

# Young Spartacus

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## Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!

# What Strategy for the Iranian Revolution?

SEPTEMBER 28 —The streets of Iran are aflame with mass protests against the shah's brutal terror. From each corner comes the cry "*margh bar shah*" ("death to the shah") as millions of Iranians demonstrate against the tyrant of the Peacock Throne. With each new street mobilization, with each new martyred militant, the question of what strategy will liberate the Iranian working masses from the chains of oppression is posed anew.

The massacre of more than a thousand protesters on "Bloody Friday," September 8, at Jaleh Square in Teheran will clearly bring the regime only temporary respite from the months of mass revolts which have shaken the country. The desperate "liberalizing" concessions failed to stem the protests and instead demonstrated the fear and weakness of the monarchy. The shah's self-proclaimed "organic relationship with the Iranian people" proved to be founded on tanks and machine guns. But as troops are ordered to open fire on the populace, the reports of desertion and mutiny within the army indicate that even this bastion of Pahlavi rule is eroding. While the dictatorship is not yet as brittle as that of Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza, the overthrow of the shah is now a concrete possibility.

The Iranian monarchy has combined the open corruption of a banana republic with bizarre posturing as the reincarnation of the ancient Persian empire. The reckless squandering of petroleum wealth coexists in stark contrast with the appalling poverty of the peasantry and the urban unemployed. The numerous petty shopkeepers and artisans are enraged by the government's Mafia-style extortion and ground down by soaring inflation. But unlike its Middle Eastern neighbors, Iran also has an industrial proletariat of three and a half million, subject not only to brutal exploitation within the factories but targeted as well



Teheran demonstrators attempting to fraternize with soldiers.

by the shah's police-state repression.

Rarely has a country so closely resembled tsarist Russia on the eve of the 1917 October Revolution. Yet the millions of rebels against the shah's bloody rule are not led by a Bolshevik vanguard party. The recognized leaders are not even petty-bourgeois guerrillas or bourgeois liberals (as in Nicaragua). Instead the Iranian masses are under the sway of *mullahs* (preachers) and *ayatollahs* (holymen) demanding an Islamic state.

The bourgeois liberals of the National Front are manifestly only the junior partners of the mullahs in the current protests; and the Iranian left plays an even lesser role. Under the cover of the demonstrators' call for parliamentary democracy, the Muslims are in fact

expressing their blind hatred for every aspect of Westernization. Only a few decades ago the main opposition to the shah was the Stalinist Tudeh party, with its trade-union base of hundreds of thousands; in 1951-53 it was the bourgeois nationalist Mossadeq that led the conflict with the shah and the foreign oil companies. Today, after the betrayals of the Tudeh party and the defeat of Mossadeq the struggle against the shah is waged under the sign of the Koran, by a leadership which literally calls for a return to the seventh century A.D.!

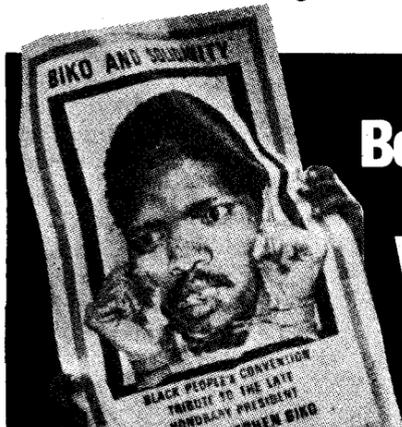
### How the Mullahs Came to the Fore

The protests began to intensify last summer when the government moved to

evict thousands of Teheran's poor from their hovels on the outskirts of the city. The shanty dwellers' battles with the police and bulldozers coincided with a wave of arson which swept Iranian factories in protest of working conditions and declining wages. After these elemental mass struggles, November saw a number of primarily student protests around questions of civil liberties. These protests, however, were still under the influence of liberal intellectuals and led to the unification of Mossadeq's various followers into the Union of Forces of the National Front of Iran.

Religious influence began to mount after the suspicious death of the son of

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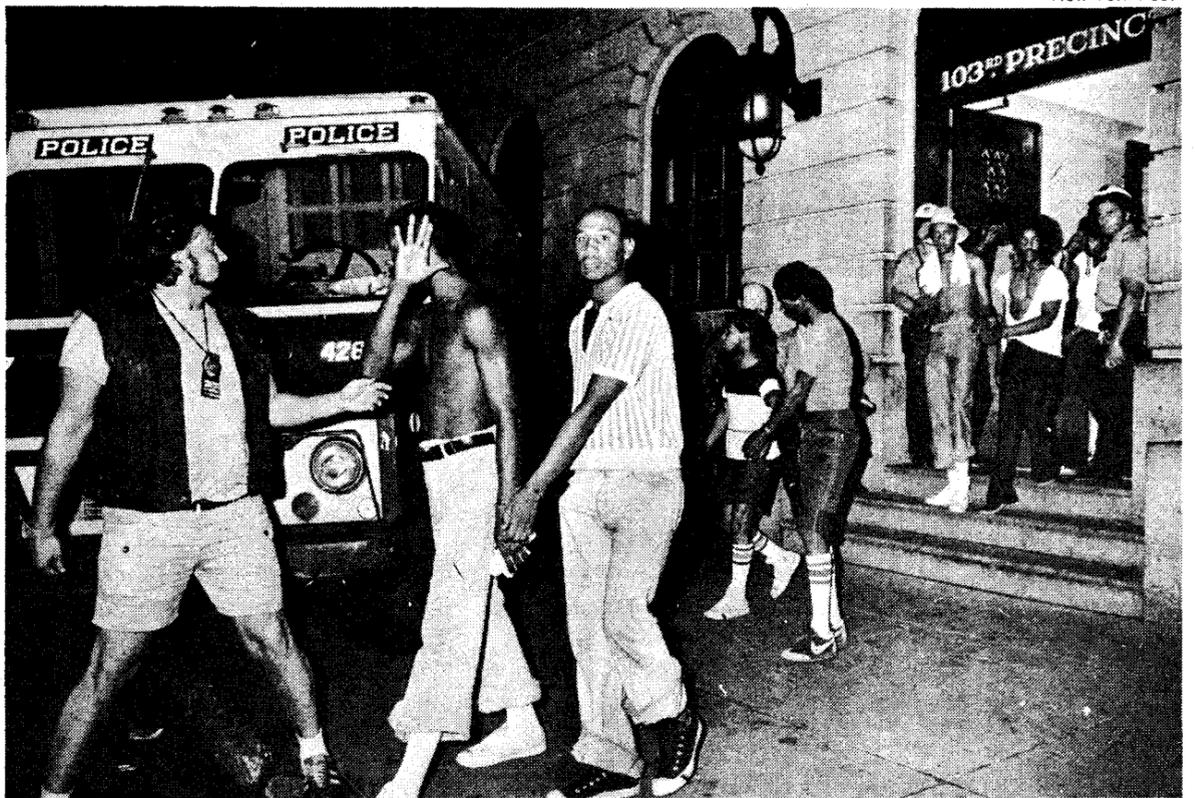
### "Life" or Death at 13

American liberalism has hit on hard times in the 1970's, and New York state, once a bastion of poverty programs, welfare schemes and urban-renewal boondoggles, is certainly no exception. While social rot and devastating violence continue to inundate America's cities, the candidates for governor this year have centered their vote-seeking election rhetoric on promises of hard-nosed "crackdowns" on crime. Gone are the days when the contending gubernatorial platforms were filled with promises of jobs and improved social services. Today's call to arms against blacks and other minorities is being sounded by Republicans and Democrats alike who wish to reinstitute the death penalty and harsher forms of penal servitude.

This year's gubernatorial election is virtually a re-run of the "death penalty election" of former liberal stalwart Ed Koch as New York City mayor last year. Both candidates, Democratic incumbent Hugh Carey and his Republican opponent Perry Duryea, have bent over backwards in their frantic rush to pose as the champions of "law and order."

Carey is faced with the prospect that his veto of a state capital punishment bill may deal the death-blow to his hopes for re-election. To ward off charges that he is soft on crime, he turned to professional political groomer David Garth who last year stage-managed Koch's campaign. Shortly thereafter Carey was making headlines with his support to a heavy-handed "anti-crime" package.

This reactionary measure—limiting the jurisdiction of the juvenile court system to relatively minor crimes—allows juveniles accused of robbery, arson, murder, rape, kidnapping and sodomy to be tried in criminal court and receive sentences up to life in prison. Bi-partisan support for Carey's proposal was, of course, quickly forthcoming since, as the *New York Times* (15 July) noted, "...like the governor, many of its [the Democratic-controlled State Assembly] mem-



Black youth arrested after NYC blackout in August 1977.

bers were suffering the political consequences of voting against the death penalty and wanted a tough crime package to point to in their re-election campaign."

This legislation has given rise to a new and more grisly debate: should 13-year-olds "simply" be tried in adult courts and face life imprisonment or, as advocated by Duryea, go to the chair. As the right-wing tries to whip up a death-penalty campaign for juvenile criminals, one is reminded of Marx's comment: "Now what a state of society is that which knows no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman...?"

Surely the most pernicious aspect of any such "crackdown on crime" is that it effectively becomes a

declaration of "open season" on blacks and other minority youth. The attempt to whip up popular support for capital punishment plays upon the real fear of violent crime in America's big cities. Marxists neither glorify the rampant lumpenization of urban life nor defend the violence it inspires. Under conditions of social oppression and exploitation it is a just and elementary right for the whole population to have recourse to arms for the purpose of self-defense. But behind the right-wing "law and order" drives are the trigger-happy racist cops (who should be disarmed!) and the threat of vigilantism which can only serve to mobilize right-wing groups for racist pogroms or result in potentially violent, communalist mobilizations like

*continued on page 11*

## WVO Cheers On Anti-Busing Racists

The opening of school in Los Angeles County on September 12 marked the beginning of a limited mandatory busing program—fifteen years after the first court suit and eight years after desegregation was ordered. Following the pattern of busing programs throughout the country, the L.A. plan is tokenistic, affecting only grades four through eight in roughly the one-fifth of the county's schools which are designated as "racially isolated." Even taken in conjunction with a voluntary program, the plan encompasses only ten percent of the district's total enrollment of 570,000. The *Los Angeles Times* (18 September) noted that this leaves "at least 250,000 minority youngsters in segregated schools, largely untouched by the plan."

Nevertheless the busing plan has aroused substantial opposition. The racist BusStop organization fruitlessly appealed to the Supreme Court to halt the plan. In addition several anti-busing suits have been filed, including one which alleges that busing would impair the ability of students to compete successfully for college admissions and would have an "adverse effect" on the environment by putting 1,200 more buses on

the L.A. freeways! The main focus of anti-busing activities is now a school boycott called by "Families Organized to Retain Community Education" (FORCE). As of September 20 the FORCE-spearheaded boycott had succeeded in keeping two-thirds of white students in the compulsory program home from school.

But it is not only dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries like Bobbi Fiedler of BusStop and deputy district attorney Sidney Trapp who are trying to put a halt to school integration. This racist mobilization has actually received the support of the so-called "revolutionaries" of the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). On September 9 supporters of WVO took part in a boycott organizing meeting—at a time and place originally reserved by the WVO/African Liberation Support Committee for a class on black liberation! At the meeting the WVO circulated a petition calling on H.E.W. secretary Califano to halt "unconstitutional" "forced busing." The featured speaker was none other than FORCE leader Link Wyler, who used the black WVO members to give his segregationist movement a more "respectable" image.

In its capitulation to nationalism/community control WVO rejects busing as a "bourgeois plot" while calling, like the racists, for "quality education" for all. Thus these Jim Crow Maoists have often found themselves (as has the Revolutionary Communist Party which capitulates to the racist prejudices of backward white workers) in a *de facto* bloc with anti-busing forces such as Boston's ROAR and the L.A. BusStop group. Now, however, WVO has gone one step further. In a despicable betrayal of elementary democratic principles they have actively collaborated with out-and-out bigots, even playing the role of black front men for the segregationist FORCE.

Faced with the disgusting spectacle of an alliance between "leftists" and racist organizers at the regularly scheduled WVO "class," supporters of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), along with a black former sympathizer of WVO, threw up a picket line and called on all anti-racists not to cross. Unlike WVO, the SL/SYL defends busing as a limited

step toward integration and equal access to education for minorities. The SL/SYL demonstrators, who received widespread media coverage, called for the extension of busing to privileged suburbs such as Beverly Hills and for multi-racial labor defense guards to stop racist attacks and crush fascist vermin such as the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan who seek to take advantage of the racist backlash against "forced busing."

