The 1917 October Revolution was the shaping event of our century. The seizure of state power 60 years ago by the revolutionary Russian proletariat, led by its Bolshevik vanguard, was a monumental advance toward world socialism. Even today—decades after the usurpation of political power in the USSR by the Stalinist bureaucratic caste whose counterrevolutionary betrayals block the international extension of the revolution and jeopardize this historic gain—all purported communists must seek to clothe themselves in the revolutionary mantle of October 1917.

Today the pro-Moscow Stalinists commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution with nauseating appeals for "peaceful coexistence"; Maoists wave red flags while demonstrating for NATO as the bulwark against "Soviet social-imperialism"; centrists salute Lenin while ignoring his life-long struggle for an international proletarian vanguard as the road to new Octobers; and the now-reformist SWP sloughs off defense of the USSR as an impediment to its social-democratic appetites. Only the international Spartacist tendency—the legitimate political continuators of Lenin's Bolsheviks and of Trotsky's Fourth International—stands solidly on the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution, combined with the struggle for political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states to establish the proletarian democracy of soviet rule.

Today, as Jimmy Carter beats the drums for an anti-'Soviet mobilization in the name of "human rights," the mood of the moment. The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality.

It was said once of a book—I think it was Whitman's "Leaves of Grass"—"who touches this book, touches a man." In the same sense it can also be said, "Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution." Therefore, be serious about it. Don't play with it. The October revolution put socialism on the order of the day throughout the world. It revived and shaped and developed the revolutionary labor movement of the world out of the semiblack.
We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution...
(continued from page 1)

bloody chaos of the war. The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers' revolution is to be made. It revealed in life the role of the party. It showed in life what kind of a party the workers must have. By its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production.

A Sharp Dividing Line

The question of the Russian revolution and the Soviet state which is its creation has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitors to the pressure of the bourgeois world the Mensheviks, Social Democrats, Anarchists and Syndicalists, Centrists, Stalinists.

The main source of division in our own ranks for the past ten years, since the Fourth International tendency took organized form on the international field, has been the Russian question. Our tendency, being a genuine, that is, orthodox, Marxist tendency from A to Z, has always proceeded on the Russian question from theoretical premises to political conclusions for action. Of course, it is only when political conclusions diverge, that does not at all signify that we are indifferent to theoretical premises. He is a very poor Marxist better say, no Marxist at all, who takes a careless or tolerant attitude toward theoretical premises. The political conclusions of Marxists proceed from theoretical analyses and are constantly checked and regulated by them. That is the only way to assure a firm and consistent policy.

To be sure, we do not decline cooperation with people who agree with our political conclusions from different premises. For example, the Bolshevists were not deterred by the fact that the left S.R.s were inconsistent. As Trotsky remarked in this connection: "You wait till everything is right in everybody's head there will never be any successful revolutions in this world" (or words to that effect). Just the same, for our part we want everything right in our own heads. We have no reason whatever to slur over theoretical formulas, which are expressed in "terminology." As Trotsky says, in theoretical matters "we must keep our house clean.

Our position on the Russian question is programmatic. In brief: The theoretical analysis—a degenerated Workers' State. The political conclusion—unconditional defense against external attack of imperialists or internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

The Importance of Theory

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Lenin speaking in Red Square, 1919.

The "Russian Question" remains an acid test for Leninists. The context for the speech of James P. Cannon, left, was set by the imminent World War II. In particular, following the September 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact, a sanctimonious social-chauvinist clamor arose for a holy war by the imperialist "democracies" against Stalinism. This pressure found a response even within the ranks of the American Trotskyists, as petty-bourgeois elements cast around for a new "theory" of the USSR's class nature to justify abandoning the Trotskyist program.

The ferment over the "Russian Question" was to lead to a deep split in the party. The forces around Max Shachtman indignantly denied that their abandonment of Soviet defense signaled their decisive break from Bolshevism, but Trotsky and Cannon understood that the Shachtmanites were heading toward capitulation to their own bourgeoisie.

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Between them it is not simply a case of two opinions on the Russian question, but rather of two camps. All those who in the past rejected the conclusions of the Fourth International and broke with our movement on that account, have almost invariably fallen into the service of the imperialists, through Stalinism, social and liberal democracy, or passivity, a form of service. The standpoint of the world bourgeoisie is a class standpoint. They proceed, as we do, from fundamental class considerations. They want to maintain world capitalism. This determines their fundamental antagonism to the U.S.S.R. They appreciate the reactionary work of Stalin, but consider it incomplete, insofar as he has not restored capitalist private property. Their fundamental attitude determines an inevitable attempt at the start of the war, during it, to attack Russia, overthrow the nationalized economy, restore a capitalist regime, smash the every stage. We have discussed it and taken our position anew at every stage of its progressive development and its degeneration. And, what is most important, we have always stood on our conclusions.

The Decisive Criterion

The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers’ state. As a result of the backwardness and poverty of the country and the delay of the world revolution, a conservative bureaucracy emerged and triumphed, destroyed the party and bureaucratized the economy. However, this same bureaucracy still operates on the basis of the nationalized property established by the revolution. That is the decisive criterion for our evaluation of the question. If we see the Soviet Union for what it really is, a gigantic labor organization which has conquered one-sixth of the earth’s surface, we will not be so ready to abandon it because of our hatred of the crimes and abominations of the bureaucracy. Do we turn our backs on a trade union because falls into the control of bureaucrats and traitors? Ultra-leftists have frequently made this error, but always with bad results, sometimes with reactionary consequences.

