



Miners in Cabin Creek, West Virginia leave last shift before strike.

WV Photo

## Hot Cargo Coal!

# Victory to the Miners Strike!

CABIN CREEK, West Virginia, December 6—The long-anticipated 1977 coal strike, a battle crucial for the entire American working class, is now underway. At midnight the last of 175,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) came out of the pits to take up the struggle against the coal operators, who are bent on gutting the oldest and most combative industrial union in the U.S.

It has been obvious since Thanksgiving that a strike was inevitable, and miners began walking out late last week. When UMWA president Arnold Miller left negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) yesterday evening, he announced that the companies had made no change in their positions since the opening of bargaining two months ago. It is obvious, he said, that they don't want an agreement and are trying to "break the union."

Everyone is predicting a long strike. Today's *Charleston Gazette* quoted a stock market analyst talking of a two-month strike and observing that a short strike "would be a disaster" for the companies because of extensive stockpiling. And the anti-union propaganda barrage from the bosses' press has already begun.

The *New York Times* complained of the UMWA's "inflexible" policy of "no contract, no work." Citing the cut-off of health payments to 800,000 beneficiaries and projected suspension of pension payments to another 80,000, this voice of anti-union liberalism gloated that the strike "was a self-inflicted injury to the U.M.W. membership that the coal industry and the economy generally would hardly feel."

But miners here in the heart of UMWA District 17, a traditional center of miners' militancy, are determined to stay out as long as necessary to win their demands. As day shift workers climbed off the man-trips at a mine in Cabin

Creek yesterday afternoon, one miner told *WV* reporters he was prepared to stay out for six months. Another wished his crew members Merry Christmas, Happy New Year and Happy Easter as he headed for home. Support for the strike was solid.

Yet miners are understandably wary about their leadership. Several told *WV* they planned to vote no on the first contract submitted no matter what. In 1974 they were simply read a summary of the contract, not given copies to study themselves. Many did not find out until later that it did not contain the right to strike. One said of Miller's agreement: "It's like the Bible—no one can understand it."

UMWA members are also bitter at the leadership's poor preparation for the strike. The accumulation of massive stockpiles by steel and power companies was entirely unnecessary. At the end of last summer's eight-week wildcat against health benefit cutbacks—a strike which was bureaucratically squashed by the combined efforts of Miller, his presidential rivals Harry Patrick and LeRoy Patterson, and the entire International Executive Board—stockpiles were at a record low. One militant complained bitterly:

"If the strike had kept on going, with the 85,000 out, if he would have gone ahead and gotten the rest of them out, we wouldn't be sitting here in the kind of shape we're in right now. We had them down to eight days' supply of coal. We had them."

Already at the onset of the present strike, the UMWA bureaucracy has made a significant retreat in maintaining the union as a cohesive industry-wide organization. Miller has determined to avoid any strike in the western mines altogether. An agreement has already been ratified with Pittsburgh and Midway Western Mines which reportedly contains an explicit no-strike clause and is separate from the national UMWA health and pension funds.

Similar agreements have been negotiated at eight of the ten UMWA operations in the West, and it is unlikely that *any* of the union's western miners will strike. Thus *UMWA members will be scabbing on their own strike!*

### The Right to Strike

The key issue is clearly the right to strike. Coal operators are notorious for their blatant disregard not only for the contract but for the most elementary norms of health and safety. The wildcats that have swept the coalfields over the past three years, sparked by one company provocation after another, are ample demonstration that no contract gain is safe without the right to strike. Miners must demand that this right to strike be unrestricted. Miller, however, is seeking to restrict strikes to an individual mine site where most battles cannot be won.

The BCOA has put forward far-reaching take-away demands, including absentee control, continuous seven-day per week, 52-week per year production, and an end to union safety committees' right to close hazardous mines. Most importantly the coal bosses want to put a stop to the wildcats which cost them 21.8 million tons of coal in the first eight months of 1977. In October the Arbitration Review Board issued a ruling which for the first time authorized firing of roving pickets and even leafletters, although the present BCOA contract does not contain a no-strike clause.

The BCOA's attack on the union health card is an outrageous provocation calculated to demoralize and exhaust the membership before the present nationwide strike. With coal production scheduled to nearly double by 1985, tonnage-based royalties will be more than enough to cover these costs. BCOA president Joseph Brennan's strategy is to starve the UMWA membership into submission as winter sets in. When the ranks are hungry, the

BCOA can "magnanimously" agree to restore funding of the health card in exchange for a contractual guarantee that work in the mines will not be interrupted by wildcats.

This is transparently the coal bosses' strategy, as even the business press recognizes. Thus *Business Week* (28 November) noted: "A key demand, one that the operators are balking at now but one they are likely to grant as a trade-off, is for a 'restoration' of health care benefits." While restoration of the health benefits cut last summer is absolutely crucial, winning the unlimited right to strike is necessary in order to prevent them from being cut off again.

The cut-off of these benefits last summer was a cynical ploy to hold the health and safety of miners hostage in exchange for the ransom of labor peace. Not only was money available to be transferred from other funds, but the bosses' assertions that the cutbacks were necessitated by wildcats is a brazen lie. While miners must demand that benefits be contractually guaranteed and not dependent on tonnage agreements, a recent study showed that wildcats were responsible for a loss equal to only 5 percent of the total projected income of almost \$2 billion over three years (*Wall Street Journal*, 1 December).

For three years coal miners have repeatedly gone out on strike demanding the local right to strike, restoration of health benefits, passage of black lung legislation and an end to anti-strike injunctions. For three years the Miller bureaucracy of the UMWA has blocked them at every step, frustrating the miners' militancy and preventing victory. Now the coal operators are stepping in by forcing a long contract strike, in the hopes that by the end strike-weary miners will lose their taste for wildcats.

Coal miners must not knuckle under to these threats. Despite the demoralizing defeatist tactics of the UMWA

*continued on page 5*

## USec: Toward the 2¼ International...6

# After Four Months on Strike, McBride Sellout Rejected

## Iron Miners Determined to Hold Out

The solidarity of the Minnesota-Michigan iron miners strike, which after 120 days has become the longest strike in the history of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), is threatened by the return to work of a substantial minority of the miners. The defection of 5,000 strikers, mainly in Michigan, and then of two locals on the Mesabi range in Minnesota followed a backstabbing ploy by USWA president Lloyd McBride.

McBride initially endorsed a company offer that would have provided incentive pay for some 75 percent of the iron miners but would have meant a pay cut for the remaining quarter of the affected workforce. This outrageous offer was rejected out-of-hand by the 80-member negotiating committee of the iron mining and taconite-processing locals. The companies then modified their offer by rescinding the pay cut. But even this deal, the one accepted by returning workers, does not provide full pay equity with basic steel workers; does not provide any incentive increases for two years; gives no increase to 25 percent of the workers; and contains a pay cut for new hires!

In getting part of the strikers to return to work, McBride circumvented the joint negotiating committee of the 14 striking locals, arrogantly proclaiming that bargaining would henceforth be conducted on a local-by-local basis.

The miners who remain on strike are justly outraged by McBride's treacherous maneuver. The defections can only stiffen the resolve of the companies to maintain a hard stance toward the remaining strikers. By enabling the companies to augment stockpiles just before the shipping season closes on the Great Lakes and it becomes impossible to transport ore, McBride's ploy is a demoralizing blow that poses a great threat to the strike.

Although granting the ore strike formal International sanction, McBride has sought from the beginning to gut it of its effectiveness. The maintenance of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) requires that steel workers accept McBride's class-collaborationist dictum that "strikes don't pay." The ore strike has threatened to blow apart this myth. This has become even more evident as the companies have quietly dropped their initial insistence that wage increases, whether in the form of incentive payments or otherwise, are a "non-negotiable" issue.

In a desperate attempt to bolster his sagging position, McBride and steel management recently exchanged letters, agreeing that in the future disputes over what constitutes a local issue under ENA would be settled through arbitration and not strikes. The new deal is explicitly designed to rule out strikes like the current one, which the bosses claim is illegal under ENA. This new anti-strike action by McBride, taken in the face of a determined strike which threatens to scuttle ENA, must be rejected by steel workers.

While McBride is openly courting the steel bosses, the liberal Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy has attempted to refurbish its tarnished "militancy" by inviting iron miners' leaders such as District 33 director Linus Wampler and Local 1938 president Joe Samargia to address Chicago-area USWA meetings and by initiating plant-gate collections to provide financial assistance to strikers. But by explicitly denying the necessity to extend the ore strike to basic steel, the activity of the Sadlowski bureaucrats and their apologists amounts to no more than tokenism.

On November 18 a poorly attended rally of some 40 members of four Chicago-area locals of the USWA demonstrated in support of the iron ore miners and taconite workers in front of U.S. Steel's Chicago general offices. The demonstration, sponsored by Local 65 (U.S. Steel Southworks) was initiated



Tim McIndoo/Mesabi Daily News

USWA pickets at the entrance to U.S. Steel's iron ore production complex near Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

on a motion by Dave Woods, a prominent supporter of the Communist Party-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC). It was dominated by a new "rank and file" group in Local 65 called Steelworkers Organized for Solidarity (SOS), a bloc between NSRFC supporters and other assorted reformists on a minimal program of "union democracy" (a demand which they routinely violate by urging government intervention in the USWA on behalf of Sadlowski against McBride) and support for Sadlowski/Balanoff.

The official rally slogans not only failed to call for extending the strike, but explicitly opposed any such militant action by steel workers. SOS supporters chanted, "Save our jobs, settle this strike," and carried signs saying "U.S. Steel: Settle this strike by signing a contract."

Arguing that a prolonged strike and a depletion of ore supplies threaten the jobs of steel workers, without even calling for victory for the miners' demands, is no support at all to the strikers! It is a gross capitulation to the most parochial and backward attitudes of steelworkers. At a time when steel plants are being shut down, thousands of workers are being dismissed and the situation cries out for basic steel workers to join the miners in strike action, the liberal reformists plead for "saving jobs" through "settling" the taconite strike. The logic of this wretched position requires that these fake militants should now congratulate McBride for his proposed settlement of the strike at the expense of the miners!

Similarly, the slogan of "Stop U.S. Steel's strikebreaking ore," when directed at the companies, is hollow rhetoric and gross hypocrisy as well. To expect that U.S. Steel will voluntarily cease to import scab ore and undercut its own position is sheer idiocy. The responsibility for halting scab ore rests with the union. But throughout the strike, USWA members who man ore boats on the lakes have continued to transport taconite, and basic steel workers have continued to handle ore daily. The only way to "stop U.S. Steel's strikebreaking ore" and "save jobs" for steel workers is to hot-cargo ore shipments and shut down basic steel in a solidarity strike to smash ENA.

Sadlowski, Balanoff and SOS supporters, as well as Wampler and Samargia, have consistently opposed

implementation of these demands. There were, however, some steel workers who did point the way to victory, carrying such signs as "Extend the Strike—Smash ENA—Victory to the Miners!"

It is only through advancing such class-struggle demands against the reformist policies of both McBride and Balanoff/Sadlowski and their apologists that steel workers can go forward. The combative iron miners, despite McBride's bureaucratic sabotage and the worthless tokenism of Sadlowski & Co., have demonstrated that ENA can be cracked through solid strike action. Class-conscious steel workers must draw a balance sheet of this experience, rejecting both wings of the USWA bureaucracy, and forge a genuine, militant leadership.

Victory to the miners strike! Smash ENA! Fight layoffs—Extend the strike to basic steel! ■



WV Photo

USWA District 65 demonstration in support of Iron Range strike in front of USWA office in Chicago.



Daily World

Striking iron miners and supporters marching November 6 in Virginia, Minnesota.

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

#### Anti-Apartheid Revolt and Imperialist Moralism — The Main Enemy Is at Home

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR  
Spartacist League Central Committee

Time: Friday, December 9  
7:30 p.m.

Place: KB Lounge  
Wilder Hall

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## Torsney Set Free

# Put Away NYC Killer Cop!

On November 30 an all-white jury acquitted NYC killer cop Robert Torsney who a year ago last Thanksgiving put a gun to the head of an unarmed black teenager, 15-year-old Randolph Evans, who had been standing peacefully in front of a housing project in Brooklyn, and pulled the trigger. After five hours deliberation the jury voted to acquit this vicious murderer on the preposterous grounds that Torsney was suffering from "a rare form of epileptic psychomotor seizure" at the time. After he spends 60 days under observation in a mental institution he will be free to walk the streets again. And pending the results of a police department hearing he will then either be returned to active duty or retire with a disability pension!

