

# Young Spartacus

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## U.S., Iran: Thousands Protest Iranian White Terror

# Down with Butcher Shah!

"Every two or three years, the Shah drops in on whoever is the President of the United States, just to check in," commented the *Washington Post* when Reza Shah Pahlavi last visited the U.S. two years ago. On November 15 the Shah was back again. "Dropping in" on Jimmy Carter, the Shah offered his American patron a freeze on OPEC oil prices and in exchange was able to buy billions of dollars worth of sophisticated weaponry. Like the Washington junkets of Chile's Pinochet, Argentina's Videla and Paraguay's Stroessner, the Shah's Washington pilgrimage was dedicated to the "human rights" of military despotism.

As Carter reaffirmed his "special relationship" with the "enlightened ruler" of Iran, center stage in Washington on November 15 was filled with tear gas and blood. The Shah's journey to the Mecca of world imperialism drew over 5,000 Iranian student demonstrators protesting the cordial welcome of American capitalism for one of its most reliable Middle East gendarmes.

The demonstrations on November 15-16 were the largest Washington protests since the end of the Vietnam war. Over and above the large turnout, the chants in Persian, the masks the protesters donned to conceal their identity from the omnipresent Iranian secret police (SAVAK), the massive and elaborate banners and constant drum beats all gave to the demonstration a militancy not found in many American protests.

The demonstrators rejected outright the "human rights" facade of the Carter administration. Emotional chants of

"The Shah is a U.S. puppet, down with the Shah" and "Carter's 'human rights' means fascist Shah" bore witness to the reality behind the "human rights" lies.

With the collapse of the Thieu/Ky regime in South Vietnam, Teheran took over as the world capital of torture and repression. Over 100,000 anti-Shah militants languish in Iran's dungeons, and hundreds are executed each year. The latest in modern technology is put at the service of medieval torture. And each student demonstrator abroad runs the risk of deportation for political activity and the ominous consequences that await anti-Shah militants: almost certain imprisonment and the prospect of torture, mutilation or death at the hands of the Shah's white terror.

### SAVAK Provocations

For the occasion of the Shah's visit, SAVAK devised a new tactic to combat the expected protests—the creation of a plainclothes cheering section/provocateur squad. November 14 UPI dispatches quoted a spokesman at Lockland Air Force base in Texas who confirmed that 422 out of 464 Iranian military cadets there were given weekend leave and flown to Washington in planes chartered by "Iranian and U.S. business."

Similarly, the *Washington Post* (15 November) reported that "thousands of dollars from Iranian and American business interests have been funneled to Assyrian and Armenian ethnic groups in Chicago and Los Angeles to help pay for charter plane fares and hotel accommodations." One Iraqi from

Chicago told *Young Spartacus* that everyone in his church was invited to Washington to attend parties, greet the Shah and collect over \$100 in cash.

But it was not just oil money which dredged up anyone who could pass as an Iranian and provided truckloads of printed placards reading "We Love Our King" and "Shah is the Answer." Pro-Shah hirelings were delivered in buses marked "Property of the U.S. Navy." And yet the Shah taunted the protesters about "how many were Iranians behind those masks!"

From the beginning of the demonstration the close cooperation of the Washington police and SAVAK was clear. The demonstration permits were conveniently ignored so as to allow the pro-Shah provocateurs to physically and verbally harass the anti-Shah forces for nearly an hour.

When the 21-gun salute announced the Shah's arrival, the demonstrators were forced to deal decisively with the pro-Shah vermin. After being subjected to repeated attacks, Iranian students using placards as shields and wielding picket staffs finally broke through the single line of mounted cops and temporarily silenced the infuriating "Long Live the Shah" chants. Only when the pro-Shah forces were on the receiving end did the Washington police enter the fracas. When the fighting wound down amid clouds of tear gas drifting all the way to the White House lawn ceremony, 129 were hospitalized—but the police had suffered a quarter of the casualties.

Throughout the demonstration Iranian militants had to repeatedly ward off the forays of SAVAK squads who

photographed and even physically abducted isolated protesters on the outskirts of the rally. Several later turned up in police hands—but of course the cops were quick to defend provocateurs who fell into the hands of marshals from the Iranian Students Association (ISA). Moreover, hospitalized Iranians reported visits by SAVAK agents (ISA organizers were not allowed in), and the twenty or more Iranian leftists arrested face a number of charges, including assaulting a police officer.

These charges must be dropped! The American left and labor movement must be mobilized in defense of the Iranian militants who face deportation and the Shah's "justice" back in Iran.

### Protests Erupt in Iran

The Shah's U.S. visit sparked an outburst of student protest in Iran as well. On November 15, 4000 students at Aryamehr University in Teheran gathered to hear Sayid Soltanpour, a left-wing poet recently released from prison. Two thousand students were barred from attending by riot police who attempted to seal off the university. In the ensuing clash 50 people were arrested and the students inside the university stadium staged a sit-in clearly aimed against government repression.

The following day the protesters were joined by students from Teheran University for a march through the center of the city which swelled to 10,000. This too was attacked by riot police who reportedly murdered over a dozen

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

### Carter/Meany "Gift" to Black Youth: Sub-Minimum Wage

On November 1 Jimmy Carter signed into law a bill that will raise the minimum wage from \$2.30 per hour to \$2.65 on January 1 and to \$3.35 by 1981. The bill, a compromise between George Meany's AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the liberal black establishment and the Carter administration, will affect the incomes of 4.5 million workers but will still leave those earning the minimum wage \$0.30 per hour below the government-set "poverty line." This \$2.65 poverty wage was trumpeted by the bourgeois press as a "major victory" for labor, despite the fact that it is substantially below Meany's original call for a \$3.00 per hour wage floor and was linked to the exemption of up to 850,000 more employees of small businesses from any minimum wage coverage.

The proposed minimum wage bill has engendered a considerable amount of controversy and media attention, beyond what is normally accorded such piecemeal legislation. Clearly, the issue was one of what "spoils" Carter would toss to the various "constituency groups" of the Democratic Party for their faithful campaign support last November.

When Carter won the presidential election, the encrusted AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy and the liberal black Democrats vied to convince their followers that, of the twin parties of capital, the Democrats in office would deliver the most. The prominence given to the minimum-wage question is only a reflection of the growing sense of uneasiness which has crept up on Carter's domestic allies. For the labor chieftains and the liberal blacks their influence and bargaining power depend on preserving at least the vestige of speaking up for their backers. These America-first chauvinists wasted no time jumping on the anti-Soviet bandwagon of the imperialist state's new "activist foreign policy." But simple "human rights" claptrap could ill camouflage the devastating consequences of the Carter administration at home.

With Carter in office the cackle of these Democratic Party geese was silenced. The publication of last August's unemployment statistics revealed that not only had joblessness risen, but the increase was entirely attributable to the rise in black unemployment. As Vernon Jordan, the NAACP and even George Meany responded with harsh criticisms of the crime "being committed against the black community" (Meany), a debate was rekindled over what course the new "friend of labor" administration was going to take.

Even with the signing of the peanut millionaire's minimum wage bill, the central question of black youth unemployment continues to make headlines. A *New York Times* (29 November) editorial statement by Tom Wicker cites recent articles in *U.S. News & World Report* and the *Wall Street Journal* as indicative of the "recognition" of "the problem" by "two of the periodicals most respected by the business community." The articles' headlines read, respectively: "Young Blacks Out of Work: Time Bomb for U.S." and "Black Joblessness Problem Still Haunts President Despite New Programs."

But aside from an endorsement of the worthless Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, Carter's "new programs" have only exacerbated the already desperate living conditions of the poor. Unemployment benefits have been reduced to a scant 39 weeks; welfare "reform" programs turned out to be a "workfare" proposal to drastically reduce relief for the poor; and "the costliest, largest and fastest increase in Federal jobs programs ever attempted" (according to the *Wall Street Journal*) is a mere drop in the bucket.

The crisis of black youth unemployment is clearly seen in the raw statistics which tell the story of racial oppression in capitalist America. In October the unemployment rate rose to 7 percent; among blacks it was 15 percent. Among white teenagers unemployment stood at 14.8 percent; among black youth it was over 40 percent.

These figures, moreover, only tell half the story. They do not include the millions of youth who have given up all hope of employment and thus are no longer counted as job seekers. Nor do the statistics speak of the astounding 86 percent of New York City youth who are without full-time employment.

The employment picture for black and other minority youth has also been steadily worsening. Nonwhite unemployment has doubled over the last decade. Ten years ago it was 7.4 percent, five years ago 10 percent and today 15 percent. These figures shatter the liberal myth of "progress" for blacks in general since the Civil Rights movement. This "progress" was candidly

Harlem youths line up for summer job applications.



Conrad/New York Times

summed up by a New York unemployment office supervisor: "Today I see blacks unemployed from jobs they never would have gotten into when I came in" (*New York Times*, 10 September).

Recently, these statistics as well as the convulsive looting during the New York City blackout and Carter's much-publicized inspection tour of the rubble of the South Bronx have forced the attention of the bourgeois media on to the existence of what *Time* magazine called the "underclass" of permanently unemployed ghetto youth. Article after article reported the conditions of despair which plague inner-city youth. Yet each of these hand-wringing reports had nothing to offer than the proposal to "counteract" the "discriminatory" effect of high minimum wages on black youth.

Not content with Carter's "compromise," a spectrum of liberals, petty businessmen and right wingers rediscovered a time-worn argument: the lower the wages, the more jobs. Over the past few months, the *New York Times*, *Business Week* and *Time* have all taken up the call for a lower wage limit in order to insure the availability of jobs for ghetto youth. *Time*, for example, sermonizes about the misery of slum life only

to extoll the virtues of cockroach capitalists who magnanimously allow young blacks to establish a "work record" by slaving away at \$2.50 an hour.

The simple truth of the matter is that Carter's "land of plenty" has nothing to offer black youth. Long employment lines and below subsistence wages are the norm for those fortunate enough to land any job whatsoever.

Thus, when a federal program of summer jobs paying only \$46.75 a week opened its doors last April, tens of thousands of teenagers turned out to wait all night in near freezing weather for the application forms alone. Thousands turn out each time "rumor has it" that Detroit's auto plants are hiring. The opening of a new supermarket on Chicago's ravaged South Side drew over 2,000 mostly black applicants hoping to get one of only 300 menial jobs. And nearly 10,000 showed up to apply for 2,000 temporary positions as street cleaners after the New York blackout.

To these thousands of youthful job seekers the decaying capitalist system can only hold out the possibility of a few more jobs at a sub-minimum wage.

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### California Regents Clamp Down on Minority Admissions

Over the past year, the steadily declining quality of American public education has attracted a considerable amount of media coverage. Newspaper accounts of students suing local school boards for graduating them as illiterates and college students unable to fulfill minimum math and English requirements have become commonplace. This is now accompanied by reports of parents trying to take teachers to court for the poor education their children receive. Meanwhile, school budgets continue to be slashed, the number of students in each class rises and the school day in cities like New York is shortened.

The deterioration of public education hits hardest at black and minority youth who are condemned to the squalid inner-city schools. In the climate typified by the openly racist pro-Bakke mobilizations, liberal proponents of educational "opportunity" are recoiling from their former half-hearted commitments to busing, integration and expanded university enrollment. The defeats suffered by blacks in the busing battles in the streets of Boston and Louisville and in the elimination of open admissions in the New York City CUNY system now find their "objective" justifications in "educational analyses" across the country.

Recent issues of *Newsweek* have devoted considerable attention to the "declining school standards" purportedly menacing American universities. A survey by conservative intellectual Seymour Martin Lipset of Stanford University and Everett C. Ladd of the University of Connecticut found that:

"Nearly three-quarters of all American college professors think that 'too many people ill-suited to academic life are now enrolling in colleges and universities.' Eight out of ten say there has been a 'widespread lowering of standards' in higher education. And 64 percent agree that 'the U.S. is creating a workforce overtrained in terms of available jobs'."

—*Newsweek*, 24 October 1977

This survey followed closely on the heels of a study

commissioned by the College Entrance Examination Board and the Educational Testing Service to determine the reason for the drop in Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores over the last 14 years. Predictably, the drop was attributed to "television, softened academic standards in schools, more women and blacks taking the tests, and a decade of distracting political turmoil..." (*Newsweek*, 5 September 1977), as well as a breakdown in the American family structure and a supposed "lack of motivation among student youth."

The present hue and cry over university "standards" is particularly well-suited for belt-tightening college administrators. With the reactionary Bakke decision serving as a guiding beacon, university administrations in schools across the country seek to reverse the expanded college admissions of the 1960's. Thus, the University of California (UC) Board of Regents in October voted to adopt the UC Academic Senate's controversial Board on Admissions and Relations with Schools (BOARS) proposal. The BOARS proposal purportedly seeks to ensure English-language proficiency by requiring a fourth year of high school English language for prospective freshmen and to combat high school "grade inflation" by increasing the weight of SAT scores in determining admissions.

The true intent of the BOARS proposal is to tighten the pool of students eligible for UC enrollment from 14.8 percent of the state's high school seniors to 12.5 percent as mandated by the state's master plan for the UC system. In July a similar plan was adopted by the California State University System to cut the eligibility pool from 35 to 33.3 percent.

The daily papers reported that the BOARS discussion at the October Regents meeting "split traditional political allies," with liberals and conservatives forming blocs on both sides of the question. But the one-vote margin at the Regents meeting did not indicate

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## Is "No Nukes Good Nukes"?