We recall the case of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers Union here in New York. The bureaucracy of this union was about as vile a gang of labor leaders of the capitalist class as could be found. In the struggle against the influence of the Communist Party in the days of its Third Period frenzy, labeled the union—not merely its treacherous bureaucracy—as a “company union.” But this same “company union,” under the pressure of the workers in its ranks and the increasing intensity of class struggle, was forced to call a strike to defend itself against the “imperialist” attack of the bosses. Workmen had gathered their heads, supported (“defended”) the strike against the bosses. But the Stalinists, trapped by their own involvement in the defense of the union against the bosses and other actions which are aimed against the workers.

The struggle of Great Mine Workers of America is a great labor organization which we all support. But it is headed by a thoroughly scoundrel and agent of the master class who also differs from Stalin only in the degree of power and opportunity. In my own personal experience some years ago, I took part in a struggle to prevent us from discriminating between actions of the bureaucracy which involve a defense of the union against the bosses and other actions which are aimed against the workers.

The mighty power of the October revolution is shown by the vitality of its conquests. The nationalized property and the trade union, not under all the difficulties and pressures of the capitalist encirclement and all the blunders our reactionary bureaucracy at home. In the Soviet Union, despite the monstrous mismanagement of the bureaucracy, we saw a real revolutionary development of the productive forces—and in a backward country at that—while the capitalist economy declined. Conclusion: Nationalized and planned economy, made possible by a revolution that crushed the capitalists and landlords, is infinitely superior, more progressive. It shows the way forward. Don’t give it up before it is lost! Cling to it and defend it!

The Class Forces

On the Russian question there are only two really independent forces in the world. Two forces who think about the working class in independent terms, base themselves, their thoughts, their analyses and their conclusions, on the fundamental class considerations. Those two independent forces are:

1. The conscious vanguard of the workers, the state, the statesmen of both democratic and fascist imperialism.
2. The conscious vanguard of the world proletariat.
The Supreme Court last month decided on an open mandate: in refusing to hear the cases of two teachers, James Gaylord of Washington state and John Gish of New Jersey, whose privacy was denied, the Court gave the green light to every local Anita Bryant to hound homosexuals out of classrooms, to harass them, and to block the mounting reactionary trend.

Government Out of the Bedroom!

Local school boards and the state have no business snooping about in anyone's private sex life, the personal relations of consenting individuals. A dangerous precedent has been set in these two cases whereby, by trumping desegregation, unemployment benefits for striking workers and abortions for selected women, the Court has extended its job to the demand for moral behavior in the streets and the family. The constitutional right to privacy, which the courts have granted to persons in the bedroom and the toilet, is not limited to criminals; after all, he who has never committed illegal acts; after all, he who has never denied it. As Gaylord explained to the Justices, there was no reason why his private life, which the courts have declared his own, should not be closed to the prying eyes of those who want to see his private bedroom as a sacred place. As Gaylord explained, there had already made its position perfectly clear, saying the right of privacy does not apply to homosexuals, in the 1960's.

The Witchhunt is On

The Supreme Court's refusal to hear the Gaylord and Gish cases fuels the fires of anti-homosexual hysteria ignited by Anita Bryant's obscene campaign to rescind the Dade County, Florida ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals. California now has its own version of the Anti-Baykit ballot in the June 1978 elections, working to collect the 312,404 signatures necessary to put the measure on the ballot in the June 1978 elections, when California voters would be given the opportunity to defend its members victimized for homosexual activity. California's Proposition 6, sponsored by Senator John Briggs, is running for governor on a narrow-minded campaign to fire him. The AFT's narrow racist pro-Bakke campaign to roll back the paltry educational opportunities opened up to blacks by special admissions programs. The AFT's narrow racism must be put to the test of a class for Homosexuals campaign.

“Community standards” the courts have applied only to “marriage, home or family life. It is enough for upholding the “normal” family to establish that the conduct is likely to end in a contribution to moral delinquency. The only contribution to the bourgeois courts and legislatures that various rights activists, foolishly look for salvation, even as the courts systematically reverse the token gains of the 1960's.

Behind this hypocritical concern for children is nothing but the attempt to enslave family-centered bourgeois morality, rooting out all “deviants” and challenges. Hailing the family as the “natural unit” of society, the reactionary obscurantists would also legislate prosecution as the “natural” (i.e., the only permissible) purpose of sex if they could get away with it. The terrible reality is that under capitalism children are daily battered to a pulp in families where parents are frustrated beyond reason. The oppression of women and children in the nuclear family will continue until socialist society has created the material basis for its replacement. Yet the Stalinists sing the praises of the “proletarian family,” and thus fail in line with the reactionary bigotry which is the natural by-product of the backward social attitudes fostered by capitalist society.

The Maoris of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which marched side-by-side with the anti-busing racists in Boston, now take up the logic of the viciously anti-homosexual, anti-labor Briggs campaign.

Anti-Anita Bryant demonstration in New York City last June.