In the wake of Torsney's acquittal, one of Randolph Evans' friends was quoted as saying, "If it had been the reverse—if a black kid had shot a white cop—there's no way he'd be alive and free right now." This remark tells a truth about racist America which is universally recognized, although seldom said in print: that no cop need worry he will be found guilty and jailed for killing a black person. As New York City sinks deeper into the barbarism of decaying capitalism, the mass arrests of thousands and the hysterical "night of the animals" media campaign which followed last summer's blackout set the tone for the acquittal of this dangerous killer cop.

Those accused of killing a cop, on the other hand, even when it is a case of self-defense, face a much different fate. Many states now have a mandatory death penalty for "cop killers." Consider the plight of George Merritt, whose case has been taken up by the Communist Party-led National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. On September 27 an all-white jury convicted him of killing a Plainfield, New Jersey policeman ten years ago, and he was handed a life sentence after already serving seven years. That's capitalist "justice": the George Merritts languish in prison for the rest of their lives or are sent to the electric chair because a cop was killed and some black man must pay, while Torsney executes an innocent youth and walks away a free man.

The most maddened killers, with brains more dangerously criminally deranged than "Son of Sam," are armed to wage capitalism's street war against the ghetto population. Like Torsney they wait for another black youth to "look sideways," smile "funny" or simply be at the wrong place at the wrong time. If they feel like it they simply take aim against this "enemy" and blow his brains out, secure in the knowledge that they can later claim a case of "temporary insanity."

This week the liberal press, taking its cue from Washington, unanimously expressed outrage at the news that South African authorities had cleared police of all responsibility in the murder of black leader Stephen Biko. No such protests were lodged over the outrageous verdict in the trial of Robert Torsney. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, however, which struggles for the liberation of the working class and all the oppressed, will not forget this atrocity. The cops must be disarmed and murderer Torsney put away! The slaying of Randolph Evans will be avenged through workers revolution! ■

## ILWU Pushes Protectionist Subsidies

# Hawaii Sugar Strike Pact Does Not Protect Jobs

OAKLAND—The strike by 7,200 Hawaiian sugar workers organized in Local 142 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) went down to defeat November 19 when the union leadership called it off, having gained next to nothing on the crucial issue of job security. Local 142 members were forced to walk out November 2 after all attempts to avoid a strike had failed, including a treacherous eight-month extension of their old contract which had expired on February 1. Faced with continuing job losses due to mechanization, plantation runaways and a steady decline in real wages since their last contract (no wage increase at all in the last 21 months), Hawaii sugar workers needed to launch a serious counteroffensive. Instead the ILWU bureaucracy, from Local president Carl Damaso on up to new International president Jimmie Herman, sealed their fate almost before the struggle had begun by relying on chauvinist protectionist schemes, whose real beneficiaries are the Big Five American sugar monopolies.

Unemployment levels among the ILWU sugar workers—a crucial part of the Hawaiian labor movement—have been running about 15 percent, with likely plantation closures threatening to bring the statistics up to as high as 50 percent in some parts of the islands. Yet despite the crying need for a militant fight for jobs the bureaucracy treated the strike as simply another pressure tactic for its lobbying campaign in Washington alongside the sugar companies for new federal subsidies for U.S. sugar producers. Even former International Secretary Treasurer Lou Goldblatt was brought back from retirement to head up the union's strike negotiating committee. Goldblatt has been pushing for new protectionist legislation ever since the Sugar Act lapsed in 1974.

Thus when the Carter administration announced November 8 (six days after the strike had begun) a \$40 million new price-support program to Hawaiian sugar producers, the union leadership anticipated an easy settlement. But returning to the bargaining table after Carter's announcement the ILWU negotiating committee was in for a rude awakening. Union demands for a 15-month contract with a 50 cent/hour wage increase, several "fringe" benefit improvements and a so-called "job security" clause banning outside contracting were rejected outright by the sugar bosses. In the end the Local membership was handed an agreement which reportedly does little more than preserve Attachment 22, a grossly inadequate job-security clause, with the addition of an insulting 30 cent/hour across-the-board wage increase with another 10 cent hike next July 1.

Just how this program for protectionist measures backfired on the sugar workers was admitted by President Herman himself in an editorial in the *Dispatcher* just a day before the strike was called off:

"Our initial thrust was to get a law similar to the Sugar Act. A massive lobbying effort was organized. The ILWU played a pivotal role in a coalition which included sugar industry representatives, the Teamsters, the AFL-CIO, the Hawaii congressional delegation and certain key congressmen, such as Rep. Phil Burton of San Francisco. What we got out of Congress and the administration was a program of support payments to domestic



The Dispatcher

Striking ILWU sugar workers picket plantation on the island of Kauai last month.

producers to bring prices up to 13 1/2¢ per pound.

"The total subsidy comes to about \$65 million, of which \$25 million was thrown in recently to take care of that part of the 1977 crop which has already been sold. Alexander and Baldwin, second largest grower in Hawaii, recently reported that their net income is up 27 percent so far this year because of these payments.... But the companies now seem to have decided to take the money and run. Although the ILWU played a major role in helping the Big Five get these taxpayer-financed subsidies, the companies are using them as a strike fund to take on the union."

—Dispatcher, 18 November 1977

Throughout the strike the leadership shrank from the militant class-struggle tactics needed to win against the companies—such as the elementary measure of calling on Local 6 ILWU workers to close the industry's major sugar refinery in Crockett, California. Besides its lobbying for federal subsidies, the bureaucracy focused its entire fight for jobs around the demand to preserve Attachment 22. This contract provision has been billed as the cure-all job-protection clause, forbidding plants from liquidating during the life of the contract, providing for an industry-wide job pool for laid-off workers, a year's full severance pay and so on.

While ILWU bargainers did resist the sugar companies' take-away demand to eliminate Attachment 22, this clause has not prevented job losses in the past and will not do so in the future. Since 1974 (two years after its enactment) 1,800 additional jobs have been lost. Moreover the contract contains no protection whatsoever against loss of jobs through layoffs or mergers of plantations.

From a high of 28,000 in 1945 the ILWU membership in sugar has dwindled to only 7,200 today. The union's only response to the loss of jobs through mechanization over the years has been to negotiate in the mid-1950's a lump-sum severance pay "repatriation" allowance. (Many of the plantation workers are of Asian origin, particularly from the Philippines.) Such a policy,

which presents laid-off workers with the alternative of continued unemployment or return to such countries as the Philippines—where union militants face prison, torture, and even death at the hands of the vicious Marcos dictatorship—is no choice at all, but only a chauvinist scheme by which the bourgeoisie can export its unemployment.

With its lobbying for federal subsidies the Stalinist-influenced ILWU bureaucracy, now led by Jimmie Herman, has shown its kinship with the crusty old Meanies of the AFL-CIO who are pushing for special government protection against imports in other sectors of declining American capitalism such as textiles, shoes, steel and auto. Thus the ILWU leadership joins the rest of the American labor bureaucracy in beating the drums for imperialist trade war. (Perhaps soon the U.S. Communist Party will be lobbying against liberalized trade with Cuba on the grounds it would hurt Hawaiian sugar workers!)

In sharp contrast to this wretched social-patriotism stands the internationalist program of the Militant Caucus in ILWU Local 6 and the Longshore Militant group in Local 10. Addressing the desperate situation of Hawaiian sugar workers the Militant Caucus submitted a resolution at last April's International convention in Seattle which linked the defense of foreign workers and combatting job losses due to "runaway" plantations to the fight for jobs for all. Entitled "Resolution for Union Action to Stop Deportations," it read in part:

"Whereas, we recognize that the employers and their government seek to blame foreign-born workers for unemployment in order to divide working people and prevent a united working class fight for jobs....

"Therefore be it resolved: the ILWU rejects all government and corporate protectionism like import quotas and 'Buy American' schemes such as the Sugar Act and stands prepared to actively demonstrate its opposition to

continued on page 11

# IMG's "Socialist Unity" Conference Flops

LONDON—By excluding members of the Spartacist tendency from a 19 November public meeting, the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the United Secretariat) made nonsense of its "Socialist Unity" front group's "open" pose and its pretensions to the elementary principle of workers democracy. This atrocity is particularly damning in the context of the generally "chummy" British left, where the violent and exclusionist practices common to the American left milieu are generally eschewed. Left-wing militants must condemn this scandalous political exclusion and make clear their determination to defend the right of all working-class tendencies to raise their views in publicly advertised meetings.

The IMG must have been more than mildly apprehensive about open political confrontation with the London Spartacist Group, for otherwise the sectarian exclusion from the "Socialist Unity" conference makes no sense. "Socialist Unity" has no drawing card if it is not the claim to democracy. Last spring when the IMG closed down its *Red Weekly* and prepared to launch the new, "non-sectarian" *Socialist Challenge*, it proclaimed that "our aim is to break out of the narrow confines of far-left politics and produce a newspaper which can serve the needs of thousands of militants not involved directly with any political organisation" (*Red Weekly*, 12 May 1977). "Socialist Unity" is the front group intended to reel in any fish that took the bait.

Accordingly, the Socialist Unity conference call announced that "The Conference is open to all organisations and individuals who support the concept of standing class-struggle candidates, standing on an alternative socialist programme.... All people attending the Conference and accepting the above premise will be allowed to speak and vote."

However, conscious of the political disparity of the elements comprising Socialist Unity, the IMG and its bloc partners changed the ground rules at the last minute to exclude any groups refusing to swear allegiance to Socialist Unity. Thus when members of the London Spartacist Group arrived, they were informed they would not be admitted and that any groups not supporting Socialist Unity would be allowed only two "observers" without speaking rights.

The Spartacist supporters responded quickly, setting up a literature table outside the hall and picket signs includ-

ing: "Lie: 'Open to all... who support... class struggle candidates in opposition to Labour.'" "IMG Supports Bourgeois Coalitionism—Excludes Trotskyists," and "No Vote to Labour in Coalition." The IMG and its mates hastily backed off and sought a better cover for their cowardly sectarianism, inviting the Spartacists (and other groupings not endorsing Socialist Unity) into the meeting for a stacked debate on whether to exclude them.

A Spartacist spokesman explained our refusal to critically support Labour in the elections so long as it remains in coalition with the bourgeois Liberals and remains committed to the anti-working-class Social Contract. He added that Socialist Unity candidates (who continue to support Labour in coalition) merit no support from revolutionists. He then denounced the silencing of "observers" in violation of the conference call. The motion to conduct the conference in accordance with the announced democratic ground rules was defeated 57 to 31.

## IMG Chases the State Caps

Socialist Unity was billed as a high road to mass influence, but so far for the IMG the pickings have been slim. After almost six months of "building Socialist Unity" the initial gathering of this bloc (which advertises itself as a "new and growing coalition of left-wing groups and independent militants") managed to attract some 250 apathetic participants who listlessly went through the motions of adopting a left-reformist programme. Not only did the participants total less



WV Photo

Spartacist Group pickets outside "Socialist Unity" meeting.

than the IMG's own membership, but the event was generally ignored by other left organisations. Only a small grouping of Mao-oid syndicalists called Big Flame, a few samples of Britain's diverse undergrowth of micro-organisations and a handful of jaded "independent" feminists and black nationalists turned out to broaden the "base" of Socialist Unity beyond its IMG initiators.

The success of the IMG's bid for far-left "unity" at any price hinges on attracting the state capitalists of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists), which is some five times the IMG's size. So far the attraction has been minimal, though Socialist Unity candidates finished ahead of SWPers in several recent bye-elections, demonstrating the hollowness of the Cliffites' "mass party" pretensions. The IMG's main tactic has been flattery and programmatic accommodation. Thus IMG-supported left coalition slates uphold the SWP's front groups in both the National Union of

Students and in last spring's teachers' union elections. Early last year the IMG joined the SWP in calling for the admission of police to the trade unions (see *WV* No. 154, 22 April) and more recently echoed the SWP's pronouncement that a government ban on all political activity in Thameside (the projected site of a march by fascists) represented a victory for the workers. But the IMG's assiduous courtship has not brought the SWP to the negotiating table.

So instead of the "thousands of militants" the IMG hoped to pull into its "non-sectarian" vehicle, the Pabloists must content themselves with monkeying around with Big Flame (and excluding Spartacists). At the conference virtually all the non-IMG elements united around a proposal that Socialist Unity make itself some kind of a way station between a joint electoral propaganda bloc and an "independent" organisation. One speaker even went so far as to propose the group have its own newspaper.

The IMG easily defeated these tactful attempts to preserve some distance from "IMG domination," but the refractory behaviour of the sparse "masses" at the conference must have been galling. In the first major discussion Big Flame opposed committing Socialist Unity in advance to vote for Labour in the upcoming elections (arguing that the group should not preclude the possibility that some mass popular movement might arise). The interventions of the "independent" feminists and black nationalists were epitomised by one black woman who rose to protest that she did not want to hear any more remarks from white women about the oppression of their Asian sisters.