# Environmentalism and Socialism: An Exchange

Editorial Board  
Young Spartacus

Have just read "Clam Bust at Seabrook" in your June issue and am having trouble understanding it.

In column 4 you say "The specter of radioactive materials and reactors in the hands of the profit-crazed bourgeoisie can legitimately serve to arouse the concern of American working people."

But then you don't attack the Central New Hampshire Power Co. (and the banks behind it) that wants to build the reactor—you attack the Clamshell Alliance that is opposing it! (And in doing so you even quote—approvingly—The *Wall Street Journal* which, as might be expected, belittles the dangers).

Perhaps this is because the Clamshell opposes nuclear power plants, in general, on principle and you feel it (nuclear power) might be safely developed under socialism? But we don't have socialism yet—why not wait until we do, to quarrel with the "anti-nukes"? Meanwhile work with them against "radioactive materials and nuclear reactors in the hands of the profit-crazed bourgeoisie"?

History has presented the Left with an instrument of incalculable power: the fact that capitalism will destroy the environment—and so the human race—unless it is done away with.

History at the same time presented the Left with an ultimatum: do away with capitalism *soon*—before it has destroyed the environment.

If the Left is to meet this deadline, it must use all its assets to the full—especially this most important instrument which backstops and reinforces all the other reasons for destroying capitalism (e.g. exploitation, poverty, etc.). To do so:

1. The Left must use it to educate—unceasingly.
2. The Left must use it in actions: e.g. mount an all-out campaign against Carter's plan to promote the burning of coal and the building of 300 reactors.
3. The Left must support and encourage all aspects of the environmental movement—including the "anti-nukes"—since this brings rapidly increasing numbers of people into head-on conflict with the polluters (this same "power-crazed bourgeoisie").

It's true that the Clamshell types are not ideologically "with-it" (nor is the bulk of the environmental movement in general). But the environmental movement is becoming powerful very rapidly and can be objectively a very effective ally against the destructive forces of capitalism.

[unsigned]

*Young Spartacus replies:* The author of the above letter takes us to task for the failure to seize upon "a very effective ally against the destructive forces of capitalism." The author suspects that behind our antagonistic political pos-

ture toward the Clamshell Alliance lurks an implicit partiality toward the New Hampshire Public Service Commission (PSC), which is constructing the Seabrook reactor. He cites as evidence our use of *Wall Street Journal* statistics and the alleged absence of criticism of the power company in our article "Eco-Faddism and Nuclear Power" (*Young Spartacus* No. 55, June 1977).

The letter is reflective of those caught in the halfway house between an impulsive desire to rush onto the bandwagon of the latest petty-bourgeois "movement" and mild apprehension at embracing the organic "idiocy of rural life" (as Marx put it) which is so dear to the Clamshell. Despite some reservations about what life on a Clamshell might look like, the author finds that some all-inclusive "left" is duty-bound to "support and encourage all aspects of the environmental movement." As should be clear to all, the point of dispute in this letter, as at Seabrook, is the relation of anti-nuclear protest to our goal of a socialist future; and, in particular, to paraphrase the "clams," is "No Nukes Good Nukes"?

Let us begin with the evidence of our "partiality." The *Wall Street Journal* statistics merely quantify the projected impact of the Seabrook "once through"

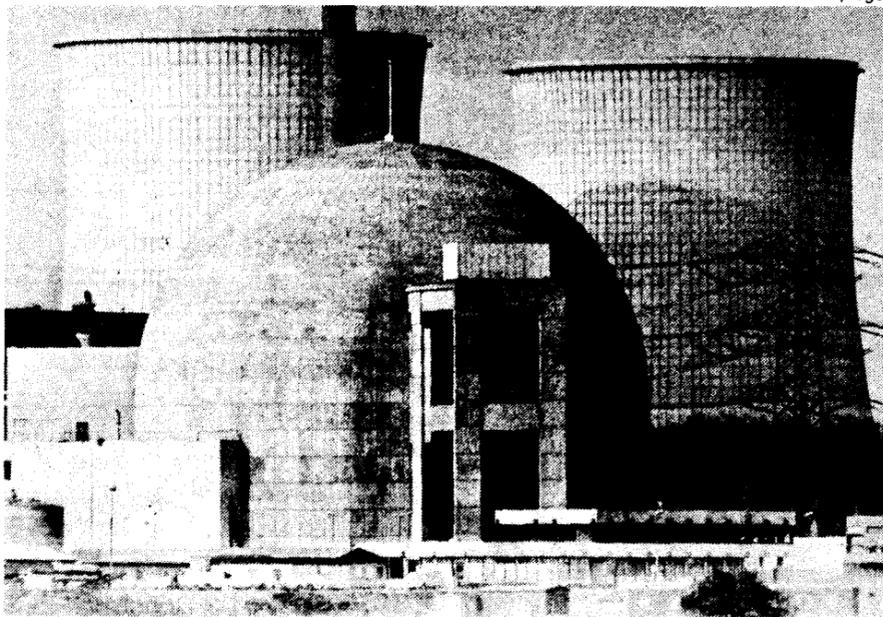
Lionel Delevingne



"Clam" in Lotusland.

cooling system's intake on clams, fish and lobster larvae—which, as they point out, equals less than the total daily consumption of four whales. To our knowledge, these statistics have not been challenged. Nor does the controversy focus on the possibility of massive destruction of fish life in waters cooled during reactor shutdowns. There have already been 1,200 permits for coastal cooling systems similar to the proposed Seabrook system issued in the U.S.

It is simply false to charge us with insufficient opposition to "the profit-crazed bourgeoisie," as we put it ourselves in the article in question. We warn of the "ever present danger of



Fission reactors have fueled German and French equivalents of Clamshell.

industrial disaster" under capitalism and demand trade-union control of safety conditions in all industrial situations. Only a month before the New York City blackout, our article noted, "For millions of New Yorkers the names, 'Bell Telephone,' and 'Con Edison,' bring to mind just one thing: 'rip-off.'" We have repeatedly advocated the nationalization of *all* public utilities without compensation to the capitalist owners. And despite our manifest disagreement with the anti-nuclear demonstrators (both here and in France and Germany), we demanded the release of the Clamshell protesters from the PSC-financed stay in the National Guard armories.

Our reader assumes that our disassociation from the utopian environmentalism of the Seabrook demonstrators allies us with the PSC and the proponents of nuclear energy. Marxists, however, do not take responsibility for the energy policies of the bourgeoisie. While we do not in any sense endorse the Seabrook project as such, we do not oppose it simply on account of the use of nuclear fission to generate electricity and the presumed resulting disruption of the pristine New England ecology.

The basis for our difference with the Clamshell and the California Abalone Alliance does not reside with our alleged "insensitivity" to the dangers of nuclear power in the hands of the capitalist class. (The repeated appeals of the environmentalists to the atomic devastators of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would indicate "insensitivity" to the dangers of nuclear holocaust on their part.) What is at issue is what our anonymous critic so blithely assumes: that the left and ecology movements are "natural allies" in a common cause. Otherwise stated, does "environmentalism" per se have an objective "anti-capitalist" thrust?

Although there undoubtedly exist many "environmentalists" who consider themselves to be socialists, at the heart of environmentalism is not opposition to capitalism but to technology. The present-day anti-nuclear movement draws primarily from the remnants of the so-called "counter-culture" of the 1960's. To a large extent, this "movement" is simply a continuation of the romantic back-to-nature tradition reflected in such slogans as "split wood not atoms." This trend, linked to the apolitical narcissism and self-improvement schemes so widespread in the 1970's, cannot be looked to for a sober assessment of real dangers involved in the deployment of nuclear power.

Alongside the blanket petty-bourgeois condemnation of science and technology, the eco-freaks lend credence to a school of thought which would attribute the poverty and shortages of raw materials produced by a market economy to "natural laws" of population and finite resources. In a society where planning is the exception, the program of environmentalism reduces itself to demands upon the state to

intervene against particular industrial enterprises. In periods of economic downturn, this form of environmentalism can mesh well with the austerity schemes of capitalist governments.

Thus, for example, the influential Friends of the Earth has endorsed Carter's viciously anti-working-class energy program. Since Carter is now pushing the use of noxious high-sulfur coal, we assume that the "Friends" approve of the negative aspects of Carter's program: austerity measures which essentially price fuel beyond the budgets of the poor.

Another example of right-wing "environmentalism" is to be found in a statement on the "food crisis" in the British magazine *Ecologist* (Volume 6, Number 4). Paid for by the "Environmental Fund," this full-page advertisement that U.S. foreign aid be based on "triage": "any nation that asserts the right to produce more babies must also assume the responsibility for taking care of them." This invitation to famine and plague among the peoples of the world ravaged by imperialist plunder was endorsed by ecology-guru and *Tonight Show* regular Paul Ehrlich and such "allies of the left" as Zbigniew Brzezinski, J.P. Getty and Sidney Hook.

A particularly disgusting case in point reflects the rabid anti-Chicano sentiment fueled in California by the vicious campaign against foreign workers. The 20 October *Daily Californian* (the student newspaper at the University of California at Berkeley) reports in an article entitled "Illegal aliens endure violence, terrorism" that:

"the national office of Zero Population Growth (ZPG) sent out a long memorandum this summer deploring the drain on U.S. standards of living they feel the rising Hispanic tide represents. The ZPG memo complains that Hispanic families have a much higher fertility rate than black and white families.

"Our view reflects a changing political outlook," says Pete Wilson of ZPG. "There are limits to the liberalism of the sixties. We have a strong belief in the rights of individuals and the quality of individual life. After all, *environmentalism is a basically conservative stance.*" [our emphasis]

It is interesting to note that our critic is not alone in the belief that whatever is fashionable among the petty bourgeoisie must of necessity be "progressive"; i.e., anything popular "will lead to socialism" if only it is applied "consistently." The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—which raised this "theory" to a principle and applied it to feminism, black nationalism, gay activism, etc.—now turns to the eco-freaks. In a recent Boston *Free Paper* letter, SWPers Hattie McCutcheon and Gary Cohen give a graphic example of grovelling before petty-bourgeois faddism and the SWP's appetite for ever more reformist front groups:

"The antinuclear movement has an anticapitalist thrust because it puts people before profits. Ultimately only a socialist society based on human needs, will totally end the use of nuclear

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## Mum's the Word on China at RSB Convention

# Maoists on the Road to Oblivion

It must have sounded like just another Saturday disco to students walking across the University of Illinois campus at Champaign-Urbana on November 19. Inside Lincoln Hall loudspeakers were throbbing the theme song of "Star Wars" and other top-40 hits.

But when the theme song from "Rocky" began pulsating, the crowded auditorium suddenly began to resound with the chant, "The people united will never be defeated!" What sounded like a frat mixer turned out to be a national gathering of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), youth group of the maverick-Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Who else but the juvenile RSB would play "Rocky" as a "fight-back" song to open its two-day national conference!

For weeks the RSB had been building for this "historic" conference which was to launch a "young communist organization." There the RSB was to be transformed from a front group which had always been neither explicitly socialist nor democratic centralist into a disciplined and formally "communist" youth affiliate of the RCP. But despite the new "up-front" image, the "Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade" (RCYB) baptised by the conference promises to be just as reformist, infantile and politically retarded as its predecessor organization.

### Moronic Maoism

As the loudspeakers blasted "Rocky," the RSB theatrically lowered over the stage an enormous purple banner bearing the slogan, "The Future Is Ours If We Dare To Take It." From the outset this was the theme of the conference: the road to socialism involves nothing more than bravado.

It was thus to be expected that the RSB would make much ado over its recent "fight back" at Kent State, where for months students have protested administration plans to construct a gym on the site from which National Guardsmen fatally shot four student anti-war demonstrators seven years ago. But throughout the conference the RSB portrayed as a "great victory" its puerile adventurism and rotten liberalism at Kent (the RSB opposed the SYL demand for ROTC and cops off

campus!).

Everything and everyone connected with the "struggle" at Kent was glorified. Before the conference began, the record "Ohio" by Crosby, Stills and Nash was repeatedly played over the loudspeakers. The honor of calling the rambunctious crowd of nearly 650 to order was given to one Alan Canfora, a New Left leftover whose only claim to fame is that he was wounded by the National Guard at Kent seven years ago and has been hanging around the campus ever since. Even his gavel came from Kent: it was a piece of the fence surrounding the gym site (and treasured like a relic of the True Cross). Even the Kent State RSBers became instant heroes, with the result that one honcho swaggered around the conference boasting, "I'm from Kent State—the Kent State!" (How many are there?)

### From Mao to Howard Beale

Political discussion at the conference was sandwiched in between slide shows and films of recent RSB stunts around the country, dance contests and the inevitable "cultural evening," which featured "entertainment" by the likes of the "Monster Mash" of Boston and the "Fighting Machine" of Chicago. After the two scheduled plenaries were merged into one (truncated) session, discussion centered almost entirely on whether the new organization should be named "Revolutionary Youth Movement" or "Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade" (a desultory "debate" which petered out after about a half hour).

What passed for political discussion in the workshops was a lot of macho-militant posturing and "right-on" rhetoric by RSBers trying to sound "working class" by imitating Archie Bunker. In addition, the RSB has evidently now found another pop hero in the character of Howard Beale, the "mad prophet of the airways" from the film *Network*. At the conference RSBers took great delight in endlessly repeating the catchphrase popularized by Beale in the film, "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it any more!"

