

# 120°

- Bosses Profit
- Workers Burn
- Bureaucrats Do Nothing

## Heat Walkouts Sweep Auto



Workers gather outside Lynch Road auto assembly plant in Detroit during heat walkout last week.

WV Photo

DETROIT—Thousands of auto workers walked off the lines as the worst heat wave in 22 years swept over most of the country in July.

Temperatures in the auto plants shot up as high as 120 degrees, and in the sweltering foundries up to 130 degrees, while the humidity was unbearable inside the ill-ventilated, non-air-conditioned factories. Acting in a fashion that can only be termed barbaric, the auto companies, enjoying near-record sales, refused to shut down production in these man-made infernos. As a result of this criminal and murderous conduct by the capitalists, at least two auto workers died in the Detroit area alone, and hundreds of others were overcome by heat exhaustion and had to be carried off the lines.

In office barely a month, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser did nothing while workers broiled in the plants. Neither Solidarity House nor any of the local UAW leaderships in Detroit even called for, let alone carried out, the shutdown of a single factory. Ironically, the heat wave struck just a few days after the appearance of the 29 June issue of *UAW Solidarity*. The official voice of the International had given glowing coverage to Fraser's first 30 days, and particularly his concern for workers' health and safety as evidenced by his support for bills now before Congress!

Deserted by UAW "leaders," thousands of auto workers asserted their interests anyway. Over the last three weeks there have been several walkouts over both heat and the retaliatory firings and wholesale disciplines imposed by management. Chrysler's four major Detroit-area assembly plants—Dodge Truck, Lynch Road, Dodge Main and Jefferson—were all hit by repeated walkouts. Workers also hit the bricks at Chrysler's Sterling Stamping plant, Trenton Engines and Mack Avenue Stamping. Ford workers at River Rouge's Specialty Foundry and Stamping units and the Sterling Heights plant walked out.

On the East Coast, the Chrysler plant in Newark, Delaware was shut down by walkout. At Linden, New Jersey General Motors, workers forced a reduction in work hours. And at Ford Mahwah, also in New Jersey, hundreds of workers did not report to work on the night shift of July 21, forcing the plant to shut down. Ford has notified scores of workers at Mahwah that they are on notice for disciplinary hearings.

### Death in Auto Plant Sweatboxes

The first fatality was a 21-year-old worker at the giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan. Grant Schneider had put in a full day July 7 at the Specialty Foundry, where metal being melted, poured and casted creates

a boiling hell. Foundry workers say Schneider had complained of feeling ill and had asked for a medical pass. His request was denied. After leaving work Schneider managed to drive about four miles from the plant, then pulled off the road and collapsed. When he was finally discovered by the police, his body temperature was a staggering 108 degrees. He died eight hours later in a hospital. Diagnosis: heat prostration.

A few days later Ford's ruthlessness claimed another life. James Wilfred, a 47-year-old relief man, collapsed in the heat of the Rouge Stamping plant with a heart attack. An ambulance arrived, but then wouldn't start, its battery dead. Wilfred was carried by hand to the Rouge complex's medical center where he died. Workers on Wilfred's line walked off the job upon hearing the news.

Company and union officials are

eager to squelch news of these heat-caused deaths, both to cover their own guilt and to prevent walkouts. Otherwise, the officially admitted death toll would undoubtedly be much higher. A woman auto worker reportedly died at GM's Fisher Body plant in suburban Livonia, and there are rumors of another Ford worker dying at the Rouge plant. At Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant in Warren, just north of Detroit, there are reports that a worker died in the overheated paint shop. In many plants, when workers passed out on the lines their foremen attempted to revive them on the spot and then walk them to medical, fearing that the sight of ambulances continually racing through the aisles would spark more walkouts.

With sales edging near the all-time 1973 high point and with changeover to the 1978 models taking place right now

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### SWP Polemic Against SL:

## Alibis of a Social Democrat... 6

## Breytenbach, ANC Militants Face Torture in Dungeons

# Free Victims of Apartheid Show Trials!

On June 20 twelve members of the African National Congress (ANC) went on trial before the Pretoria Supreme Court in what was widely described as the most important political trial in South Africa since 1964, when eight ANC leaders were similarly accused of "terrorism" and sentenced to life imprisonment in the famous Rivonia Trial. Since Rivonia, anti-apartheid militants from various groups have been jailed on similar charges, but the trial of the twelve, which ended in their conviction on July 13, was unique in the scope of the conspiracy alleged by the Pretoria regime and the importance it attached to railroading a conviction of the defendants.

The trial is a key component in South Africa's current campaign to portray itself as the last bastion of the "free world" (!) against a "Communist takeover" of southern Africa, since it attempts to link the ANC and the Soweto rebels to the Soviet Union. The twelve were accused of organizing underground cells and arms caches of the ANC's military arm, *Umkonto We Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation"), and of smuggling youth from Soweto across the border to Swaziland and Mozambique for guerrilla training. One of the defendants, Mosima Sexwale, was accused of receiving guerrilla training in the USSR, while another, Elias Masinga, supposedly "infiltrated" the Soweto Student Representative Council to recruit students to the "conspiracy."

Not content with claiming that the ANC militants sought to establish a

"white dominated [!] Russian-Marxist government," the Vorster regime has also sought to link the twelve to the June 13 killing of two whites in a Johannesburg garage by several well-armed blacks, alleging that both groups used the same type of Czech submachine guns. Further escalating the siege atmosphere, the government called up police reserves for border patrol duty on July 14.

The prisoners were indicted under the notorious 1967 Terrorism Act, a catch-all police-state measure which has been used to prosecute such "terrorist" acts as boycotts of local grocers and writing letters to a UN agency asking for financial assistance for a non-white community! The minimum penalty is five years imprisonment while the maximum is death, and long sentences are expected for the twelve. All of the prisoners except Pauline Mohale, the only woman, were originally brought to the trial in irons. To complete the garrison setting, the courtroom was flooded with soldiers and police armed with machine guns. They were accompanied by police dogs, which were repeatedly used to quell the crowds of blacks who came each day to the trial and surrounded the prison vans with fists clenched as the prisoners were taken away.

Despite their careful preparation, the white racists' elaborate accusations were exposed as fabrications when, on June 30, the state's star witness, Ian Rwaxa, dramatically recanted. Rwaxa, a 20-year-old arrested in December at the



Breyten Breytenbach

DR

Swaziland border, described how he was viciously beaten and tortured during his interrogation at Johannesburg police headquarters, and how in Pretoria he was beaten daily and kept naked in a cold solitary cell for three months. He was then offered money, and later, immunity by trial prosecutor N.G. von Pittius, if he would follow an outline prepared by the police in his testimony. Realizing that his sabotage of the government's frame-up schemes could well lead to his murder by the vengeful storm troopers, Rwaxa sought the maximum possible publicity for his

plight and asked the judge for court protection. The judge replied that he had no power to issue such an order. The freeing of Ian Rwaxa is now a matter of life or death, since scores of anti-apartheid militants have "mysteriously" died or "committed suicide" in South Africa's prisons during the last ten years!

Two blocks away from the trial of the ANC members, Breyten Breytenbach, an Afrikaner poet and sympathizer of the ANC, was acquitted of attempting to escape from Pretoria Central Prison and of continuing his underground activities against apartheid from a jail cell. A founder of Okhela, a white auxiliary to the ANC, Breytenbach was arrested two years ago when he illegally re-entered South Africa from exile. Sentenced to nine years under the Terrorism Act, the poet has been held in solitary confinement for two years in a death row cell in an attempt to break him.

In the new case, the government alleged that Breytenbach had sought to recruit his prison guard, in reality a police spy sent into the prison, to Okhela as part of an escape plan. This frame-up was frustrated by the widespread publicity and sympathy Breytenbach received, mainly in Europe, where he is well-known as an artist and poet. However, Breytenbach remains in jail on the previous conviction.

In an attempt to discredit the small white radical opposition, the judge

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## 24 Hospitalized

# Racist Mob Attacks Blacks in Chicago

CHICAGO—A vicious mob of white racists ran wild on Chicago's Southwest side this past weekend, assaulting blacks and hospitalizing at least 24 people, including young children. The murderous mob assaulted cars driven by blacks, overturning three and forcing the passengers to flee for their lives, and smashed windows on numerous others by hurling rocks, bottles and blocks of cement. A mother and two small

children narrowly escaped serious injury when the crowd of white racists which had surrounded their car and smashed its windows was finally driven back by police. An eight-year-old child was hurt badly when struck near his eye by a rock hurled through a car window.

A city bus carrying black passengers was forcibly stopped and damaged by the mob. The driver, who had just picked up three black youths without fares because he feared they would be attacked, said the racists "started to push the door open. So I just pushed on the gas with my left foot and pulled away" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 24 July). The driver was hurt when a rock thrown through the window by the frustrated mob struck him in the neck. After two hours of terror the rock-throwing, howling gangs of white youth were finally broken up by the cops.

The racist mob had originally mobilized to attack a civil rights march for open housing in the all-white Marquette Park neighborhood, planned by the liberal-pacifist Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. When the march was forcibly dispersed by Chicago cops, who claimed they were unable to protect the marchers, the racist crowd surged into the surrounding streets viciously attacking passing black motorists.

Saturday's terror is not the first display of white racist violence in Marquette Park, the home base of Chicago's small but active fascist move-



Chicago Sun-Times

White racists in Marquette Park overturn a black motorist's car.

ment. Last summer the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement initiated a series of demonstrations for open housing which attempted to march into the white enclave. Each time the marchers were forced back by bloody assaults instigated by Nazi- and Ku Klux Klan-inspired mobs. Scores of civil rights marchers have been injured by barrages of rocks, bricks and jagged glass, following which they have been arrested by Chicago cops for "disorderly conduct!"

The same pattern of police support for the racist mobs repeated itself last Saturday. Deputy police superintendent

William Buckney told the marchers at Martin Luther King Jr. Movement headquarters that he had been told ("erroneously," he admits) that the march was canceled, and had released for the day 800 policemen who had been scheduled to protect the marchers. "The manpower is not available. We cannot allow you to march under these circumstances," Buckney said, although the march had a permit. The Reverend A.I. Dunlap, president of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, told the people

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## **WORKERS VANGUARD**

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# The Gay Liberation Movement and the Left

As part of the projected fusion between the Spartacist League (SL) and the Red Flag Union/Bolshevik Tendency (RFU/BT), two joint forums on the vicious anti-homosexual Anita Bryant crusade were held this month, one in New York and the other in Los Angeles. Approximately 120 people heard the NYC forum July 23 where the speakers' insistence that the gay liberation movement is only a partially political phenomenon shading over into the gay milieu brought howls of protest from the Shachtmanite and Marcyite New Leftist groups in attendance.