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WORKERS VANGUARD
Czech Bureaucracy Jails Charter 77 Leaders

Dissidents Appeal to Carter’s Anti-Soviet “Human Rights” Crusade

On October 18 a Prague court found four Czechoslovaks guilty of charges of "subversion against the state." Sentences of three- and-one-half and three years' imprisonment each were handed down to former theater director Ota Ornest and journalist Jiří Lederer on charges of maintaining "conspiratorial links" with foreign diplomats and agents of France and Italy. Receiving sentences of 17 and 14 months respectively, although suspended for three years, were writer and director František Pavlíček and playwright Vaclav Havel. Pavlíček was deemed to have "slandered the state" in articles published abroad, while Havel was found guilty of trying to smuggle out of the country the banned memoirs of a former minister of Czechoslovakia. Jails Charter 77 Leaders

The trial of the four, all prominent supporters of Dubcek during the 1968 "Prague Spring," was the biggest political trial held in Czechoslovakia in the last five years. Clearly it was one more attempt by the Husak regime, installed in power by Russian bayonets following the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, to crack down on the Charter 77 group. Lederer, Pavlíček and Havel were all signatories of its original manifesto, and Havel had been designated as one of three official spokesmen for the Charter 77 group.

The charter was issued on January 1 of this year. Signed by some 257 Czechoslovaks, it presented the plight of the Charter 77 movement. -New York Times, 13 January 1977

The reaction of the Husak regime was abrupt and harsh. There was no narrow stratum of disaffected intelligentsia such as composed the Prague group. The list of signatories of Charter 77 was studied with great care by the imperialist signatories of the Helsinki accord to pressure Husak and his Soviet mentors to live up to the "human rights" provisions of that treaty. The strategy of the Czechoslovak charterists in this regard is no different from that of the Soviet pro-imperialist dissidents represented by physi­cists Sakharov and Orlov.

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The Charter 77 manifesto was immediately and hysterically denounced by government authorities as "written on the command of anti-communist and Zionist centers and then published by the most reactionary mass media in the West" (Guardian [London], 8 January 1977). The Communist Party's Party daily Rude Pravo warned, "Those who lie on the rails to stop the train of history... must expect to get their legs cut off. A few days later the same mouthpiece for the bureaucracy blustered: "A few months ago, Czechoslovak intellectuals took to the streets. They wanted to thwart counterrevolutionary forces. They wanted to smuggle counterrevolution into our homes. This is no different from that of the Soviet pro-imperialist dissidents represented by physicists Sakharov and Orlov."

With the propaganda barrage came the persecution. Leading members of Charter 77 were harassed, mobbed and threatened by the police, dragged in for long interrogations and often de­prived of their jobs. Sensing a golden opportunity, the new Democratic ad­ministration in Washington used Charter 77 and the repression directed against it to kick off its phony "human rights" campaign. The first act of Carter's State Department was to fire off a letter charging Czechoslovakia with violation of the Helsinki agreement—precisely as the Charter 77 framers had hoped.

Meanwhile, in the face of Husák's persecution the Charter 77 movement evoked widespread support among dissidents in East Europe and the USSR. It should be recalled that many of the current generation of Soviet dissidents first became active out of revulsion over the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Further, like their Prague counterparts, a large fraction of the dissidents in the rest of the Soviet bloc share or peddle illusions in the good will of the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisies. For the "Eu­rocommunists" of the French, Italian and Spanish CP's, solidarity with Charter 77 was a chance to prove to their own bourgeoisies their "in­dependence" from Moscow—i.e., their reliabil­ity as bloc partners in future popular­front governments.

After its initial hysteria, the Husak government has carefully modulated its persecution of the Charter 77ers, clearly hoping to slide through the Belgrade conference with minimal trouble. So far they have succeeded. The Czechoslovak economy badly needs Western credits for the import of new technologies from the capitalists, and Husak's Soviet mentors don't want unnecessary obsta­cles to reaching a new arms limitation agreement with U.S. imperialism. And after the collapse of U.S.-USSR arms contracts talks in Belgrade last spring, Carter has toned down his anti-Soviet propaganda sallies—although far from abandoning this cornerstone of his "moral" foreign policy, despite the fervent hopes of the dreamers in the Kremlin.

Whereas late last winter Czechoslovak newspapers were insisting that the Charter 77 appeal was illegal and unconstitutional, the claim now is that the movement is at "the limit of limits of legality." Thus the prosecutor of Ornest, Lederer, Pavlíček and Havel requested "light sentences" while insisting that the trial had to do with subversion and not Charter 77. In the meantime the movement of Charter 77ers continues.

As of September over 100 signers of the manifesto had lost their jobs. Two, Vladimir Lederer and Stanislav Pavlíček, have been charged with subversion for having periodicals and books published by their loving in-laws. As far as the trial of Havel et al. in Prague goes, it was held in a tiny courtroom packed with plainclothes­men. Newsmen, including reporters from the French Communist Party's L'Humanité and the Italian Communist Party's L'Unità, were barred from the proceedings. Prominent chartists came home the evening before the trial to find their homes ransacked by security cops and themselves hauled off for "interro­gations." These trials were clearly a juridical farce and reflect above all else the fear of the Czechoslovak Stalinists that they will lose their stranglehold on the proletariat. While we do not defend the politics of the Ornest, Lederers, Pavlíček and Havels, we must demand that they be released immediately and that all charges against them be withdrawn.