It was indicative of the low political level of this self-proclaimed "communist" organization that both the main "political report" from the Presidium and the keynote speech by RCP would-be "Godfather" Bob Avakian were devoted to simple-simon explanations of what communism means and why a working-class revolution is necessary. For example, to explain the differences between "genuine Marxist Leninists" and "revisionists" the reporter for the presidium told the following parable: One day a "Marxist Leninist," a "CP revisionist" and a "Trotskyite, like in the Spartacist League," were walking together in a pasture (!!) when they came upon a river. The "CP revisionist" decided to wait 'til the river would dry up in the summer, while the "Trotskyite" refused to recognize that the river existed and jumped in only to be swept away. But our "Marxist Leninist," demonstrating his grasp of dialectical materialism, built a raft and successfully

paddled across. If the Maoist homilies in the *Little Red Book* sound a lot like *Poor Richard's Almanac*, this "wit" might have been inspired by *Huckleberry Finn*.

### Two, Three, Many Kent States?

It is clear that the RCP has high hopes of rapidly recruiting large numbers of politically naive youth to the RCYB through endless super-activist reformist campaigns. After all, a good many—perhaps the majority—of the participants at the conference had been active with the RSB for only a few months; even at the "leadership" level, half of the presidium had been in the organization for a year or less. Perhaps the philistine Avakian actually believes that the RCYB can pull off two, three, many Kent States, each time recruiting ever more youth and attracting ever greater media publicity.

While its youth work has always been characterized by get-rich-quick schemes, the RCP at the moment desperately needs some quick success somewhere. For the past year the RCP has been foundering in a deep political crisis. After years of hailing the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy as "invincible" and apologizing for its every counter-revolutionary betrayal from Ceylon to Angola, the RCP was set on its ear by the purge of the "gang of four" last year and the subsequent "rehabilitation" of Teng Hsiao-ping and other prominent "capitalist roaders."

Paralyzed by internal confusion and evident differences over developments in its "socialist fatherland," the RCP has maintained a stonewalling silence on China for the last year. Its credibility as a self-professed Maoist organization was soon irreparably destroyed, and the RCP became something of a laughingstock on the left. But the coup de grace came when the Hua regime recently rewarded its ever-servile lap dogs, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [CP(ML)], with the "China franchise" for this country.

Faced with the gloomy prospect of trying to survive as Stalinists without a country, the RCP is attempting to avert factional hemorrhaging and organizational disintegration by simply burying its head in the sand of mindless activism and philistine workerism. Thus, the RCP has thrown all its resources into building empty front groups such as the National United Workers Organization and the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee to stage sometimes flashy but ultimately politically ephemeral demonstrations.

Similarly, the RCP is hoping to solve its problems by staging its own publicity stunts like the "Tent City" protest on Wall Street last summer and by "winning leadership" of other "mass struggles" like the Kent State "move-the-gym" campaign through importing their own "masses." Thus, the main "political report" at the convention projected as the central task of the RCYB: "the task of building big battles with small forces, like what the RSB did around Kent State this Fall, using the single spark method of concentrating

forces in key battles" (*Revolution*, December 1977).

### Maoists in Contradiction

No matter how feisty and frenetic its razzmatazz youth operation, the RCP has only added to its political contradictions by launching the RCYB. On the one hand, the RCYB now must present itself as a communist organization upholding "Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought." But on the other hand the RCYB cannot identify with the Hua regime in China, which has already picked its flunkey in the person of Michael Klonsky of the CP(ML).

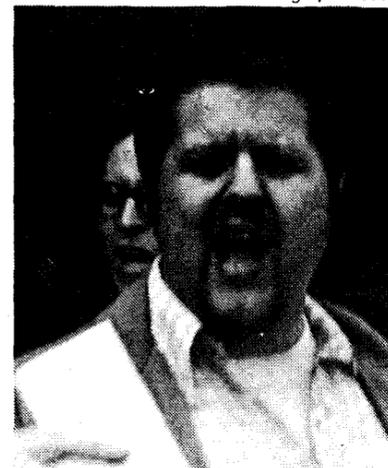
It is impossible for the RCP/RCYB to indefinitely maintain its public stance of "see no evil, speak no evil, hear no evil" with regard to the current Stalinist cliques ruling in the Forbidden City. Already the wretchedly reformist CP(ML) has been able to exploit the contradiction of the RCP. Even when the RCP broke its year-long silence on China and published a congratulatory telegram to the Chinese Communist Party on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, the CP(ML) was able to play the RCP.

In the *Call* of November 7 the CP(ML) played up the RCP's refusal to mention the campaign against the "gang of four" or to acknowledge the new leadership in Peking, adding with savage sarcasm, "if you don't recognize them, maybe they will go away." The longer the RCP/RCYB attempts to brazen out its "principle contradiction" with this "ostrich position" the faster it burrows into its political grave.

But the RCP also realizes that to openly repudiate the Hua regime and break with "socialist China" will bring it face to face with Trotskyism. When the Progressive Labor Party was breaking with China in 1969-70, the Avakian tendency (then known as the Revolutionary Union) was quick to denounce its heretical Stalinism as "Trotskyism." At that time the RU understood full well that PL's repudiation of the Mao regime as "revisionism" called into question the entire theoretical and political structure of Stalinist politics.

Far from embracing Trotskyism, PL rejected Maoism but clung to a primitivist, eclectic Stalinoid theoretical and methodological world view. Refusing to recognize the fundamental difference between Stalinism (in all its nationalist variants) and authentic Leninism, PL ended up tracing the "original sin" of "revisionism" to the policies of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin, in particular, to the New Economic Policy instituted in 1921. Even though PL had far more going for it when it broke from China than the RCP does today, PL was led by its theoretical meanderings into the political wilderness to die a slow political death.

Today the RCP has no hope of being able to simply dismiss or ignore the SL/SYL. It was abundantly clear from the RCYB conference that the RCP is quite aware of the political threat posed by the politics and practice of the SL/SYL. In the main political report to the conference the anti-Trotskyist diatribes were



The great silence continues: will Avakian pass judgment on the twice restored "arch-capitalist roader" Teng Hsiao-Ping?

## Young Spartacus

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

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## NSA Recruiters Flee Columbia!

# Demos Hit Imperialism's Secret Police

In early November a successful campaign opposing National Security Agency (NSA) recruitment at Columbia University was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), culminating in a spirited demonstration of over 40 people on November 9. On the following day a front-page article in the *Columbia Spectator* reported that the campaign had in fact scored a modest though significant victory. In the wake of the militant atmosphere generated by the demonstration the NSA recruiting team was forced to stealthily continue its interviews *off campus!*

The NSA, an intelligence arm of the U.S. Defense Department, is the largest, most clandestine and best-financed agency of terror and reaction in the world. Known for its notorious role in Indochina as the creator of the so-called "electronic battlefield," an apparatus capable of monitoring troop movements and even conversations in dense underbrush, the NSA is also responsible for developing the tracking system which located Che Guevara in 1967. If Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade is the current ideological facade of U.S. imperialism the NSA/CIA participation in mass murder, torture and espionage from Vietnam to Bolivia to Iran is the reality that lies behind it.

The Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Military/NSA Recruitment, a united front initiated by the SYL to coordinate the anti-NSA protest, was formed after advertisements appeared at Columbia announcing the scheduled appearance of Air Force, Marine and NSA recruiters for the purpose of luring students into careers of life-time service to counter-revolution. The Committee's slogan, "Military/NSA Recruiters Off Campus!" was endorsed by several instruc-

tors and unaffiliated individuals including Columbia professors Alexander Erlich and Mark Kesselman and Kellis Parker of the Columbia Law School.

### Fake-Lefts on the Sidelines

By contrast, the Columbia fake-left exhibited their customary refusal to engage in principled common action with the SYL. Not surprisingly, both the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and the Socialist Action Community (SAC—a parochial Columbia clique of refuse from the New Left) refused to participate in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. One of the members of the Columbia Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), feeling the pressure to oppose the NSA, was forced to endorse the campaign in his own name. But despite its pretense to being the best builder of "mass" protest, the YSA failed to show up at the demonstration.

Pressured into maintaining a semblance of activism and militancy, however, the RSB and SAC both appeared at the Ad Hoc Committee's rally, but then refused to join it. When the *New York Times* (23 November) ran an article on today's "campus mood," it singled out the SYL-led demonstration as the prime example of campus activism it encountered. The accompanying photograph showed not only the demonstrators, but a clot of SAC and RSB supporters huddled off in a corner—for fear of associating with Trotskyist militants in anti-militarist protest.

After the rally, the Committee led a march through the campus, ending at one of the sites of NSA recruitment. After a period of vacillation, fear of marching with the SYL won out and the SAC and RSB decided to form a separate



Columbia anti-NSA protest on November 9.

picket line at East Hall, one of the buildings where the NSA interviews were being conducted. When the SYL contingent arrived after marching to the Law School, a *de facto* common demonstration was formed. Naturally, these uncomfortable Stalinists and New Leftists did not accept the SYL offer of speaking time at an East Hall rally, but drifted out of the picket line whenever criticism of their sectarian posturing was voiced.

### Berkeley Protests

An SYL-initiated united-front demonstration also protested NSA recruitment at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Under a banner reading "Drive the CIA/NSA Recruiters Off Campus! Abolish the

CIA/NSA!," the demonstrators marched from Sproul Plaza to the Career Placement Center where the NSA was interviewing potential imperialist agents. Endorsers of the action included the Young Socialist Alliance, the Pan-Africa Student Board, Physics professor Charles Schwartz and the Gay People's Union.

In a short speech following the picket line, SYL spokesman Steve Hamilton recounted how exactly two years ago the SYL initiated and led the first student demonstration in the country against NSA recruiters at Berkeley. Since then, the SYL has organized demonstrations throughout the country to drive this notorious imperialist agency off the

*continued on page 11*

directed solely at the SL/SYL; the fake-Trotskyists of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance were not even mentioned. One of the complaints which frequently could be heard voiced in the informal corridor conversations was how the "Sparts" had made the lives of RSBers miserable.

Despite its attempt to simply dismiss the "Trots" as blindly sectarian lunatics who go around jumping into rivers, the RCP felt compelled to schedule a special workshop on Trotskyism. Its blurb explained that while "in the short run we can get away with just telling them [the Trotskyists] 'we're going to kick their ass,'" the Brigade does "not have a good enough political and class analysis of Trotskyism," which "is a phenomena that will certainly grow among students in the future."

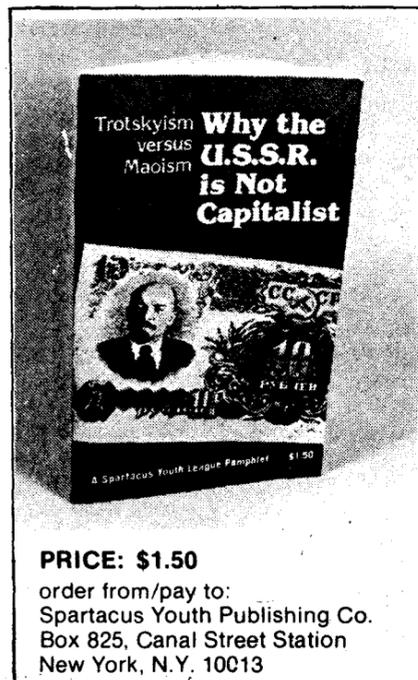
In the workshop, however, the RSB didn't even attempt to echo the traditional Stalinist slanders that pass for a "political and class analysis of Trotskyism." Instead, the RSBers amused themselves exchanging anecdotes about their run-ins with the "Asparagus League."

But this self-assuring verbal slapstick won't help the RSBers when they return to their campuses and fractions. Again and again the RSB has discredited itself by attempts to silence the SYL through ill-considered thug tactics or by its sectarian and cowardly refusal to participate in political actions initiated by the SYL, several of which have been

the largest campaigns on their campuses in years.

### The "Dialectics" of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde

In addition to its crisis over China, the RCP is also saddled with the contradiction resulting from its attempt to build a youth section through an appeal to trendy New Leftism while imposing socially reactionary workerist positions



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and policies that are generally unpopular in the petty bourgeois radical milieu. It was abundantly clear at the RCP conference that there was significant disgruntlement and even vocal opposition to the positions of the RCP on the special oppression of black people, women and homosexuals.

Its nativist workerism has led the RCP to pander to the most backward prejudices among the working people. A mindless glorification of the present consciousness of the working class has led the RCP/RSB to turn a "color-blind" eye towards the real and dangerous racial polarization in the working class.

In the case of busing the RCP has opposed this measure which enforces, even if in a limited way, the democratic right of black people for equal access to public educational facilities. In Boston and Louisville the RCP/RSB went so far as to glorify the vicious racist mobilizations against busing as a great "fight back" for "quality education"—that codeword for "separate but equal."

Likewise, the RCP opposes the Equal Rights Amendment, an elementary statement of legal equality regardless of sex. Tailing male chauvinist attitudes, the RCP simply accepts the argument of the union bureaucracy that the bourgeoisie will attempt to use the ERA as a means to deny men their hard-won gains of protective legislation. Rather than fighting to *extend* protective legislation to all workers, the RCP simply aban-

dons the struggle for women's equality.

