

Young Spartacus

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TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

Black Students Defy Vorster

Apartheid Terror Stalks Soweto

Resurgent mass protest and brutal police violence marked the first anniversary of the murder of 13-year-old Hector Peterson by Prime Minister B.J. Vorster's stormtroopers in Soweto last June 16.

Tens of thousands of black workers stayed away from work as black youths demonstrated in commemoration of the Soweto massacre which sparked the continuing revolt that has rocked South Africa and left more than 600 blacks and "Coloureds" (those of mixed race) dead, martyred by apartheid terror. Despite the peaceful character of the meetings and school boycotts organized by Soweto youth over the preceding weeks, the Vorster regime unleashed its murderous armed guards on the protesting students.

The June 16 commemoration followed a rising series of militant demonstrations against the hellish conditions of everyday life of non-whites under apartheid. On April 28, chanting "Away With High Rents," and "We Will Not Pay," 2,000 black high school students demonstrated in Soweto against the openly punitive 30 to 80 percent rent increases. The government-ordered measures for the Johannesburg-area black townships were supposedly intended to "offset losses" incurred through the burning down of government-owned *shebeens* (beer halls) during last year's protests—but were rightly seen as another attack on blacks in this overcrowded and squalid labor compound. The students also demanded the resignation of the quisling Urban Bantu Council (UBC—widely derided as the "Useless Boys' Club"),

the self-proclaimed representatives of the Soweto masses.

In response, police showered the protestors with tear gas and hails of shot gun pellets, leaving at least three wounded. The following day, however, the government backed down and deferred the rent increases, and charges were dropped against 49 arrested students.

Two weeks later, on May 10, another series of protests began as hundreds of students walked out of Soweto's Orlando High School and three other schools, calling for an end to the system of "Bantu education". The students again confronted the UBC, demanding that two students detained in the April 28 demonstrations be released. By the beginning of June, the increasing pressure of the Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) had forced the majority of the UBC to resign.

Soweto Under Martial Law

As June 16 approached, the South African police took measures to forestall any massive black student protests. On June 8 scores of black activists were arrested, including Mapapa Wauchope, the head of the Black Peoples Convention, and Jackson Nkosiyanane, the leader of the Transkei opposition. On June 10 scattered demonstrations by black youths and the stoning of vehicles immediately led to further police attacks.

By June 13 paratroopers had surrounded Soweto and blocked the roads leading in and

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South African riot cops (top) pump bullets and tear gas into protesting Soweto blacks (bottom).

Anita Bryant: Vicious and Obscene!

PAUL HOSEFROS/NEW YORK TIMES



June 26 demonstration in New York City drew an estimated 100,000 protestors to demand full democratic rights for homosexuals

Editorial Note

Carter Kills Medicaid Abortions:

High Court Sentences Poor to Back-Alley Butchers

Coat-hanger abortions by back-alley butchers have been widely regarded as a fading horror in the four years since the U.S. Supreme Court legalized termination of pregnancy upon request. But despite its all-purpose "human rights" rhetoric the Carter administration has just provided a boon for the bloody business of the kitchen-table quacks.

After publicly taking a "personal" stand against abortion, Carter recently succeeded in getting Congress and the Supreme Court to take actions to halt government funding of abortions. As a result, many of the estimated 300,000 poor and working women who every year obtain legal hospital abortions funded through Medicaid will be left with only one "human right"—choosing between giving birth to unwanted children or risking mutilation and even death at the hands of amateur and fly-by-night abortionists.

That "born-again" Baptist in the White House no doubt claimed a great victory for "moral government" when on June 29 the Senate voted in favor of a Carter-backed amendment to a Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill that would prohibit Medicaid funding of abortions, except in cases where pregnancy would endanger the life of a mother or was the result of rape or incest. Earlier in June the House adopted an even stiffer amendment to the same bill, forbidding federal funding of any abortion, even when deemed "medically necessary."

Although the Senate rejected a similar ban last year, Congressional opposition to publicly funded abortions gained momentum after the Supreme Court ruled on June 20 that states had the right to prohibit Medicaid abortions. Already 15 states have laws on the books forbidding government funding of "non-therapeutic" abortions, and more and more states are following suit.

It is necessary for the left and labor movement and all concerned with defending democratic rights to oppose these reactionary actions of Congress and the Supreme Court. These decisions target the poor, the young, the uneducated and racial and ethnic minorities; 75 percent of the women who die in home abortions are non-white. And these decisions can only embolden the reactionary "right-to-life" forces who have set their sights on nothing less than forcing through a Constitutional amendment forbidding all abortions.

Even though these recent moves by Congress and the Supreme Court do not challenge legalized abortion, they were clearly in response to the growing pressure from reactionary "right-to-life" forces organized by outfits like the National Right to Life Committee and massively funded by the Catholic Church. Commenting on why so many liberal Democrats recently changed sides in the fight over Medicaid abortions, Oregon Senator Bob Packwood candidly stated, "To politicians, they [the opponents of abortion] are a frightening force. They are people who are with you 99 percent of the time, but if you vote against them on this issue, it doesn't matter what else you stand for" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 1 July 1977).

More ominous was the Supreme Court ruling, which came very close to adopting the Vatican position that abortion is a "moral" issue. In the majority decision of the Court, Justice Lewis Powell stated that it was acceptable for states "to make a value judgement favoring childbirth over abortion, and to implement that judgement by the allocation of public funds." And only a few days after this ruling the Court warmed the heart of the Catholic Church even more by ruling that states could increase their aid to parochial schools.

The legalization of abortion by the Supreme Court in 1973 represented a real gain benefitting women and their struggle for democratic rights. But even that hard-won reform fell far short of meeting basic needs of the masses of poor and working women: the right to legal abortion is a cruel hoax for the welfare mothers who can't afford the medical costs or the Southern woman who can't find a hospital or a doctor willing to provide the service. Especially now, when even the limited state aid for abortion has come under attack, a struggle must be mounted to win FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND.

It was the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League that championed that demand in the movement to win legalization of abortion several years ago. But at every step of the way that demand was opposed by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). In numerous meetings and conferences sponsored by its front group, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), the SWP/YSA voted against motions favoring free abortion on demand. By limiting the movement to the "single issue" of repealing all anti-abortion laws, the SWP/YSA hoped to keep WONAAC "respectable" and "moderate" enough to attract as sponsors and spokesmen liberal Democrats like Bella Abzug. But—alas—before the SWP/YSA made it into the big time of class collaborationism some aging male



Supreme Court justices wrote the entire program of WONAAC into law, and that was the end of that "mass movement."

Yet to this day the SWP/YSA is opposed to waging a struggle to win free abortion on demand. In a major polemic against the SL/SYL which appeared in *Intercontinental Press* exactly one week before the Supreme Court ruling prohibiting Medicaid abortions, the SWP again attacked us for raising the slogan "Free Abortion on Demand" in WONAAC, arguing that this demand is "a good proposition that simply was not the issue at the time."

Instead, we are told that poor and working women should be content to make do with Medicaid:

"In a country such as the United States, since the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, this has meant that abortion costs are covered by government social insurance and welfare programs and by many of the private medical plans that most [!] U.S. workers and their families possess. This is not exactly free [!] and there are currently reactionary attempts to eliminate abortions from Medicaid coverage, but legalization was a tremendous gain, nonetheless."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 13 June 1977

Perhaps these reformists are singing a different tune after the Carter administration axed Medicaid abortions? No, indeed! Even now the SWP/YSA maintains that free abortion on demand is "not the issue." Search as you will, the call for free abortion on demand is nowhere to be found in the lengthy statement issued by the SWP/YSA in response to the Supreme Court ruling against Medicaid abortions (*Militant*, 1 July 1977).

Just as in WONAAC, so today the SWP/YSA places its appetites to wheel and deal in the bourgeois-feminist, red-baiting National Organization for Women (NOW) higher than its supposed commitment to struggle for the needs of working women. Women may be forced to resort to the back-alley butchers in even greater numbers than before, but the SWP/YSA is not about to risk alienating would-be liberal allies by championing so "radical" a demand as free abortion. (If NOW or some liberal Democrats were to pick up the demand for their own purposes, then the SWP/YSA could indeed be counted on to at last decide that free abortion was now "the issue.") Thus, the SWP/YSA has the dubious distinction of standing to the right of the arch-reformist British Labour Party—which at least stands by the existing system of state-financed abortions for all who need them.

Under capitalism reforms such as legalized abortion are always partial and reversible. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can democratic reforms benefitting women be consolidated and extended. As communists our task is to link the necessary struggles against the special oppression of women under capitalism to a revolutionary perspective for mobilizing the entire working class to smash the capitalist state and lay the basis for the socialist society free from enslaving oppression.

For free abortion on demand by competent medical personnel!

For free, safe and effective contraception available to all!

For the end of forced sterilization!

For free, quality health care for all! ■

Women and Revolution

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Interview with Black Student Leader

How Boston Racists Provoked "Southie" Boycott

EDITOR'S NOTE: Printed below are excerpts from a recent *Young Spartacus* interview with Grace Richardson, a black student who was among the leaders of this spring's protests against racist attacks at South Boston High. Her vivid testimony punctures the tissue of lies which the bourgeois press, whether liberal or conservative, has fabricated over the last year to cover up the segregationist backlash which has torn "Southie" ever since the beginning of court-ordered busing for desegregation in the fall of 1974.

In the background of the recent protests at South Boston High is the latest busing plan issued by Federal Judge Arthur Garrity. With the watchword of "stability," his Phase III desegregation plan holds the number of students to be bused at around 22,000, with the proposed integration of kindergarten classes to be left completely voluntary. Such a proposed freeze on busing led arch-racist Virginia Sheehy of the South Boston Information Center to regard the Phase III plan as proof that Garrity "has backed off" (quoted in the *Boston Herald American*, 9 May 1977).

Meanwhile, at the national level the backlash against school desegregation has escalated apace. On March 18 the Carter administration made its first official statement on school integration. While backing a Wilmington, Delaware, busing plan, the Carter administration denied that the school districts involved had to ensure racial balance in each school; the Justice Department declared, "The existence of schools predominantly attended by members of one race does not in itself amount to racial discrimination" (*New York Times*, 19 March 1977). Such rulings go a long way in undercutting the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision ruling that segregated school systems—and Wilmington's is 90 percent black—are inherently discriminatory.

Since then, Carter has been backing policies that would restrict busing to the most narrow possible forms of "pairing": busing between two neighboring schools. But the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) was denied the means to enforce even this limited busing when on June 16 the House, and on June 28 the Senate, passed amendments to a HEW appropriations bill preventing the withholding of federal funds from school districts that fail to comply with desegregation guidelines.

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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Most recently, on June 27 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a Dayton, Ohio, busing plan was "too broad." While refraining from overturning the plan, the Court reaffirmed and extended an earlier decision (*Washington vs. Davis*) that intent to discriminate had to be proven before segregation could be declared unconstitutional.