The issue of the trial was raised at the Belgrade conference by representatives of the U.S., Britain, France and the Netherlands. But in fact the Belgrade conference has been if anything a boring marathon of diplomatic doubletalk. In terms of the perspectives of Charter 77 and the various pro-imperialist dissidents it has so far been a monumen­tal failure and one likely to throw them into future domestic jails. The people who framed Charter 77 continued on page 11
Stalin Murdered the Revolutionaries of October

Trotskyists at Vorkuta

Left Oppositionists in exile colony (ca. 1928) demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution.

O n the sixtieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, both the Stalinist bureaucrats and the Western imperialists have highlighted the question of Soviet bloc dissidents. For them, events of 1917 are a godsend to his campaign of moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism, for in their vast majority, the current crop of dissidents look to the West for their salvation. All are united in demanding that Washington use economic sanctions (capitalist blackmail) to force concessions from the Soviet degenerated workers states. Bennett's commentators echo the theme of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag, that all the deformations and bureaucratic terror in the USSR today have their source in Lenin.

For the Kremlin, the implicit or direct call by the dissidents for a return to capitalism is an invaluable gift, enabling the bureaucrats to pose as defenders of the October Revolution and the tremendous gains it brought Soviet workers. When asked for support by the tsarist knout, Bukovsky jokes about exchanging Brezhnev for Pinochet.

In the prison camps, the Trotskyists were the most resolute defenders of the prisoners' rights. This produced innumerable cases of individual and collective heroism which won the admiration of even those fellow prisoners who did not share their revolutionary-Marxist convictions, as well as of many ex-Stalinists and loyal bureaucrats caught in the web of Kremlin terror. This tremendous respect was caught by former Soviet intelligence officer Leopold Trpper in his memoir The Great Game. To the question, "Who did protest at that time against Stalin's blood purges, he answers, "The Trotskyists can lay claim to this honor."

During the middle and at the end of the 1930s, the Trotskyists formed a quite disparate group at Vorkuta; one part of them kept the old name of "Bolshevik-Leninists." There were almost 500 at the mine, close to 1,000 at the camp of Uktia-Pechora, and certainly several thousands altogether around the Pechora district.

The Orthodox Trotskyists were determined to remain faithful to the end to their platform and their leaders. In 1927, following the resolutions of the fifteenth Congress of the party, they were excluded from the Communist Party and, at the same time, arrested. From then on, even though they were in prison, they continued to consider themselves Communists; as for Stalin and his supporters, "the apparatus men," they were characterized as renegades from communism.

Among these "Trotskyists" were also found people who had never formally belonged to the CP and did not join the Left Opposition, but who tied their own fate with it to the very end—even when the struggle of the Opposition was most acute.

In addition to these genuine Trotskyists, there were in the camps of Vorkuta and elsewhere more than 100,000 prisoners who, members of the party and the youth, had adhered to the Trotskyist Opposition and then at different times and for diverse reasons (of which the principal were, evidently, repression, unemployment, persecutions, exclusion from schools and university facilities, etc.) were forced to "recant their errors" and withdraw from Workers Vanguard.
The meeting lasted only a short time; the question of the hunger strike and of concrete demands had already been discussed for some months by the Trotskyists. Some Trotskyist groups in other camps (Usa station, Chib-Yu, and others, at least one hundred) had already sent their agreement to support the demands and to partici­pate in the hunger strike. The concrete demands were ratified unanimously by those present. They stipulated: 1. Abrogation of the illegal decision of the NKVD, concerning the transfer of all Trotskyists from administrative camps to concentration camps. 2. The work day in the camp must not exceed eight hours. 3. The food quota of the prisoners should not depend on their norm of output. A cash bonus, not the food ration, should be used as a production incentive. 4. Separation, at work as well as in the barracks, of political prisoners and common criminals. 5. The old, the ill, and women political prisoners should be moved from the polar camps to camps where the climatic conditions were more favorable. It was recommended, at the time of the meeting, that the sick, the invalids, and the old should not participate in the hunger strike; however, all those in question energetically rejected this proposal. The meeting did not decide the day on which the hunger strike should begin; a five-member directorate, headed by Gevorkian, was delegated to inform the other Trotskyist groups spread over the immense territory containing the camps of Ullkha-Pechora. Three weeks later, October 27, 1936, the massive hunger strike of the political prisoners began, a strike without precedent and a model under Soviet camp conditions. In the morning, at reveille, in the midst of the barracks, prisoners announced themselves on strike. The barracks occupied by the Trotskyists participated 100 percent in the move­ment. Even the orderlies struck. Close to 1,000 prisoners, of whom half worked in the mine, participated in this tragedy, which lasted more than four months. The first two days, the strikers stayed in the usual place, the administration busied itself in isolating them from the rest of the prisoners, concerned lest at any time they forfeited their example. In the tundra, forty kilometers from the mine, on the banks of the Syr­gans river, these prisoners dismantled barracks, which previously had been used during the preliminary por­tioning of prisoners. After these barracks were put into makeshift condition; a call was sent out to the inhabitants of the region, who, with their teams of reindeer, transported the hunger strikers there, where they soon numbered about six hundred. The others were brought together not far from Chib-Yu. 