No less disgusting has been the RCP's glorification of the nuclear family and bourgeois morality and its despicable refusal to defend the democratic rights of homosexuals. Regarding homosexuality as a "sickness," the RCP/RSB recently lined up behind Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign to persecute homosexual teachers, going so far as to advocate that parents remove "notorious homosexuals" from the schools.

At the RCP conference many participants expressed opposition to the anti-ERA line of the RCP in the workshop on women's oppression. Evidently anticipating similar opposition over the black question the RCP simply canceled the scheduled workshop on busing before the conference even began. But even though homosexual oppression was a "no-no" subject, the RCP ended up provoking visible outrage when in his speech to the conference Bob Avakian described the bourgeoisie as a "bunch of faggots" because they used working-class youth as conscripts instead of fighting their own wars!

While the RCP might try to clean up its act a little for the youth, its Stalinist politics and commitment to nativist workerism is bound to produce opposition within its ranks of youth recruited on the basis of low-level New Leftism. Despite its pollyannaish projections of

*continued on page 11*

## Iran...

(continued from page 1)

demonstrators and arrested more than a hundred (*Guardian*, 30 November).

As the protests continued the regime resorted to "unofficial" gangsterism. When a police occupation of the Teheran University campus on November 19 failed to stifle the anti-government protests, the police unleashed their supporters. On November 21 a meeting of 400 students was attacked by 100 pro-Shah thugs who wielded clubs and chains and, as in Washington, shouted "Long Live the Shah." In a similar incident the next day, students were attacked by "workers" allegedly outraged by "provocative and anti-state" slogans.

Even as the reports of the latest arrests and murders were coming out of Iran, the American press continued to print the Carter administration shibboleth about "liberalizations" in the direction of "human rights" in Iran. The latest repression exemplifies Iranian "human rights"—cut from the same cloth as the pledges to return to "civilian rule" from each military dictator who parades through the White House.

Free all victims of the Shah's white terror! Down with SAVAK!

### Crisis in the Iranian Student Movement

The November 15 demonstrations in Washington (as well as in San Francisco) revealed not only the militancy of the Iranian left, but the deep political crisis of the Iranian student movement. In Washington several tightly knit contingents snaked their way through Lafayette Park. Competing sound systems echoed off each other and no contingent leaders could give authoritative figures during the rally as to how many had been arrested, released, kidnapped, hospitalized, etc.

The contingents reflected the organizational fracturing of the once united Iranian Students Association. In its place remain more than a half-dozen competing organizations, each claiming as its own the mantle of "Iranian Students Association, Member of the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union)," the "Union of Iranian Students in the U.S.," and a host of similar names. The splintering of the ISA was precipitated by massive revisionism over the role of the Moscow and Peking Stalinist bureaucracies which, each in turn, traded off their professed opposition to the Shah's murderous rule for "peaceful coexistence" and diplomatic deals with this "enlightened" tyrant. The Iranian students who looked first to the USSR and then to China for guidance in the struggle against the Shah were thus driven into political shock.

Following the overthrow of the bourgeois Mossadegh government in 1953 the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh [Masses] party was the principal force on the Iranian left. In the mid-1960's, however, many Iranian militants broke with the Tudeh party over the party's support for a Kremlin-Shah detente. In exchange for a Soviet-Iranian mutual non-aggression pact in 1963 (which also provided for trade deals between the two countries), the Soviet bloc began to praise the Shah and tout his fake "white revolution" as the road to economic and social progress.

Not only did the USSR sell Iran \$110 million worth of military equipment, but the Soviet Union even handed over to SAVAK a number of Tudeh exiles, several of whom were subsequently executed. By 1966 the Tudeh Central Committee acceded to joint Soviet-Iranian pressure and handed over a second group of political refugees. The shamefaced Tudeh was left with the thankless task of defending the betrayals committed in the name of Soviet-Iranian trade deals; arguing that "apart from strengthening the national econo-

my, it will weaken the influence of the imperialists" (*World Marxist Review* No. 9, 1965).

Nor was this the first time the influence of the Tudeh party was sacrificed on the altar of the Kremlin bureaucracy's political accommodations with the Iranian monarchy. Following World War II the Soviet Red Army occupied northern Iran bringing relief from the oppressive yoke of British imperialism and the Shah's tyranny. The identification of the working masses of Iranian Azerbaijan with the tremendous social advances of Soviet Azerbaijan combined with hatred of the British and the monarchy to touch off a prerevolutionary situation.

Following Kremlin orders to hold



Pro-Shah hirelings in Washington: plane fare, hotel rooms and \$100 (above).

Iranian "liberalization" in practice (right).

back the revolutionary masses so as not to jeopardize Stalin's diplomatic deals, the Tudeh party was instrumental in smashing the militant oil workers general strike in 1946—for which they were rewarded with three portfolios in the popular-front government of Prime Minister Gavam. Iranian Stalinists played a central role in backing the Shah's attack on the independent Azerbaijan government set up under the leadership of the Democratic Ferge [League] headed by a former leader of the Iranian Communist Party, Jafar Peeshavari. As was to be the case in the 1960's, a few trade concessions served as the rationalization for betrayal.

In 1948 the Tudeh party was outlawed—its reward for contributing to restabilizing bourgeois rule. Discredited, Iranian Stalinism left the door open for bourgeois landowner Dr. Mossadegh to present himself as the Iranian "liberator" from imperialism. Only with the CIA-orchestrated crushing of Mossadegh's National Front did the Tudeh party regain its authority among Iranian militants and again draw revolutionary-minded youth to its ranks.

### Rise of Iranian Maoism

To a growing number of Tudeh members and supporters in the early 1960's, the "Third World" Stalinism of Peking seemed to be an attractive alternative to the Kremlin. Iranian Maoism took shape in 1965 when, following their expulsion from Tudeh, three former central committee members set up the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party Abroad (ROTPA) in opposition to "the incorrect policies of 'peaceful coexistence'" (*ROTPA Iraninform* No. 1, 1975).

ROTPA received its first publicity in 1967 when China's Hsinhua News Agency (14 May 1967) carried the group's denunciation of the Soviet-Iran arms deals: "The sale of arms by the

Soviet revisionists to the regime of the Iranian monarchy is in reality a declaration of war on the people, workers, revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists of Iran."

By 1966 Tudeh's influence was decisively waning and the formerly pro-Soviet Confederation of Iranian Students (CIS) passed a resolution condemning Russian foreign policy at its world conference. While the majority of the Iranian left correctly viewed the USSR as betraying the colonial masses in the interests of "peaceful coexistence," they did not recognize that China's foreign policy would lead to the same catastrophic results. The verbal militancy of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy reflected simply the inability

Young Spartacus



ty of Peking to offer much in exchange for diplomatic accords. With the first rumblings of "anti-superpower" agreements between China and the Shah in the early 1970's, the pro-Mao Iranian left was plunged into an ongoing political crisis whose principal manifestation was the emergence of "two, three, many" ISA's.

### Detente: Peking Style

In 1971 the Iranian Maoists were brutally confronted with China's reactionary foreign policy when the Shah's sister, Ashraf Pahlavi, was accorded a royal welcome in Peking. *Peking Review* signaled the beginning of a Sino-Iranian rapprochement with a 20 August 1971 proclamation that China "firmly supports the Imperial Government of Iran in its just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty..." To which the Maoist bureaucracy soon added that Iran "has to strengthen its defenses" (*Hsinhua News Release*, 17-18 June 1973).

As Peking applauded the Shah's stockpiling of American arms, the earlier condemnations of the Soviet Union came back to haunt the pro-Mao

Iranians. The National Front faction of the CIS (primarily composed of Guevarists and "Third World" nationalists with little loyalty to Peking) protested Ashraf's visit as "entirely wrong and against the interests of revolution in Iran." They condemned the "Iranian flunkies of China," such as the Toufahn group—one of the earliest of the Maoist groups. Commenting on Toufahn's head-in-the-sand refusal to acknowledge the visit, the National Front wrote: "We will continue to struggle and expose Toufahn which, on the one hand, speaks of the pro-imperialist policies of the Shah and, on the other, directly attacks the opponents of the international policies of the People's Republic of China" (*Iran Azad* No. 93, March 1975). But according to a recently formed fanatically pro-Chinese group, even Toufahn was moved to send a confidential letter of protest to China.

Although groups such as ROTPA demonstrated their boundless subservience by calling for closer ties between Iran and China, the Iranian left found the Peking line increasingly hard to swallow. The Organization of Communist Revolutionaries (OCR) and its associates in the American Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) echoed Peking's tirades about "Soviet social imperialism" but balked at China's more grotesque betrayals.

Thus, for example, a new debate was sparked by China's refusal to send arms to the Omani rebels engaged in a desperate struggle with Iranian troops propping up the reactionary Sultanate. The OCR and the soon-to-be RCP did not join in the denunciation of the Omani guerrillas as "Soviet pawns" by the more rabid Maoists such as the October League (now the Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist]—CP[ML]). When the RCP continued to call for "no arms to the Shah," the October League snidely commented that the Revolutionary Union/RCP "seems to be having trouble defending China's stand" (*Call*, October 1974).

The political struggle over Peking loyalty came to a head at the Sixteenth Congress of the CIS held in January 1975 in Europe and attended by some 1,000 members and sympathizers. Following a series of debates between several of the more staunchly Mao-loyal groups and the National Front, the Maoists put forward a resolution which declared that one of the "most important tasks of the Confederation" is "to expose the reactionary policies of the Soviet Union" and "to fight the reactionary and counterrevolutionary policies of the central committee of the Iranian Tudeh party."

The Maoist resolution was defeated and instead the October League and several European Maoist groups found themselves condemned for their "reactionary" positions on the Shah. After a particularly evasive majority resolution was approved, the conference led to the organizational splintering of both the CIS and ISA.

### The Peking Albatross

Iran is a striking confirmation of the trials and tribulations of following the Chinese bureaucracy's latest applications of "Mao Tse-tung Thought." The isolation of the Peking hard-liners can be seen in the first issue of *Proletaire* (June-July, 1977) published by the flunkies of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Iran (MLOI). The MLOI complains:

"Nowadays, it is enough for anyone to speak of the People's Republic of China and Mao's strategic concept of the three worlds, i.e. the only scientific analysis of the world situation, for him to become the target of a whole campaign of slanders and attacks by revisionists and opportunists."

With the diligence of the guardians of the eternal truth, the MLOI concludes with a vow to resist the rising stream of anti-Maoism, although "the balance of forces is tipped in their [the anti-Maoists] favor."

As *Peking Review* now trumpets accolades to the "anti-superpower" butcher on the Persian Gulf, it is tragic to see many Iranian militants who broke with Tudeh today urging "anti-imperialist" (anti-Soviet) unity with the Shah. This is particularly criminal as Iran is the principal ally of U.S. imperialism against the USSR in that region of the world. While ten years ago Maoism was incorrectly seen by some as a left alternative to Moscow's betrayals, it seems today to be but a radical cloak for the most crass Iranian national chauvinism directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

While increasing numbers of Iranian leftist students are forsaking the Peking road, they have not yet broken from the heritage and methodology of Stalinism. The reprehensible betrayals of the most basic anti-Shah sentiments among the Iranian masses committed by both the Tudeh party and the servile Peking-loyalists are the result of political allegiances to the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracies which stretch from Moscow to Peking. These grave-diggers of the fight for socialism repeatedly sacrifice the valiant struggles of workers and the oppressed in favor of their global search for "peaceful coexistence" with bourgeois regimes around the world.

### Mossadegh and the Permanent Revolution

The sole remaining tie between all wings of the ISA is their acceptance of the Menshevik/Stalinist schema that proletarian revolution is not on the agenda and that the workers and peasants must unite with the "progressive national bourgeoisie" to carry out a "people's democratic revolution." From the remaining defenders of China's foreign policy to the National Front and the urban guerrillas, the entire Iranian left engages in this futile search for "anti-imperialist" bourgeois forces.

The National Front faction of CIS/ISA, for example, openly harks back to the allegedly anti-imperialist National Front government of Mossadegh. The guerrillaist organizations—the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen [Self-Sacrificing] Guerrillas (OIPFG) and the Organization of Mojahedeen [Combatants] of the People of Iran (which originally described itself as "Islamic-Marxist") have taken the names of the militias of the abortive 1906 Constitutional Revolution. Jazani of the OIPFG wrote, "we regret the weakness of the forces and groups connected with the national and petit bourgeoisie more than their power" (*Armed Struggle in Iran*). Similarly the "hard"-Maoist *Toufahn* (No. 100, December 1975) was aghast that "there have been people, and still are, who deny the existence of the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie in Iranian society."

Most of the wings of the CIS/ISA support the politics of the urban guerrilla groups in Iran because these organizations have "picked up the gun." Likewise, the OIPFG and the Mojahedeen criticize the Tudeh party for not having waged "armed struggle." But their program is simply a more militant (albeit often more valiant) rehash of the Stalinist faith in a two-stage revolution.

To call for a *separate* stage of "people's democracy" is to preach reliance on a bourgeoisie that is bound by a thousand strings to the Peacock Throne. The bourgeoisie and the monarchy are completely interwoven. At least some members of the Pahlavi family have direct and legitimate voice, by dint of ownership, in the operation of all commerce and industry in Iran. The landlords, paid off by the Shah's phony "land reform" schemes, invest their capital in industry. SAVAK and the Shah's reign of terror are essential to the security of the "national bourgeoisie." Factories flooded with SAVAK agents and on occasion retired military officers often resemble giant labor camps—for the bourgeoisie fears first and foremost

the emergent proletariat of Iran.