The liberal black leadership and reformist left have beat a retreat before the anti-busing backlash. The

tacus Youth League has supported busing as a means, albeit limited, to enforce the democratic right of black people to equal access to public educational facilities. At the same time, the SYL has demanded that busing be implemented and extended to the relatively superior suburban schools. To defeat white vigilante terror we have championed the perspective of mobilizing a labor/black defense based on the mass organizations of the workers movement and

Guardian



Saga of "Southie": racist state troopers arresting black students.

bourgeois-legalist National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) actually praised the Supreme Court decision requiring proof of intent to segregate, while calling for the moving of South Boston High to a "neutral" location—a complete capitulation before the racist offensive.

Attempting to give the NAACP a "left" cover, the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its empty-shell front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, likewise support the demand to move the school, while preaching that the embattled black students should rely on the cops and troopers to "protect" them from racist attacks. As the cops daily demonstrate which side they're on in South Boston, the SWP/YSA has taken to covering up the news of cop provocations and attacks in "Southie" no less than the bourgeois press.

Moving South Boston High to another location is not the solution for defeating the racist backlash, either in the school or in white-racist strongholds such as South Boston. It would only embolden the racists and represent a retreat from the necessary struggle to implement school desegregation.

Ever since the beginning of busing in Boston three years ago, the Spar-

black community. And in this context we demand that the cops be removed from South Boston High.

The situation at South Boston High today, as Grace Richardson so powerfully describes, cries out for just such a counteroffensive to defend black rights and to drive forward the struggle for revolutionary integration.

* * *

Young Spartacus: Over the last year the bourgeois media has maintained a virtual blackout on news about the situation at South Boston High. The *New York Times*, for example, reported that this has been a "quiet" year at "Southie." How was this year compared to last year's racist harassment and assaults on the black students bused into South Boston?

Grace Richardson: I think it's worse than last year, I really do. I guess the reason why the black students and the black community haven't spoken up until the end of the school year is because they were waiting to see what Winegar [principal of South Boston High School appointed by Judge Garrity] was going to do for the school. He hasn't done much at all. He ignores the black students.

YSp: Have there been organized assaults on black students coming from outside the school organized by ROAR,

the South Boston Marshals and other racist vigilantes? Are there assaults by white students on black students going on now?

G.R.: Yes, there are. Every time there's a fight, it was planned—you know it was planned. We have a campus van which takes the black students from school to their homes. Some whites threw a pole through the window of that, and people got cut. And then Mr. Winegar got on TV and said nothing was happening! There used to be white students standing on the roof of the school throwing rocks at us when we got off the van. Another time a white parent came up to the school at the same time a black girl was coming out, and she jumped on the black girl.

YSp: Is ROAR and other segregationist literature distributed throughout the high school?

G.R.: They don't distribute it inside the high school. They stand down by the store next to the high school. Jim Kelly—he's on the REC [Racial-Ethnic Parents Council]—and all REC members have a right to come into the school any time they want.

YSp: That's Jim Kelly of the South Boston Marshals?

G.R.: Yeah, the South Boston Information Center. So, he has a right to come into the school any time he wants. There's a lot of people coming into that school. Mr. Winegar says that no one comes into that school, but that's a lie. All the parents and all the agencies are supposed to stay a hundred yards away from the school, but the white parents just walk right up there any time they feel like it. A black parent has to call the school and wait to see when Mr. Winegar is free.

YSp: Have there been many black students who have been injured or hospitalized as a result of racist assaults?

G.R.: I know so many people that got hurt. Last year my friend got kicked down three flights of stairs.

YSp: Could you describe how it happened?

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Anita Bryant: Vicious and Obscene!

Bigotry and social backwardness chalked up a victory for reaction when a controversial homosexual rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida, went down to a stinging 2-to-1 defeat in a local referendum on June 7.

Dade County hit the national headlines when a campaign to repeal the Miami ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment and public accommodations was mounted by Anita Bryant—that saccharine singer, citrus queen and Bible-thumping bigot.

"All America and all the world will hear what the people have said," ranted Bryant, "and with God's help, we will prevail in our fight to repeal similar laws throughout the nation which attempt to legitimize a life style that is both perverse and dangerous."

Whether or not all the world heard her "shot fired 'round the world," Anita Bryant's message was as clear as it was ominous: in the name of "God," the family and the flag Anita Bryant is on the warpath to deny homosexuals basic democratic rights—to witchhunt them, to revile them, to scapegoat them and to whip up a vicious and obscene crusade to make them social pariahs.

Anita Finds an Audience

It would be dead wrong to dismiss the "Save Our Children" campaign of Anita Bryant as merely the foam-flecked ravings of a Fundamentalist fanatic who could not get a hearing, much less mobilize a reactionary anti-homosexual offensive, beyond the beaches of Miami or the Bible belt of the South. Anita Bryant unfortunately is not alone in her "little corner of the world."

Even before the Miami ordinance was overturned, similar bills banning discrimination against homosexuals were defeated in Illinois, Connecticut, Minnesota and Washington. Meanwhile, New Hampshire enacted a law making so-called "lewd and licentious behavior" by homosexuals a crime, while Pennsylvania has barred homosexuals from holding certain state jobs. In June a federal judge, in handing down a decision upholding the right of the Navy to exclude homosexuals from the service, ruled that the right to privacy does not apply to homosexuals. And the Supreme Court has upheld a Virginia statute directed exclusively against homosexual sodomy as constitutional.

Even more ominous, after the Dade County defeat a group called the "National American Party for Manhood" surfaced in Los Angeles with a leaflet calling for capital punishment for homosexuals. And in San Francisco, long regarded as an enlightened center of sexual tolerance, a city employee was recently stabbed to death and his companion severely beaten by four men who allegedly screamed, "faggot, faggot!" as they savaged the couple. (Bryant has declared California the next target for her reactionary crusade.)

Defend Homosexual Rights!

Anger and apprehension over the victory of the "Save Our Children" crusade prompted record numbers of demonstrators to come out for this year's nationwide demonstrations in commemoration of the "Stonewall Riot" of 1969—a symbol of homosexual resistance to police harassment. In New York City, San Francisco, Miami, Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Kansas City, Providence and Seattle tens of thousands took to the streets chanting, "No More Miamis!" New York City witnessed the most massive homosexual rights march ever staged, as demonstrators choked Fifth Avenue sidewalk to sidewalk in

through that extended a full 27 blocks.

It is incumbent upon the left and labor movement as well as all those who stand for the defense of democratic rights to take a firm stand against the reactionary backlash against homosexual rights. We oppose all legislation which discriminates against homosexuals and fight for their full democratic rights. As we stated in an article entitled "'Sunshine Girl' On Anti-Homosexual Crusade" (*Young Spartacus* No. 55, June 1977),

"When statements of elementary bourgeois-democratic legal equality (such as the Miami ordinance or the Equal Rights Amendment) are placed on the ballot or come before Congress, we support their enactment and recognize their usefulness in fighting particular cases of anti-homosexual victimization."

In addition, we demand an end to state interference in the private sexual activities of consenting adults.

Behind the Backlash

While to a certain extent enjoying greater social acceptance now, homosexuals nevertheless loom large in the sights of all stripes of reactionaries as isolated and socially defiant "nonconformists" and "extremist deviants." Anita Bryant is meeting with success mainly because she is intersecting broader undercurrents and sharper social antagonisms in this society.

Closely intertwined with the anti-homosexual backlash is the reactionary anti-abortion sentiment which has been exploited by the Catholic Church and various "right-to-life" forces such as the National Right to Life Committee, which claims 11 million



Democratic Party politics set tone at anti-Anita protest in New York: Bella Abzug vote-hustling in N.Y.C. mayoral race.

activists organized in no less than 3,000 chapters across the country. It is not surprising that such defenders of "Christian morality" as Anita Bryant and Phyllis Schlafly, the leading light of "STOP ERA," have seen fit to make common cause against both homosexual and women's rights.

Also feeding into the anti-homosexual campaign waged by Bryant and her ilk have been various local anti-busing groups. Schools have become the point of convergence for several reactionary trends—from segregationist reaction, to book banning, to witchhunts against allegedly "perverted" teachers. Nor is this coincidental. Schools are responsible for crucial aspects of socializing and educating children, so that parents generally expect public education to function *in loco parentis*.

Thus, racially bigoted and backward parents are likely to regard controversial aspects of public school education, whether that be desegregation, the introduction of "adult" literature or teachers who are homosexuals, as a threat to their values and the role of the family. For example, during the well-publicized community battle over so-called "Godless" and "anti-Christian" textbooks in Ken-

tucky two years ago, one of the complaints of irate Fundamentalist parents was that some of the proposed readings, such as poetry by Allen Ginsberg, contained references to homosexuality that would allegedly "corrupt" the school children. Similar book-banning crusades have been mounted in Northern towns with "progressive" reputations (see "Bible Thumping and Book Banning," *Young Spartacus*, March 1977).

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hunting campaigns, the teachers unions must fight to defend the democratic rights and union prerogatives of their members from such anti-homosexual crusades.

Democratic Rights and "Community Standards"

For the most part, the federal government has been satisfied to allow local authorities to handle the controversy over homosexual rights, as has been the policy for establishing "standards" on pornography. The anti-homosexual and anti-pornography crusades are closely linked, and community rights and standards are at issue in both. In 1973 and 1974 the Supreme Court ruled that films or literature are obscene if they offend the average person, applying the prevailing attitudes in any given village, town, city or state. In response, the city of Cleveland now intends to rewrite its obscenity laws on the basis of a questionnaire about pornography distributed throughout the city by garbagemen.

The demand for community standards of obscenity is a dangerous invitation to the capitalist government to limit freedom of expression and the press. These laws provide a pretext for the state to crack down on social and cultural nonconformists.

Already a Cincinnati court has sentenced Larry Flynt, publisher of the sleazy sex magazine *Hustler*, to 7-to-25 years in prison and an \$11,000 fine for "pandering obscenity" and "engaging in organized crime." In a similar case, Al Goldstein, publisher of *Screw* magazine, was prosecuted in Wichita, Kansas. Goldstein had never been in Kansas, and *Screw* is not even sold there. "Community standards" ensure the triumph of ignorance and religious obscurantism and can only be a ready-made weapon in the hands of the reactionaries in their campaign against "permissiveness." This would give the go-ahead to right-wingers targeting any material that a given "community" may deem "obscene"—sexual education, biology textbooks and even classics such as James Joyce's *Ulysses* and Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*.

For the workers movement, democratic rights are not to be auctioned off piecemeal at the polls nor handed to the "community" to barter away at will. Rather, the rights of the oppressed sectors of the population must be vigilantly guarded by the working class.

White House "Morals"

The Carter administration has clearly given the nod to the right-wing forces leading the crusade against democratic rights for homosexuals. In a Father's Day interview, Carter disparaged the desire of homosexuals to end all forms of legal discrimination against them—stating that he didn't view homosexuality as "a normal interrelationship"—and deliberately avoided the issue of whether or not homosexuals should have the right to adopt children and teach school. From his pious homilies on "moral" government and the "evils" of alcoholic beverages and sexual promiscuity in White House circles, to his recent actions of withholding Medicaid payments for abortions and slashing funds for existing minority student programs in universities, "ethnic purity" Carter has provided a fertile ground on which reactionary social mobilizations can flourish through his campaign in defense of the family.

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Apartheid Terror...