After having isolated the strikers, the GPU took measures to prevent the movement from spreading in the country and from becoming known outside the frontiers. The prisoners were deprived of the right of corresponding with their families; the salaried employees of the camp lost their holidays and their right to leave. Attempts were made to incite the other prisoners against the strikers. At the mine there were food reserves beyond what was required to sustain those who worked in the pits; the camp administration, instead, had to use up its large reserves of fat and sugar, intended for the underground workers, for artificial feeding of the Trotskyists. At the end of the first month of the strike, one of the participants died of exhaustion; two others died during the third month. The same month, two strikers, non-Orthodox Trotskyists, spoke unwillingly and rather enigmatically. But little by little, the bonds between them became tighter and the conversations franker. Without any new prisoners arriving from Russia; old friends and acquaintances discovered each other's existence and possibilities was not longer possible to believe the stories.

In spite of these obvious facts, a few Trotskyist prisoners waited with impatience for the autumn of 1937 and the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution; they thought on this occasion as in 1927, that the government would declare a large-scale amnesty, particularly since a little while earlier the very promising "Stalinist Constitution" had been adopted. But the autumn brought bitter disillusionments. The harsh regime of the camps grew abruptly worse. The sergeants and their assistants in maintaining order—common criminals—having received new orders from the camp director, armed themselves with clubs and patiently beat the prisoners. The guards, the watchmen close to the barracks, tormented the prisoners. To amuse them­selves during the night they fired on those who went to the toilets. Or else, giving the order "On your bellies," they forced the prisoners to stretch out, naked, for hours on the snow. Soon there were massive arrests. Almost every night, GPU agents appeared in the barracks, called out certain names and led away those called. Certain Trotskyists, including Vladi­mir Evarov, Kossior, and Trotsky's son, Sergei Sedov, a model and likeable youth, who had imprudently refused to follow a number of orders issued in 1932, were taken in a special convoy to Moscow. We can only believe that these numbers found themselves, on the new trial at Moscow, which was being broadcast by radio; besides, new prisoners began arriving at the end of June. Their stories described mass arrests, outrages, executions. Almost behind the walls of the NKVD, this all over the country. At the beginning, no one wanted to believe this, particularly since the new arrivals continued on page 9
We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution... (continued from page 3)

in a strike of the Kansan miners which was directed against the enforcement of a reactionary labor law, known as the Kansan law, by which the company had a legal monopoly of the town. Such forbidding strikes was a thorough-going progressive action on the part of the Kansan miners. Third, the prominent role of the strikebreakers. By the Howat, Howat and the other local officials were thrown into jail. While the strike was in progress a howat, president of the national organization, sent his agents into the Kansan fields to aid the organizing. Leadership, and the head of the miners of the Kansan district. He supplied strikebreakers and threatened to fire the mine while the legitimate officers of the union lay in jail for a good cause. Every militant worker in the country denounced this treacherous strike-breaking action of Howat. But we therefore, renounce support of the national union of mine workers! Yes, we have some impatient revolutionaries did, and thereby completely disintegrated themselves in the labor movement. The union, after all, is not a club, but a character as a labor organization and last Spring came into conflict with the workers, and the people, who have had the Russian revolution in their program and in their blood. That is also the reason why the International is the only revolutionary tendency in the whole world. A false position in the Russian revolution could have destroyed our movement as it destroyed all others.

The Longshoremen's Union of the Pacific Coast is a bona fide organization of workers, headed by a Stalinist of an obvious type. A type edition of Stalin named Bridges. This same Bridges led a squad of misguided longshoremen and threw itself upon the back of the labor movement, and denounced this contemptible action of Bridges. But if the Longshoremen's Union is not strong enough to hold out a while, then the national organiation, by solving its contradictions is the international revolution of the proletariat.

In order to regererate the workers' state we stand for the overthrow of the bourgeois type of government by a revolutionary program. But, it may be said, "Defense of the Soviet Union, and Russia is a Workers' State, therefore two opinions possible in our ranks on this subject. Everything are not simply phrases. One is a theoretical analysis: the other is a political conclusion for action.

The Meaning of Unconditional Defense

Our motion calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperial attack. What does that mean? It simply means that we defend the Soviet Union and its nationalized property against the attacks of imperialist armies against capitalistic restoration, out-with anything else we can do. That is the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Any other kind of defense negates the whole labor movement. From such circumstances, some people speak nowadays of giving "conditional" defense to the Soviet Union. If you stop to think about it we are for conditional defense of the United States. It is so stated in the program of the Fourth International. In the event of war we will absolutely defend the country on only one small "conditional": that we will make the government of the capitalists and replace it with a government of the workers. Does unconditional defense of the Soviet Union mean supporting every act of the Red Army? No, that is absurd. Did we support the Moscow Trials and the actions of Stalin's G.P.U. in these trials? Did we support the purge, the wholesale murders of the forces in Spain which were directed against the workers? Did we support Moscow's imperialist policies? Did we treacherously defend those workers who fought on the other side of the barricades in France? Did we support the military struggle against Franco and maintaining our position in part of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack?