The road forward for the Iranian working masses is the road of the Russian Revolution. For it was the October Revolution and not the "popular" bourgeois government of Kerensky which brought land to the tiller, liberated the oppressed nationalities of the Tsarist empire and destroyed Russia's alliance with Western imperialism. Two-stage revolution, the program of the Mensheviks in Russia, is not a new prescription. As Lenin wrote, "in order to consolidate the achievements of the bourgeois democratic revolution for the peoples of Russia, we were obliged to go farther; and we did go farther. We solved the problems of the bourgeois democratic revolution in passing, as a



Peking urges arms to Shah as "useful contribution to the joint anti-hegemonic cause."

Pierre Boulat



Youth group of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist): anti-"superpower" (read anti-Soviet) cover for China's support to Shah.

Young Spartacus

'by-product' of our main and genuinely proletarian-revolutionary, socialist activities" ("Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution").

Since then, in the hands of world Stalinism, the program of two-stage revolution and alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie has led to one defeat after another. The Shanghai workers paid in blood for the Chinese Communist Party's reliance on Chiang Kai-shek in 1927. Hundreds of thousands of communists were slaughtered in 1965 because the Indonesian Communist Party tied the working class to Sukarno. And the Chilean working class went down to a bloody defeat at the hands of the "patriotic" armed forces. Each time, the price for the failure to mobilize the masses independently of the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisies was paid with the blood of unprepared, unarmed workers and peasants!

### The Myth of Mossadegh's Anti-Imperialism

The perspective of two-stage revolution in Iran is no less utopian and reactionary. The experience of the 1951-53 National Front government aptly demonstrates the craven character of the Iranian bourgeoisie. Mossadegh nationalized certain oil fields to

strengthen the bargaining power of the Iranian ruling class when they sought to exchange the U.S. for Britain as their imperialist overseers.

But bourgeois nationalizations do not equal socialism, no matter how extensive. Mossadegh's pleading letters to Eisenhower and his retention of the American military mission to Iran throughout this period clearly show this. For example, on 28 May 1953 Mossadegh wrote, "The Iranian nation hopes that with the help and assistance of the American government the obstacles placed in the way of the sale of Iranian oil can be removed" (quoted in Richard Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran* [1964]).

Mossadegh did not distribute land to

proletariat, supports paramilitary and pseudo-radical groups drawn predominantly from the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen proletariat in order to destroy all working-class parties and organizations through mass violence.

Thus fascism historically has come to power only in the advanced capitalist countries. It is the response of bourgeois reaction to a proletariat reared under conditions of legality permitting the creation of mass-based class organizations. By and large, such conditions do not exist in the backward, non-industrial countries.

While mass reactionary nationalistic movements of the petty bourgeoisie can be found in the more backward capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie resorts instead to bonapartist dictatorships based on the normal organs of bourgeois rule such as the army and police. Iran is clearly a vicious dictatorship, but there is no Iranian equivalent of Hitler's Nazis or Mussolini's Black Shirts.

Behind the attempt to portray the Shah's totalitarianism as fascism is the desire to differentiate him from the illusory concept of "normal" bourgeois rule in Iran. Despite the fragility of the Iranian ruling class, the Shah is not an overlord riding roughshod over the democratic aspirations of the bourgeoisie. The Mossadegh period clearly demonstrated that the overthrow of the Shah's white terror remains the task of the proletarian revolution.

### "Out Now"... In Oman?

The legalistic social democrats of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its Iranian cothinkers have entered the fray to interject their brand of reformism. The pro-SWP faction of the Iranian Sattar League labels the entire CIS as "ultraleft" and its "Draft Political Resolution" attributes the break up of the CIS to the fact that "different groups within the Confederation argued their sectarian programs" (*SWP International Internal Information Bulletin* No. 3, July 1977). This gross example of liberal anti-communism is an argument for the SWP's front group, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which explicitly defends only Iranian intellectuals on a civil libertarian basis while refusing to publicly defend the urban guerrillas from the Shah's repression and maintaining a studious silence over the fate of arrested workers leaders. CAIFI not only seeks bourgeois respectability by such means, but it has actually turned to the courts of the reactionary imperialist state to resolve conflicts within the Iranian left!

The pro-SWPers of the Sattar League also dream of a pacifist, single-issue movement to withdraw Iranian troops from the Gulf, modeled on the popular fronts built by the SWP during the Vietnam war. Citing "popular" sentiment of "Why should our children be killed in Dhofar?" the SWP Iranians envision their version of "Out Now" alliances with bourgeois liberals. Naturally, these social chauvinists never call for the military victory of the Omani guerrillas, just as the SWP found it too embarrassing to solidarize with the Vietnamese Revolution.

### For Workers Revolution in Iran!

Iran represents a classic case of uneven and combined development resulting from belated capitalist development. Alongside the preservation of such traditional crafts as rug-weaving, construction is underway on the world's largest petrochemical complex. While the vast majority of Persian workers are employed in small rural family workshops, there are also within Iran about 50,000 proletarians working in the petrochemical works, which employ an average of 2,500 workers each. Thus, while small, the Iranian proletariat is highly concentrated and potentially highly organized.

We have long maintained that:

*continued on page 11*

the peasants or mobilize and arm the masses. The monarchy existed throughout the National Front government, and the bourgeois armed forces during this period, as always, were utilized only against the masses. When Tudeh called a demonstration against the arrival of U.S. special envoy Averill Harriman, Mossadegh unleashed the troops on the protesters. During the last days of his government, when it was clear to all that a CIA coup was on the horizon, Mossadegh turned to the sections of the army still loyal to him and sent them against... mass marches organized by the Tudeh party.

The servile and utterly corrupt "progressive" bourgeois forces backing the Mossadegh government feared nothing more than an upsurge of the toiling masses—as in 1946. The CIA had only to flick its little finger to be rid of the National Front while the scavenger bourgeoisie rushed to the side of the seamy Pahlavis who rule by virtue of the most crude and barbaric tortures imaginable.

Together with the Stalinists of all stripes, the National Front of the ISA is quick to label the Shah of Iran as "fascist." Marxists understand fascism to be the response of bourgeois society to a developed, mass labor movement. The big bourgeoisie, challenged by the

## After Bemoaning Kent State "Violence Against Property"...

# YSA Accepts Administration Gag as "Free Speech"

Kent State became a *cause célèbre* on the American left this year when campus "radicals" sought to halt the construction of a gym on Blanket Hill, the site from which National Guardsmen opened fire on student protesters in 1970. But rather than revive the anti-imperialist, anti-ROTC aspects of the May 1970 protests, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and its New Left/liberal allies of the May 4 Coalition deliberately restricted the issue to one of "moving the gym" to some other site and endless displays of infantile "take the hill" bravado.

As the months wore on, the mindless militancy of the RSB began to fizzle. The much-touted "spirit of Kent State" was kept alive only by the mass influx of RSB members for "national rallies." As RSB "militants" found less support for expeditions against a chain-link fence, an even more liberal "Blanket Hill Coalition" was formed in opposition to the May 4 Coalition.

Today the gym is being constructed. The emboldened Kent administration, capitalizing on the waning of activity, is

trying to clamp down on student protest. Rallies, marches and the sale and distribution of literature have all been banned. The RSB has been threatened with deregistration and was denied the right to hold its convention on the campus.

Into the wake of this debacle has stepped the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in an attempt to gather up the political debris with its tired blend of legalism and super-pacifism. After having joined forces with the May 4 Coalition to shout down the Spartacus Youth League's demands of Cops and ROTC Off Campus and then tailing the "moderate" Blanket Hill Coalition with its aversion to "violence against property," the YSA now offers its own strategy of capitulation ("How to Win Kent Gym Fight," *Militant*, 25 November).

One-upping the Gandhian, grovelling appeals of the May 4 Coalition and Blanket Hill Coalition, the YSA now joins the administration in denouncing the RSB for the fact "the fence around the construction site was torn down,

windows were broken, and slogans were spray-painted on buildings." That the administration called in cops to arrest and tear gas demonstrators is only mentioned in passing, so strenuously do these "socialists" defend the sacrosanct property of the bourgeois university.

The YSA attributes the "victimization of many militants through disciplinary action by the administration, arrests and beatings by police" to the self-defeating adventurism of the RSB. But the YSA did little to prevent this victimization. It does not even defend the RSB from the administration's attack, murmuring hypocritically that "Unfortunately, many students because of their disagreements with the RSB, will not defend its right to remain on campus."

So, what does the YSA have to offer? "Rallies and demonstrations that encourage the broadest participation should be organized. Activities that focus on the political issues at hand, and not on 'militant' tactics are the best way to educate and win over new supporters." They even have a "victory" to bolster their argument. In an article entitled

"Free speech wins a round at Kent," they claim: "Such an action—the November 9 rally for free speech—has already won one such victory."

One wonders how the YSA's "free speech" rally was pulled off in the face of the university's ban, court actions and use of mounted and machine-gun armed cops? Simple, just agree not to mention the gym or have anyone associated with the May 4 Coalition speak and the administration will sanction your rally! In other words, play deaf, dumb and blind about the cops, the hundreds of arrests, the gym or ROTC and you too can have... "free speech"! Evidently, the YSA has no qualms about allowing "the political issues at hand" to be determined by Kent State president Brage Golding. It should be noted that the "militants" of the RSB collaborated in this castration of democratic rights by muzzling themselves.

The debate between the pacifists and liberals on one hand and the juvenile adventurists of the RSB on the other is a false one. The SYL stands for intransigent defense of democratic rights *against* the administration combined with mass, militant mobilizations around a clear political perspective. This perspective draws the class line, building on the lessons of the 1970 protests. Drop All Charges Against Kent Demonstrators! Cops and ROTC Off Campus! Abolish the Bourgeois Administration—For Student/Teacher/Worker Control of the Universities! ■

## Harvard

# Divestment Follies

BOSTON—"We at Harvard have administrators who will listen." This age-old refrain is always being croaked by a PR man for the Trustees or the campus chapter of the Young Republicans. But this time it comes from Gus Martin, the chairman of a Harvard teach-in on November 19 sponsored by the Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC). SASC's central attraction for administration support so far has been a petition campaign demanding that Harvard divest its holdings in banks involved with South Africa and support shareholder resolutions curtailing corporate activities there as well—a petition signed by one-half of the student body.

The naive liberals and cynical Stalinists of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) who spearhead SASC will undoubtedly point to various gestures recently made by Harvard to justify their touching faith in the university which produced war criminals Henry Kissinger and Robert MacNamara. After all, in the wake of B.J. Vorster's latest crackdown on 18 anti-apartheid newspapers and groups, Harvard joined the liberal imperialist chorus scolding the apartheid regime. Harvard President Bok telegraphed Vorster, protesting in particular the arrest of Percy Qoboza, a former Harvard student.

But before awarding Harvard corporation its anti-racist credentials, it should be remembered that only last spring Harvard sponsored a "Conference on African Foreign Policy for the U.S." (including southern Africa) for the purpose of continuing and expanding "access to the energy, mineral resources and commodities of Africa" (see "Harvard Demo Protests Think-Tank Confab," *Young Spartacus* No. 55, June 1977). This is the university which hosted Daniel Moynihan, notorious not only for his "benign neglect" racist apologies but for his rabid defense of South Africa at the U.N. Harvard, where black tenured professors are only 1.4 percent of the total faculty and declining, and where ROTC was recently restored, is an elite imperialist think tank.

At the November 19 forum SASC demonstrated once again that its interest

in dialogue was solely with the administration. The meeting's chairman announced at the onset a policy of taking only written questions during the discussion period "so as to prevent any disruptions which may bother the meeting." However, protests from the floor forced the SASC to back down and the SYL was able to expose the policy of reliance on bourgeois administrators and Jimmy Carter to fight apartheid. SASC was even embarrassed by the innocent question of an organizationally unaffiliated student as to what would happen to divested stock after Harvard sold it.

YWLL spokesman Neva Seidman could only respond that SASC was asking Harvard to take a "moral stand" in the hopes that it would "undermine the confidence" of the corporations in South Africa. Seidman reaffirmed SASC's illusory contention that the black South African masses would be benefited if only Harvard students could bring enough "moral pressure" to bear to persuade U.S. capitalism to give up its 20 percent profit rate from South African investments. Seidman added a repulsive note of social chauvinism, a theme usually only implicit in divestment rallies: U.S. corporations are "taking jobs from this country to take over there... keeping unemployment at 7 percent in this country... this is our lives going down the drain."

SYL spokesman Jeff Maxwell underlined the treachery of calling on the Trustees to act on behalf of the black masses and pointed to the true nature of the bourgeois administrators:

"I was chairman of SDS on this campus in 1971-1972. In those days, in the antiwar movement, we knew what Harvard stood for. I remember once chasing the Secretary of the Air Force, a member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, up a flight of stairs."

Now, he pointed out, these self-same administrators and corporate Trustees are held up as a beacon of hope for the downtrodden and oppressed:

"You say, who can we rely on to fight apartheid. You ignore that there is another force in the world today, and that force is the proletariat in this country and the black proletariat in South Africa."