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out of the township. Masses of police arrived, protected by their new plexi-glass shields and crash helmets which as one correspondent noted, "make them look like Roman centurions" (*Times* [London], 15 June). Using jeep-mounted "sneeze cannons" (which are filled with a noxious mixture of tear gas and talcum powder) and toting shotguns and Israeli Uzi submachineguns, Vorster's cops carried out a series of "preventative" dawn raids. SSRC leaders Daniel Motsiri and Sechaba Montsitsi were picked up, along with 18 others. At the same time, Johannesburg police seized five white students at the University of Witwatersrand suspected of preparing protest activities in solidarity with Soweto blacks.

A student strike spread through Soweto's schools in response to the arrest of the SSRC members, and by June 16 the SSRC was calling for a three-day stay-at-home solidarity strike. Meanwhile, police continued to search vehicles entering and leaving the township. Police also raided the offices of the student government at the white University of Cape Town, arresting everyone present and confiscating thousands of leaflets commemorating Soweto.

Tension escalated dramatically when on June 13 three blacks armed with Czech-made *Skorpion* submachineguns reportedly burst into a Johannesburg garage and killed two whites. Raising the spectre of random black "terrorism" against whites "Justice" minister James Kruger attempted to whip up the white South African *laager* mentality in anticipation of a major upsurge in Soweto. According to some reports, however, the blacks were part of a guerrilla force headed toward a Johannesburg police station. The African National Congress (ANC) issued a statement claiming that the three were members of its military arm, *Umkonto We Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation).

June 16—One Year Later

Despite the unrelieved vicious police terror, the SSRC strike call received wide support. On June 16 all schools and many stores in Soweto were shut down. The attempted work-stoppage was approximately 50 percent effective: some 700,000 workers stayed off the job and dynamite explosions ripped the rail line from Soweto to Johannesburg. Police commander Jan Visser carried out his threat to escalate the use of cop assaults should the students attempt to organize a labor boycott. While the police had previously relied heavily on their new gadgetry, they were now ordered to shoot down the protestors.

In scenes reminiscent of last year's savage display of white-supremacist slaughter, police in Soweto opened fire on crowds of predominantly teenage youth, killing at least two and wounding nine more. Several men, reported to be dressed

in police-style camouflage clothing, viciously beat a 17-year-old to death. Police also blanketed the township with tear gas, lobbing canister after canister from speeding cars and attacking a memorial service at a Roman Catholic church.

Vorster's stormtroopers also opened fire on protestors at Port Elizabeth and its nearby township Kabah, wounding several black demonstrators. On the same day, despite the arrest of several of their leaders a few days before, white students at the University of Witwatersrand placed wooden crosses on lawns to honor the victims of Soweto. Several hundred whites rallied on the University's main plaza before a government ban on student gatherings went into effect at noon. The protestors were set upon by right-wing students who set fire to the crosses and provoked fist fights.

The black class boycott continued strong the following day—although participation in the Soweto work stoppage began to dwindle rapidly (which some reports attributed to the fact that June 17, a Friday, was payday). In Kabah, students responded to the shootings by burning the township's last remaining school to the ground.

Police hastily set up special courts to try demonstrators and order public floggings on the spot for the hundreds arrested. Kabah also provided Kruger's lieutenants with a pretext to experiment with the rubber bullets widely used in Spain and Northern Ireland. At least nine blacks were killed either in Kabah or in the nearby township of Kwanobuhle.

Anti-apartheid actions continued through June 23 when several hundred black youths boldly staged a protest rally in downtown Johannesburg. Having slipped into the city unnoticed by the police, the protestors lined up outside police headquarters at John Vorster square, carrying placards demanding an end to "Bantu education" and the release of 20 detained student leaders. The cops quickly recovered from their surprise and launched a vicious club-flailing assault. Nearly 150 demonstrators were arrested, while in Soweto police fired on crowds of up to 2,000 students, killing two and wounding 14.

From Spontaneism to Guerrilla War?

In the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre attempts at black revolt were stifled for over a decade. Yet the terror tactics of the white-supremacist South African government over the last year have been unable to squelch the current student protest.

The protests this year, however, remain confined to the urban townships and politically isolated from the mass of black workers—the key to smashing apartheid. Black workers are undeniably sympathetic to the heroic struggles of the Soweto youth and in the past have answered their strike calls. But as the tapering off of support for the three-day strike called by the SSRC demonstrates, this sympathy has no sustained, organized form.

Locked in by a maze of police-state laws denying them even the most basic political and trade-union rights, the black South African proletariat remains atomized and regimented. And the students, despite their valiant struggles against apartheid, are unable to unlock these chains simply through vague appeals for black solidarity and semi-spontaneous street demonstrations.

Moreover, despite a rebellion by "Coloureds" at the Salt River High School on May 15 and a solidarity meeting held by Indians on March 31, there have been fewer instances of

"Coloured" and Indian support for the black student youth recently than last year. According to a spokesman for the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, there has even been a trend among black students to see the "Coloureds" as being allied to the white rulers (*Guardian*, 22 June).

Seeing endless street protests as a dead-end strategy, many black militants have turned to the ANC as the only force having a sustained organizational presence, funds and international (Stalinist) support. Although the young black exiles reportedly undergoing guerrilla training at ANC camps in Tanzania undoubtedly want to see white-supremacist rule smashed, this is not the political intention of the ANC.

Unable to pursue its pressure politics through bourgeois-democratic channels (such as electoralism) the ANC is willing to dabble



Brutal cop terror has not suppressed black anti-apartheid revolt.



Soweto, one year later: the struggle continues.

in urban guerrilla actions from time to time as a way to enhance its authority among black militants without jeopardizing its long-term perspective of "respectable" snail's-pace reformism. At the height of the first wave of ANC guerrillaism in the early 1960's, Stalinist leader Bram Fischer, on trial for participating in the ANC campaign, explained:

"We hope that we can bring the government to its senses before it is too late, so that the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war."

—from Bram Fischer, *What I Did Was Right*, 1966

Whatever its tactic of the moment, the ANC hopes to pressure for nothing more than a change of ruling regimes—from Vorster to one of the "liberal alternatives" that presumably would enable it to legally pursue its stagist strategy for black liberation. Thus, in 1958 the ANC backed the United Party of English gold-mining magnates as the "lesser evil"—only to have the "liberal" UP advocate the death penalty for "subversives" under the Suppression of Communism Act!

More recently, the ANC has supported the "Save South Africa" campaign of the UP that calls for

convening a National Convention to draw up a new, multi-racial constitution in which the different sections of the population would be granted some form of federated representation. Unlike the ANC, the militants of the South African Students Organization correctly reject this scheme as an attempt to channel black and "Coloured" militancy into a political framework guaranteeing white supremacy, even if somewhat reformed.

No matter how dedicated and subjectively revolutionary, young South African militants who opt for the guerrilla road to power simply have no chance of defeating the white-supremacist regime through commando operations. Unlike Rhodesia now (or Kenya earlier), the whites of South Africa are sufficiently numerous, well organized, well armed and technologically advanced that urban guerrilla actions by black guerrilla bands could not topple white supremacy. Unlike Rhodesia, the South African regime does not have to rely on black troops and can keep unrest confined to the labor compounds and bantustans. While often heroic acts of defiance, urban guerrilla raids in South Africa along the lines of the Algerian struggle in themselves could only be impotent and tragically self-destructive.

Dynamics of Apartheid

The roots of South Africa's exceptionally brutal labor system, codified in the mass of apartheid laws ensuring rigid racial segregation in all areas of social life and complete political disenfranchisement of the black majority, lie in the uneven and combined development of South African capitalism. In the epoch of the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions (17th through 19th centuries) the nascent capitalist class of England and the Western European nations cleared away the barriers of an out-

lived feudalism through bourgeois-democratic transformations that opened the way for capitalist development on the basis of the enfranchisement of the toiling masses. But since the advent of the imperialist epoch at the turn of the century such bourgeois revolutions are no longer on the historic agenda. In economically backward countries modern capitalist development is stunted by its subordination to the imperialist-dominated world market and its dependence upon pre-capitalist economic forms and social relations. In particular, South Africa is one of the countries where capitalist development was predicated on the disenfranchisement of the non-white toilers, the maintenance of the colonial state apparatus and the reinforcing of tribal and caste divisions.

Until late in the 19th century, South Africa's economy was overwhelmingly agrarian, with wool as its main export. It was not until the discovery of precious natural resources, first diamonds at Kimberly and then gold on the Rand, that the character of the economy changed. Yet South Africa remained a country which primarily produced raw materials for

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CLASSES

Spartacus Youth League

NEW YORK: "Building the U.S. Bolshevik Party"; alternate Tuesdays starting July 12 at 7:30 p.m.; 260 West Broadway, Room 522; call: (212) 925-5665.

Trotskyist League of Canada

VANCOUVER: "Problems of World Revolution"; Thursday July 14 and 28 at 7:30 p.m.; Britannia Community Center, (Seniors Citizens Lounge), Commercial at Napier; call: (604) 291-8993.

SYL Conference Sets Theme:

"The Main Enemy is at Home! —U.S. Imperialism"

Since his election to the American presidency, Jimmy Carter has embarked on a campaign to peddle off the world's strongest counter-revolutionary power as the liberator of the world from "totalitarianism." This repulsively hypocritical "Human Rights Campaign" comes from the chief representative of the ruling class that was responsible for the fire bombings of Dresden, Hamburg and Tokyo; the nuclear assault on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and the massive genocidal war against the Vietnamese people.

In the wake of the mass student radicalization of the late 1960's and early 1970's, Watergate and revelations of covert CIA "operations" produced a wave of cynicism and distrust of bourgeois politicians on the part of American youth. This was generally translated into a rejection of political activity. Carter's "human rights" hoax is the attempt of the new administration to wipe clean the bloody hands of American imperialism and attract active support from disaffected student youth. After the disastrous loss of American prestige during the Nixon and Ford years, Carter is searching for his equivalent to Roosevelt's "New Deal," Kennedy's "New Frontier" and Johnson's "Great Society." "Human rights" is imperialism's codeword for the campaign of Democrats to restore the image of the American "mission" in the eyes of idealistic youth, as well as to refurbish the tarnished international reputation of the American war machine in a period of intensifying interimperialist competition.

At the just concluded Fifth National Conference, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) reaffirmed the slogan of the heroic German revolutionist, Karl Liebknecht, "The

Main Enemy is at Home." Approximately 150 members of the SYL and the Spartacist League attended the conference to discuss and vote on the working perspectives for the organization in the next year.

Uniquely among socialist youth groups, the SYL has refused to jump on the Carter-led "human rights" bandwagon. While the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) limit themselves to pressure and exhortations on Carter to "really" implement his "Human Rights Campaign," the SYL continues to be involved with numerous campaigns directed against U.S. imperialism.

The SYL demonstrations against Milton Friedman centered at the University of Chicago (UC), our successful campaign against Henry Kissinger at Columbia University and the demonstrations and rallies throughout the country against the CIA/NSA/FBI have had national and in some cases even international impact, as has the forcible removal of the Nazi Party from San Francisco State. Our demonstration at UC against Milton Friedman and later in solidarity with the anti-apartheid student mobilizations in South Africa were two of the largest protests on that campus since the days of the antiwar movement. Equally significant has been our intervention into the struggle against the Bakke decision for which we are now well-known and identified with the demand for "Open Admissions" on the West Coast.

