

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 68

25 CENTS

NOVEMBER 1978

SYL Forums Drive Stalinist/Islamic Bloc into Frenzy

Iran: Workers Revolution or Clerical Reaction?

Anti-shah protests have rocked Iran with increasing frequency and intensity over the last year and a half. Until recently the predominant force behind the mass protests has been the Muslim mullahs, who have sought to channel the widespread hatred for the shah into their reactionary crusade for a religious-based government. But in the last few weeks a workers' strike wave has introduced a new element into a situation which had seemed locked into a pattern of continually escalating bloody confrontations between the mosque and the monarchy.

At long last the Iranian proletariat, three-million strong, has begun to speak in its own name and to wage its own struggle against the dictatorial government. Though the strikes appear to focus upon economic issues, the resurgence of working-class militancy in Iran is of enormous potential importance.

The entry of the Iranian working class—one of the most powerful in the Middle East—onto the political stage in a massive strike wave poses the question of the role of the proletariat in the anti-shah struggle point blank. Organized, militant and relatively free from the stranglehold which the mullahs have on the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the Iranian workers hold the key to a socialist revolution in their country.

Unfortunately, the Stalinists and guerrillaists who dominate the left both

in Iran and among Iranian students abroad are united in their insistence that the workers struggles must be subordinated to the reactionary aims of the Islamic clergy. In order to challenge this program for political suicide the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) held a series of public forums on the upheavals in Iran on the East Coast and in the Midwest last month.

Maoists and Muslims: An Unholy Alliance

The SYL forums were a test of the ability of the Iranian student movement in this country to deal politically with the Trotskyist program of intransigent proletarian independence in the anti-shah struggle. But unable to counter the SYL's exposure of the reactionary nature of the religious leadership of the mass upsurge in Iran, Maoist and Muslim Iranian groups united in using the favorite weapons of all political cowards: slander, threats and disruption.

The most revealing political confrontation took place on the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus where *Spartacist* editor Charles O'Brien gave a talk on October 12 entitled "Iran in Turmoil—Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!" The mere distribution of leaflets publicizing the forum caused supporters of a pro-Maoist group of the Iranian Students Association

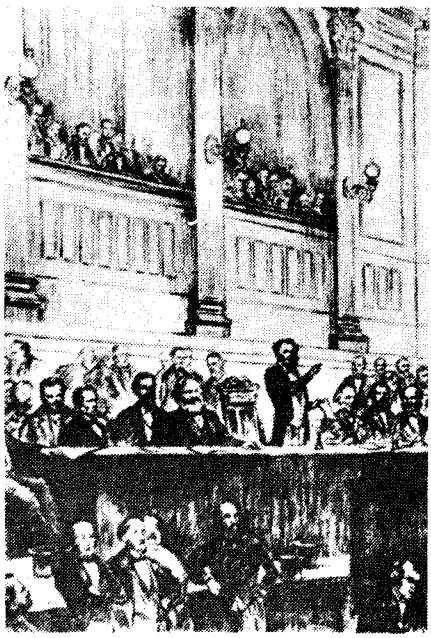


Muslim women in chador (veil) protest shah under portrait of Khomeini.

to fly into a frenzy of threats and cop-baiting. Snarling that the SYL "better take down" its leaflets and cease all criticism of top religious leader

Ayatollah Khomeini, these fervent defenders of Islamic order stood in front of SYL literature tables hurling the
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The Organizational Question in Classical Marxism



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White Rhodesia at Rope's End

Military Victory to Black Nationalist Guerrillas!

Time is running out on Rhodesian white supremacy. As the guerrillas of the Patriotic Front, that non-alliance between Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), strike at the swimming-pool-dotted suburbs of Salisbury and Bulawayo, more and more whites are opting for the "chicken run" to London or Johannesburg.