## Ann Arbor

# Protests Block Campus Office Evictions

ANN ARBOR—On October 14 student bureaucrats at the University of Michigan posted office eviction notices on the doors of every campus leftist and foreign student group that maintained offices in the Michigan Union. The targeted groups included, among others, the Spartacus Youth League, Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Organization of Arab Students—many of which have had offices for years.

The Students Organizations Board of the Michigan Student Assembly (MSA) secretly prepared the move to oust the radicals and then presented the evictions as a *fait accompli*, informing the groups they could begin appeal procedures the day after they were to move out. Jasper DiGiuseppe, president of the Board and part-time security guard, admitted that "program orientation" was the major criteria. The provocation against the left was so bold that even the NAACP denounced the move as racist.

The application for and approval of office space, normally a simple formality for many student organizations, was made into a test of the U-M political climate. The administration and its flunkies were probing to see if a forthright attack on left groups could be pulled off without significant student protest. Ann Arbor has historically been a hotbed of radical political activity particularly during the tumultuous days of the New Left when Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Action Movement attracted much support. Now the administration would like to take advantage of the rightward political drift in American society to weaken and eventually rid the campuses of those radical groups that have been a thorn in its side.

Harassment of left groups selling and distributing literature has been significantly stepped up in the last year. Selling of papers has been limited to one group at a time in the heavily traveled "Fishbowl" area, and previously unen-

forced regulations requiring possession of permits for literature tables are now being rigidly enforced by campus security. The Board of Regents recently approved a set of "freedom of speech" guidelines which give university cops the go-ahead to "protect" speakers at the university "even when such measures are not desired or requested." Even more ominous was a resolution symbolically put forward by 50 Michigan state senators expressing their "deepest gratitude, support and congratulations" to Anita Bryant for her "moral conviction" and "righteous campaign" against the democratic rights of homosexuals.

The administration counted upon the support of groups such as the Christian Students' Union (which received office space for the first time this year) whose chairman attributed the move to divine interference: "We prayed that God would give us office space. If He sees fit for us to have office space and He didn't give other people office space, I can't see it in my mind to question it" (quoted in *Michigan Daily*, 16 October).

Others, however, viewed it not as an act of "divine providence" but as administration victimization. The SYL energetically fought to mobilize support against the attack on the left. The SYL circulated a petition demanding no evictions and no political or racial discrimination by the MSA in the allocation of office space. This was signed by many student organizations, prominent professors such as Harold Cruse and Marilyn Young, campus minority activists and the SYL, YSA and RSB. SYL supporters were instrumental in publicizing the campaign, including a couple of appearances on the campus radio station and letters to the *Michigan Daily*.

In the face of a united opposition by campus left and ethnic groups the MSA and the Board backed down. The pressure brought to bear by the campaign resulted in a reconsideration of the allocations and the reinstatement of the office space. ■

# UICC Arrest...

(continued from page 12)

tion. Riddle went so far as to claim that John had never been threatened with arrest and to imply that on October 27 John had left campus of his own volition!

When John identified himself to the startled meeting and demanded that he be allowed to reply to Riddle's crass falsehoods, pandemonium broke loose. Trustees vied with each other to yell the loudest and shout John down. One incensed society matron demanded of John, "Are you a student?" and was beside herself when John matter-of-factly responded, "No, are you?"

John insisted that he be allowed to present the facts of the case. But rather than allow the truth to be heard in their "open meeting," the cowardly Trustees abruptly declared their meeting adjourned and fled the room in disarray. After their departure John and spokesmen for the Ad Hoc Committee addressed the remaining students in the room.

## Illini: Mouthpiece for Administration Lies

From the outset the Ad Hoc Committee had to contend with the opposition of various aspiring student bureaucrats and administration flunkies. The most scandalous attack on the Committee, however, came from the juvenile would-be socialists of the Stalinist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB).

This group, which earlier this year was condemned by Student Government for its use of violence against other left-wing organizations, opted to form a "united front" with the administration's attacks. A leading Chicago RSB spokesman told John a few days before the arrest: "I don't care if you or any other member of the Spartacus Youth League never show your face on campus again as long as you live." Having turned her back on the ominous administration campaign against the left, the RSBer added that her organization does not defend democratic rights for "Trotskyites"! Condoning bourgeois attacks on left-wing opponents is typical of criminal Stalinist sectarianism and exposes the RSB to attack as well.

A willing ally in this red-baiting campaign was found in the editorial board of the student newspaper *Illini*, which seems to have appointed itself the watchdog/apologist for the administration. An *Illini* editorial (14 November) called the administration's regulation prohibiting the distribution of literature by "outsiders" (which of course has only been enforced against the left and SEIU union organizers) a "sensible rule." Only a day before the arrest of John, the *Illini* dutifully reported that administrators Willie McKay and Stan Delaney (McKay's immediate boss) "denied they ever forbade John from returning." This contradicts not only the *Illini's* previous reportage but the arrest form made out

for John on November 22 which stated that the "subject" had been "previously warned" not to return to campus.

Most repulsive, however, was an editorial on November 21 entitled "Rats! Sandorized again." Here the "responsible journalists" of the *Illini* announced that the "ban... as far as the *Illini* can determine, is non-existent" and accused radicals of inventing the "issue" so as to "make as much noise as possible." It remains to be seen how these red-baiting slanderers will react to the arrest.

## Defend Sandor John!

Militant protest is needed to stop the campaign of political censorship and anti-communist victimization. The administration *did not dare arrest* John during the November 18 demonstration when dozens of students and leftists, along with legal observers, participated in a rally to demand that the anti-communist ban on Sandor John be immediately rescinded. Of course, they picked an hour for the arrest when few students would be around and a day just before campus recess for Thanksgiving.

What is needed is a united, militant campaign by all left organizations and defenders of democratic rights to force the administration to drop these charges, rescind the ban on Sandor John and end all harassment of left and campus organizations. One day after the arrest, protest leaflets issued by the SYL and the Ad Hoc Committee were being distributed on the UICC campus along with a press release. We encourage all students, teachers and campus workers along with all who oppose the menacing acts of the administration to join the Ad Hoc Committee to ~~Stop~~ Administration Harassment.

Sandor John now faces costly legal fees. Bond was set at \$1,000 and there will be attorney's trial fees in the coming weeks. A Sandor John Defense Fund has been established and is being administered by the Partisan Defense Committee (an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League). Other activities of the PDC in the Chicago area may already be known to the students at UICC, such as contributions to the Bennie Lenard defense and the civil suit against the Chicago police by Bill Hampton, the brother of murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton.

The arrest of John is a dire threat to all political opposition at UICC. The SYL actively encourages readers of *Young Spartacus* to join the protest and contribute to the PDC defense fund. Make checks payable to the PDC, earmarked Sandor John Defense Fund, and mail to: PDC, P.O. Box 6279, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680.

*Defend Sandor John! Drop the Charges!*  
*End Administration Harassment of Left and Campus Organizations!*  
*Stop the Administration's Anti-Communist "Ban" on Sandor John!*

## SYL Letter to Illini:

# "This Political Harassment Must Be Defeated"

To the Editor of the *Illini*:

On October 27 a leading campus activist of the Spartacus Youth League was thrown off the UICC campus by armed cops! Sandor John was told that if he returned he would be "locked up" for criminal trespass. While this outrageous act is based on the pretext that Sandor is a non-student, it should be clearly understood as an attempt to politically censor the most prominent spokesman of a communist organization. This political harassment must be defeated!

This is a blatant attack on democratic rights. The denial of Sandor John's legitimate right to express his political views among students is a threat to the democratic rights of all groups and individuals on campus whose views might diverge even slightly with those of the administration. The administration has no right to limit what views can be heard on campus. While the administration aims its sights at the left organizations first, it will not stop there. The administration is out to restrict and control all student activity on campus. Already the administration has restricted the distribution of all literature to the second floor lobby of the Circle Center. It is even forbidden to sell from a literature table any book which has a circulation over 5,000 and which is sold in the campus bookstore. The administration's arbitrary net around campus activities will only be further tightened if the banning of Sandor is allowed to stand.

The current administration harassment of the Spartacus Youth League is part of an ominous pattern of increasing attacks on minority student organizations, the left, and the UICC work force. Thus, four different Latin American student groups have been under pressure recently to give up their separate offices and cram into a single cubicle. Julia LeSage, a Marxist professor, is being driven out of the faculty on the grounds that she is "not qualified." This is the classic weapon bourgeois administrations use to purge leftist faculty members.

In addition, last summer organizers for the Service Employees' International Union (SEIU) were barred from the campus. All the union cards that had been signed by campus clerical workers indicating their support for the SEIU

were invalidated by the administration, since the cards were collected by "outsiders"! Having been denied their basic right to union protection, the clerical workers continue to take home measly paychecks, receive few benefits, and face rotten working conditions.

The label "outside agitators" as a pretext for banning union organizers and communists is nothing but a smokescreen. This redbaiting tactic has been used for years and years to whip up support for McCarthy-style witchhunt and repression. But the administration's appetite is clear: rid the campus of any dissent. By banning Sandor the administration is testing the waters; if they get away with it they may not bother finding a pretext when they are ready to ban the entire SYL—students and "outsiders" alike. Next in line will be the more moderate leftist organizations and even other student organizations that the administration finds either disruptive or simply "irrelevant to the educational process."

The SYL has been singled out for this attack because it has become generally recognized as *the* communist organization on campus. Our election campaign for student government last spring set the SYL apart as a uniquely revolutionary youth organization. This fall the SYL has been the only group on campus to vigorously call for busing, while advocating the militant strategy of labor/black defense to defend black schoolchildren from violent racist attacks, and opposing reliance upon the racist city, state, and federal governments to defend the interests of black people. The SYL was also the only group to bring the case of Bennie Lenard—a black autoworker who was savagely beaten by cops and then charged with assault—to the attention of students, faculty and workers at UICC.

The "ban" on Sandor John can be repulsed only through vigorous protest. The harassment of *all* groups must be stopped! The SYL has initiated the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment. We call on all groups and individuals who oppose this crackdown by the administration to join and build this united-front committee. A petition is being circulated to gain support for this fight. Protest Administration Harassment!

UICC Spartacus Youth League

## BOARS...

(continued from page 2)

a real split over tightening UC admissions. California guru-Governor Jerry Brown (an *ex officio* Regent who last July proved his "concern" over declining English skills by axing \$500,000 from a remedial program for incoming California State University students) opposed BOARS only because the "quiz-bit approach" of the SAT's was not his preferred method of restricting admissions. Brown candidly proclaimed that, "the university is an elite institution and should be one!" (quoted in *UCLA Daily Bruin*, 24 October 1977).

Since the Regents began discussing the proposal last spring, BOARS has been protested by a wide spectrum of students. Many were incensed by a UC Student Lobby study which showed (not surprisingly) that had the BOARS formula been used for 1976 admissions a disproportionate share of black or other minority students would have been rejected. Because of this, some liberals and fake-leftists have opposed BOARS on the basis that SAT scores are "culturally biased" against black and Chicano youth.

While the Spartacus Youth League opposes the BOARS proposal—as we do all capitalist cutbacks—we point out that *any* admissions procedure short of open admissions/no tuition with a state stipend for all is inherently "biased" in favor of white, economically-privileged students. The Regents' latest proposal shows once again that the bourgeois administration must be replaced by student/teacher/campus worker control of the university.

It is not surprising that those who are "educated" in rotting inner-city schools fare poorly on SAT and other standardized exams. But the answer is not a modified admissions program based on illusory "culture-free" tests, as some would have it. In addition to the remedial and training programs to make open admissions viable, socialists must demand free, racially integrated education at all levels. This includes an end to tracking and the funding of all public education at the national level. Furthermore, we defend school busing plans and demand their extension into the privileged suburban schools. Only through the struggle to ensure educational opportunity for all can the race and class bias of college admissions procedures be eradicated. ■

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## Exchange...

(continued from page 3)

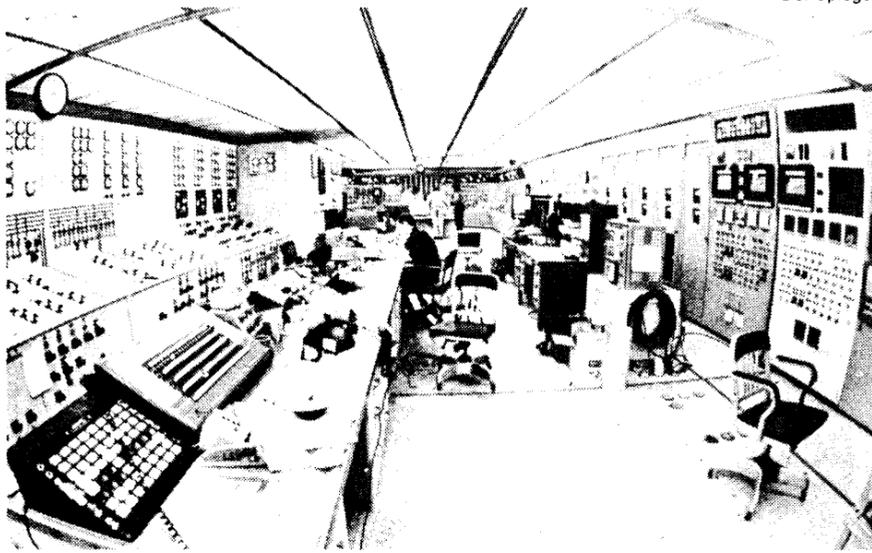
power....