For International Labor Solidarity Against Apartheid

There was considerable discussion at the conference on the recent flurry of demonstrations in California demanding university divestment of stock in corporations with subsid-



YOUNG SPARTACUS

ies in South Africa. The main conference reporter pointed out that this demand was an integral part of Carter's "human rights" sham, having the effect of demanding that the American ruling class "clean up" its image. If the divestment protests were consistent, they would demand that South Africa withdraw its holdings in America, the bloodiest and most dangerous imperialist power. Furthermore, university divestment, at best would be simply a cosmetic act, with no tangible benefit for the black masses of South Africa; other financial concerns would gladly buy the rejected stock. Such moralistic campaigns offer nothing more than a means to pressure the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie to invest "responsibly" elsewhere—as though plunder and exploitation of Latin America and Asia by U.S. imperialism are "better" than its investment in South Africa.

Speakers from numerous cam-

puses noted that the various fake-left groups have enthusiastically campaigned for university divestment, indicating that they have no perspective for fighting American capitalism. The key to fighting apartheid is the working class, both in South Africa and in this country—the only class whose historic interests stand opposed to oppressive bourgeois regimes from South Africa to the U.S. Our task is to win students to recognize the necessity for international labor solidarity with the workers and oppressed rural masses of South Africa.

Political Life in the 1970's

For many of the newly recruited members of the SYL, genuine social struggle is an abstraction: a 20-year-old SYLer was 12 years old when SDS split and remembers the antiwar movement through the docu-

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FRATERNAL GREETINGS:

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Greetings to the Fifth National Conference of the Spartacus Youth League from the Trotskyist League of Canada! It is a tribute to our common internationalist solidarity that the TLC since its inception has been guided in its youth work by the achievements and political development of the SYL.

At present, the TLC maintains an activist presence at the University of Toronto and Simon Fraser University in Vancouver. And our campus work has already made a real, albeit limited political impact in the Canadian left. For example, we played a prominent role in two strike-support campaigns at Simon Fraser over the last three years. As a result, the TLC gained quite significant respect within the Vancouver labor movement when we demonstrated our commitment to respect picket lines during these strikes. Just as during campus workers' strikes in the U.S. over the past period, our pseudo-Trotskyist opponents have earned the reputation of being nothing but "socialist" scabs.

Your experiences during the last several years are rich in lessons that will enable us to make great strides in our struggle to build strong campus fractions and drive our student work forward. In our youth work of today lies the basis for the Spartacus Youth League of Canada tomorrow.

LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE

In extending the greetings of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France to this conference, I would like to speak briefly about the present political situation in France. As you know, the French left currently takes up positions on the political terrain according to their attitude to the popular-front *Union de la Gauche*. Since all the centrist groups in France have capitulated to the popular front in one way or another, each electoral success of the popular front brings a new period of rightward motion by the centrists.

Let me give an example of what's going on in France today: Two weeks ago a militant of the CGT [the Stalinist-dominated General Confederation of Labor] was killed on the picket line by a goon from the right-wing CFT

[French Confederation of Labor]. The central trade-union leadership, although completely controlled by the workers parties in the *Union de la Gauche*, merely called for a "general strike"... of five minutes.

What was the response of the centrist so-called "far left"? The LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—French section of the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International] came out for a general strike demanding government dissolution of the CFT and the armed anti-labor gangs, even though four decades ago Trotsky warned that calling on the French bourgeois authorities to ban right-wing "extremists" can only hand the class enemy a club to use against the left and labor movement. On occasion the LCR mentioned the need for workers self-defense, but such genuflections toward Trotskyist orthodoxy were always very discreet and scrupulously buried in *Rouge*.

For its part the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste] simply appealed for proletarian class "unity"—thereby failing to expose the trade-union tops who likewise had called for "unity," even if for only five minutes. Although criticizing the LCR for its demand that the capitalist state ban the ultra-right bands, the LO [Lutte Ouvrière—an ostensibly Trotskyist organization character-

ized by its syndicalist orientation] likewise supported this sub-token five-minute "general strike" as a means for the French workers to allegedly "express themselves [?]."

In this situation, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France was the only organization to sharply condemn the popular-front *Union de la Gauche* for its political cowardice and to call for working-class organized self-defense from anti-labor hooliganism. As a result, we have begun to be known in France as a serious propaganda group to be reckoned with.

To conclude, I recall that during the pre-conference discussion in New York City one youth comrade took the floor to state that this period was one of relative political quiescence and that our comrades must utilize the opportunity to study. This is true. But ever more urgent is the need to recruit and develop our cadres—especially given our tasks in France and Germany and Spain. Above all, this is the period to build the international Spartacist tendency!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE OF AUSTRALIA/NEW ZEALAND

I bring you the revolutionary greetings of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. It was not too long ago that the only international relations the Spartacist

No Academic Refuge for War Criminals!

Columbia Protests Block Kissinger Appointment

NEW YORK CITY, June 4—After more than two months of demonstrations and teach-ins at Columbia University protesting his proposed faculty appointment, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger yesterday officially declined Columbia's offer of an endowed chair in political science in favor of remaining at Georgetown University in Washington.

At center stage throughout the widely-publicized campaign to keep the pompous self-styled Metternich of the Nixon/Ford administrations off

"The Columbia University offer was still open, his friends said, but it had become a source of controversy in and beyond the Manhattan campus, where there were two student-faculty demonstrations this spring against the appointment."

The opponents of the Kissinger appointment at Columbia can indeed claim a victory. It was their protests against his crimes—as the braintruster of the imperialist rape of Indochina and the archetypal oily diplomat responsible for "destabilizing" the Allende regime in Chile—that made Kissinger conclude that he would be "more comfortable" in Washington than at Columbia (*New York Times*, 4 June 1977).

At Columbia the SYL early on took the lead in organizing militant protests against the proposed Kissinger appointment. Our united-front proposal was endorsed by a number of individuals and organizations on campus, ranging from Columbia faculty such as socialist professor Alexander Erlich to campus groups like the Puerto Rican Socialist Youth Federation (FUSP—youth affiliate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party). The demonstrations and teach-in opposing the Kissinger appointment called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus were covered by a dozen area radio stations and the major national and international press agencies.

In a matter of weeks the protests at Columbia stirred national controversy. Editorials commenting on the Kissinger appointment appeared in numerous bourgeois dailies, from the *New York Times* to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Meanwhile, the activities and press releases of the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus received coverage in dozens of papers, including the *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Post*, *Boston Sunday Globe*, *International Herald Tribune* and *Newsweek*.

The successful outcome of the anti-Kissinger campaign at Columbia represents a slap in the face for this imperialist statesman. It is important



Columbia was the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, a united-front coalition at Columbia initiated and aggressively built by the Spartacus Youth League.

"They may claim a big victory, but it really was not the reason for his decision to stay here," a high-ranking Kissinger aide told the *New York Times*. But the loyal lackey doth protest too much. Others in the Kissinger coterie have indicated that the Columbia protests in fact did loom large in leading Kissinger to decline the lucrative Columbia offer with all its Ivy League trimmings and settle for renewing a one-year stint at Jesuit Georgetown for an embarrassing \$15,000 a year. According to the *New York Times* (June 3),

League of the U.S. could claim was a handful of comrades in New Zealand. But since then our comrades have kept pace with the growth of the international Spartacist tendency—moving to Australia and putting the SL/ANZ on the political map in the face of an enormous social-democratic labor movement and a Communist Party of about 3,000 members.

Over the past period our recruitment has largely been of politically inexperienced working-class youth who would greatly benefit from the shaping experiences offered by a youth section such as the SYL. Lacking such a youth section, the SL/ANZ must struggle to assimilate these young working-class youth from a Labour background into a hard-driving, high-level Trotskyist propaganda group.

But our comrades all the more value the experiences and political guidance offered by the SYL. So, despite the enormous geographical distance which separates our sections, the young comrades of the SL/ANZ genuinely feel very close politically to your organization—because they've learned so much from you and in many respects have modeled themselves after the SYL. Our young comrades feel very much that they are in the same international Trotskyist tendency with you and I

convey their resolute revolutionary greetings.

TROTSKISTISCHE LIGA DEUTSCHLANDS

Comrades of the SYL! I bring you greetings from the Trotskyist League of Germany. With great satisfaction I can report that the university work of the TLD has developed considerably, especially as a result of our intervention into the recent student strikes against the *Berufsverbot* [the "professional prohibition" law—see "Protests Against Anti-Red Law Sweep West Germany," *Young Spartacus*, January 1977].

In the course of these strikes the TLD was able to build its university fraction through intervening in one of the central political class questions in West Germany at present. It fell to the TLD to champion the slogans pointing the way forward for the success of the strike: "Shut Down the University" and "Expand the Strike." From the very outset the TLD succeeded in demarcating our revolutionary Trotskyist position from the abject student parochialism and reformism of the Maoists and the GIM [Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—German section of the "United" Secretariat].



CHICAGO, June 11—Twenty members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League held a demonstration today at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus to protest the presence of retired imperialist statesman Henry Kissinger. In his new-found position as the Chairman of the Board of Advisors of the anti-labor "Alliance to Save Energy," Kissinger delivered the keynote address at a day-long energy conservation conference sponsored by a coterie of bourgeois politicians, government agencies, university technocrats and giant energy corporations. Kissinger's appearance follows on the heels of his refusal to accept a post in the Political Science Department at Columbia University, a decision accredited by the bourgeois press to the influence of SYL-initiated militant campus protest demonstrations.

Protesting the appearance of the butcher of Indochina, demonstrators chanted "Kissinger, Vorster, Pinochet, The Working Class Will Not Forget" and "Protest Kissinger—Butcher of Vietnam." In addition, a leaflet condemning Kissinger was distributed inside

the building by the Iranian Student Association. But preferring to hover on the outskirts of the demonstration were members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade and the ever-infantile and sectarian Progressive Labor Party (PL). Chanting "Kissinger you liar, we'll set your pants on fire," the PL Stalinists held their own mini-protest as press and conference participants drifted out to lunch. Following its abstentionist tradition, the Young Socialist Alliance refused to endorse the demonstration against this imperialist war criminal, claiming that the protest "was not the most important thing in the world" and "didn't appeal to a broad enough segment of students."

Henry Kissinger must not be allowed to impart his "wisdom" from the platform of the "Alliance to Save Energy," a chair at Columbia or Georgetown universities or any other post. His "emeritus" presence as spokesman for the imperialist adventures of the American bourgeoisie demands militant response from workers, students and leftists. **Keep Kissinger Off Campus!**

that this war criminal whose hands drip with the blood of millions of Indochinese workers and peasants not be allowed to wrap himself in the cloak of Ivy League academic respectability. Henry Kissinger should be the target of militant protest whenever he

sets foot on campus.

But as the SYL pointed out during the entire campaign, keeping Henry Kissinger off Columbia would not preserve the so-called "moral integrity" of Columbia University, as

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In West Germany we have taken the first important steps toward the formation of a communist youth organization. From the Free University of Berlin to Columbia University—each successful struggle waged by sections of the international Spartacist tendency contributes in its own way to the rebirth of the Fourth International. Forward to the International Trotskyist League!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

The Spartacist League greets this, the fifth conference of its youth section. You will notice that the first sentence of the main conference document before you states that the tasks of the SYL are the same as they have been for the past three years. Yet in the past period, which has been marked by relative lack of social struggle on campus or on the shop floor, the specific weight of the characteristic SYL function—that is, recruiting students to the program of proletarian socialism—has increased in importance for our common movement.