The white settlers' last chance to preserve their privileged colonial lifestyle is the intervention of the imperialist powers in their defense. Realizing that a straight-out appeal to save the white race was no longer politically acceptable in either London or Washington, Ian Smith's regime last February announced the now infamous "internal settlement" whereby three black puppets, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningye Sithole and tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau joined Smith in an executive council. These three black

stooges have been jet-setting abroad as pitchmen for the fraudulent Salisbury regime. Last month, after a group of right-wing senators successfully lobbied to give him a visa, Smith himself turned up in Washington to plead for U.S. backing for the "internal settlement" and brought the three black "leaders" along.

Unfortunately for Rhodesia's number one racist, the imperialist chiefs in Britain and the U.S. can tell which way the wind is blowing—even if some Tories and Republicans cannot. Rather than watch their influence in a future Zimbabwe go down with Smith's sinking ship, both imperialist governments have committed themselves to forging a stable neocolonial regime out of amenable elements among blacks in Rhodesia, including in the Patriotic Front. This goal has been the touchstone of Carter's "human rights" diplomacy. Under Nixon/Ford/Kissinger U.S. interests were linked to Smith's survival. But Carter (via Andy Young) is willing to consider writing off white Rhodesia and striking a favorable deal with whichever of the rival black nationalists comes out on top. Thus Smith's pilgrimage to Washington was an all-sided flop (see "Rhodesian Premier Strikes Out in

U.S.," *Workers Vanguard* No. 217, 20 October 1978).

The Internal Fraud

At the same time that Mr. Smith went to Washington, his army commanders in Rhodesia were launching murderous assaults on refugee camps deep inside Zambia. With bombs and napalm the forces of racist rule tried to forestall the expected rainy season offensive of the nationalist guerrillas. Hundreds of refugees were massacred alongside the ZAPU fighters in these attacks, including women, children and blind refugees.

The escalation in the guerrilla war exposes the utter failure of Smith's "internal settlement" of last February. To be sure, Rhodesia's exercise in "representative" government was transparently fraudulent. Whites were guaranteed 28 seats in a yet-to-be elected 100 man parliament, thus giving the three percent white minority effective veto power over all legislation. Similarly fraudulent was the "end" to all legally-based discrimination announced during Smith's visit to Washington. While blacks will now, in theory, have access to most schools and private hospitals, those worth using charge a steep fee.
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EDITORIAL NOTE

Castro Gives Nod to Colonial Borders

Where Cuban troops go, so goes the "revolution." That at least is the myth surrounding the intervention of Cuban troops in Africa on behalf of insurrectionary nationalist movements. The key role of Castro's army in thwarting an attempted South African grab of Angola in 1976 was certainly the high point of Cuba's authority as the beacon of "proletarian internationalism" among the Stalinist deformed and degenerated workers states. For the past year, however, the prime beneficiary of this brand of "internationalism" has been the blood-drenched Ethiopian Derg of Colonel Haile Mariam Mengistu—a regime which has never fought either a colonialist oppressor or imperialist power.

Whereas the Angolan MPLA had conducted a protracted guerrilla war against Portuguese colonialists and then found itself under direct military attack by South African forces with the backing of U.S. imperialism, Mengistu's Derg is but the residue of the officer corps of the deposed "Lion of Judah," Haile Selassie. On every major social question facing the downtrodden and oppressed Ethiopian masses, the Derg's policies, like Selassie's, seek to safeguard the bourgeois order, adding only a liberal sprinkling of "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric (see "Mengistu's Derg: Ethiopian Nationalism as 'Red Terror,'" *Young Spartacus* No. 66, September 1978). Nowhere is this more starkly clear than in the continued genocidal suppression of the Eritrean independence movement.

For Castro and his apologists throughout the left, the Derg's Ethiopian-chauvinist war against the forcibly annexed peoples of Eritrea poses the thorniest of problems in defending their "anti-imperialist" ally. While Marxists unhesitatingly support the right of Eritrea to secede, Castro is interested solely in buttressing the despotic rule of Mengistu, a temporary diplomatic ally of the Soviet bloc. Where Castro once aided the Eritrean fighters in the name of a just struggle for national liberation, today Cuban ground troops provide logistical support for the Ethiopian army and Cubans pilot jets which rain bombs and devastation on the war-torn Eritrean countryside.