Obviously shaken by the SL/SYL's confrontation of their unholy alliance with the FORCE racists, the WVO Stalinists resorted to slandering the demonstrators in this case ludicrously charging them with having called the cops to the meeting (as if the notoriously racist L.A. police would find anything objectionable in an anti-busing confab). This method of "defending" political bankruptcy has a lot in common with the WVO's vicious thug attack on a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the National Maritime Union at a New York meeting May 19 after the SL and M-SC effectively exposed WVO's opposition to a New York City transit strike (see "Cowardly WVO Maoists Attack SL," *Workers Vanguard* No. 208, 2 June).

The real nature of WVO's anti-busing bloc partners was graphically revealed at a suburban FORCE rally on September 11 where a crowd of 5,000 screaming white parents cheered an unsavory collection of speakers that included two token "Uncle Toms" and a spokesman for a group of scab teachers. The rally provided the perfect climate for the activities of the KKK and the "National Association for the Advancement of White People" who distributed flyers urging whites to vote to "expel all blacks from North America, Europe and Britain." True to form, WVO proclaimed FORCE's orgy of race hate a "victory" for "quality education" and "multi-racial unity."

WVO's smokescreen of slander will not succeed in obscuring their disgusting action alliance with the racist anti-busing movement. Anyone who sincerely desires an end to the brutal oppression of racial minorities can have nothing but contempt for such separate-but-equal "socialists." ■

## 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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# Spartacist Candidate Speaks at Columbia

## For a Socialist Fight to Save New York!

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly in Manhattan's 64th district, brought her campaign to Columbia University on September 12 when she spoke at a Spartacus Youth League (SYL) forum marking the tenth anniversary of the 1968 student strike. After a screening of the film "Columbia Revolt," Stamberg briefly addressed the audience of 50 students and leftists, analyzing the reasons for the failure of the "New Left" of the 1960's and outlining her revolutionary working-class program for New York City today.

The Spartacist candidate was personally involved in the 1960's radical movement as an SDS activist, left-wing feminist and *Guardian* staff writer. But as Stamberg made clear in her talk, the vast majority of the radicalized youth of that period drifted out of politics. "The bourgeoisie is gloating," she said, "and they have reason to gloat because ten years ago at this time you had hundreds of thousands of students and youth who had been radicalized through the Vietnam war, through the black movement, who were in motion politically, who were for the most part quite serious. The bourgeoisie was generally successful in heading off this threat, in absorbing the large majority of them back into the mainstream of U.S. life, including some into bourgeois politics as serious class enemies."

Stamberg was a telephone worker for nine years and an active member of an oppositional caucus in the Communications Workers of America. Commenting on the demise of the New Left, Stamberg noted that radical youth in that period "never had a clear sense of the centrality of the working class, of its strategic importance to the revolution, or the need to break from the Democratic Party." While many New Left activists were drawn to the crude pro-working-class orientation of Progressive Labor and, later on, several Maoist tendencies, the majority were lost from political activity altogether. Stamberg blamed this loss of thousands of potential revolutionary cadres largely on reformists like the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) and ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who embraced the Democratic Party "doves" rather than lead the fight to build a working-class-based antiwar movement.

Despite the demise of the broad-based radicalism of a decade ago, Stamberg argued that the potential for radical activism remains strong. Pointing to the current strike wave among teachers and municipal workers, the Spartacist candidate noted that, "The conditions which created the '60's, that created the antiwar movement, that created the black movement, the bour-

education altogether. These cutbacks occurred, Stamberg noted, despite the militant resistance of thousands of City University students. Their struggles were defeated precisely because there was no commitment on the part of organized labor to lead the fight against cutbacks, a central theme of the Spartacist campaign.

To defeat the capitalist offensive

Workers Vanguard



Marjorie Stamberg at New York City Pressmen's Union strike lines.

geoisie can't change. Capitalism is capitalism and there's still enormous ferment."

### New York City Crisis

Turning her attention to the lingering fiscal crisis of New York City, Stamberg emphasized that her campaign is based on the potential for a militant labor movement to lead a broad alliance of oppressed minorities, the hard-pressed middle class and students against the bankers and capitalist politicians. The issues in the Spartacist candidate's campaign are obvious: the physical disintegration of the aging city, the loss of tens of thousands of jobs, massive cutbacks in city services, the burned-out squalor of the black and Puerto Rican ghettos and the disastrous levels of crime and racial tension. Stamberg stressed that every sector of the working population of New York City has been hard hit by the terminal illness of American capitalism and the fiscal crisis engineered by the profit-hungry financial barons.

The largely minority and working-class students of New York City's community colleges and City University system have seen their chance for a decent education shrink year by year under the rule of the budget slashers. Open admissions, won by student struggle in the 1960's, and the long tradition of free tuition were eliminated. The SEEK program and other economic and tutorial aids to poor and minority students were axed and the notorious "two-year test" was instituted to weed these same students out of higher

education altogether. These cutbacks occurred, Stamberg noted, despite the militant resistance of thousands of City University students. Their struggles were defeated precisely because there was no commitment on the part of organized labor to lead the fight against cutbacks, a central theme of the Spartacist campaign.

### Vote Stamberg!

Stamberg is the first candidate running on the program of the Spartacist League (SL) since the late 1960's. Her campaign is not an attempt to effect social reform from within the New York State Assembly but rather uses an electoral platform to explain the revolutionary Trotskyist program to New York City workers. Marjorie Stamberg's open advocacy of workers revolution against the decrepit capitalist system is an appeal which, in the context of New York City's descent into barbarism, makes good common sense.

Practically no one any longer believes in liberal campaign promises of piecemeal reform not in a city which with its massive and seemingly insoluble problems simply cries out for a radical social overturn. In the stronghold of liberal capitalist politics the utopian schemes of the 1960's, ranging from Urban Renewal to the Job Corps, have long since been forgotten. Former liberal stalwarts like Mayor Koch and Governor Carey today stumble over each other in their haste to capitalize on the right-wing shift in public opinion by taking up the rhetoric of "law and order" or capital punishment.

With the demise of liberalism, it is now up to the reformist left to put forward the sort of "reform" campaigns usually associated with the Democratic Party. In New York state both the CP and the SWP have candidates on the ballot for governor and lesser state offices (including attorney general!) and both opportunist parties push the same token reforms and "tax the rich" schemes. "People Before Profits" and "Human Needs Before Profits" are the interchangeable slogans of the CP's and SWP's nearly identical campaigns.

Both parties want to exempt low- and middle-income wages from taxes and both attack military spending with the same old "butter not guns" rhetoric. Both dredge up the illusion that under capitalism unemployment can be ended once and for all—not through collectivization of the economy under a workers government but through bills submitted to Congress! But the glaring decay of New York exposes these pie-in-the-sky reform schemes as simply a left-wing rehash of the "New Frontier"/"Great Society" schemes of a decade ago.

Spartacist candidate Stamberg made the difference between her revolutionary campaign and those of the reformists clear in her Columbia speech: "The point is that there will be nothing before profits under the capitalist system. Profits come first and there's no way you can change that. There's no gimmick, you can't vote in candidates that are going to give you human needs or people before profits because it's the nature of the system. The difference between the reformists and us is that we say first of all that you've got to have a socialist revolution to make any real change in this city, and second of all that you can't vote it in.... It's the old question reform or revolution!" ■

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# RCP Declares "China on Capitalist Road" — Hail! Hail! The Gang's All Here!

## Mao Tse-Tung Memorials Flop

Drivers on the highways of San Francisco were confronted last month by what must have seemed to many a bizarre mirage: giant billboards emblazoned with the image of Mao Tse-tung, sporting fiery, inane slogans: "Hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's immortal contributions and the achievements and lessons of the Cultural Revolution!" "Hail the heroic efforts of the Four who fought to uphold Mao's revolutionary line..." etc.

Although bewildered motorists might have thought they had somehow taken a wrong turn to Peking, the billboards were actually advertisements for "Mao Tse-tung Memorial Meetings" called by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in Berkeley and New York City. From a full page ad in the *Village Voice* to the thousands of wall posters plastered in major cities throughout the country, the RCP spared no resources to build their "mass" Mao memorial extravaganzas.

Life has not been kind to the RCP. Shortly before the purge of the "Gang of Four," the RCP's arch-rivals, Michael Klonsky's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), got the "China franchise." After two years of public silence on the Chinese regime and internal factionalism at the top—exploding last winter into a pro-Hua split led by RCP leader Micky Jarvis which took out approximately 40 percent of the organization—the RCP "went public" with their China position in a big way. They announced that "...the revisionists within the leadership of the Party and state staged a reactionary coup d'état replacing the rule of the proletariat with a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and beginning the process of restoring capitalism in China" (*Revolution*, September 1978). Enormous sums were shelled out on publicity and the entire organization was mobilized for the Mao memorial

events and the masses stayed away in droves.

On the RCP's traditional home turf, Berkeley, the meetings attracted a scant 400; in New York, where the *Guardian*/critical Maoist milieu could be drawn from, 1,000 people turned out on September 9 to hear Avakian's three and a half hour diatribe. By the standards of the U.S. left the numbers are rather large, but the pre-split RCP, by comparison, drew 1,500 to a New York conference two years ago with far less effort.

The auditoriums were dominated by a giant portrait of Mao, spotlight and all. The stage was littered with floral wreaths and Avakian and other RCP leaders stood in a row, like a poor imitation of the Chinese politburo reviewing a parade, and applauded themselves in the best Peking tradition. However, as a flashy morale-booster for the RCP membership—kept busy for a month feverishly building for them—the Mao memorials were a flop. As for attracting interested independents, the description given by a journalist from the *Black American* (21-28 September) shows the events to be about as inviting as a twelve-hour session to "criticize Confucius":

"Whatever the cause, Berkeley's Mao Tse-tung Memorial moved dangerously close to the Twilight Zone....

"No more than four tickets will be sold together," a security guard announced. "You will be searched before entering the building. This will be for your own protection....

"He [Avakian] attacked Hua Kuo-feng, Chou En-lai, Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi and described with special vehemence 'the stink emanating from Teng Hsiao-ping.'"

"He denounced 'goulash communism' and advocated 'meat and potatoes communism.' He spoke more than three hours, while many people shifted in their chairs and other groups filed out of the auditorium."

"Chairman" Avakian was equally dead in New York, although he did

include a new and noteworthy twist to the RCP "analysis" on the processes of capitalist restoration: it seems that the earthquake in China played no small role. "Not totally, of course," Avakian assured the audience, "but with the earthquake the right could argue that politics can't take precedence over human suffering. They posed as benevolent leaders. Then the troops deployed under cover of relief work and Peking was sealed off. Everyone knew Mao was dying by this time. In the final analysis, of course, the class struggle does not depend on such things...."

In taking their line "to the masses" of the U.S. China Peoples Friendship Association (USCPFA)—a liberal/Stalinist organization which the RCP helped to found and build—they fared no better than at the memorial meetings. The Avakianites presented a position paper advocating extensive political discussion on China and calling for support to the "Gang of Four" at the USCPFA regional conventions this summer. But they got a taste of their own medicine when—in the course of the national convention held in San Francisco in early September (for which no fewer than 100 RCPers were mobilized) they were reminded of their own formerly stated opposition to any political discussion on the nature of China within the Association. In the words of RCP honcho Clark Kissinger in the pre-"Gang" days, the Association was "an organization of active friends of China. Not an academic study group, nor an educational foundation nor a debating society. Those who wish to raise criticisms of China might best direct their efforts through other organizations."

### After Mao Month What Will They Do?

The CPML's *Call* (4 September) reports that RCPers spray painted the CPML bookstore with anti-China slogans in Atlanta and in the Bay Area the RCP mobilized a sizable goon squad with bats and clubs outside of a CPML Mao Memorial meeting. In addition to street brawls, the RCP is trying to politically inoculate their membership against the CPML by "criticizing" Chinese foreign policy, which has not changed in any significant fashion since Mao's death and the purge of the "Four."

In a publicity pamphlet, the RCP poses some questions: "Are the French paratroopers the true friends of the people in Zaire as they claim? Is it revolutionary to ride in the Shah's limousines when the people of Iran are in the midst of revolutionary upsurge? Should we support our own rulers arming their imperialist partners in NATO?"

Good questions. We might add a few more: Were the FNLA, UNLTA and South African troops advised by China and the CIA the defenders of the people of Angola? Did China's fulsome diplomatic support to the Pinochet regime of Chile and its refusal to allow refugees into its embassy at the time of the coup aid the struggle of the Chilean masses? Is it revolutionary for the Shah's sister to ride in Chinese limousines? Was Nixon's infamous visit to Peking during the Christmas bombings of North Vietnam an act of

solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution?