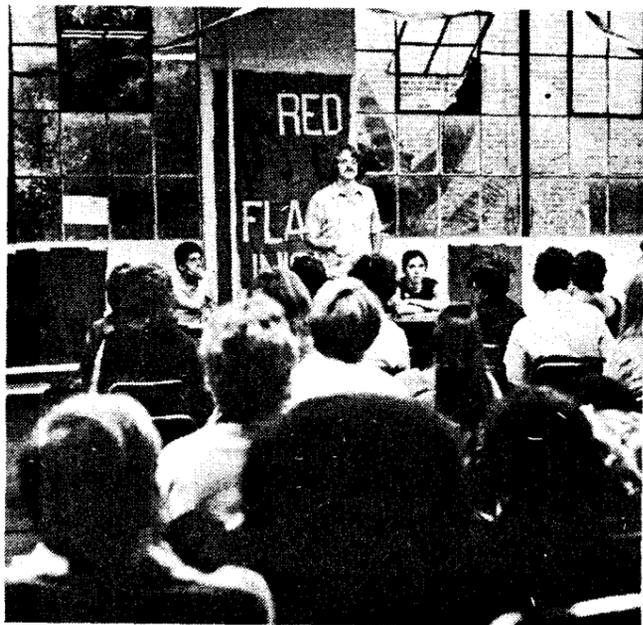
Speaking for the Spartacist League, Kay Blanchard began by warning of the danger posed by the reactionary Bryant crusade, which is closely linked to the Stop-ERA campaign, right-to-lifers and anti-busing forces. While communists fight to defend and extend democratic rights under capitalism, the speaker stressed, they explain that homosexual oppression can be ended only under socialism, with the replacement of the nuclear family. Pointing to the religious overtones rampant in the gay milieu, Blanchard noted that gay liberationists have responded to Bryant's Bible-thumping crusade "by swapping scriptures for verse. While Anita says 'Save our Children,' the gay milieu says 'Anita, We are Your Children.' Anita says 'god punishes homosexuals' and homosexual religionists say 'god loves gay'."

The SL spokesman noted that the thrust of the recent anti-Bryant demonstrations has been to implicitly endorse Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade by demanding its extension to homosexuals in the United States. While in another period, she said, this demand might be merely an innocuous slogan of bourgeois civil libertarians, at the present time it is a cover for the rearmament of U.S. imperialism after its Vietnam debacle, beginning with a propaganda offensive against the Soviet bloc and ultimately aiming at the restoration of capitalism in the deformed and degenerated workers states.

Michael Weinstein, speaking for the RFU/BT, noted the narrow, distorted image perceived by homosexuals who view the world from the vantage point of the gay ghettos of New York and San Francisco. Looking out of the window on Christopher Street one might get the impression that 75 percent or more of the adult male population is homosexual. Here in the "liberated zones" homosexuals go about their lives largely unhindered by police harassment, vigilante attacks or religious fanatics. When Bryant was successful in Dade County and threatened to take her hate campaign on national tour, homosexuals in large numbers rose up in alarm and took to the streets. "Not," said Weinstein, "as the SWP would have us believe, as budding revolutionaries or even militant defenders of democratic rights for the oppressed, but basically as alarmed 'liberated' homosexuals defending their right to live unaccosted by rabid animals like Anita Bryant."

The SL and the RFU/BT, said Weinstein, seek to intercept the left wing of the gay liberation milieu in order to win the most advanced elements to the program of Trotskyism. At the same time, revolutionaries do not seek to build the gay "movement," whose program varies from religious revivalism on the far right to the Democratic Party in the middle and New-Left lifestyle radicalism on the left.

Many people, said Weinstein, want to



WV Photo



WV Photo

Spartacist League/Red Flag Union joint forums in Los Angeles, left, and New York, right.

## WV Style Change

# "Gay": Language and Politics

With this issue of *WV* we are implementing a style change of a politically controversial nature which deserves explanation to our readers. In the past we have either avoided the term gay or placed quotation marks around it because we did not consider gay as a neutral or conventional synonym for homosexual. Although the term does have a long historical association with homosexuality, its increasing popularity in recent years has had a clear political thrust: lifestyle radicalism.

The word "gay" did not and does not refer to homosexuality in all contexts. It would be absurd, for example, to speak about gays in ancient Rome or "People's China" today. Rather, it is associated with participation in the homosexual social milieu. Thus Alan Winter in his study, *The Gay Press* (1976), uses the term as meaning "having freed oneself of misgiving over being homosexual" and "to be free to participate in a homosexual community, in the sense of the gay community."

The term was promoted by and gained public currency in the last decade due to the gay liberation movement. The general program of the gay liberation movement is not so much fighting for democratic rights for homosexuals as the affirmation of "gay pride." As a political rather than purely personal statement, "gay pride" represents a sectoralist outlook fundamentally hostile to Marxism and detrimental to the struggle for a united mobilization of the working class and all defenders of

democratic rights against discrimination and social oppression. In this respect it is analogous to the "black pride" promoted in particular by right-wing "cultural nationalists," and is conducive above all to Democratic Party constituency politics.

The term gay is only partly analogous to the usage of "black" beginning in the mid-1960's. While "black power" and "black pride" politics were the catalyst which sparked rejection of the term Negro, there was also a widespread distaste for the word which in the mouth of Lyndon Johnson invariably was pronounced "nigrah"—the usual guarded pronunciation of a racist epithet. Homosexual, on the other hand, is not generally a term of denigration and can be essentially neutral (although inevitably filled with the prejudices of the speaker and society).

Ironically, while use of the term "gay" is symptomatic of an inevitable reflex of oppressed layers to seek verbal solace, it has a decidedly negative (*bitter sweet*) quality. "Gay" due to its traditional meaning is both self-congratulatory and self-trivializing, as it implies homosexuals are both more "liberated" and more frivolous than heterosexuals.

Our resistance to using the term gay was also derived from opposition to New Left moralistic idealism in general, one aspect of which has been a tendency to reject the conventional terms relating to oppressed social groups in favor of

new terms, often quite artificial in appearance (e.g., chairperson). As Marxists we oppose such terminological liberationism and maintain a conservative attitude toward conventional usage. Thus we used Negro rather than black until Negro generally acquired an obsolete or derogatory meaning and black became conventional usage. We still do not use the term "Ms.," a form of address closely associated with feminism and based on an amalgamation of traditional aristocratic-derived, sex-defined terminology (as opposed to the democratic "citizen" or the communist "comrade").

However, while homosexual continues to be an adequate term, it is impossible to refer to a whole range of cultural/political activity (gay liberation movement, gay bars, gay milieu, etc.) without the use of the word gay. Thus the word acquires ever more general usage. At the same time, our use of quotation marks around gay was open to misinterpretation by many readers and willful distortion by opponents as indicating a hostile or contemptuous attitude toward homosexuals. Given the pervasiveness of oppression and its terminological reflections all terms will be tainted by the prevailing social prejudices. Thus henceforth we will not use quotation marks around the term "gay." To the extent that the word loses its lifestyle connotations and becomes a conventional synonym for homosexual, *WV* style policy must change accordingly.

know why it is that the RFU, which achieved a reputation as the most advanced element of the gay liberation milieu, would want to join the supposedly "sectarian, anti-gay" Spartacist League. "All of the groups fell over themselves trying to pick up the RFU and they were obviously very disappointed when our fusion perspective developed toward the SL," he said. The Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), in particular, felt it should have been the logical inheritor of

a gay liberation group which began with an anti-Soviet reflex. After all, didn't the RSL take up the slogan "Gay Liberation through Socialist Revolution," a position held for a time by the RFU?

The SL, he said, won the RFU not by tailing its polyvanguardism, but through a sharp struggle to break the group from sectoralism and to win it to the defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism. Weinstein also

stressed the importance of the SL's political honesty, contrasting it to the dishonesty of the RSL, typified recently by the slanderous polemic in the *Torch* in which the SL was denounced for its "closet rule" despite the fact that the RSL has one of its own! The RFU majority, he said, realized early on that the RSL was the archetypal Stalinist caricature of Trotskyism which "everybody had warned us about." "They won't defend anything—they won't

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## Soares Government Flounders

# Economic Crisis in Portugal



150,000 people turned out June 22 in Lisbon for national day of protest against government austerity measures.

We publish below an article on the deepening economic and political crisis in Portugal by Comrade Mafalda Silva, a Portuguese Marxist. While Comrade Silva continues to have certain political differences with Spartacism, we recommend these articles as an informed, revolutionary Marxist analysis of the current situation and the tasks facing Trotskyists in Portugal.

## Letter from Lisbon

According to Portugal's prime minister, Mário Soares, defending himself on television June 7, the Socialist Party minority government is "the only mediator in Portuguese society, polarized between antagonistic and unyielding extremes who seek to crush each other." Without a doubt, Soares, consciously assuming that role, will be responsible for his own fall, which appears increasingly inevitable in the eyes of the "antagonistic extremes" to which he referred: on the one hand, the workers and their organizations, defending their conquests; on the other, reactionary forces internally and externally, who are impatient with the pace at which the "normalization" is proceeding—that is, the repression which is forcing the workers movement into a generalized retreat, and the capitalist "recuperation." The situation is one of permanent instability: the bourgeois-democratic regime, albeit semi-presidentialist, has not been stabilized. It would be more correct to define the situation as one still open to an abrupt revolutionary shift, although at present successive partial retreats are being experienced which could, according to all appearances, be transformed into a general retreat as the result of one final test of strength, comparable to that in Germany in 1923.

Although the two principal rightist parties—the Social Democratic Party (PSD—ex-Popular Democratic Party) and the Social Democratic Center (CDS), which have just formed an informal opposition bloc—do not have basic differences with the present cabinet and its austerity plan, they are showing an increasing impatience with the indecision of the government, which hesitates, knowing that great confrontations with the working masses are still to come. And in fact, the 15 percent devaluation of the escudo, the wage controls, the abolition of subsidies (which put an end to price controls), the

attacks on agrarian reform and the authorization to implement layoffs, among other anti-working-class measures taken by the Soares government, have not succeeded up to now in breaking the workers' resistance and putting an end to the pre-revolutionary situation which was opened with the fall of the Caetano/Salazarist dictatorship on 25 April 1974.

### The Economic Situation

In order to satisfy the requirements of imperialism, the government will have to carry out a global plan of reconvert-ing the Portuguese economy. The motivation for the imperialist demands can be found in the crisis of the capitalist system—namely the new recession which is forecast, which eliminates the possibility of the industrialized countries of western Europe continuing to import Portuguese labor, therefore requiring Portugal to reorient its industry; and the necessity of American imperialism to obtain new markets, thus preparing the ground for future investments in Portugal. U.S. imperialism is utilizing the loans granted by international organizations, among them the International Monetary Fund, to guarantee the political conditions which would ensure the viability of such investments.

More specifically, the guarantees required by international capitalism, whose implementation requires a significant alteration in the relation of forces, include the following points:

- *An end to state control of banking and an end to nationalizations.* In fact, the nationalizations following the Spínolist counter-coup of 11 March 1975 turned Portugal into a country with one of the most extensive nationalized sectors in Europe, amounting to roughly 45 percent of the total investment and 25 percent of the labor force. Traumatized by the action of the workers who took over the factories, private industry does not feel secure enough to invest, even though the government proposes to return 400 companies. And the entry of Portugal into the EEC (Common Market) will certainly not take place unless the European banks are authorized to open branches in this country.

- *Elimination of workers control.* Even though many workers commissions have disappeared, or have ceased to constitute fragmentary organs of dual power, the workers in many workplaces having shown complete disinterest in them, it is certain that they continue to exist in various enterprises with more or less indefinite functions, and that by struggling to maintain and strengthen

them the workers can effectively fight against the denationalizations.

For now, in order to resolve the problems caused by the balance of payments deficit and to promote the conversion of the productive apparatus, the governing social democrats are seeking a rapid expansion of exports, which is the purpose of the devaluation of the escudo and of the preferential credits (as well as fiscal incentives) given to exports.

### Austerity in Practice

Even though the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), in the interests of its policy of pressuring in order to obtain ministerial portfolios, has refused to mobilize the agricultural workers against the Socialist Party (PS) agrarian policy—refusal of credit to the Collective Production Units [expropriated estates run as collective farms under workers management], an end to expropriations and limitation of the sector affected by agrarian reform—the PCP has raised sporadic resistance to the most flagrant attempts to dislodge the workers on the pretext of the "right of reserve" [holdings guaranteed to former land owners after expropriation of their estates], provoking repeated confrontations with the Republican National Guard (GNR). At Mora, roughly 70 kilometers from Beja, there have been dozens of wounded. The combativity of these workers is obvious; the absence of a more decisive and organized resistance is solely due to the treacherous policy of the PCP leadership.

