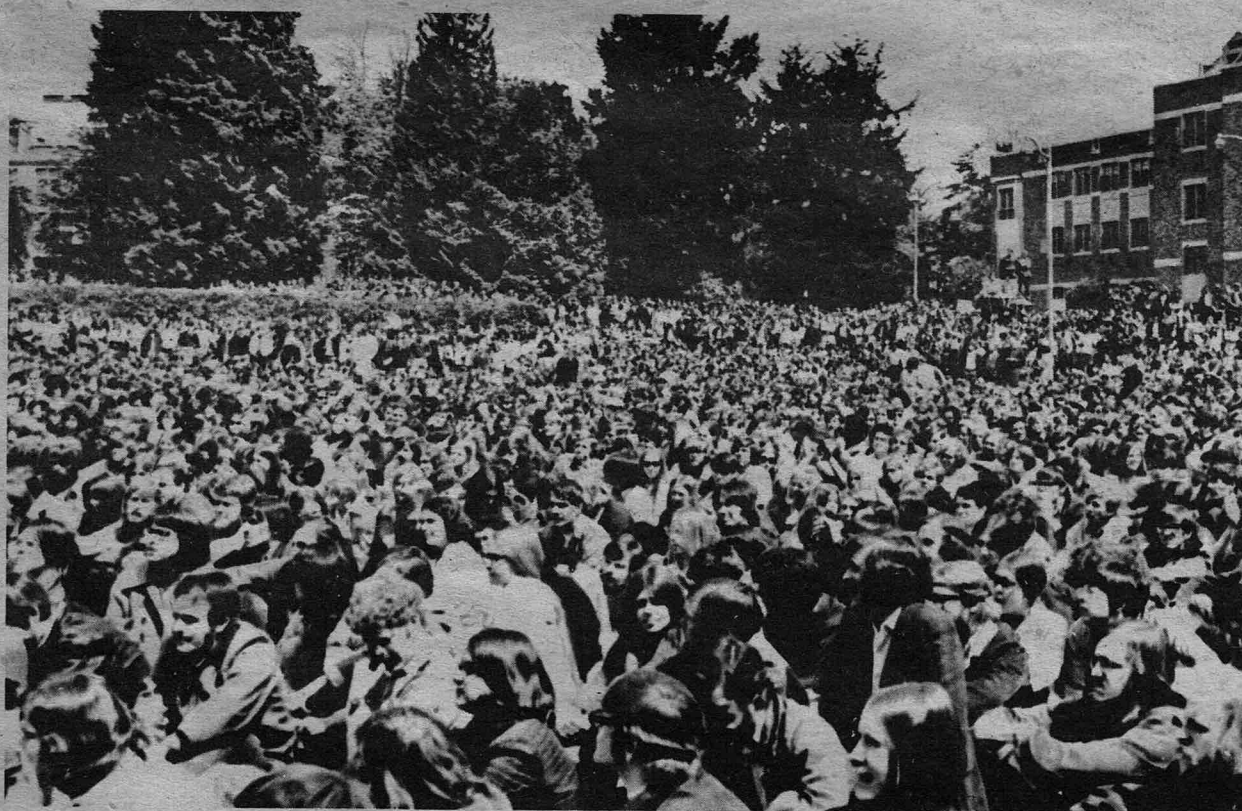


ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL • No. 131 May 1, 1981 25¢

Workers and youth of the United States, take up the fight to defend and extend the revolution . . .

Emergency Conference of CARD!

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



Strike meeting at University of Washington during May 1970 high point of anti-war movement. Building a real mass movement against the draft and imperialist intervention demands such open democratic assemblies for action based on the youth.

A WORKERS PARTY

to organize the
struggle for power

The response of American workers to the first months of the Reagan government stands in stark contrast to the massive abstention of workers and youth in the 1980 elections. The present miners strike, which in 1978 numbered the days of the Carter administration, is only the latest in a series of face to face confrontations with Reagan's policies since he took office. Clearly the working class was not defeated in the 1980 elections, clearly the Reagan administration cannot claim a mandate — at least not from the working class and especially its most oppressed sectors, blacks and the youth.

Nevertheless, the 1980 elections showed that the American working class and the youth need a party representing their class, a workers party. The victory of Reagan was not inevitable. It was the product of the paralysis of the unions, above all because they are the only mass organizations the American working class has. Paralysis caused by a conservative, reactionary trade union bureaucracy that desperately clings to the bourgeois parties — Democrats and Republicans — even when there is no real support from the ranks for such a policy, as was the case in the 1980 elections.

On the political plane, the abstention of the American working class was achieved on the basis of a vicious attack on the workers and youth of the oppressed nations struggling to confront the rearmament of imperialism. First and foremost an attack on the revolution in Iran. The fact that Reagan, who represented this attack more than any other part of the ruling class, was elected cannot possibly be viewed as positive, even if today his policies — which show that imperialist rearmament must coincide with an attack on American workers and youth as well — have provoked a massive response from the very same sectors of the working class that abstained in 1980.

We insist that the present situation, the extreme crisis of imperialism and Stalinism confronted with the revolution from Poland to El Salvador, leaves only two alternatives. Power in the hands of barbarians and hangmen or power in the hands of the working class. The American working class needs a party to organize the struggle for power.

Those of you who have entered onto the road of struggle — the miners, blacks in the central cities, the youth who oppose imperialist rearmament — may not see this. You may think that militant actions alone can create solutions to the present situation. Certainly, you have shown before your militancy in combat.

We are ready to open up the debate to clarify what kind of party. We are ready to make it an open fight — for a National Congress of trade union delegates to found the Workers Party.

But this debate can be positive only if it is waged on the basis of a common struggle to unify and give an independent character to the offensive of the working class against Reagan's policies. Let us open up the debate on the basis of the struggle to *Bring down Reagan — with the General Strike!*

TRUTH

Report on the World Workers Conference
Page 7

SWP Suit: Taking the Offensive?

In early April, the suit of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against the U.S. government, the government of Reagan, the government of the greatest terrorist state, finally came to trial after a period of almost eight years.

For forty years and more the agencies of this terrorist state (FBI, CIA, etc.) have been working against the SWP, attacking it because it is a working class organization, one that in particular says it stands for the socialist revolution, for Trotskyism.

The SWP's phones have been tapped, its mail "watched," its offices burglarized, its ranks infiltrated by spies, its militants and leaders persecuted and jailed. This is the reality of American democracy, the truth they didn't tell you about in school.

These attacks on the SWP were and are part-and-parcel of all the attacks on the ability of workers and the oppressed to organize themselves against imperialism. In the course of the legal proceedings in the SWP suit, a vast array of evidence has been unearthed about these attacks, about such schemes as "Coin-telpro" (counter-intelligence program) and "disruption" campaigns against not only the SWP, but the U.S. Communist Party, the Black Panthers and other organizations and individuals.

These schemes are those that left Black Panther Fred Hampton dead in his bed, that led to the "mysterious" assassination of Malcolm X.

No one who has ever read *Truth* is unaware that we are political opponents of the SWP, that we regard its policies as thoroughly false. We have led and are leading a struggle in the working class to defeat these policies. And that is precisely the point.

The fight that we are carrying on with the SWP is a fight for the consciousness of the workers; therefore, it *demand*s Workers Democracy as a means to settle the fate of the SWP, to determine the decisions of the proletariat and the oppressed.

When the terrorist state seeks to destroy or cripple the SWP it is out to destroy or cripple *our movement*, the movement of the working class for its emancipation, by attacking its freedom, its class independence, its Workers Democracy.