We doubt the RCP will have answers to these questions. They wholeheartedly supported each and every one of these policies, formulated and implemented under the direction of Mao just as they apologized for Chinese support to the shah as a necessary component of an alliance against the "superpowers."

So China like the USSR is now "fascist." In China's case, in part thanks to an earthquake. In the Soviet Union, restoration was the product of Krushchev's speech in 1956. In both cases RCP-style "Marxist-Leninists" took years to figure out that "counterrevolution" had occurred at all! Several months ago we said,

"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 'Soviet social-imperialism.'"

"Likewise, until recently the RCP has scrambled to be the 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 for our unconditional military defense of the gains of the Chinese revolution."

"Maoists on the Road to... Oblivion." *Young Spartacus*, No. 60, December 1977/January 1978

Fortunately, the anti-capitalist revolutions which did away with the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, which threw off the yoke of imperialism and laid the basis for a nationalized, collectivized and planned economy are not so easily done away with as the Avakianites would have us believe. The oppressive bureaucratic castes of both China and the USSR, however, daily sabotage defense of the revolutions with their race to be the closest "comrade-in-arms" of U.S. imperialism. Their bureaucratic suppression of the working and peasant masses (nowhere more intense than in the period following the Cultural Revolution under Mao, Chiang Ching, et. al.) and the vicious circle of intra-bureaucratic warfare, purges and "rehabilitations" will be overthrown in a proletarian political revolution led by a Leninist/Trotskyist party.

Things are rough all over: CPML has China and a good shot at the Jarvisite ranks. COUSML has Albania (for what it's worth) and there's competition on the pro-"Gang" front as well—Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) rivals the RCP in both years' silence on the events in Peking and low-level "mass work." For the RCP there is no place to go but into the irrelevancy of a cult on the lunatic fringe of the U.S. left and retirement into quiet contemplation of the "Chairman's" writings.

As the Belgian scholar Simon Leys (Pierre Ryckmans) noted in his excellent work on the Cultural Revolution, *Chinese Shadows*:

"But in the present uncertainty with *coups d'état* that sometimes succeed but also sometimes fail, mysterious attempted assassinations planned by leadership groups against each other, well-known and seemingly unassailable figures disappearing and others unexpectedly reappearing the safest procedure is to put Mao, and only Mao, everywhere. At worst, it may become monotonous; but this is a paltry danger compared to the perils of taking a more subtle line."

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# Stephen Biko: A Martyred Black Liberal

On September 6, 1977 Stephen Biko was arrested by the South African Security Police. Six days later, still in police custody, Biko was dead. While under arrest, the shackled prisoner was alternately interrogated and beaten for 22 hours until he lapsed into a coma. Then, naked and still semiconscious, Biko was driven 750 miles from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria where he subsequently died. Biko's broken, bloodied corpse became a silent refutation of the shoddy "explanations" of "hunger-strike suicide" and "self-inflicted wounds" advanced by the apartheid regime. It was clear that Biko, like so many before him, had fallen victim to South Africa's murder machine which

## A Review of Donald Woods' *Biko*

regularly disposes of its prey through "accidents" and "suicides" inside its jails.

Although a year has passed since the brutal and cynical killing of this anti-apartheid activist, this incident continues to send shock waves through South African political life. The anniversary of Biko's death was greeted by the arrest of his sister, her husband and eight friends of the family who were also involved in the "black consciousness movement." Under the Internal Security Act, they will be held indefinitely without trial. In addition Doctor Nthato Motlano, a black leader in Soweto, had already been banned (forbidden to engage in political or social activity) in an attempt to prevent any public commemoration of Biko's death.

In the wake of the Biko murder, the regime of Prime Minister B.J. Vorster outlawed all of the remaining legal black political organizations in a wave of repression similar to that following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in which 69 anti-apartheid demonstrators were killed and 178 arrested. This repression continues—most recently a Soweto student leader, Jonas Mzwakhe Machobane, was killed by the cops "while trying to escape." But unlike the aftermath of Sharpeville, the anti-apartheid upsurge of black, "Coloured" (mulatto) and Indian students and workers has not been decisively defeated. Despite police attacks, tens of thousands of mourners gathered at Biko's funeral last year as local clashes occurred throughout the country.

The "black consciousness movement", for which Biko was an eloquent spokesman survived his death. Following the dissolution of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), the Azanian People's Organization was formed by Biko's former comrades. In May of this year, however, the leaders of the newly founded organization—popularly known as "Azapo"—were arrested in a new government crackdown.

We demand immediate freedom for these anti-apartheid fighters!

### Liberal Hopes

Biko's murder gave renewed impetus to the world-wide campaign aimed at limiting or ending the ties between the

imperialist powers and Pretoria. One of the central propagandists for the boycott movement has been Donald Woods, the white editor of the *Daily Dispatch* (a South African English newspaper which enjoyed wide popularity among South African blacks) who was a close personal friend of Biko and was instrumental in exposing the police cover-up of his murder.

Banned by Vorster for eulogizing Biko, Woods fled South Africa convinced of the need to combat white-supremacist rule through a total boycott of the apartheid state. While Woods' book, *Biko*, centers on the actual

action against apartheid because of his description of this revolting murder.

The killing of Biko, the banning of Woods and black editor Percy Qoboza and the proscription of SASO, BPC and other black organizations did in fact produce a world outcry, renewed promises of sanctions against Pretoria and even a few diplomatic gestures. Similarly, the American proponents of university divestment of holdings in companies involved with South Africa and other boycott schemes are now taking up commemorations of Biko's death in the hope that this will boost their appeals to the "moral fiber" of universi-

Rhodesia), the "human rights" Carter administration has sought out the "responsible" black leaders who can safeguard imperialist concerns should white rule falter. Thus in Rhodesia the imperialists hope that a negotiated agreement for "black majority" rule can be worked out with the Sithole/Muzorewa/Chirau frontmen for Ian Smith, but leave open the question of supporting Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union—a man currently described in the Western press as a "terrorist." Today it is Andrew Young who is charged with developing the links to liberal black leaders in Africa and with buttressing the mainstay of imperialism in Sub-Saharan Africa: South Africa.

### Appeals to Imperialism

Woods' book, sketchy as it is, contains a good deal of evidence to warrant the faith of Western liberals in Biko. Biko's concern that "an economic upheaval must be avoided" was the touchstone of his political outlook. While he solidarized with Samora Machel's successful struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Biko was a staunch anti-communist and would never have styled himself a "Marxist-Leninist" as Machel did. Biko refused to dress up his petty-bourgeois nationalism as "Marxism" and publicly stated, "a Communist in South Africa today will be an instrument of Moscow, not of the black people." If he considered the possibility of accepting Soviet aid it was only because, as he cynically told Woods, "...the Russians don't stick fast afterward. Their record is one of material aid, then disengaging or being ousted."

While the U.S. hopes that the Mengistus and Machels will ultimately follow Sadat's example and break from the Soviet diplomatic orbit, Biko had given advance notice of his basic loyalty to capitalism. The "communalism" embodied in the BPC's 1972 platform was clearly just another variant of the phony "African socialism" of Kenya or Tanzania. It is significant that Biko defended the one-party Kenyan regime as a model of "democracy" during the 1976 trial of nine SASO members, turning a blind eye to the corruption and political murder rampant in Kenya.

The role to which Biko aspired in South Africa is one which has been played many times before in the former colonies of Africa. The "moderate" Biko who appealed through Senator Dick Clark for U.S. imperialism's "full support for the black man's liberation" (*New York Times*, 18 September 1977) has much in common with the "radical" Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who declares that "Africa is asking that America should carry its declared support for human equality and dignity into policies which will weaken the forces of racialism and colonialism in southern Africa..." (*Foreign Affairs*, July 1977).

That the leaders of Africa's neo-colonies often come to power after years of struggles against colonial powers or the Western imperialist powers themselves, only enhances their ability to portray themselves as the champions of national liberation. Jomo Kenyatta, for example, was jailed by the British as a "Mau Mau" leader. But from the time of his 1961 release from prison until his death two months ago, there was no

*continued on page 11*



Mourners express militant outrage at Biko's funeral.

murder and the court hearing which exonerated Biko's killers, the book is primarily intended as a plea to U.S. imperialism to carry out diplomatic, cultural and economic sanctions against South Africa.

In order to make his pitch more effective, Woods begins by establishing Biko's credentials as a charismatic (and "respectable") mass leader, in his words, "the greatest man I ever met." With the post-Sharpeville repression and the 1961 prohibition of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the jailing of their leaders, Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, black protest was crushingly defeated. For the next decade anti-apartheid protest was centered on liberal students, primarily the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)—a multi-racial organization based on white English-speaking students. In 1967 black students in NUSAS split away to form the South African Students' Organization which, as the protest movements rekindled in the 1970's, was able to attract a mass base. Among the early leaders of SASO was a young medical student, Stephen Biko.

As with the press coverage of the inquest, *Biko* completely exposes the workings of apartheid "justice" and the cynical arrogance of the South African government. But while the vicious murder of his friend led Woods to reject the possibility of rousing any moral indignation among South Africa's ruling white caste, Woods has merely shifted the axis of his appeal. He now hopes "world opinion" will be outraged into

ty trustees and the American imperialist state.

### "Responsible" Leaders

Unlike the victims of the Sharpeville massacre or the 1976 slaughter of Soweto youth, Biko's murder provoked outrage in the U.S. Biko and his movement were seen by Western liberals as the "moderate" alternative to the PAC and ANC. Moreover, with the ANC and PAC leaders either incarcerated or forced underground, Biko and the BPC were the only organized link to the Soweto rebels. As Woods explained to South African minister of "justice" James Kruger:

"Steve was the kind of black leader the Government should permit to function openly even in their own interests, because the Government had no genuine and significant leaders to negotiate with if the younger blacks should turn to violence in the townships. (This was seven months before Soweto.)

"... There was no sense in suppressing natural leadership, especially moderate leadership such as Steve could provide."

In the book Woods adds: "In killing Steve Biko, and in condoning his killing," Vorster's Nationalists "have forced black resistance to apartheid into dark and violent channels. They have rendered it almost impossible to ensure that when apartheid goes it will be removed in an atmosphere of political and social stability...."

Woods appeals (unsuccessfully) to the American bourgeoisie to adopt the same attitude toward South Africa as it has toward Rhodesia. Rather than hard line the impossible white supremacist/colonialist situations (e.g.,

## By John Crystal

The upcoming 1980 Moscow Olympics are currently a *cause célèbre* among Western liberals howling for a stepped up "human rights" offensive against the Soviet Union. Particularly in the wake of the prosecution of CIA-connected "dissident" Anatoli Shecharansky, the Carter "human rights" campaign has set the gears in motion for a boycott of the 1980 Olympics. But there was not so much as a murmur of protest heard from this quarter at the time of the 1968 Olympics which were held in Mexico City against the bloody backdrop of the mass slaughter of a student protest movement.

The 1968 Olympics opened only ten days after the 2nd of October. On that day the Mexican government of President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz unleashed a savage assault on a student movement unprecedented in the country's history for its scope and militancy. In the now infamous Tlatelolco Massacre, army troops, police and undercover agents turned Mexico City's Plaza of the Three Cultures into a raging hell of machine-gun fire, dum-dum bullets and bayonet charges in a carefully prepared assault on a peaceful rally. When the attack was over, hundreds were dead and thousands locked away in prisons, detention centers and military bases. Among the casualties of the wanton slaughter was the naive illusion held by the student rebels that the brutal and corrupt Mexican regime could be "democratized" through protest and reform alone.