In the trade-union domain, the PS has been doing everything to break the hegemony of the PCP and the labor federation controlled by it, the CGTP/Intersindical, namely by promoting the so-called "Carta Aberta" (Open Letter) grouping. The latter, however, has completely failed to attract the blue-collar unions, because of its obvious lack of negotiating power. Under the direction of the present minister of labor, the sinister Maldonado Gonalha, the PS has taken off its mask of internal democracy concerning trade unionism and has gone over to repressive measures against Socialist militants who hold positions in the CGTP. Nevertheless the CGTP has shown boundless good will concerning the so-called "social pact," which it is negotiating with the government and whose essential purpose is to limit wage increases to 15 percent by the end of the year, and this when inflation on the order of 30 percent is predicted. The CGTP limits itself to criticizing (that is, counseling)

the Ministry of Labor and calls only for defensive forms of struggle, pressuring the existing structures and avoiding at all costs the mobilization of the workers on the basis of a clear program. Meanwhile, the present rate of unemployment exceeds 10 percent.

In the student sector, the measures taken by the ultra-rightist minister of education, Sottomayor Cardia, in favor of the reintegration of professors purged from the University of Coimbra because of their complicity with the former regime, have provoked repeated mobilizations of the students. The minister responded by closing that university and utilizing the spruced-up police shock troop units in order to attack the strikers and demonstrators. The action of the ministry was so ferocious that many professors who are members of the PS publicly took a position against it.

A wing of the Socialist Party itself, around the former minister of agriculture, Lopes Cardoso, in disagreement with the orientation followed by the PS government, has decided to found a more-or-less dissident "cultural association"—the *Fraternidade Operária* (the Workers Fraternity). The formation of this group reflects the difficulties in saddling the working-class base of the party with measures which directly affect it, such as the law concerning layoffs, the restriction of the right to strike, the wage freeze, etc.

Thus, as the result of the actions of Mário Soares' First Constitutional Government, we have a rightist offensive which on the military level seeks to remove even such "moderates" as Melo Antunes and Vasco Lorrêncio who during the summer of 1975 led the opposition to Vasco Gonçalves (backed by the PCP) and who now hold seats in the Revolutionary Council, the organ which represents the last vestige of the MFA (Armed Forces Movement). The Council's (limited) power is increasingly contested by the putschist right wing of the military, which is led by men like Jaime Neves, the executor of November 25, who leads the Commandos regiment; Pires Veloso, the commandant of the Northern Military Region; Soares Carneiro, chairman of the "Association of Ex-Commandos," etc.

The right has seized upon the question of the Azores Islands, an important strategic location in the Atlantic where there is an American military base, as a trial balloon for its reactionary policies. In the Azores—which were given a statute of regional autonomy by the 1976 constitution, and where the PSD was the victor in the April elections, subsequently taking charge of the

regional government—left-wing elements, including members of the PS, are persecuted by the “separatists” such as the so-called FLA (Azores Liberation Front). The FLA, enjoying official protection, is spreading bomb attacks and pro-independence propaganda, which could only mean the creation of a fictitious client state of the United States.

The PCP, lacking “progressive” military officers, opted to support the president of the republic and abandon, for the time being, the slogan of a “left majority” (PS/PCP). Against the right’s call for a “presidential majority” (which would consist of a coalition of the parties which contributed to the election of Ramalho Eanes—CDS, PSD and PS), the PCP proposes a “democratic majority,” that is a PCP/PS/PSD coalition, a replay of the popular-front provisional governments of 1974-75.

### Perspectives

In the meantime, however, all is not definitively lost. The result of the crisis is not necessarily a more right-wing government or a coalition with the right. The emergence of an alternative depends on the mobilization and capacity of response of the workers, on the generalization and coordination of their defensive (where necessary) as well as offensive struggles. Although the conditions of struggle have slowly and

progressively deteriorated since November 25, the working class has not yet suffered a decisive defeat. The overthrow of the “military left” (that is, the left sector of the heart of the state apparatus) did not have a direct equivalent at the factory level, even though the situation has been deteriorating and the vanguard elements risk becoming isolated from the masses. Faced with this perspective of dissipation of the pre-revolutionary situation, there is an even more crying need for a revolutionary Marxist vanguard to intervene actively in the struggles. The existing “far left” has already proved itself incapable of advancing with a program of struggle in a united fight against the government’s attacks and the fall in the workers’ living standards. Thus, the Movement of Popular Unity (MUP)—dominated by the UDP (Democratic Peoples’ Union, a Maoist front) has completely fallen apart, and is now unable to offer an answer for the masses who voted for its candidacy of Major Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho in last June’s presidential elections. This situation could possibly favor the appearance of substitutionist currents, lacking faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class, if a revolutionary Marxist pole capable of fighting the demoralization and indicating the revolutionary path does not appear.

Meanwhile, among the organizations which claim to be Trotskyist, the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—aligned with the minority of the “United Secretariat” [Usec] and more recently with the Argentine PST) criticizes the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—aligned with the Usec majority) for falling into reformism since the latter refuses to unequivocally characterize the present situation as pre-revolutionary, thereby abandoning the strategic perspective of reinforcing the organs of workers power. In actuality, judging that the dominant tendency is toward extinguishing the role of the workers commissions—which is a fact—the LCI does not bother itself to fight to revive and centralize them, preferring instead to make them trade-union bodies. Thus they do not concretely threaten the power of the bourgeoisie.

Behind its “orthodox” and revolutionary facade, the PRT was merely hiding one more chapter of its constant capitulation before social democracy, this time through its support to the PS trade-union tendency (Carta Aberta), which is attempting to transform itself into a union federation. The Carta Aberta grouping attacks the CGTP on the basis of formally democratic and

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General Eanes

Mularoni/Gamma



Revolucao

Police in Porto attack students during May demonstrations protesting government decision to reinstate professors purged for connections with Salazarist dictatorship.

## Homosexuals...

*(continued from page 3)*

defend the gains of the October Revolution, they won't defend the rights of women [referring to the RSL's anti-ERA position], they won't defend the democratic rights of black school children to an equal education."

In the subsequent discussion period the RSL predictably raged about the SL's refusal to make "coming out" a matter of political principle, and one RSLer demanded to know why the SL does not also tell black people to try to pass for white or Jews to bob their noses! Yet in the very same breath the RSLer admitted the existence of the group's own "closet rule," saying "the point is that even if we are hypocritical, it does not prove that you aren't." To this Weinstein insisted that such precautions are necessary if communists are to avoid exclusion from the trade unions, as well as many other arenas:

"You don't think about what it means to ask people to 'come out,' in a country where the ERA is defeated, where a Dade County occurs. First of all, the closet rule refers only to communists of the SL. We do not say that gays should not come out, and we do not advise them to come out. We cannot take responsibility for what might happen to them."

To the RSL's amazing charge that the SL under no circumstances would ever admit it had gay members, Weinstein laughingly noted that at this very moment the SL is projecting fusion with a group of homosexuals who "have been going around the country parading before audiences.... This is not the conduct of an organization that wants to hide the fact that it takes up the struggle against homosexual oppression!"

The intervention from the floor by the Marcyite Communist Cadre-Marxist provided some comic relief after the carping RSL. The CC-M raised its demand for a "united front against sexual oppression" and insisted that "the sexual revolution and the proletarian revolution, must be inseparable." Responding to this Reichian nonsense, one SLer said:

"The most important issue tonight has been the ability to analyze reality as it is. You say that 'black is beautiful' and 'gay is good.' But we do not think that being a black in the United States is beautiful. We think being a black in the U.S. means you're subjected to racist victimization, you're subjected to special oppression, subjected to the most brutal exploitation. Nor do we think gay is gay. Being a gay in the U.S. is pretty brutal, rotten and difficult....

"Above all our program is concrete. Whether or not people will be sexually satisfied is really a question we don't know and a question to be determined several generations after the socialist revolution. To think that socialism and our program can address that question is a perversion of Marxism."

### Los Angeles

More than 50 people attended the Los Angeles forum July 16 to hear Chris Colby speak for the SL and Gene Shofner for the RFU/BT. Discussing the response of the left to the Bryant crusade, Shofner noted the bind in which the Stalinists have been caught over the issue. Thus the Communist Party's *Daily World* has yet to say a word about the Bryant campaign. In San Francisco, however, the CP's *People's World* simply could not avoid saying something and recently came out with a statement implying the Bryant crusade was a conspiracy to "take our minds off the latest jobless figures or the fact that each day our paychecks buy even less."

Of all the Stalinists, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has the most contemptible position. While *Revolution* has remained silent on the issue, the RCP's local rag, the *Southern California Worker* (July-August 1977) criticized the Bryant campaign as "reactionary" but added that it "had a certain appeal and was based on real fears that parents

have about their children." The article goes on to say:

"One of these massive social problems is homosexuality. It is certainly not simply 'just another lifestyle.' The open parading of drag-queens and such is one of the more spectacular signs that capitalist society is growing increasingly sick and decadent. It's not surprising that Bryant's reactionary campaign found such support.

"But as much as homosexuality is an ugly blot on society, a perverse hatred of the opposite sex, individual homosexuals are the victims and not the cause. Under socialism the working class will finally be able to wipe out homosexuality by wiping out those who have benefitted from and promoted these social sicknesses, the capitalist class. All the victims of capitalist rot will be rehabilitated by their hustler, junkie or queer.

"To deny such rights as housing or jobs is persecution and is no more correct than denying alcoholics housing or jobs. Of course there are limits. Parents should have the right to remove notorious homosexuals from any and all jobs working with children, just as they would rather not have some juice-head guiding their children either."

While the RCP's parroting of anti-homosexual bigotry is particularly obscene (like its apologetics for the racist anti-busing mobilization), all Stalinist groups pander to backward attitudes among the workers on the homosexual question because of their support to the "proletarian family."

The New York and Los Angeles forums demonstrated the high level of programmatic agreement between the RSU/BT and the Spartacist League. Through these forums and other common work, such as a joint leaflet against the Anita Bryant crusade and joint distribution of *Red Flag* and *Workers Vanguard*, the SL and the RFU/BT are moving forward to the realization of a principled Leninist fusion. ■

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### NOTICE

*Workers Vanguard* is published bi-weekly in August. The next issue will be dated 12 August 1977.

## SWP Polemic Against SL: In Defence of Tailism

# Alibis of a Social Democrat

Since expelling the founding nucleus of the Spartacist League (SL) more than a dozen years ago, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has smugly dismissed the SL as an "irrelevant," "sterile" grouping of "ultra-left sectarians." But as the SL consolidated in the U.S. and extended itself internationally, the SWP's cries of "insignificant SL" have become more strident and its carefully cultivated patronizing tone has given way to increasingly ill-humored frenzy.

The Spartacist tendency has succeeded in winning over dozens of former members of the SWP and its international allies of the United Secretariat (USec). A contribution in a recent SWP internal bulletin complains, "We have to admit that, for whatever reasons, a sizable number of members of the Spartacist League are ex-members of our movement" ("We Should Publish an Education for Socialists Booklet against Sectarianism in General and against the Spartacist League in Particular," SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977).

The SWP's own consolidation around a hardened reformist program assisted in drawing clear political lines between the SWP and the SL. Meanwhile the SL's growth and modest achievements, such as a literate and highly political weekly press, made the Spartacist tendency a natural rallying point of militants moving qualitatively to the left from the SWP/USec.

The exposure of the sordid political bankruptcy of the Healyite bandits assisted in the SL's emergence as the legitimate pole of anti-revisionist Trotskyism. Though the SWP likes to make an amalgam of all organizations to its left as disoriented inhabitants of some ludicrous "Land of Oz," the contrast between the SL's principled politics and the opportunism of our centrist competitors has been highlighted by the organizational disarray of the latter, including their numerous major splits.