## IMG's Road to the Right

The Socialist Unity project is the product of a significant reorientation by the USec—a shift in the location of the search for the so-called "broad vanguard"—from guerrillaism and petty-bourgeois radicalism toward the mass reformist organisations of the working class, which in Britain means the Labour "lefts." But no layer of the Labour Party and trade-union bureaucracy can have any use for the flotsam and jetsam collected thus far in the Socialist Unity net. For the IMG, the long-term results of this gambit are likely to be merely the creation of another vehicle to express its rightward motion. To date Socialist Unity's only achievement has been to cheer up a section of the passively rotten New Left leftovers who need reassurance that it is someone else's fault they have no organisational perspectives. But these people are mainly not recruitable in any case, not even by the IMG.

Thus it is doubly an exposure of political bankruptcy that even in pursuit of this dismal crew, the IMG feels itself compelled to practise cowardly political exclusionism—the last resort of discredited confusionists. Socialist militants must insist that such methods are more than distasteful—they set an extremely dangerous precedent and are deeply corrosive to the subjectively revolutionary fibre of those whose organisations apply or condone them. The Spartacist tendency has always been in the forefront of the defence of workers democracy among all tendencies within the working-class movement. We demand the repudiation of the IMG/Socialist Unity's gutless atrocity against our democratic rights. ■

# Stop Brutal Repression of Costa Rican Leftists!

Costa Rican cops brutally assaulted and broke up a demonstration in the Caribbean coastal city of Limón on November 23. Many were injured and those arrested were beaten on the way to jail. The protesters, mainly women and children, were calling for such basic services as running water, sewage lines and electricity for the Limoncito slum. Of those arrested, eight remain behind bars charged with "inciting violence," which carries a prison term of up to eight years.

This turn to vicious repression by the Costa Rican bourgeoisie is aimed at intimidating the left in anticipation of upcoming general elections and at heading off the accelerating radicalization of black workers. Among those facing the threat of eight years in prison are Carlos Coronado Vargas and Alejandra Calderón Fournier, respectively the presidential and principal legislative candidates of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST—Socialist Workers Organization, Costa Rican section of the United Secretariat). Though this organization is legal, the cops raided OST headquarters in San José two days later. They are now carrying out a house-to-house manhunt in search of well-known black militant and labor organizer Marvin Wright Lindo, with orders to shoot on sight. He has gone underground, charged with "moral responsibility" for the police riot, though he wasn't present.

Seven of the arrested militants are being held with 120 other prisoners in a 13 by 26 foot room with no sanitary facilities; the OST's Calderón was separated from the other victims when she declared a hunger strike to protest these inhuman conditions. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram (reprinted below) demanding the release of the eight and an end to the manhunt against Wright. The international working class must come to the defense of these militants, holding the Costa Rican ruling class responsible for any harm which they suffer.

## Telegram

President Daniel Oduber Quirós  
San José, Costa Rica

**Demand immediate release of Carlos Coronado Vargas, Alejandra Calderón Fournier and six other militants arrested after vicious police attack upon 23 November Limón demonstration. Hands off Marvin Wright Lindo—Stop the manhunt. Stop the terror campaign against left opponents.**

Partisan Defense Committee  
Box 633, Canal Street Station  
New York, New York 10013  
U.S.A.

## FORUM

**The National Question  
in North America**

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR  
Spartacist League  
Central Committee

Time: Saturday, December 10  
7:30 p.m.

Place: 19-14 Lounge  
Thwing Student Center  
Case Western Reserve University

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## WV/SC Distributors Arrested

# Ford Canada, Cops Assault Working-Class Press

After months of harassment and even physical attacks on distributors of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist Canada* by company thugs at the Ford Motor Company plant in Oakville, Ontario, on December 2 the bosses

brought in the cops to arrest three supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC). Ford owns all access roads into the plant and has been on a campaign to prevent exposure of "its" workers to socialist literature. The WV/SC distributors were charged with trespassing.

These arrests represent an escalation of the company's attacks on literature distribution by the left. On October 7 noted Toronto civil rights lawyer Paul Copeland sent a letter to Ford management protesting its continued incidents of harassment of WV/SC distributors

"which have the effect of preventing your workers from receiving literature which they have a right to obtain. Without the right to distribute literature to those who want to read it the rights of free speech and freedom of the press are substantially disrupted."

The Ford Motor Company, of course, aims precisely at disrupting the distribution of revolutionary newspapers and propaganda.

Management is particularly intent on stopping literature which supports and encourages militant struggles by the workers. If they trample on the democratic rights of Ford workers in the process, it is just another weapon in their anti-labor arsenal: scabberding, using cops to attack picket lines, and other anti-union activities. United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 707 at the Oakville Ford plant must protect the

rights of its membership to read the publications of all groups in the workers movement. Don't let the bosses censor the labor press! This company attack on the TLC is an assault on the union as well and the entire labor movement.

While the company would like to dictate what its employees should and should not read, union members will not passively submit to such a high-handed attack on workers democracy. When WV/SC distributors were pushed and threatened by plant security guards on Friday, one black worker driving by stopped his car, rolled down the window and said to the company goons: "I'll read what I want to read. Give me one of them!"

### CPL: Canadian Party of Liars

Ford management has been assisted in its anti-communist and anti-labor attacks by the tiny Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), whose newspaper the *Worker* characterized the company's assaults on TLC attempts to distribute literature as a "provocation" by "Trotskyites." The 30 November *Worker* described an earlier attack by company thugs as follows: "Mister Labour Relations grabbed one of the Trotskyites' papers, yelling, 'get your butt off this property.' 'You've got no right...' she shouted back, a phrase she kept repeating, and the fight was on."

The sectarianism of groups like the CPL must be roundly repudiated, and a united labor defense begun at once. It is not expected that these Stalinists would defend workers democracy. Like its cronies in the U.S., the Progressive Labor Party, the CPL has a long history of gangsterism and sectarian attacks against left opponents. But such actions weaken the entire left and union movement, opening them up to further attacks from the class enemy. By sneering at workers democracy and refusing to defend left organizations from company attacks, the CPL provides Ford Motor Company the excuse to undercut its own right to distribute literature to UAW members.

The CPL's red-baiting of the Trotskyist League in this case represents a vicious scabbing attack—crossing the class line of united labor defense. Any management provocation or attack against a working-class organization must be denounced by the entire labor movement. In particular the power of the union must be brought to bear in defense of the democratic rights of its members to read what they wish and of socialists subjected to harassment and arrest by the company and the cops.

Drop the charges! Stop Ford Motor Company censorship and thug attacks! Defend the democratic rights of the workers movement! ■

## Miners Strike...

(continued from page 1)

leadership, it is possible to win a contract with a genuine right to strike—by mobilizing the entire membership for a militant battle. The time to fight is now. Under the present weak-kneed misleadership the position of the UMWA is deteriorating as non-union coal production expands and anti-union operators are emboldened. If the miners lose on the crucial issue of the right to strike, the companies will be encouraged to quash wildcats even more ruthlessly while the courts step in to penalize strikers.

The conduct of this strike will greatly affect the ability of the UMWA to reverse this trend. A militantly waged strike that wins major gains will open the road to organizing non-union mines. The union must not tolerate the operation of scab mines during the strike. The western agreements must be torn up and western miners must join in the picketing with the demand of one industry-wide agreement for all UMWA members. Pickets should be dispatched to shut down non-union mines, and appeals made to non-union miners to join the strike and demand a UMWA contract. As an absolute minimum there must be no settlement without union contracts at mines where organizing drives are currently under way, such as in Stearns, Kentucky.

### For Trade-Union Solidarity

The accumulation of vast coal stocks will likely be augmented both by non-

union production and foreign imports. As an elementary act in defense of the miners, steel workers must refuse to handle scab coal. All shipments of coal to the mills, designed to replenish stockpiles, must be boycotted by steel workers. Transport workers must demonstrate their solidarity by refusing to handle any coal. Miners' pickets must be dispatched to insure that no coal is hauled by rail, either from yard depots or from non-union mines. Seamen and longshoremen must demand that coal imports be hot-cargoed.

While coal miners are undergoing a concerted attack, steel workers have been the victims of a vicious job-slashing campaign. And on the

Minnesota-Michigan iron range USWA miners are in their fourth month of a strike challenging the ENA no-strike deal. In many instances, these attacks have emanated from the same boss; the steel trusts are also among the prime operators of the coal concerns. Key to smashing the capitalist offensive is a joint struggle of steel workers and miners to shut down the mines and mills. Such a perspective must be raised by militants within both the USWA and UMWA.

The fact that steel workers have everything to gain now from a fight against their own bosses provides miners with an excellent opportunity to address an appeal for a joint strike. Such a campaign, however, cannot be left in the hands of the Miller leadership, which has refused to even call out its own entire membership to strike. Militants within the UMWA must demand the convening of mass meetings to elect district-wide strike committees that can prepare, publicize and authoritatively present an appeal for joint strikes to the USWA. Were such a campaign initiated by the miners, the most combative section of the American working class, it would find a powerful response within the ranks of steel workers, and greatly strengthen the positions of steel-worker militants who are demanding a fight against the bosses now. This would lay the basis under which picket lines established by miners at steel mill gates would be respected and supported.

Nor should such appeals by miners simply be directed to the steel mills in the immediate environs of the mining districts, such as western Pennsylvania, where layoffs in steel have hit hardest and production cutbacks would have the least impact. A major target, for example, must be the Chicago-Gary District 31, controlled by the liberal "reform" Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy, where layoffs of up to 1,000 workers have recently been announced by U.S. Steel. While these fakers have not lifted a finger to extend any effective solidarity to the iron miners (see article this issue), a

powerful campaign for joint strike action could not be easily ignored by the Sadlowski bureaucrats in this traditionally militant section of the USWA.

Although the Carter government has indicated that it has no intention of ordering the miners back to work now, the U.S. Energy Department has issued a report stating that a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order would be considered if a coal shortage is finally felt. While miners have had plenty of experience with the bosses' justice dealt out by local and state cops and the courts, illusions persist in the Carter government. But Carter's goal is fundamentally the same as the coal operators—to restore labor discipline in the coalfields, as the precondition to the realization of his energy program. Absolutely no reliance must be placed on the bourgeois politicians and the capitalist state.

The outcome of this strike is crucial to the future of the UMWA. While the policies of the Miller/Patrick/Patterson bureaucracy have taken their toll on the UMWA and weakened the position of the union, by no means are the miners doomed to defeat. Their fighting spirit is unquestioned, and if they rely on their own organized strength while seeking to mobilize the rest of the labor movement to defend this crucial strike victory is within grasp. ■

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*Workers Vanguard*  
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# USec: Toward the 2¼ International

The "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has recently been jubilantly proclaiming fusions between previously competing sections of its supporters in Australia, Canada, Colombia and Mexico, and unity proceedings in other countries (Brazil, Peru, Spain). Internally, the rapprochement has resulted in the formal dissolution of the two main factions in the USec. Following the annual convention of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) last August, the steering committee of the SWP-led reformist minority, the "Leninist Trotskyist Faction" (LTF), voted to disband. And last month, the centrist European-based "International Majority Faction" (IMT) reportedly followed suit.

The "reunification" comes after eight years of bitter factionalism, barely avoiding a split in 1974-75. Considering that this amounts to most of the USec's 14-year existence—and that the vast majority of its militants have never known a time when their "International" was not wracked with factional strife—the mutual dissolution of the LTF and IMT will undoubtedly produce temporary enthusiasm among the ranks. But the leadership on both sides well knows that at the first significant turn of events the factions will immediately resurface, following roughly the same lines, thus paralyzing their caricature of the Fourth International at a crucial juncture.

While the momentum toward a cold split has been halted by a passing congruence of appetites, these renegades from Trotskyism are organically incapable of building a democratic-centralist, politically homogeneous International counterposed to the mass reformist workers parties. Characteristically, their common response to the current waning of factional heat is to see it as an opportunity to attract ever more diverse creatures into their fold. After all, if the ultra-legalist SWP can remain in the same International with the IMT some-time guerrillaists led by comandante Ernesto Mandel, then why can't any manner of "state-capitalist" social democrats and semi-Stalinists peacefully coexist in the opportunist morass? In a parody of pre-World War I social democracy, the USec now aspires to become the party of the whole swamp.