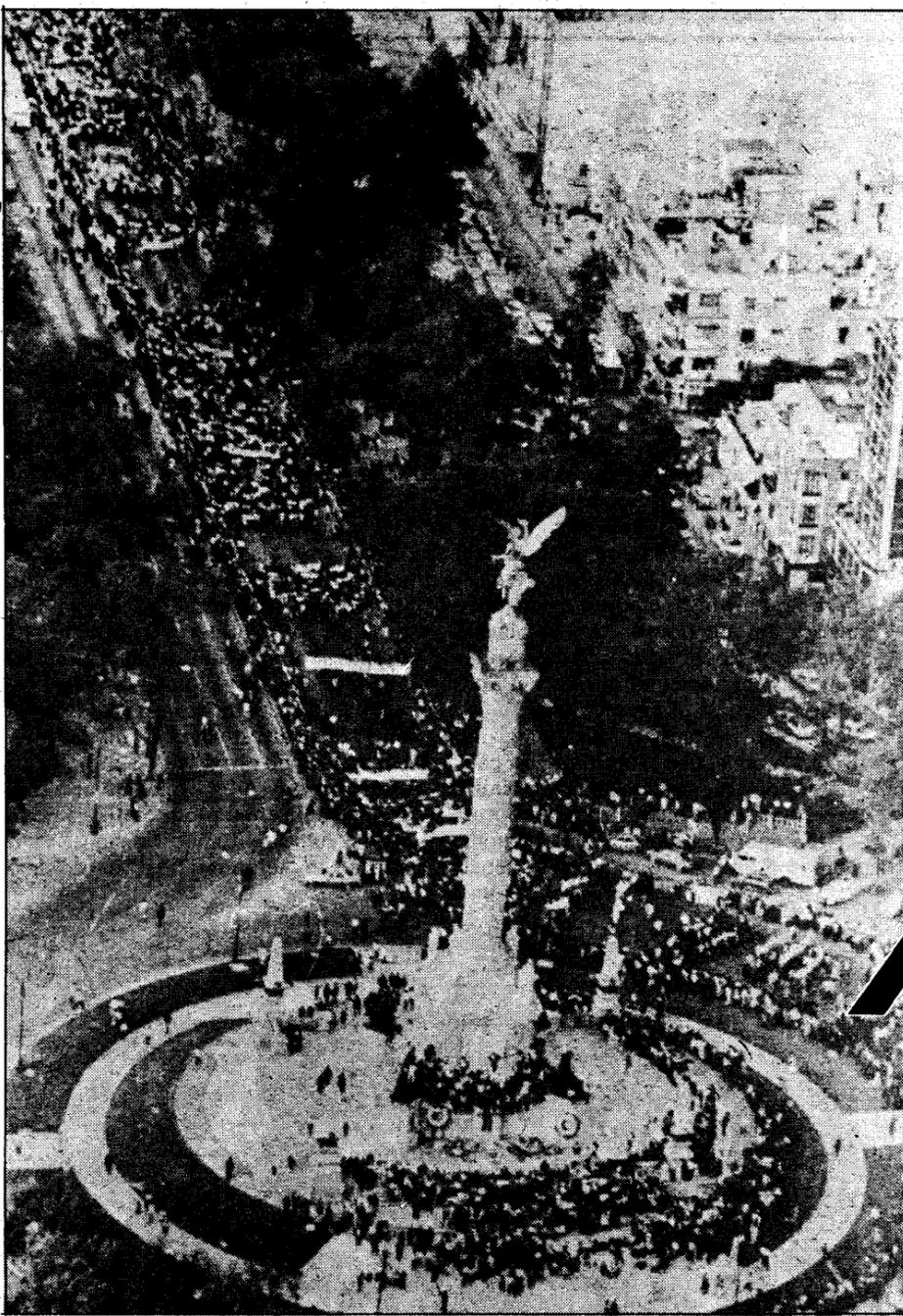
As the campus-based protests escalated throughout the summer and fall of 1968, the students were time and again confronted with the glaring contradiction between the regime's claims to stand on the radical democratic nature of the Mexican revolution and the repressive, anti-democratic nature of the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI Institutional Revolutionary Party). Before the blood was even dry in the city's plazas, the government was establishing its "democratic" credentials as proud Third World host to what Diaz proclaimed to be the Olympics of "peace" and "brotherhood." In preparation, however, the government answered the appeals of a nascent opposition with the same language used in the 1959 rail strike: armed terror.

### Origins of the Protests

The Mexican student movement of 1968 had its immediate origins in a protest against the brutality with which the *granaderos* (riot police) had met a minor incident of gang fighting among students at two secondary schools in Mexico City on July 23, 1968. This protest, occurring in a summer that already had witnessed student agitation against the metropolitan bus companies and for the release of imprisoned railroad union leader Demetrio Vallejo, soon attracted a mass following.

On July 26, two student marches took place: one to protest police brutality and another, organized by the Communist Youth (youth group of the Mexican Communist Party PCM), to commemorate Fidel Castro's 1953 attack on the Moncada Barracks. As the demonstrators began to disperse, they were attacked by *granaderos*. Other young people returning from school were caught up in the melee and the students barricaded themselves into school buildings as the cops laid siege. By midnight, when a school principal finally convinced the police to withdraw, thirty people had been injured.

Two days after the July 26 attack, students from the UNAM (Autonomous National University of Mexico), the National Polytechnical School or "Poli"



Mexican students march on Plaza of the National Palace.

and the National Agricultural School of Chapingo met and called a protest strike on the basis of five demands: compensation for the injured students and for the families of students killed; release of all students jailed as a result of the demonstrations (this demand was later broadened to include all political prisoners); abolition of the infamous Article 145 of the penal code outlawing "social dissolution" (subversion); dismissal of the chief and deputy chief of the federal district police; and abolition of the *granaderos* and other special police corps. This platform, with some modifications or expansions (such as the addition of a demand for "clarification of the roles played by the officials guilty of perpetrating bloody deeds"), remained that of the student movement throughout the summer and fall of 1968.

On July 29, the educational authorities closed all the schools in the federal district: UNAM, the Poli and the vocational and preparatory schools followed suit. Soon clashes broke out between students and police. The cops, *granaderos* and army paratroopers fired tear gas and clubbed the students, who formed barricades, setting afire captured buses. July 30 was *el dia del bazukazo*—the day of the bazooka blast. Students, many of them injured, barricaded themselves into the San Ildefonso prep school and were besieged by infantry and paratroops in the early morning hours. Outraged tenants from the slum tenements surrounding the school poured boiling water and scalding abuse on the soldiers. Finally, the troops used a bazooka to open the school's huge baroque doors and occupied the building.

In the next two weeks demonstration followed demonstration as the strike spread through the campuses and picked up momentum. On August 1, President Diaz Ordaz responded to the students with the hollow bombast that is the special language of the PRI officialdom. According to Diaz: "A hand is stretched out; Mexicans will say whether that hand will find a response...." The "out-

stretched hand" speech was the source of many of the slogans which were to become associated with the protest movement: "We do not give our hands to murderers," "The dead cannot shake hands" and "The outstretched hand has a pistol in it."

On August 8, a National Strike Council (CNH Consejo Nacional de Huelga) was formed, consisting of representatives from 150 schools. These delegates were chosen by "combat committees" of two or three members per school which together formed a Coordinating Committee of about 600 students to which the CNH was loosely responsible. The CNH adopted the six-point strike platform, demanding a public "dialogue" with the government.

The movement reached its zenith in mid-August. On August 13, 150,000 students, professors and supporters from the major campuses marched from the Poli campus to the Plaza of the National Palace, known as "the Zócalo." On August 27 the largest demonstration was held as 300,000 people marched from Chapultepec Park down the Paseo de la Reforma to the Zócalo.

### A Calculated, Cold-Blooded Massacre

The Tlatelolco Massacre was preceded by an escalation of government repression and rightist violence against the student protesters. In late August, two vocational schools and the housing project at Tlatelolco were attacked by masked goons wielding lead pipes and steel construction rods—predecessors of the fascistic *Halcones* (Hawks) gangs subsidized and armed by the cops to attack student demonstrators in the early 1970's. In the face of continuing student demands for a "public dialogue," the government sent the army in to occupy the UNAM and Poli campuses on September 18 and 24.

The issue of university autonomy is of major importance on campuses throughout Latin America. Won in Mexico through a bloody struggle in 1929, it was revered as an enshrined tradition. In a

## GOVERNMENT FOR OLYMPIA

# MEXICO CITY STUDENT PROTEST MASSACRE



Student propaganda brigade confronts

country in which the state has traditionally invaded all aspects of social and economic life, the ability to engage in open political activities on the campuses was a fairly significant achievement. Thus, the occupation of UNAM in violation of university autonomy was an intentional provocation, making it blatantly clear that the government was looking for the final showdown.

On October 2, the CNH had scheduled a rally for 5:30 in the afternoon in the Plaza of the Three Cultures (so called because it is bounded by Aztec ruins, a 16th-century Spanish church and modern apartment buildings) at the Tlatelolco housing project. Meetings frequently had been held there, especially during the army's occupation of the campuses. The rally was held in the shadow of ominous new events: three CNH leaders had been arrested earlier that afternoon and an announcement was made canceling plans for a march to the Poli campus because of the concentration of troops at the site. In addition to the student protesters, the crowd included representatives of striking doctors and of various parents' and women's groups, a smattering of members of small, independent trade unions and peasant groups, as well as curious onlookers.

# NT PREPARATION PIC SPECTACLE

# MEXICO 1968: IDENT TESTERS ACRED



Victims of the Tlatelolco slaughter.



fronted by troops.

hospital, from morgue to morgue, and to the prisons and army bases, searching for the "disappeared." Rumors have persisted over the years to the effect that the government burned corpses and even many of the wounded in military crematoria.

"It was a massacre, no other word exists to describe what happened," wrote the *Le Monde* correspondent. The official death count was 49. Octavio Paz cites the estimate of the British daily *Guardian* that 325 were killed; the figure may well be conservative. Many hundreds were wounded and thousands rounded up. Of those arrested, many spent years in jail, especially those associated with left groups. And the massacre and subsequent repression broke the back of the protest movement.

## Dynamics of Revolution in Mexico

"If one thing the Student Movement has accomplished is to strip the Mexican Revolution bare, to show that it was a filthy, corrupt old whore, that alone would justify it..." commented one middle-aged supporter (quoted in Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico*). According to official mythology, this Mexican "revolution" is a timeless, classless, onward-and-upward "process." In reality, the 1910-20 revolution ended in the defeat and dispersal of the localized radical peasant and plebeian movements and the consolidation of an entrenched, conservative ruling elite beholden to imperialism.

Mexico, having emerged from colonial status economically far behind Europe and the United States, was unable to carry out the tasks of its bourgeois-democratic revolution: agrarian reform, national consolidation and development, the establishment of democratic liberties. The development of a stable, indigenous economy was suffocated by the U.S.' hegemonic position in the economy of the hemisphere. Mexican artisans were at a competitive disadvantage to foreign industrialists and were too weak to

develop as a force opposed to the landed interests. The landowners and merchants of the old colonial centers found themselves forced to invest in industries serving the needs of the foreign market, since they could not compete with foreign technology even in the domestic market. And the expensive products of a protected, fledgling native industry were far beyond the means of the impoverished rural masses. The new bourgeoisie functioned, in effect, as a broker for imperialism.

The presence of U.S. imperialism north of the Rio Grande stunted Mexico's growth in another, quite literal sense: half of Mexico's national territory was stolen by the U.S., in nineteenth-century border wars. To this day the U.S./Mexico border acts as a siphon for the depressed Mexican economy. Attempting to escape the poverty they face at home, thousands of Mexicans every year slip across the border. They are part of the human legacy of imperialism's stifling of the Mexican economy. That so many run the risk of the border-crossing to reach the wretched shantytowns and latter-day plantations of the southwestern U.S. speaks volumes about the conditions of life in this showcase of Third World "democracy."

The agrarian question has always been of crucial importance in Mexico. The bourgeoisie's organic inability to carry through the basic bourgeois-democratic task of land reform was manifested in each of the phases of the "revolutionary" regime. Early agrarian reform legislation actually increased the size and number of *haciendas* (large estates) and reinforced landlordism. Similarly, the land reform promulgated by the nationalist Cárdenas regime of 1934-40 failed to answer the peasants' demands. Although the Cárdenas government distributed more land than previous administrations and established communal farms (*ejidos*), these *ejidos* were not viable. The peasants, lacking adequate capital, in particular for irrigation, did not have sufficient means to develop the land and all too often remained at the mercy of the old *hacienda*

owners who possessed machinery for processing sisal (a plant used in making cord, widely cultivated as a cash crop). After paying exorbitant prices for the processing as well as high taxes, the peasants were often as burdened as before the reform and frequently ended up selling their land to larger landholders and becoming laborers.

The interpenetration of the forces controlling land and capital meant that the capitalist government could not massively expropriate the entire stratum of large landowners. Similarly, in spite of Cárdenas' nationalization of foreign oil, Mexico continues to be heavily dependent on foreign investment; numerous key industries are almost entirely owned by imperialist concerns.

