

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 98

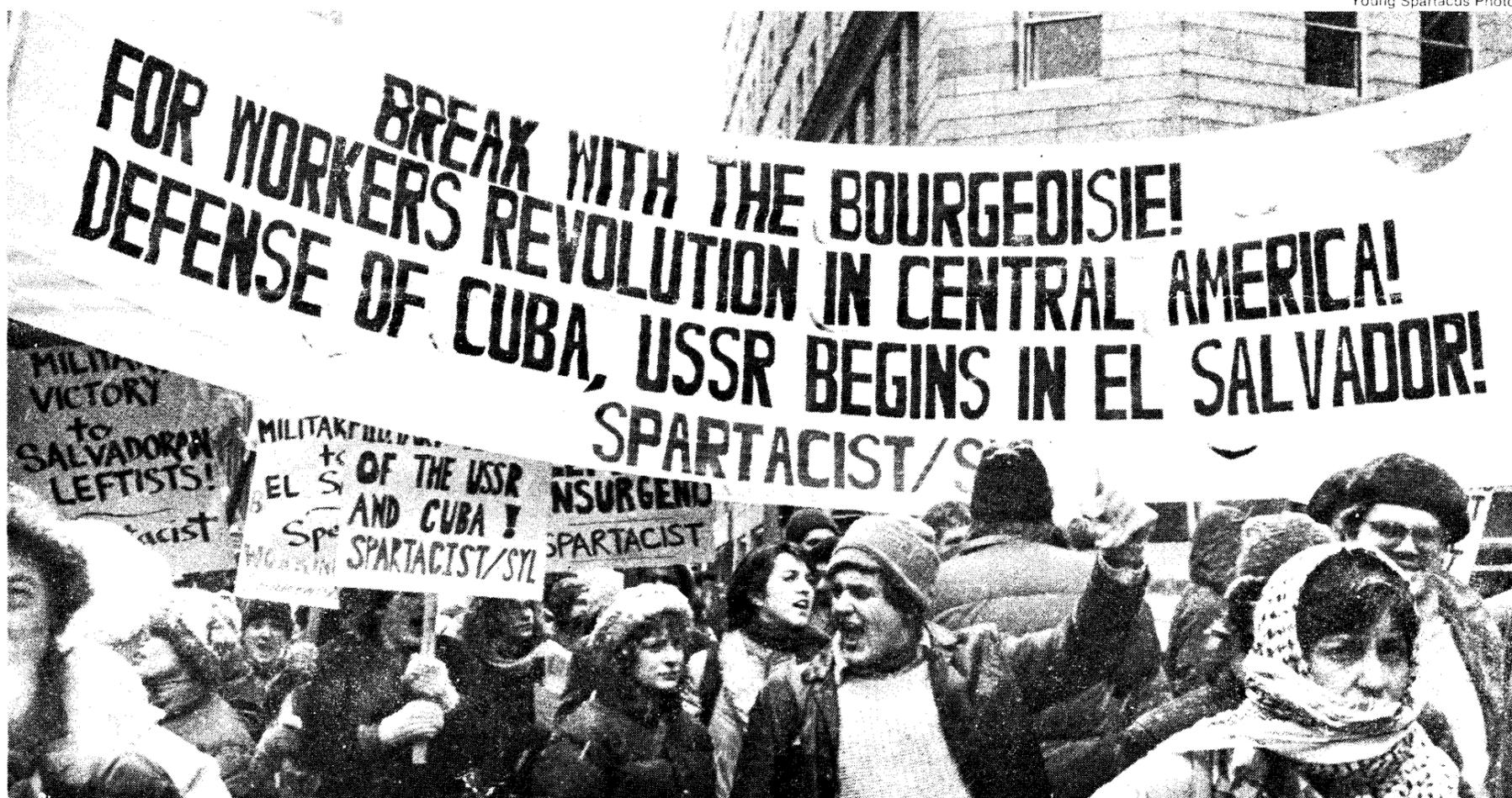
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MARCH 1982

Workers Revolution—Our “Political Solution”

Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!



Young Spartacus Photo

Boston—Trotskyists of the SYL at El Salvador demonstration, 13 February.

The Spartacists are the only ones who have told the truth on El Salvador, the only ones who have put forward a revolutionary program to free the long-suffering Central American masses from a holocaust of death and destruction.

The reformists beg Reagan for a “political solution” with the junta. We said it is a dangerous illusion to think that the massacres can be stopped by talking with the blood-crazed military butchers. They must be smashed, once and for all. That is why the Trotskyists call for “Military Victory to Leftist

Insurgents in El Salvador!”

The reformists try to hide from the Cold War and the class war, pretending that the struggle is only about self-determination (national independence). We said that El Salvador is on the front line of Reagan’s anti-Soviet war drive. And we proclaimed openly, “Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador!”

Eager for a bloc with the imperialist “doves,” the reformists are trying to keep the movement “ready for Teddy” Kennedy (just like they kept the Viet-

nam antiwar movement “clean for Gene” McCarthy) by *excluding the reds*. When goons and physical attacks could not silence the communists they increasingly resorted to calling on the cops, the armed fist of the capitalist state. But that won’t work either.

The line is drawn over El Salvador—which side are you on? Those who fight for a victory of the Salvadoran masses over their oppressors, those who want to defeat the Yankee imperialists and their rapacious Latin oligarchies, will march on March 27 with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist

League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). Join us!

Butcher Junta on the Run!

The guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have got the junta forces on the run. According to a military observer in San Salvador, “The left is running circles around the army, and the army is getting dizzier and dizzier” (*Newsweek*, 15 February). The insurgents’ most spectacular success was the

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Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent March 27, Washington, D.C.

SYL: For Revolutionary Integrationism! Black Nationalist Demagogues at UCLA

LOS ANGELES—Over 750 people came to hear some prominent black nationalists offer their "strategy" for black development in the '80s at a "debate" held at the University of California (UCLA) in January. Few of the students who came to hear the reactionary utopian demagogy of a Ron Karenga of US or a Harold X of the Black Muslims were really interested in going "back" to Africa or founding a separate black nation. But the bankruptcy of liberalism allows nationalist hucksters to again pose as a "militant" alternative before black youth who see American society as utterly and unchangeably racist.

Reagan reaction has meant catastrophic unemployment, especially for black workers, the starvation of the ghetto masses and the dismembering of the minimal and even token gains of the

their white class brothers, black workers can be in the forefront of the struggle against all aspects of decaying American capitalism—wage slashing, massive unemployment, racist terror and anti-Soviet militarism.

That is the strategy of revolutionary integrationism, brought to the UCLA forum by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). All that the nationalists could offer was hysteria against "the white man," "the devil" and attacks on other oppressed groups. California is full of "faggots," they said; because you tolerate these "sinners," there will soon be earthquakes in Los Angeles and "San Fransissycy." There was plenty of anti-Semitism too—one speaker referred to UCLA as "Jew-CLA."

Aside from despicable race-baiting and gay-baiting, the nationalists offered only their own version of segregation.

Workers Vanguard Photo



Anti-deportation demo in New York, 2 January. Cultural nationalists tell blacks to go back to their "homeland"—who wants to go back to Haiti?

1960s civil rights movement. Busing has been killed in practice, and a bill in the U.S. Senate would put the legislative nail in its coffin. As Reagan openly fosters Jim Crow policies, there has been a sharp increase in cop terror and Klan/Nazi attacks on blacks and Latins. The "American Dream," now illusory even for middle-class whites, has become a living nightmare for blacks. The pork barrels are empty as the stagnant economy is looted by a military budget aimed at preparing a nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union.

The nationalist demagogues trade on black despair. Yet the black working class, concentrated in strategic industries, has the power to smash Reagan reaction. Together with and leading

The speaker for the National Black Human Rights Coalition told the audience that the main reason why blacks are oppressed is that "the Man doesn't have our interest at heart.... We need to build all types of black organizations around our interests because the unions are our enemy organizations." Reverend Robert Reeves said that "the Bible states that there will be no integration between the righteous and the unrighteous." Karenga went even further: "The problem facing black people is not jobs, not education, not housing, not Medicare, but cultural nationalism!"

The nationalists present no strategy for black struggle in this country, pretending instead that black workers can go "back" to Africa. During the so-called question and answer period, an SYL spokesman took the microphone—and was surrounded by Black Muslim goons as soon as he mentioned the working class. As the SYLer said before the mike was cut off, "If you people go to Detroit black auto workers with such reactionary token schemes, they would tell you to go to hell!" They sure would—what laid-off black worker is going to take seriously those who tell him his problems are all due to his lack of cultural nationalism?

What defines the pan-Africanists and advocates of a "separate black nation" is that they never fight for democratic rights for blacks in the U.S. Because they fantasize about returning to Africa, they never seek to mobilize the black

masses against their oppression here and now.

That nationalist ideology cannot be a guide in the struggle against black oppression is demonstrated by the Black Panthers of the late 1960s, the one group which seriously attempted to carry out such a program. The Panthers galvanized the hopes of a generation of militant black youth but were able to present no way forward. After a murderous cop/FBI vendetta had decimated their ranks, the Panthers decomposed into warring cliques. A few remnants held out for increasingly desperate adventurism while the wing around Huey Newton returned to "community"-oriented Democratic Party politics.

The Panthers represented the most serious wing of the 1960s black movement, which sought to reject the empty "cultural nationalism" of sinister figures like Ron Karenga. In 1969 Newton had written:

"The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. [Haitian dictator] "Papa Doc" [Duvalier] is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than blacks, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

—"Huey Newton Talks to The Movement..." in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak* (1970)

This captures the intention of the nationalists. They do not pose a challenge to the source of black oppression—capitalism. What they dream about is their own state so they can develop black capitalism under the guise of African-style "socialism"—i.e., to exploit their "own people" as in Uganda under Idi Amin, or Ghana where Kwame Nkrumah crushed workers' strikes.