Since the United Secretariat was first "reunified" in 1963, the Spartacist tendency has denounced it as a rotten bloc whose key elements are an agreement to let fundamental past differences smoulder and a Pabloist revisionist methodology of tailing after various non-proletarian forces that are "in motion" at a given moment. Although the component parts of this bloc were united in the early 1960's by their enthusiasm for Castro and Ben Bella, soon the former followers of Michel Pablo (USec leaders Mandel, Maitan and Frank—sarcastically referred to as M-M-F by some of their followers) took a radically different tack from Joseph Hansen's SWP.

At the USec's 1969 world congress the protagonists violently clashed over strategy in Latin America. M-M-F wanted to latch onto the Castroist movement by "integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by the Cuban revolution and the OLAS" (Organization of Latin American Solidarity—Castro's stillborn guerrillaist continental International). The SWP, which was not above some occasional armchair guerrillaist enthusiasm itself, shook in its boots over the threat to its bloc with respectable Democratic Party "doves" entailed by putting a guerrillaist/terrorist orientation into practice. Since then sharp differences have arisen within the USec on the Chinese cultural revolution,

strategic perspectives in Europe, the Peronist government in Argentina, the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal, the civil war in Angola and a host of other questions.

When we analyzed the paper-thin "unity" of the "United" Secretariat in the past, USec loyalists typically brushed aside such trifles, muttering that the "Sparts" only wanted monolithic unanimity. In a recent limp two-part polemic against the Spartacist League, former SLer Bob Pearlman makes light of our references to USec "federalism," "rotten bloc-ism" and "scotch-tape unity." But in the spate of SWP internal bulletins around the dissolution of the international factions we find dramatic confirmation of the precarious state of the United Secretariat in those years. Our article "USec World Congress Preserves 'Scotch-Tape' Unity" (WV No. 42, 12 April 1974) described the tenuous organizational truce patched together at the USec's "Tenth World Congress" (to use Mandel's dating), alternately known (according to the Hansen calendar) as the "Fourth Congress Since Reunification." Now Hansen's colorless stand-in, Jack Barnes, writes in a report adopted by the LTF steering committee:

"There were actually four meetings going on simultaneously at the 1974 world congress—the congress itself, meetings of each of the factions, and consultations between the leaderships of the two factions. It was only during the last day of the congress, as votes were taken on the agreements worked out by the parity meetings of the faction leaderships, that we knew a split had been avoided—that those who favored a split had been held in.

"The same thing happened at the February 1975 IEC [International Executive Committee] plenum where we now know that almost half the IMT comrades present favored a course that would have split the international."

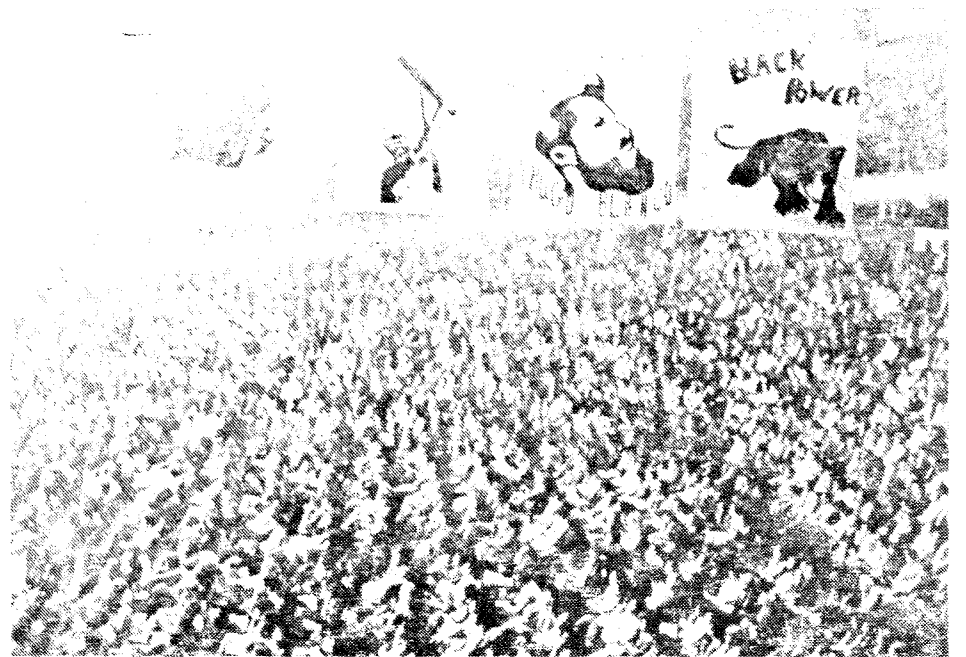
—"The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction: A Balance Sheet," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, September 1977

## IMT "Self-Criticism" Over Latin America

Despite splits, substantial expulsions and/or the constitution of competing sections of its supporters in at least a dozen countries, and several years on the brink of a definitive rupture of the USec itself—with disputes conducted in the most acerbic tones in public factional organs (*Intercontinental Press* for the LTF, *Inprecor* for the IMT)—today a tangible reduction in hostilities is taking place. Why?

The SWP claims that the "reconciliation" represents a vindication of its line on what it claims was the central focus of the dispute, namely the "guerrillaist turn of the Ninth Congress." For the IMT it is necessary to achieve the "unity of the Fourth International" in order to become a "valid pole of attraction for the broad vanguard." There is a grain of truth on both sides, although even these self-serving "explanations" merely underline the bankruptcy of the USec as a self-proclaimed revolutionary International.

The dissolution of the factions was made possible and necessary, says the LTF leadership, because of the IMT's "Self-Criticism on Latin America" dating from late last year. That document indeed recognizes major "errors of analysis" and false political conclusions in the USec's Latin American resolution of 1969. However, it must be examined closely for what it reveals of the evolution of the IMT. Like the Pabloist leaders' mild self-criticism of their decade and more of "deep entrism" in the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties of western Europe, the IMT's "Self-Criticism" concludes that they



1969 Ligue Communiste rally in Paris.

Young Socialist



Ernest Mandel

WV Photo



Joseph Hansen

Militant

were a little late and overestimated the opportunities of maneuvering themselves into an influential position in the Castroist/guerrillaist movement. The Mandelites main concern is not to correct their anti-Leninist support to petty-bourgeois guerrillaism, but rather to avoid missing the boat once again as popular frontism becomes the dominant trend in the European left.

The IMT document notes that the 1969 resolution overgeneralized the continental situation to all countries and "exaggerate[d] the degree of instability of most of these regimes." It goes on:

"...beyond this question of method, several errors of analysis were made.

"The first source of these errors lies in the fact that at the time (and this is still partially true today) we lacked a complete and correct view of the real lessons of the Cuban revolution....

"...we did not adequately combat the idea—which cost so many deaths and defeats in Latin America—that a few dozen or a few hundred revolutionaries (no matter how courageous and capable) isolated from the rest of society could set in motion a historic process leading to a socialist revolution. Apart from the fact that this is not at all what happened in Cuba, we did not clearly affirm that such an idea is false in itself....

"...our hopes were very much exaggerated as to the possibilities offered by material aid from the Cubans....

"We did not understand that the OLAS conference, following which nothing significant or concrete was done, marked the end of an era for the Cuban revolution....

"Our estimation of the relationship of internal forces in Havana, on which our positions were based, was false....

"Che's departure from Cuba in 1966

reflected a qualitative change in this relationship of forces within the Cuban leadership. We did not understand this....

"The defeats and partial retreats that began to pile up throughout the continent, whose importance we had already underestimated (Peru and Brazil, for example), were to weigh much more heavily in the evolution of the situation....

"Although it was necessary and correct to seek a tactic aimed at unity with these [i.e., Castroite] organizations (in spite of and even because of their crisis), at the time of the Ninth World Congress the policy of 'integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by OLAS and the Cuban revolution' as it was projected by the Ninth World Congress was, on the contrary, very much mistaken."

—"Self-Criticism on Latin America," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, December 1976

Among other reasons the IMT adduces to show that its former position was incorrect is the fact that it lost a number of militants from its Bolivian section to the Castroite ELN (the remnants of "Che" Guevara's defeated guerrilla *foco*), not to mention the spectacular departure of its one-time Argentine section, the PRT of Roberto Santucho. While the Mandelites prefer impressionism to Marxist analysis, even they have to sit up and take notice when their own forces defect en masse in precisely those countries that were supposed to be the new "epicenter of world revolution"!

This is not the first time the IMT has sought to back away from the 1969 Latin American resolution. At the 1974 USec world congress it passed a docu-

ment which in the usual aesopian Maitanesque terminology sought to redefine the "axis of rural guerrilla warfare" into a "strategy of armed struggle," while accusing their ex-comrades of the Argentine PRT/ERP of "militarist deviations." However, it was pretty hard to disguise the guerrillism of such passages as the following key section of the 1969 resolution:

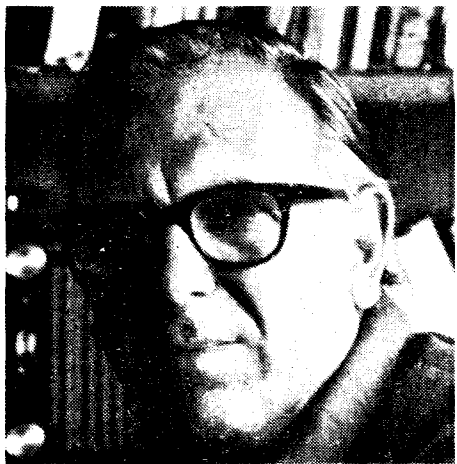
"Even in the case of countries where large mobilizations and class conflicts in the cities may occur first, civil war will take manifold forms of armed struggle, in which the principal axis for a whole period will be rural guerrilla warfare, the term having primarily a geographical-military meaning.... In this sense, armed struggle in Latin America means fundamentally guerrilla warfare."

—"Draft Resolution on Latin America," January 1969

Now, however, the IMT finally admits that the 1969 resolution was written so that the Castroist PRT could vote for it: "in reality the resolution was a political compromise aimed at keeping the PRT (C) in the ranks of the International." In fact the "Self-Criticism" openly states that "in later creating the ERP [the People's Revolutionary Army], the Argentine comrades of the PRT (C) were acting in line with the gist of the [1969] resolution."

Naturally, having admitted that the resolution was an unprincipled concession, the IMT criticizes this. But it also has a revealing excuse for such capitulation:

"The Latin American resolution of the Ninth World Congress was discussed and adopted at a time when a new generation of militants were joining the ranks of the Fourth International. "The political context that had forged the emergence of this new generation was essentially that of wars of national liberation (Algeria, Vietnam) and the victory of the Cuban revolution. "But it was also a generation without great political maturity, a result of its lack of experience in the workers movement.



Livio Maitan NLB

"All this contributed in no small measure to an at best uncritical and at worst enthusiastic [!] acceptance of the resolution on the part of militants who saw this line as an extension of their own trajectory....

"Hence, the self-criticism is also part of the process of maturation of the entire International....

—"Self-Criticism on Latin America," *op. cit.*

Read as a description of how the USec capitulated to the popularity of Guevarism among European and Latin American youth during the late 1960's, you couldn't ask for more clarity. But to take this at face value, one would think that it was these inexperienced youth who were calling the shots in the USec rather than tried and tested revisionists of the M-M-F stamp.

### Reaction to the IMT "Self-Criticism"

The initial SWP response was to view the IMT "Self-Criticism" as a peace offering. Indeed, the document went out of its way to state:

"Thus, Joe Hansen was correct to criticize the wrong generalizations of the Ninth World Congress document. Likewise, he was correct when he raised questions about our real forces and when he stressed the necessity of polemicalizing against the guerrillaist or neo-guerrillaist currents."

So the LTF steering committee

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proposed that both factions be simultaneously dissolved. Shortly afterwards, however, in February the IMT leadership instead decided to redefine itself as an "ideological tendency" and include the "Self-Criticism" among its basic documents.

The Mandelites' belated critique of the 1969 Latin American resolution did not sit well with the USec's most notable would-be guerrillaist adventurer, Livio Maitan. Maitan had written in 1968 that "at the present stage the International will be built around Bolivia," and during the 1969 USec meetings he was predicting that the next world congress could well be celebrated from the seat of power in La Paz. In response to the Mandelite "Self-Criticism," a "Statement by Livio" declares that "the necessary self-criticism was made in the documents of the Tenth World Congress," and that should be the end of it.



Che, Lenin and Trotsky posters plastered on the walls of the Sorbonne in Paris during May 1968.