In defense of the reactionary role of Cuban troops in Ethiopia, Castro has thrown up a thin veil of the desirability of a "political solution" to the Eritrean national question. But his willingness to stake Cuban lives on the defense of this so-called "Ethiopian revolution" has forced Castro to adopt some rather peculiar arguments: such as the inviolability of the borders set up by that well-known exemplar of "proletarian internationalism," the colonialist Berlin Conference of 1885.

Castro's ever-ready flunkies in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) reprint excerpts of a Havana press conference (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 October 1978) in which he argues:

"We look upon the Eritrean problem as an internal problem of Ethiopia... we are in favor of a political solution, in keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, preserving Ethiopia's territorial integrity. And thus, we support the Ethiopian Revolution, Ethiopian unity and Ethiopian territorial integrity. Furthermore I'm not the only one to think this way. All the African countries also agree on that; because one of the OAU resolutions was to maintain the borders inherited from colonialism; for to start re-examining the borders in Africa would be catastrophic, disastrous....



Lefort—Gamma/Liaison

Castro and Mengistu in Addis Ababa: "As I was saying about anti-imperialism..."

Quite wisely, the African countries were in agreement that a fundamental principle of the Organization of African Unity should be to maintain the borders inherited from colonialism."

That this is an endorsement of the policies which led to the slaughter of Biafran Ibos under Nigeria or the murder of an estimated 100,000 tribal and political opponents of Idi Amin in Uganda does not bother Castro (or the SWP) in the least. But Castro does not stop there: as a glistening example of letting bygones be bygones and not tampering with borders, Castro points to the American wars of conquest against Mexico:

"You have, for instance, the case of the border between the United States and Mexico. As you all know, the United States took over half of Mexico's territory by force, by war. There are now millions of people of Mexican descent living there. And I'm telling you, the Mexicans are far more entitled to claim the territory that the United States took from them than Somalia is to claim Ogaden. And I can't help but wonder what the United States would have done if the Mexicans had invaded Texas and Arizona to get their land back."

It is almost ironic that the SWP, which ardently champions Chicano nationalism as leading straight to "socialism" if applied "consistently," should print these remarks without comment. For genuine Marxists they are indeed repugnant. The Leninist position on the national question begins with the need to remove all manner of national oppression from the historical agenda by recognizing the right to national self-

determination for nations trapped within the boundaries of another state.

As American Marxists, the Spartacus Youth League is duty bound to address the past imperialist aggression of the United States against Mexico. This is particularly important given the history of military intervention and economic exploitation of Latin America since the enactment of the Monroe Doctrine. Unlike Castro for whom the question of national oppression is a diplomatic play thing to be dropped and raised at will, the SYL states, "If a majority in Chicano-dominated areas wanted to transfer those areas back to Mexico, we, as internationalists, would support that right" (*Youth, Class and Party*, December 1971). In addition to recognizing the national rights of the Mexican-derived population in the U.S., we also understand that the conquest of the Mexican territory in the 1840's stands as a symbol of a century of American imperialist domination of Latin America. Thus, we noted, "a revolutionary government in the U.S. would no doubt cede a section of the Southwest back to Mexico."

Marxists can feel nothing but disgust for the crass adaptation of Castro to the Ethiopian tyrant who now dubs himself "Comrade Chairman." Search as he might among the "principles of Marxism-Leninism," Castro will find no basis for supporting the forcible retention of Eritrea and the Ogaden within the Ethiopian prison house of peoples—Castro's defense of the butcher Mengistu is Stalinist treachery pure and simple. ■

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.
Editorial Board: Samuel Lewis (editor), Bonnie Brodie, Mary Jo McAllister, Marc Rogier, Michael Weinstein
Production manager: Helen Kirkpatrick
Circulation manager: O. Stephens
Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 925-4295 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Number 68