The pressures generated by the inability of the bourgeoisie to solve the problems of a backward economy in the face of the demands of the workers and peasants, have led the Mexican ruling class to seek a strong government able to check social turmoil. On the other hand, the PRI has carefully cultivated a democratic image. This ruling party, which every Western power hails as a model of Third World democracy, refused to recognize Francoist Spain, accepted many of the Chilean refugees who managed to flee the junta's terror and was keen to maintain friendly relations with Cuba. But behind this democratic veneer lurks the reality of police terror. The PRI has planted its agents throughout the land, in the ugly guise of the tin-pot police dictators who rule the hellhole of the countryside.

In addition, the bonapartist PRI maintains monolithic and iron-fisted direct control of the trade-union and peasant organizations. Any challenge to *charrismo*—the rule of corrupt labor bureaucrats (*charros*) who form a pillar of the PRI edifice—is met with the regime's panoply of repressive legislation, including the law against "social dissolution" and sometimes with troops.

This was the case with the 1958-59 railwaymen's strike, smashed when troops, police and the secret service forced the workers back to their jobs at gunpoint. As a result of the strike, thousands of workers were arrested and 25 union leaders were given long prison terms. (Demetrio Vallejo and another leader received 16-year sentences.) Fierce repression also met the series of doctors' strikes that took place in 1964-65, and most recently, this year's copper miners' strike at Nacozari was broken by cops and troops.

## PRI Stranglehold

The Mexican student revolt occurred in a year of massive student demonstrations in countries around the world. While the French student strike of May-June 1968 precipitated a general strike of 10 million workers, the Mexican students were effectively isolated from the labor movement. Only a handful of independent unions passed resolutions of sympathy, while the *charros* dominating the PRI-controlled labor federation rabidly denounced the students, gave the government their personal *carte blanche* to carry out any repression it might see fit and even went so far as to organize "shock brigades" to confront the students violently.

Like their French counterparts, the Mexican student protesters attempted to rally support from the population at large. Students hijacked buses for the purpose of dispatching propaganda brigades. These brigades conducted "lightning meetings" addressing crowds from the roofs of the buses and then taking off if the police were sighted. Student activists canvassed public buses, passing out leaflets and soliciting contri-

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# SYL Leads Campus Strike Support

## On Strike — Shut 'em Down!

### Wayne State

DETROIT, September 26—Pushed to the wall by the administration's unrelenting attack on their standard of living, professors and clerical workers at Wayne State University (WSU) walked out on strike last week. By today the three striking unions, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), Staff Association (UAW 2071) and Professional and Administrative Union (P&AU/UAW 1979) had all reached agreements with the university but were only partially successful in reversing the administration's attempt to rob them of their cost of living allowance.

Ever since the Staff Association and the P&AU struck on September 19, members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) walked the picket lines and urged students and non-striking campus workers to honor the lines as well. When the administration arrogantly announced that classes would open as scheduled the SYL issued a leaflet calling on students to boycott classes.

The SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Campus Workers Strike sponsored a strike solidarity rally on the first day of classes. The rally, which was endorsed by the Staff Association and the AAUP, featured a spirited picket line and was addressed by speakers from the Staff Association, the SYL and by English professor David Herreshoff. Brian Mendis, a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 (Dodge Truck) drew cheers when he pointed out that the UAW could shut the campus down tight if union bureaucrats chose to aid their striking locals by mobilizing auto workers from Detroit's giant plants.

The three unions struck at a time when the university is conducting an all-out offensive against students, faculty and campus employees. Newly appointed president Thomas Bonner seems intent on besting the criminal record of his predecessor George Gullen, who raised tuition for eight consecutive years, eliminated free health care for students, terminated the experimental Monteith College, shoved lousy contracts down the throats of campus workers, fired Center for Black Studies chairman Herb Boyd and accelerated the deterioration of the quality of education at Wayne by drastically cutting the budget and laying off staff in many departments. Besides making students and employees pay the price of skyrocketing inflation, Bonner deployed his hired strikebreakers, the cops, all over campus to intimidate picketers and ordered department chairmen to fire teaching assistants and graduate fellows who refused to scab on the strike.

Bonner's strikebreaking was supported by both student representatives to the Student-Faculty Council and the administration sycophants of the campus paper, the *South End*. But the SYL, unlike Bonner's toadies, understood that students had a real interest in the victory of the campus workers. The SYL leaflet distributed on the first day of class pointed out that, "A successful strike would give a powerful impetus to a united struggle by students, campus workers and faculty to beat back the budget-slashing offensive that is eroding Wayne's already inadequate ability to provide an education." The leaflet also

avored a single union of all campus workers (excluding administrators and cops) and called for student/teacher/campus worker control of WSU.

At a time when "no business as usual" was the key to a strike victory, the fake socialists of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) actually called a strike "support" meeting in the Student Center—a struck building! Although they were finally pressured into holding the meeting off campus, the YSA "Student Strike Support Committee"

DC 65 strikers. "The strike must be extended," Quirk said, calling on students to "get out and man those picket lines and shut Barnard down tight!"

Marjorie Stamborg, candidate on the Spartacist Party ticket in Manhattan's 64th Assembly District, followed Quirk and stressed the importance of the picket line as the key to victory for both the pressmen and the DC 65 clericals. "I understand," she said, "that the unions over there [at Barnard] are

can be crucial to the victory or defeat of campus strikes.

Since the universities do not function primarily as exploiters of campus labor, campus workers do not have the same social weight as industrial workers. Thus, the Columbia SYL sought to rally students to the active support of the Barnard strikers not only through demonstrations of solidarity but by honoring the picket lines, i.e., by boycotting classes during the strike. In order to undercut the nature of Ivy League universities as privileged bastions the SYL raises the demands for nationalization of the university, open admissions with state-paid stipends for all and student/teacher/campus worker control of the university.

The revolutionary Marxism of the SYL and its principled strike support work stood in sharp contrast to the muddleheaded Maoism of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and campus reformism of perennial New Leftists now rechristened the "'78 Committee." These fake leftists displayed their solidarity with the Barnard strikers by crossing their picket lines from the beginning of the strike. The '78 Committee's front group, the "Barnard Ad Hoc Student Strike Support Committee," actually held a strike "support" meeting on a *struck campus*! Their "solidarity" was only visible to the union pickets when, with fists clenched and strike support buttons gleaming, they brazenly walked through the clerical workers' picket lines. Their strategy for students supporting the strike consisted of reassuring students that the strikers didn't mind if they scabbed and advising them to "complain" to the strike-breaking administration!

In this strike, as in all others, the picket line marked the class line. Genuine socialists were on one side, building support for the striking workers. The phony "revolutionaries" were on the other side along with all the rest of the scabs! ■



Wayne State strike support demo, September 19.

voted down the SYL's proposal to consider the entire university a struck shop and to refuse to cross picket lines. While they blazoned their leaflets with the slogan "Don't Cross the Picket Lines," these student scab-herders welcomed into their committee students who claimed to support the strike but crossed the picket lines to work and attend class anyway!

As in campus strikes from Columbia to Chicago City Colleges it was the question of honoring picket lines which distinguished the SYL's genuine student strike support at WSU from that of the would-be campus "socialists." ■

### Barnard

Striking clerical workers broke into applause as twenty members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) marched onto their picket lines at New York City's Barnard College at a September 8 rally. Chanting militant slogans in both English and Spanish, the SYLers carried placards in support of both the Barnard local of District Council 65 of the Distributive Workers of America (DC 65) and the striking New York City newspaper unions.

Just prior to this solidarity action, an SYL-initiated rally in support of the press strike took place at Columbia University's Low Library. Speakers at the rally called a union victory in the six-week-old strike crucial to both the printing trades unions and the entire New York City labor movement. Auto-worker Kevin Quirk, representing the Militant Solidarity Caucus of United Auto Workers Local 906, spoke of the crucial role of labor solidarity in the newspaper strike and called on Columbia/Barnard students to aid the

respecting the lines but it's necessary that the students understand this as well: that a picket line means "don't cross!"

The 80-member Barnard clerical workers union faced an uphill battle on a largely unorganized campus. The solidly anti-union administration not only hired student scabs in its effort to break the strike but announced that Barnard workers organized in the Transport Workers Union (TWU) who honored DC 65 picket lines would be fired. This threat of reprisals drove the TWU back to work on September 13 and the weak and isolated clerical workers followed suit the next day, setting another strike deadline for October 15.

The weakness of the Barnard clerical workers is largely due to the lack of a single campus-wide union at the Columbia/Barnard/Teachers College complex. As the SYL noted during the strike, the organization of such a union would greatly enhance the bargaining power of all Columbia/Barnard workers. But more importantly, the SYL recognizes that the support of students, who far outnumber campus workers,

#### Spartacus Youth League Forum Anti-Apartheid Revolts and U.S. Imperialist Moralism

Speaker: Joseph Seymour  
Spartacist League  
Central Committee

#### University of Pittsburgh:

Thursday, October 5, at 8 p.m., in Rm. 216,  
Cathedral, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh,  
Pennsylvania

#### Pennsylvania State University:

Friday, October 6, at 7:30 p.m., in Rm. 304,  
Bourke Hall, Pennsylvania State University,  
State College, Pennsylvania

For more information, call (Cleveland) (216)  
566-7806.

### Chicago City Colleges

CHICAGO, September 25—Striking teachers in Chicago's nine-campus City College system returned to work today after their four-week walkout succeeded in turning back the City Colleges Board of Trustees' attempt to increase class loads by 25 to 100 percent. The Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU) struck on August 28 after administrators tried to force them into the classrooms without a contract. Despite the firing of 11 teachers at Kennedy-King College and Board threats to cancel the semester entirely, the strike remained solid until the end with 97 percent of the faculty respecting picket lines. Picket lines were also honored by Teamsters Union members, but the CCCTU had to contend with scabbing by the Federation of College Clerical and Technical Personnel, whose leaders reneged on an earlier agreement to support the strike.

As in the previous 1975 strike, City Colleges Chancellor Oscar Shabat and his Board waged a sinister publicity campaign designed to marshal student opinion against the faculty. However, during registration week many of the 100,000 students in the City College system, the overwhelming bulk of whom

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## Mexico...

(continued from page 7)

butions. Attempts were also made to bring the students' messages to the factories through lunch-break visits by propaganda brigades, although the active hostility of the union bureaucrats made this difficult and the labor movement's quiescence frustrated many of the students.

Despite these attempts, the students were unable to break the grip of the PRI over the trade unions and the peasantry. Although the students raised slogans addressing issues as diverse as birth control, university reforms and the crimes of the riot police, their demands never really transcended the confines of traditional Mexican politics. Instead of trying to mobilize the laboring masses behind a program challenging the corruption, hunger and exploitation of Mexico under the PRI, the students limited themselves to the same frozen images of an abortive bourgeois revolution that PRI officialdom demagogically exploits.

The students consciously harked back to the tradition of radical adventurers from the 1910 revolution such as Francisco ("Pancho") Villa. In the face of police assaults on protest rallies, they raised as their central slogan "Dialogue! Dialogue!" To the peasants the students appealed after a political murder, "God doesn't want accidents like this to happen again" and "We will give the victims a Christian burial."

The leadership of the student movement was quite explicit in its desire to keep the protests within the bounds of reform politics. An order from the CNH specified:

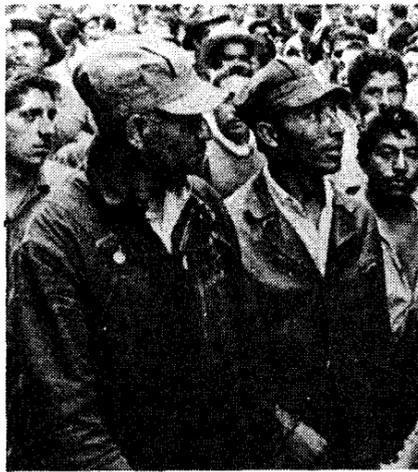
"Let's have no more vituperative slogans, no more insults, no more violence. Don't carry red flags. Don't carry placards of Che or Mao! From now on we're going to carry placards with the portraits of Hidalgo, Morelos, Zapata to shut them up. *Viva Zapata! Viva!*"

What was desperately lacking in the Mexico 1968 student struggles was a leadership with a broad revolutionary program that could mobilize the workers in a struggle for power and appeal to the impoverished peasant masses for support. The demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat inflation and unemployment; for independent trade unions and a workers party based on them; for land to the tiller; for workers militias for defense against the riot police; for a workers and peasants government—all point toward a revolutionary mobilization of the working masses against the Mexican bourgeois

state. Without these, the students' appeals to the peasantry, for example, could easily be seen as falling into the time-worn Mexican pattern of each contending bourgeois faction promising the "most radical" agrarian reform of all in order to curry some mass support. In the absence of such revolutionary demands the students could appear as simply privileged *arribistas* (social climbers) or at best a more radical version of PRIism.