We believe firmly in the motto of the pioneers of the American workers movement: "An injury to one is an injury to all." We are *with* the SWP irrevocably and completely *against* the U.S. government!

The SWP says that by taking the government into court it is taking the offensive against these attacks on the workers movement.

We wish that that were the case. Under those conditions, we could support its policy in this suit, just as we are prepared to support any specific action that will actually increase the consciousness and independence of the working class on the part of any organization.

But, unfortunately, the way in which

the SWP has conducted its case demonstrates that this policy does not increase the consciousness and independence of the workers but instead undermines them.

It is not at all unprincipled to try to make use of the bourgeois courts. We are Marxists, and we do not "ignore" or "refuse to recognize" the bourgeois state.

No, we do not reject fighting in the bourgeois courts any more than we reject fighting in the bourgeois elections. But if an organization says that it is possible to get socialism through the ballot box, we know that it is, to say the least, not advocating a revolutionary and working class policy.

Similarly, when the SWP says that it is going to stop police attacks, spying, provocations, etc., against itself and the workers movement by winning a case in the bourgeois courts, we know that it is not advocating a revolutionary and working class policy.

For what are the courts? They are themselves part of the state, the "special bodies of armed men," in Engels' phrase, that represent the oppression of one class by another. It is one of the great lies of the bourgeois terrorist state that the courts mete out "impartial justice." And when the SWP says that it can get such justice from the courts, it

is doing nothing but strengthening these lies.

And in practice the futility of such efforts is demonstrated. It has taken nearly *eight years* for this case even to come to trial! What about appeals and all the other legalistic hogwash that are the normal procedure of the courts? Will the SWP get its "victory" before the Second Coming? Does it expect the revolution any time soon?

A few years ago, the SWP announced that because Griffin Bell, Carter's Attorney General, had refused a court order to turn over the names of informers in the SWP, he would be going to jail on a contempt of court charge. Well, he didn't, and the privileges and sanctity of the terrorist state remained inviolate, while the SWP suit dragged on, with absolutely no practical results. Today, the SWP is again making all kinds of promises but without coming to terms with its old promises on Griffin Bell, without drawing any balance sheet on this question.

Such futility would be bad enough. But precisely because the SWP suit completely accepts the framework of the terrorist state and does *not* take the offensive against it, this acceptance has led the SWP into completely unprincipled concessions to the terrorist state.

Thus, while suing against the role of

informers in its party, the SWP in 1974 turned over the names of the expelled members of the pro-Mandel "Internationalist Tendency" to the courts of the terrorist state, completely accepting the witch hunt of the "terrorist International" set in motion by *the real terrorist*, the imperialist U.S. government.

In their current testimony, splashed all over the pages of the SWP's paper, *The Militant*, SWP leaders have, to give just one example, not "taken the offensive" over the Voorhis Act, which makes it virtually impossible for a U.S. party to adhere officially to the International, but have instead gone to great lengths to affirm their compliance with this anti-worker law, never once challenging it even in legal terms.

Meanwhile, Reagan pardons convicted FBI break-in artists and his allies in Congress set up a special Subcommittee on "Security and Terrorism."

We are for *taking the offensive*. And we propose again that the way to do this is through the preparation of the General Strike to bring down Reagan. Once again, we propose to the SWP a united front for this struggle.

That is the road to defeating the terrorist state.

TRUTH

Developing the Fight for Truth

By subscribing to *Truth*, supporters are *extending* the fight for a workers press — a distinctly different newspaper that isn't satisfied with making passive commentary. *Truth* consistently fights to open a discussion, clarification and mobilization for working class political action.

Truth analyzes the changing relationship between the classes and puts forward a working class policy. If you are looking for the way to take action that will organize the power of the working class and its youth, *Truth* is your weapon. If you are, on the other hand, looking for a way to pressure or reform the Reagan regime, you will not find these politics in *Truth*.

Truth is the newspaper of the *vanguard* of the working class; its task as a paper is the political arming of this vanguard.

The new current in the working class and its youth who instinctively oppose

the policies of Washington and the Kremlin must be armed with *Truth*. It is the youth of the anti-draft movement, the autoworkers struggling against concessions, plant closures and layoffs, the striking miners, the dock workers who refuse to handle supplies bound for El Salvador, the black workers and youth fighting the imperialist racist state, its police and courts who *need* a revolutionary workers press to organize their struggle. And they can find this path in the fight for subscriptions to this workers newspaper. It is the expansion of the readership of *Truth* that will cohere and unify these elements and draw the large masses behind them into political combat.

The subscription campaign for *Truth* must make a leap forward. This requires the commitment of all who read *Truth*, of all who subscribe and wish to unite the workers leadership, who want to take up the tasks of preparing the re-

volution in the Americas, to make the commitment to expand and develop *Truth* as the central weapon in forging the leadership.

All who deny the necessity to organize the vanguard of the working class have no intention of fighting for their independent struggle for power. They play their role in confining what is in its essence revolutionary struggle to the fears and passivity of the middle classes and the political expression of these fears, reform politics.

The working class is never afraid of what will advance its struggle; it is not "turned off" by revolutionary politics, but it is deeply disgusted by halfway measures and halfway leaders. The fight for *Truth* is a fight against halfway measures; it is a fight to expand and build the workers press.

Make the commitment; take the first step, subscribe to *Truth*.

BARBARA PUTNAM

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To mobilize millions against U.S. intervention and draft registration . . .

An Emergency CARD Conference Now!

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

On May 3, youth from across the country will march in Washington, D.C., in opposition to draft registration and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The march will bring together many of the youth most determined to put an end to these imperialist policies. To this extent it will be a victory for the anti-draft movement.

Yet it will be a very limited victory. Many of the forces of the anti-draft movement will not be present. The millions of youth and workers against draft registration and U.S. intervention will not be present.

Why?

Is it because anti-draft youth no longer care about national action and organization? Is it because of "objective conditions"? Is it just too difficult? Or is it because there hasn't been enough "local organizing"?

No. The reason is political. It is the politics of the leadership of the anti-draft movement, of the leadership of CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft).

Instead of carrying out the decisions of the National CARD Conference — to mobilize the masses of youth and workers in a national march against draft registration and U.S. intervention, to form a national coordinating committee based in draft-age youth to lead this fight — this leadership has pursued a policy of pressuring imperialism, of forging an alliance with the liberal, "human rights" wing of imperialism.

The leadership of CARD sponsored presentations by liberal, "human rights" imperialists like Carter's Ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White.

It formed a new coalition with a list of "famous" but moribund organizations, including open supporters of Stalinist counterrevolution in Poland like the Workers World Party.

It changed the date for the march set by the CARD Conference in the interests of unity with these cadavers. And once having changed the date it didn't even mobilize for the national march on the new date — May 3.

In Detroit, the leadership of CARD says that such a mass mobilization, in particular in the high schools, is no longer possible because the Detroit School Board has prohibited CARD from meeting inside Cass Technical High School.

The Detroit School Board found the mass march against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, which began at Cass Tech, too much of a threat to its power and to the power of the liberal imperialist forces it represents, so it decided to attempt to suppress the movement.

Instead of mobilizing CARD and the masses of youth to defend the Cass Tech CARD members, to demand their right to speak and assemble freely, to demand the decision be rescinded, the leadership of CARD has counseled the Cass Tech CARD members to retreat. It

proposes that they bill their struggle against draft registration and U.S. intervention in El Salvador as simply an "educational" one, and on this basis get back into the good graces of the School Board and get permission to meet.

Such a policy will lead only to the destruction of the anti-draft movement and the victory of the Reagan regime and its attempts to rearm U.S. imperialism.