The political destruction of the SL is not a life-or-death matter for the deeply reformist SWP, which is working a different side of the fence. Still, the SWP cannot help being embarrassed at its numerous ex-members who took the

SWP's residues of verbal Trotskyism a bit too seriously and found that the legitimate Trotskyist tradition led straight to the SL. For opportunists, the notion that a principled program can ever win any support anywhere is a violation of the fundamental laws of nature. But the Trotskyist politics of the "irrelevant" SL seem to have a way of popping up in the strangest places: from the Central Committee of the USec's French section to the American gay liberation milieu. And now that the SWP has undertaken a "turn" toward the labor movement (seeing a possibility of brain-trusting a wing of the labor bureaucracy), it is annoyed to find SL supporters who have been recognized and active oppositionists for several years in the unions—an injury added to insult.

So the SWP must have been delighted last year to come into possession of a former Spartacist, whose politics roughly paralleled its own. After years of pretending not to have noticed *WV's* publication of declarations of solidarity with the Spartacist tendency emanating from former SWP/USec supporters in the U.S., Canada and Europe, here was finally a chance to hit back. And the SWP has recently seized the opportunity to publicize its recruitment of a former alternate to the SL Central Committee (CC) with an alacrity which belies its protestations of SL "irrelevance."

First, to whet the appetite, the SWP's international factional organ, *Intercontinental Press* (30 May 1977), ran this unusual promotional blurb on the inside of the front cover:

"Coming Next Week  
"A review of the policies of the Spartacist League.  
"On the Black movement; on the oppression of women; on defense of political prisoners. With entertaining and illuminating examples to substantiate the polemic."

The tongue-in-cheek tone notwithstanding, it was clear the SWP hoped it had really got "the goods" on us at last. Our appetite appropriately whetted, we waited with anticipation to see what our defector, Bob Pearlman, would have to

say about us and about his new political friends.

Pearlman's two-part article ("Spartacist: Making of an American Sect," *Intercontinental Press*, 6 June and 13 June 1977) was, frankly, a dud. After all, Pearlman—as a CC member in our democratic organization—had had access to the "inside story" of the SL over a period of years: our political deliberations, our tactical decisions, our free and sometimes sharp discussions and disputes, the minutes of the proceedings of our highest bodies, a mound of internal bulletins. Pearlman is a competent propagandist and an experienced politician; it is not an accident that despite a certain underlying parochial dilettantism and an oppositional history, he was elected an alternate CC member in 1974 as part of the slate endorsed by the outgoing CC.

Cynical and empty social democrats who inhabit the SWP will no doubt find Pearlman's series comforting. But any reasonably experienced and thoughtful political person who reads his indictment of the Spartacist tendency will be struck by a general impression of SL political seriousness, honesty and organizational growth which emerges from Pearlman's attack. His concluding characterization of the SL as "an American sect" is directly contradicted by the picture which emerges of a dynamic and cohesive organization which has grown severalfold in this country and has broken out of involuntary national isolation to become a distinct international tendency with an increasingly authoritative international collective leadership.

The SWP, for instance, is fond of calling us "the Robertsonites" in an effort to imply the personality cultism which is characteristic of "sects." But even a casual reader of the Pearlman document will be struck by the plethora of names of leading SL comrades who emerge as authoritative spokesmen in particular discussions, from a comrade of the Australasian section leadership to the "leading women comrades" who polemicized against and defeated one prominent comrade's conservative attitude toward the women's movement. Another notable aspect of Pearlman's involuntarily complimentary portrait of the SL is his recounting of the manner in which errors are quickly addressed and corrected, testifying to the SL's seriousness about its political program.

The astute reader will also note something which is not in Pearlman's document. Unlike most polemics produced by disaffected ex-members of democratic-centralist organizations, who generally allege endless bureaucratic suppressions of their views, Pearlman's article never cites a single violation of his democratic rights as a member; in fact, he describes in some detail numerous occasions on which his criticisms and oppositional proposals were debated in the SL.

The organization described by Pearlman is clearly both extremely cohesive politically and extremely democratic. Counterposed positions are shown to have been vigorously debated on occasion, on a multitude of questions. Internal documents are quoted; the reader can observe that dissident spokesmen are sometimes won over, sometimes agree to disagree while carrying out the organization's line, sometimes deepen their critiques and

eventually leave the organization. The latter was the case with Bob Pearlman. He simply got tired of being a self-described "minority of one." Those in the SWP who find themselves in the unenviable position of being in opposition in that extremely bureaucratic organization would do well to read Pearlman's polemic with an eye to the "regime" question.

### Who/What is Bob Pearlman?

Pearlman manages to avoid discussing his terminal differences with the SL and his rapprochement with the SWP. To be sure, some of his political fights—which purportedly demonstrate his central thesis of SL "abstention"—are described at considerable length. But whereas Pearlman provides the reader with the precise wording of documents and motions from several internal SL disputes, some going back many years, regarding his final oppositional course he has neglected to include this kind of documentation.

There are two reasons. First, though Comrade Pearlman's increasing disaffection with our program culminated in differences more than sufficient to justify the launching of a faction counterposed to the SL majority, Pearlman did not attempt to build a factional following for his positions within the organization; this several-year SL member, who was moreover a CC alternate, never proclaimed a faction and resigned without taking a single other SL member out with him. Even after the fact, he never submitted a political resignation statement to his former comrades.

The second reason is more important. The SWP's ability to use Pearlman as a club against the SL would be somewhat diminished by publication of his own oppositional record, as documented in motions on the subjects in dispute. At the time of his departure from our organization, Pearlman's main political stance paralleled the centrist impressionism of the European USec majority (long-time internal arch-enemies of the SWP) more closely than it did the SWP's brand of social-patriotic reformism.

In particular, Pearlman's politics as an SL oppositionist undercut the SWP's main political charge against us, that of "abstention." "Abstention" is how proletarian principle looks to those who orient to "mass" reformist forces which stand politically in the camp of the capitalist Democratic Party: the trade-union bureaucracy, the right wing of the feminist movement exemplified by NOW, the right wing of the black nationalist movement such as the Muslim religious cult, and so forth.

Needless to say, we do not accept the SWP's terms. Of two qualitatively identical class-collaborationist policies we choose neither as a "lesser" evil, but pose an independent working-class perspective with as much force as we can muster. But wherever there is a class counterposition, wherever there is a legitimate issue of democratic rights, wherever there is the possibility of even a token gain in the fight against oppression, the SL takes sides—and hard.

Not so the SWP. Pearlman lavishes a lot of praise, for instance, on the SWP's activity as the "best builders" of an antiwar movement (discussed in the second installment of this article) politically dominated by the liberal

By Bob Pearlman

### Spartacist: Making of an American Sect

#### Coming Next Week

A review of the policies of the Spartacist League.  
On the Black movement; on the oppression of women; on defense of political prisoners. With entertaining and illuminating examples to substantiate the polemic.

## Creeping "Irrelevance"

### Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania the Americas

"Spartacist: The Making of an American Sect"—a special two-part series in the June 6 and June 13 issues.  
Bob Pearlman, a leader of the Spartacist League in Boston, Massachusetts, for several years, explains why he left the organization and joined the Socialist Workers party.  
Includes a review of the policies of the Spartacist League on the Black move-

ment, on the oppression of women; and on defense of political prisoners. With illuminating examples to substantiate his polemic.

For copies of both issues, send \$1.50 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, New York 10014.

bourgeoisie. In deference to his present political mentors, he refrains from mentioning that there was a class line in Vietnam, which the SWP evaded with a neutralist "self-determination" rhetoric which concealed its social-patriotic softness toward its "own" bourgeoisie.

Even mainstream social democrats had the SWP's number on its "single-issue" antiwar coalitions. Michael Harrington, the leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, wrote in 1971: "For they are sworn opponents of the 'class collaborationists' in the Kennedy and McCarthy movements and bitter foes of the notion that Democratic Congressmen can end the war—and yet they helped assemble a gigantic audience which demonstrated in favor of just such an approach." We can only fault Harrington's description for his confusion of classical Trotskyist positions with the policies of the

cadre through its revolutionary antiwar agitation. We did not have to win Pearlman to the view that the SWP was the left face of McGovernism. He and thousands like him fully recognized that already. If in 1969-70 someone had told Pearlman that he would later write that the SWP's antiwar work was "the deepest expression of proletarian internationalism," he would have been outraged at this impugning of his character.

In joining the social-democratic SWP, Pearlman has not only abandoned the revolutionary Marxism of the SL, but even the militant anti-imperialism of his New Left past.

### Angola

Though Comrade Pearlman's oppositional history in the SL touched on a broad spectrum of issues, from tenant organizing to the national question in Ireland, perhaps his biggest splash came

possible the launching of the FNLA/UNITA drive on Luanda, the commencement of a full-scale civil war and marked the subordination of the FNLA/UNITA forces to the imperialist ploy of establishing an anti-communist regime in Luanda. We support from that point the military victory of the MPLA over the FNLA/UNITA armies and destruction of those armies."

In reality, from the "battle of Luanda" in June 1975 to the South African invasion of Angola in late October, the fighting was not of nationalists facing an imperialist enemy, but rather a murderous feud between the three main nationalist groups, who did not differ qualitatively. To give "military support" to the MPLA in this period was in effect to accord it *political* support against the FNLA and UNITA. Thus the PB adopted a motion counterposed to Pearlman's:

"*Motion:* That this motion be voted down because Comrade [Pearlman] confuses the *initiation* of the process of the present civil war configuration in Angola with its *culmination*, precipitated by the Portuguese withdrawal. Behind this predating by a few months lay the difference between Menshevism and Bolshevism, presented in a calculated minimalist fashion."

In his series, Pearlman says of this period: "The struggle by the MPLA in Angola against the imperialist-backed forces of the FNLA, UNITA, and South Africa opened up tremendous opportunities for solidarity work in the United States." "Criticizing the MPLA," he writes with the cynical coyness of a smug opportunist, meant "the SL excluded themselves" from such demonstrations. It certainly did present problems at demonstrations led by groups like Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and pan-Africanists, who sought to physically suppress any political criticism of the MPLA. We preferred to tell the truth rather than raise fatal illusions in the "progressive" nationalists.

But where was the SWP in all this? While Pearlman wanted to give covert political support to the MPLA, the SWP was alibiing the CIA-financed FNLA and the colonial-settler-backed UNITA, and scandalously declaring its "opposition to the factional war" at a time when the FNLA and UNITA had been decisively, militarily subordinated to the imperialist invasion! Pearlman's gall in attacking the SL from the pages of the SWP press for being too critical of the MPLA is breathtaking. Not only did the SWP, in a report approved by its national committee and reprinted as a "special feature" in the 23 January 1975 *Militant* accuse the MPLA of "slandering" the FNLA during the 1960's, when FNLA leader Holden Roberto was receiving a regular CIA sustainer; it explicitly denied that the South African invasion had altered the situation:

"It is important to note that the FNLA and UNITA did not serve as puppets of South Africa in this imperialist invasion."

Embarrassed by this disgusting apology for the Kissinger-organized imperialist attack—the U.S. poured in over \$30 million in military aid to the UNITA and FNLA during the six months of fighting, FNLA was led by white mercenaries contracted by the U.S., and UNITA forces were integrated into the South African column advancing from the South—SWPers now try to claim that they did not have a policy of neutrality in this conflict. They base themselves on a resolution of the SWP-led "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of the USec, which stated that, "For revolutionary Marxists and supporters of democratic rights, it was an elementary duty to offer material support to the military struggle against this intervention..."