The reactionary character of cultural nationalism is starkly exposed by the plight of the Haitians. If they were consistent, the cultural nationalists should tell the Haitians to go back to their "homeland"—"Baby Doc" Duvalier's island hell. And they shouldn't want to oppose Reagan's attempts to prevent the integration of black Haitians into the U.S. and to deport the few that survive the shark-infested waters between Port-au-Prince and Miami. Such a line, of course, would make the Pan-Africanists despised by just about every black in the U.S. We communists, who demand an end to the deportations and call for full citizenship rights for the Haitian refugees, are a lot closer to the gut feelings of American blacks than any cultural nationalist who dared to take his ideology to its logical conclusion.

Similarly, the cultural nationalists have nothing to say about police terror against blacks, except to railroad black outrage into reformist channels, like impotent citizen police review boards. In L.A., nationalist demagogue Amen Rahh is directing his troops on a drive to recall District Attorney John Van de Kamp—the man who dropped the charges against the cops who killed black football star Ron Settles. Van de Kamp may vacate the position anyway—he's running for attorney

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Harberger...

(continued from page 12)

to mow down the picketers with his car. Fortunately, one of the marchers was able to yell out a warning and push several other demonstrators to safety just in time. Harberger missed by a matter of feet.

Had Harberger been successful, it's more than likely one or several of the protesters would have been fatally injured. At the very least, that sidewalk would have been red with blood. Earlier, Paul Harberger had unsuccessfully attempted to get the Chicago cops to stop the legal and orderly protest. When the cops refused to disperse the picket line, Harberger decided to take matters into his own hands.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), initiator of the protest against Arnold Harberger, is actively pursuing a conviction of Paul Harberger for assault. The case goes before the Chicago criminal court Tuesday, February 16. We demand that Paul Harberger be jailed for his attempt on the lives of the student and leftist protesters January 28.

Whatever Harberger's motives for this potentially murderous attack, his methods could have been picked up on the streets of Santiago. Harberger's father Arnold is an intimate associate of the despised Chilean junta and the architect, along with former UC professor Milton Friedman, of the junta's economic policy of mass starvation and unemployment known as "shock treatment." Mrs. Harberger, Paul's mother, is a member of a wealthy Chilean ruling class family. The Chilean bourgeoisie has the "distinction" of overthrowing Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government in the CIA-aided 1973 coup, slaughtering tens of thousands of workers and peasants in the process and reestablishing Chile as one of the junior partners of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. In addition to mass murder of its political opponents, the Pinochet junta is killing large numbers of the Chilean population through simple starvation—using the economic programs "prescribed" by Harberger and Friedman.

That Harberger was booked and fingerprinted is good. But there will undoubtedly be a large discrepancy between the sentence he deserves and that which the court metes out to him. While this is not Chile, where trade unions and left political parties are proscribed and government-initiated assassinations are simply taken for granted—Orlando Letelier was assassinated in Washington, D.C., not in Santiago. And the convicted murderers of Letelier managed somehow to get released on a "technicality." The Klan/Nazis who shot to death five members of the Communist Workers Party in

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

Friday: 5:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor (near 17th Street),
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
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Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St.
near Church St.) New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario
Phone: (416) 593-4138

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Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY
FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
vs.
Black Nationalism

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Our comrade Toni Randell died February 12 of cancer. A cadre of the Spartacist League for more than ten years, comrade Toni had been a member of the New York and Bay Area SL branches, a member of the Central Control Commission and a candidate member of the SL Central Committee. She was tragically only 38 years old at the time of her death.

We publish below the tribute read at comrade Toni's funeral. The poem is adapted from Bertolt Brecht. The paragraphs from Trotsky are from his "Testament" dated 27 February 1940 (*Writings of Leon Trotsky [1939-40]*).

An obituary will appear in *Workers Vanguard* following the memorial meetings which will be held Saturday, February 27.

* * * * *

I need no gravestone, but
If you need one for me
I wish the inscription would
read:

She made suggestions.
We
Have acted on them.
Such an epitaph would
Honor us all.

We have come here today to honor Toni. Each of us will miss Toni in his own way, each will remember her in his own way. She was mother, daughter, wife, friend and comrade. Toni determined that she would spend her life as a communist. She lived and died a hard communist.

Toni Randell

8 November 1943—12 February 1982



For me, her strength, perseverance, kindness and very special sense of humor have been an inspiration during the years I have known her.

Our memories of Toni will continue to be an inspiration to us all, and especially to [Toni's daughter] Jessica, whom she loved so dearly.

In closing, I would like to read a testament written by Leon Trotsky during an illness in 1940. I know that Toni read these words often and in them found much comfort.

"For forty-three years of my conscious life I have remained a revolutionist; for forty-two of them I have fought under the banner of Marxism. If I had to begin all over again I would of course try to avoid this or that mistake, but the main course of my life would remain unchanged. I shall die a proletarian revolutionist, a Marxist, a dialectical materialist, and, consequently, an irreconcilable atheist. My faith in the communist future of mankind is not less ardent, indeed it is firmer today, than it was in the days of my youth.

"Natacha has just come up to the window from the courtyard and opened it wider so that the air may enter more freely into my room. I can see the bright green strip of grass beneath the wall, and the clear blue beautiful sky above the wall, and sunlight everywhere. Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full."

Greensboro walked out of the courtroom free men. So did the white Milwaukee cops who killed 22-year-old Ernest Lacy, a black man, last July while arresting him for a crime from which he has been posthumously cleared. That's bourgeois "justice." Nonetheless, we fight with determination for every democratic right and to defend against victimization of our organization and those who join in our struggles.

Legal action against Paul Harberger is not the only question posed by the incident at the UC International House January 28. A number of those in the pro-Harberger coterie formed a small counterdemonstration and chanted "Pinochet! Pinochet!"—an incident which provides a glimpse of the "Chicago Boy"/junta ties, which are very real indeed. UC is a haven and a laboratory for accomplices in mass murder as long as Harberger and Friedman maintain their "academic" posts.

Like the rest of the "ivy league" imperialist think tanks, UC is fond of making much of its commitment to high-minded principles and serious scholarly pursuit for truth in the service of mankind. UC got its start, in fact, from a hefty donation from the Rockefeller dynasty and houses a collection of academic prostitutes similar to that which can be found at Harvard or Columbia. "Academic freedom" means freedom for the bourgeoisie to use the university as it sees fit, like the "pioneering" work done at UC to develop the atom bomb. The UC trustees were certainly free to hand over \$25,000 and an award for promoting "international understanding" to Robert McNamara, war criminal. As for the bulk of the student population who reacted with

outrage at this obscene gesture to one of the principal strategists of the genocidal imperialist war in Vietnam, they weren't even allowed mild protest without reprisal. Twenty-five of the 1,500 who protested the McNamara award were arrested.

Naturally, UC tried to deny or minimize our charges against Harberger/Friedman during the course of the widely-supported and publicized campaign of protest and exposure aimed at ridding the campus of these "Chicago Boys." But the Chile connection is too big to hide under academic robes, just as Henry Kissinger's direct responsibility for imperialist butchery in Indochina could not be hemmed and hawed away by the trustees of Columbia University in 1977 when they tried in vain to endow him with a professorship. Harberger's contributions to the junta haven't been restricted to the Econ department—although that connection is critical and two thirds of Chile's chief economists are UC grads. He also has U.S. government connections and has served as an advisor to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the American Commerce Department and State Department. His March 1975 visit to Chile "coincided" with \$98,750,000 in IMF "aid" to the junta. *Young Spartacus* (December 1976) documented the following:

"Fact: Witnesses testifying before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities in December 1975 disclosed that some of Friedman/Harberger's 'Chicago Boys' received CIA money to write a 300-page economic blueprint that was given to the Chilean generals in preparation for their coup (*Business Week*, 12 January 1976).

"Fact: On 21 March 1975 Friedman, accompanied by Harberger and Brazil-

ian economist Carlos Langoni, met with junta chief Augusto Pinochet... At this time Friedman outlined his 'shock treatment' and counseled, 'Don't worry about your international image any more, Mr. President. Just make sure that the international corporations find it profitable here, and nothing more' (*Ercilla* [Santiago], 2-8 April 1975).
"Fact: A new cabinet including numerous 'Chicago Boys' was installed by the junta to implement the 'shock treatment' immediately after the departure of Friedman and Harberger (*Facts on File*, 10 May 1975)...."

The Reagan years of unabashed union busting, spiraling unemployment and murderous cuts in social services bring a version of Friedmanite economics to the U.S., the general assumption of the Reagan "team" being that welfare mothers, ghetto school children and industrial workers should starve in order to pay for bombs aimed at the Soviet Union. A corollary of this reactionary policy is the ideological struggle to whip up anti-communism among students and youth, the better to rope them into a fight in Central America for "free world" profits against virtually the entire working and peasant populations of the region. In this climate of bourgeois opinion, the Friedmans and Harbergers feel free to operate with relative impunity.

Certainly Paul Harberger must have imagined he could get away with trying to kill 25 people. Such hubris can be dangerous: we do not intend to be the passive victims of anybody, much less the demented progeny of Pinochet-lovers. Paul Harberger should be jailed.

That Arnold Harberger continues to teach on the UC campus is a disgraceful endorsement of mass starvation and terror in Chile. What is called for is a victorious conclusion to the campaign,

begun by the SYL in 1975, to drive Harberger/Friedman off campus by a militant mobilization of students, faculty and workers.