It is the same policy pursued by the same leadership at the National CARD Conference itself. There the steering committee attempted to block all free and open discussion oriented toward an independent mass mobilization of the youth against draft registration and U.S. intervention; first, with a myriad of resolutions on a myriad of subjects and then, when this failed, with the outright suppression of resolutions and speakers.

This policy of pressuring imperialism, of suppressing all attempts toward the independent mass mobilization and organization of the youth has resulted in the dispersal and disorganization of many of the forces brought together at the National CARD Conference.

This is why the forces brought together on May 3 will be so limited.

Already there have been a number of attempts to overcome this problem. Anti-draft conferences have been organized or planned in Detroit, Indianapolis, the Twin Cities and Boston. Local actions have also been planned in a number of cities.

But this struggle must be carried forward on the national level. This is the only way to confront the Reagan regime and the forces that serve it. An Emergency Conference of CARD is an urgent necessity!

Solution

This Conference must be based in the masses of youth and their delegates. It must be concentrated on drawing a balance sheet of the anti-draft movement and elaborating a policy and plan with which to mobilize millions. And it must be built and led in accordance with the principles of workers democracy, as the Polish workers have done.

This means democratically electing a leadership at the beginning of the Conference to lead the Conference itself. It means free and open discussion in the Conference. And it means concluding with the election of a leadership mandated to carry out the decisions of the Conference.

These are the methods with which youth, working class and revolutionary movements have been built for generations. They constitute the only way to insure the triumph of the will of the majority. And this is what the Trotskyist Organization/USA and International Young Guard/USA fought for at the National CARD Conference. The entire evolution of the movement since that time has proven the correctness of that

struggle.

But the fight for an Emergency CARD Conference is just the beginning. Such a Conference, built and led in accordance with the principles of workers democracy, can only lay the basis for the resolution of the problems of the anti-draft movement. The policy adopted by that Conference and the leadership elected to carry it out will determine its future.

We think that policy must be a revolutionary policy. That leadership must be a revolutionary leadership. This means a policy of confrontation with the Reagan regime: organizing mass assemblies in the schools and working class neighborhoods against draft registration and U.S. intervention, a boycott of all supplies to the Salvadoran junta and all U.S. puppet dictatorships in Latin America, a union boycott of draft registration, winning the unions to this fight.

As we have said before, the anti-draft movement is not simply a protest movement, but an expression of the revolution. Its demands for an end to draft registration and U.S. intervention are in fundamental opposition not only to the Reagan regime, but also to the imperialist system in its entirety. This means a confrontation with the Reagan regime is inevitable, just as inevitable as a confrontation between the Polish workers and the Kremlin and its tanks.

Therefore, it must be organized. Without organization, the youth and workers will not win in this confrontation.

There can be no concessions to the

policy of pressuring imperialism, of forging an alliance with the liberal "human rights" wing of imperialism. This will only disarm the masses, teaching them to look for and count on support where they will find only treachery.

Many organizations which claim to be revolutionary oppose this fight for a revolutionary policy in the anti-draft movement. They say the masses aren't even against draft registration and U.S. intervention, that they aren't ready for the revolution. That they will learn in "the process."

First, it is necessary to say that this represents a serious misestimation of the consciousness of the masses. But, in any case, Marxists orient themselves on the basis of *objective facts*, not on the basis of the momentary consciousness of the masses, and *the revolution* is the determining objective fact of our time.

This was one of the fundamental issues in the conflict between Lenin's Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (whom Lenin called "tailists" because they tailed the consciousness of the masses).

The clarification which took place in the struggle over this question prepared the way for the victory of the October Revolution.

Further, it has been demonstrated that this policy of pressuring imperialism is in fundamental conflict with the revolution. It is not a stage in the preparation of the revolution. It was precisely this idea of pressuring imperialism which led the national CARD leadership to abandon the decisions of the CARD conference in favor of forming yet another coalition with a string of moribund organizations. As we've said elsewhere, if you want to pressure an imperialist Congress, a list of 100 "famous" cadavers is more important to you than 100 living but unknown youth. If you want to confront and destroy this Congress, you make a different choice.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA and the International Young Guard/USA are initiating a meeting for an Emergency CARD Conference. This is a first step in centralizing the struggle against the dispersal and disorganization of the anti-draft movement, as a means to open up the fight for a revolutionary policy and leadership in the largest possible fashion.

Already members of the Indianapolis and Twin Cities chapters of CARD have indicated support for the struggle for an Emergency CARD Conference. Struggles are being waged in these and other chapters to win a majority.

Every anti-draft organization must join this struggle. A confrontation with Reagan is inevitable. It must be organized to win. Workers democracy is the way to do it.

Stop draft registration and U.S. intervention!

An Emergency CARD Conference now!

Workers Democracy like the Polish workers!

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EMERGENCY
CARD
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Lessons of the Anti-War Movement

By KEVIN P

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

"They thought, when they came to power, that they were dealing with a foreign war, and now they see that they are dealing with a rebellion against that war, and maybe even with a revolution at home."

So wrote James Reston, long-time member of the inner circle at America's most important bourgeois newspaper, *The New York Times*, a confidant of presidents and politicians, in the midst of the events of May 1970.

Reston's statement expressed the fears of the bourgeoisie, but at the same time it did not exaggerate the reality.

Upsurge

The worldwide upsurge of the revolution that developed in 1968 had by 1970 transformed the political situation internationally and in the U.S.

This was the period of the Tet Offensive, of the Mexican student revolt, of the Italian "hot autumn," all of which influenced the U.S., showing that the key events of 1968 — the French General Strike and the "Prague Spring" — were not isolated facts but the *beginning* of a whole new period.

At the same time, starting in 1969, it had become clear that opposition to the war was no longer confined to a minority, even a large minority. The demonstrations at the end of 1969 had literally involved millions. Likewise, opposition to the war in the armed forces began to surface in that year.

In this international and domestic situation, Nixon — who had become president because of the population's hatred for "Johnson's war," a hatred which had made Johnson a "prisoner in the White House" and which had spelled defeat for his loyal successor, Humphrey — embarked on the desperate adventure of the invasion of Cambodia

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.

in order to quickly end the war on imperialism's terms.

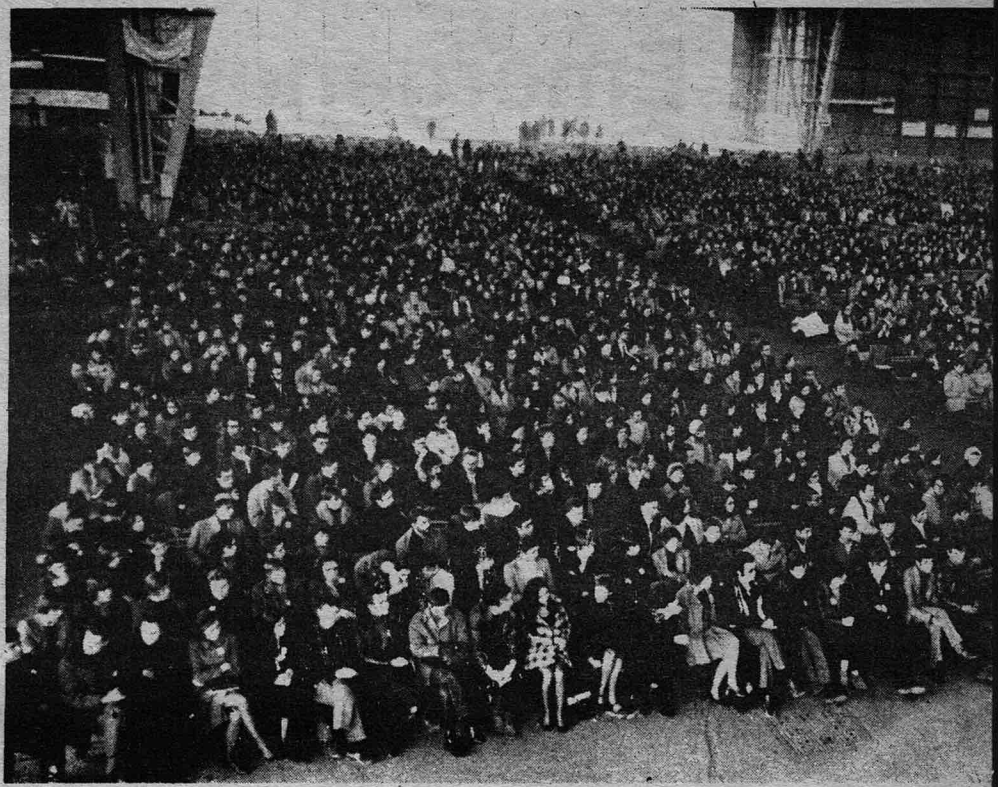
This gamble, which was supposed to deal a tremendous blow to the Vietnamese Revolution, failed miserably. Instead, Nixon found himself confronted with an upsurge unparalleled in American history.