Thus the M-M-F triumvirate has been split and Maitan is on the outs. It is doubtful that this will have much impact, however, given the continuing irrelevancy of his Italian section and the decimation/defection of his guerrillaist friends in Bolivia and Argentina. Maitan's dreams of seeing a 20-foot high portrait of himself hanging from the balcony of the presidential palace in La Paz are now nothing but the reveries of a political cipher, a used-up filibuster.

The SWP, of course, proclaims that it has been vindicated, that the IMT has been forced to turn back toward orthodox Trotskyism on the question of guerrillism. There are several things wrong with this. In the first place, the IMT does not reject guerrillism or guerrilla warfare, but mainly bases its self-critique on the argument that it misjudged the situation. That the Mandelites have not made a fundamental break with Guevarism can be clearly seen in a recent two-part article by a political bureau member of the French LCR on the tenth anniversary of Che Guevara's murder by the CIA. The article begins by lamenting that new generations of militants may be ignorant of "the colossal, incommensurable contribution of Che" and then asks:

"Why do we lay claim to Che? Che was not a Trotskyist. He could have become one, perhaps. But he was one of us. "To begin with we lay claim to Che's strategic conception, his Leninist conception of the taking of power, of the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state."

—Jeannette Habel, "The Meaning We Give to Che Guevara's Struggle," *Rouge*, 13 and 14 October 1977

After speculating extensively (on the basis of the flimsiest evidence) about differences between Castro and Guevara, the article starts its evaluation of "the last fight" with the remark:

"But there is another hypothesis which tends to view the Bolivian catastrophe as a consequence of Che's conception of

guerrilla warfare: we disagree with this approach."

In fact, the Nanchahuazu adventure was the result of Guevara's "strategic conception," his "method" of guerrillism (both in his particular "militarist" hostility to parties and organizing the masses, and the more general orientation to the peasantry). And it was in large part as a reaction to that fiasco that the generation of Latin American youth radicalized under the influence of the Cuban Revolution turned its back on guerrillism after 1967.

Secondly, the SWP itself never had a Leninist position on guerrilla warfare any more than did the anti-guerrillaist pro-Moscow Communist parties of Latin America. If the latter were concerned not to rock the boat of détente, the SWP wanted to keep good relations with antiwar Democratic doves. Where the CP's sought popular

sive military dictatorship of the Batista type, only armed struggle can assure victory.... The key to mounting an armed struggle with any hope of success is to launch guerrilla war.

"The question of armed struggle was thus taken at the OLAS conference as the decisive dividing line, separating the revolutionists from the reformists on a continental scale. In this respect it echoed the Bolshevik tradition."

—"The OLAS Conference: Tactics and Strategy of a Continental Revolution," *International Socialist Review*, November-December 1967

Even more fundamentally, support to Castroite guerrillism was one of the bases of the USec. Thus the founding document (written by the SWP), "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement" (March 1963), states:

"9. The appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled—is of special interest since the revolution there was carried out under a leadership completely independent from the school of Stalinism. In its evolution toward revolutionary Marxism, the July 26 Movement set a pattern that now stands as an example for a number of other countries....

"13. Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semiproletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the second world war. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."

This is all quite clear: the Cuban Revolution is the model and guerrilla warfare is the method. So where is the 1969 "turn"? Hansen and Moreno only took fright when it was a question of their own allies "picking up the gun." And even then their opposition to guerrillism was not based on the fact that it is a petty-bourgeois strategy hostile to proletarian communism, but rather on fears that it would provoke the bourgeoisie. Hence their characterization of the Ninth Congress document and subsequently of the IMT: *ultra-left*.

"...we considered that the guerrilla strategy embodied an adaptation to ultraleftism, which was then generalized on a broader scale with the concept of an orientation to the 'new mass vanguard' and everything that flowed from this."

—Jack Barnes, "The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction..." [SWP] *IIDB*, September 1977

In contrast, the Spartacist tendency opposed the USec's guerrillism from



Pierre Lambert WV Photo

the left, as an indication of USec centrism, and long before 1969. At the 1963 SWP convention the Revolutionary Tendency (precursor of the SL/U.S.) presented an international resolution, counterposed to the document "For Early Reunification..." cited above, stating:

"15. Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to

continued on page 8



(continued from page 7)

nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime.... For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the proletarian leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism....

—“Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International,” *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part 1

We also analyzed the origins and broader significance of this attack on the traditional positions of the Marxist movement:

“2... Under the influence of the relative stabilization of capitalism in the industrial states of the West and of the partial success of petit-bourgeois movements in overthrowing imperialist rule in some of the backward countries, the revisionist tendency within the Trotskyist movement developed an orientation away from the proletariat and toward the petit-bourgeois leaderships.... The Cuban and Algerian revolutions have constituted acid tests proving that the centrist tendency is also prevalent among certain groups which originally opposed the Pablo faction.”

“19. ‘Reunification’ of the Trotskyist movement on the centrist basis of Pabloism in any of its variants would be a step away from, not toward, the genuine rebirth of the Fourth International.”

—*Ibid.*

Elements who were attracted by the apparent orthodoxy of some of the LTF documents now find the rug pulled out from underneath them as the factions are dissolved in exchange for one of the Mandelites’ endless partial “self-criticisms.” But those that genuinely seek to fight the USec’s capitulation to “Third World” Stalinism, the peasantry, and Guevarist-oriented youth will find a record of consistent Leninist opposition to guerrillaism only in the international Spartacist tendency.

## The Dissolution of Factions

The political chaos in the “United” Secretariat assumed such scandalous proportions in recent years that it became a subject for derision well outside ostensibly Trotskyist circles. Even USec leaders now admit this, with Barnes remarking that differences over China are so great that “If you read the Trotskyist press following Mao’s death you might have found it hard to believe that we were all in the same international: the range of positions covered the map” (“The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction...”). This confusion is by no means limited to far-off events. The main USec publication for Latin American exiles in Europe has been reporting for months on differences among the three main sympathizing groups of the USec in Argentina—Moreno’s PST, the GOR (a syndicalist group) and the Fracción Roja (a Mandelite split from the PRT/ERP)—over how to characterize the situation since the March 1976 junta takeover. After what it calls a “productive and quite useful debate” the paper reports a “convergence of opinions,” namely:

“...it is possible to state today, a year and a half after the coup, that the Argentine working class and the exploited masses of that country suffered a defeat at the hands of their class enemies.”[!]

—*Combate* [Sweden], September 1977

But this is just business as usual for the USec, which doesn’t even pretend to strive for a politically homogeneous International. It was the LTF-IMT faction fight splitting it roughly down the middle, with bitter public polemics and vicious internal intrigues, that made its pretensions to be the Fourth International into a ludicrous joke. This reached the point that in the SWP’s “socialist Watersuit” against FBI spying, both the government and the Socialist Workers Party plaintiffs made much of IMT guerrillaism—the FBI in order to claim the SWP was part of a “terrorist international,” the SWP in order to show that it was the other faction (see “SWP Renounces Revolu-

tion in Court,” *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975).

The infighting reached its highpoint over Portugal in the summer and fall of 1975, as the LTF and IMT tailed after the social democrats and the Stalinists respectively. Not only were there two sharply counterposed documents on the *República* affair and two equally opposed perspectives documents on Portugal (amounting to 93 pages in the SWP’s *Intercontinental Press*), but at one point supporters of the international majority and minority would literally have found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades in Lisbon. Such a charge is enough to rankle even a died-in-the-wool federalist like SWP secretary Barry Sheppard, who presents this “defense”:

“It’s true that at one point we would have been on opposite sides of some actual barricades set up by the Stalinists and the centrists, who were trying to prevent SP workers from going to a rally called by their party. That was a serious danger, but we shouldn’t generalize from that instance that we are politically in different class camps.”

—“For the Immediate Dissolution of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction,” [SWP] *IIDB*, September 1977

The only reason this did not take place, moreover, was that the two USec groups in Portugal (LCI and PRT, allied with the IMT and LTF respectively) both differed with the policies of their international mentors! Such a comic opera version of an International was not even capable of a coherent capitulation and betrayal.

However, it is contrary to nature for such an explosive situation to continue indefinitely. Either the political differences diminish or a split becomes inevitable. As it occurs, there are



Portugal, 1975: USec on both sides of the barricades. Left: SP demonstration in July against CP-dominated Fifth Government. Right: COPCON soldiers in “far left” demonstration against constituent assembly.

presently no acute crises (such as Portugal in 1975) where the respective appetites of the IMT and LTF directly and sharply clash. But future turns in the class struggle will bring the tensions inherent in a bloc between centrists and reformists to a boil again.

A potentially discordant note in the carefully orchestrated “unity” theme is Moreno’s Argentine PST, which has seemingly been the most aggressive in the last couple years of USec factionalism and whose manipulations have been associated with particularly nasty splits (e.g., Mexico). The “leftist” criticisms of the PST gang (which calls itself the “Bolshevik Tendency” internationally) are simply despicable in the mouths of a veteran sellout artist like Moreno, whose PST in 1974 explicitly pledged its

support for Peron’s bonapartist bourgeois government.

But the present frenzied state of the centrist swamp in a number of countries is a powerful inducement for a USec ceasefire. In the U.S. and in much of Europe the decomposition products of previous splits among self-styled Trotskyists, disoriented Maoists, aging New Leftists and the like are finding the going rough and might be pulled into the USec orbit if the latter could claim a minimal stability to contrast with the frustrations of “independent” isolation.

While carrying out a raging faction fight in public over a period of years may in fact make the USec more “attractive” to elements fearful of “monolithism,” after a certain point this appears, even to the most cynical observer, as a sign of unseriousness. Since a split would prevent either side from claiming the title of the Fourth International, both sides are pulling back, primarily through political concessions (a shift to the right) by the Mandelites.

This may indeed breathe new life into a conglomeration that had almost ceased to exist, but the political price tag should be noted. Barnes likened it to “fighting for a de facto reunification. I choose the word carefully. We are struggling for the equivalent of the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963” (“The Accomplishments...”). As in the case of that coming together of renegades from Trotskyism, the condition for “unity” is to sweep all outstanding differences under the rug. As Sheppard put it, “The documents of the IMT and of the LTF would be relegated to the status of historical material. That is, they would not be submitted for adoption at the next

character and function of the magazine. That would stir up a fresh fight.”

—*Ibid.*

This unambiguous threat against a “some kind of majority decision” is decisive evidence that the “United” Secretariat is at bottom a non-aggression pact rather than a Leninist International.

As such it is also based on an implicit geographical division of spheres of influence, with the SWP taking the U.S. and most of the former British empire and the Mandelites keeping Europe and the Mandelites keeping Europe their privileged terrain. (As in the past, Latin America remains no man’s land where dirty tricks galore are permitted and committed on all sides.) Thus it has been announced that the English-language edition of the USec majority’s *Imprecor* will fold—in the guise of merging with *Intercontinental Press*, which will “continue with its regular schedule” (*IP*, 21 November). Likewise the two blocs have abandoned overt attempts to encroach on each other’s domains. This was less of a concession for the SWP, whose forces in IMT-dominated sections were generally small and which lost most of its supporters in Portugal and Italy to Moreno while the pro-LTF Spanish Liga Comunista (LCE) has fallen apart.

The IMT, on the other hand, has decided to abandon its supporters in Canada and Australia, who were ordered to “fuse” with the larger and more cohesive pro-LTF sections. And in the United States the Internationalist Tendency (IT) has disappeared without a trace, those who could stomach it crawling back to the SWP on their hands and knees and the rest consigned to political oblivion. While a few down-and-out Mandelites left over from the



AP

world congress. They would be available to anyone for studies in the history of our movement” (“Dissolve the International Factions!”).

The “dissolved” factions could continue to lead a subterranean existence in this deal. Each group has its leading section (French LCR and American SWP for the majority and minority respectively), which would continue to put out its own line. And each would preserve its own house organ. An “area of potential blowup” which could call off the whole deal, he said, would be:

“...the problem that could arise if there were some kind of majority decision against *Intercontinental Press* or a move that in any way tried to pressure the SWP into withdrawing its support to *Intercontinental Press* or altering the

wreckage of previous failed attempts have coalesced in the Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Politics, they have no franchise from the IMT and no hope of getting anything more than a few encouraging words from that other has-been, Livio Maitan. So today Barnes can crow, as he did several times at the last SWP convention:

“In the United States, for the first time in several years, every single person in this country who would be a member of the Fourth International if it were not for reactionary legislation is today a member of the Socialist Workers Party.”

—*Ibid.*

Which means not that all the Mandelites have been “reintegrated” (less than a quarter of the former ITers have been taken back), but rather that everyone



else has been written off.