It is now demanded that we take a big step ahead and to uphold our armed struggle against Stalin in the newly occupied territories of old Poland. For three years the Fourth International has advocated in its program the armed overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the new Russian Union itself. The Fourth International has generally acknowledged the necessity for a decisive struggle for an independent Soviet Union. How can there be any question of having a different position about the newly occupied territories? If the revolution against Stalin is really ready there, the Fourth International will certainly support it and endeavor to lead it. There are no two options possible in our ranks on this subject. Did Hitler (or Chamberlain) attacks the Sovietized Ukraine before Stalin has been able to institute a program that needs an unambiguous answer. Stalin, of course, unites Ukraine and with it now and for the same reason, the nationalized property of the newly armed workers.

That position was incorporated into the program of the foundation congress of the Fourth International, held in the summer of 1938. Remember, that after the Moscow Trials and the attack on the Ukraine, began the war against Bohulskevich, after the defense of the collective Union League of Nations, the Stalin-Laval pact (and betrayal of the French workers). But not the condition basis of the economic structure of the country, the fruit of the revolution. The ending of that war may come before we are really lost. That is the fighting program of the Fourth International.

The Stalin-Hitler Pact

The Stalin-Hitler pact does not change anything fundamentally. If that is the case, then why not Social-Democratic States, and comrades should deny defense of the Soviet Union out of fear of the war? The attack against the Stalin of American ally, such comrades would be wrong, but their position would have to be clearer, a definite position reaction precipitated by revolutionary sentiment. The "defeatism" which has broken forth in the Fourth International following the Stalin-Laval pact was undoubtedly so motivated, and consequently, has been punished by the workers' same contempt and tolerance and patience. But an epidemic of "defeatism" in the democratic camp will be easier, and therefore, there is no pressure on us in America to defend the Soviet Union. All the pressure is for a definite position reaction, and that will be maintained. If nothing happened except that Stalin's program it is a very bad sign. You have the power to be a great hero before they are really lost. That is the fighting program of the Fourth International.

Defend the Trenton 7!

The Trenton 7 have been fired and framed up in court on an attack on the rights of all workers at the Trenton Glass Works of the Chrysler Corporation. The Trenton Glass Works is at Trenton, New Jersey, and the Trenton 7 have been singled out in order to make a capital crime of a compromise or a victory by the resolution of its leadership. We have seen this happen before in the events of the St. Louis. When we deny the Soviet Union, which is yet not exhausted, the same rights. The Danger of a False Position

We have had many discussions on the Russian question in the past. It has been the labor and the people, against what it was for every political tendency in the labor movement. That, I repeat, is because it is nothing less than the question of the revolution at various

WORKERS VANGUARD
Vorkuta...

(continued from page 7)

arrested in more distant camps—at Pechora, Izhma, Kozhina, Chib-Yu, etc.—in the whole of the Komi ASSR. The whole winter of 1937-38 some prisoners, encamped in barracks at the brickyard, were read bulletins and executed at the direction of the Soviet State Security Committee and the Central Committee of Armenia...

At the end of March, a list of twenty-five was announced, among them Georgyak, Viragov, Slavin, etc. . . .

Two days later, there was a new call, this time of forty names. Once more there was a ration of bread. Some, out of exhaustion, collapsed and were not allowed to march; others must have died on the spot. At the end of 1934, there was a large-scale evacuation of their camps.

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Comrade Blanco: Free All Political Prisoners? What About Hubert Matos?

The following leaflet was distributed by the New York Spartacist League as a forum given by Peruvian socialist Hugo Blanco on 5 November 1977.

Tonight, as throughout his American tour, Hugo Blanco will be speaking under the banner of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLAP) that banner states: "Free All Latin American Political Prisoners." This has been the position of USLAP since it was formed in 1966 following the massacre of ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) prisoners in front of the Munoz York Spartacist Club and USLA criminally spewed forth Mao's full New "stop totalitarianism on both sides of the hemisphere; and since Blanco and USLA call for the freedom of 'Latin American political prisoners are the same. Since the SWP's reformist program of appeasing American liberals, USLA consciously rejects the class axis which has guided the defense work of revolutionary organizations in this country since the time of the International Labor Defense. The demand for the freeing of all political prisoners in Latin America or elsewhere is of a piece with such currently demonstrably "reformist" as the SWP's advocacy of "free speech" for murderous fascist scum. In contrast, the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) demand "Free all prisoners of war and criticism," just as the SLP, the PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization—which is in a class strugge against the political views of the SL—has consistently drawn the class line in its defense activities. At the time of the Chilean coup, we unhesitatingly demonstrated in defense of imprisoned leaders of the MRP while other organizations (including USLA) were solidarizing only with the treacherous Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders who had led the workers organizations into the popular-front debacle. We also published the plight of a number of people and even high-level officers who were arrested (Allen and Sten for 49 days). This action in support of Lebanon's freedom of speech crusade. This grotesque torture of tens of thousands and the blood-stained military dictatorships which stretch across almost all of Latin America. But genuine solidarity with the victims of Pinocchio, Videla, Stroessner and Co.—until the moralistic gesture of boycotting everything Chilean which an which Blanco is so fond of—must take as its point of departure the only force that can eradicate once and for all the brutality of militarist bonapartist rule, the working class. So Comrade Blanco, we pose the question: Free all political prisoners? What about Hubert Matos?