Naturally, an immediate response to the invasion took place on the campuses. At Kent State University in Ohio an event took place that would set the spark to all the social dynamite accumulated during the war. The National Guard opened fire on demonstrators, wounding many and killing four. This "Kent State massacre" revealed to everyone the nature of the government that was prosecuting the war, and it brought to the boiling point the existing hostility to this government.

Around Cambodia and Kent State ("Kent-bodia") there developed a revolutionary upsurge, the sharpest expression yet seen of the world revolution in the U.S.

This was the case because, in addition to the anti-war movement, in addition to the revolt of blacks and other minorities, a real upsurge was taking place in the organized working class itself. The events of May were preceded by the strike against GE ("war-maker, strike-breaker. . .") and, above all, by the *first* strike ever of the postal workers, an illegal strike directed "against the government," a strike that won. The great GM strike of 1970 also reflected this upsurge.

So when a massive student strike developed — Halstead estimates four million college students were involved — this upsurge, unprecedented as it was, could not be confined to the campuses.



The fight of the Trotskyists found its expression in winning the revolution of 10,000 youth at Le Bourget airport in Paris; February 1, 1970.

Part Two: A Revolutionary

First, high school and junior high school students joined the strike. Then demonstrations and actions began to involve not just student youth but also blacks, workers and working class youth. And these actions in turn acquired a more aggressive character, in particular, the taking over of university and college buildings on a massive scale.

One popular student slogan of that time was: "No class today, no ruling class tomorrow." Whatever its political inadequacies, this slogan illustrated the temper of the movement and its direction.

Students met with great enthusiasm from workers, teamsters refused to cross their picket lines, various sections of the bureaucracy fearfully denounced the Nixon administration and even the war.

It was the growing involvement of black youth, who previously had been relatively absent from the anti-war movement, that drove the frightened bourgeoisie to more "massacres" at Jackson State and at Orangeburg.

In that time you could almost smell the rain before the storm breaks; the atmosphere was charged with electricity.

Politics

This upsurge also provoked a crisis in the ranks of the imperialists, a crisis that opened a split in the ruling class, a turning against the unwinnable war and its frightening consequences by one of its sections.

The masses were finding it impossible to live in the old way; the bourgeoisie was finding it impossible to rule in the old way. The situation had to find a political solution, the *General Strike* that would open up a whole new period.

The SWP's policy and the SWP itself

in this period stood revealed for what they were — obstacles to this necessary advance. The SWP took on its shoulders more than ever the role of "policeman of the left," counterposing itself to the actions of the youth in order to preserve the policy of "pressure" on imperialism, of "peaceful, legal protest," at a time when this meant direct opposition to a revolutionary policy. Likewise, the SWP turned more than ever in this period to alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie, seeking not to exploit the split in the ruling class but to support one of its sides.

On May 14, 1970, at the very peak of the upsurge, a plenum of the National Committee of the YSA was held in New York. Jack Barnes, then the Organizational Secretary of the SWP and today its National Secretary, gave the major report. In his presentation Barnes made clear what the SWP saw and also how it opposed it.

Actually, you had some of the elements of a pre-revolutionary situation in this country. It was not a pre-revolutionary situation but it is important to be clear . . .

First, we had the beginning of spontaneous mass actions, politically directed . . . right against the government . . .

Secondly, you had a very sharp deepening of the split in the ruling class itself. . .

The third condition, which was missing, was the entrance of the working class itself, and the Black and Third World communities, into these mass struggles.

As we have seen, this last paragraph is not true. The *political* problem, that the entry of the working class into the movement took place on an individual and spontaneous basis, that it needed to be centralized through the fight for the General Strike, is what Barnes sought to hide.



ary youth, as shown in this rally of

ry Upsurge

Thus his conclusions: "A permanent political change has occurred in this country . . . the student movement will never be the same from now on . . . in one way, this has been the 1905 of the student movement."

In a few phrases, Barnes says the movement is over and at the same time confines it to the student movement. And, on this basis, he makes clear the SWP's orientation to the labor bureaucracy and its frightened response to the very real "entrance" of the workers: "We can use trade union resolutions against the war, endorsements of demonstrations that some unions have made and the public statements by various trade union officials."

Ah, but to do what? Why, "to solicit new endorsements, statements and resolutions." (Barnes' report was published in the semi-internal organ, *The Young Socialist Organizer*, June 10, 1970)

And so this crisis, because of a lack of a revolutionary policy, because of the SWP's actual policy, was allowed to pass without a successful resolution.

In the existence of this revolutionary upsurge and its lack of a revolutionary conclusion are rooted both the later "Watergate" crisis and the current "Vietnam syndrome" that Reagan and Haig fear, but which nonetheless leaves these partisans of the war in power.

Today the task is to definitively overcome the policies of pressure on imperialism that have enabled it to attempt to rearm itself and to intervene in El Salvador and all of Central America. In the new upsurges that are surely coming our watchword must be: "General Strike to bring down Reagan!"

Part Three: A Policy and a Leadership

Lenin said that "a nation cannot be free that oppresses another." The anti-war movement, which was directed against the imperialist oppression of the Vietnamese in particular, also spelled the doom of McCarthyite and cold war repression in the U.S., marked the end of the "age of conformity" and its "silent generation."

But at the same time, because this movement was not directed toward the overthrow of the government that was oppressing virtually the whole world, it also could not free Americans completely. That is why we are faced today with a new attempt to create a draft, despite the fact that it was "abolished" years ago. That is why we face new attempts at imperialist intervention against the revolution, despite the fact that the U.S. bourgeoisie undoubtedly was defeated in Vietnam.

Policy

The chief "lessons of the anti-war movement" that the SWP seeks to draw are that the anti-war movement stopped the war and that it stopped the draft. These are half-truths, and they are therefore the most dangerous lies.

In the SWP Political Committee discussion on the anti-war movement (cited in Part I of our series), Jack Barnes stated that "not only are we for the withdrawal of American troops, we're for the victory of the peasant guerrilla forces in the Vietnamese civil war." But Barnes also said that this point was "basically educational." And so even this point, which presents the question of the *Vietnamese Revolution* in an extremely distorted way, remained solely on the level of internal propaganda.

What was the impact of this policy? It meant that when, in the aftermath of Tet and "Kent-bodia," bourgeois defeatism developed in a section of the ruling class, when this section decided to "cut bait" and not to "fish," the workers and youth were *politically subordinated* to the ruling class and to its policy, leaving us with the situation we face today.