It is the modus operandi of the world imperialist system that "freedom" is decided by napalm and "destabilization." The final revenge for the strategic hamlets, the torture stadiums and the bantustans will not be tasted until the world proletariat rises up and sweeps away this system through socialist revolution. The SYL has as its task the winning of students and youth to a lifetime of partisanship of the working class in its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism. Only by building the revolutionary party, dedicated to this goal, can we finally sweep Harberger and his ilk into the dustbin of history. ■

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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March 1982

SYL Celebrates Victory at Harvard

When Harvard University tutor and research assistant Melanie Billings Yun attempted to frame up Spartacus Youth League (SYL) supporter Keith Manning on assault charges last November, the SYL immediately began to fight the charges on both legal and political terrains. Yun had attempted to paint us as criminals for preventing right-wing counterdemonstrators from breaking up our forum "Time Runs Out in Poland—Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution." And she got support for her "war on communism" from the Harvard administration, which quickly jumped in with legal advice and loads of money. But for once, "Hahvahd" lost—the charges against Manning were dropped in January. This was a victory not only for the SYL but also for other leftists, minorities and unionists on the campus. As we reported in the last issue of *Young Spartacus*, in the process of fighting the case we found several "Strange Things Under Har-

vard's Rocks" (see *YSp* No. 97, February 1982 for the juicy details).

We wanted our victory to be known, so we embarked on a campaign to get the *YSp* article into as many hands as possible. We successfully distributed the paper at Harvard as well as neighborhoods and campuses in the area. To date, almost 800 copies of *YSp* have been sold—three times the regular Boston quota. The paper was also sent to *Workers Vanguard* subscribers and to Ivy League newspapers which just might be interested in getting some dirt on their rival. The Harvard *Crimson*, of course, has still refused to print anything we've submitted to them on the Manning case. But that didn't prevent then-*Crimson* president William McKibben from buying a copy of *YSp* because, he (modestly) told us, he had heard we had written an article about him!

Unlike Yun, we didn't have Harvard's vast financial resources at

our disposal, so fundraising was crucial to defray Manning's rather hefty legal costs. Besides raising over \$1,800 in donations, the SYL also netted \$1,000 from a film showing of the Russian classic *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Over 600 people attended this movie on the Bolshevik Revolution, and many purchased copies of *YSp* and stayed to hear an SYL spokesman's presentation on the Manning case.

The SYL has long been active at Harvard and we intend to stay. It's certainly not because we're attracted to the "mystique" of this pretentious training ground for the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie—quite the opposite. We loathe the class privileges which Harvard epitomizes. We want to recruit those who break from the elite of the "Yard" and devote their talents to the struggle for socialist revolution, in the tradition of Harvard's greatest graduate, John Reed.



John Reed, Class of '10

More Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks

Dean Epps Strikes (Out) Again

On January 5 Brad Mank, president of Harvard's South African Solidarity Committee (SASC), entered their campus office and discovered that all SASC's pamphlets, leaflets and organizational records had disappeared. A night custodian informed Mank that during the Christmas break a "well-dressed man entered the office by means of a key." Mank's suspicions led him directly to the office of the dean of students, Archie Epps III, whereupon Epps' personal secretary, John Howe, admitted the "housecleaning." Howe at first claimed Dean Epps was "not involved" in this outrageous raid, and according to the 12 February Harvard *Crimson* claimed the SASC's literature constituted "a fire hazard"! But SASC's threat of a court suit forced Epps and Howe to formally apologize and hand over \$450 in an out-of-court settlement.

Epps, the black front man for the arrogantly racist Harvard administration, recently gained notoriety at Harvard for his involvement in the administration's vicious effort to frame up and jail SYL supporter Keith Manning (see

"Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks," *YSp* No. 97, February). Nor is this the first time he has been implicated in an administration raid against political students. In February 1980 Epps raided the office of the Friends of the SYL and confiscated socialist literature. The direct precipitant of the present atrocity against the SASC was apparently the group's campaign against Harvard's financial connections with the apartheid regime in South Africa. The raid preceded a meeting of the Harvard Corporation's Committee on Shareholder Responsibility where a retraction of "divestment" pledges was planned.

Though the SYL does not support liberal "divestment" schemes as a strategy to fight apartheid, we fully solidarize with the SASC against the Harvard administration's racist harassment. Following the settlement, SASC president Mank told us: "I wanted to get the apology... to see the lies he [Epps] would come up with.... The fact that Epps gave the money so readily is clear proof that he knew he was going to lose in court." Mank termed the raid on the SASC office "a coordinated effort by the administration."

Stop political censorship against Harvard students! Down with Dean Epps! Nationalize Harvard! For open admissions! ■

What's Salient at Harvard?

CAMBRIDGE—Not to be outdone by Dartmouth, Harvard Conservatives have their own newspaper, the *Salient*. It's got the obligatory cartoons of brave-looking Marines, jaws set with determination to avenge U.S. imperialism's humiliation in Vietnam by slaughtering even greater numbers of workers and peasants in El Salvador. It is obnoxiously and snidely anti-homosexual (which seems to be a preoccupation with Conservative newspapers).

Having spent the bulk of our last issue exposing various "Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks" (*YSp* No. 97) we were not surprised to discover a familiar creature among the *Salient* staff. We initially encountered managing editor Mark Sauter under less literary circumstances—when he participated in a counterdemonstration against the SYL's November 12 forum on Poland. The counterdemonstrators unsuccessfully attempted to break up and/or shut down the event, but one of them—Melanie B. Yun—subsequently filed spurious assault charges against SYL supporter Keith Manning (see accompanying story). Sauter appeared in court as a witness for Yun and later appeared at Manning's work place with Charles Brockunier, Harvard alumnus and "Boston businessman." Brockunier made repeated visits, engaging in verbal and finally physical harassment of Manning; he also appeared on a CBS news broadcast in December—interviewing two captured Russian soldiers in Afghanistan who were about to be executed.

We reprint here a section of Sauter's column, "Veritas," which offers "to send the names of nonregistrants to the Selective Service in order to speed their martyrdom." Finkitas.

According to the *New York Times* (13 October 1981) this rash of right-wing journalism in the Ivy Leagues cannot be

ascribed simply to an unprecedented outbreak of intellectual fervor among preppies. William Simon, Treasury Secretary under Nixon and Ford, and one Irving Kristol have formed the "Institute for Educational Affairs"—one of two leading financiers for Conservative newspapers such as the *Salient*. As Simon put it, "Why should businessmen be financing left-wing intellectuals and institutions which espouse the exact opposite of what they believe in?" Irving Kristol may be remembered for his editorship of *Encounter* magazine, which in 1966 was exposed as a long-time "indirect" beneficiary of CIA monies.

The Institute dispensed more than \$1 million for the "propagation of new voices in the academic world" during 1981, of which the Dartmouth *Review* got \$10,000. Working with the Institute is the Olin Foundation—presided over by Mr. Simon as well—which spent about \$3.3 million last year for "scholarship in the philosophy of a free society and economics of a free market."

As the *Salient* subscription ad says: "Pravda Means 'Truth'—The Salient Means Business." ■

THE SALIENT

Prisoners of Convenience

President Reagan's extension of draft registration drew howls at Harvard. According to John Lindsay '82 of the Radcliffe-Harvard Peace Alliance, "draft registration is being used as a prop. a tool to build militarism in general in this nation." A *Crimson* poll indicated that 34 percent of Harvard students would evade a peacetime draft, and that 10 percent of those legally required to register have not done so. The *Salient*, in a spirit of public service, offers to send the names of nonregistrants to the Selective Service in order to speed their martyrdom. Civil disobedience, after all, means nothing without sacrifice. The punishment for failing to register is five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine, but, as nonregistrants are ethically motivated conscientious objectors and not selfish cowards, these penalties should not deter them from public protest. Right?

Strike one: Dean Archie Epps III being ejected by radical students during 1969 takeover of University Hall to protest Vietnam War.



AP

Madison PSO Caught With Its Pants Down

Reprinted below is a leaflet by the Madison SYL written January 26 in response to an anti-Soviet tirade over Poland appearing in the Progressive Student Organization's campus newsletter. When we exposed the similarity between the PSO's statements on Poland and those of the Moonies, it caused quite a stir. Since the writing of our leaflet, the PSO and Michael Harrington's DSOC jointly sponsored a speech by "Solidarność co-founder" Wojtek Karpinski. Billed as a forum to cut through Reagan's hypocrisy over Poland, it came out during the introduction that Karpinski was in the U.S. when martial law was declared, on a State Department speaking tour! Perhaps in the future we will have to listen to White House press conferences to get the "PSO News."

The Progressive Student Organization (PSO) has joined Washington, Wall Street, and even the Moonies in mourning Polish Solidarity, the counterrevolutionary company union for the CIA and Western bankers. Solidarność has consolidated around an openly anti-socialist program seeking the restoration of capitalism under the banner of "Western democracy" and the Pope. While anti-Soviet "progressives" in PSO were hailing Solidarity as the great defender of the Polish working class, Walesa and Co. were in France secretly meeting with 20 or more hard-nosed American corporate executives, the very same capitalists who are waging war on U.S. workers! And now, when the savage union buster Reagan hails Solidarity in the name of "workers rights" and "the beginning of the end of Communism," it should set off alarm bells in the heads of leftists everywhere. But not the PSO.

In an editorial that could have been written by Gen. Haig, the *PSO News* in its first (and hopefully last) issue echoes the U.S. State Dept. in charging that martial law was "mandated by the Soviet Union." The fact is that it was the Polish military that launched a counter-coup. Before the crackdown, Solidarity leaders secretly met in Radom to plan a counterrevolutionary grab for power. Someone turned the tapes of this meeting over to the government, which repeatedly played them on state radio. With their secret plans exposed, the leadership of Solidarity announced it was organizing a national referendum on forming an anti-communist government and breaking the military alliance with the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. Solidarność leaders were moving to overthrow not merely the corrupt and discredited Stalinist regime, but the social gains inherited from the

MOONIES SAY:

WST/Holly Sherman



"Americans protest Chancellor Schmidt's complacency toward Poland during the German leader's visit to Washington, D.C."