The SWP hails the dissolution of the LTF and IMT as a major victory since, "This will be the first time in the history of the International Left Opposition, of the International Communist League, of the Movement for the Fourth International, and of the Fourth International itself that an organized faction struggle over basic questions did not end in a split of the international" (*Ibid.*). Sheppard goes on at length against the dangers of "permanent factionalism," in which the factions remain after the differences disappear. He does not mention the opposite case, in which the differences remain while the factions are formally disbanded. Yet that is plainly what is taking place.

The SWP leaders motivate the dissolution with the argument that the main bone of contention was always the "guerrillaist turn" at the 1969 USec congress: now that the majority has made its self-criticism on guerrillaism there is no more reason for the factions to exist. This involves some rewriting of history, however, since the IMT, at least, was formed in part to fight out differences over Europe and combat SWP criticisms of its orientation toward a "new mass vanguard." And despite assurances that past differences can be treated as by-gones, of interest only to academics, and relegated to the file cabinets of history, "basic questions" have a way of recurring. Barnes himself admits that the differences between the IMT and LTF over Stalinism, China and Vietnam go back to the 1953 break with Pablo and were left unresolved in the 1963 "reunification."

For Leninists the fact that a decade-long struggle over basic questions is simply shelved and the boards are wiped clean represents not a "conquest" but a sign of deep-seated opportunism. The previous splits which the SWP refers to include Trotsky's break with the ultra-lefts in 1934-35 (Oehler-Stamm in the U.S., Lhullier in France, Vereecken in Belgium); his insistence on a definitive split with the Molinier/Frank group in the French section in 1935-36; Trotsky's break with the Spanish Left Opposition leaders who helped form the centrist POUM, and his split with those (such as Victor Serge and Sneevliet) who defended its entry into a popular-front government; the fight against the Shachtman/Burnham petty-bourgeois opposition in the SWP in 1939-40; fights against rightist oppositions in a number of countries after World War II, and of course the SWP's split with Pablo in 1953.

To the present-day reformist SWP, which aspires not to build a Trotskyist International but a social-democratic federation, these crucial political battles which determined the fate of the Fourth International are unfortunate occurrences. The 1940 split/expulsion of the Shachtmanites, who refused to defend the USSR on the eve of World War II, was evidently a mistake. And the 1951-53 split over Pablo's liquidationism simply *never happened* in their eyes. Barnes describes the French OCI, which stood with the SWP against Pabloism in that break, as "one of the currents that had been part of the international during the split into two *public factions* in the 1950's" (our emphasis).

Since this has now become part of the SWP litany, those who have been led to believe that the 1953 split is a Spartacist myth should be interested to read the following words of James P. Cannon at that time:

"We are finished and done with Pablo and Pabloism forever, not only here but on the international field. And nobody is going to take up any of our time with any negotiations about compromise or any nonsense of that sort. We are at war with this new revisionism...."

—*Speeches to the Party*

Today the battle which was belatedly undertaken by the then-revolutionary SWP against Pabloist revisionism in 1953 remains the axis for the reorganizing of the Fourth International. The revisionist SWP of today wishes to deny this

struggle in order to hide its own abandonment of the fight against Pabloism in the formation of the United Secretariat.

There was some opposition in the LTF steering committee to dissolving the faction, and although it counted for little in the voting (17 to 2), this represented what little support the SWP still had outside the English-speaking world after the departure of the PST and its satellites. The opposition also represented those elements that had given the most left interpretation to LTF statements, centering their opposition to the Mandelites on the question of capitulation to popular frontism and characterizing the IMT as centrist rather than ultra-leftist. But when the representatives of the Spanish, French and Costa Rican LTF supporters presented a motion that one of the central tasks of the Faction was to fight adaptation to popular frontism on the part of the IMT, Barnes replied:

"The 1976 LTF statement expressed concern not over 'adaptation to popular frontism,' but over 'errors made in election policy, such as adaptation towards popular frontism, confusion about the character of Stalinism....' It is important to make this distinction. We do not think there are incipient popular frontists or Stalinists in the leadership of the Fourth International." —"The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction..."

Although on paper it may appear that the SWP is abandoning any fight against popular frontism on the part of the Mandel majorityites, Barnes is quite correct in claiming that "the goal of the LTF was not to overcome the differences on these questions." Occasional SWP criticisms of the Mandel LCR for being soft on the French Union of the Left were mere window-dressing, to bolster the LTF's façade of "orthodox Trotskyism," while the heart of its program was clearly to the right of the centrist IMT. The "left" LTFers only succeeded in deluding themselves, and their ignominy is recorded in a series of capitulations to the SWP leadership within the LTF steering committee. Thus they never forced to a head their differences over the characterization of the IMT, and accepted the SWP's wretched line of tailing after the CIA-financed Mário Soares in Portugal in the name of defending "democracy" against ultra-left adventurism.

### The "Unity" Waltz

Although the series of fusions of previously competing sections and sympathizing organizations in Australia, Canada, Colombia, Spain, Mexico, etc. will doubtless enhance the "attractiveness" of the United Secretariat, they remain fundamentally unstable while the dissolution of the LTF and IMT will not put an end to the centrifugal forces in key majority sections (Britain, France) which are rife with clique and tendency squabbling. Already there has been significant resistance to and fallout from the forced fusions.

In almost every case, it appears, the USec leadership has rammed through shotgun marriages with little or no political preparation. In Canada the spokesman on tour for the new Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)—the product of the incorporation of the Mandelite Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) into the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA)—not only admitted that numerous important differences subsist but boasted that the goal of the fusion was "not to completely overcome these differences... [but] to build an organization that can tolerate these differences without paralysis or splits" ("RWL on Tour for Menshevism," *Spartacist Canada* No. 21, November 1977). It is not surprising, therefore, that barely two months after the August fusion former leaders of the RMG and LSA have returned to their old quarrels in public.

A similar situation is now unfolding in Australia where many of the ranks of the pro-IMT Communist League (CL)

are grumbling about the leadership-imposed top-down fusion which amounts to a pure and simple liquidation into the pro-LTF Socialist Workers Party. Moreover, in response to a ban by the conservative government of the state of Queensland on demonstrations against uranium mining, the counterposed appetites of the SWP and CL have publicly surfaced in the most dramatic manner. While the CL tailed after New Leftists whose strategy was repeated protest demonstrations which provoked police repression, the SWP categorically refused to participate in any demonstration which had not been granted a legal permit. At one of the largest protest meetings in Brisbane, SWPers left just before an "unauthorized" march began, while their CL "comrades" stayed behind to face a police attack in which they were beaten and jailed together with more than 400 others.

As part of the fusion process the two USec organizations' papers are being printed in a single edition, back to back and upside down in relation to each other, so that it has become a standing joke on the Australian left that the Mandelites have been turned around and stood on their heads by the projected union. But still the differences come out. One issue of the CL's *Militant* enthused over the "new vanguard being forged and tested in direct confrontations with the bourgeois state," while several weeks later its reformist backside, the SWP's *Direct Action*, vehemently decried "actions of compulsive martyrdom" in Brisbane.

While it is relatively easy for the USec to bring off fusions in countries where political struggle is at a relatively low level and a homogeneous reformist LTF section can dominate the united group, it is another question in agitated situations where differences between the majority and minority have been hardened in sharp clashes over burning questions of the class struggle (e.g., Portugal and Spain). Thus at a recent conference of the pro-LTF Spanish LCE, called to approve the imminent fusion with the Mandel LCR, the profusion "majority" had to make a cringing "self-criticism" on its abstentionist position in the June elections for the Cortes. Published reports in *Rouge* and *Imprecor* hail the fusion as a victory, but it appears that the "frictional" losses amount to fully half of the LCE's 600 members, some heading off in an ultra-left direction, others joining the Spanish Lambertistes and the political future of a third anti-fusion grouping clouded in uncertainty.

While the gunpoint fusions spin out various breakaway groups, one of the main anticipated accretions to a "reunited" United Secretariat may come from a previous generation of "dissidents" who at the outbreak and high point of the IMT-LTF factional strife for empirical reasons sided neither with the centrist majority nor the reformist minority. Unwilling or unable to fully break with Pabloism—indeed, frequently refusing even to recognize its existence—these groups floundered aimlessly and are today either in their death throes or moving back into the USec orbit, where they have not closed up shop altogether.

The two clearest examples of what has happened to these contradictory groups of left-Pabloists are the history of the major split in the German USec section in 1969-70 and the fate of the various components of the international "Third ('Mezhrayonka') Tendency" which was lashed together around the USec's "Tenth World Congress" in 1974. When the Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD) split to the left from the "deep entrism" German USec section in 1969-70 they denied that Pabloism had played a decisive role in the destruction of the Fourth International, claiming instead that the FI ceased to exist with Trotsky's death. The IKD also explicitly maintained Mandel's neo-capitalism theory, an important underpinning of late-1960's vintage

Pabloism. And its response to USec tailing of petty-bourgeois radical students was an equally tailist workerism.

Because of its inability to make a clear break from USec Pabloism, the IKD drifted from one gimmick and campaign to another, amid internal ideological confusion and mounting cliquism, resulting in a series of kaleidoscopic splits in almost every conceivable direction. However, some of the more serious comrades did attempt to draw the lessons of this experience, and three small left tendencies were bureaucratically expelled one after another for their political positions, subsequently joining the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the iSt.

Given the Spartacusbund's extreme programmatic heterogeneity, its efforts to propagate its confusion internationally by setting up a "Necessary International Initiative" (NII) on the fringes of the USec led to contradictions which blew this amalgam apart within a year. Without consulting its membership the Spartacusbund leadership committed the organization to joining with Roberto Massari's Italian Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR) in mid-1976 on the basis of superficial agreement on Portugal and a willingness to "discuss" (rather than take a firm position) on central questions such as the popular front and Stalinism. The Spartacusbund broke up in the spring of 1977, with one wing blocking with Massari in orbit around the USec, another seeking to maintain the shell of the organization while the remainder retreated to small local groupings.

Uncertainty over the posture to take toward the USec was a central issue in the disintegration of the NII and the Spartacusbund. Lacking a coherent analysis of Pabloism, they saw in the former "Third Tendency" kindred souls; Massari had been the main reporter for this tendency at the USec's 1974 world congress.

Although independent of both IMT and LTF, the "Third Tendency" had no real political alternative to either wing of the USec. Thus central leaders of this tendency in France went over to the majority either during or immediately after the 1974 congress, while others voted for some LTF documents. Later "Tendency 4" of the LCR was formed by other French oppositionists together with LTF supporters. Today these militants, who for a time represented the most left-leaning elements in the French section, have either retreated to cynical passivity or are among the SWP's supporters. In Germany the Kompass group gave up its struggle against Mandel & Co. and formed a bloc with the IMT to jointly administer the GIM.

The most consistent (if that is possible) "Third Tendency" grouping was in Italy. Today this current—Massari's Lega Comunista, a small rump of the disintegrating Spartacusbund and a tiny Austrian group—have proclaimed themselves the Revolutionary Marxist Faction, following the demise of the NII. Using the empty term "centrism sui generis" to label the USec, Roberto and his friends explicitly state that it is reformable and reject the characterization of the SWP as reformist. Now that Livio Maitan is in disfavor with the Mandelites, and Maitan's

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### SL FORUM

## The National Question in North America

Speaker: *Joseph Seymour*,  
SL Central Committee

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CLEVELAND

# Usec...

(continued from page 9)

former No. 2 in the Italian section (Edgardo Pellegrini) has attempted a palace coup against him, a reconciliation between the FMR and the USec appears increasingly possible as Massari has applied for permission to attend the "eleventh world congress."

The saga of the "Third Tendency" oppositions has been one of constant failures. Unable to form an international tendency until the last minute at the 1974 USec world congress itself, the nearly programless bloc fell apart immediately thereafter. Having made no impact there, its leading spokesman provoked his expulsion from the Italian section in order to obtain more freedom to maneuver and pick up disaffected elements on the margin of the USec, without the albatross of nearly 30 years of Maitanesque blunders and capitulations around his neck. When this hope dissipated, he turned to building his Unnecessary International Initiative, which did not have a common position on such key issues as the class nature of social democracy, voting for popular-front candidates, and Pabloism and the nature of the USec. All these elements, whether inside or outside the United Secretariat, hold to a "family of Trotskyism" conception which has stood in the way of a definitive break from this revisionist parody of the FI.

More fundamentally they refused to come to grips with Pabloism as a program of capitulation before non-proletarian leaderships. No less traumatized by the isolation of the Trotskyist forces in post-World War II Europe than the Pablo-Mandel-Maitan-Frank

leadership of the International Secretariat which ordered the sections of the FI to submerge themselves in the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, the "Third Tendency" left-Pabloists have simply repeated the methods of the USec on a smaller scale. Thus on the issue of Portugal during the course of 1975, the Spartacusbund called for a Communist Party government; then for a workers and peasants government based on workers, peasants and soldiers councils; then for "normalizing" (i.e., stopping) the revolution and defense of the constituent assembly! Such gyrations are worthy of any tried-and-tested USec section.