November 1978

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of publication: *Young Spartacus*.
- Date of filing: 28 September 1978.
- Frequency of issue: Monthly (except December/January, June/July/August).
- 3A. No. of issues published annually: 9.
- 3B. Annual subscription price: \$2.00.
4. Location of known office of publication: 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013.
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013.
6. Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013; Editor—Samuel Lewis, 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013; Managing Editor—None.
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm,

its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) unincorporated association Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.) None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 6,750. B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 3,583; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,448. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 5,031. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 0. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 5,031. F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1,719. (2) Returns from news agents: 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 6,750.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 7,500. B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through

dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 4,326; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,475. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 5,801. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 0. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 5,801. F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1,699; (2) Returns from news agents: 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 7,500.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed) Samuel Lewis, (editor)

12. For completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual). 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Samuel Lewis, (editor).

SWP Hucksters Peddle Phony Jobs Bill

A number of would-be senators and congressmen, candidates on the ballot in several states, have recently backed an "emergency bill" designed to end unemployment in the U.S. Dismissing both the Humphrey-Hawkins and Harrington job bills as inadequate, these candidates instead propose "a real full employment bill" that would, according to its authors, "guarantee the right to a job for everyone who wants to work." If this "emergency bill" sounds like just another campaign promise, one more gimmick to reform the unreformable, that's only because it is. What is noteworthy, however, is that the bill's sponsors are not, as might be expected, liberal Democratic politicians but the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), self-styled "revolutionaries" and "Trotskyists."

If silly and ineffectual on the face of it, the "emergency bill" is a low-water mark in the SWP's consolidation into right-wing social democracy. From the party which brought you "free speech for fascists" and the 1976 gimmick "A Bill of Rights for Working People" (a constitutional amendment no less!), now comes the "strategy" for full employment...to be "enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America." The contents of the "bill" are every bit as star-spangled as its conception: just for openers there is *not one word* opposing chauvinist "Buy American" schemes nor a hint of the demand to stop deportations and for full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

For the SWP, which long ago ceased to be a revolutionary party, "jobs for all" can easily be raised as one of a series of demands on the bourgeois state—instead of as the fighting goal of the socialist movement. Marxists must fight the illusion that the capitalist system, if properly managed, can fulfill the needs of the mass of working and poor people. Certainly the CIO was built through militant and often bloody class battles, not through a bill demanding the right to union organization.

Jobs under capitalism are not a form of charity. Millions of workers are quickly fired if the recessions and depressions unavoidable in the capitalist system make their labor unprofitable. Even in the best of times the labor market requires a surplus of available workers in order that competition for scarce jobs might hold down wages and serve as a bar to union organizing. This reserve army of labor, as Marx termed it, is concentrated among the specially oppressed young, women and minority workers—traditionally the last hired and first fired.

The reality of this reserve army is

admitted by the bourgeois economists who define "full employment" as at least four to five percent unemployment. Thus the meaningless Humphrey-Hawkins bill, recently passed by the House and Senate, has as its goal four percent unemployment by 1982. Herbert Stein, ex-head of the president's Council of Economic Advisors, now declares that it is wrong to imagine "that 7% unemployment cannot be full employment" (*Militant*, 30 June 1978).

The Poverty of Liberalism

The "emergency bill" which first appeared in the *Militant* of June 30 has now been widely distributed in the SWP brochure "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" A large part of this brochure is taken up with a correct indictment of the capitalist system for its failure to provide jobs for millions of desperate jobless workers. The brochure points out that the official unemployment figures (above six percent overall, nearly 40 percent for black youth) leave out millions of discouraged job seekers as well as underemployed part-time workers.

But even *Time* magazine "discovered" the existence of an "underclass" of impoverished slum dwellers and splashed it on its front page. *Newsweek* took up the same theme in an August 7 feature article and admitted that "the slums of the nation's aging and blackening cities have bred a population of young people for whom the norms of existence are unemployment, crumbling neighborhoods, fatherless homes, failing schools and dependency on the dole—or crime—as a means of survival."