—Moonies' *World Student Times*, 16 January 1982

PSO SAYS:

"...the European countries like Germany can't even look past their trade with the Soviets to support the sanctions."

—*PSO News*, No. 1, January 1982

From Mao to Moon? Madison "Progressive Student" Organization echoes Moonies in denouncing European "softness" on the Russians.

Bolshevik Revolution—centrally a collectivized planned economy. This would be a world historic defeat for the working class, not only opening up Poland for imperialist exploitation, but also emboldening Reagan in his war drive against the Soviet Union.

Class-conscious workers must be won to the program of defending proletarian state power against the kind of clerical-nationalist mobilization that brought Poland to the brink of counterrevolution, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is a monumental crime of Stalinism that three decades of misrule and mismanagement have, for now, driven the mass of the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican and NATO imperialism.

The PSO, however, would rather join with Reagan/Haig in fighting the "Soviet menace" than oppose the administration's anti-communist crusade. Unabashedly endorsing Reagan's Cold War sanctions like a bunch of patriotic flag wavers, the PSO writes, "Reagan has suddenly found it in him to support human rights and the European countries like Germany can't even look

past their trade with the Soviets to support the sanctions."(!) Similarly, the reactionary Moonie rag, *World Student Times*, recently ran a headline "Soviets Must Be Held Accountable" and showed a photo of demonstrators protesting West German "softness" on the Russians.

We Trotskyists in the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) were not too surprised to see the PSO and the anti-communist Moonies together on this issue. The PSO originated as the liberal front group of the Revolutionary Student Brigade, a group of rabidly anti-Soviet pro-Chinese Stalinists. Over the years, the Maoists (following China's alliance with U.S. imperialism) have backed the same side as South Africa in Angola, supported the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, opposed busing for school integration, declared homosexuality a "sickness," and hailed anti-woman Islamic reactionaries in Afghan-

istan and Iran. So we expect to see the PSO bringing up the rear of the current right-wing parade of Solidarity supporters. Still, the PSO's parallel editorial stance with the Moonies on Poland raises some interesting questions. Is the *World Student Times* among "some sources" used by the *PSO News*? Or do they both just share a common belief in Reagan's anti-Soviet demonology?

The Progressive Student Network (PSN) conference in Ann Arbor last fall showed all these anti-communist trends to the fullest, especially their support to the capitalist Democratic Party, the party of the Vietnam War, the Bay of Pigs and Hiroshima. The PSN conference resolved to go on a voter registration drive for "Revenge in '82" so we could get more Democrats elected! The Madison PSO has consistently organized platforms for the "progressive" Democrats from the anti-Reagan "We the People" coalition to the recent abortion rights "Celebration." Why doesn't the PSO just go ahead and join the Democratic Party like DSOC? So worried are they about liberal sensitivity that the PSN conference voted to delete the word "socialist" from a resolution calling for an "independent and socialist" Puerto Rico!

Any student radical should cringe when reading in the *PSO News*, "In the struggle to defend education, university administrators should be our natural allies." To people in the PSO who crossed picket lines during the TAA strike, union busters like Chancellor Shain are your natural allies! Today, the PSO also tries to appeal to disillusioned student Republicans of draft age with their headline, "Reagan Sells Out!"

Last semester, PSO spokesman Bill Silver declared quite openly that the question of socialist revolution was not posed today. This is a logical position if you think there is a future in the decaying, racist capitalist system. We invite the PSO to debate the SYL so that PSOers can defend what is "progressive" about their politics. But most likely PSO will carry out their cowardly exclusions of the SYL from its "public" meetings because they can't defend their politics. If you want to build a revolutionary workers movement to bring Reagan and the whole capitalist class down, the PSO is not for you. Fight for a socialist program and join the SYL!

Madison Spartacus Youth League

Drop the Charges Against the Holyoke 45!

Forty-five people protesting U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta were arrested during a sit-in at the Holyoke, Massachusetts office of Republican Congressman Silvio Conte on February 11. They are scheduled to appear in court on February 25 on charges of "trespassing after notice" and disorderly conduct. Despite our many political differences with these protesters, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) demands that all charges against the Holyoke 45 be dropped!

One of the demands raised during the sit-in was that Conte agree to vote against additional military and economic aid to the junta and that he begin to "represent" his constituency. This touching faith in American bourgeois democracy was complemented by the overt patriotism of the protesters. Northampton Committee on El Salvador, Western Massachusetts Latin American Solidarity Com-

mittee and Communist Party supporters marched on Conte's office prominently carrying the stars and stripes of Yankee imperialism.

Conte had earlier authorized a staff member to go on a "fact-finding" trip to El Salvador. After being told of the sit-in, he issued an ambiguous previously prepared statement from Washington. All of this was deemed "totally unacceptable" by the protesters. Yet, they called the sit-in a victory because, as one of those arrested said, "He clearly wouldn't have made the statements if we weren't here."

The SYL defends these muddle-headed reformists not because we have any sympathy for their wretched politics. We defend these people because they are victims of the Reagans, Haigs and Contes, i.e., the same imperialist state which is godfather to the sadistic Salvadoran junta butchers and mortal enemy of the world working class. Drop the charges!

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Amherst: SYL, P.O. Box 176, Amherst, MA 01004, or call (413) 546-9906

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Champaign-Urbana: SYL, P.O. Box 2009, Champaign-Urbana, IL 61820, or call (217) 356-1180

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

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 868-9095

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 255-2342

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8, or call (604) 681-2422

El Salvador Protests: SYL

"We Call for Rebel Victory! They Call the Cops!"

NEW YORK

At a February 20 march in New York City against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) once again showed that all these reformists want is a bloc with pro-imperialist "doves." And to get it,

they're willing to do anything to keep out the communists. When the 100-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) arrived at the rally point, our red flags were flying and our banners demanded "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" CISPES goons unsuccessfully attempted to exclude us—and then they called the cops to do it for them. As they have done before, CISPES brought in the

Young Spartacus Photo



New York, 20 February—CISPES calls cops on SL/SYL. After their own thugs failed to exclude us, CISPES brought in the NYPD.

"I Felt I Had to Choose a Side Then and There..."

We reprint below a letter of application from Kim M., submitted after the 23 January El Salvador demonstration in Los Angeles.

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to explain why I joined the Spartacus Youth League. Academically, for some time now, I have entirely agreed with and admired the writings of Lenin and Trotsky. I have known the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League a couple of years, and have often marched under the red banners of "Military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador," and "For labor/black defense to smash racist terror." My sole problem was with the Russian question. But as a union member, I well know the need to defend and protect any and all forms of workers power, while at

the same time denouncing their bureaucratic leadership.

At the January 23rd CISPES demonstration in solidarity with El Salvador, my comrades were physically ousted from participating in the march—due to their political slogans of "Military victory to the left-wing insurgents" and "Defense of the USSR and Cuba begins in El Salvador." I was totally outraged by this forceful usurpation of simple democratic rights by a group who was calling for a popular front in solidarity with the FDR Democratic Revolutionary Front. I felt I had to choose a side then and there. I chose the only group with the correct socialist program: I turned in my application for membership to the Spartacus Youth League on the spot.

Kim M.

Young Spartacus Photo



Arm in arm for anti-communism: CISPES goons confront SYL at 23 January El Salvador protest in Los Angeles.

armed thugs of the imperialist state to act as a barrier to separate the revolutionaries of the SL/SYL from the mass of the marchers.

While this piece of treachery was taking place, several SL/SYL supporters entered the crowd to distribute literature and explain that we were being excluded because of our revolutionary politics. We demanded, "Leftist Rebels Must Win the War!" CISPES and its hangers-on in the fake Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) said, "Let the People of El Salvador Decide." Decide what? And which "people"? This purposely ambiguous slogan is designed as a cover for CISPES to duck the question of which side they're on in the Salvadoran civil war. But it's clear: CISPES & Co. call for a "negotiated settlement"—a euphemism for a betrayal which would rob the Salvadoran masses of the victory for which they have lost over 30,000 lives in the last two years.

When the demonstration pulled out from United Nations Plaza, the cops took down the barricades and the Anti-Imperialist Contingent formed up to join the march. CISPES goons, including eager thugs from the SWP and PAM, linked arms to try and stop us. As we were breaking through their lines, the cops intervened and separated the Anti-Imperialist Contingent from the rest of the march. Each time the march paused, CISPES goons kept turning around to listen to our chants—and perhaps to make sure that the cops were still there!

Despite the intimidating police lines, over two dozen people crossed over to join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. We were by far the most energetic and militant contingent in the whole march, and our chants rang out all during the demonstration. According to one woman who joined our contingent:

"We were angry that your group had been cut off from the demonstration. You have a right to march here without being singled out and harassed by the police. We just felt angry about it and decided to show our support."

Evening news broadcasts prominently featured the militant Anti-Imperialist Contingent, with its red flags and placards carrying slogans such as "Break With Bourgeois Politicians! For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!" The news reports made it clear that we were the communists—and that fans of the Democratic Party in CISPES wanted nothing to do with us.

As another woman who joined our contingent told a *Young Spartacus* reporter:

"CISPES called the police and we were curious...about why the police were being called against this group. So we found out why. I think it sort of enlightens you as far as knowing who's on what side—who's on the left and who's not, and that's really what it comes down to."