As you know, this has been a period of modest recruitment for the SL/SYL. Given the present conjuncture, our tendency can continue to forge ahead especially through the one-by-one recruitment of young,

dedicated, footloose intellectuals—the stratum most capable of devoting their lives to what at present appears to be an abstract program far removed from apparent day-to-day realities of American political life.

In a certain sense, the routine work of the SYL—for example, the setting up of literature tables on dozens of campuses across the country every week—is the organizational basis upon which our party perspectives rest. It is undeniable that if our tendency does not recruit in the coming period, then we will not be able to strengthen our industrial trade-union fractions—our link to the future upheavals of the American working people.

We do not throw our young recruits into the factories without political training and tested and matured political commitment. No—our perspective is to use the SYL as a training ground to test and temper the future leaders of the working-class movement. Yes, the youth which you today mold into cadres will tomorrow come forward as leaders of our class. So, it is with this perspective that the SL wishes the SYL a fruitful and sober working conference—because, comrades, we need you to contribute your share in forging the revolutionary militants upon whom hinges the fate of the future American socialist revolution. ■

Anti-War Radical Charged with 1970 Madison Bombing

Free Dwight Armstrong!

After seven years on the FBI's most wanted list, Dwight Armstrong was taken into custody by the Canadian police in Toronto on April 9. Armstrong was wanted in connection with the 1970 bombing of the Army Math Research Center (AMRC) at the University of Wisconsin. Despite Canadian law, which maintains that those accused of "crimes of a political nature" can not be extradited, Armstrong was handed over to Wisconsin authorities. Standing trial in Madison at the end of May, Armstrong was charged with arson and first-degree murder. In exchange for pleading no contest to the arson charges and dropping the plea that the bombing was a political act, the murder charges were dropped and Armstrong was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

Armstrong is the third of four men indicted in connection with the AMRC bombing. His brother, Karleton, was arrested in Toronto in 1972 and also extradited to Madison where he pleaded guilty to four counts of arson and second degree murder. He is now serving an "indeterminate" prison term (as the new judicial "reforms" call it), not to exceed 23 years. Last year, David Fine, also charged in connection with the bombing, was sentenced to a seven-year term in federal prison. The fourth, Leo Burt, remains underground under threat of government prosecution.

Despite vast political differences separating the Spartacus Youth League from those accused of the bombing (Dwight Armstrong was quoted in the *Berkeley Barb* as saying that Spartacists "are just as fascist as the ruling class") we unconditionally defend them against state prosecution. Their actions, although based on the impotent strategy of individual acts of terror against the institutions of the bourgeois state, were nonetheless directed against the class enemy. Terrorism which seeks to strike out at the symbols of class oppression must be differentiated from indefensible random terror (e.g., placing a bomb in a crowded Manhattan restaurant) which victimizes innocent and defenseless people irrespective of class differences.

Nevertheless, we recognize that no terrorist—what Lenin termed a liberal with a bomb in hand—can substitute for the struggle of the working masses under the leadership of a vanguard Leninist party which is necessary to sweep the blood-soaked

imperialists into the dustbin of history. Individual terror directed against the class enemy, inevitably counterproductive and substitutionalist, can at best symbolize a class hatred of oppression and its perpetrators (and thus must be defended against the bourgeoisie). As Trotsky wrote,

"We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as the oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road."

—"For Grynspan," *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-39*

Military Research Off Campus!

During the antiwar movement, the AMRC was justly seen as the extension of U.S. militarism on the Madison campus. The AMRC was established and is to this day funded by the army—although the "Army" was dropped after the bombing and it is now the "Mathematics Research Center." The AMRC's "research" involved a Defense Department project to develop an "electronic battlefield" through the use of radar and sensors. These techniques were applied in the mass slaughter of Vietnamese workers and peasants and in propping up military dictatorships against guerrilla uprisings (such as in the capture and murder of the Cuban revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia in 1967).

The bombing of the AMRC building came at the height of the Madison antiwar demonstrations which rallied several thousand students. Protests were held to drive the AMRC from the campus and at least one attempt was made to firebomb a nearby military arsenal. The pre-dawn bombing of the AMRC on August 24, 1970, was—tactically stupid—in keeping with the spirit of the antiwar mobilizations. Moreover, the death of Robert Fassnacht (a physics researcher working in the building) resulted from the failure of police to evacuate the building despite a prior telephone warning.

The prosecution of the Armstrong brothers and David Fine comes at a



Antiwar radical Dwight Armstrong in custody of United States government, the real "mad bombers" responsible for genocidal slaughter in Indochina.

time when the only surviving symbols of the Madison protests against the imperialist armed forces are a few faded slogans painted on campus walls. The demise of the New Left student radicalization allows the government to railroad the campus militants from the late '60's and early '70's. As the *New York Times* (14 February 1977) reports,

"As for the former campus radicals, those who still are in Madison work now in the food and health cooperatives, the media and even city government."

Those who cheered on Armstrong seven years ago today sit back in their "organic" offices and ignore the legal proceedings. As Lenin noted, those who slide into abject liberalism and the terrorist "have one common root, namely, subservience to spontaneity." When protests were the vogue, they cheered; today they back the "progressive" local mayor. Thus, not one demonstration or rally was called in defense of Armstrong, and only fifty people attended his trial.

The left and workers movement must come to the defense of those accused of bombing AMRC—a justly hated symbol of imperialist plunder. Drop the charges! Free Dwight Armstrong, Karleton Armstrong and David Fine! ■

S. Africa . . .

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colonial powers such as Great Britain.

Mining of the low-grade ore was labor-intensive, unskilled and, therefore, based on a relatively uneducated workforce. Apartheid evolved and was dictated largely by these conditions. The constant struggle to drive down the cost of labor power (money wages and other forms of payment) and especially the cost of the reproduction of labor power (the increment of income necessary to provide for the raising of the next generation of workers) underlies the disenfranchisement of the black population and the structure of labor reserves and bantustans.

South African capitalism is able to work its black labor at below-subsistence wages because the arid lands of the bantustans are the "social security," "welfare" and "unemployment compensation" of the black people of South Africa. In this system, the capitalist employing migrant black workers on contract does not have to pay a "living wage," since the families of the workers are back on the bantustan where they must eke out enough of a living (through subsistence farming, for example) to supplement the income of the wage earner. Nor does the system have to provide social welfare or unemployment compensation: the penalty for continued unemployment is deportation to these enormous holding pens, since the vicious pass system makes it illegal to live or even set foot in the 87 percent of South Africa that is designated "white" without having a job there.

The millions of black laborers and unemployed in the sprawling ghettos of Soweto and Kabah are thus legally in limbo. Jobless black laborers swarm the rubble-strewn streets, waving pass books at white passers-by in a daily effort to get at least a casual one-day job for a \$2 to \$3 daily wage. Between 1 and 2 million blacks (out of a black workforce of about 6.8 million) are unofficially estimated to be out of work, and skilled work is virtually impossible to find, since white unemployment has doubled—to about one percent. This means that in the enormous black ghetto-township of Soweto, where between 1 and 1.5 million blacks are crammed into little more than 100,000 decrepit shacks and houses, one out of five black workers are unemployed.

Economic Crisis and White Debate

The worst depression since the 1930's is still deepening in all areas of the South African economy except mining and agriculture. Inflation has risen to an annual rate of 11 percent, while the projected growth rate for 1977 is zero. Manufacturing output has fallen by 6 percent in the last year alone. In the midst of this Vorster seeks to increase the "defense" budget from \$460 million to more than \$2 billion, in order to reinforce, rearm and modernize the apartheid regime's forces of state repression in the face of the continuing mass unrest.

The government's attempts to resolve the crisis have led it into conflict with an important section of its political base, the extremely conservative white trade unions. Average real wages for whites fell by 1.7 percent in 1976, and taxation and inflation have cut into the high standards of living of the white middle class. After a threatened strike by white gold miners, which would have had disastrous effects on South Africa's balance of payments, Minister of Labour F. Botha proposed a bill outlawing all strikes, which met opposition from both the Trades Union Congress and the even more conservative Confederation of Labour.

South Africa's interconnected

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NEW YORK:

260 West Broadway (near Canal St.), Room 522, New York, N.Y. Phone: 925-5665. Open Monday through Friday, 6:30-9:00 p.m. and Saturday, 1:00-4:00 p.m.

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Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 281-4781

Detroit: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 869-1551

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Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 291-8993

problems of economic crisis, diplomatic isolation and, most importantly, its inability to stifle the black revolt have created a renewed debate among the various white groupings and parties over what course to pursue. On the far right, opposing even the phony "independence" of Vorster's bantustan schemes as too much of a concession, is the Reformed National Party of Herzog, which is supported by the white Mineworkers Union. More significant as a pressure group for retaining even the most petty apartheid measures is the right wing of Vorster's own Nationalist Party, led by Dr. Andries Treurnicht, Deputy Minister for "Bantu Administration."

But to Vorster's "left" are a new trend—the so-called *verligte*, or "enlightened," Nationalists, whose most prominent spokesmen are Education Minister Piet Koornhof and Foreign Minister R.F. Botha, who recently created a stir by announcing that he was not prepared to die in defense of "whites-only" signs in elevators. Botha and Koornhof have advocated a "plural democracy" in which the various castes of South Africa—the Indians, "Coloureds," blacks and whites—would all allegedly have a certain amount of autonomy, while each sending representatives to central government institutions. Whites, however, would still continue to dominate the state.

Parallel to the *verligte* trend, some leading Afrikaaner businessmen are also increasingly sympathetic to the proposals of the group around Harry Oppenheimer, top tycoon of the Anglo-American (goldmining) Corporation, which advocates increased municipal self-government for the blacks and a few simple improvements in the townships, such as street lights and paved roads. Both groups hope to foster a black middle class with a standard of living above the rest of the black masses to act as a buffer for the whites.

Meanwhile, South Africa's crisis spurred attempts at an alliance between the two main parties in opposition to the Nationalists, the UP and the Progressive Reform Party. This has not been possible, since the UP, although it opposes Afrikaaner dominance, does not support the PRP's willingness to grant the franchise to blacks (although the PRP has been careful to specify property and educational qualifications—which, of course, would prevent majority rule).

Late in June, however, the UP dissolved, ending its 67 year existence. While the majority of former UP members seek to form a new party by fusing with the tiny Democratic Party, some party members are expected to go over to the PRP, while others will undoubtedly look to the *verligte* Nationalists.

Imperialists: "Majority Rule," But Not Universal Suffrage

South Africa has been the target of considerable "human rights" wind-baggery by imperialist mouthpieces like U.S. Vice President Mondale and Andrew Young. The Carter administration has taken pains to appear "balanced" in its "human rights" crusade—which in reality is an anti-communist propaganda offensive designed to refurbish U.S. imperialist credibility in preparation for new interventions in Africa and elsewhere.