It meant that when the situation was ripe for *revolutionary* defeatism, for, in Lenin's words, "turning the imperialist war into a civil war," the movement of the workers and youth was confined to pressure on its own ruling class and became an *auxiliary* to one wing of the bourgeoisie. It was, in short, deprived of its *class independence*.

The practical consequence of this was that when U.S. imperialism withdrew its troops from Vietnam — the "Vietnamization" of the war — the anti-war movement basically folded up, leaving the Vietnamese to years more of war.

Even Halstead has to face this: "Virtually all the local anti-war coalitions also folded up . . . In the two years following the signing of the accords, then, the American anti-war movement was no longer involved with mass mobilizations."

The "accords" that Halstead refers to, the 1973 Paris treaty, in fact illustrate the political bankruptcy of the

SWP, its inability to function independently of imperialism and, therefore, of Stalinism.

Thus, when Nixon went to Moscow in 1972 (the beginning of "detente") at the very moment Hanoi was being blockaded, Halstead makes the incredible statement that this "struck like a dagger in the ribs of the anti-war movement. Anti-war activists . . . felt double-crossed. They did not want war-like acts on the part of the USSR, but to wine and dine Nixon . . . was a terrible blow."

For Halstead and the SWP, who never got around to seeing the anti-war movement and the Vietnamese Revolution as part of the same global struggle, this Stalinist betrayal had to come to these "Trotskyists" as a "terrible blow."

Furthermore, "detente" was not restricted to Southeast Asia. It was the centerpiece of a worldwide counterrevolutionary accord between imperialism and Stalinism which took affect against the revolutionary wave of 1974-75 (Portugal, Spain, fall of Saigon) and which culminated in the Helsinki Accords of 1975.

At the same time, the ending of the anti-war movement also gave a breathing spell to U.S. imperialism at home. That is the basis on which the revolutionary potential existing around the war was dissipated, so that today we confront a government of Reagan, Haig and so on, of those who were involved in the war up to their necks.

This revolutionary potential is most graphically illustrated in the collapse of the U.S. Army in Vietnam under the pressure of the world revolution, of its manifestations in the Vietnamese struggle, in the anti-war movement, in the black revolt, in the rebellion of the youth.

It was this collapse, the sure sign of a social system in crisis, that obliged imperialism to abolish the draft and to try to reorganize its forces with a so-called "volunteer army" in order to return later — today, it hopes — to the draft.

Halstead quotes a military expert's startling conclusions: ". . . widespread conditions among American Forces in Vietnam that have only been exceeded in this century by the French Army's Nivelles mutinies of 1917 and the collapse of the Czarist armies in 1916 and 1917."

These are frightening analogies for imperialism. For the Nivelles mutinies (when the soldiers marched on Paris) and the collapse of the Czar's army were the heat lightning of the coming revolution. Note the year: "1917" — the year of the October Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party. Does the SWP still want us to believe that "legal, peaceful protest" stopped the draft?

Today

The new upsurge of the revolution that is taking place today, that began in 1978-79 in Iran and Nicaragua, is the source of the crisis shaking imperialism

today. It is, in turn, the source of the movement in the U.S. against the draft and against imperialist intervention in Central America.

The lessons of the anti-war movement, properly understood, are that we have to base ourselves and orient our movement on this revolution. We have to adopt a revolutionary policy.

The anti-war movement, despite its mass character, despite its real achievements, had its force dissipated and its forces disorganized by a false policy, the policy of pressure on imperialism. The SWP was then and is now the chief advocate of this policy.

The most glaring result of this policy is that no mass organization of the youth emerged out of the great movement of the youth that centered on the fight against the Vietnam war. Virtually a whole generation of American youth went up in smoke as far as being won for the revolution.

Did that have to happen? Does it have to happen again? No!

Just as the revolution is an *international* phenomenon so also is the struggle to organize the youth and to win them for the revolution.

In the period of the anti-war movement, the Trotskyist forces worldwide were organized in the International Committee of the Fourth International (IC). One of the decisive elements showing that the IC did in fact represent Trotskyism was its consistent struggle to organize the revolutionary youth, including those fighting against the war, in the *Revolutionary Youth International*. The fight for the RYI, which began in 1966 (and took its first active form that year in the intervention of the French and British youth groups in the anti-NATO rally in Liege, Belgium), developed parallel and in counterpoint to the anti-war movement and the dispersion of its forces organized by the SWP and the Stalinists.

Thus, its high point was the 1971 rally for the RYI in Essen, Germany, attended by 5,000 youth from all over the world.

It was on the basis of this fight of the IC, despite the later capitulations of its then leaders, that it was possible to rebuild the Fourth International as the world center of the revolution. This was achieved in 1976, based on the founding of the RYI in December 1975 in Berlin.

So today the framework for the struggle of the youth as it is, a struggle inseparable from the world revolution, already exists. The RYI is the solution that the anti-draft youth in the U.S. need; it is the road to the revolution for them.

This centralization of the fight for the revolution internationally is at the center of the policy counterposed in this series to the policy of the SWP. Building the RYI, building its circles, in the actual struggle of the youth today is the practical realization of that policy.

When that happens, then the lessons of the anti-war movement will have been learned.

Poland: Defend the Free Trade Unions

When American workers look around them, look at the situation their class is in, they are faced with the reality that the only organizations they have, the unions, are not fighting weapons. Instead, they retreat before or actually aid in the attacks that Reagan and the whole capitalist class are instigating.

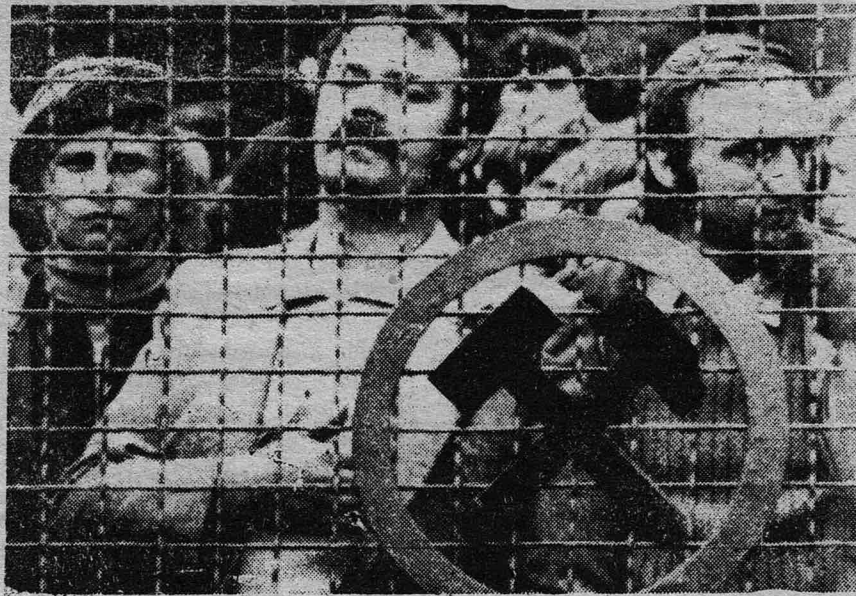
That is why, when the Polish Revolution began with the mass strikes on the Baltic coast last August, every thinking worker instinctively and enthusiastically supported the fight for free trade unions. The emergence of "Solidarity" as a mass workers organization of *ten million members*, practically the entire Polish working class, was a victory for these U.S. workers, just as it was for all the workers of the world.

Precisely because this victory was an achievement of the international proletariat, its fate concerns the working people of every country, including our own.