It sure does. And the line between the sides is drawn in blood. ■

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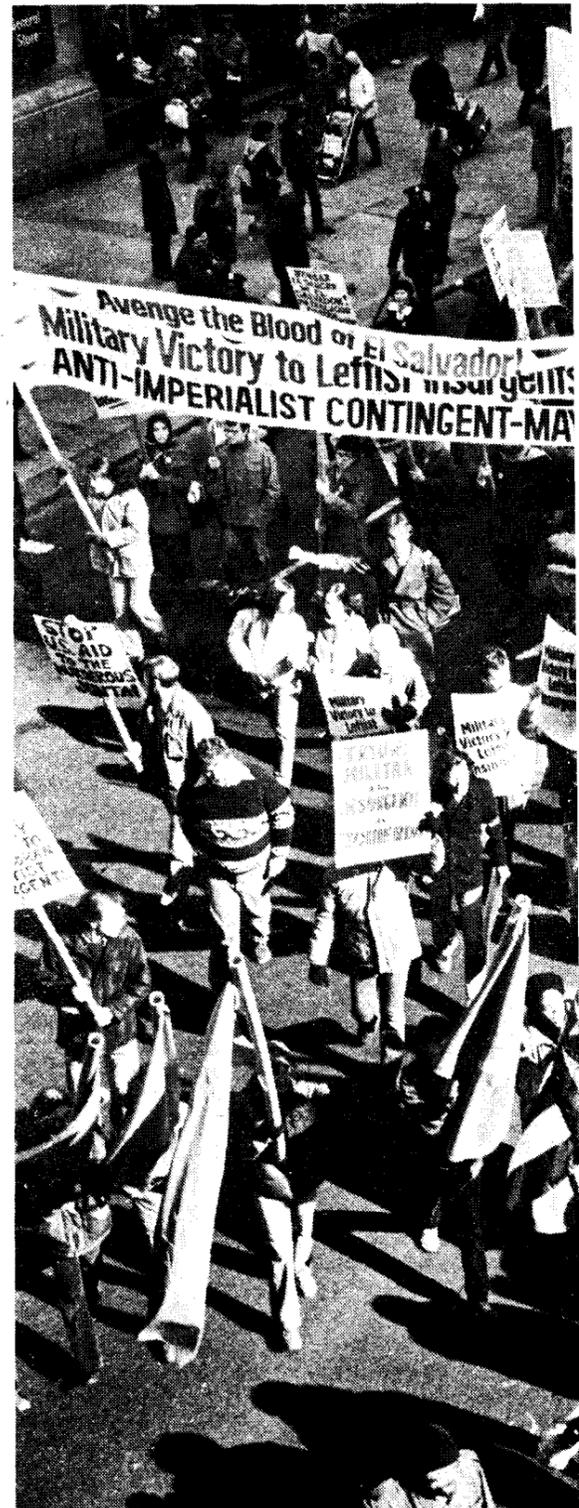
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UMASS AMHERST



El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

destruction of most of the Salvadoran Air Force's planes and helicopters at the Ilopango military base January 27. In response, government forces have escalated their murderous attacks on defenseless Salvadoran civilians. Among the rightist orgies of rape, mutilation and murder was a savage sweep by U.S.-trained troops through Morazán province last December which left a thousand corpses. In the mountain village of Mozote of 500 inhabitants, 482 were killed—280 of whom were children under 14.

Reagan and Haig, frustrated over Poland and furious about the guerrilla successes, have made El Salvador the focal point of their counterrevolutionary war drive against the Soviet Union. Right after American journalists exposed the hideous massacre in Morazán, Reagan certified to Congress that the junta was "making progress" on human rights! He promptly tripled the amount of military aid and doubled the economic aid slated for El Salvador this coming year. But Reagan/Haig's fulminations on the "Red Menace" in Central America haven't convinced the American public. A *Newsweek* (1 March) poll



Salvadoran guerrillas on the offensive against junta butchers.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 7)

party of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam.

"Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta!"

While the SL/SYL demanded an end to all aid to the junta, the liberals and their left-wing tails whimpered about how best to restrict it. CISPES actually hailed the "human rights" certification requirement for U.S. aid to El Salvador as a "decisive breakthrough" and claimed that the certification could not be made "unless radical changes occur in El Salvador prior to October" (*El Salvador Alert*, 1 June 1981). But even the grotesque massacre in Morazán did not stop Ronald Reagan from declaring that the junta has made a "good-faith effort" to deal with its "human rights problems." And as a reward for slaughtering more than 30,000 Salvadoran workers, peasants, women and children in the past two years, the junta will be getting as much as \$300 million in fiscal 1983. *That's about \$10,000 a corpse!*

Reagan and Haig haven't ruled out anything to prop up their junta butchers, especially in the face of recent guerrilla victories. The administration authorized fighter-bombers, troop transports and spotter planes in addition to new helicopters for the Salvadoran Air Force after the raid at Ilopango. Despite Congressional prohibitions, U.S. "advisers" have been filmed carrying M-16s in an area controlled by leftist insurgents. Reagan now wants to drop

Young Spartacus Photo



Reagan's anti-Communism abroad means racist attacks at home.

the inconvenient regulation limiting the arms his "advisers" can carry while training the junta's army on more effective murder techniques.

Unfortunately there is no shortage of horror stories about the U.S.-backed junta's armed forces. The tales of grotesque torture and sadism are all too common. Babies thrown in the air for target practice; 8-year-olds raped and then mutilated to death with bayonets; pregnant women hacked to death and their fetuses ripped from their bodies—the list of atrocities is sickening and endless. The Catholic church uses a computer to keep track of the dead!

While U.S.-trained cowards terrorize and annihilate helpless villagers, the guerrillas have scored some real military successes. After the Ilopango raid the guerrillas launched a coordinated attack on cities and towns throughout the country, gaining control of new areas. *New York Times* reporter Raymond Bonner describes a typical scene:

"Within sight of the rebels' checkpoint were the twisted girders of the Golden Bridge, which was blown up by guerrillas in October. Traffic is now detoured across a railroad bridge, which is guarded by Government soldiers."

—*New York Times*, 6 February

Two days later, the guerrillas successfully attacked government military patrols and blocked the highway near the provincial capital of Usulután with burning trucks. Bonner reported that "a company of about 140 soldiers from the American-trained Atlacatl battalion marched in two columns along the shoulder of the highway" (*New York Times*, 8 February). The image of these mercenaries, helicopters destroyed, passing through rebel checkpoints on foot, gives a flavor of the guerrillas' strength.

"1,2,3,4—Leftist Rebels Must Win the War! 5,6,7,8—Nothing to Negotiate!"

While the FMLN guerrillas are fighting on the battlefield, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a popular front uniting the guerrillas with small bourgeois liberal and petty-bourgeois parties, is trying to get the imperialists to settle the civil war. The FDR's representative in Washington, Ruben Zamora, is shaking hands in the halls of Congress in pursuit of a "political solution" for the crisis in El Salvador. As *Newsweek* (15 February) put it, Zamora's pitch is that "a negotiated settlement offers the only way of keeping the guerrillas from winning the war in El Salvador outright."

For the same reason, a wing of the Democratic Party, now including liberal darling Teddy Kennedy, would rather have a "political solution," a replay of Carter's "human rights" junta of 1979 in which FDR leader Guillermo Ungo participated. Liberal Democrats, enemies of socialist revolution as much as the Republicans, increasingly see a "negotiated settlement" as the only way to prevent El Salvador from going the way of Cuba. The purpose of such a deal with the FDR leadership, leaving the

murderous armed forces intact, would be to better disarm and destroy the leftist guerrillas and insurgent masses. And the European Social Democrats have been urging the U.S. to look for a "political solution" for quite some time.

The position of the imperialist doves for a "negotiated settlement" is shared by CISPES and the fake lefts, who argue that this is what the guerrillas are fighting for. The SL's *Workers Vanguard* (5 June 1981) showed how far from the truth this was in an article on a Berkeley forum given by Alex Drehsler, a reporter for the *San Diego Union* who had just returned from an area under guerrilla control in El Salvador. After a Spartacist asked if Drehsler thought "the idea of reforming or negotiating with the armed forces is an illusion," *WV* reports:

"Drehsler replied that while the leadership of the FDR and FMLN seek some type of political settlement, the guerrillas in the field say, 'There's no room for a negotiated settlement.' He quoted one rebel who told an FDR leader, 'You're sitting in town sipping your gin and tonic, talking about negotiations, but we're out here getting our asses blown off and we don't want any negotiations!'"

The FDR-FMLN leaders are quite prepared to bargain away what the Salvadoran workers and peasants have shed their blood to win. A military victory over the junta's armed forces would quickly pose the possibility of overturning capitalist rule—and that's what the FDR leadership is scrambling to prevent by scrounging around Washington for sympathetic Congressmen. No to the popular front! For workers revolution!

Defense of the USSR and Cuba Begins in El Salvador!

Reagan intends to teach the Soviets a "bloody lesson" in Central America. As for any thought of a "negotiation" with the mad dog killers running El Salvador, even the head of the junta, Duarte, is considered a "communist" by his rightist opponents. Death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson compared Duarte to a watermelon—green outside and red inside. The secretary-general of D'Aubuisson's party said they might ask the Pentagon for *napalm*. "We don't believe the army needs controlling. We are fighting a war, and civilians will be killed. They always have been. It's got to be that way" (*Newsweek*, 22 February).

And they will be if the imperialists have their way. Reagan and Haig are determined to strike a blow, by proxy at least, against Cuba and the USSR in Central America. Haig's claims that the guerrillas are running around with arms from Cuba are unfortunately not true—the leftist rebels need the Russian guns which they're not getting. As SL spokesman Reuben Samuels said at an SYL-initiated rally in Ann Arbor last winter:

"We have stressed the issue of the Soviet Union, not only because Reagan has decided to make it an issue, but because it is not accidental that reactionaries see behind every progressive movement, every struggle for social and human emancipation, the hand of the October

Revolution, just as reactionaries in this country see behind the struggle of every labor militant for a decent living standard the machinations of communists. It is their testimony, so to speak, that the Marxist program, embodied in the October Revolution, is the program for human emancipation and justice. Reagan's ultimate target in his war drive against El Salvador is the gains of the October Revolution that remain intact despite the fact that there was a Stalinist expropriation of the working class politically."