Andrew Young's calls for "majority rule" in South Africa reflect U.S. imperialism's concern that Vorster's intransigence is becoming counterproductive. Washington and Wall Street would prefer that some concessions were made to halt the increasing instability in South Africa. At the same time, the American bourgeoisie sees that the skilled labor shortage caused by apartheid is a brake on capitalist development in South Africa. For example, in March a group of major U.S. corporations proposed such measures as the desegregation of their South African plants' cafeterias and the promotion

of a limited number of blacks to managerial positions.

Along these lines, Mondale "warned" Vorster in Vienna on May 20 that unless his regime effected a "progressive transformation" of its policies towards the black majority, the U.S. would have to take (unspecified) diplomatic action. In response, Vorster declared once again that the democratic principle of "one man, one vote" was totally unacceptable, while Foreign Minister Botha later stated that it "means we must negotiate our own destruction" (quoted in *Africa* July, 1977).

The utterly phony character of this war of words was revealed one month later during Botha's visit to Washington, when in response to questioning about what the U.S. means by "majority rule" a state department official announced, "It would be a misinterpretation of our policy to suggest that we are demanding the immediate implementation of any kind of policy. We have not demanded one man, one vote tomorrow" (quoted in *New York Times*, June 23). Two days after this Botha happily proclaimed that, as he understood the U.S. position, "the basic issue is whether human rights and human dignity should be the province of all South Africans." "If that is the case," he added, "then we're in business" (*International Herald Tribune*, June 25-26). Thus, the butchers of Vietnam and those of Soweto "discover" that they agree on the "principles of human rights"—and on their mutual opposition to majority rule through universal suffrage in South Africa.

The Main Enemy is at Home!

Revolutionists understand that the American bourgeoisie, its nauseating "holier-than-thou" preachments notwithstanding, is the deadly enemy of the oppressed masses, from Soweto and Durban to Harlem and Harlan County. While cretinist liberals and reformists scream for U.S. imperialism to implement a trade embargo, economic sanctions or a moral crusade against their South African junior partners, we stand for international working-class action to aid our embattled class brothers and sisters in South Africa: for the "hot-cargoing" (labor boycott) of all military goods to South Africa and for militant action by U.S. trade unions to force companies with affiliates in South Africa to recognize trade-union rights for black South African workers. Instead of the ultra-reformist and ultimately pro-imperialist plea for U.S. companies to pull their investments out of South Africa—and invest them elsewhere!—we struggle for the revolutionary *expropriation* of industry and finance by a South African workers and peasants government. Last fall, in response to the wave of repression unleashed by the Vorster regime against the Soweto rebellion and the Johannesburg general strike, the Spartacus Youth League organized united-front demonstrations to demand an end to the racist police terror, the freeing of anti-apartheid prisoners, the cessation of all military aid to South Africa, and to raise the cry: "Smash Apartheid!"

Destroy Apartheid! Open the Road to Workers Revolution!

The key task facing the black proletariat in South Africa is to break down the apartheid system which divides and regiments the toiling masses. It is necessary for socialists to fight for key democratic slogans, especially the demand for a *constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage*. As Trotskyists, we see the burning importance of the demand for "one man, one vote" precisely because, unlike the Stalinists and fake Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, we do not separate the struggle for democratic tasks from the struggle for workers rule. As Trotsky so clearly explained when writing about

Anita Bryant...

continued from page 4

As Marxists, we recognize the role of the nuclear family as a cornerstone of bourgeois society. Under capitalism the exclusive concern with the protection of "one's own" is a powerful force keeping workers from the risks and rigors of class struggle. Moreover, the social isolation of women in the family engenders a particular susceptibility to religious obscurantism and reactionary ideologies.

Homosexuality and its associated lifestyle is seen as a challenge to the nuclear family and the ideological and moral encumbrances which have arisen upon it. For revolutionists, the defense of democratic rights for homosexuals is inextricably linked to the goal of replacing the nuclear family as an economic and legal unit in a socialist society.

Democratic Party: Foster Parent of the Oppressed?

Although thousands marched in the streets chanting "No More Miamis," the lifestyle radicalism and Democratic Party politics—"Not Anita but Bella"—that dominated the demonstrations pose no strategy to stop Anita Bryant's vicious crusade or end the oppression of homosexuals. Many of the marches took the form of candlelight vigils as crowds led by reformed church prelates sought to counter Bryant's bible-thumping with their preferred quotes of scripture.

In addition, "Human Rights for All" banners could be seen at most of the recent demonstrations. Ronald Gold,

the class dynamics of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27:

"But our party led the proletariat to the dictatorship [in Russia] only because it defended with the greatest energy, doggedness and devotion all the slogans and demands of democracy, including popular representation based upon universal suffrage, responsibility of the government to the people, etc. Only such an agitation permits the party to preserve the proletariat from the influence of the petit bourgeois democracy [in the case of South Africa, the ANC], to undermine its influence among the peasantry, to prepare the alliance of the worker and peasant, and to draw into its ranks the most resolute revolutionary elements."

—*The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress*

In addition to our call for universal suffrage, communists raise a program to answer the land-hunger of the millions of blacks excluded from the majority of their own land and dumped in the bantustans: the abolition of the pass law system and the bantustan program of forced retribalization. Furthermore, we seek to end the system of segregation dictated by apartheid for all areas of economic and social life and call for the end of discriminatory "bantustan education," the abolition of the industrial color bar and for integrated industrial unions.

The white-supremacist regime might relax or abolish certain aspects of apartheid in the face of struggles by the black, "Coloured" and Indian masses. Nevertheless the resolution of the land question and the consolidation of democratic liberties for the toiling masses, in the teeth of the inevitable bourgeois resistance, can only be accomplished by a triumphant *black-centered workers and peasants government*, drawing in all the oppressed castes of South Africa and whatever white allies can be won through struggle. But this future South African revolution depends on the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, struggling against the dead end of bourgeois nationalism and illusions in "democratic" imperialism. ■

a spokesman for the National Gay Task Force, pleaded with Carter, "We applauded your statements about human rights in other countries, but you still haven't spoken out personally about ours, here." Under the slogan "We are your children," the National Gay Task Force is pushing lobbying efforts aimed at the Democrats—one of the twin parties of capitalist oppression—as "the best way to gain equal rights."

Meanwhile, the sections of the "gay movement" which are more lifestyle than political have made light of the defeat in Dade County. Touting slogans like "Thanks Anita for bringing us all together," they jokingly refer to Bryant as the best thing that ever happened to "gay liberation."

Such a false sense of self-security is dangerous. Homosexuals who live and congregate in insulated communities in the more liberal urban centers often have an inflated sense of their social weight and a distorted view of American society and the depths of the backward prejudices which Bryant has tapped. The scapegoating of homosexuals is part of a broader and more menacing attack and must be fought by mobilizing the social power of the organized working class to defend the democratic rights of all the oppressed.

View From the Fake-Left

Running neck and neck with the National Gay Task Force in the attempt to pass off Carter's "human rights" fraud as "their own" is the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). As the ex-Trotskyists of the SWP abandon the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism, they have pandered to the democratic pretensions of the Carter administration. For example, at a recent meeting of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in New York City, a proposal was made to stage a demonstration demanding "human rights" for homosexuals at the United Nations on the date of the Helsinki agreements meeting in Belgrade. A motion was placed on the floor demanding that "the tone and content of the demonstration differentiate ourselves from Carter's human rights campaign"—which the SWP voted *against*! Moreover, the SWP has pushed the politically vacuous slogan "No More Miamis."

Predictably, the anti-homosexual crusade has gone uncovered in the pages of *Revolution*, newspaper of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). The RCP has gone on record with the position that homosexuality is a disease of decadent capitalist society, akin to "exotic religious sects, mysticism, drugs, pornography, promiscuity, sex orgies, trotskyism, etc."

Just as sections of the Maoist movement opted for pandering to the white-racist anti-busing sentiment in the working class, so we can expect that certain aspects of the "Save Our Children" campaign will be touted as "progressive" in the pages of the Maoist press. The current right-wing mobilizations against homosexuals will place these bigots objectively in the camp of reaction.

Workers Revolution: Liberator of the Oppressed

In the recent demonstrations it was only the SL/SYL and the Red Flag Union (Bolshevik Tendency) [RFU(BT)]—formerly the Lavender and Red Union—that raised a working-class perspective for the struggle for democratic rights of homosexuals. As one leader of the RFU(BT)—which is now engaged in fusion discussions with the SL—stated at a recent Los Angeles conference: "If we fuse with the SL, we will not enter as gay liberationists.... I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have only one political identity as a fighter for the proletarian revolution." ■

Interview...

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G.R.: Well, she had a metal finger nail file on her keyring, and a white girl told one of the state troopers stationed in the school that she had a knife. The state trooper came up to her and said, "Hey you, let me see your keys." So she gave him her key ring. When he saw the nail file, he said, "You're not supposed to have this," and took it off her keyring. She kept walking down the hallway.

But then, all of a sudden, this state trooper came and grabbed her and said, "Gimme that knife!" He wouldn't let her go. Her sister came up and told him that she had already handed over the file. The state trooper pushed her sister back and took my friend in this hallway. He kicked her in the face, knocked her all the way down to the second floor, and then dragged her down the stairs to the first floor. A white staff aide was helping the state trooper kick her down the stairs. And when they got her down there, they said they were going to arrest her for assault and battery. She had bruises and cuts all over her face. Her case kept getting continued and continued in court, and it didn't end until this year. She left the school.

Another time, this was in September of this year, about forty white boys jumped this one black boy and stomped on his face. His whole face was bleeding. The fights are mostly on the second floor, where they have

than white students," they can say, "Mr. Griffith's in charge of that."

YSp: Could you describe Solidarity Day at "Southie" [Monday, May 9] and what the demands of the students were?

G.R.: The reason we had Solidarity Day was mainly because black parents would go to the school and couldn't find out a thing about what was going on. Another reason was because Judge Garrity was having a hearing and we were going to court with a petition on the students' behalf. We went to the African Heritage Institute and we had school there.

The next day we didn't go to school. That Wednesday we went to school, but we decided not to go to class, but to organize in the cafeteria, because a lot of threats came to African Heritage Institute—on Monday there were calls all day. Some person called there, said they wanted to speak to Grace Richardson and would she please call back this number. I called the number and it was the South Boston Information Center. Someone had called and said they were going to bomb the school when the blacks came to school.

All year round we had stated our grievances to Mr. Winegar, but he hadn't done a thing. So we got down to the cafeteria and decided to present our demands to Mr. Winegar. At first he said he wouldn't address us. He told us that if we didn't move, he was going to have state troopers disperse

principal, Winegar, said he'd come down and listen to your demands?

G.R.: The white parents were all around that school, and the white students upstairs were just dying for us to come up the stairs. The state troopers and the aides were mad. Mr. Winegar said, either we go upstairs or we'll be suspended or arrested. We asked him, "If we go upstairs, are you going to provide us with some protection?" Mr. Winegar said, "I can't guarantee it, I can't even guarantee that for myself." So we said, "If we go upstairs and you can't provide us with protection, we're going to walk in a group." He said, "If you walk in groups, you're going to be dispersed or arrested."