What they don't mention is that this resolution appeared a full half year after the battle was over, in the *Intercontinental Press* of 11 October 1976! In January 1976, while abstractly calling for "South Africa out of Angola," the SWP report went to great pains to argue

*continued on page 8*

## We publish below Bob Pearlman's letter of resignation and the response of James Robertson, SL National Chairman:

August 13, 1976

Dear Comrades,

I hereby resign from the position of alternate to the CC of the SL and additionally resign from membership.

As comrades well know, I am no longer in political solidarity with the SL/US or the IST. A substantial letter of resignation will follow explaining this in detail.

Comradely,  
[Bob Pearlman]

London  
21 August 1976

Dear Bob Pearlman,

I have heard that you quit the SL. It saddened me a little. With due considerations taken into account, I must wish you well in your life.

Leaving an organization has its own protocols just as does joining one. And I hope that you do them properly so that your resignation may be accepted as an expression of good will and personal respect on both sides. Mainly it's just a matter of being sure that your sustaining pledge is paid up so that you are in "good standing" as of the date of your resignation, and that any outstanding debts between you and other comrades personally are suitably taken care of.

While I thought that you were sometimes a bit sly and disingenuous in the pursuit of your political views which were at distinct variance to those of the mainstream of the Spartacist League, your genuine commitment to the plight of oppressed Blacks, the struggles of particular groups of workers, the movement of colonial peoples, and the plight of tenants, has to my mind never been in doubt.

Of course, in the SL, our "mainstream" politics are not monolithic. Other comrades approach from time to time your centrism; other comrades sometimes have ultra-leftist impulses. These are part of the necessary processes of an internally living revolutionary organization. But the depth and consistency of your differences must have led you to a chronic dissatisfaction with your membership in the SL. So it is not inappropriate that you resign.

The difficulty, Bob, has been that you have failed, qualitatively, to sufficiently generalize your felt responses toward these issues, leaving you, then, in a sort of swamp of sectoral-centrism. But a bit better and more honest than that of the overly vulgar SWP. I suppose that you are roughly a USec majorityite politically, but without a USec majority section in the U.S.

Although admittedly unlikely, it may be that circumstance and experience will permit you at some point to transcend what is actually the unfortunate situation of being a sort of contemporary Kautskyan.

Fraternally,  
Jim Robertson



WV Photo

### Spartacist League raised slogan for "Military Victory to the MPLA" at February 1976 demonstration.

contemporary SWP—which is consciously revisionist rather than guilty of "self-duping" as he suggests.

When Pearlman joined our organization in 1971, the SWP was far larger and better-known relative to the Spartacist League than it is today. And Pearlman was no political babe-in-the-woods, but an experienced New Left activist. When he was recruited to the SL, he was a member of the New University Conference, a Progressive Labor (PL) front group for academics. One would naturally expect him to explain in his polemic why he chose Spartacism over the SWP, but he is strangely silent on this important question. The reason is simple: Pearlman cannot reveal his past rejection of the SWP without condemning his present fulsome endorsement of its antiwar line.

Pearlman asserts that, "The antiwar movement played a decisive role in making possible the victory of the Vietnamese people over American imperialism. The central role the SWP played in this movement was the deepest expression of proletarian internationalism." Even before he joined the SL, Pearlman could not have written this revolting drivel. The SWP was universally known as the right-wing, pro-Democratic Party pole in the antiwar movement. Literally *thousands* of antiwar activists, including Bob Pearlman, despised the SWP as the running dogs of the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, as the "best builders" of Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern.

In the principal New Left organization of the period, Students for a Democratic Society, both wings (PL's Worker-Student Alliance and the Revolutionary Youth Movement) stood to the left of the SWP's liberal popular frontism. That is why the SL recruited significant numbers of New Left Maoist

over the question of Angola. He opposed the SL position of no political confidence in the bourgeois-nationalist MPLA combined with our unconditional military defense of the MPLA/Cuban forces against the U.S.-backed South African invasion. As would befit a co-thinker of the centrist USec majority, Pearlman—although in the weaselly fashion which often characterized his arguments—wanted to accord the MPLA political support.

The same position can be found in Pearlman's two-part article in *Intercontinental Press*, where he accuses the SL of sectarianism for raising the demand "Military Victory to the MPLA" (i.e., no political support) in demonstrations against the imperialist invasion. This

## Coming: Part 2

## The Myth of SL Abstentionism in Boston

would not be a particularly noteworthy attack but for the fact that this great friend of the MPLA, who found our call for military support too limited, has now linked up with a group which was *neutral* in the war between the MPLA and the South Africa/UNITA/FNLA bloc!

Pearlman's actual motion at the enlarged SL Political Bureau (PB) meeting of 10-11 December 1975 read as follows:

"*Motion:* That the massive U.S. support to FNLA/UNITA in July after the battle of Luanda in June and the Portuguese decision to pull out in November taken in that period, made

# Alibis...

(continued from page 7)

against military support to the MPLA, even then. "At some point," it said, "the situation could change in such a way that we would call for material support to the MPLA" (our emphasis).

Constrained to defend the SWP policy, which even today is not so pro-MPLA as his own line, Pearlman resorts to the cheap subterfuge of arguing that the only duty of proletarian revolutionists in the imperialist countries is to campaign on the single issue of imperialist intervention, and *not* to warn against the treachery of the nationalists in the colonial countries. He pulls a quote of Lenin out of context and concludes: "Lenin cited no obligation of the revolutionists in imperialist countries to 'expose' the national movement and its leadership in the colonial countries." Such nonsense is dangerous in the extreme. What does this make of Trotsky's "exposure" of Chiang Kai-shek during early 1927 when this leader of a "national movement" was fighting the imperialist-backed warlords? Presumably, if we listen to Pearlman, Trotskyists in the imperialist countries should have joined Stalinist-sponsored pro-Kuomintang demonstrations and said nothing in their slogans to warn against political confidence in the nationalist butcher who in April 1927 slaughtered the Shanghai proletariat! This was certainly not the policy of Trotsky!

The SL's real "crime," Pearlman argues, is that it "wishes to merge the struggle against imperialism in the oppressor country with the struggle for the independence of the proletariat vis-à-vis bourgeois-nationalist and Stalinist leaderships in the oppressed nations." What an indictment! If the word "merge" were only changed to "relate" this would be a precise statement of the tasks of Leninists. We stand proudly accused.

Pearlman presents the SWP's social-democratic philistinism as motivated by a desire not to offend pro-nationalist radicals. Behind the SWP's "single-issuism" on Angola, however, as on the Vietnam war, was its commitment to dance to the tune of imperialist doves, who only wanted to cut their losses. On Vietnam this meant that the SWP refused to call for victory to NLF/DRV against "our boys" (the U.S. Army). It ridiculed our slogans "All Indochina Must Go Communist" and for "Labor Strikes Against the War" in the U.S. In other words, it refused to fight for class struggle in the U.S. That would be "merging" the struggles, you see...

While communists in the imperialist countries fight first of all against their "own" bourgeoisies, they cannot fail to warn against political support to the nationalist misleaders unless they forsake their internationalist duty. Would-be socialists in Angola have paid a high price for their illusions in the MPLA, with death for scores of leftists and prison for hundreds. But the ex-Trotskyists do not consider it a duty to warn against such illusions. It was the SWP's Fred Halstead who replied to a question as to who ought to win in Vietnam with the statement, "I don't know—I'm not Vietnamese." Not a Trotskyist, either.

## "Blacks for Blacks"?

Pearlman's present task as an SWP convert is to attempt to smear the SL as a sterile propaganda group, abstentionist on principle from the "real struggles" against capitalism. Where the "real struggle" over Angola is exclusively opposition to U.S. intervention, he claims, the SL wants to quibble about political support to the MPLA. The core of the first installment of his article is to make the case that this "abstentionism" is particularly true for the struggle against black oppression, as demonstrat-

ed by the battle for busing in Boston. But even Pearlman, whose parochialism is notorious, must go beyond Boston to find the source of the SL's alleged passivity in its rejection of black nationalism. We had, he claims, "developed a 'laborist' notion of the Black struggle."

Pearlman's task is made particularly difficult because he is forced to admit that "Spartacist theory on the Black question recognized the 'extra class' character of Black Oppression." This, he writes, "set the SL substantially apart from other anti-black nationalist currents such as the Workers League and the Revolutionary Communist party." He even has to concede that "Spartacist's recognition of 'special oppression' enabled it to respond to the desegregation struggle at an early stage." He notes that the SL's forerunner in the SWP, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), "claimed that the RT fought in the SWP for participation in the Freedom Rides while the SWP abstained." As late as 1974 he speaks of "the promise of SL engagement in the Black Struggle" anticipated by the formation of a National Consultative Fraction on Black Work.

He quotes C.L.R. James (Johnson) at us in an effort to prove that the SWP in 1948 had the position of support to black nationalism that the SWP has today. James was arguing against those who saw the black struggle as only "episodic," against latter-day Debsians who refused to recognize the need to intervene in the black organizations that had developed a mass following, particularly the NAACP. The "independent black movement" James writes about, moreover, was not nationalist but overwhelmingly integrationist.

James was a little soft on the Garvey movement in his 1948 resolution ("Negro Liberation Through Revolutionary Socialism," *Fourth International*, May-June 1950), but the SWP's purpose at that time was to fight for proletarian politics in the black movement, not to capitulate to the petty-bourgeois ideology of black nationalism. Nowhere in the SWP resolution or practice of that time do we find support for union-busting in the name of black liberation, as characterized the SWP's support for breaking the 1968 New York City teachers strike in the name of

transitional organization, the Harlem Organizing Committee, which was squeezed out as representatives of the "white left" were driven from civil rights organizations and the SL's tiny black cadre fled from the integrated revolutionary movement into insular ghetto nationalism.

Pearlman, like all Pabloists, takes for granted the "impossibility" of the intervention into the black movement and the labor movement; this, to the opportunists, is mere abstract propagandism. Likewise they accept the default of the labor movement on the struggle for democratic rights of black people. For them what is real is the desperate response of a black population which sees itself without allies, and so they refuse to fight for a proletarian revolutionary program to end black oppression through a united class struggle.

Pearlman accuses the SL of not recognizing the positive aspects of militant black nationalist rejection of the traditional black leaders. This is simply false; what he really objects to is that we pointed to its severe limitations, and the fact that nationalism is a block to the

## MILITANT January 23, 1976

The pursuit of SWAPO guerrillas was followed in August by seizure of the Cunene dam and military occupation of the area.

It is important to note that the FNLA and UNITA did not serve as puppets of South Africa in this imperialist invasion. Instead, it was the FNLA and UNITA that spearheaded the fighting against South Africa in June, July, and August, along with the MPLA. This is not surprising since these are areas where the local population supports the UNITA and the FNLA units led by Daniel Chipenda.

## MILITANT April 23, 1976

groups could become sub-foreign imperialist power.

If the basic war had been between South Africa backed by the United States on one side and the MPLA on the other, as the Stalinists all but say in print, it would be entirely different. Revolutionists would have been duty bound to defend the MPLA against the imperialist invaders.

But the South African intervention, as dangerous as it was—and this was pointed out by the SWP—was not the overriding issue in Angola; it was the civil war for state power.

The SWP concluded, as we have already seen in Tony Thomas's remarks, that none of the three groups had a superior perspective to the others and be-

## SWP Flim-Flam on Angola

## MILITANT September 17, 1976

Revolutionary socialists sided with neither faction in Angola against the other. We completely opposed South African, Portuguese, U.S., and other imperialist intervention in Angola.

We sided with the Angolan liberation struggle. This means that we supported the military actions taken by the MPLA against South Africa and the imperialist-controlled mercenaries. By the same token, at an earlier stage we supported the actions by the UNITA against South Africa. And we supported the FNLA in its confrontations with the Portuguese military.