**Butcher Shah...**

(continued from page 12) and daughters of prisoners in front of them.

By no means all of the inhabitants of the slums and shantytowns become oppositionists. Thousands of artists, teachers and writers who were suspected of sympathizing with the opposition were arrested (while Allende was still in power) for their refusal to go along with plans for the bloody September 11 coup. The PDC organized campaigns (from South America or criminally abainted) to rescue Chilean trade-union leader Mario Muñoz from the
decrimation of Iranian Students (CIS) broke (directed against the USSR). In late 1973, Peking abruptly ended all Chinese support to politically attack the Shah. But, tragically, many of these
democrats who then turned to Maoist and Trotskyist "national liberation" groups under the name of the "Nation­
front," which included some critical Maoists, others with politics parallel to the Soviet Revolution (labeling Castro an "reactionary" and backing Albania. A similar restructuring has been underway in the U.S. Since the 1960s, the SWP's advocacy of "free speech" for murderous fascist scum. In contrast, the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) demand "Free all prisoners of war and criticism," just as the SLP, the PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization—which is in a class strugge against the political views of the SL—has consistently drawn the class line in its defense activities. At the time of the Chilean coup, we unhesitatingly demonstrated in defense of imprisoned leaders of the MRP while other organizations (including USLA) were solidarizing only with the treacherous Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders who had led the workers organizations into the popular-front debacle. We also published the plight of a number of people and even high-level officers who were arrested (Allen and Sten for 49 days). This action in support of Lebanon's freedom of speech crusade. This grotesque torture of tens of thousands and the blood-stained military dictatorships which stretch across almost all of Latin America. But genuine solidarity with the victims of Pinocchio, Videla, Stroessner and Co.—until the moralistic gesture of boycotting everything Chilean which an which Blanco is so fond of—must take as its point of departure the only force that can eradicate once and for all the brutality of militarist bonapartist rule, the working class. So Comrade Blanco, we pose the question: Free all political prisoners? What about Hubert Matos?

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Pub Seminar Room 19

12:30 p.m. Thursday, Nov. 17

TROY UNIVERSITY

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIP

1:30 p.m.

7:30 p.m.

COMMERCIAL AT NAPIER

Workers Vanguard

Hugo Blanco speaking at forum in Boston.
Smash Administration Anti-Red Ban!
Armed Cops Throw SYL Leader Off Chicago Campus

CHICAGO—On October 27 Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spokesman Sander John was thrown off the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UIC). The campus administration, which had announced that he was "permanently barred" and would be "arrested on criminal charges" if he ever set foot on UICC property again. As John was "escorted" off the grounds, one cop threatened to call for yet any more complaints from these [the university administration] and the police for a campus, you will be locked up.

When he was nabbed by university authorities the SYL spokesman was engaged in a conversation in an area of the campus traditionally used by political groups. Approaching from behind, UICC administrator Willie McKay fingered John as a "non-student" to the campus cops. The cops then wrestled with the dirty work. The accusation of being a "non-student" is a complete fraud at the University of Illinois. The campus is frequented by many who are not enrolled for classes.

Further, the building is open to the general public and John has regularly carried on political work of the SYL—officially recognized by UICC student organization—on campus. The charge of "outside agitator" is one of the oldest plots, the basis of anti-communist.--The administration action against Sander John and the Spartacus Youth League is one of the most ridiculous violations of democratic rights and a crude attempt to intimidate all left-wing groups on campus. If this anti-student ban is not broken, UICC authorities will be emboldened in their McCarthyite purges of the "undesirables."

Recognizing the threat posed by the "permanent ban," a number of campus organizations and individuals met on November 3 initiated by the SYL. Representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the UICC student government, as well as students from the Union for Mexican-Chicano Students, the National Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) attended the meeting, which formed an ad hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment. The purpose of the Committee is to mobilize protest around the slogans, "Admin. Out! Masses' Harassment of the left and campus organizations! Stop the administration's anti-communist "ban!" on Sander John. While the Maost Revolutionary Student Brigade left the meeting without comment, the union-front Committee has been endorsed by the YSA, YSA, the student government, Janis Gutfriend of the CULU and left-wing professor Julia Le Sage. More endorsements are being gathered along with signatures to a petition.

The meeting "adjourned" to an administration meeting, where the students confronted assembled bureaucrats and undergrads with the Committee demands. Administration Stanford Delaney excused himself from responding, saying that it would take too long to explain the university's position. But the administration's position is quite clear: they want "resets" off campus. As the most active left group on campus, especially in defense of busing, the SYL has become the first target of an administration anti-communist ban. A public meeting has been called for November 10 by the Committee to Stop Administration Harassment. Smash the anti-red ban at Circle Campus! Cops off campus, not the left!

Dissidents Appeal...
(continued from page 5)

with its indirect appeal to the world's foremost imperialists are none other than some of the leaders of the liberal wing of the Checoslovak Communist Party who came to the fore during 1968. At that time Dubcek and his cohorts claimed to be creating "socialism with a human face"...in one country.