"However, we do not believe that the Clamshell Alliance should become socialist. What is needed now and will be needed in the future is an organization that everyone who opposes nuclear power can join, no matter what their beliefs on other issues. They can bring their experiences, energy and suggestions to build a movement that can stop the development of nuclear power by government and business. The Clamshell Alliance is that organization that can lead the way to building a massive and powerful movement to save humanity from nuclear disaster, and we encourage those who haven't already joined Clamshell to do so."

For the SWP, Clamshell represents the latest attempt to ingratiate itself to the liberals and "people before profits" Democrats. In the tradition of the class-collaborationist National Peace Action Coalition and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, the SWP argues that Clamshell should (of course) not be socialist. How else could it provide yet another organizational vehicle at the service of left-talking populist Democrats? And should anyone wonder about the Marxist commitment to technological progress, we hear the astounding contention that "ultimately" opposition to nuclear power

will be the task of a "socialist society."

Unlike the author of the letter and the SWP, serious eco-freaks realize their profound differences with the vision of



Browns Ferry, Alabama nuclear power station.

social progress inherent in historical materialism. In a recent issue of the *Ecologist* (Volume 6, Number 9) there appears an article by Colin Fry, "Marxism vs. Ecology." Raising the historical pessimism of the environmental movement to the level of theory, Fry condemns Marx as an "urban chauvin-

ist" who made the fatal error of viewing "nature as raw material awaiting exploitation and domination by man." Fry responds to any misapplication of

Der Spiegel

technology with a quasi-religious declaration of technology's eternal futility. (With an almost sublime pseudo-scientific philistinism, Fry attributes this futility to, among other things, the second law of thermodynamics!)

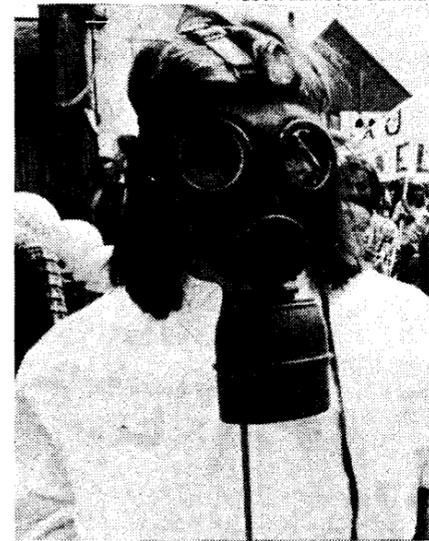
The pessimism of the eco-freaks is not, however, rooted in such theories of

the presumed heat death of the universe, but in a social system which long ago exhausted its progressive historic role. And there is nothing really new in bourgeois pessimism. All of the nightmares of the ecologists are predicated upon some variant of Parson Malthus' "population principle" postulated in the early 1800's: that resources cannot keep pace with the expansion of the population.

In the eighteenth century, when the bourgeoisie was a progressive and self-confident class, its ideologues of the Enlightenment proclaimed that human progress was in harmony with nature; if only the irrational, unnatural barriers of feudalism could be done away with. In the nineteenth century, however, pessimistic bourgeois intellectuals began to recoil under the impact of the rise of the proletariat as the new historically progressive class and the manifest misery and oppression wrought by the explosion of capitalist industrialization. Then the prophets of despair argued that "industrialism" had subdued nature and brought material wealth at the expense of alienating man from his "organic" ties to nature.

In response to such time-worn arguments we need do no more than refer to Engels. Both Engels and Marx saw in the development of techniques of

Hubert Lambert/Gamma



Dutch anti-nuclear demonstrator.

mass production the answer to those who believed in a naturally imposed limit on the level of man's subsistence—a view which Engels held to be a "repulsive blasphemy against man and nature." We share Engels' confidence.

It would of course be unfair to directly attribute the views of reactionaries to the Seabrook protesters. Clamshell is led by former New Leftists who have consigned themselves to political irrelevance and social oblivion; i.e. rural New England. But the future of mankind does not reside on a New Hampshire organic farm.

The Marxist conception of the road to socialism and the withering away of the state, based on the fullest participation of the masses in the administration of the state, requires the progressive reduction of the working day, the increased productivity of labor and the replacement of arduous manual labor by creative work—all of which presupposes large-scale industry.

We seek to go forward and not backward. We stand with Marx, who in 1850 polemicized against one Daumer, a German "true socialist" and a premature Clamshell:

"Herr Daumer's cult of nature, by the way, is a peculiar one. He has managed to be reactionary even in comparison with Christianity.... There is no question, of course, of modern sciences, which with modern industry, have revolutionized the whole of nature and put an end to man's childish attitude towards nature as well as to other forms of childishness.... For the rest, it would be desirable that Bavaria's sluggish peasant economy, the ground on which priests and Daumers likewise grow, should at last be ploughed up by modern cultivation and modern machines."

quoted in Alfred Schmidt, *The Concept of Nature in Marx*

## Minimum Wage...

(continued from page 2)

But contrary to the myth pushed by the reactionary economists and their journalist sycophants, it is not the minimum wage which is preventing minority youth from securing productive employment.

The capitalist system itself requires the existence of a pool of marginally employed, largely minority workers to be shuttled in and out of the labor force with the ebb and flow of the capitalist economy. This "reserve army" of the unemployed overlaps in the ghetto with its necessary corollary: the army of the lumpenized unemployables whose failure to find work in a prolonged period of economic stagnation condemns them to a life of welfare, hustling, alcoholism, crime and drug addiction.

Marxists reject outright the assertion that the answer to youth unemployment is a few more jobs at MacDonalds at starvation wages. In the face of rising unemployment and inflation we struggle for jobs for all! The labor movement must be mobilized to lead a fight for a shorter workweek with no loss of pay to provide additional jobs.

We call for a massive program of public works at union wages and union-controlled training and upgrading programs to combat racial discrimination in employment. A broad-scale campaign by the organized labor movement to organize the unorganized workforce is needed to prevent "runaway shops" from exploiting low-wage workers at the expense of union jobs.

This program for jobs can only be implemented by a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement—and through a tooth-and-nail struggle against the Meany bureaucracy. The union bureaucrats have nothing more to offer than reliance on Democratic "friend of labor" politicians like Carter (whom they backed unconditionally in the last election) to throw a few crumbs their way once in office. Only last November the *AFL-CIO Newsletter* was whining, "We have to achieve full employment and put America back to work. This is Jimmy Carter's goal."

But Carter's idea of a concession to labor was a proposal for a \$2.50 per hour minimum wage last spring—a figure which prompted Meany, with all the militancy possible for an octogenarian sellout, labor, faker, to denounce Carter,

for his "shameful" proposal. By July, however, this bluster had worn thin and when the nickel and dime negotiations were over Meany and Carter had reached an agreement on an equally shameful \$2.65 minimum wage.

Instead of waging a fighting opposition to the AFL-CIO bureaucrats' crass desertion of black youth, the supposedly revolutionary left has adopted policies which differ only quantitatively from those of Meany and the NAACP—each however with its particular blend of parliamentarism, phony mass agitation and social workerism. Far from adopting a class-struggle perspective, the various self-proclaimed socialist organizations have virtually all joined the minimum wage chorus demanding a woefully inadequate \$3.00 per hour. Why this figure? Simply because this was Meany's demand during his "militant" confrontation with Carter—and these fake-lefts are but the left appendages of the trade-union bureaucracy.

The Communist Party (CP) and its youth front group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), have of course slavishly echoed Meany's call for a \$3.00 minimum wage. Despite lip service to the slogan of jobs for all, the Moscow-loyal Stalinists place full reliance on legislative humbugs like the Humphrey-Hawkins and Harrington bills, which promise to reduce unemployment to "only" 3 percent after 18 months. This despite the fact that Humphrey-Hawkins promises even less than the "Full Employment Act" of 1946—a law which has been a dead letter for over 30 years. But the quest for a legislative "solution" is consistent with the CP/YWLL's search for "progressive" union bureaucrats and Democrats with whom they can unite on penny-ante reform schemes.

The Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP[ML]) have no pull with union officialdom and Capitol Hill "progressives" but their program is essentially the same. Their alternative is to pressure Congress and Carter from the streets instead of the halls of the Capitol. The RCP's latest juvenile front group, Youth In Action, pulled off an infantile reformist stunt in August when it attempted to pitch tents in Manhattan's financial district and "baffle the burger bosses" by blocking the New York Stock Exchange! But when stripped of the empty r-r-revolutionary "fightback" rhetoric the RCP asked only for a few dimes more

than Meany's settlement with Carter. With the economist slogans "Jobs for Youth" and "Raise the Minimum Wage" held high, the RCP joins the \$3.00-per-hour bandwagon—what its trash youth newspaper, *Young Red*, calls "decent wages."

The CP(ML) and its youth group, the Communist Youth Organization (CYO), have a different slogan and a different name but the politics are the same. While denouncing the CP's reformist reliance on the Harrington bill, the CYO's answer to youth unemployment is a parade in Washington scheduled for February 18. The "militant" reformism of these Peking loyalists is summed up in the *Call's* statement that, "The people need jobs... but the government is clearly not about to provide them without a fight. Only a mass militant struggle—starting with the February 18 Jobs March—can wring jobs or income out of the system" (*Call*, 14 November 1977).

The program of "jobs or income" is only a resurrection of the liberal social work characteristic of Stalinism and New Leftism, in reality a plea for a few more welfare crumbs. "Jobs or income" accepts the existence of masses of unemployed with no access to the labor market. In the hands of the reformists of the CP(ML)/CYO it is simply a call for haggling over welfare benefits. While we support raising the wretchedly low incomes of millions living on welfare, we do not call for the dole and a lumpen existence as a positive alternative to employment.

It is not the reformist dream of "youth fighting for youth" on Wall Street or outside the Capitol that will fundamentally alter the condition of jobless teenagers. In order to attack the roots of youth unemployment and the condemnation of ghetto youth to lives of desperate poverty and degradation it is necessary to struggle for the integration of this wasted generation of youth into the workforce and productive labor. This entails the mobilization of the working masses and oppressed minorities behind the organized labor movement. This, however, will not be undertaken by the encrusted, pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats of Meany's ilk.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership in the unions to fight for a workers party and a workers government. This is the program for the destruction of the festering capitalist system and the construction of a socialist society free of unemployment and racial oppression. ■

## NSA...

(continued from page 5)  
campuses.

As at Columbia, the RSB refused to participate, giving the most inane excuses ("we don't want to"). In fact, one RSBer went so far as to explain his concept of the class line: "We want to drive the SYL off campus." The following day at a Campus United Against Apartheid rally in Sproul Plaza, this blustering took on the more vicious form of an attempt to grab and rip up an SYL banner with anti-NSA slogans. An SYLer was physically assaulted by one of these Stalinist thugs before this despicable attack was repulsed.

An SYL leaflet condemning this attack pointed to the political bankruptcy behind the RSB's hooliganism:

"It is not surprising that the RSB attacked a banner calling for the abolition of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency.... The NSA's principal objective is to gather intelligence on the Soviet Union for the American military, aiding the preparation for an imperialist war to overturn the gains of the October Revolution. Since the Maoist RSB considers the Soviet Union to be "imperialist," are they now going to prevent the SYL from demanding the abolition of the National Security Agency which murdered Che Guevara?..."

"While we call for a workers political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy and establish the proletarian democracy of soviet rule, we unconditionally defend the Soviet Union, as well as China, from imperialist attack—and we will continue to campaign for the abolition of the anti-Soviet NSA despite the attacks of the anti-Soviet RSB."

### CIA/NSA Off Campus!

Militant and left-wing students must vent their anger at the NSA, counterrevolutionary spies for imperialism. In recent years the SYL has been at the forefront of campaigns against the NSA and

CIA. But as a Marxist youth organization we understand these spy and police bureaus to be the special instruments of bourgeois class rule. The focus of opposition to them will therefore be outside the university gates, and depend on the mobilization of the working class against these imperialist tools.

As the SYL spokesman at the Columbia demonstration said, "The bourgeois needs and wants these covert schemes and assassination plots and will not give them up or reform them." The bourgeois liberals only object when "dirty tricks" are used by the FBI or CIA against their own kind, as in Watergate: "The SYL calls for the abolition of all secret police agencies—not to purify or reform the capitalists' rule—but to disarm them and their campaigns of international counterrevolution!" ■

## RSB...

(continued from page 5)

future success, the RCYB is not going to have an easy time recruiting youth to an organization which opposes busing for school desegregation, which opposes the ERA, which gives backhanded support to witchhunts against homosexuals, and which denounces—in its newly adopted Statement of Principles no less—"kinky sex."

### Trotskyism: the Marxism-Leninism of Our Time

From its origins the RCP could justify its political existence only through identification with the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy in China. For the cadres of the Avakian tendency every opportunist twist and turn of their organization, every betrayal of the Maoist leadership which they were

called upon to support, could always be rationalized with the reassuring thought, "After all, 800 million Chinese people are behind me."