What are the lessons of the fight for free trade unions? There are two possibilities. The first is the one put forward by all the forces of the old order: Stalinists, the imperialists, the trade union bureaucracy in the U.S., the "moderate" Walesa leadership of "Solidarity."

They all say that the free trade unions are just economic organizations, organizations which are "independent" from the state only in order to be better able to put pressure on it.

In other words, American workers, the trade union bureaucrats and the capitalist press tell you that "Solidarity" is what you already have. The whole thing



Polish coal miners occupy their mine during the upsurge that produced "Solidarity."

is just about "collective bargaining," etc.

But that isn't what inspired you last August. You saw something different in the fight for free trade unions. And you were right.

Because the Fourth International, and in reality the Polish workers themselves, defend a second possibility. We say that the free trade unions, as independent working class organizations, were the first fruits of a struggle for *class independence*, a struggle which taken as a whole means, and can only end in, *revolution*.

And in fact all those who try to tell

you that the Polish workers are just out to get a Polish equivalent of the AFL-CIO or the UAW know different. They feel in their guts that we are right; that what is going on is a revolution. That is why they have to try to hide its real nature with their lies.

But lies are not enough. These forces of the old order have to *attack* the free trade unions. That is the meaning of the no-strike law passed by the Polish parliament April 10. That is the meaning of the "labor law" agreed to by Walesa and the Polish Stalinist regime. American workers have had their experiences with "no-strike" laws and pledges, with

"labor laws" that bind the working class in invisible chains.

And it is only a step from invisible chains to those that are all too visible. Behind the mask of "democratic renewal" in Poland the most vicious repression is being unleashed against working class and oppositional militants in Poland, the USSR and throughout Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, the Kremlin's tanks lie in wait, ready for use at the right moment.

We must defend the free trade unions. We must defend the revolution that has produced them. And in this defense of class independence we can advance in the fight for class independence in the U.S., against the Reagan regime which put the Polish workers on notice to "resolve their differences peaceably and in a spirit of compromise and conciliation" (March 26 White House statement).

As an immediate step in this fight, unions, locals, workers groups, can form with us an initiative committee to sponsor the tour in the U.S. of Fainberg and Borisov, leaders of the Soviet free trade union, SMOT, potentially in conjunction with representatives of "Solidarity." There are other possibilities, such as a fight for the UAW to adopt the auto section of "Solidarity."

The tour itself opens up inspiring possibilities for mobilizing American workers in defense of their class brothers, of class independence, of the revolution.

"Workers of the world, unite!"

K.F.

USA: Stop Reagan's Concessions Drive

By FRED VITALE

The Reagan regime has developed a plan to curb foreign car shipments into the U.S. — if the UAW makes more major concessions to the auto corporations, slashing wages and allowing even more layoffs. In other words, the Reagan regime will really implement the anti-working class "anti-import" campaign of the UAW leadership.

Autoworkers will not only not get one more job or one dollar back, but their union will be further weakened because it will be tied closer to the Reagan government, the government of the auto barons — U.S. imperialism. And, on top of this, the autoworkers are to be forced into poverty.

This "deal" is part of the Reagan regime's rearming of imperialism to crush the revolution whose flash points are El Salvador and in Poland. This "deal" can be stopped only by developing the Special Convention movement in the UAW toward the General Strike to bring down Reagan.

The *Detroit Free Press* is filled continually with statements by GM management that there are on-going discussions with the UAW leadership for Chrysler-type concessions. The UAW denies it. But, whatever the details, the UAW is in fact preparing to support Reagan's plans. A recent dinner held in Detroit and attended by representatives of GM,

Reagan and the UAW openly discussed the Reagan regime's plans and how to implement them.

These plans are now at the heart of the capitalist preparations of further attacks on the autoworkers. They must be stopped! A General Strike to bring down Reagan — that is, revolutionary action like the Polish workers — is what the autoworkers must concentrate their organizing and their actions on. The preparation of the General Strike is what the Special Convention movement must place at the center of its fight.

The UAW leadership has been under pressure from the ranks of the UAW for precisely such a united working class response to the spreading "Chrysler syndrome" and Reagan's budget cuts. The International Executive Board of the UAW recently voted to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO, the largest union organization in the U.S., which the UAW left in 1968. Ten presidents of UAW locals who are opposed to reaffiliation have called for a Special Convention to stop this reaffiliation. This is a completely wrong goal for the Special Convention movement. This is, in fact, an action directed *against* a step on the road to the General Strike — the unification of the unions into one central union. Autoworkers must support reaffi-

liation as a step in this direction.

But the fact that such a call could be made shows that the movement for a Special Convention needs to be organized, needs to build an organization in the UAW to win the Special Convention to stop Reagan's concession plans. A *Committee for a UAW Special Convention* must be organized by a mobilization of the masses of autoworkers, employed and unemployed.

The first step should be a massive demonstration at Solidarity House in Detroit, UAW international headquarters, under the slogans: *No more Concessions! Stop Reagan's concession plans! Special Convention now!* This unifying action can be prepared by rallies at the different factories and mobilizations in each of the locals to win their support.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA calls on all organizations that oppose the concessions, on all autoworkers, to join us in preparing this demonstration and thus in organizing the movement for a Special Convention in such a way that a Committee of the ranks can be built.

This mobilization will begin with actions at two key locals: Local 15, GM Fleetwood, where autoworkers have already forced their local leadership to issue a call to the other GM locals to oppose concessions; Local 900, Michigan Truck, where 1,100 Ford workers

signed a petition demanding a Special Convention and no concessions. At Fleetwood on May 11th from 2:45—3:45 pm (corner of Springwells and Fort in Detroit) and at Michigan Truck on May 26th (38303 Michigan Avenue in Wayne, Michigan).

Autoworkers, working class organizations:

Join us! Stop Reagan's plans with the organized power of the workers! Special Convention now!

Debate/Discussion of TRUTH

How Autoworkers
can Stop
Reagan's
Concessions Plans

FRED VITALE,
UAW LOCAL NO. 174

Saturday, May 16, 1 P.M.

Wayne State University,
Student Center Building, Rm. 558
(Kirby and Anthony Wayne Drive)
Detroit, Michigan

Defend the Polish Revolution! Build the International Workers Fund!

The Polish Revolution has inspired workers throughout the world. It has shown them how to use their power to confront and defeat the imperialists and their Stalinist servants — factory committees, the general strike.

This revolution is in fundamental opposition to both imperialism and its Stalinist servants, thus a *violent confrontation* between the Polish workers and these forces is *inevitable*.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is totally committed to enforcing the demands of imperialism as well as its own power, so it has no choice but to attempt to suppress the Polish workers.

The Fourth International is the only party fighting to prepare this confrontation, to break the isolation of the Polish Revolution with the fight for a Socialist United States of Europe, to regroup youth and workers throughout the world who want to wage this fight.

We say: Poland will not be another Czechoslovakia! This time the tanks shall not pass!

We want to make sure that this time, when the Kremlin sends its tanks against the workers to protect the interests of its masters in Washington, workers throughout the world will rise up, defeat this attack, begin to overthrow the power of imperialism and the bureaucrats and build their own.

And we are the only party waging this fight. Every other party pretends that a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Poland is possible and thus disarms the working class.

A recent column in *The Daily World*, paper of the American Stalinist party which supports the Kremlin complains: "The military-industrial complex has been in an uproar over a non-invasion of Poland by the Soviet Union. The President, the State Department and the Pentagon have issued statement after statement about an invasion of Poland that has not even happened."

