vietnam!" It also decided not to exclude communists. When the old-line Social Democrats sought to stop this attack on an imperialist war and a Democratic president, SDS simply went ahead anyway.

In a single blow, in a single day, the Social Democrats had lost their hold on a generation of youth!

At the same time, the Communist Party (CP), the Kremlin's arm in the U.S., opposed the SDS march as "too radical"

and was literally on the fringes of the movement. It had, after all, just got through fighting to "defeat Goldwater" (that is, elect Johnson!) in the 1964 elections. The CP's isolation from the anti-war youth was an American expression of the crisis of Stalinism worldwide in the face of the revolution.

The April 17, 1965, SDS march of 20,000 gave to anyone there that day a feeling that something new was beginning.

Halstead quotes from the speech of SDS leader Paul Potter, which exemplified that feeling:

What kind of system is it that justifies the United States' . . . seizing the destinies of the Vietnamese people . . . and still persists in calling itself free and still persists in finding itself fit to police the world? . . .

We must name that system . . . and change it.

In this situation, a whole generation of youth, of which SDS was only the first wave, was up for grabs.

But, because of the SWP's policies, the great bulk of this movement was eventually dispersed and disorganized.

In fighting the "ultraleft" youth, the SWP actually had to restore Stalinism and Social Democracy to the place they had lost. "An important part," says Halstead, "of the art of building successful actions was encouraging and pressing the CP to participate fully."

The results of this policy are felt directly in the anti-draft movement today.

The leadership of the February 1980 anti-draft conference, a leadership that did its best to disperse and repress the youth, was composed precisely of the fruits of this policy: Social Democracy (DSOC), Stalinism (CP/YWLL) and the SWP.

And it is on this basis that a pro-Stalinist force (Workers World Party/YAWF) can appeal to radical youth for a "confrontation" (the May 3 Pentagon demonstration) which is deliberately intended to lead them into dispersal and disorganization, while the CP, DSOC, and SWP come to terms for the sake of "unity."

No, the anti-draft movement has to profit from these lessons and complete the turn it has already taken toward the revolution.

When the British proposed to impose conscription in Ireland during World War I, the revolutionary socialist leader James Connolly posed the fight that must become ours:

Opposed conscription by all means, but let us not teach those who look to us for leadership that such opposition can be conducted on the lines of dodging the police, or any such high jinks of constitutional agitation . . . Our rulers will "stop at nothing" to attain their ends. They will continue to rule and rob until confronted by men who will stop at nothing to overthrow them.

Conscription was never extended to Ireland because a revolution developed that did overthrow British rule. That is the only successful "anti-draft" movement in history.

We can take up that fight today by striving to united with the revolution already underway in Central America through winning the unions to the boycott of the El Salvadoran junta, through fighting for a union boycott (particularly government workers' unions) of draft registration. That represents putting the real lessons of the anti-war movement into action.

NEXT ISSUE: A REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

# Black Party - Reform or Revolution?

The founding convention of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) was held in Philadelphia, November 21-23, 1980. Fifteen hundred delegates were reported to have attended, representing diverse sectors of the black movement.

The founding convention was also diverse in the political sense, bringing together black leaders who were basically disenchanted with the Democratic party and the election of Reagan, as well as youth looking for the revolution. The program and orientation of the party reflects the heterogeneous character of the founding convention.

Without question, the foundation of the NBIPP expresses the movement of blacks and American workers for a break with the two-party system and the bourgeoisie. It expresses the attempts of blacks to find an independent road toward their liberation and to fight the election of Reagan, a movement which can also be seen in the massive demonstration of blacks on Martin Luther King's birthday (just prior to Reagan's inauguration) and in the formation of neighborhood defense guards by blacks in Atlanta.

The movement for black "self-determination," like the term itself, has always had a very contradictory character. Present in all the various black movements, from civil rights to black nationalism, is the choice: reform or revolution? But the struggle for self-determination and independence, if carried out to its political conclusions — the abolition of capitalism and imperialism and the taking of power by the working class and the exploited — is unquestionably a revolutionary demand.