These groups have also been confronted with the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency and shrink at the prospect of a break which the iSt represents from the friendly, accommodating Pabloist milieu. The dilemma of the left-Pabloist grouplets was recently summarized by IMG leader Bob Pennington at a meeting organized by the British International-Communist League, a one-time partner in the ill-fated NII. Pennington pointed out that there exist two fundamental poles among ostensible Trotskyists, the USec and the iSt, and that groups like the I-CL would ultimately have to choose between them. We couldn't agree more.

## In the Shadow of the Popular Front

If both wings of the USec are willing to cease and desist for the moment, it is only because the felt immediacy of the issues which drove them apart in the late 1960's and early 1970's—Vietnam, guerrillaism, Castroism, Portugal—have faded from the view of the "broad

vanguard" now more interested in ecology and nuclear power. As the political climate has cooled off, the more left-leaning centrists have shifted to the right. It must be remembered that the IMT's guerrillaism was also reflected in adventurist actions in Europe, such as the French Ligue Communiste's June 1973 confrontation with police protecting a fascist meeting or the IMG's similar involvement in a 1974 clash with cops defending a National Front march (the Red Lion Square incident). It is inconceivable that the far tamer IMT of today would undertake such mock heroics.

The most fundamental reason for this shift, and the guiding star of current Mandelite policy, is the desire to preserve a degree of respectability in order to act as a left pressure group on the rising popular fronts. A recent issue of the LCR's *Rouge* (14 September) was indicative of the USec majority's new concerns. A special dossier on polemics between the French Communist and Socialist parties called for "unity" and proposed the formation of "unitary committees open to all workers who want to discuss what the government program of the SP and CP ought to be if they want to put an end to capitalist exploitation and not just administer the crisis." And LCR super-star Alain Krivine, "sadder-but-wiser" now than in the heady days of May 1968, now calls for "a minimum threshold of nationalizations which will make it possible to change the logic of the capitalist system" (*Le Monde*, 29 September).

Since the March 1973 French parliamentary elections, IMT supporters have experimented with a number of electoral policies designed to translate this posture as a pressure group on the left

flank of the Union of the Left. First they called for votes to the Union of the Left (which they refuse to label a popular front) on the second round of voting; then under pressure from LTF criticisms this was "rectified" to call for votes only to the SP and CP on the second round but not the bourgeois Left Radicals. In 1974 they called for votes to Mitterand, the single candidate of the popular front; and currently the LCR's position is to vote for the Union of the Left on the second round, except where the slate is headed by a Left Radical. But in all cases their main concern has been the same: not to be seen as a hindrance to "the left" coming to power.

The SWP and LTF periodically scold the Mandelites for their more shameless electoral support to the bourgeois Union of the Left. But Barnes & Co. are right to point out to "left" LTFers that this is really a minor difference, since they all agree on voting for the "workers candidates of the popular front." Currently their main objection is to the IMT's policy of "far-left" blocs, from the Portuguese LCI's participation in the FUR in 1975 to the Italian section's participation in the slates of the "Democrazia Proletaria" election cartel last year, to the "far-left" tickets sponsored by the French and Spanish LCRs in 1977 elections. In all cases the programs of these propaganda blocs were openly or implicitly popular-frontist, from support to the Gonçalves government in Portugal to calling on the Italian Communist Party to join a popular unity coalition à la Chile.

In the Mandel-Pabloists' endless search for a gimmick to bring them "mass" influence on the cheap, rather than breaking from the class-collaborationist treachery of the mass reformist parties, they attempt to huddle together with other fake-left organizations which like themselves are too small to gain admission to the coalitions directly but seek, in Trotsky's words, to "peddle their wares in the shadow of the Popular Front." And to accomplish this they are willing to make "concessions" of the most far-reaching sort. Thus in France the LCR seeks to parlay its forces into a pivotal role in a far broader grouping occupying the political terrain just to the left of the Communist Party. In order to do this Mandel has systematically courted the left wing of the social-democratic PSU, and in particular its leader, one Michel Pablo. But Pablo insists that all reference to Trotskyism and the Fourth International must be eliminated as a precondition to any regroupment. Mandel's response:

"What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name, we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

—quoted in "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WI* No. 117, 9 July 1976

The historical continuity of Pabloist liquidationism which this expresses is unmistakable.

The SWP's sometimes orthodox-sounding criticisms of the Mandelite "far left" regroupment maneuvers by no means amount to an attack on popular frontism or a defense of an independent Trotskyist perspective. It's simply that while the IMT is tailing after the Stalinist wing of the popular front, the SWP is bringing up the rear of the social democracy. Because its supporters are primarily located in English-speaking countries where popular frontism is less common, the SWP is generally less blatant in its capitulations to coalitionism. However, when major events call for the appropriate bowing and scraping, Hansen and Barnes are not slow to respond, as witness their despicable apologetics for the Portuguese Socialist Party in the summer of 1975 when Soares was in alliance with the right wing of the Armed Forces Movement and even more sinister reactionary civilian forces.

And while the current "reunification"

## Chilean Exile Harassed

# Mario Muñoz Barred from Britain



Hubert Schatzl

On October 24 Mario Muñoz Salas, a Chilean trade-union militant exiled in France, was denied entry into Great Britain where he had planned to address a meeting of the Wolverhampton and District Latin American Solidarity Committee. Muñoz was detained by immigration officials for 13 hours, and photocopies of all his documents, letters and addresses were made. The international Spartacist tendency has vigorously protested this outrageous incident of anti-communist exclusion and harassment.

Muñoz was the founder and leader of the Aconcagua Union of Workers and Miners. During the government of Salvador Allende he became a national leader of the Regional Miners Councils and took the lead in forming the *cordones industriales* of workers, miners and peasants of Aconcagua and Valparaiso. After Pinochet's bloody coup, he was forced to flee to Argentina.

An international campaign to save Muñoz' life was jointly sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a

class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, and the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was able to mobilize the support of hundreds of labor and socialist organizations and prominent individuals on four continents for a successful campaign which for the first time focused international attention on the bloodthirsty Videla junta in Argentina. On 4 August 1976 Muñoz arrived safely in Europe and was later joined by his family.

All left and labor organizations should protest Britain's refusal to allow Muñoz the right to speak. But the report of the incident which appeared in the 3 November issue of *Socialist Challenge*, weekly newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the United Secretariat) was an exercise in sectarian hypocrisy. According to the article, "Muñoz managed to get out of Argentina helped by a worldwide solidarity campaign." There is no mention of the role of the PDC, which rescued Muñoz from Videla's butchers while the IMG did *nothing* to aid the effort. The IMG refused to endorse the campaign on the grounds that it was "sectarian." To the IMG, the sectarianism of the PDC is synonymous with the latter's class partisanship on the side of the international proletariat. In fact this phony charge was a transparent attempt to camouflage the IMG's own sectarian abstention.

In the United States the Socialist Workers Party (another supporter of the United Secretariat) not only refused to support the campaign to free Muñoz, but consciously attempted to sabotage it. The SWP refused to endorse the committee in its own name. Its front group, the U.S. Committee for Justice

to Latin American Prisoners (USLA), initially felt compelled to give a verbal endorsement in view of the campaign's wide support but later withdrew it on the spurious grounds of objecting to the PDC's "open association with the Spartacist League." Thus the SWP was willing to sacrifice Muñoz' life before its own reformist appetites.

The IMG now wishes to bury its sordid record, and even to take implicit credit for the rescue of Muñoz, while continuing its class-neutral, civil-libertarian stance. The accompanying letter was sent by the London Spartacist Group to the Home Secretary, protesting Britain's refusal to grant Muñoz entry.

7 November 1977

To the Home Secretary:

**We strenuously protest the government's refusal to allow entry to Britain to Mario Muñoz Salas on 24 October. We further protest against the 13-hour detention of Muñoz and the photocopying of correspondence, documents and addresses in his possession.**

**Muñoz, a prominent Chilean miners' leader who was forced to flee for his life after the reactionary coup in 1973, has obviously been singled out for harassment by the Home Office because of his political beliefs—thus demonstrating the fraudulent nature of British "justice". Furthermore, the copying of Muñoz' personal documents raises the question of collaboration between the British government and the sinister assassins of Pinochet's DINA.**

**We demand the immediate cessation of all attempts to bar Muñoz (or any other working-class militant) from Britain.**

**Bill Long  
for the London Spartacist Group**



of the United Secretariat has been marked mainly by rightward motion on the part of the IMT, the SWP has been bit by bit throwing off the remaining traces of its Trotskyist past to appear ever more openly as a social-democratic party rather like the Ceylonese LSSP (albeit with far less influence). Currently this has been seen in its de facto abandonment of the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the USSR (claiming it is not operative), and its recent fusion with the "state-capitalist" Revolutionary Marxist Committee, which explicitly opposes Soviet defensism. In France the SWP has insistently sought to bring Pierre Lambert's OCI into the USec because of affinities with the Lambertists' similar pro-social-democratic appetites.

With the dissolution of the IMT and LTF and the reunifications in a number of countries, the United Secretariat is making a big push to reinforce its claim to represent the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. Thus they may be willing to bring in various ostensibly Trotskyist groups which have been making overtures to it, such as the ex-Healyite Workers Socialist League in Britain and its Greek affiliate, Massari's FMR, members of the OCI's international federation, etc. (Their ultimate aims are, of course, much broader, including relatively large social-democratic groups such as Tony Cliff's British SWP [ex-International Socialists] or some of the Spanish "soft"-Maoist groups.)

This would not be a Leninist International, however, but the most putrid revisionist swamp of renegades and opportunists, incapable of formulating a coherent political line, much less providing revolutionary leadership to the proletariat. As the Third Congress of the Communist International wrote of the centrist 2-1 2 International, it would:

"seek to oscillate on paper between the slogans of democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In practice, it... aids the capitalist class of each country to imbue the working class with the spirit of indecision...."

But there is a difference, and not just one of scale. If, under the impact of popular enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution, the 2-1/2 International represented a centrist break from the reformist Second International, the USec of today unites centrists with reformists in treacherous cohabitation: at best, a modern-day 2-1/4 International. ■

## Hawaiian Sugar Strike...

(continued from page 3)

any deportation drives, in particular the INS [U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service] raids at ILWU work locations and the INS pass-card system. "Instead we demand: Jobs for All! Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers and their Families!... We call for a major drive by the entire labor movement to organize the unorganized in the U.S., Mexico, Canada, the Philippines and elsewhere...."

Against threats of mass layoffs and plantation closures, union militants must demand strike action to win a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and call for occupying shut-down plantations and for their expropriation without compensation. Instead of a program which pits workers in different countries against each other, the ILWU must aid the trade-union organizing of agricultural workers internationally as well as, in conjunction with the United Farm Workers, help initiate a drive to organize sugar workers in the U.S. South. As the defeat of the sugar strike showed, relying on the Democrats to "save American jobs" through backstabbing protectionist measures is a dead end; the ILWU must take the lead in fighting for a workers party with a program of international class struggle. ■

## Biko...

(continued from page 12)

into a panic. In the midst of South African winter Biko, still naked and in a semi-coma, was loaded into the back of a Land Rover, where he lay on the metal floor. As the police vehicle hurtled through the night Biko's injured skull recorded each bump in the road on the 750 mile trip from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. Ostensibly Biko was moved to get medical attention, but it is obvious that the real intention of moving him was to get him out of Port Elizabeth. If he was not mortally injured already there is no doubt that such a long trip over land put the last nails in his coffin. Twelve hours after arriving, Biko died on the floor of his cell.

The actual circumstances of Biko's death were confirmed by the testimony of two doctors at the inquest. Dr. Neville S. Proctor, a prominent neuropathologist, exploded the police claim that the black leader had died as a result of hitting his head. He contradicted the statements of a state pathologist that five injuries to Biko's brain had resulted from one blow. Proctor testified that at least three or four blows had been inflicted on Biko including one which caused a four-inch-square bump on his forehead. A policeman later claimed that the bump could not be seen because Biko's skin was too dark.

Dr. Ivor Lang testified that he wanted to have Biko transferred to a local Port Elizabeth hospital for observation of possible brain damage but was forbidden to do so on the grounds that the victim was a security risk. "And you can't buck the Security Branch?", the Biko family's attorney Sydney Kentridge inquired. "No," replied Lang. Kentridge asked Lang why he had given police a falsified medical report finding Biko to be in perfect health when he considered Biko to be in serious enough condition to be hospitalized. Lang meekly replied, "It's inexplicable, I can't explain that to you."