The setback South Africa suffered in Angola played a positive role in the struggle throughout

Having covered his bases, Pearlman tries to show that the SL's rejection of black nationalism meant abstention because nationalism was the "real trend." While the SWP are the "best builders" of the "real," he argues, the SL "merely dreams of how socialist intellectuals would like the class struggle to be." But how real is Pearlman's "real trend"? What is the material basis in American social reality for black nationalism?

Pearlman objects to the fact that the Spartacist League considers the black nationalist movement "largely a negative response to the failure of the organized workers movement with its immense social power, to intervene in behalf of the black masses" (*Young Spartacus*, May 1975). He asks, "But why negative?" and goes on to explain the "material roots" of black nationalism:

"Black for blacks" had profound material roots: the expulsion of the Southern Black peasantry, urban migration North and South, the rapid growth of the Black working class, and a large measure of labor movement passivity toward the struggle for black rights. How could revolutionists characterize this Black radicalization as anything but a positive development?"

What do Pearlman and the SWP learn from the integration of blacks into the northern industrial working class, from the massive urban migration? They learn that black nationalism is progressive!

"community control." The 1948 resolution contains this resounding call:

"The party wages unceasing struggle against the Negro petty-bourgeois leadership... It seeks to replace the vacillating, reformist petty-bourgeois leadership with a militant leadership fighting on the principles of the class struggle and in the closest alliance with organized labor and the Marxist revolutionists."

In 1963 the SWP abstained from the most militant arenas of the civil rights struggle, while moving to an acceptance that an "independent" petty-bourgeois-led black movement could do the job instead. It was Pabloism, the liquidation of the need for the leadership of the proletarian vanguard party, which had sapped the SWP's revolutionary fiber and soon led it to support black nationalism.

Despite its small forces, the RT and Spartacist did seek to intervene in the upsurge of black struggle around the civil rights movement. The Spartacist League fought in New York CORE chapters for a perspective of revolutionary integrationism while the far larger SWP was tailing the Black Muslims. Pearlman fails to note the SL's involvement with black self-defense groups in the South (Deacons for Defense), with militant civil rights groups and rent strike organizing in the northern ghettos. We sought to cohere an exemplary black

development of class consciousness. As we wrote in "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (*Spartacist*, No. 10, May-June 1967):

"The adherents of 'black power' are usually the most militant elements who have adopted the term partly because of its militant sound and partly because of its repugnance to white liberals... the 'black power' movement is raising questions whose answers lie outside the framework set up by the capitalist class. However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist... Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized."

What are the real results of the black nationalist radicalization? Where is the revolutionary black leadership which might have emerged from a class polarization within the black movement, had opportunist organizations like the SWP not capitulated to black nationalism? After a dozen years of black nationalist moods, there is not a single mass black organization today which stands to the left of the NAACP. Or would Pearlman consider the present-day CORE, which tried to raise mercenaries to fight against the Cubans and MPLA in Angola, a "positive development"?

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WORKERS VANGUARD

# Heat...

(continued from page 1)

in many plants, management cared little about the deaths in the plants. Its sole interest was in chaining the workers to the machines and the line. With 100,000 fewer workers in the auto industry than in 1973, the bosses are squeezing out near-record production levels by means of an incredible speed-up and long, grueling hours of overtime.

Requests for heat passes were routinely ignored; if a worker managed to actually get to First Aid, he was commonly given a couple of salt tablets and sent back to his job. Foremen stalked the aisles watching for any hint of a walkout, barking orders and intimidating threats. A scene typical of management's unabashed arrogance was reported to *WV* by a Dodge Truck worker. A committeeman had filed a grievance for the refusal of a foreman to grant a worker a heat pass. The general foreman tore up the grievance and threw it in the committeeman's face. When Dodge Truck management attempted to keep workers in the plant by handing out free ice cream on the line and giving away Coke in the cafeterias, many workers refused these disgusting tokens. "I won't be bought by a 20-cent ice cream," one worker protested.

As UAW members were being killed and abused in the plants, the union's leadership did not lift a finger. Solidarity House maintained a stony silence on the heat, while local officers, stewards and committeemen either made themselves scarce to avoid the workers' wrath, or were scurrying about the plants urging workers not to walk out. Although booming production schedules, the changeover period and the right to strike over health and safety grievances give the union enormous power, the UAW tops are content to hole up in their air-conditioned offices and let the workers suffer.

## Strike Demanded at Dodge Truck

At Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant, angry workers forced a confrontation with Local 140 officials. The workers walked out of the baking plant on July 5, 6, 7, 15 and 20. Skyrocketing absenteeism forced the plant to shut down early on other days as well. After the first set of walkouts, a special union meeting was held. The subject of the meeting was a petty reshuffling of Local officers. When angry workers tried to raise the issues of the heat, eleven workers fired and hundreds who were disciplined and had their pay docked, newly elevated Local president Paul Cooper ruled them out of order and adjourned the meeting.

On July 20, the previously scheduled shift meeting turned into an even more explosive confrontation. A stewards' meeting four days earlier had voted to recommend strike action if necessary to defend the jobs of the fired Dodge Truck workers. Though the vote was cheap, essentially a face-saving device to throw the ball to the Local 140 executive board, it helped encourage nearly 400 workers who turned out to demand a strike. Speaker after speaker took the floor, complaining of the vicious company harassment and denouncing the union leadership's passivity. At one point, hundreds of workers raised their fists in unison, chanting "strike, strike, strike!" Cooper, who had sat out most of the meeting, finally pledged to schedule a strike vote for the following week, but predictably he reneged and no strike vote has been held.

## Lynch Road Wildcat

An even more treacherous betrayal took place at Chrysler's Lynch Road assembly plant, this time spearheaded by fake-opponentist bureaucrats. The "United Coalition," a group that has

grown in the last couple of years because of its claim to oppose the sellout policies of Local 51 president Tony Janette and the UAW International, is regularly praised in the pages of the International Socialists' *Workers' Power* and holds three out of five positions on the local shop committee. But, no different from the mainline bureaucrats, the United Coalition helped lead a back-to-work movement after the firing of three workers, one of them a prominent Coalition member!

During the week of July 11, Lynch Road had been shut down on three consecutive days by heat walkouts. The following week management fired three alleged "ringleaders," including Bill Parker, a United Coalition spokesman who writes regular, signed articles for *Workers' Power*. The Coalition-dominated shop committee called a rally for Wednesday afternoon, July 20, to protest these firings. But they evidently got more than they bargained for.

The day shift walked off the job Wednesday and the night shift refused to go to work. On Thursday morning at 6 a.m., some 200-300 workers gathered

from the Maoist Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML)—formerly the October League—which hailed the walkout as part of a "fight back" that is producing "rebellions" all over the country, while patently ignoring the crucial question of the need for class-struggle leadership in the UAW.

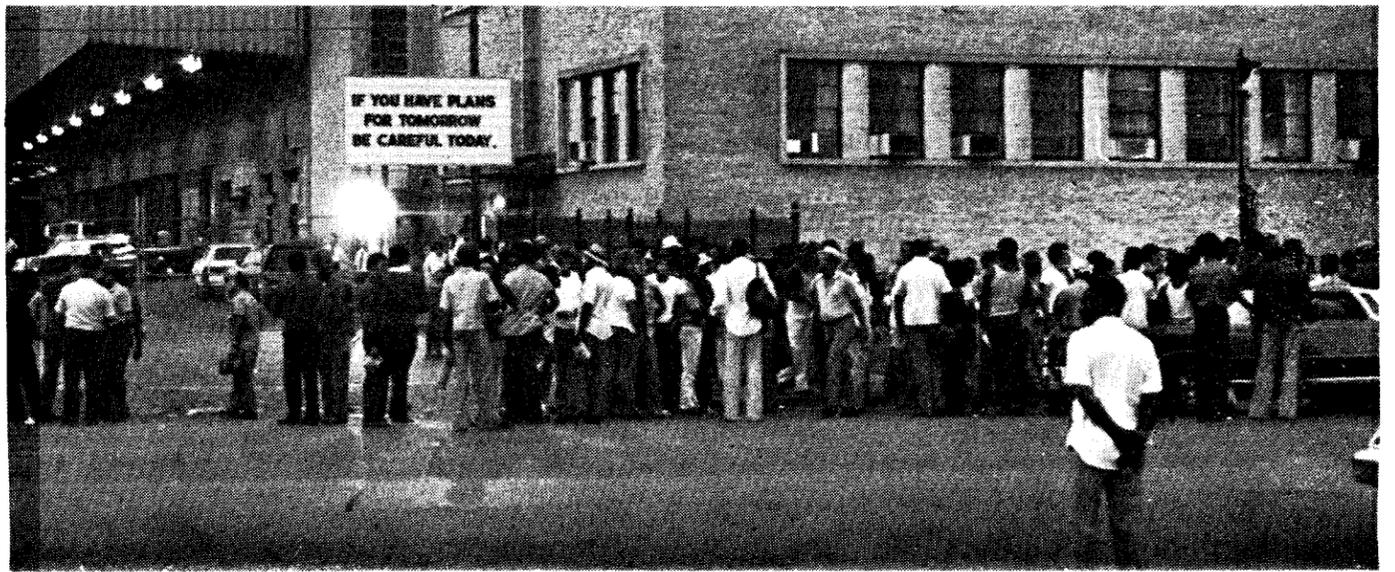
The walkouts over intolerable heat in Detroit are the first widespread militant actions since the auto wildcats of summer 1973. Taken together with a number of UAW local strikes this spring, they are an indication that the period of layoff-induced passivity among the auto workers is coming to an end. But the main walkouts were largely spontaneous, poorly organized and leaderless. Moreover, they were almost universally followed by successful management reprisals.

More than anything, the walkouts were testimony to the wretched role of the UAW bureaucrats. That auto workers are forced to individually take this risk of downing their tools and leaving the plant in small groups, constantly threatened by company discipline is an outrage. A union

The various "radical" aspirers to replace the current UAW bureaucrats, however, either busied themselves with adventurous wildcat-mongering or abysmally reformist tokenism. While the CP-ML hailed the "rebellions," its timid demands were for heat passes when the temperatures reached above 90 degrees *outside* (it is usually 20 degrees hotter inside), and the right of the union to shut the plant down when it was 95 degrees outside! This is a prescription for more deaths. Not even calling for shutting the plant down, the I.S. boosted such paltry "demands" as "more relief time" (during the heat), slowing the line speeds (during the heat) and "better ventilation."

A militant opposition in the UAW cannot be built on such mealy-mouthed demands. In addition to calling on the *union* (not wildcatters) to shut down the steaming sweatboxes, auto workers must demand the local right to strike without International sanction, and a union shop-floor organization with the power to shut down unsafe and unhealthy operations on the spot.

In the pre-UAW summer of 1936 a similar heat wave killed dozens of



Hundreds of workers outside gates of Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit protest inhuman working conditions.

WV Photo

outside the Lynch Road gates, refusing to report to work and urging other workers not to go in. Few did. But United Coalition committeemen now circulated among the workers urging them to return to work, under pressure from the International and Local 51 leaders and with the company officials on the plant roof photographing their actions. Most workers ignored the "advice" and went home.

That afternoon, a meeting of 200-plus workers gathered at the Local 51 hall. Once again they heard United Coalition spokesmen, including committeeman Fred Kennedy and Enid Eckstein, another regular contributor to *Workers' Power*, call for a return to work. Angry workers shouted down other union officials and yelled at Kennedy: "You've got power, you lead it." Opportunistically changing her mind under the pressure of the militancy, Eckstein then took the floor again and reversed herself, calling for continued picket lines, striking and a strike vote organized by the Local executive board. With such weak-kneed and vacillating "leadership," the wildcat collapsed and workers returned to the plant the next day.