### Fake-Lefts and the Rise of Guerrillaism

The intervention of the reformist Mexican Communist Party in the 1968 student struggles only served to rein-



Left, striking railway workers, 1958. Right, "Black power" protest at 1968 Olympics created indignation among liberals, unlike massacre of students a few weeks before.

force the CNH's attempt to generate a "moderate" image. Concerned primarily with proving to the PRI that they were a respectable opposition party, the PCM—strove to divert the student movement into a pressure campaign to fight for its legalization. Thus in response to the "outstretched hand" speech the PCM issued an August 2 declaration stating:

"The speech delivered yesterday in Guadalajara by President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz opens the road, if its orientation is translated into facts, for the solution of the sharp conflict of the last week."  
—reprinted in Ramon Ramirez, *El movimiento estudiantil de México*

The PCM (which in 1940 helped arrange the murder of Leon Trotsky) demanded only the "democratization of the present political system" by means of legislative action and an alliance with the "progressive, anti-feudal, anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie." After the October 2 massacre, the PCM helped guarantee the defeat of the students by actively sabotaging attempts to link the student protests to

and a half weeks into the strike. Bilandic even rewarded the strikebreaking CCSU by allowing students' representatives to sit in on negotiations.

Unfortunately, the CCCTU leadership also pursued the dead-end strategy of cajoling Bilandic to "honor" the bargaining table with his presence. Bilandic, who recently made clear his anti-labor stance with a threat to fire any fireman who walks out on strike, quickly forced through a contract which gave only token five percent wage increases to the teachers. This paltry settlement prompted some charges of "sellout" from angry CCCTU members.

The Spartacus Youth League condemns the CCSU's outrageous attempts to organize what one striking faculty member aptly termed "a student back-to-work movement." During the strike the SYL, in line with its long-standing record of principled strike support work, called on all students, campus workers and the entire Chicago labor movement to support the strikers against the Board's assault on teachers' working conditions and the quality of education. The SYL marched on the picket lines with signs demanding "Victory to the CCCTU Strike!" and "No Scabbing! Support the Teachers Strike!" ■

agitation for a teachers' strike and by leading a back-to-class movement.

While the PCM actively intervened to hold back the student struggles, the fake Trotskyists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) hailed the capitulation of the student leaders to the backward elements of the population as "smart tactics" and lined up behind the CNH. Commenting on the orders to fly only Mexican flags and carry placards of the heroes of the Mexican revolution, *Intercontinental Press* (7 October 1968) declared:

"Without getting involved in sterile polemics it can be justly said that this measure, despite its unpopularity among the students brought great tactical advantages...those who criti-

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Left, striking railway workers, 1958. Right, "Black power" protest at 1968 Olympics created indignation among liberals, unlike massacre of students a few weeks before.

size this measure as opportunist must take into consideration the enormous backwardness in the political consciousness of the Mexican people, their strong nationalism, and the tremendous campaign waged by the press against the symbols of 'communism,' which has unfortunately had an effect on the backward sectors of the population.

"By agreeing not to carry Che's picture or red flags, the students did something that any real vanguard must do—avoid getting too far ahead of the people's level of understanding in order not to run the risk of facing capitalist repression alone." [emphasis in original]

The quiescence of the Mexican labor movement was adduced as support for the theory of "student vanguardism," according to which the student population or youth as a social group are "naturally revolutionary" and are somehow capable of substituting for the central role of a revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the working class. This theory, which during the 1960's was the rage with Maoist and pseudo-Trotskyist opportunists worldwide, represented the abandonment of the basic Marxist position that only the working class can serve as the revolutionary motor force in modern capitalist society.

The SWP and its fraternal co-thinkers in the United Secretariat championed the formation of a "new mass vanguard" among the assorted Maoist, pseudo-Trotskyist and Guevarist tendencies present in the student protests. Such theories led to further demoralization of the students after the October massacre. The failure of the "students united" to effect any social change or even generate the new "vanguard" resulted in an abandonment of any mass revolutionary perspective and a turn toward individual terrorism.

In the aftermath of the massacre there was a move toward guerrillaism on the part of some of the student protesters—in some respects similar to the rise of the Weathermen in the American New Left. Two days after the October 2 shootings, a letter to Mexican newspapers announced that a "constitutional army of liberation" had been formed to wage guerrilla warfare against the "criminal government of President Díaz Ordaz."

In their turn to guerrillaism these students notwithstanding their courage and dedication—maintained the perspective of reforming the state to conform to the bourgeois constitution

of the Mexican revolution. The "army of liberation" saw its inspiration in the armies of Villa and the liberal landowner Venustiano Carranza. In effect the students had traded the petition for the rifle in a desperate effort to change the personnel administering the bourgeois state. The terrorism was the same old liberalism only now it came out of the barrel of a gun.

### For Workers Revolution in Mexico!

October 1968, following on the heels of the Paris May-June events, dealt a devastating blow to all theories promoting student vanguardism. Students, coming from all classes in society, are "united" in university classrooms for a brief period in order to be trained as administrators, specialists or technocrats for the ruling class. That the student population lacks the power to change society was demonstrated again by the relatively easy defeat and the subsequent disintegration of the Mexican student-protest movement of 1968. The thesis that the petty-bourgeois student population is inherently or necessarily "revolutionary" (a theory dropped by most of the revisionist Maoists and fake-Trotskyists with the drying-up of the New Left movements of the 1960's) was disproved once again not only by the clearly reformist orientation of the Mexican student movement, but also through the eventual co-optation of many student activists into the PRI bureaucracy.

To break the deadly stranglehold of the PRI and its leashed *charro* union bureaucracy, the Mexican proletariat requires a Trotskyist vanguard party. Such a party would attract militants, including student radicals, looking for a way out of the reformist and guerrillaist morass. Under the banner of the permanent revolution, leading behind it the poor of the villages and the shantytowns, the Mexican proletariat will smash the rule of the capitalist exploiters and assassins. In the final analysis, it will be the victorious proletarian revolution that will avenge the martyrs of Tlatelolco. ■

### Spartacus Youth League Directory

**Ann Arbor:** SYL, Box 89, Room 4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or call (313) 663-9012

**Bay Area:** SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 863-6963

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

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

**Cleveland:** SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 566-7806

**Detroit:** SYL, Box 20035, Ferndale, MI 48220, or call (313) 868-9095

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

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

**New York:** SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

**San Diego:** SYL, P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012

### Trotskyist League of Canada

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

**Vancouver:** Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 733-8848

**Winnipeg:** Box 3952 Station B, Winnipeg, Manitoba, or call (204) 589-7214

## Chicago Strike...

(continued from page 8)

are working-class and minority students, expressed verbal sympathy for the strikers and, in some cases, even joined the picket lines in solidarity with the teachers.

The Board was successful, however, in converting the City Colleges Student Union (CCSU), which includes student government representatives from all nine campuses, into the most visible cog in the strikebreaking propaganda machine. In July, according to CCSU Communications Officer Wayne Sallee, these administration flunkies accepted the Trustees' offer of an all-expense-paid weekend "retreat" in order to develop their "own" position on the expected strike.

CCSU strikebreaking efforts came to a head with a demonstration of 150 students calling for the intervention of "neutral" Chicago mayor Michael Bilandic into the strike negotiations. The student scabs got their wish fulfilled when Bilandic, Boss Daley's chosen successor, entered negotiations three

## Iran...

(continued from page 1)

Ayatollah Khomeini, the most prominent religious opponent of the shah. Then, a brutal SAVAK (the shah's dreaded secret police) attack on a Muslim gathering on November 22 set the stage for the January 9 revolt at the holy city of Qom. The accusation by a pro-government newspaper that Khomeini wrote pornography (!) provoked a protest meeting by theology students. Many of the students were gunned down by the shah's troops and the ensuing repression drove Ayatollah Shariatmadari, second to Khomeini in the Shi'ite Muslim hierarchy, into opposition to the shah for the first time.

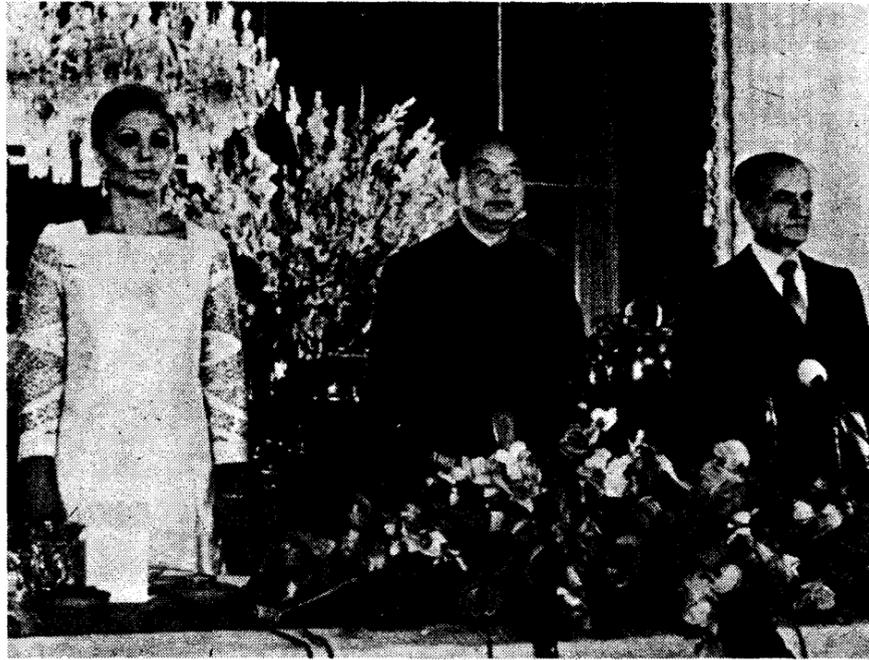
The demonstrations at Qom became the prototype for those in following months. While Islamic elements had always been present in anti-shah protests both in Iran and abroad, the protests after Qom were under the direct political leadership of the mullahs. As the protests grew, the chant "Long Live Khomeini" became increasingly heard in the streets. Khomeini's popularity and the support for his call for an "Islamic state" reflects the predominant role of religious elements who determine both the tenor and the demands of the protests. This was reflected in the U.S. as well, where contingents of Muslim students rapidly grew in size and assertiveness at Iranian demonstrations.

It was not only Khomeini's prestige as a long-time opponent of the shah (see accompanying article), reinforced by the vicious repression of revered religious leaders, that guaranteed Muslim opposition popular support. The rampant inflation of recent years particularly hit the traditional supporters of the Muslim hierarchy, the merchants and shopkeepers of the bazaar. More recently, the slump in the construction industry drove down the wages of the seasonal laborers—a backward section of the working class,

receptive to the reactionary moralizing of the Muslim preachers.

### The Face of the Islamic Social Order

The type of society that Khomeini, Shariatmadari and the mullahs seek was exemplified by the women demonstrators cloaked from head to toe in the *chador*, the combination of cloak and



Fotos de Setboun/Sipa Press

The shah gets the "China franchise": Hua Kuo-feng at Iranian state dinner.

veil prescribed by the *Sharia* (Islamic law). This symbolic form of Islam's seclusion of women reflects the fact that in the eyes of the *Sharia* a woman is viewed as half as much as a man in the matter of inheritance and other legal rights.

But this is only the formal codification of even more brutal actual practices. While Khomeini rails against women's "immorality" his followers chant "Death or *Hejab*" ("modesty," i.e., the veil). In Qom, where "hejab" is

required, women whose *chadors* are considered too short are stoned.

The rise of the Iranian Muslim opposition takes place in the context of renewed Islamic fervor and thus renewed seclusion and oppression of women throughout the Near and Middle East. The Iranian Muslims oppose even the cosmetic steps taken by the shah to give his blood-stained police state a "liberal" character. In fact, full democratic rights

for women can only be won by the overthrow of the shah on the one hand and a concerted struggle against the reactionary Islamic code on the other. It is truly scandalous that the Iranian left has remained completely silent on the Muslims' position on the question of women's oppression. By contrast the Bolsheviks undertook a long, bitter and often violent struggle against the Islamic law courts and the veil in Soviet Central Asia.

Khomeini declares "Our only basis of reference is the time of the Prophet and

of Imam Ali [the 7th century A.D.]" The true face of Khomeini's Islamic "utopia" is revealed by Qom. As one visitor reports:

"For a start, this community of 300,000 runs on 'religious time' an hour and a half behind Iran Standard time and not a clock in the city, except in government offices, shows any other hour. There are, of course, no bars or liquor shops. There are no cinemas. (One was built, but was almost immediately burned down by an angry mob.) Television is discouraged, as are swimming pools, music and musical instruments. The bookshops have little but religious literature...."