In fact, the program of the NBIPP stands in contradiction to the struggle for black independence to the extent that it is largely a reformist program.

The preamble to the founding Charter states:

There are two kinds of mass parties, bourgeois and progressive. The bourgeois party exists to serve a regime that is in power which represents the interests of a minority, but claims a mass constituency, i.e., Republican and Democratic Parties.

The progressive party exists to serve the interests of the working class and the poor, therefore our party will actively oppose racism, sexism, capitalism and imperialism.

At the same time, the Charter affirms support to the Black Agenda passed by the Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, in 1972.

The Gary convention included mainstream Democratic black leaders like Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, Charles Diggs, as well as "independents" such as the Rev. Jesse Jackson. At the time of the Gary convention, Jackson was in favor of an independent black party, but in 1980 he did not participate in or support the founding of the NBIPP.

Writing in *The Nation* (April 3, 1972), Erwin Jaffe characterized the Gary Black Agenda as ". . . largely reformist in character, despite rhetorical flourishes." And, in fact, like the politics of *The Nation*, the Black Agenda is indeed reformist. It called for proportionate Congressional representation for blacks, National Health Insurance,



Blacks need a revolutionary solution to their problems.

increased federal spending to fight organized crime and drugs (!) and a guaranteed annual income. In short, the Black Agenda adopted in Gary is virtually indistinguishable from the program of the Democratic Party in 1980.

The founding of the National Black Independent Political Party has not resolved the contradiction in the black movement between reform and revolution, it has only increased it — posing, with the formation of a party independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, the necessity for blacks to conquer political power, while drawing back on the other hand from the revolutionary struggle necessary to do so.

The founding convention set the summer of 1981 as the date for the first National Congress of the NBIPP, where a full program is to be adopted. A revolutionary program and a revolutionary party is the key necessity for the independence of blacks and all American workers.

The first point of this program must be to stake the struggle for black liberation on the advance of the international revolution. It is not a matter of supporting the revolution as it develops, but of dealing the blow to the heart of the im-

perialist monster — a final blow which is reserved for the American working class to make.

The black movement cannot avoid the most advanced point of the revolution today, in Poland, where the struggle for the independence of the working class is posed on the highest level — independent of Washington and the Kremlin.

Such a program can be posed very concretely in action:

*Bring Down Reagan!*

*Organize The General Strike!*

The struggle for power immediately places the question of the party, what party, in a different perspective. With this goal in mind, the movement of blacks becomes a movement to lead the American Revolution, to lead the American working class. And the party of black liberation becomes the party of the international revolution and class independence.

This is the party and the fight for the whole American working class — the workers party and the workers socialist revolution — and this is the next step for black liberation.

D.H.

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# TRUTH

## Anti-Draft Movement — Revolutionary Movement

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

The evolution of the anti-draft movement in the last weeks has shown that it is not simply a "revival" of the official anti-war movement of the 60's, but an expression of the world revolution.

And there is a profound contradiction developing between this movement, which tends towards an open confrontation with Reagan, and the policy of its official leadership, rooted in the pressure politics of the 60's.

On February 13 and 14 hundreds of youth and militants met in Detroit and decided to build a mass march on Washington in opposition to the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador on May 9 and to build a national committee based in draft-age youth to lead the fight.

Youth and militants in Detroit and elsewhere immediately took to the streets to realize these decisions following the CARD Conference (Committee Against Registration and the Draft). A march against U.S. intervention in El Salvador was organized in Detroit and elsewhere. Local anti-draft conferences were organized in St. Paul, Boston and elsewhere.

Yet the official leadership of CARD has not pursued a policy of the independent mobilization and organization of the youth, of confrontation with the Reagan regime. It has not even carried out the decisions of the CARD Conference to build a march on May 9 and to form a national committee based in draft-age youth with this objective.

Instead, in the name of unity, it has pursued a policy of negotiations with the pro-Kremlin Workers World Party, which aims to destroy the anti-draft movement. And, according to the latest reports, the CARD national leadership has called off the march CARD planned and formed a new coalition with WWP/PAM ("Peoples Anti-War Mobilization") to build a march May 3.