The 25 July *Workers' Power* apologized for the behavior of the United Coalition, albeit with some difficulty. Acknowledging that, "The Lynch Road Shop Committee went through the motions of trying to get the people back to work Thursday afternoon," the I.S. nevertheless bragged, "the Lynch Road Shop Committee acted like a union"! The most critical comment the I.S. could muster up was to say that United Coalition committeemen "are not angels or supermen."

The flip side of such cowardice was the idiot adventurism shared by most left groups. A typical response came

worth its salt would have closed down the plants during the deadly heat and fought for a number of key demands: air conditioning like the management enjoys, no victimizations and full pay for lost work.

Detroit auto workers. The conditions in the plants today, despite 40 years of unionization, are nearly as bad, and they will not be measurably bettered until the auto workers ranks forge a new class-struggle leadership. ■

*The leaflet reprinted below was distributed by the Militant Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in UAW Local 906, at Mahwah, New Jersey Ford plant.*

## HEAT WAVE

**It's the Union Leadership's Job to Shut This Plant Down!**

In the biggest heat wave in 11 years, already one worker at the Ford Rouge Plant in Dearborn, Michigan and two UAW members at the Chicago Stewart-Warner plant have died as a result of this heat. A number of walkouts have hit the auto plants in Detroit.

This hell must stop now! Close the plants!: full pay for all workers, no discipline to anyone forced to leave the plants because of heat exhaustion! Simple justice demands that, as a token of the company's esteem for our not having walked out five days ago, we should receive "bonuses"—like company executives—how about free beer and passes to air conditioned movie theatres, for starters?!

UAW leaders in Detroit, Mahwah, and throughout the industry have not lifted a finger. Union meetings have been canceled for the summer. Shut off the air conditioning and elevators in Solidarity House! And in Local 906 too! Let the officials be subjected to the same conditions as we face!

The committeemen are deserting the plant, leaving the membership to the mercies of the company. Wildcats, like June, 1973, when large numbers of militants were fired, won't solve the problem. In 1973, the Reilly "leadership," rather than leading us out of the plant, ignored the problem and then sabotaged the walkout. We want the union to act to defend us now! Make the company shut down the plant in this heat!

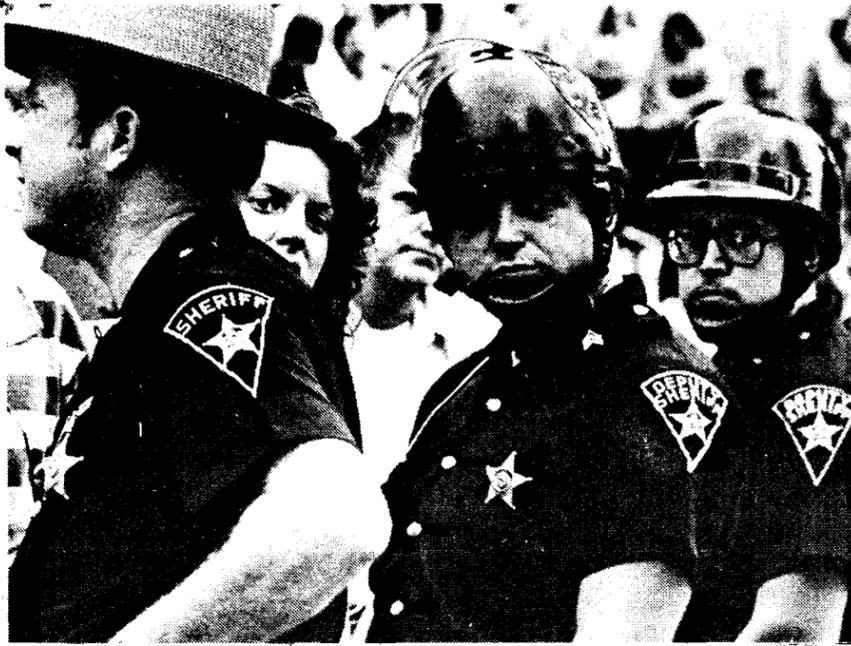
Militant Solidarity Caucus

20 July, 1977

## Drop the Charges Against Kent State Protesters!

# Akron Beacon Journal Witchhunts SYL

We reprint below a letter sent by the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, to the Akron Beacon Journal protesting that newspaper's recent smear attack on the SYL. On the eve of a planned cop attack against Kent State protesters, who for the last month have mounted a vigil in a tent city on the site of the infamous 1970 slaying of four antiwar demonstrators, this mouthpiece of capitalist "law and order" resorted to the time-worn slander of revolutionaries as "violence-prone outside agitators." For an account of the actual policy and activity of the SYL in the recent Kent State protests, see "Kent Sit-In Commemorates 1970 Massacre," Young Spartacus, June 1977, and "194 Dragged Off at Kent State: Drop the Charges!" WV No. 166, 15 July.



Kent State, July 12.

WV Photo

To the Editor:

The Akron Beacon Journal has engaged in a scurrilous and potentially dangerous attack upon the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). In an article on student protest at Kent State University (July 6), you attribute to us:

"...SYL members said they are committed to the same cause as the peaceful protesters but preferred to use force to make their opinions known."

This is a patent falsehood. No member of our organization ever stated such a thing. If there are any suicidal lunatics around who "prefer to use force," they are certainly not to be found in the SYL. The SYL has a clear and documented history opposing provocation and self-defeating adventurism.

Clearly the intention of such an article is to provide the police and university administration with a free rein and a ready-made alibi for violence against the left and the student protesters—as occurred in 1970. We understand full well that your description of us as "outsiders" seeking to "provoke confrontation" is a set-up for police repression.

By launching a witchhunting smear attack on the left as "provocateurs," the Beacon Journal attempts to write off the struggle of revolutionary socialists against ROTC and the presence of military recruiters on campus.

We affirm that the real "provocations" at Kent State were the work of the administration. It is they who supported imperialist slaughter in Indochina. They who brought the representatives of the imperialist armed forces (witness Kent and Jackson State) onto the campus. They who unleashed the campus cops, who brutalized three students on their way to a mass meeting. And they who had 194 protesters carted off to jail.

It is clear to all that the SYL is not "provoking" violence at Kent State, so why is the Akron Beacon Journal slandering the SYL? The method of attack is the all-too-familiar McCarthyite accusation. It is because the SYL is the open left-wing organization on the Kent State campus that we have been singled out for victimization in the press. The Beacon Journal pretends that the SYL is dangerous in the way we would make our opinions known—but it is really the political opinions and positions of our revolutionary socialist organization which are considered dangerous by the capitalist class. On the Kent State campus, for instance, we offer a program to link this isolated student protest action to the organized labor movement. We remind students that the National Guard units which murdered the Kent State four in 1970 were first called out against a Teamster wildcat strike.

We unabashedly stand for the inter-

**AKRON BEACON JOURNAL**

**SYL objects to 'attack' by press**

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**"We understand full well that your description of us as 'outsiders' seeking to 'provoke confrontation' is a set-up for police repression."**

## Spartacists not violent

I AM writing about a statement in an article by Jean Peters in the July 6 Beacon Journal, in which she referred to the Spartacist Youth League (SYL) as preferring to use force to make its opinions known. The clear implication of that language was that the SYL is violence-prone. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As a lawyer, I have had occasion over the last few years to advise the SYL on legal matters. At no time has it engaged in violence as a matter of policy. Nor has it advocated such a tactic in the present controversy at Kent State.

Its members have put forth forceful opinions at meetings. They have, well, received equally forceful responses. Their arguments have indeed been based on fundamental doctrinal matters.

It seems clear from statements of Kent State administrators that they would like to portray the May 4 Coalition and some of the groups supporting it as violence-prone troublemakers. Such an accusation against the SYL in particular would be a lie. The policy of the coalition has been nonviolent, and any people or groups that advocate or engage in violence are considered to be police agents and provocateurs.

The implication in your article that the SYL is violence-prone should be corrected and the record made clear so that no mistake could be made by anyone as to their purposes.

ANTHONY A. WALSH  
Cleveland

THIS IS in response to your article of July 6 and the role of the Spartacist Youth League in the May 4 Coalition.

In my view, this organization is a principled, honest one, and should not be picked out as advocating force or introducing a disruptive element into the coalition. I would like to offer my voice in defending both the coalition and the SYL against such charges.

NORMAN FISCHER  
Department of Philosophy  
Kent State University  
Editor's note: We have received several other letters attesting to the SYL's nonviolence.

ests of workers against capitalist exploiters, their politicians like Nixon and Carter and their cops. We called for support to the protracted rubber workers strike and for a solidarity strike by the UAW. In this period of mass unemployment, we fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a massive public works program at union wages; for the trade unions to break with the Democratic and Republican parties of the exploiters and to build a workers party to fight for a workers government. We know that these political opinions are precisely the ones which

threaten those committed to the capitalist status quo. As the government's COINTELPRO, Operation Chaos and other covert operations have shown, it is the left, labor and black movements which are targeted for violence. But the Beacon Journal's hostility to our political positions neither warrants nor excuses the conscious presentation of false information concerning our organization to its readership. We demand you retract these libelous accusations.

Yours,  
Spartacus Youth League

## Kent State...

(continued from page 12)

by a small self-appointed goon squad, this action flows from the policies of the May 4 Coalition. While prating on about the "moral witness" character of the protests, Coalition members have freely resorted to smearing the SYL's class-struggle politics with accusations of "violent provocateurs" and "cop agents." Yet the same Coalition members who on a nightly basis pledged themselves to "non-violence" turned on the SYL—in front of the police!

### Coalition Lies and Press Slanders

The political bankruptcy of this Coalition culminated in the appointment of a delegation to confer with the aides of chief imperialist Jimmy Carter over the gym site. All the while, Army and Air Force ROTC teams were setting up tables in the Kent student center, completely unmolested by the May 4 Coalition.

Instead of directing their rage at the agents of the imperialist state, these campus politicians continue their efforts to silence the SYL through the use of calumny—including a return to cop-baiting charges at a "mass meeting" following the rally on July 21, only one day before the physical attack. Ludicrously enough this smear attack was launched in response to the SYL demand for cops off campus. Yet none of the Coalition members responded when SYL supporters demanded that these charges immediately be repudiated.

An SYL spokesman reminded the Coalition that such slanderous charges were fuel for the bourgeoisie. On July 6, the Akron Beacon Journal stated that the SYL "...preferred to use force to make their opinions known," and the next day went on to attack the entire May 4 Coalition for "violence." The SYL demanded that the Beacon Journal retract these libelous charges and circulated both a leaflet and a letter to local newspapers (see accompanying box). On July 21, the Ravenna Record Courier reprinted the SYL letter to the Beacon Journal. The same day the Akron Beacon Journal was forced to print "Spartacists Not Violent" which contained two letters, one by a well-

The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of Workers Vanguard to contribute funds for the defense of the 194 protesters arrested at Kent State last week on charges of contempt of court. Presently out on \$25.00 bond each, those arrested face substantial legal costs, possible fines and jail sentences. All contributions should be sent/checks made out to Kent Legal Defense Fund, Box 366, Kent, Ohio 44240, earmarked "Kent State 194."

known radical lawyer, the other a professor at Kent State, denying the newspaper's allegations and a note stating that other similar letters had been received.

At a campus meeting held today, the SYL put forward a motion to condemn the attack at the march, to denounce the use of violence on the left and in the workers movement and to affirm "that all groups and individuals who agree with the aims of the Kent State protest be free to raise their respective political viewpoints without physical intimidation, harassment and gangster attack." This motion was voted down with not one of the so-called "socialist" groups voting in favor.