Actually, the main aim of the Dubcekites was to "reform" the Checoslovak economy so badly mismanaged by the Stalinist bureaucrats. In particular the Dubcek regime wanted to increase the role of market forces in the economy, whether or not from the Stalin era to shut down outmoded plants, to import new technology and to speed up the pace of production. The force of Stalin's hooly apparatus frequently was considerable enough to keep some support in the factories for a period by pointing out the intent of Dubcek's economic planners.

The successful struggle against the Novotny wing of the bureaucracy of necessity required that the Dubcekites dismantle or neutralize the secret police. Thus the "Prague Spring" presented the novel situation that an internationalist liberal Stalinist reformers bent on speeding up the Checoslovak working class, but with- whose support force novoty was conse- quently able to keep some support in the factories for a period by pointing out the intent of Dubcek's economic planners.

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20 Iranian Students Savagely Beaten, Arrested by Chicago Cops

Avenge Victims of Butcher Shah!

In a massive display of official brutality, some 300 Chicago cops attacked a group of 40 Iranian students and their supporters at the YMCA Central Community College on October 28. Evening TV newscasts caught the cops in frenzied action, dragging the demonstrators by the hair, kicking them in the face and head, or poking billy clubs in students' stomachs and groins while others struck and kicked the same victim. Twenty demonstrators, all but three of them Iranian, were arrested, and were reportedly beaten again after they reached the police station. Thirteen of the Iranians were injured, and four protesters were hospitalized, one of them for a week after the incident.

Charges "ranging from mob action to interfering with police" (Chicago Sun-Times, 29 October) have been levied against those arrested in this blatant cop riot. The mere arrest of these students raises an immediate threat of deportation. If deported, they face certain imprisonment, likely torture and in many cases death in the Shah's dungeons. The left and labor movement must demand that all charges be dropped, and all victimization of the Iranian militants be stopped now! There must be no deportations. We demand political asylum for all left opponents of the Shah's White Terror.

Chicago, of course, is a city where the police daily terrorize the black and Spanish-speaking population with impunity. But the degree of viciousness and the large number of students arrested on October 28 has a specific political message. The demonstration was called by two wings of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) to protest increasing harassment by the YMCA College administration and the upcoming November 15-16 visit by the Shah to Washington, D.C. The ISA has held a series of forums and demonstrations around the city, including a demonstration of more than a hundred on November 5 to mobilize as many people as possible for a demonstration in the city, and in some cases people willing to go to Washington are offered a flat $600. Yet, the demonstration movement around the royal visit. The arrests of the ISA demonstrators were undoubtedly busily preparing for the Shah's visit. Following the September 1976 Washington, D.C. bomb assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier—in which all leads point to the bloody hand of Pinochet's DINA—the Iranian autocrat brazenly boasted that his agents are active in the U.S., infiltrating organizations opposed to his murderous regime. According to the ISA, the SAVAK is offering an all-expense-paid "holiday weekend," including air fare, hotel lodging, meals and $100 in cash to Iranians in the U.S. for participation in this "welcome the Shah" project. The financial arrangements vary from city to city, and in some cases people willing to go to Washington are offered a flat $600.

In conjunction with harassment of Iranian student militants, the Shah, infuriated by ISA-organized demonstrations which greeted his wife when she visited the U.S. earlier this year, has an additional tactic. His plan is to distract media attention from the protest demonstrations by attempting to insure that there will be supporters of the Shah demonstrating in Washington as well. According to the ISA, the SAVAK is offering an all-expense-paid "holidays weekend," including air fare, hotel lodging, meals and $100 in cash to Iranians in the U.S. for participation in this "welcome the Shah" project. The financial arrangements vary from city to city, and in some cases people willing to go to Washington are offered a flat $600.

Carter's "Human Rights" Equals Shah's White Terror

The Washington visit by Shah Reza Pahlavi underscores American imperialism's role in propping up its Iranian client state, ranging from cop and FBI repression of Iranian militants in the U.S. to its sale of billions of dollars worth of sophisticated weaponry to the Shah. The arms, according to estimates, the number of American military advisors and intelligence-related personnel in Iran will reach 60,000 by 1980. It is not accidental that Carter has appointed William Sullivan—who, as ambassador to Laos, oversaw both the secret U.S. air war and the CIA's organizing of anti-communist mercenary armies of Laotian and Mro tribesmen—as the new ambassador to Tehran.

The scale of repression in Iran is truly staggering. Amnesty International reports that the Shah's jails enomb as many as 100,000 political prisoners, with more than 300,000 picked up at one time or another in the 19-year existence of the SAVAK. This would be the equivalent of roughly 2 million political prisoners in the U.S. More than 600 official executions have taken place in Iran since 1971, making it the international capital of legal murder. In addition countless more die at the hands of secret police torturers. SAVAK "interrogators" employ all the traditional forms of torture, such as ripping out toenails and fingernails, breaking bones, beatings and rape. But in addition they have made some unique contributions of their own, rivaling in this respect the murderous military regime in Brazil. In one torture a heavy weight is hung from the testicles of a prisoner, almost instantly maiming him; another procedure involves burning holes in the victim's face with a red-hot iron rod, while a third technique burns a victim on a device resembling a bed frame. When all the varieties of physical torture have been exhausted, they supplement it with psychological torture, such as taking a prisoner before a firing squad as if to execute him. One particularly vicious weapon employed by the secret police of this "urbanite" monarchy is to torture and rape the women.

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