### Sham Inquest

Added to the damning evidence presented by the doctors were the contradictory self-incriminations of police officials. At one point the cops tried to enter into evidence statements extracted from black activists charging Biko with being a terrorist. Allegedly Biko went berserk when read these statements, which supposedly provoked him to throw a chair at police. Unfortunately for the cops they are not as smart as they are vicious: the statements were dated two days after Biko's death. If any doubt could possibly have remained as to the culpability of the authorities, a police colonel dashed it. He testified that in a report to his superiors he had informed them that an injury had been "inflicted" on Biko (*New York Times*, 30 November 1977).

Tension ran high in the courtroom as fronts of blacks in attendance confronted eye-to-eye the men who killed Biko. Whistles and gasps echoed

through the courthouse as the shackles which bound Biko's legs were submitted into evidence. The audience bristled as they listened to Biko's chief interrogator Major Snyman, venomously state, "I was sorry, because he was worth more alive to me than dead," explaining that his interrogation was "incomplete." (In another "incomplete interrogation" Snyman was responsible for the death of a coloured [mulatto] school teacher who "fell" six stories off the roof of the security police building in Port Elizabeth last year.)

### Liberal Hopes

The fact that so much revealing evidence was exposed during the inquest was seen by some of the media as a credit to the Vorster government. There was even a faint hope expressed that the inquest would defy past precedent and rule against the police. Even those like the *New York Times* who were skeptical from the beginning of the outcome of the inquest consoled their readers with the message that the Biko family's attorney and similar liberals represent a great white hope for South African blacks.

A corporation lawyer, Kentridge has handled the defense of the most celebrated South African political trials in recent memory, including those of Nelson Mandela and Communist Party leader Bram Fisher. He is being portrayed as one of that small fraternity of lawyer-heroes patterned after the prosecutor in Costa Gavras' "Z." Supposedly the existence of liberal well-wishers like Kentridge and their patrons such as mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer will prove to blacks that there is still hope for change through "the rule of law." But the cause of the oppressed black masses of South Africa is not served by the likes of Oppenheimer, who desires only to "relax" but not to eliminate the apartheid system. They do not even support the elementary democratic right of one man, one vote. Oppenheimer's hypocrisy is further revealed by the fact that the mines of his Anglo-American Corporation are hell-holes of exploitation and degradation, perpetrating some of the most brutal apartheid injustices.

Liberals and social democrats in the West may have believed that the Soweto massacre and Biko murder would produce among South African whites a strong moral revulsion against the hard-line Vorster regime. However, the continuing impotence of South African liberalism was once again revealed by Vorster's landslide electoral victory. It is not continual atrocities against defenseless blacks which will split the present unity of South Africa's whites. Only when faced with the *strength* of the black masses, centrally its industrial proletariat, will the apartheid regime be unable to rule in the old way.

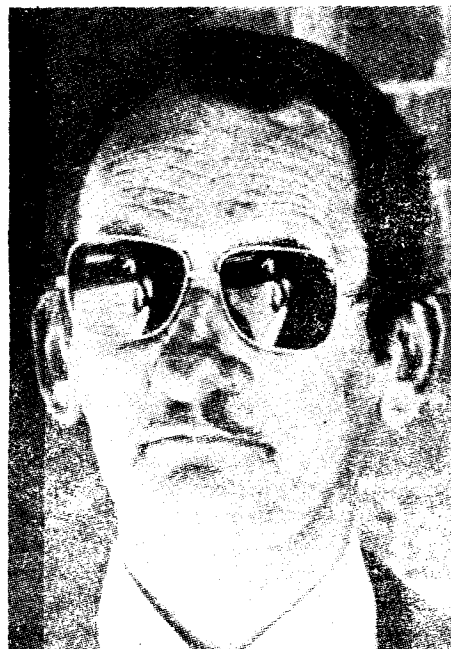
For all its provocative statements and high-handed disdain, the South African government does fear one enemy: the subjugated non-white masses. The jail murder of Stephen Biko provoked seething anger among blacks throughout the country. Fikele Bam, leader of an organization Biko founded to aid political prisoners, captured the sentiment of many anti-apartheid militants: "His death has not 'left us cold.' It has left us boiling hot. Boiling hot with grief. Boiling hot with anger. Boiling hot with impatience."

This anger threatens to unleash the latent power of the black proletariat, and Vorster is well aware of it. Three days after Biko's death, students rallied at the all-black University of Fort Hare. In a frenzy, armed riot squads with attack dogs rushed the school, breaking up the rally and arresting nearly the entire demonstration of 1,200. Biko's funeral was attended by over 10,000 blacks, and even then entire convoys from outlying townships were prevented from coming. Police dragged mourners off buses and attacked them with truncheons, as well as arresting hun-

dreds. As Biko's coffin was lowered into the ground thousands of clenched black fists were raised amidst shouts of "amandla" (power).

While the Pretoria regime can suppress with its massive firepower spontaneous demonstrations like those that accompanied Biko's death, it quakes at the prospect of unified action by the non-white proletariat. While youths rising up in Soweto are met with a hail of police and army bullets, the strike wave centering on Durban in 1973-74 profoundly shook the regime. Even at the height of the Soweto demonstrations last year the authorities dealt much more circumspectly with strikes by black workers at nearby factories—an implicit recognition of their latent social power to bring South African capitalism to a grinding halt.

Biko as a spokesman for petty-bourgeois black nationalism did not understand the decisive role of the black proletariat and instead placed faith in white liberals and Jimmy Carter to



Maj. Harold Snyman

Mike McCann

pressure the regime into making concessions to the black majority. Last year Biko issued an appeal to Carter "for full scale support of the struggle for black man's liberation." The irony of such an appeal should be apparent. An appeal to the U.S. government is an appeal to the murderers of George Jackson and Fred Hampton, to the callous mass murderers of Attica (not to mention the My Lai massacre or Hiroshima).

Besides the anti-apartheid political activists singled out for murderous repression, hundreds of faceless, nameless blacks now trapped in Vorster's torture cells can meet the same fate as Stephen Biko without so much public attention. Instead of empty moralist gestures for "divesting" South African stock, boycotting Krugerrands and joining Carter's "human rights" crusade, an international campaign of labor protest must be mobilized to demand: Free all victims of apartheid repression!

It is only the revolutionary mobilization of the black proletariat under the leadership of a South African Trotskyist party, together with militant solidarity from their international class brothers and sisters, that will unleash the power of the black masses and smash apartheid forever. It is in this way that Stephen Biko and the countless victims of apartheid terror will be avenged—by the struggle for permanent revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Africa. ■

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LOS ANGELES

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## South African Torturers Can't Cover Up Jail Killing



BPC supporters hold Biko posters at funeral services.

Neri/Sygma

# Vorster Regime Backs Biko Murder

When the verdict came down December 2 at the Johannesburg inquest into the death of Stephen Biko its meaning was perfectly clear: black prisoners can be brutalized and murdered with impunity in South Africa. This was not the decision of a single magistrate but the normal operation of the law in all its racist, capitalist majesty in this land of apartheid where blacks are pariahs and prisoners.

The judge at the inquest ruled that although Biko died of brain injuries the police bore no responsibility for his death. Yet throughout the hearings incontrovertible evidence was presented of the savage assault on a man shackled, naked and helpless against the death-dealing blows of his captors.

To drive home the message, on the same day the verdict was announced police swooped down on Soweto during the pre-dawn hours, arresting Biko's brother and a dozen others. All last year as black youths repeatedly demonstrated in the huge slum townships which surround Johannesburg they were met with the murderous gunfire of the police and army. The more than 1,000 shot down in cold blood made Soweto the symbol of apartheid to the outside world. The wide publicity given to the Biko murder has acted as a reminder that this deadly repression continues daily, and as the flimsy cover-up unravels it has provided a penetrating view into the gearbox of Vorster's white supremacist hell.

It is a rare occasion when the bare-faced lies of the Pretoria regime are daily exposed in minute detail by the bourgeois press throughout the world as they have been concerning the inquest into the death of this leader of the "black consciousness" movement. The Biko case would certainly not have stayed in the spotlight for so long if U.S. imperialism did not have its own interest in posing as a "concerned" defender of a black leader who had sought the aid of Jimmy Carter. Perhaps also it would have been quickly forgotten if there were the slightest doubt about police responsibility for his death. But there was none.

Immediately following Biko's death Minister of Justice Kruger fabricated a story that would insult the intelligence of the most dull-witted cub reporter. Without the slightest investigation or even the flimsiest substantiation Kruger declared that Biko died as a result of a

six-day hunger strike.

Blacks in South Africa were not alone in rejecting this ludicrous attempt at a cover-up. Even the U.S. government, itself renowned for the murder of black prisoners, took advantage of the opportunity to make moral capital at the expense of Pretoria, declaring that Biko was "another victim of the apartheid system." After the inquest verdict the Carter administration went further, stopping just short of saying Biko was murdered: "We are shocked by the verdict in the face of compelling evidence at the least that Stephen Biko was the victim of flagrant neglect and official irresponsibility," said a State Department spokesman (*New York Times*, 3 December).

The government of John Balthazar Vorster is not as susceptible to outside pressure and fickle "world opinion" as mush-headed liberal moralists and reformist pseudo-socialists would presume. Long before the inquest began the South African government declared flatly that on no account would it prosecute the police officials implicated in Biko's death. Vorster and Kruger took a cavalier attitude toward the case, the Minister of Justice quipping that Biko's death "left him cold."

A Nationalist Party Member of Parliament Frik le Roux on the campaign trail took the regime's arrogance a step further when he brazenly declared, "I would have killed Steve Biko." Taking advantage of the obvious irony of the U.S.' condemning anyone else's racism, a Nationalist Party paper cautioned le Roux against creating the impression that South Africa would resort to the abhorrent American practice of lynching.

If lynching is the special form of racist "justice" in the U.S., then the endless "accidental deaths" have become the trademark of apartheid "justice" in South Africa. Biko was the seventeenth black political detainee to be killed in the last year. He joins scores of others who have died in mysterious ways since the security laws were first introduced in 1963. Suliman Saloogie died on 9 September 1964 after falling seven floors from the top of the security building in Johannesburg. Nicodimus Kgoathe died 5 February 1969: "slipped in the shower." Solomon Modipane "slipped on soap, natural death, no inquest necessary" on 2 February 1969. Ahmed Timol "fell from 10th floor



Ox-drawn cart carries Biko's coffin to stadium.

Majofra/Contact

window," died 27 October 1971. Phakamile Mabija on 7 July 1977 "fell from sixth floor of Kimberly police station" (*London Times*, 9 November 1977). In most cases there was no inquiry. When there was an inquiry the verdict was always the same: no police responsibility—died of natural causes, or suicide, or as the result of an accident. Not one of the killers has been punished; not once have the police been implicated.

### Cover-up Uncovered

From the very first word out of Kruger's mouth it was clear the treatment of Biko's slaying would be the same as in the cases of other murdered black prisoners. When the autopsy report, prepared within days of Biko's death, showed that he had died of a brain injury Kruger dropped the hunger-strike story. But he quickly concocted an even more preposterous explanation of Biko's death: a melee, supposedly provoked by Biko, who is then purported to have fallen and hit his head. Kruger chuckled, "I can tell you that under press harassment I have also felt like banging my head against the wall many times. But now, reading the Biko autopsy, I realize it may be fatal."

Kruger's new alibi for the police did not explain how Biko had suffered cuts, burns and bruises on 25 different parts of his body. In addition to extensive brain damage several of Biko's ribs were

torn from his breast bone.

Despite Kruger's assurances that "heads would roll" if the police were implicated, no statements were taken from police until six weeks after Biko's death, when the new story had been worked out. Nevertheless not one of the statements mentioned Biko's falling. In a carefully orchestrated effort each policeman was instructed what to say by the head of the Special Branch, including distributing to each cop the autopsy report and pictures.

Little by little the true story of Biko's murder has come into focus: 26 days of deadly torture and degradation. Biko was arrested on August 18 under the infamous Terrorism Act, which permits the government to detain its opponents indefinitely without trial. He was held naked in solitary confinement for 19 days. On the twentieth day he was taken to an interrogation room. His hands and feet were shackled to a metal grill while he was alternately questioned and beaten for 50 hours. As a result of the beating Biko slipped into unconsciousness for a time. In a state of incoherence, his body conspicuously bloody and broken, Biko was examined by a doctor who declared him to be completely healthy.

In the next several days as Biko's condition deteriorated the police went

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