This policy has resulted in a disorganization and dispersal of the forces brought together at the CARD Conference, not in their reinforcement nor in unification, as the CARD leadership claims.

WWP/PAM paints itself as a radical, confrontationist tendency which wants to build an anti-draft movement independent of the Republicans, Democrats and trade union bureaucrats. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

If a tendency really wants to confront the Republicans and Democrats and win, it doesn't march into enemy territory, the Pentagon, unarmed and outnumbered as WWP/PAM proposes to do. Nor does it try to separate the most radical and class-conscious youth from the masses as WWP/PAM is trying

to do by building a rival march and a rival anti-draft coalition.

A tendency that really wants to confront the class enemy and win does what Lenin and the Bolsheviks did in 1917, what revolutionaries are fighting for in Iran, Nicaragua, Poland and El Salvador today. It mobilizes and organizes the masses independently, builds their independent organs of power with which to confront and destroy the enemy.

The fact is the WWP is a pro-Kremlin, pro-Stalinist party which supported the Stalinist counterrevolution in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and supports it in Poland today. The Kremlin doesn't want a confrontation with Reagan. Brezhnev just called for a summit with Reagan and promised that "Everything is negotiable."

The WWP/PAM policy is designed to serve its master. Its march on the Pentagon, in open defiance of D.C. law, is designed to demoralize the youth, either with a pseudo-confrontation in which youth are beaten and arrested or with a capitulation in which they are forced to turn around and leave. And its rival date and rival anti-draft coalition is designed to destroy CARD as any sort of independent, mass organization of youth.

Negotiations with such tendencies, still worse, unification with such tendencies, can only lead to the further disorganization and dispersal of the anti-draft movement and ultimately to its destruction.

How can the anti-draft movement go forward? How can it resolve the contradiction developing between it and the policies of its leadership? How can it overcome the disorganization and dispersal resulting from this policy?

These are the fundamental questions before the anti-draft movement, political questions.

The anti-draft movement must affirm and develop its true nature as a movement of confrontation with the Reagan regime, as a revolutionary movement, by taking up a fight to defend and extend the Salvadoran Revolution, to boycott all economic and military supplies to the Salvadoran junta.

Reagan's policy of rearming imperialism, crushing the oppressed peoples of the world and drafting the masses of American youth into this heinous crime is not a mistake. It is the inevitable consequence of a parasitical and dying system which feeds off the workers and oppressed peoples of the world.

Thus it can't be defeated with pressure tactics, but only with a mass confrontation aimed at blocking the realization of this murderous policy, at beginning to destroy the power behind it.



Workers World Party/People's Anti-War Mobilization: Scabs on the Polish Revolution, scabs on the anti-draft movement.

This is the purpose of a boycott of all economic and military supplies to the Salvadoran junta and all U.S. puppet dictatorships in Central and South America, to actually stop Reagan's war on these peoples, to open up a confrontation with this regime which contributes to the preparation of the General Strike to bring it down.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all anti-draft and Latin American solidarity organizations to join in forming a united committee to organize the boycott, to win all unions in the U.S. to this struggle.

A leadership is necessary for this struggle, a leadership which fully reflects its confrontationist and revolutionary character.

Thus all anti-draft and Latin American solidarity organizations should support and participate in the World Workers Conference which is aimed at clarifying the revolutionary nature of the working class mobilizations, at mobilizing it to realize this and at constructing the new international leadership of this fight.

The resolution of the problems confronting the anti-draft movement requires a free and open discussion in the ranks of the anti-draft movement itself. Therefore the Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on tendencies in the anti-draft movement that want workers democracy, whether they agree with the TO/USA's perspective or not, to join in a fight for a special conference of CARD, to draw the lessons of its struggle since the national conference, elaborate its

plans for the future, and elect a leadership which will really carry out its decisions.

In this way it will be possible to overcome the present problems of the anti-draft movement and realize the kind of action and organization that hundreds of youth had in mind when they met in Detroit six weeks ago.

*Defend, Extend the Salvadoran Revolution!*

*Boycott Supplies to the Bloody Junta!  
All Out for Madrid!*



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