But once its "unshakable solidarity" with the Chinese leadership was profoundly shaken, the RCP lost its political *raison d'être*. Sooner or later, the RCP must come to terms with its Maoism if it is to have any hopes of surviving as a viable tendency. It can't simply ignore China forever or pretend that the character of the regime ruling those 800 million Chinese people is unimportant or unknowable. It can't turn the clock back to the halcyon days of the New Left when the struggle-of-the-moment was all-important and where the political world stopped at the cornfield surrounding Kent State and Champaign-Urbana. In politics, as in life, the onset of second childhood is a symptom of hardened senility and impending death.

It's anyone's guess at this point just how fast and how far Avakian will develop his differences with the Chinese Stalinist regime. But all signs indicate that Avakian will come out for the "gang of four" and call for a new "Cultural Revolution" to restore Maoist orthodoxy usurped by the so-called "capitalist roaders." Such was the starting point for Progressive Labor as well in the first lap of its tortuous odyssey to political oblivion.

Similarly, unless the RCP decisively breaks with its Stalinist methodology, above all with the idealist conception that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class character of the state can undergo peaceful change according to the class psychology of its rulers, the RCP is doomed. Left on its own, the RCP's particular brand of New-Left-derived Stalinist politics is incapable of providing a revolutionary program and practice. Over the last few years alone, the Avakian group has wildly careened across the political map,

zigzagging between "building the united front against imperialism" and "building the party NOW," between uncritically promoting black nationalism and shamelessly capitulating to white racism, between dual-unionist "jamming the unions" and obediently tailing after out-bureaucrats on the make like Ed Sadlowski.

If they hope to have a future in the revolutionary movement, serious militants in the RCP and RCYB must squarely confront the authentic Trotskyism upheld by the SL/SYL. Above all, they must examine the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism and the Russian question—the touchstone for a revolutionary political world view.

It is only Trotskyism which offers a perspective for defending the gains of the Chinese and Russian revolutions while resolutely opposing their usurpers. Only Trotskyism can explain the character of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states—non-capitalist states based upon proletarian (collectivist) property forms that must be unconditionally defended against imperialism but saddled by anti-working-class bureaucratic castes that must be overthrown through proletarian political revolution to restore soviet democracy.

In the past the Stalinist predecessors of the RCP attacked Trotskyism for its refusal to hail Stalin's Russia as a "workers paradise." But in the name of upholding the Stalin tradition the Maoists have written off the gains of the October Revolution and have attacked Trotskyism for supporting so-called "Soviet social-imperialism."

Likewise, until recently the RCP has scrambled to be loyal apologists for the Maoist bureaucracy in China. Given the present political trajectory of the Avakian tendency, we may soon find ourselves attacked by these Maoists of yesterday for our unconditional military defense of the gains of the Chinese revolution. ■

## Iran...

(continued from page 7)

"Iran, with its fragile ruling crust, combative proletariat, desperate peasantry...and suppressed national minorities, may well prove to be the cockpit of revolution in the Middle and Near East. In many respects the template of Russia in 1917 fits Iran today. But lacking is a Bolshevik party which can rally the vast masses of rural poor and lead the proletariat to power."

—"Iranian Students Protest Shah's Repression," *Young Spartacus* No. 35, September 1975

The Iranian revolution requires a Leninist, Trotskyist vanguard party for its success, not a guerrillaist or Maoist rehash of the Tudeh party's reformism. A vanguard party would raise a program that seeks to connect the urgent democratic demands with a struggle for proletarian state power: Down with the Shah! Smash SAVAK! For a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage! Land to the tiller! For full trade-union rights! For the right of self-determination for the national minorities! For a workers and peasants government! ■

## Drop Charges Against Ann Arbor Iranian Militant

On November 11 a supporter of the Iranian Students Association was arrested following an anti-Shah protest on the Ann Arbor University of Michigan campus. The demonstration (a preparation for the Shah's visit to Washington later that week) was peaceful and uneventful until two Ann Arbor cops stopped a group of Iranians and arrested one for "wearing a mask." The student was arrested for violating a Michigan law which states that "any person who shall assemble, march or parade on any street, highway or public place in this state while wearing a mask" is guilty of a misdemeanor (*Michigan Daily*, 11 November 1977).

This arrest is an outrage! Its sole purpose is to expose this anti-Shah militant to possible deportation and perhaps a gruesome fate in the Shah's infamous torture chambers. It represents a threat not only to this student and his relatives living in Iran but also to all Iranian students at Ann Arbor and elsewhere in Michigan who engage in anti-Shah political protest.

The wearing of masks by Iranian

students at political events is a necessary precaution. The omnipresent activities of the Iranian secret police (SAVAK) in this country and their collusion with local police departments is well known. To arrest Iranians for this vital security measure is a viciously cynical provocation by the Ann Arbor police.

At the same time, it comes as no surprise for Marxists that the law under which the arrest was made was ostensibly designed to curb the night-riding terror of the Ku Klux Klan. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League have consistently cautioned against placing any faith in laws which the bourgeoisie purports to aim at right-wing groups. Inevitably these laws will be employed in crackdowns on the left. We base our defense against right-wing and fascist organizations on the organized and independent strength of the workers movement and not on the spurious impartiality of the capitalist state.

Drop the charges! Stop the harassment of anti-Shah protesters! ■

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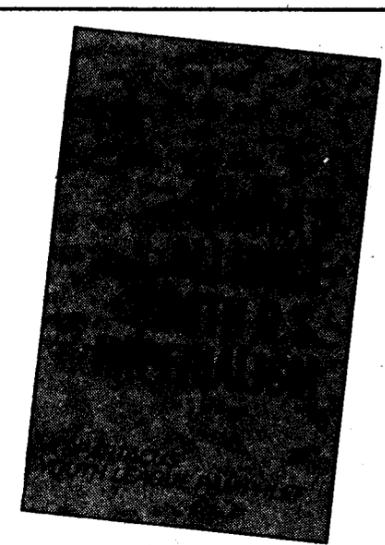
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# Young Spartacus

## Defend Sandor John!

# UICC Arrests SYL Spokesman as "Outside Agitator"

CHICAGO, November 27—McCarthy-style repression struck at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus (UICC) on November 22. University administrators ordered the arrest of Spartacus Youth League activist Sandor John while he was distributing Marxist literature in the Chicago Circle Center building. John was turned over to the Chicago police, jailed on charges of "criminal trespass" and then released on \$1,000 bond.

The arrest came four weeks after the administration and its cops stepped up their harassment campaign by declaring an anti-communist "ban" on comrade John from Circle campus. The administration singled out John as an "outsider, non-student." Using the familiar charge of "outside agitator," John was "permanently barred" from UICC on October 27 by administrator Willie McKay, repeatedly threatened with arrest and thrown off campus by armed university police. As John was being taken away, one of the cops emphasized: "If we get any more complaints from these people [the administration] about you being in the building or on campus you will be locked up." The arrest shows this was no idle threat.

The "ban" and subsequent arrest of John are the most provocative and vindictive actions so far in a wide-ranging campaign of administration harassment of the left and campus organizations. As outspoken revolutionary socialists who struggle to advance the interests of the working class, the SYL was singled out for the most ominous of the administrative attacks. (See accompanying SYL letter to the *Illini*.)

The source of the administration's frenzy is not hard to locate. The UICC Trustees and administration have been attempting to ram through what they term a "Selective Index" plan which would drastically reduce the number of minority students at the university. This proposal was met with a storm of protest last school year (although most of the militancy was dissipated due to the timid "leadership" of the Coalition of Concerned Students and Staff formed to protest the plan). This year schemes are being floated for an all-out assault on remedial and other special programs, threatening to fan the smoldering resentment of large numbers of minority and working-class students into a new burst of protest.

With the ebb of student militancy, the administration would like to have a free reign of the campus and in the process silence student political organizations, turn the student newspaper into an administration rag and make Student Government simply a rubber stamp for its policies. By arresting John, the administration is handing down a warning to all campus opposition. In

addition to the attack on the SYL, the administration threatened to evict five campus groups from their offices, including Student Government and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Although school officials appear to have backed off this threat as a result of student protest, this is typical of the current crackdown.

The arrest of a leading SYL spokesman on campus threatens the democratic rights of all political organizations. The SYL is under attack for being the most visible and vocal left organization on campus. When the administration tried to implement the "Selective Index" last spring, it was the SYL which organized a campus protest demonstration on March 10. The administration is banking on having created enough of a climate of fear on campus to allow these attacks to be pushed forward unopposed.

### Ad Hoc Committee Formed

In response to the October 27 "permanent barring" of John the SYL initiated a

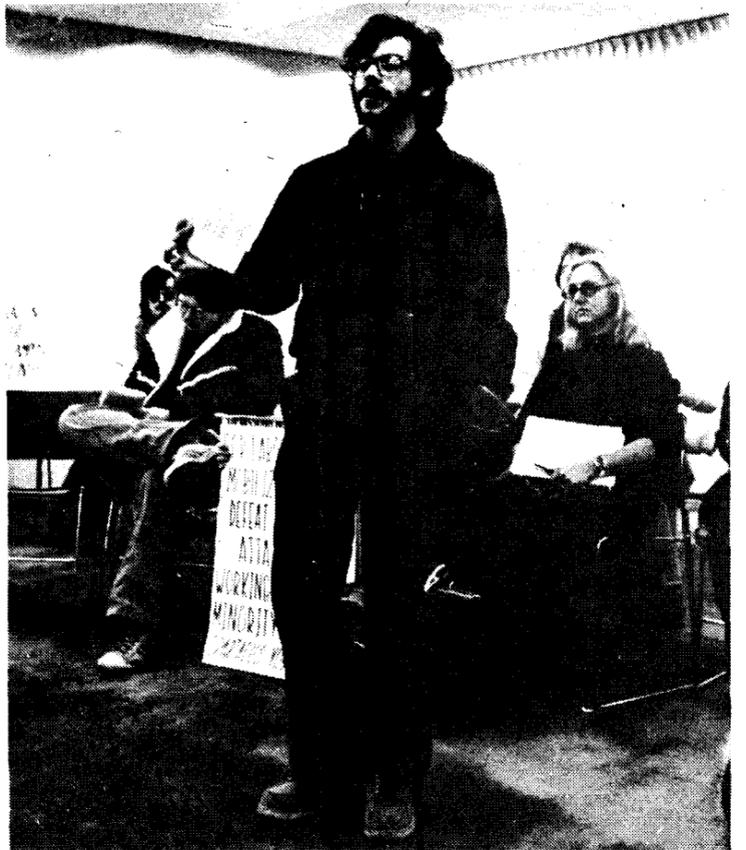


Chicago Circle campus demonstration on November 18.

united-front Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment on the basis of the demands: "End administration harassment of the left and campus organizations!" and "Stop the administration's anti-communist 'ban' on Sandor John!" With the arrest on November 22 the Committee immediately adopted the additional slogans: "Defend Sandor John!" and "Drop the charges!"

The Ad Hoc Committee was established to mobilize protest against the administration's attacks on democratic rights at UICC: ranging from the restrictions on *who* can distribute litera-

Sandor John



ture, *what* can be distributed and *where* (the sale of newspapers by campus organizations is already prohibited), to eviction threats against campus groups and the "ban" and arrest of Sandor John. Since its initiation on November 3 by representatives of the SYL, YSA and UICC Student Government, the Ad Hoc Committee has received numerous additional endorsements, including: the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC); Circle Women's Liberation Union; the UICC Coalition of Concerned Students and Staff; Southside (Chicago) New American Movement; University of Chicago Action Committee on South Africa; Julia LeSage and five other UICC professors; Frederick Blum, vice president of AFT Local 321; the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6; Dean Peerman, managing editor of *Christian*

Young Spartacus

announced John would come back on campus in defiance of the administration's "ban."

The hypocrisy of the administration's ranting about "non-students" on campus (the pretext for barring John) was exposed by a provocative ROTC "open house" at the same time as the demonstration—ROTC even brought out their MPs to demonstrably sling their billy clubs around. Sandor John attended and addressed the protest demonstration, denouncing the anti-red ban and linking the administration's harassment campaign to its fear of protest against its "racist policies such as the discriminatory Selective Index and the threatened attacks on remedial programs." John added that:

"There are 'outsiders' who don't belong on this campus, but they're not who the administration says they are. They are not the reds. They are not the union organizers. They are not the minority and working-class students targeted by the Selective Index. They are not the young people who come here to eat lunch, see a movie or meet friends. "They are ROTC, the trainers of U.S. imperialism's officer corps, the criminals of future My Lai and future counter-revolutionary invasions like the Bay of Pigs and Santo Domingo. They are the cops, whose job it is to harass leftists, students and campus workers and maintain the Trustees' status quo. They are the administration and the Trustees who represent the interests of the capitalist class—interests counterposed to those of the working people that make up the majority of the students here. "It is the administration and the Board of Trustees who have no place at this or any other university and must be replaced by control of the university by those who work and study here: the students, teachers and campus workers."

After the rally—whose speakers also included Janis Gutfreund of Circle Women's Liberation Union; Roy Brown, associated with Progressive Labor's Committee Against Racism; the president of UICC Student Government; and a representative of the YSA—the protesters marched to a nearby "open meeting" of the Trustees' Student Welfare Committee. As the demonstrators filed into the room with their placards in hand, an SYL spokesman addressed the meeting on behalf of the Committee and demanded the dropping of the ban on Sandor John and an end to "the administration's trampling on democratic rights."

Staring fixedly at the floor, UICC Chancellor Donald Riddle tried to defend the administration's actions by resorting to evasion and crude falsifica-

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