[London] *Guardian*, 26 June

In the eyes of the mullahs, the importation of beef slaughtered by the "infidel" is a far greater crime than the shah's suppression of workers' struggles. While their left apologists twist and turn to find political explanations for the Muslim attacks on stores and banks, the "Report of the Patriotic Muslim Students of Tabriz on the Tabriz Uprising" proclaims, "Several cafes and sandwich shops were also named among the damaged shops. All of such cafes and shops sold alcoholic beverages. The fact that alcohol is an intoxicating agent, and that the Quran has banned its consumption, justifies the above actions" (*Review of Iranian Political Economy and History*, June 1978).

The capitulation of some Iranian "Marxist-Leninists" to this sort of clerical fanaticism is best shown by the following passage from the September issue of *Resistance*, an Iranian student newspaper supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party:

"It is the absolute right of any peoples in the world to cherish and protect and uphold their cultural values AS THEIR OWN and to oppose in every way the imposition of alien cultural values on them. The destruction of pornographic movies theaters, liquor stores, Pepsi trucks and U.S. and European banks expresses this: The absolute opposition of our people to being subjected to vulgar movies, alcohol, carbonated

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## Who is Ayatollah Khomeini?

As mass protests continue to rock the shah's rule in Iran, the question of the nature of the opposition to the Peacock Throne takes on ever greater importance. While the shah's paid propagandists rail against the unholy "Islamic-Marxist" alliance, newspaper accounts throughout the world have focused in on the overriding influence of the Islamic clergy, the *ulema*, over the mass protests. Among the triumvirate currently occupying the position of *marja* (spiritual leader), the most influential and controversial figure is Ayatollah Khomeini, who guides his faithful from exile in Iraq.

An examination of the evolution and policies of this religious-based opposition reveals the fundamentally reactionary nature of these self-styled "clerical revolutionaries" and underscores the importance of the position uniquely held by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League: Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!

Khomeini claims that his opposition to the shah is firmly grounded in "Islamic order" which, as spelled out in the Koran, does not tolerate the "dictatorial" rule of the monarch. But when a CIA-engineered coup returned the present shah to power in 1953, he was more than tolerated by the top Muslim leadership. Hamid Algar, an American pro-Muslim academic who has written a scholarly apologia for Khomeini, unabashedly points this out:

"The first few years after 1953... witnessed no significant *ulama* opposition to the regime. It was widely felt that in the last days of Mussadiq's regime a genuine communist threat had existed, which was averted by the Shah's return. Burujirdi, in his capacity of sole *marja*, communicated an attitude of quietism to his vast following, and indeed on

occasion went beyond such neutrality to certain demonstrations of friendliness to the regime: royal visits to his residence were not repelled."

"The Oppositional Role of the *Ulama* in Twentieth-Century Iran"

There is little documented on Khomeini during the first decade after the 1953 coup. His first public opposition to the shah came in response to the various paper-reforms regarding the status of women and land in 1963—the first steps of the shah's so-called "White Revolution." Khomeini's active opposition to the regime was not prompted by the murderous autocracy but by limited attempts to westernize Iran. When Khomeini rails against the "poisonous culture of imperialism," he is referring to the secularization of modern society. Progress, as it is defined by the *ulema*, is counterposed to anything smacking of post-seventh-century developments—the ultimate goal being a reversion to life as it existed at the time of the prophet.

In response to his opposition, the shah sent troops to silence Khomeini, whose political use of the pulpit had become irksome to the regime. In an attack on his *madras* (religious school) a number of Khomeini's students were killed and he himself was jailed and later escorted by the shah's police to exile in Turkey. In October 1965 he moved to Iraq, a more hospitable spot for an exiled *ayatollah*. Settling in among the shrines of the holy city of Najaf, Khomeini had a ready-made channel of communications back to his followers in the form of the many pilgrims who regularly make the trip from Iran to the shrines.

Algar claims that Khomeini could not possibly have opposed the minimal land

reform, as he "had no holdings in Iran which might be endangered by its application." But, as Algar points out, the mosque had two major sources of revenue, both of which stood to be curtailed by the reform: the *waqf* (the vast religious endowments) and the religious taxes extracted from the merchants and landowners, the *ulema*'s constituency.

In an interview with *Le Monde* (6 May), Khomeini comments on the charges that Islam is anti-woman:

"As for woman, Islam has never opposed her liberty. On the contrary, it has always been against the concept of woman as object and has restored her dignity to her.... But the regime of the Shah is attempting to prevent women from exercising their liberty by plunging them into immorality.... We wish to liberate women from the corruption that is menacing them."

"Immorality" is a convenient phrase for clericalists. Translated into the deeds of Khomeini's followers this means attacks on bars, nightclubs, movie theaters, etc. The "dignity" women enjoy under Islam includes being shrouded head-to-toe in the *chador* (the long veil), leashed to father and husband, and denied higher education and the vote. Khomeini's diplomatic phrases in exile are succinctly summed up in the street chants of his supporters in Iran: "Death or the Veil."

In order to establish their "democratic" credentials, Khomeini and the *mullahs* repeatedly cite their allegiance to the 1906 Iranian Constitution. The key proviso of this constitution, however, is one which would give a presiding committee of five *mullahs* effective veto power over all proposed legislation—thereby combatting "non-Islamic" influence. Thus, for example,

while Khomeini leaves open the possibility of giving communists free speech if he were to rule Iran, his number two (Ayatollah Shariatmadari) points out that under the provisions of the Constitution nothing could be done contrary to the laws of Shi'ite Islam and "that takes care of" the problem.

For the Iranian Stalinists and other leftists who hail the religious opposition to the shah as "progressive," Khomeini's *Le Monde* interview sets the record straight:

"The Islamic concept, based on the unity of God, is the antithesis of Marxism. The expression 'Islamic Marxist' is an absurdity...."

"I have always stressed in my proclamations that the Muslim people must remain homogeneous in their struggle and shun any organized collaboration with communist elements...."

"We will not collaborate with Marxists, even in order to overthrow the Shah. I have given specific instructions to my followers not to do this. We are opposed to their ideology and we know that they always stab us in the back. If they come to power, they would establish a dictatorial regime contrary to the spirit of Islam."

Moreover, the *mullahs* are unanimous in their rabid opposition to any talk of legalizing the pro-Moscow Tudeh party.

Khomeini is widely touted as being the inspiration for the "democratic revolution" against the shah. But far from being a beacon of liberation for the Iranian masses, he is the chief mouthpiece for an obscurantist ideology which seeks to plunge Iranian society into the pre-modern era, as codified in the Koran. As Marxists we are irreconcilably opposed to the shah's dictatorship. But the anti-communist, fundamentalist *mullahs* are only the harbinger of further reaction. ■

chemicals, and international financial gambling at the expense of our entire way of life."

### The Popular Front with the Veil

Why does the Iranian left speak of the "progressive clergy" whose "anti-imperialist" acts strike first and foremost at what is condemned by the Koran? It is not simply that the clerical reactionaries draw on the masses' hatred of the oppression and exploitation of Iranian capitalism, and that the Iranian leftists are opportunistically tailing Khomeini's movement. The bloc with the medievalists is a particularly bizarre example of the Stalinist strategy of "anti-imperialist unity."

After decades of upholding the myth of the "progressive national bourgeoisie" in the form of Mossadeq, the Iranian left is now prepared to support any attempt to overthrow the shah, for whatever reason, as "progressive." This claim is buttressed by Khomeini, et. al.'s pose as defenders of "democracy." But what sort of democracy is it in which all laws will be subject to the scrutiny of five mullahs (as codified in the 1906-7 Constitution) to ensure its conformity to Islamic law? This call for a theocracy is counterposed to the democratic demand for a sovereign, secular constituent assembly based on universal suffrage—including female suffrage.

Whenever mass struggles for democratic rights have threatened their social power the mullahs and ayatollahs have hastily gone over to the other side of the barricades. In 1906-1908 the *ulema* (religious hierarchy) abandoned the struggle for a constitution en masse for fear that the constitution, which guaranteed them veto power over the parliament's decisions, might nevertheless lead to a separation of church and state. In the 1940's they sided with the monarchy against the massive workers struggles. In the 1950's even the most "anti-imperialist" of the preachers, Kashani, returned to the side of the shah because Mossadeq proved unable to suppress the "Communist threat."

The basic political aim of the *ulema* is the reimposition of fundamentalist Islamic law on the Iranian masses. The mullahs currently cover their profoundly reactionary intentions under a veil of "democratic" anti-shah rhetoric. But one has only to look to the recent history of Iran's eastern neighbor Pakistan to find that the natural political allies of the Islamic clergy are not the worker and peasant masses but the imperialist-trained army officers. The law of the Koran was restored to Pakistan not by democratic struggle but by a right-wing military coup headed by General Zia.

The most graphic demonstration of the willingness of the Muslim hierarchy to support the rule of the military against the left and workers movement was the support given by the "progressive" Islamic movement to the Suharto coup in Indonesia in 1965. The Indonesian *ulema* at that time declared a *mujahid* (holy war) against the Communists, who were slaughtered by the tens of thousands by the rampaging army and Islamic fanatics. In all,

perhaps half a million leftists, workers and peasants were butchered with the full approval of the *ulema*.

### For Workers Revolution—Not Class Collaboration!

The precondition for the Indonesian tragedy was the treachery of the Communist Party (PKI) leadership which held back the mobilization of the Indonesian workers and peasants in the name of an alliance with the "anti-imperialist" general Sukharno. As with their Iranian counterparts today, the PKI leadership tailed after the *ulema*. The workers were not organized into armed militias—instead they were sent off in labor detachments to repair mosques!

Similar class collaboration has led to disaster after disaster for the Iranian proletariat. In the 1940's the Stalinist Tudeh party betrayed the massive workers struggles—mass strikes, factory occupations and the organization of workers militias—for the sake of a few cabinet posts and the promise of a few diplomatic concessions to the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy (see "Down with Butcher Shah!" *Young Spartacus* No. 60, December 1977/January 1978).

In 1953 the Iranian workers and peasants were dealt an even more crushing blow. The Tudeh party, again serving the interests of Soviet diplomacy, held aloof from the mass struggle to nationalize the British oil companies. This struggle instead swept the bourgeois nationalist Mossadeq to power. Mossadeq, although he carried out the nationalizations, is no example of an anti-imperialist "national bourgeoisie." He not only sought a deal with the U.S. but turned the army against mass demonstrations calling for a republic.

Neither Mossadeq, who feared the masses more than the shah, nor the reformist Tudeh were prepared to offer effective resistance to the CIA-planned coup which returned the shah to power. In the aftermath of the coup, the ranks of the Tudeh party were decimated by imprisonment and execution.

Stalinism rendered even more services to the shah. The USSR sold arms to Iran and extradited Tudeh exiles back to the country to be executed. The Peking Stalinists, in their turn, concluded an even more scandalous political bloc with the shah. Even as the regime's troops shot down demonstrators in the streets of Teheran, Hua Kuo-feng came to offer his respects to the "Light of the Aryans."

Those who seek to follow the road of Lenin must break with the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" and with its companion theory of class collaboration. Revolutionary Marxists in Iran must organize a revolutionary alternative to the *ulema*'s fanatical assault on the bloody Pahlavi dictatorship. They must call for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, for the smashing of SAVAK and the punishment of its sadistic torturers by popular tribunals.

Genuine Leninist/Trotskyists would fight for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities of Iran, and for a genuine agrarian revolution to grant land to the tiller, in opposition to the shah's phony "White Revolution." As a tribune of the people a proletarian vanguard party must also fight women's oppression, against both the shah and the mullahs. Instead of the pious moralizing of the mullahs about the "immoral" rich, Bolsheviks would fight for not only the expropriation of the ill-gotten wealth of the Pahlavis, but the expropriation of industry. But only a workers and peasants government based on soviets can ensure the victory of this program.

Iranian leftists must beware, Khomeini and the reactionary *ulemas* are no less the sworn enemy of the toiling masses than is the shah. For workers revolution against the shah! ■

## Biko...

(continued from page 5)

more staunch a defender of British and U.S. investments in Kenya.