While the spectre of unemployment, especially among minority youth, has reached such proportions that the capitalist press itself has been forced to take note, today—unlike the 1960's—not even liberals think anything can be done about it. Across the country bourgeois candidates campaigning for office speak only of how many social services they can eliminate, particularly in the wake of Proposition 13. The current political "wisdom" is that big-price-tag federal anti-poverty programs are only wasteful boondoggles and the "Great Society" schemes of yesteryear, having failed to fulfill any great expectations, have been almost uniformly eliminated.

Jimmy Carter summed up the present administration's attitude toward the plight of the poor when he approved the elimination of Medicaid-funded abortions with the quip that "life is not fair." Right-wingers of the Milton Friedman stripe derisively dismiss unemployment

Milt Taan/LNS

statistics as inflated and claim, according to *Newsweek*, that "short, intermittent periods of unemployment may even be good for young blacks—an off-the-job education in seeking and finding work." It is a measure of the current reactionary political climate that the program to combat black youth unemployment most popular with bourgeois authorities is Jesse Jackson's "Excel" campaign, a road show of revivalist "self-help" sermons in ghetto schools. Jackson's selling point is that while his preaching may accomplish nothing, it at least costs little more.

Many bourgeois analysts have tried to pass off the current crisis as the result

workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40"), massive public works programs and the expropriation of shut-down plants (e.g., steel in Youngstown) and bankrupt industries. But, in contrast to the SWP, we do *not* put forth a parliamentarist-legalist strategy for winning such economic gains from the bourgeois state. And we reject outright the idea of a so-called "full employment" bill or constitutional amendment as a meaningless statement which can only foster illusions about the reformability of the capitalist economic system.

The demands of the Transitional Program start from the immediate felt needs of the working class and point

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SWP's "turn to the working class" is based on providing left cover for veteran labor skates like Doug Fraser, pictured above at the Mack Avenue Plant, where he personally smashed a wildcat strike in 1973.

of "an act of god"—the postwar "baby boom." But in reality the prolonged employment stagnation in an economy which has never completely recovered from the 1974-75 downturn is at the root of the problem. Under such conditions millions of young blacks are simply told that they are not needed, discarded from society as unemployable and left to rot the rest of their lives away in the ghettos and prisons of capitalist America.

SWP's "Transitional Program"

If the bourgeoisie concludes that there are no solutions, the SWP hasn't yet given up on the system. Their "answer" to unemployment: a \$126 million program of public works to be paid for by eliminating the military budget and a 30-hour workweek at 40 hours pay to be enacted by a change in the government's hours and wages statutes. This entire "emergency bill" is a bastardization of Trotsky's Transitional Program, adopting some of the language but gutting it of its revolutionary core.

Thus the question of disarmament, as Trotsky noted, "revolves around who will disarm whom." And while the SWP implies that Congress could conceivably vote to disarm the bourgeois state (the ultimate "butter not guns" fantasy), the billions poured into the military are not the result of some "misplaced" priorities or bureaucratic oversight. No doubt bourgeois politicians are quite aware—even without the SWP's research—that the cost of one Trident submarine would operate the Detroit schools for four years.

As revolutionaries we seek to mobilize the working class both against private capital and its government to fight for more jobs through a shorter

toward a class mobilization for the only possible solution—a planned economy under the control of a workers government. In their entirety they are inseparable from the demand for a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government. As with opposition to bourgeois militarism, the central logic of these demands is the need to smash the bosses' state apparatus and replace it with proletarian rule. This has absolutely nothing in common with the SWP's attempt to turn them into pie-in-the-sky demands addressed to the bourgeois legislature. The answer of revolutionary Trotskyists to this brand of "be it enacted..." tripe is, Don't beg! Take it, it's yours!

No one can be taken in by the claim that "in presenting the Socialist Workers Party's proposals in the form of a bill, our purpose is exactly the opposite [of the Humphrey-Hawkins and Harrington bills]. It is to show the kind of simple, straightforward, direct action that would be taken immediately by any government that truly represented working people." The problem, of course, is that the Senate and House of Representatives of the U.S.A., to whom the bill is addressed, will *never* be a workers government. In reality, by putting its modest program forward in the form of a bill the SWP only intends to demonstrate that its candidates are serious about their commitment to "work within the system."