The only guarantee of victory for the Salvadoran masses is a proletarian revolution led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, like the Russian Bolsheviks. Against the reformists' and Stalinists' popular frontism, a Trotskyist vanguard is required for the independent mobilization of the working class around the communist program and the internationalist struggle for a Socialist United States of Latin America.

El Salvador is an important battlefield in the war against U.S. imperialism, but that war will be fought to its conclusion right here in the belly of the beast. The labor movement in this country has the power to put an end to Reagan's mad drive to World War III. An example of the type of labor action that can stop Reagan's war drive is the ILWU boycott against American military goods to El Salvador. The longshoremen's boycott tactic points the way forward for labor action to bring down Reagan! Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!

There is only one "political solution" for the Salvadoran workers and peasants. That is the solution that the SL/SYL has advocated from the start, the solution that drives the liberals and reformists to violently attack us for raising it: "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! For Workers Revolution!" If you agree, join us! ■

MADISON

MADISON, 25 February—About 150 to 200 University of Wisconsin-Madison students attended an SYL protest rally around the slogans: "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America! Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Rally speakers included Tom Janota, a Peace Corps worker in El Salvador from 1978 to 1980, who was expelled from the Madison CISPES chapter for publicly criticizing the popular-frontist strategy of the Salvadoran FDR leadership. During the rally, a little clod of Moonies—protected by cops—tried to disrupt. But their attempt failed and the crowd responded enthusiastically to the SYL's chant: "Crazy Moonies, You Can't Hide, We Know You're on the Junta's Side!" The SYL rally was the first El Salvador protest in Madison this year. ■

RWL: Scabs for Solidarność

The "democratic" furor surrounding Poland—strategic hot spot for Reagan's "rollback" against the Soviet Union—has ripped the mask off centrist pretenders to Trotskyism. Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) was among them; under the impact of the Polish events the RWL dropped its orthodox veneer and leapt blissfully into the social-democratic swamp, shouting "Solidarity" at the top of its lungs. So it was with considerable interest that we read the long-awaited third issue of *Workers Struggle*, the RWL's semi-regular organ which this month is largely devoted to Poland.

The RWL has spent the last several months in its Ann Arbor stomping grounds in partnership with the state-capitalist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). From Michael Harrington's unabashedly anti-Communist DSOC to the more cautious Socialist Workers Party, the social democrats have been fuming about Reagan/Haig stealing all the pro-Solidarność limelight. Too, the incontrovertible fact that the imperialists virtually salivated over the counterrevolutionary potential they correctly recognized in Solidarność was of some embarrassment to the "left" tails of the "free world" fight. The RWL's "explanation" for why Reagan loved Solidarność is not particularly original—Sollenberger claims it's just a capitalist trick.

"The capitalists, their governments and their media want workers to believe that the capitalists are outraged at the imposition of martial law in Poland. But the capitalists are talking out of both sides of their mouths."
—*Workers Struggle*, February 1982

The RWL "omits" any mention here of the economic sanctions Reagan slapped on Poland and the Soviet Union immediately after the Polish government checked Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power. The *Wall Street Journal* (16 December 1981), which is in a position to know, captured the general capitalist reaction: "If the coup succeeds in crushing Solidarity, we capitalists will join the democratic socialists in mourning."

The RWL's disclaimers of imperialist/Cold Warrior support for Solidarity are willful lies; the RWL has firsthand experience with the "front for mourning" Solidarność which extends from Wall Street to the AFL-CIO to the social-democratic "left." When the Detroit union bureaucracy called its pro-Solidarity rally on December 18, the overwhelmingly black Detroit working class stayed home but the RWL was there along with a gaggle of state-capitalists and right-wing Eastern European emigrés. The RWL's own pro-Solidarność placards mixed with those proclaiming "We Support Strong U.S. Sanctions" and "Freedom for Poland—Blessed Mother and Pope Are With Us." Even the wretched SWP has pulled



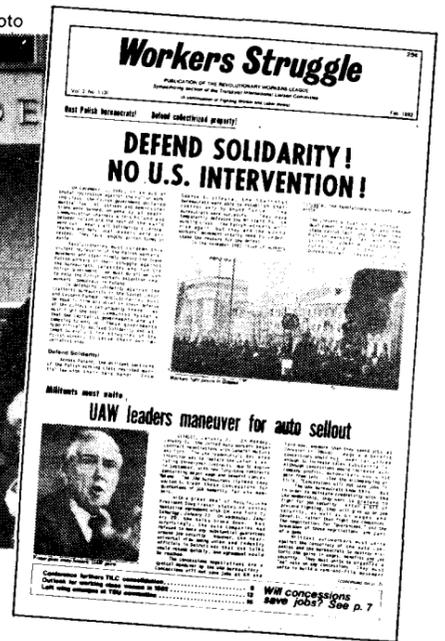
Right, RWL "defends" collectivized property in fine print superhead. Left, in the streets of Detroit: RWL at AFL-CIO Cold Warriors' pro-Solidarność demo, 18 December 1981.

back from these anti-Communist rallies.

Included in the many articles on Poland in the February *Workers Struggle* is a disingenuous piece entitled "U.S. Left Flunks Test of Poland." In this, the RWL gently chides its bloc partner for the last several months—the RSL—for not defending the Soviet Union against imperialism. What's new? The RSL has been state-capitalist since before the RWL (and numerous of its preceding acronyms) existed. The remarks of an RSL leader at a pro-Solidarność meeting in Detroit last September provide a flavor of the RSL's virulent anti-Sovietism. RSLer Brent Davis called on Polish workers to smash "Russian imperialist domination" and for "the mobilization of armed struggle on the part of the Polish workers and soldiers to inflict serious military damage on the Russian army." (See "Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit," *WV* No. 264, 19 September 1980.)

But the main purpose of the "U.S. Left" article is to denounce the position of the Spartacist League/SYL. "The most outrageous failure of the American left around Poland is that of the fake-Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL)" the article insists. Just why this is the case, the RWL never gets around to explaining—but it notes that we "point to the alleged role of the Church and Polish nationalism." In the very same issue, of course, *Workers Struggle* carries apologetic articles both on the "alleged" role of the church and on Polish nationalism. While the RWL polemic fails to confront our position that Solidarność counterrevolution must be stopped cold, its fire is aimed at the SL/SYL precisely for that reason. Like Reagan, the Vatican, the imperialist "democracies" and their social-democratic lackeys the RWL embraces Solidarność—beacon of "free world" capitalist restoration within the Soviet bloc. We are on the other side.

Workers Vanguard Photo



Rather than explicitly take its "third camp" position on Poland to its logical conclusion, i.e. abandonment of defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism, the RWL tries to duck the central questions posed by Poland. Instead, it engages in fatuous, SWP-style scolding:

"Fake revolutionaries like the SL leadership won't have anything to do with a mass workers' movement unless it is 'pure' and takes entirely correct, revolutionary positions..."

"If workers spontaneously took all the correct revolutionary positions, it would certainly make the life of a revolutionary a lot easier..."

This rather misses the point, doesn't it "comrades"? As the SL/SYL has made quite clear, Solidarność is *not* a "mass workers movement" equivalent in any way to trade-union movements in the capitalist countries or mass movements aimed against imperialism such as the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. It is massive and contains workers but its program is for the restoration of capitalism in a deformed workers state.

As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* ("Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!", 25 September 1981):

"Solidarity is no longer a trade union, but has come to include large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc. Last winter/spring much of Solidarity's efforts were directed toward forcing the government to legally recognize the organization of peasant smallholders, Rural Solidarity, a potent social force for capitalist restoration."

The RWL does not attempt to answer our straightforward premise: that U.S. imperialism sought to cynically manipulate the Polish masses' outrage against the corrupt and inept Stalinist regime, seeking bloody counterrevolution and the economic, political and military exploitation of Poland as NATO imperialism's Eastern Front; that the Solidarność leadership consolidated around such a program—including the CIA slogan of "free trade unions" throughout Eastern Europe, "free elections" (i.e., parliamentary-democratic counterrevolution), an appeal to the

continued on page 10

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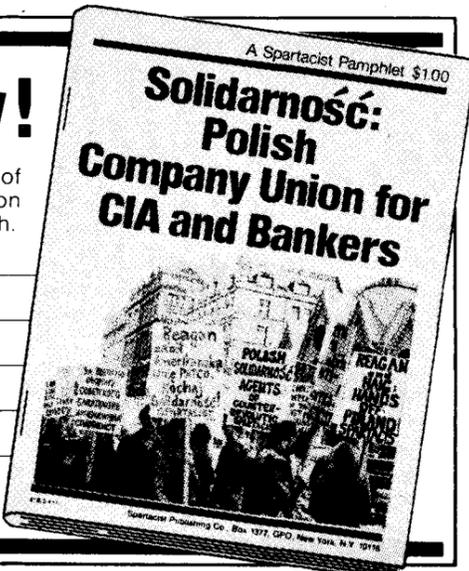
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RWL...

(continued from page 9)

imperialist bankers' cartel—the International Monetary Fund—to run parts of the Polish economy.