A recent article in *The Militant*, which claims to support the Polish workers, says something similar: "For weeks — even after Warsaw Pact military maneuvers in and around Poland ended — Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State Alexander Haig issued almost daily declarations that a Soviet invasion of Poland was imminent . . . the Reagan administration is crying wolf . . ."

This may sound "anti-imperialist" but the fact is that *both* the U.S. and the Kremlin are building up military power in Europe to crush the revolution.

The Fourth International is fighting to rally workers across the world against this and prepare them to confront it.

So we ask you to contribute to the International Workers Fund to build the Fourth International, especially in Poland!

World Workers Conference Held For a new revolutionary leadership!

Following is the report of David Heffelfinger, delegate of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to the World Workers Conference held in Madrid over the weekend of April 18-19. The Conference was attended by 75 delegates representing groups, parties, unions and the sections of the Fourth International and of the Revolutionary Youth International.

★ ★ ★

As we approached the first session of the World Workers Conference all the preparations were in place; the Manifesto offered by the Fourth International to the Conference had been translated, and the site of the Conference, Holy Evangelist College, was decorated with banners and posters of the various organizations represented by the Conference.

I am momentarily reminded of the Zimmerwald Conference organized by Lenin and the Bolsheviks to organize opposition to World War I, and all the tales of the delegates who arrived with great difficulties after, in some cases, weeks of travel. And now, in 1981, the World Workers Conference opens with much the same task — to organize the fractions of the workers movement on a world scale who are opposed to the Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism and to their counterrevolutionary rearmament.

The presidium of the Conference, elected at the beginning, reports first on the delegations present. It is clear that many delegations who fought with the Fourth International to build the Conference are not present. Among them, and to me a particularly hard-felt loss, Victor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov, leaders of the Russian free trade union SMOT (Free Inter-professional Association of Workers) who were refused visas by the Spanish government. So much for bourgeois "democracy" and what passes for democracy under the government of King Juan Carlos.

They have sent greetings however, and only weeks before a very successful tour was organized in conjunction with the PORE, Spanish section of the Fourth International, of Borisov. The tour rallied over a thousand participants. "We must do this in the United States," I think to myself. American workers could learn much from the struggle of Soviet workers for independent unions.

The reports and greetings are read. First from the Fourth International's International Executive Committee stressing the theme of the Manifesto for the Socialist United States of Europe and the new revolutionary leadership of the world workers movement. Reports from the sections and committees of the Fourth International from France, Spain, Sweden, Poland (!), Norway, the Philippines and the USA.

The Conference applauds especially the reports and greetings from delegates representing organizations of the youth and union locals. Forty workers from

AEG, a metal fabrication company in Spain, salute the Conference. Greetings from the African collective in France. From the POUM in Spain.

Then come the reports from delegates of circles of the Revolutionary Youth International, many of them newly formed in the mobilization for the World Workers Conference. The Creil circle in France. The Leon Sedov circle in Poland. The Peruvian committee of the RYI, the October circle in Spain. The circles are named after famous revolutionaries or events in the history of the workers movement.

I listen attentively to the report of the delegate of the Left Socialists of Hungary; he is older, and I am told he had known Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son.

He says the World Workers Conference will hit our class enemies hard because it defines a program of united front to unite all the socialist and revolutionary forces.

A Spanish youth approaches the podium, "I am a militant of the POSI," he says. The Conference is attentive. This is the organization of the French OCI of Pierre Lambert in Spain which has led a campaign of Stalinist slander and physical attacks on the Fourth International and one of its leaders, Michel Varga.

He says he doesn't come here to defend the lies of Lambert. He comes to announce his break with the POSI and his intention to join the Fourth International!

With respect to the Fourth International, the OCI dissolved the International Committee and tried to cover this liquidation with lies and slander. . . . the OCI has affirmed its character of vacillating with respect to Stalinism. It tries to tie the fate of the proletariat to Stalinism with the slogan of the CP-SP government. My political break is positive if it clarifies and advances Trotskyism.

When it finally comes time for me to speak, I am both proud of the work we have done in the USA and at the same time wishing that we had succeeded in going farther in actually organizing the trip of other delegates, especially those presently outside the party. I decide to read their greetings first, before those of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, and, International Young Guard/USA.

The Conference warmly applauds the greetings of an anti-draft fraction of the YSA, and of autoworkers from UAW Local 174.

In my greetings I state:

To the Reagan plan of imperialist rearmament, there is only one alternative for the workers and youth, to open up the revolutionary crisis of the Reagan government, already shaken by the mass resistance of American youth to military intervention in Central America, and by the movement for class independence in the unions.

The present miners strike, together with the movement of the youth against imperialist rearmament, can be the launching point for the *General Strike to bring down Reagan*.

This too receives a round of applause. Reagan's policies, it seems, are not very popular, either in the USA or abroad.

In the second session the discussion is opened up over the greetings and the Manifesto. The major question raised is over the importance of the Polish Revolution and the slogan for the *Socialist United States of Europe*. Some delegates say that the emphasis on the SUSE does not take into account sufficiently the revolution in the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. These delegates agree on the slogan but not on its centrality.

Many delegates speak to the importance of the Polish Revolution as the most advanced point of the revolution. The Conference seems to be agreed that it is absolutely essential to organize a central campaign coming out of the World Workers Conference to defend the independent trade unions and to develop the tour of Fainberg and Borisov together with militants of "Solidarity."

To me the intervention of Ernesto Boada summarizes the place of these two questions and the advances of the World Workers Conference.

. . . Poland concentrates the revolution. We do not depreciate the other struggles. Of all the great events in 1980, the Polish Revolution is the most advanced. It is not an isolated event. The Stalinists, reformists and centrists say this is a movement for reform. But this is a negation of the revolution that is going on.

There are certain facts we must take into account. The revolution in Poland could turn into the European Revolution. The Polish Revolution cannot be isolated; it must be continued on the European level. We must give the answer as to whether the Polish Revolution is going to continue or not.

The forces in this Conference are small but represent an even wider fight than the organizations that participate. Now we discuss how to continue this fight. We insist on the method of regroupment in the broadest possible manner, without prior agreement with the program of the Fourth International, in common action. In particular, in defense of the Polish Revolution.

This Conference has been called for a new revolutionary leadership, for the Socialist United States of Europe. The Fourth International has said that we are the new revolutionary leadership, and that you still do not see this, do not agree with certain points. We discuss in action and, based on this, we are ready to discuss leadership. We don't think it is possible to discuss leadership unless it is based on the development of the revolution.

The Manifesto was voted on together with friendly amendments. It was passed with three abstentions and no votes against. It was proposed that the delegates should go forward with the results of the Conference to form an International Coordinating Committee to associate more groups and tendencies to the fight of the Conference.

My last thought before leaving is that this is a way to continue the work that is already begun in the USA — to build the new revolutionary leadership.

Road Forward for the Fight of the Youth

The possibilities for the youth in this period are tremendous, but the obstacles to their advance are not overcome simply by grit and determination.

International Young Guard/USA, section of the Revolutionary Youth International, has a policy in the anti-draft movement which bases itself on the independent organization of the youth and the advance of the world revolution. From Poland to El Salvador, from the coalfields of West Virginia to the docks of San Francisco, the world proletariat is constantly confronting the decayed and bankrupt Holy Alliance of imperialism and Stalinism.

Immediately for the youth, the question is what policy to advance the movement against the draft? Reagan's policy is to rearm imperialism around the world, to crush oppressed peoples everywhere and to draft American youth as a key element of this plan. Our only response can be the rearmament of the youth to confront Reagan and defend the revolution by, first of all, extending it.

We say up front that the anti-draft movement is a revolutionary movement. This is all too clear to the present leadership of CARD which along with the pro-Stalinist Workers World Party/PAM, is busy trying to destroy CARD and the anti-draft movement under the cover of "unity."