### Biko and "Human Rights"

Biko accepted Carter's anti-Soviet "human-rights" campaign as good coin, pleading only that Carter act on his promises. He told Woods that "If we are to have a peaceful solution here the Andy Youngs must stop talking and start really getting tough with Vorster—sanctions, blockades if necessary, the lot." He even claimed that "it would be a tremendous psychological boost for the blacks in this country if the USA downgraded its diplomatic presence from the ambassadorial level to the consular level."

The refusal of successive South African governments to make any concessions to the tiny black middle class which could act as a buffer between the white minority and the black masses has been condemned by the West as an unnecessarily dangerous strategy. But U.S. imperialism has clearly shown that it will not break with its South African ally, while American liberals prefer the liberal apartheid measures of the Oppenheims to the hard-line stand of the Voerwards and Vorsters.

The events of the past few months have demonstrated once again the true purpose of Carter's "human rights" bombast. After the invasion of Zaire's Shaba province by Katangan rebels in May, Carter directed his preaching solely against the concocted Cuban role in the invasion. All mention of apartheid's crimes vanished in a welter of anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet tirades. A relieved Vorster was then able to inquire as to whether his troops could participate in the anti-"Communist" crusade by joining the "all-African" defense force stationed in Kolwezi.

There is no contradiction between Carter's "human rights" demagoguery and U.S. support to South Africa and Iran. Carter is interested in the "human rights" primarily of those within the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc who are friends of Wall Street and the Pentagon—or the tsar! Carter merely seizes upon the genuine crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracies to justify the ominous build-up of the American military machine. The "human rights" administration from which Biko sought aid is in fact the patron of the white-supremacist dictatorship that killed him. In this sense, Woods' quixotic mission to "Justice" Minister Kruger to argue that Biko should not be imprisoned can be seen as a rehearsal to his flight to the U.S. to argue that imperialism should abandon its profits and a strategic ally in the name of a "moral commitment" to attack apartheid.

### Biko's "Vanguard"

What emerges from Woods' book—Woods himself found Biko overly "cynical" in his disappointment over Carter's lack of action—is that Biko had only vague prophesies of a future revolt by the African masses as an alternative to this reliance on the hypocritical sermons of U.S. imperialism's overlord. In an interview with Bernard Zylstra of the Canadian Institute for Christian Studies, Biko dismissed the elementary democratic demand for a constituent assembly based on one man, one vote. In typically petty-bourgeois elitist fashion, Biko denies the value of universal suffrage for blacks at present since they "are excluded from many of the essential disciplines needed for the formation of a vanguard: the natural sciences, engineering, and many other areas." Biko was concerned with the development of a black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie as a "vanguard" rather than the political mobilization of the black proletariat and other oppressed strata in a struggle to break the chains of apartheid.

Biko rejects precisely what sets South

Africa apart from the black African states as they emerged from colonialism: a powerful proletariat. Freed from the fetters of apartheid, a proletarian struggle to establish a black-centered workers and peasants government in South Africa could set the basis for ripping apart neo-colonialism throughout Africa. The black South African proletariat is key to freeing the oppressed masses of Africa from poverty, tribalism and incessant border wars—in short, from the legacy of colonial/imperialist subjugation.

### Avenge Stephen Biko!

Stephen Biko died a martyr of the black struggles against apartheid. His grisly death laid bare the viciousness of white-supremacist rule, as well as its fundamental unreformability. Only 30 when he died, Biko was an acknowledged leader of the smoldering student protests in the black townships. While Biko's political strategy represented a dead end on the road to proletarian revolution, his murder was a blow to all anti-apartheid fighters. When news of his death reached the U.S., it was the Spartacus Youth League which initiated demonstrations across the country around the slogan "Avenge Stephen Biko!"—a call to protest which was ignored by the "respectable" divestment movement (see "Protests Hit Murder of Steven Biko," *Young Spartacus* No. 58, October 1977).

Under the influence of Woods, Biko is today being championed by the same forces who only a year ago took no part in the protests of his death. But just as with Woods' biography, the purpose of the renewed interest in Biko is to lead opponents of white supremacy onto the bandwagon of the democratic imperialists of the U.S.—the main enemy of all the oppressed the world over. Woods ends his book with an eloquent appeal:

"Help to finish the work of Steve Biko. Help to smash the remaining links of the chains he broke, and let the sound of this work echo around the world so that chains may be broken wherever they hold in bondage the bodies and minds of men."

That task, however, awaits the uprising of the South African black proletariat—the force which will bring true justice to the apartheid murderers. ■

## "Life"...

(continued from page 2)

that of the Hassidic Jews and blacks in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn.

At bottom, the pervasive racism of American society and the poverty and misery wrought by the capitalist economic order are incapable of providing a real "deterrent" to the vicious cycle of crime and punishment: jobs, social welfare, quality education and decent housing. By its own standards the capitalist system stands condemned. What sort of society generates so many hard-core adolescent criminals, so many "social monsters" for whom crime is a way of life, and so much urban fear and terror that its "responsible representatives" debate not the rehabilitation of criminals but whether at the age of 13 to offer them "life" or death.

It is almost ironic that disenfranchised 13-year-olds, without the legal right to vote, have jury trials or even engage in sexual activity, are now nonetheless in possession of the "right" to suffer any punitive measure the bourgeois state has to offer. In an 1853 article for the *New York Daily Tribune*, Marx wrote the following about the death penalty, something which is every bit as valid today:

"...is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting upon an alteration of the system that breeds these crimes, instead of glorifying the hangman who executes a lot of criminals to make room only for the supply of new ones?"

## Young Spartacus

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# Young Spartacus

## Protests Hit Sam Huntington

# Vietnam War Criminal Returns to Harvard

BOSTON, September 27—Samuel P. Huntington, one of the principal strategists and apologists for the vicious air war which devastated the countryside of Vietnam, is returning to Harvard this semester. After two years of service with Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, Huntington is returning to wrap himself in the robes of respectable academia, to lecture twice a week on governmental theory. But this facade must not obscure the ugly reality. Samuel Huntington is complicit in mass murder—he is a war criminal.

The U.S. air war against Indochina ranks as one of this century's most horrible atrocities. Millions of tons of explosives were rained upon the villages in Vietnam in order to terrorize into submission a people who had been fighting imperialism and colonialism for decades. With calculated savagery, the U.S. unleashed weapons designed solely for their ability to maim, as carcinogenic, fetus-deforming chemical defoliants blanketed half of Vietnam's arable land. Prominent among the academic lackies who braintrusted these genocidal policies was Sam Huntington.

Unfortunately for this war criminal, his Harvard homecoming was not as uneventful as he might have liked. On September 26, a demonstration was staged outside Huntington's class by an ad hoc committee initiated by the Spartacus Youth League to protest his return to academia. While the demonstration was small, having been boycotted by the Harvard divestment "left," the campaign against Huntington certainly had its impact. The *Harvard Crimson* ran an editorial by two supporters of the SYL documenting Huntington's crimes. And the serenity of the morning air in Harvard Yard was certainly shattered by the loud chants of the demonstrators charging Huntington with complicity in mass murder.

### Huntington's "Credentials"

In the late 1960's, Huntington headed the Council on Vietnamese Studies of the South East Asia Development Advisory Group, a committee which played an important role in the development of State Department policy. While much of the work of this committee was cloaked in secrecy, there is strong evidence of its ominous nature. At the May 1969 meeting, for example, Huntington presented a paper entitled "Getting Ready for Political Competition in Vietnam." In this document he advocated electoral manipulation, control of the media and "inducements and coercions."

Huntington's preferred strategy for "political competition" was much more direct. In the July 1968 issue of *Foreign Affairs* he wrote:

"If the 'direct application of mechanical and conventional power' takes place on such a massive scale as to produce a massive migration from countryside to city, the basic assumptions underlying the Maoist doctrine of revolutionary warfare no longer operate....

"In an absent-minded way the United States may well have stumbled upon the

answer to 'wars of national liberation.' The effective response lies neither in the quest for conventional military victory nor in the esoteric doctrines of counter-insurgency warfare. It is instead forced-draft urbanization and modernization which rapidly bring the country in question out of the phase in which a rural revolutionary movement can hope to generate sufficient strength to come to power."

The mere authorship of these

unspeakable atrocities for which he bears responsibility.

### The "Mad Dog" of "Human Rights"

For the past two years, Huntington has been director of national security planning in the Carter administration, essentially functioning as Zbigniew Brzezinski's chief assistant. The key role of this assistant in the White House



Protesters greet Huntington's return to Harvard, September 26.

sentences indicts Huntington as a cold-blooded vulture. For what Huntington advocated with such antiseptic pedantry was nothing less than the *elimination* of the rural base of the National Liberation Front by reducing the Vietnamese countryside to corpses, embers and rubble. What Huntington calls "urbanization and modernization" had, in reality, the effect of driving terrified millions into the cities, swelling Saigon's population tenfold and creating a class of homeless and urban poor by pounding the villages with napalm and fragmentation bombs. "Urbanization and modernization" meant the destruction of the fabric of Vietnamese life—begging, prostitution, starvation and disease became the norms of existence.

The sickening apologies in bourgeois journals were only the starting point of Huntington's role in this effort. He did not merely comment on U.S. policy; he helped formulate it. Not only did he serve as chairman of the Council on Vietnam of the South East Asia Development Advisory Group, but he acted as a consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the U.S. Air Force and the Institute for Defense Analysis. Huntington is clearly not just another right-wing academic who supported the war. He is an important member of the imperialist braintrust and a war criminal. The SYL opposes Huntington's appointment not primarily because of his ideas, but for the

dramatically exposes the lie contained in Carter's "human rights" campaign. For two years, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League have maintained that the Carter crusade is but an attempt to refurbish the moral authority of U.S. imperialism in order to build popular support for a renewed aggressive foreign policy. Both in an immediate and ultimate sense the central targets of this effort are those countries in which capitalism has been overthrown, most importantly the Soviet Union. This campaign represents an ominous threat to the world's working masses. For U.S. imperialism, the major prop of virtually every reactionary tyrant on the face of the earth, will bring "human rights" to the world the way LBJ and Nixon brought "democracy" to Vietnam.

Huntington's role in the Carter administration is testimony to the sinister motives at the base of the "human rights" campaign. For in Huntington we see the genocidal maniac turned "human rights" advocate. Huntington is so strident in his anti-communism that within the administration he was reportedly known as "Mad Dog." It was Huntington who drafted the main Carter strategic assessment last year, Presidential Review Memorandum-10, which heralded the passing of "détente" and mandated a new generation of weapons of destruction.

Huntington's return to the Harvard faculty exposes the hypocrisy behind the

ruckus raised by university president Derek Bok concerning covert CIA recruitment on campus last spring. The administration's insistence that all CIA recruiters on campus reveal themselves to university officials is but a feeble attempt to cover Harvard's obscene complicity with the intelligence agencies with a veil of virginal innocence. Harvard's hypocrisy is so monumental as to be laughable: this is the university that provides the brains that plan CIA "dirty tricks" from alumnus John F. Kennedy to alumnus and professor Henry Kissinger. Harvard graduates, officials and faculty members have masterminded U.S. imperialism's military engagements from the Bay of Pigs to the terror bombings in Vietnam. Bok's only apparent request is that imperialism's hitmen inform him of their activities on campus.

### Protest Huntington!

A protest directed against the return of a faculty member is almost certain to raise the issue of academic freedom. But academic freedom is not the point. We do not single out Huntington for his thoughts, but rather for his deeds. While it is certainly true that such universities as Harvard have no shortage of intellectual mercenaries, the Huntingtons and Kissingers are special cases. Huntington's central role in the murder and oppression of millions should provoke outrage and protest at Harvard.

It is significant that the sizable divestment movement on campus refused to participate in the SYL-initiated campaign. More concerned with salving their consciences than actively opposing the representatives and activities of imperialism, these divestment radicals prefer to spend their energies pleading with the Harvard Corporation to develop a more moral investment policy. Those in the divestment movement who tail the "human rights" crusade may have trouble discerning whether this "Mad Dog" cold-warrior is friend or foe.

Many of today's students were quite young during the ravaging of Vietnam and may not even recall the horrible destruction and the nightly body counts that passed across the television screen on the evening news. For them, the liberal assumptions inherent in the demands of the divestment movement are not so naturally repugnant as they might have been to the late 1960's antiwar activist. Campaigns like that initiated by the SYL against Huntington will help to bring about a renewed awareness of imperialism's crimes and the complicity of the bourgeois universities to a new generation of students. It is the task of a communist youth organization to bring the understanding to the campuses that the main reactionary power in the world is the American bourgeoisie. And one way of doing that is to expose the professors-turned-executors of imperialist reaction and to demand that they not be allowed to peacefully don the robes of academic respectability. ■