What does the RWL make of Lech Walesa's October 1981 visit to Paris where he dined with the presidents and/or VIPs of multinational corporations like Ford, Westinghouse, General Dynamics, IBM, etc.? (See "Friends of Lech Walesa, Inc.," *WV*, No. 296, 8 January.) What does it say of the Radom tapes, which reveal the mutually shared aims of the so-called "radicals" and "moderates" like Walesa: seizure of state power. Nothing. According to the RWL, the charge that Solidarność was the spearhead of counterrevolution is "absurd" and "a blatant lie."

For the RWL, moving swiftly into the "third camp," the distinction between capitalism/imperialism and those states where capitalism has been overthrown increasingly ceases to exist. Therefore, in "answer" to our position on Solidarność, the *Workers Struggle* states: "... we might as well write off the American labor movement as well, considering the collection of wretched, capitalist-apologist, religion-mongering sellouts who make up the American union bureaucracy." There is a major difference recognized by Trotskyists between the U.S. and Poland: namely the difference between a capitalist and a deformed workers state. When the American labor movement marches in lockstep with the imperialist bosses, as much of it did during World War II, we fight *against* the "mass movement" and for a program which can lead the U.S. proletariat to the seizure of power from the capitalist class. And when massive sectors of the Polish proletariat are deluded into marching with "democratic" imperialism against the bureaucratic regime of a workers state, when the mortal danger of counterrevolution is

clear and present—we fight against that.

The pressure to drop even formal adherence to defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states is clearly being felt by the tiny RWL. Reporting on the recent conference of its new "international" home (the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee [TILC]), the RWL reports that "the delegates from the European sections felt that solidarity with the Stalinist Polish workers did not at this time require emphasis on defense of the workers' states against imperialism." While the RWL delegate reportedly differed tactically with his European co-thinkers, in practice the RWL has been a recruit to the Shachtmanite milieu in the U.S. And this once splintered milieu has reunified around "solidarity with Solidarity."

Suffering perhaps from inexperience in articulating the "third camp" line, the RWL nonetheless gets an "A" for appetite. Earlier, the Sollenbergerites had squirmed over the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan. The RWL spent 35 tortuous pages not condemning outright, not actually supporting the Soviet action; mostly they whined that it "turned out to be a wonderful present from the Soviet bureaucracy to U.S. imperialism" and "allowed Carter to shift his attack from Iran to the Soviet Union." The Sollenberger group found itself caught, unable either to hail the progressive role of the Red Army in fighting feudalists who buy and sell women like cattle or to join Carter in the anti-Soviet battle cry over "poor, little democratic" Afghanistan.

But now, the RWL writes that "Polish nationalism is like the nationalism expressed by liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is the nationalism of a people who have been historically subjugated." This is nothing but an equation of Poland's relation to the Soviet Union to that of El Salvador or Vietnam to the U.S. And such a spurious equation has a name—"State

Department socialism."

Not even comrade Trotsky is spared the obfuscations of Sollenberger's "third camp" "theorizing." *Workers Struggle*, getting to the "root" of the question of right-wing nationalism in Poland, writes:

"In 1939, Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany carved up Poland. While continuing to call for the military defense of the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky correctly saw that this action would strengthen the hand of reaction around the world. It would lend credence to the argument that 'communism' and fascism are just alike."

Trotsky and the Fourth Internationalists denounced the Stalin-Hitler Pact as a contemptible alliance with an imperialist power which endangered the defense of the Soviet workers state, no different in substance than Stalin's alliances with "democratic" imperialisms. Trotsky and Cannon (leader of the then-Trotskyist SWP) waged a hard factional struggle *against* those like Shachtman who turned their backs on the Soviet Union by making much of the Soviet invasions of Poland and Finland and ultimately blocking with the "democrats" against the USSR. Trotsky also noted for the benefit of the weak reeds of his day that there was a *difference* between the intervention of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, to wit:

"We recognize that neither the Czar nor Hitler nor Chamberlain had or have the custom of abolishing, in the occupied countries, capitalist property, and this fact, a progressive one, depends upon another fact; namely that the October Revolution is not definitely assassinated by the bureaucracy, and that the last is forced by its position to take measures which we must defend in a given situation against imperialist enemies."

—In Defense of Marxism

Today it is an urgent task for Trotskyists to crystallize a party in Poland, and internationally, capable of both revolutionary defense of the working masses *against* imperialism and capitalist restoration through political revolution in the deformed workers

states and proletarian social revolution throughout the capitalist world. The programmatic core of such a party in Poland would consist of the demands for the strict separation of church and state, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the cancellation of Poland's debt to the imperialist bankers, for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism.

As for the latter day dwarf imitations of Shachtman, Trotsky's refutation retains its full force today:

"The real danger now is not the 'unconditional' defense of that which is worthy of defense, but direct or indirect help to the political current which tries to identify the USSR with fascist states for the benefit of the democracies, or the related current which tries to put all tendencies in the same pot in order to compromise Bolshevism or Marxism with Stalinism."

—In Defense of Marxism

It is into such a "political current" that the miniscule RWL has begun to swim. Once the RWL was merely an anti-Spartacist cult defined literarily and practically by nothing more than its intransigent and some 80-pages-long defense of scabbing on a 1977 AFSCME strike at the University of Michigan. Instead of a big cult in the little Ann Arbor pond, the RWL can now join the ranks of tiny inhabitants of the large social-democratic swamp. As we have often said, a scab is a scab. ■

Nationalism...

(continued from page 2)

general. Mobilizing the power of the ILWU and Teamsters, for example, in the Long Beach area could put a stop to racist attacks on blacks, but that's not Amen Rahn's program—he demands more black cops! He's no different from the nationalists before his time: an unelected petty bourgeois looking hard for the "pork barrel" to keep "his people" in line for the capitalist state.

A few more black elected officials aren't going to stop killer cops or Klan nightriders. As the Spartacist League (SL) and SYL have long maintained, it will take mass mobilizations of blacks and labor to send the fascist scum scurrying back to their holes. And we've shown it works. In 1979, when fascists wanted to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre, the SL/SYL and class-struggle militants in Detroit's auto plants organized a 500-strong rally to make sure that "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" A month earlier, these same militant workers had mobilized the union ranks to drive two Klan-hooded foremen from Ford's giant River Rouge plant. In April 1980, 1,200 people, including hundreds of black, white and Latino unionists came out for an SL-initiated united-front demonstration to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. And the Nazis haven't been seen there since.

From the fight against race-terrorism to the defense of such elementary democratic rights as busing, what is necessary is the mobilization of the social power of the labor movement. The SL/SYL seek to build a multi-racial revolutionary vanguard party, the true tribune of the people. Not illusory "control" of powerless inner-city slums by the poverty pimps, black cops or a few black faces in high places, but a struggle by black and white workers for blacks' rights, for the massive creation of jobs, for the liberation of all the oppressed through socialist revolution—this is the program of revolutionary integrationism. As we wrote in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5R:

"As black workers, the most combative elements within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of black history—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind." ■

SL/SYL Launch March Sales Drive

Throughout the month of March, Spartacist League and SYL locals will be engaged in a sales drive for both *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*. With the onset of spring and White House announcements of increased

U.S. support to the bloody Salvadoran junta, campus protest will be on the rise. And *Young Spartacus* will be there. We were there last May when the SYL helped build the 500-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington,

D.C. which called for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" As the Moral Majority fights to put the Bible back in school, illegalize abortion and lock up homosexuals, *YSp* fights back with articles like "Is There Sex After Reagan?" When the Wayne State newspaper defended Klan/Nazi murder in Greensboro, the SYL led the fight and *YSp* gave you the real dirt on the *South End* racists. When Harvard University tried to jail a young Marxist for defending free speech, our article exposed the filthy imperialist think-tank behind those ivied walls.

The only place to read about what's really going on from the viewpoint of a Marxist youth group dedicated to the fight for socialism is right here. We say: Smash Klan/Nazi Terror Through Labor/Black Mobilizations! Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross! Defend the USSR Against Imperialist Attack! For Labor Struggle to Bring Down Reagan! And we keep you informed about what the rest of the "left" is doing—the picket lines and the class lines they cross. You won't get it anywhere else. Lots of radical rags will say "U.S. Out of El Salvador." But we take a side and also demand: "Leftist Rebels Must Win the War! Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!" Subscribe today.

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Rosa Luxemburg: Poland's Greatest Contribution to Revolution

March 8 was proclaimed International Women's Day by the Second International in 1911. On this proletarian holiday we find it particularly appropriate to honor Rosa Luxemburg, Poland's greatest revolutionary socialist. She was among the few leaders of the Second International who opposed its capitulation to bourgeois patriotism in the first imperialist war. A founder of the German Communist Party, she was murdered by the German Social Democrats after the suppression of the Spartacus uprising in 1918-1919. Today, Luxemburg is reviled both by the Stalinists for her intransigent revolutionary politics, and by the anti-Semitic Pilsudskiite nationalists in *Solidarność* because she was a Jew and a communist. More insidiously, her criticisms and political differences with Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks have been exploited by the reformists and social democrats in an attempt to attack the Russian Revolution, using Luxemburg's heroic name as a cover. Her article, "The Russian Revolution," was written in 1918 while she was in prison with little access to accurate information. Despite her criticisms, many later corrected, she was a wholehearted supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution, as the following excerpt from that article makes clear. We also reprint below a note from *Pravda* (16 April 1924) by Lenin which shows that the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg belongs only to the revolutionaries.

From "The Russian Revolution"
by Rosa Luxemburg

The party of Lenin was the only one which grasped the mandate and duty of a truly revolutionary party and which, by the slogan—"All power in the hands of the proletariat and peasantry"—insured the continued development of the revolution.