The proof of this "unity" lies in the fact that instead of winning new youth, many are leaving or losing confidence. When International Young Guard/USA has fought for actions and direction for CARD to resolve this crisis, there are continual motions to table and to avoid any political fight.

International Young Guard/USA is fighting to regroup all elements who wish to continue this battle, who want to take the offensive. An immediate conclusion for fighting youth is the construction of circles of the RYI on the basis of agreement with the resolution of International Young Guard/USA.

Enlist in the World Army of Socialist Revolution!

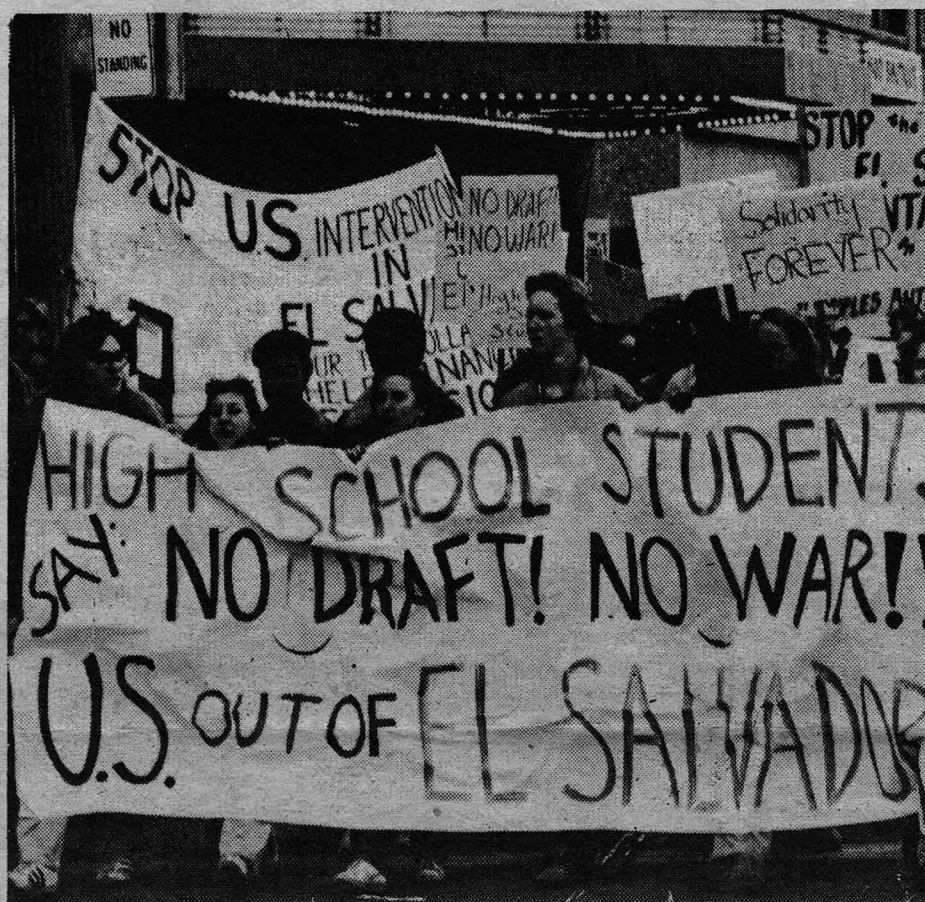
Join the Revolutionary Youth International!

Resolution

The victory of the revolution in the Americas begins with the struggle for its leadership today.

The revolution is an objective fact on a world scale and is the determining factor in the struggle of the proletariat of every country seeking a real and permanent conclusion to the confrontation with its own bourgeoisie and the imperialist apparatus.

In the U.S., the movement against draft registration led by a new generation of youth with the support of the workers and their organizations above all represents a revolutionary movement. It was born in



Demonstration in Detroit against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador led by high school youth from Cass Tech.

the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its attempts to rearm its crumbling world order. It has grown alongside the struggle of the Salvadoran people against the bloody junta, and it has become part of a fight to lead it. The revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, the struggles throughout Latin America, have yielded tremendous lessons — lessons of class struggle, of working class methods, of complete rupture with the bourgeois class and its policies.

The most oppressed sectors of the American population have a stake in this battle. Young blacks, Puerto Ricans, Latinos and Filipinos must be convinced that the fight to stop the draft, to confront the Reagan regime, represents the road forward to realizing their own victories.

There are those, however, who would rather bring the anti-draft movement to its knees. These people much prefer some sort of "peaceful compromise," as if a compromise could be possible between the future of the workers and youth and the murderous policies of U.S. imperialism.

The present leadership of CARD bases itself on pressuring imperialism in order to render the strength of the youth harmless in face of its enemy. Even more, national CARD entered into "discussions" with PAM (Peoples Anti-War Mobilization) in order to sabotage the decisions of its own National Conference. The completely bureaucratic methods employed by the

CARD leadership and its henchmen in chapters throughout the country have no place in the movements of the workers and youth.

These methods and actions can only mean disorganization and dispersion, an attempt to destroy the anti-draft movement.

In spite of these attacks, several CARD chapters, fractions of organizations, tendencies and individual militants have resisted, have organized local demonstrations and activities, have organized action with Latin American solidarity committees and have struggled to prepare the May 3 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

This contradiction between the youth, who are determined to advance the anti-draft movement to defeat U.S. imperialism's plans, and the present leadership of the movement itself must be resolved.

Emergency CARD Conference

We therefore constitute ourselves as a coordinating committee to win the support of the youth and the rest of CARD and to issue a call for an Emergency CARD Conference.

This is the basis of the fight we develop to regain the initiative that was launched at the National Anti-Draft Conference last February. It was clear then that the overwhelming response of the youth was for

action, for a plan of combat to stop the draft and for a national leadership which represented the youth not only in numbers but in vigor and uncompromising tenacity. The resistance to dispersal, the fact that there have been significant advances in face of attacks is proof of the revolutionary character of the anti-draft movement.

Revolutionary Action

The tremendous opposition of the American working class to the policies of U.S. imperialism in Central and South America has found itself intimately linked to the struggle of the youth. The enemy is the same in both cases — U.S. imperialism. Like the youth who are fighting to stop the draft, to stop Reagan's plans at home, we must engage ourselves to stop Reagan's plans in El Salvador: plans which are expressed through vicious repression, support and arming of a military dictatorship and through a chauvinist and anti-communist propaganda campaign.

We therefore resolve to commit ourselves to the construction of united boycott committees to follow the initiative of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), to win the full support of CARD, CISPES and other Latin American solidarity committees to the active and concrete defense of our revolution in El Salvador, a fight which is counterposed to pressuring imperialism.

This fight means winning the masses of workers to an active workers boycott of weapons, munitions, government and private financing, communications — working class support which even in its most limited expression means a thousand times more than what could be achieved by pressuring imperialism, by trying to convince workers and youth that faced with a revolution the ruling class in the U.S. can maintain control by "peaceful" methods.

This proposal also opens the possibility of winning union support for the youth and the anti-draft movement. The boycott of draft registration by government employees and postal workers represents an axis for developing this fight and winning massive support in the workers movement.

The success of these proposals, the success of the movement against the draft and the rearmament of imperialism, above all depends on its leadership.

This is the perspective we offer the anti-draft movement — for the independent organization of the youth and workers to confront imperialism; for the defense and extension of the revolution.

Stop Draft Registration and U.S. Intervention in El Salvador!

Boycott All Supplies to the Salvadoran Dictatorship!

Emergency CARD Conference!