Doug Fraser's "Labor Party"

The SWP assures its readers that this jobs bill is really different—for one thing it demands full employment from the capitalist government while



Black youth line up for jobs in NYC.

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SWP Pushes Drake Koka

South African Unionist on Tour for Liberalism

Drake Koka, a leader of the South African Black People's Convention (BPC) and general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), is currently on a nationwide tour of the U.S. A prominent spokesman for the black consciousness movement and a trade-union leader who participated in the Soweto events, Koka is being tried *in absentia* for "sedition" and "terrorism" by the racist South African government. Despite Koka's billing as a unionist, however, this tour offers no alternative to the "human rights" moralizing currently fashionable in American radical circles. Koka's authority as an associate of martyred black leader Stephen Biko and as a victim of apartheid repression—he was banned (forbidden to take part in any political activity) in 1973 and fled the country after the 1976 Soweto uprising—is being brought to the aid of the liberal divestment/boycott campaign against South Africa.

Koka is thus following in the footsteps of exiled white liberal Donald Woods, who used his dramatic flight from South Africa and his exposure of the apartheid regime's murder of Biko to give the movement for cultural, economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa a shot in the arm. In particular, Koka is attempting to employ his credentials as leader of the BAWU to enlist the liberal wing of the American trade-union bureaucracy into this movement.

Behind Koka's militant "anti-imperialist" rhetoric lies a strategy of reliance on American imperialism—an appeal for disciplining its South African ally. Not only does Koka's call for economic boycotts mean reliance on the conscience of the American imperialist state, but it is not even an attack on the profits reaped by U.S. imperialism's exploitation of the brutally oppressed black proletariat. In one of his talks Koka suggested that U.S. corporations get "out of South Africa, into other countries to make them economically viable"! Like his American liberal friends, Koka apparently believes that investments in Iran, Chile, Brazil, etc. are perfectly acceptable.

Koka's labor credentials and his appeal to the UAW and other American unions are perfectly compatible with the liberal strategy of relying on GM, Ford and Carter to effect "progressive" social change in South Africa. Koka and the divestment movement do not call on workers in the U.S. to stage boycotts of shipments of military goods to South

Africa or demand the recognition of black unions and the release of all prisoners of apartheid repression—i.e., they reject outright any proletarian class axis for anti-apartheid protests in this country. Instead, in line with the notion that some imperialist exploitation is "better" than others, they call on the trade unions to impotently withdraw their pension funds from companies investing in South Africa. They want the American working class to function as the tail-end of a liberal/utopian campaign rather than mobilize its vast social power independently of, and in opposition to, American capitalism.

"Black Consciousness"

The BPC was formed in the early 1970's as a student-initiated umbrella group of black opponents of apartheid. Without the evolved political outlook of the African National Congress or the Pan Africanist Congress, the program of the heterogenous BPC is noteworthy only for being eclectic. In his capacity as BPC spokesman, Koka proved himself a seasoned speaker able to shift the content and politics of his talks to suit different audiences. He used vague and even mystical language in his explanation of black consciousness; for example, "I am what I think I am and not what is prescribed for me." Remark- ing that the burden of liberation lies not with the oppressor but with blacks, he commented, "the fault is not with the rider, it is with me. No man can ride on your back unless you bend down."

What was most revealing in the talks, however, was the attitude of the liberal, petty-bourgeois BPC toward the ques-

tion of the organized labor movement; this is after all the head of the BAWU. In response to Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League supporters who pointed out that it is the black working class, organized into trade

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Koka speaking at Columbia, October 13.

unions, that has the power to wring concessions from the apartheid system and which is key to overthrowing the racist regime, Koka denied that the black proletariat had any such role. Like all petty-bourgeois nationalists, Koka believes that the working class should be submerged among the "people" and claims that students or peasants are equally important to the struggle against apartheid.