Thereby the Bolsheviks solved the

famous problem of "winning a majority of the people," which problem has ever weighed on the German social democracy like a nightmare. As bred-in-the-bone disciples of parliamentary cretinism, these German social democrats have sought to apply to revolutions the homemade wisdom of the parliamentary nursery: in order to carry anything, you must first have a majority. The same, they say, applies to revolution: first let's become a "majority." The true dialectic of revolutions, however, stands this wisdom of parliamentary moles on its head: not through a majority to revolutionary tactics, but through revolutionary tactics to a majority—that is the way the road runs.

Only a party which knows how to lead, that is, to advance things, wins support in stormy times. The determination with which, at the decisive moment, Lenin and his comrades offered the only solution which could advance things ("all power in the hands of the proletariat and peasantry"), transformed them almost overnight from a persecuted, slandered, outlawed minority whose leader had to hide like Marat in cellars, into the absolute master of the situation.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks immediately set as the aim of this seizure of power a complete, far-reaching revolutionary program: not the safeguarding of bourgeois democracy, but a dictatorship of the proletariat for the purpose of realizing socialism. Thereby they won for themselves the imperishable historic distinction of having for the first time proclaimed the final aim of socialism as the direct program of practical politics.

Whatever a party could offer of courage, revolutionary far-sightedness and consistency in a historic hour, Lenin, Trotsky and the other comrades have given in good measure. All the revolutionary honor and capacity which western social democracy lacked were represented by the Bolsheviks. Their October uprising was not only the actual



salvation of the Russian Revolution; it was also the salvation of the honor of international socialism.

From "Notes of a Publicist"
by V. I. Lenin

Paul Levi now wants to get into the good graces of the bourgeoisie—and, consequently, of its agents, the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals—by republishing precisely those writings of Rosa Luxemburg in which she was wrong. We shall reply to this by quoting two lines from a good old Russian fable: "Eagles may at times fly

lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles." Rosa Luxemburg was mistaken on the question of the independence of Poland; she was mistaken in 1903 in her appraisal of Menshevism; she was mistaken on the theory of the accumulation of capital; she was mistaken in July 1914, when, together with Plekhanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others, she advocated unity between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; she was mistaken in what she wrote in prison in 1918 (she corrected most of these mistakes at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919 after she was released). But in spite of her mistakes she was—and remains for us—an eagle. And not only will Communists all over the world cherish her memory, but her biography and her complete works (the publication of which the German Communists are inordinately delaying, which can only be partly excused by the tremendous losses they are suffering in their severe struggles) will serve as useful manuals for training many generations of Communists all over the world. "Since August 4, 1914, German social democracy has been a stinking corpse"—this statement will make Rosa Luxemburg's name famous in the history of the international working-class movement. And, of course, in the backyard of the working-class movement, among the dung heaps, hens like Paul Levi, Scheidemann, Kautsky and all that fraternity will cackle over the mistakes committed by the great communist. To every man his own. ■

Solidarność: A Man's World

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A CGT [General Confederation of Labor] woman worker asks Lech Walesa in Paris why he tells women to stay at home and not struggle for their rights. Walesa replies that he has been misinterpreted—he was only speaking for Polish women!

Heaven help the Polish women Walesa speaks for. Since the time of the utopian socialist Fourier, socialists have accepted as an axiom that the status of women in society is a determining measure of how progressive that society is. And the attitude to women of the reactionary Catholic-nationalists who run *Solidarność* provides a good measure of what sort of "democracy" they have in mind. A recent article in the [London] *Times* (21 October) by Rachel Cullen—who expresses general sympathy with the counterrevolutionary *Solidarność*—is quite revealing on that count.

Entitled "Solidarity: what a pity it does not include the women of

Poland," the article points out that the top leadership of *Solidarność* consists of one president, two deputy presidents, a presidium of ten and a council of 100—and not one woman is to be found among them. Anna Walentynowicz, the Gdansk welder whose sacking sparked the August 1980 strike was once a leading member of the council. Then a union-convened court accused her of being "too radical." Walentynowicz was certainly a rabidly anti-communist Catholic nationalist, but that hardly distinguished her from the rest of the *Solidarność* leadership. What did distinguish her was that she was a woman. "She was still to be found working for the union," writes Cullen, "though now in the kitchens.... The story is the same in other sections of the union: women who had been active in the underground movements began with a voice in the new union but almost all have now lost their positions of power." The only woman in a position of power in *Solidarność* is the Black Virgin of Czestochowa!

Even at the base sexual chauvinism is endemic. In one Ro claw factory

which is three-quarters women, only six out of 66 candidates for *Solidarność* plant delegation were women.

Abortion on medical and social grounds was legalized in Poland in 1947. The Family Rights Act of 1949 gave women the right for the first time to divorce and to take a job without their husbands' consent. Inevitably the Catholic church bitterly attacked these gains and the Stalinist bureaucracy undermined them by capitulating to reaction with the old crap about "the socialist family," a vital prop of "socialism in one country." But these gains still exist and must be defended against *Solidarność*' programme of "Kinder, Küche, Kirche." Only socialised property relations can lay the basis for women's liberation and a proletarian political revolution would stand foursquare on defending and extending those gains into the full social and political liberation of women that Stalinism prevents. *Solidarność*, behind the banners of the Black Virgin of Czestochowa, the crowned eagle of Pilsudski and with the blessing of the pope, has set its face on reversing them.

SL/SYL Forum

Blacks Don't Cry for Polish Solidarność

Saturday, March 6, 7:30 p.m.
Room 150,
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Young Spartacus

University of Chicago

Pinochet Adviser's Son Tries to Mow Down Anti-Junta Protesters

Jail Paul Harberger!

On the night of January 28, some 25 protesters at the University of Chicago were the targets of potentially murderous violence. Members of the Spartacus Youth League and others picketing the appearance of Arnold Harberger—UC Economics Department chief and brain-truster for the Pinochet junta in Chile—were almost mowed down by Harberger's son Paul. He attempted to run over the picket line in his car. Assault charges against Paul Harberger have been filed and the case will resume March 9 in the Chicago criminal courts. Below we reprint the leaflet distributed by the Chicago SYL concerning this attack and the genuinely criminal work on behalf of the Chilean junta to which Harberger Sr. devotes himself. The UC newspaper, the Chicago Maroon, carried the story on its front page, quoting extensively from the leaflet. Considerable interest and support for the SYL in

this case has been generated by our widely circulated statement.

Some 25 activists got a nearly lethal dose of "civil liberties," "Chicago Boy" style while picketing the January 28

University of Chicago appearance of Arnold Harberger. Chief of the UC Economics Department graduate studies, Harberger is also a well-known collaborator of the bloody rightist dictatorship in Chile. Characteristically, he was speaking to a gathering of pro-

junta scum on "Inflation Around the World" (i.e. how starvation increases profit). Meanwhile, outside the meeting, Harberger's son Paul drove his car careening onto the sidewalk and straight at the picket line; Paul Harberger tried
continued on page 2

Young Spartacus Photo

SYL led fight against Friedman/Harberger collaboration with Pinochet. Right, 3 October 1975 demo in Chicago.



Defend South African Black Activist!

Don't Deport Dennis Brutus!

CHICAGO—Just a month after Ronald Reagan was inaugurated, Dennis Brutus, a well-known black southern African anti-apartheid poet teaching at Northwestern University, was notified that his U.S. visa would not be renewed. Dispensing with "human rights" hypocrisy, Reagan is forging an anti-Soviet military axis in southern Africa using racist Pretoria troops from Namibia to Angola. As a gesture to the apartheid regime, the Reagan administration says Dennis Brutus has to go.

The anti-apartheid activist was ruled "deportable" last fall, but on January 14 a Chicago judge gave him 20 days to seek political asylum in the U.S. Now the State Department will "advise" whether Brutus should be granted asylum, have his visa extended or be deported. If he leaves the U.S. voluntarily, his lawyers fear he will be excluded from returning under the anti-Communist provisions of the McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act. If deported, he fears for his life. Brutus' lawyers pointed to other South African militants in Zimbabwe who have been targets for assassination. And a book about the South African Bureau of State Security, *Inside BOSS*, reports that the apartheid secret police consider the black poet a dangerous enemy.

Dennis Brutus has resided in the



Left, SL at 10 November 1981 Chicago protest against deportation of Dennis Brutus, right.

U.S. for ten years on a series of temporary visas. His poetry was banned in South Africa and he was arrested in the 1960s for challenging segregated South African Olympic teams. He was "banned" in 1965 under the "Suppression of Communism Act." Although Brutus grew up in South Africa and is one of that

country's most prominent black poets, he was born in and is a citizen of Zimbabwe, to which the U.S. has been attempting to deport him. Brutus is a tenured professor of African literature at Northwestern University, now spending a year at Amherst College in Massachusetts.

In the U.S. Brutus has become

known politically as a leading proponent of the liberal moralistic campaign for university and corporate divestment of economic holdings in South Africa. (He has been asking Northwestern for years to divest its \$80 million invested with companies doing business with South Africa—to no avail.) This campaign is not only impotent but wrong. It accepts the democratic pretensions of bloody American imperialism and would weaken the black proletariat of South Africa—the real motor force which can smash apartheid through workers revolution in southern Africa.

As union organizing and strikes by black workers mount in South Africa, so has repression against black labor. Last fall, 14 black unionists were arrested in pre-dawn raids. And on February 11 black workers throughout the country participated in work stoppages protesting the jailhouse hanging of a (white) adviser to the growing black unions. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League calls for freeing the victims of this racist repression and calls on American unions to force multinational corporations to recognize black unions and abolish the color bar and all aspects of apartheid in their South African operations.

The U.S. does want to divest itself of Dennis Brutus—and any other non-citizen who dares to oppose a "friendly" right-wing regime in his homeland. Stop the deportation of Dennis Brutus! Brutus must not be witchhunted out of the country as a goodwill gesture to Pretoria!

Young Spartacus Photo

Dennis Brutus Defense Committee