The YSA and RSB chose to line up behind a motion intended to gag "marchers who have bullhorns, chant separate chants, engage in physical violence or are in general disruptive," by leaving it up to "tactical leadership [to] decide what is disruptive." In light of the repeated attempts at physical intimidation by Coalition leaders, this can only be interpreted as an invitation to

"respectable liberals" to silence the left. The YSA drew on its experience as front-men for liberal Democrats during the antiwar movement, arguing that violence was inexpedient and that "isolating" and "shouting down" leftists was much more efficacious.

Throughout the gym-site controversy, the Maoist RSB and the "Trotskyist" YSA have done the dirty work for those who would limit the protest to tent-bound "moral witness." The YSA tailed after each twist and turn of the Coalition, but balked at the prospect of being arrested. Only when its cretinist legalism was challenged did these social democrats meekly propose "peaceful and legal protest" to get "police off campus." This can hardly be taken seriously—the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party have for years advocated the deployment of these same cops, federal troops and National Guardsmen to Boston to "defend" the embattled black population from anti-busing racist terror.

The RSB has refused to demand cops off campus at all—even as 194 students were being carted off to jail. The RSB's "mass line" practice of tailing after the most right-wing current of whatever might be popular has led it to come out for negotiations with the administration and Carter's representatives, for federal "mediation," and against the call for ROTC and military recruiters off campus.

In a leaflet entitled "Lessons of Kent State: Cops and ROTC Off Campus!" the SYL laid out the revolutionary perspective in the current struggle:

"The key question at Kent State remains what it was seven years ago: intransigent opposition to the bourgeois state, its representatives in Washington and on campus and its armed forces. There must be no back-room deals with the administration, no illusions in the politicians on Capitol Hill, no tolerance of ROTC on campus. Students who wish to eradicate once and for all the system which produced the horrors of the Vietnam War and murdered its opponents at home must find their way clear to the perspective of class struggle and socialism. Join the SYL!" ■

## Racist Mob...

(continued from page 2)

assembled at the headquarters that, "I feel it would be suicidal to march to Marquette Park today, but if the group thinks we ought to go, we will go." Thereupon 20 marchers, led by Rev. Edgar Jackson attempted to march on Marquette Park. Jackson and three others were promptly arrested by the cops for "disorderly conduct" and the racist rampage began.

The Chicago cops, who have been consistently "unable" to protect the black civil rights marchers, no longer even make a pretense of protecting the civil rights of blacks! The armed thugs of the bourgeois state—some of whom, as even the Chicago bourgeois press has reported, participated in last year's violence—are by profession enemies of black people. But it is these same cops and the racist Democratic Party machine built by Boss Daley which the reformists of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party continue to call upon to halt the escalating racial violence in Chicago.

The Spartacist League has pointed out time after time the deadly danger of fostering illusions in this kind of "protection." No reliance on the racist thugs in blue! The entire Chicago labor movement must demand that the charges against the marchers be dropped! The white racist would-be pogromists must be stopped by a militant mobilization of Chicago's large, integrated labor movement in defense of black people's democratic rights! Only this perspective can defend black people—neither the cringing reformism of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, nor the foolhardy pacifism of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, can halt the deadly spiral of vicious race hatred and terror in Chicago.

For a labor-black mobilization against racist and fascist terror in Chicago! ■

## South Africa...

(continued from page 2)

sought to portray Okhela as a "fantasy" created by Breytenbach's "intensely deprived" mind. But Breytenbach is not the only white man rotting in a South African prison for daring to solidarize with the struggles of the black masses rather than simply deploring the "excesses" of apartheid. Last September, David Rabkin, a British journalist, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and Jeremy Cronin, a university lecturer, to seven years for alleged support of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

As the trial of the ANC members demonstrates, despite sharp tactical debates in the white supremacist camp, the apartheid regime still relies on naked force. In April of this year, the fine for breaking the notorious pass laws was doubled to \$115 (the monthly wage of most black workers is about \$200), and legislation was submitted further limiting the right to trial by jury and granting even wider powers to the army to requisition civilian property and censor the press during "emergencies." The military budget has been increased to one fifth of total government expenditure.

This June twelve more murders were added to the official toll of more than 600 "coloureds" and blacks slain by the Vorster regime since the Soweto rebellion of last year. Thousands have been arrested, and about 20 have died in prison as a result of torture. Another 90

have been sent to join the hundreds already imprisoned on Robben Island, South Africa's version of Devil's Island. The horrors described by Ian Ruxa are standard operating procedure for the apartheid regime, whose techniques include sleep deprivation, semi-suffocation of prisoners with plastic bags, beating the genitals and use of electric shock treatment.

As Marxists, the Spartacist League opposes the strategy of the ANC, which hopes that a combination of economic sanctions by the "democratic" imperialists plus harassing guerrilla activity will panic the South African rulers into liberalizing white supremacy by increments. As a South African Communist Party leader stated at the Rivonia trial, they had taken to arms to "bring the government to its senses" (Bram Fischer, *What I Did Was Right* [1966]). The situation in South Africa cries out for a Trotskyist vanguard party based on the black and coloured proletariat and not a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation such as the ANC. Nonetheless, despite important political differences it is an elementary duty to defend all victims of apartheid terror. We appeal to black, labor and socialist groups to struggle for the release of Breytenbach and the ANC Twelve, who face years of prison and possibly death, whether by torture or official execution.

Free the ANC Twelve and all victims of apartheid repression! Smash the Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act and other police-state laws! Open the road for workers revolution in South Africa through smashing apartheid! ■

## Portugal...

(continued from page 5)

abstractly correct pretexts, but it is itself only another bureaucracy, not yet consolidated, which is supported by the government and the right wing for the purpose of breaking PCP domination over the trade-union movement.

The PRT advocates struggling within this tendency, limiting itself to proposing the construction of a "socialist tendency for trade-union democracy," on the pretext that the Socialist bureaucracy has less control over its ranks than the Communist bureaucracy. Thus it bows before the divisive pressures which it should combat and abandons the most advanced sectors of the workers. The PRT's tactic merely aids one bureaucracy, although still in embryo, on the grounds that it is preferable to another. A revolutionary tendency built on the demands of the Transitional Program would oppose the PRT's intervention for being based mainly on defense of trade-union democracy as the central point of struggle.

### Immediate Tasks

Against the offensive of capital, in order to defeat the austerity plans, the

most urgent tasks which face the workers movement include the struggle for:

—an immediate wage increase for all workers and a sliding scale of wages, against the galloping inflation, against the increase in the cost of living;

—reduction of the workweek without a cut in pay in order to ensure the existence of work for everyone, against layoffs;

—defense of the nationalizations under workers control, against their return to their former owners;

—extension of the agrarian reform, against the "right of reserve."

In order to undertake these tasks, it is necessary to combat trade-union disunity, intervening within the unions to unmask the bureaucracies, whichever they may be. It is necessary to unite and coordinate those organs of workers power which still exist. Above all the conscious intervention of a Trotskyist vanguard is necessary, to fight democratically for the leadership of the autonomous organs and the struggles of the proletariat, uniting them with the struggles of the Spanish and European working class. ■

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Peasants returning from work on their cooperative in the Alentejo.

Keler/Sygm

# WORKERS VANGUARD



WV Photo



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Left, Spartacus Youth League contingent in picket line at Portage County Court House; right, with arms interlocked, Coalition demonstrators wait their turn to be arrested, July 12.

## Bourgeois Press Retracts Slander of SYL

# Protests Continue at Kent State

KENT, Ohio, July 24—In 1970 Kent State University became a focus of national attention when National Guardsmen gunned down students protesting the Nixon-ordered imperialist invasion of Cambodia. Seven years later, the university administration is trying to bury the memory of the four murdered protesters by building a gymnasium on the site of the shootings. The fate of Blanket Hill—from which the Guardsmen fired on 4 May 1970—remains the center of controversy in which student demonstrations again confront the administration and the police.

On July 22, following the expiration of a court-ordered temporary restraining order against construction on the site, student protest flared up again. Nearly 500 demonstrators turned out for what was billed as a "national rally." But as has been the case since the occupation of Rockwell Hall early this May, the rally was dominated by empty moralism reflecting the politics of the campus May 4 Coalition: a potpourri of aging New Lefters, student bureaucrats, and the reformists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Under the aegis of this Coalition—which first "led" students into spending 62 days in tents on the gym site, then took almost 200 into the outstretched arms of the local police at a ritual of pacifist "passive resistance" on July 12—the "national rally" was actually smaller than other recent campus protests.

The speakers at the rally, including the RSB, the Communist Youth Organ-

ization (CYO)—youth group of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), formerly the October League—the Cleveland mayoral candidate of the YSA's parent Socialist Workers Party, and a singing Yippie with a Nixon bumper sticker on his hat were all virtually indistinguishable. Although some denounced former Kent State president Glenn Olds for his role both in the 1970 shootings and the cover-up ever since, the Coalition confined the rally to the terrain of meaningless "fight back" rhetoric. The prevalent wretched liberalism was typified by the featured "solidarity message" from Paul Soglin, "radical" Democratic mayor of Madison, Wisconsin. At the conclusion of the speeches most of the crowd chanted in unison, "the people united will never be defeated."

### ROTC Off Campus!

Combatting the liberal spirit of this year's protests, only the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League, linked the struggle against the gym site to the original May 1970 demonstration by calling for ROTC and cops off campus. An SYL spokesman noted the vast political difference separating revolutionary Trotskyists from the May 4 Coalition, but solidarized with the demand to move the gym and called for abolishing the administration and replacing it with student-teacher-campus worker control of the university. She also demanded that the charges against the 194 demonstrators arrested two

weeks ago be dropped at once and concluded with the chant, "Move the Gym—Cops and ROTC Off Campus!" The speech was well received by the rally.

Following the rally, demonstrators set off on a march to the site of the shootings and the proposed gym. However, the march was disrupted by the attempt of Coalition members to silence the SYL contingent. Repeatedly over the course of the protests, Coalition leaders in collusion with the RSB Stalinists have tried to politically censor the SYL. Even the SYL's one-minute solidarity message was anathema to the RSB which tried to exclude the SYL up to the actual beginning of the speeches.

As the march left the gym site, this "united front" of liberal pacifists and time-tested Stalinist thugs attempted to drown out all SYL chants which were not identical to those of the Coalition. In particular, any mention of the centrality of the working class in settling accounts with the butchers of Indochina incensed the Coalition. Even chants such as "Jail the Killers of Jackson and Kent" were drowned out with the omnipresent "the people united will never be defeated."

As the march reached the campus police station where another speech was to be heard, a goon squad consisting of a leading Coalition member, a local RSB supporter and several CYO members began threatening the SYL contingent with violence. SYL supporters asserted their democratic rights while protesting this threat of physical censorship and pointing out the utter stupidity of

threatening violence in the shadow of the police station—a provocation which could open up the entire demonstration to cop and administration repression.

Nevertheless, less than 50 feet from the police station, Alan Canfora, a leader of the May 4 Coalition, attempted to tear down the SYL banner, which he claimed "brushed" against his head. Within seconds half a dozen goons led by CYO members swarmed at the SYL contingent. SYL supporters repulsed the attack and remained in the march,

As we go to press, a second series of arrests have been carried out at Kent State. In response to the protest march on July 22, police began rounding up student leaders suspected of having set foot on the proposed gym site. Using videotape records as "evidence," cops secured warrants for 27 people, three of whom were arrested on July 26. This is an egregious attack on the democratic rights of the demonstrators. The SL/SYL demand that these charges be immediately dropped and that the arrested students be released!

leaving the assailants somewhat bruised for their efforts. Several demonstrators, including members of the Kent State YSA chapter, marched behind the SYL through the remainder of the march to defend the SYL's right to participate.

Although the attack was carried out

*continued on page 10*