Koka opposes a working-class-based strategy to fight for democratic demands and such necessary inroads

against the white supremacists as trade-union recognition. This confirms our previous observations on the BPC's lack of a program for any form of organized mobilization of the South African working masses against apartheid (see "Stephen Biko: A Martyred Black Liberal," *Young Spartacus* No. 67, October 1978). Of course in his presentations Koka was able to evade this question (in part demagogically) by likening the struggle against apartheid to a street fight in which one uses all available means: punching/kicking/scratching being analogous to a guerrillaist/divestment/boycott combo. But the social power of the proletariat in the industrial infrastructure of South Africa is potentially a loaded gun at the head of the apartheid state—a far more efficacious weapon than kicking and clawing.

The BPC's concept of working-class actions was summarized in Koka's threat to American corporations: "If you do not remove them [factories] they will be burned." An SL/SYL supporter countered that we do not call on workers to burn factories, but to take control of them. The destruction of South African industry, the utopian goal of the divestment movement, would only result in dissipating the social weight of what sets South Africa apart from the other African states emerging from colonialism: a sizeable proletariat.

Nationalism and the BPC

The BPC's "black communalism" is a cloak for the subordination of the

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At Chicago Confab

Reformists Bullish on Divestment

CHICAGO—On October 22 the "Midwestern Conference on University and Corporate Involvement in South Africa" wound up at Northwestern University with the creation of yet another pro-divestment alliance. Only an announced 363 people registered and even fewer sat or slept through two days of dull liberal moralizing and behind-the-scenes skulduggery, although the organizers proudly informed the audience that the proceedings would be inflicted on others via United Nations radio. Like stockbrokers saddled with bad shares, the social democrats of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Maoists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) finally managed to set up a shaky partnership to sell the bankrupt divestment strategy.

Although full political discussion was bureaucratically barred in the initial plenary session, the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) repeatedly took the floor in the workshops to expose the hard truth: the strategy of shifting stocks from one capitalist hand to another offers nothing to anti-apartheid militants but treacherous illusions in the "human rights" integrity of U.S. imperial-

ism. The economic and political bond between the South African rulers and their senior partners, the American bourgeoisie, will not be broken by pleading with or pressuring U.S. imperialism to exploit elsewhere. What is needed is the mobilization of the South African proletariat and the working class internationally to smash the apartheid chains and open the perspective of socialist revolution throughout southern Africa.

The YSA and RSB almost invariably tried to shout down SYL speakers at workshops, while vigorously applauding a speaker who stated, "What we're asking is that imperialism cut its own jugular vein." After cheering such idiocy they kept very quiet when professor Anne Seidman of Brown University argued that it was really more profitable to invest in the ghettos of south Chicago anyway. (Seidman even declared that the broker who sold the University of Wisconsin's "apartheid link" stock at a loss of half a million dollars should be fired for incompetence!)

After two days of squabbling over who would control this "united" front group, the organizers filed out chanting "divestment now."

The conference was devoid of political discussion (the YSA, for example, wanted to discuss changing the "movement's" name to "sell the stock"!), except for the interventions of the SYL.

Anyone serious about fighting apartheid must have been astounded that so much of the conference dealt with the wheeling and dealing of Wall Street rather than the heroic struggles of Soweto. Really striking a blow against apartheid does not entail shuffling stock portfolios but fighting for effective acts of international labor solidarity, such as hot-cargoing South Africa-bound arms shipments, labor action for the recognition of black trade unions and exerting the force of the world labor movement to free the prisoners of apartheid repression.

Real liberation from the grip of imperialism means not divestment, but expropriation of foreign and domestic capital by the South African proletariat led by a South African Trotskyist party. While the SYL alone fought for this road forward, the entire conference showed that reliance on Wall Street is neither a short cut nor a detour but a dead end.

Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

ludicrous slander that SYLers are agents of the CIA or SAVAK.

The forum itself was attended by about a dozen supporters of the Iranian Students Association supported by the pro-"gang of four" Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and a roughly equal number of supporters of the Muslim Students Association. The anti-communist, pro-Khomeini literature they distributed at the forum included a leaflet full of innuendos about "imperialist collaborators" and "imperialism and the Shah in particular [operating] under different organizations and leagues [that] dare to overlook the fight for freedom and openly condemn our leaders." The provocative implications of the leaflet, combined with the threats of the previous day, made clear the need for a defense squad at the forum to ensure that only a political confrontation would take place.