Then a black aide came downstairs and she said, "Mr. Winegar, if you let those students up those stairs, you might as well kill them all downstairs, while they're here. Either they go up those stairs, or you have buses come and get them." So we went down to the African Heritage Institute. Then he [Winegar] got on the news and said we walked out!

The next day, as soon as we got to school, the fights broke out. There was nothing but fights. That day, the whole day, there were fights with state troopers and aides. There were only about four fights with students.

YSp: You mean between students?

G.R.: Yeah, between students. Winegar sat there and lied when he said that students got overheated. Because they put the whites on one floor of the school and the blacks on another. The students were fighting the state troopers and aides the whole day.

On Friday they had three pages full of names of black students who were suspended. Only eight white students were suspended. They sent one bus, our bus, up to the high school with no escort, with white parents all around. The next day the parents came to school with the kids on the bus. They told the parents they had to get off, and they sent the buses back. On the last day of school the white students were kept in one hallway and the blacks in another.

YSp: There are a lot of people, like the NAACP, various liberal organizations and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance who say that what black students should do to stop the racist attacks is to rely on the government, rely on the police and state troopers, rely on the courts. What do you think of this kind of conception?

G.R.: I don't believe it. I myself do not believe in the NAACP, because they aren't worth a damn. The NAACP didn't support us. We need to rely on the parents and the students themselves. ■



Ulrike Welsch

Racist mob rampaging toward South Boston High, February 1976.

more state troopers and aides than they do anywhere else in the school. So, if black students are getting attacked on the second floor, what are these troopers doing?

YSp: You're saying that the role of the state troopers has not been to protect the black students but to attack them?

G.R.: Most of them, yeah. They tell you that when they bring in the state troopers, you're going to have protection. I wouldn't bet my life on those state troopers. If I was in a hallway and someone was jumping me, I wouldn't depend on them. They tell us to bring whistles to school and blow them when there's trouble. But you'd blow forever. The troopers don't even move. They just stand there with their arms folded.

Every time you see an incident, or you had a fight, you're supposed to fill out one of these incident reports. But it's useless, because these aides get together and you're suspended no matter what.

YSp: In other words, the student fills out an incident report, and the aide fills out an incident report, and the administration just goes by what the aide says?

G.R.: That's right. All the black students that were involved in fights got suspended. Now they have one black on the administration, Mr. Griffith. They gave him the job of suspending people so when people say, "More black students are getting suspended

us. We just sat there, so then he came back and said he would listen to our demands.

One demand was to have 50 percent black teachers at South Boston. There are 103 white teachers and 8 black teachers. Also, 50 percent black aides, because there were 14 black aides and 31 white aides. We also wanted to have Black History put into the curriculum, because they had Irish Literature, and talk about how it's mandatory that we have Irish Literature. They turned this whole English class into Irish Literature. The teacher put shamrocks all around the room and led the students in singing their Irish songs. And they called that "Irish Literature." We had that grievance before. So he put Black History as a mini-course after school. No credits, no nothing. Tell me, who's going to come into South Boston after school to take a mini-course? Another of our demands was to have the same access to the school for black organizations and parents as have the white parents and South Boston Information. He [Winegar] said that we asked him to close the school and move it.

YSp: The Boston papers said that was your main demand.

G.R.: We weren't demanding that. That wasn't on our list of demands. The parents were demanding that on Solidarity Day, not the students.

YSp: What happened after the

Conference...

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ments and oral traditions of our party. For these young members, the United States of the 1970's is their first conscious political experience as revolutionists. This new generation of comrades will be shaped by the 1970's, as in the past each new layer that comes to communist consciousness has been shaped by its germinal political experience.

As the youth section of the SL/U.S., we are subject to all the pressures and difficulties of American society in the 1970's, as described in the December 1976 SL Trade Union Commission "General Memorandum":

"The SL projected in August 1974 that enormous pressures were building up at the base of the labor movement, threatening to shatter the hold of the encrusted and brittle labor bureaucracy and resulting in a series of elemental and explosive labor struggles. This projection retains its validity, with the note that an upsurge has not occurred as soon as expected, and with the recognition that further delay in significant outbursts is likely."

While the conference recognized that the rightward turn in American society had taken its toll on campus political life, many speakers spoke of the need to avoid impressionism and to prepare the organization for a coming upsurge in the labor movement.

A Training Ground for Revolutionists

Representatives of the Spartacist League/U.S. addressed the conference, noting the importance of young activists playing a role in the party's trade-union work. The SYL seeks to be a training ground for young revolutionists, providing the recruits and human material for critical party tasks. James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, stated the importance of work among youth in a speech delivered during the SWP's faction fight against Cochran-Clarke at the height of the McCarthy period:

"I was overjoyed when I heard the report that our comrades in Detroit, despite their preoccupation with the Square D strike and the election campaign, got a nucleus established at Wayne University. By virtue of the fact that they were running candidates for public office and not playing dead like the Cochranites, they came in under a ruling that gave them a right to have a socialist political club on the campus.

"As such, they presented our candidates at regular forums on the campus; started some arguments, and got into a ruckus with the editor of the student paper and stirred up a big hullabaloo; and interested some students and got them down to attend party meetings, and recruited a few of them into the party. That I say is revolutionary trade union work of the highest significance. For it can be said with assurance that not a few of the future leaders of the mass movement in Detroit are going to come from the campus of Wayne University." [original emphasis]

—James P. Cannon, *Speeches to the Party*

Build the SYL!

While two years have elapsed since the last SYL National Conference, the tasks of the youth organization have not fundamentally changed. The tasks of building and consolidating campus fractions on politically active and potentially fertile universities through a thorough knowledge of campus political life, systematic contacting, aggressive opponents work and, whenever possible, energetic campaigns, producing and selling our monthly press, recruiting and training the future cadres of the party—these perspectives have guided the SYL for the past three years and will continue to do so for the immediate future. Join the SYL! Build the Trotskyist Youth Section of the SL! ■

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Brazilian Students...

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leadership body on a nationwide scale. Police repression once again intensified as the government tried to halt the protests by arresting known strike leaders. In Rio de Janeiro 30 students suspected of being delegates to the Meeting were rounded up, interrogated and released only after it was too late to travel to Belo Horizonte. In São Paulo, the police were unable to round up the delegates, but according to the newsweekly *Veja* (8 June), "the São Paulo police have in their hands the names of a good number of the delegates to the Meeting—the score will be settled upon their return to São Paulo." When the Meeting was staged as planned, the police attacked and arrested over 800 students *en masse*; 98 are to stand trial under the draconian National Security Law.

"SWAT"—Brazilian Style

The stage was set for a major confrontation on the second "National Day of Struggle" called by student leaders for June 15.

Activity centered in São Paulo, where 32,000 police were mobilized—2,000 occupying a central square where a demonstration had been called for the evening rush hour. The head of "public security," Colonel Erasmo Dias, arrived on the spot and took the opportunity to display his new anti-demonstrator "novelties" to the assembled press: a "flash-light" which projects a high-intensity beam capable of blinding demonstrators for several minutes, pocket-size tear gas canisters (which he "playfully" set off among the reporters) and a display of M-16 rifles (very popular among the Brazilian military after the introduction of the American television series "SWAT"). Wildly waving his favorite 9-millimeter Browning revolver, top-cop Dias blustered, "Nobody's going to get through here" (quoted in *Veja*, 22 June).

Despite the police vigilance, a daring group of students managed to hold a brief rally in the square. Avoiding police scrutiny, approximately 50 students (in a square which regularly holds 500,000 during the evening rush hour) began to chant "freedom, freedom." As it turned out, the chanting was a cue. Dias and his stormtroopers gaped in stunned amazement as the square suddenly became alive with chanting demonstrators. What appeared to be mere passers-by and shoppers turned out to be student protestors awaiting the cue to emerge from bus queues and cafes.

As the police gave chase with trained dogs and began savagely beating protestors with clubs and belts, onlookers cheered the students, and the streets were flooded with confetti thrown from overhead balconies. Even neighborhood storeowners soli-

darized with the students; São Paulo movie theaters opened their doors free the next day in a gesture of solidarity.

As we go to press, the strikes continue. Ten universities are completely shut down either by student protest or administration retaliation. Meetings of the Universidade de Brasília student body continue to vote unanimously to remain on strike—and the rector closed the school for the entire period through the July recess. (Moreover, a Third Student National Meeting had been scheduled for São Paulo on June 21.)

Down with Geisel!

Despite the manifest courage of the student radicals, the campus-centered protests lack any strategy for the revolutionary overthrow of the Geisel dictatorship. Banners proclaiming "Workers and Students Unite" appear at demonstrations, but far more prevalent is the moralistic slogan, "To be silent is to be complicit" (the Brazilian equivalent of the New Left dictum, "If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem"). The "Open Letters" to the Brazilian people were followed by an open letter to Rosalynn Carter during her stopover in Brazil—replete with appeals for the enforcement of "human rights" in Brazil. To top it off, the *Economist* (28 May) carried a photograph of students blindfolding a bust of John Kennedy in order to "shield his eyes" from the police onslaught—as if Kennedy had not been responsible for training torturers in Latin America and lending a helping hand to tin-pot tyrants and military dictators through his so-called "Alliance for Progress."

Furthermore, student demonstrators have on several occasions not only joined forces with the MDB—which in itself is not incorrect—but expressed illusions in the MDB's democratic pretenses. With the growing fissures in the military government, everyone in Brazil is paying lip service to "democratic" populist demagoguery—from Geisel on down. When Geisel last spring arbitrarily altered the Brazilian constitution in such a way that appointment of state governors was firmly in the hands of his lackeys, he dashed the hopes of the MDB politicians who had expected to come to power in several states at the next election. Consequently, the MDB was driven into a mock "opposition" to Geisel. The MDB's ultra-democratic utterances have gone so far as to call for "a Constituent Assembly [that] will be the synthesis of the struggle for democratic legality and the restoration of juridical dignity to the country" (*Jornal do Brasil*, 19 June).

But, its pseudo-democratic rhet-

oric aside, the MDB can be counted on to oppose the students the moment their struggles were to pose a serious challenge to the regime. The MDB was formed in 1965 by the military junta to provide a tame "electoral opposition" to the military's captive National Renovating Alliance (ARENA). The MDB, which included formations such as the bourgeois "Labor" Party of former military strongman Getúlio Vargas, has been complicit in the murderous activities of the Brazilian dictatorship throughout its thirteen-year reign of terror. Students must not rely upon any section of the Brazilian bourgeoisie to oppose continued military terror. The military seized power in 1964 to prevent former president Goulart from carrying through his proposal to implement the most minimal land reform (far less "reform" than was enacted by bourgeois governments in Italy and Guatemala in the post-World War II period), and to grant restricted democratic rights for soldiers and non-commissioned officers. The fear of arousing the masses was so intense among all sections of the bourgeoisie that there was no significant opposition to the coup—despite the knowledge that the military government would monopolize political power in its hands. Thus, even at the height of its "opposition," MDB parliamentary leaders took pains to denounce the student demonstrations in June (*Veja*, 22 June).

In the epoch of capitalist decay, the tendency for bonapartist regimes—generally based upon the military—mounts in countries where imperialist domination and modern industry often stand alongside near-feudal land conditions. The "democratic" populist pretensions of junior officers and domesticated house oppositions are nothing but the demagoguery of would-be petty bonapartes out of power. These are the "oppositionists" who stood by and watched while the Brazilian generals have done for a period of thirteen years what the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance has done for the last few: murder, torture and ruthlessly oppress.

For a Workers and Peasants Government in Brazil!

In the context of uneven and combined development in Brazil, what began as student protests has flourished and intersected a reservoir of generalized hatred for the dictatorship. The "Brazilian miracle" has fizzled and in its wake remains the same mass poverty, police terror and imperialist plunder. The modern skyscrapers and technologically advanced factories coexist with sprawling shantytowns and the abject misery of plantation-worker peonage. This provides dramatic proof that in the epoch of imperialism, so long as the bourgeoisie holds state power, backward countries such as Brazil can neither reach the level of imperialist industrial development nor qualitatively raise the standard of living of the working masses. At the same time, a working-class centered revolutionary upsurge against the military rulers would clearly elicit mass popular support—including large sectors of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Nowhere is this clearer, and nowhere is it more important to lay the basis for united actions between the working class and radicalized students than in São Paulo—the classic boom town of Brazil. In this modern industrial center there are as yet no sewage or sanitary facilities for many of its 11 million inhabitants. The average worker—whose subsistence wages are quickly eroded by the 44 percent annual rate of inflation—spends six hours a day simply traveling to and from work. Unemployment, which is endemic among the unskilled masses, has been sharply rising among the skilled with 5,500 auto-workers as well as electrical and

construction workers recently thrown on the street.

The social emancipation of the hideously oppressed and impoverished Brazilian masses awaits the seizure of power by the proletariat and the formation of a workers and peasants government. The student protests of today must be linked to the strategic power of the proletariat in the industrial zones of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.

The urban and rural masses must be mobilized around a revolutionary program which includes democratic demands including—for the immediate freedom of all victims of right-wing repression; for full trade-union rights; for a sweeping agrarian revolution; for freedom of political association, press and speech; and for a genuine constituent assembly based upon universal suffrage. The struggle for democratic freedoms, the overthrow of the Brazilian generals and the expropriation of the rapacious imperialists demand above all else the building of a Brazilian Trotskyist party, section of a reformed Fourth International. ■

Kissinger Blocked...

continued from page 7

assorted liberal opponents of Kissinger would have us believe. Nor did it settle accounts with Kissinger for his monstrous crimes against the international working class.

With or without Kissinger, Columbia University remains an elite bourgeois institution servicing the needs of U.S. imperialism today and training the Henry Kissingers of tomorrow. Unlike the liberals, the SYL throughout the campaign raised the call for the nationalization of Columbia and the replacement of its Board of Trustees with student/teacher/campus-worker control of the university. Coupled with these demands was the call for open admissions, which would eliminate the class- and race-bias of Columbia and open up its resources to the poor and working people.

The imperialist butcher Kissinger got a justly-deserved stinging rebuke from students and faculty at Columbia who were not about to let a war criminal retire with honor into a posh academic post. But Kissinger still can count on Georgetown to provide him with an academic position from which he will continue to pull strings in Washington and make his voice heard in ruling-class circles. Justice for Kissinger awaits the revolutionary destruction of the monstrous imperialist bourgeoisie he serves. ■

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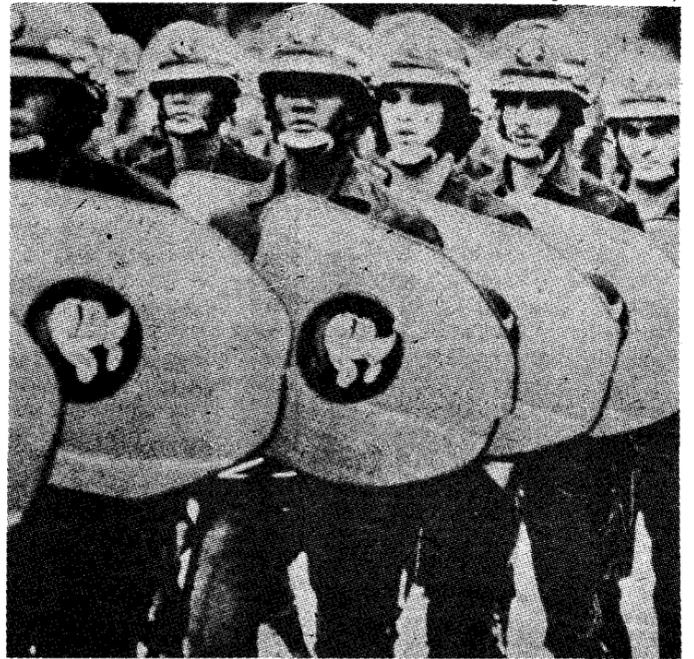
Young Spartacus

Pitched Battles Against Police-State Repression

Student Struggles Engulf Brazil



MANCHETE



Magnum/Bruno Barbey

Brazilian students by the thousands have taken to the streets demanding "Democratic Freedoms" (left), despite fierce state repression (right).

June 25—In a continent known for the unbridled savagery of its many military dictatorships, the Brazilian regime of "president" Ernesto Geisel has earned a reputation for its wanton recourse to police-state terror.

Long the darling of imperialist investors and their academic brain-trusters, the ruling camarilla of army generals is notorious throughout Latin America for its brutal repression and the systematic torture and "disappearance" of political opponents of the Brazilian regime. But in recent weeks the Brazilian *gorillas* have been confronted with an eruption of popular discontent that has shaken their iron-heel "law and order."

For the first time since 1968, a major upsurge of student protest against the military regime has sparked a series of courageous confrontations with the brutal armed forces of the state. Despite vicious beatings at the hands of the police and mass arrests, student strikes have continued to defy the authorities, demanding the release of political prisoners and the granting of full democratic rights—most notably, freedom of assembly and speech.

First Tremors of Protest

The first tremors of the current upheaval occurred on March 30, when students staged a demonstration in the industrial center of São Paulo. In response to a government announcement of a 40 percent reduction in the Universidade de São Paulo budget, widespread layoffs among faculty and campus workers and a price rise in the university restaurants, students took to the streets and distributed an "open letter," which in part declared,

"Our struggle is not ours alone; it is that of the whole population, of all who struggle against a hard life, for better wages, for more schools, for university restaurants, for the freedom to demonstrate..."

reprinted in *Informations Ouvrières*,
2 June 1977

Although this protest remained geo-

graphically isolated and politically limited to campus-parochial concerns, it nonetheless represented a tentative step toward a broader mobilization against the Geisel regime.

On April 28 the current wave of protest began when police seized eight students and workers (apparently members of a left-wing organization) as they were distributing leaflets calling for a "Day of Struggle" on May Day. Protests quickly escalated after students and trade-union oppositionists from the São Paulo metalworkers issued leaflets demanding the release of the imprisoned leftists.

To the dismay of Geisel, May 5 brought 10,000 students (supported by the metalworkers) into the streets of São Paulo in what was the largest protest rally since 1968. The demonstration—which electrified the entire spectrum of Brazilian political life—witnessed the issuing of a second "Open Letter to the Brazilian People," which in a more political fashion demanded "that the authorities respect the freedom to demonstrate and the right of expression and organization of all oppressed sectors of the population" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 13 June).

The open defiance of the authorities exhibited in São Paulo on May 5 intersected the pervasive disgruntlement of Brazilian working people with the continued arbitrariness and repression of the regime. Under the impact of the collapse of the "Brazilian miracle" (which impressionistic bourgeois economists such as Walt Rostow had taken as proof of the "take-off stage" in anti-Marxist theories of industrial development) rifts have become apparent even within the ruling bonapartist cabal. Increasingly isolated, Geisel was forced to dissolve Congress in April, and he has come under increased pressure from the fake-opposition Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB) and from renewed stirrings of discontent among junior officers in the military.

Strike activity broadened, and by the May 19 "National Day of Struggle" at least ten campuses were shut down. Demonstrations spread to 16 cities, including Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Salvador and Brasília (where the entire student population of 15,800 struck).

Police around the country assaulted protesters with what eyewitnesses termed the most vicious repression since 1968. 77,000 police and troops were placed on alert in São Paulo as an estimated 8,000 students rallied at the University medical school. As the police closed in to arrest demonstrators, they beat reporters who had—despite a government ban—covered the earlier protests.

National Student Meeting

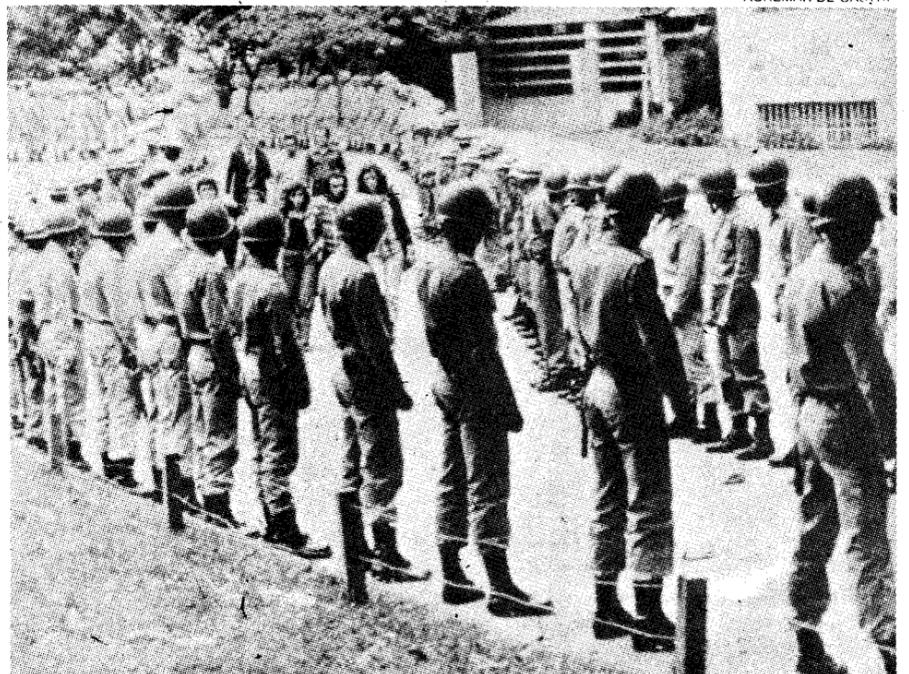
In the aftermath of the "National Day of Struggle," "May 1 Amnesty

Committees" began to spread across Brazil as students sought to create national bodies to press their struggle for democratic rights. In São Paulo freely elected Student Central Directorates were created. In the words of the student organizers, these bodies "are free because we do not abide by the laws imposed by the authorities that do not permit direct, free elections and that restrict our freedom to demonstrate and organize." Over 16,000 of the 30,000 São Paulo students participated in the Central Directorate elections.

Meanwhile, an attempt was made to revive the National Student Union, the banned organization which led Brazilian student protest during the 1960's. A call was issued for a student "National Meeting" on June 4 in Belo Horizonte—the capital of the industrial state of Minas Gerais—with the aim of electing a delegated

continued on page 11

AUREMAR DE CASTRO



Student strike leaders at Belo Horizonte marched off to jail amidst a military show of force.