O'Brien's presentation assailed the lie of the shah's phony "modernization" and pointed to the depth and breadth of the current upsurge as evidence of the instability of the butcher shah's regime. The similarities between Iran and tsarist Russia are striking, the speaker noted, including: "the monarchy, universally despised for its brutality and corruption, a young, combative proletariat and a rebellious peasantry, the oppression of numerous minority nations and tribes. The most crucial difference is the absence in Iran of a bolshevik vanguard party determined to break the masses from their treacherous misleaders and lead them to the seizure of power and the inauguration of proletarian rule."

It was O'Brien's trenchant denunciation of the reactionary mullahs, to whom the Iranian left—from the pro-Moscow Tudeh party to the guerrillaists—has been unanimous in capitulating that provoked the Stalinists and Muslims to launch their disruption. Hollering "CIA lies, imperialist lies," while O'Brien spoke, these supporters of the supposedly "democratic" Islamic opposition to the shah revealed that they hold to a peculiar definition of democracy. Comrade O'Brien finished his presentation after the disrupters were informed that continued provocations would result in their ejection from the forum.

However, as a special measure, a representative from the ISA and a Muslim student were both granted extended speaking time during the discussion period. The ISA spokesman combined unabashed defense of Khomeini and the Koran with anti-Trotskyist slanders of the most absurd kind (claiming, for example, that the Trotskyists supported the Japanese invasion of China in the 1930's!).

With the same breath the ISA extolled the medieval-minded Muslim fanatics and attacked the SYL with the charge that Trotskyists "don't believe" in revolution in backward countries! This accusation has a peculiar sound coming from a Stalinist who believes that the working class is too weak to make its own revolution in Iran and must instead follow the lead of reactionaries like Khomeini. In reality it is only the Trotskyists who fight for working-class revolutions in backward as well as advanced countries and recognize that proletarian rule alone can overcome the social and economic backwardness reinforced by imperialism and its junior partners like the shah.

ISA Turns to the Cops

The ISAers came to the Chicago forum as part of an anti-communist bloc with the Muslim students. But they had increasing difficulty defending their capitulation and subservience to Islam as symbolized in the veil. The devout declarations of the Muslim students repeatedly confirmed the Spartacists' characterization of the Islamic opposi-

tion and made a mockery of the Iranian leftists' insistence on Khomeini's "progressive" character.

Incensed at a woman comrade who had the temerity to denounce the veil as "a symbol of oppression," ISAers tried to deny that the Koran upholds the doctrine of female inferiority. Another comrade earned their wrath by pointing out that the ISA persists in subordinating itself politically to Khomeini despite the fact that, as one Muslim student had emphasized earlier in the discussion, he "won't collaborate with Marxists, that's for sure." Urging the ISAers to heed our warnings before it is too late, the SYL spokesman recalled the fate of the 500,000 Indonesian leftists slaughtered in 1965 at the hands of the Muslim fundamentalists and army officers in the coup which replaced Sukarno with Suharto. The ISAers countered that "the progressive Islamic movement in Iran has always been for democracy." But just how this "democracy" could be reconciled with the *ulema's* abdication of the constitutional struggle at the

made themselves obnoxious for the remainder of the forum.

At both Michigan forums it was revealing that ISAers attempted to interrupt comrade Lewis at precisely the same point in his talk: when he noted that pro-Khomeini merchants in the Iranian bazaars had called off their "strikes" rather than risk association with the workers' struggles (UPI dispatch, 7 October). Unable to tolerate Lewis' exposure of the fraud of "anti-shah unity" and the potentially decisive character of the workers' strikes, the Muslim/Maoist bloc attempted to shout down the SYL spokesman, again with cries of "Down with the shah! Down with the CIA!" As Lewis noted in Ann Arbor:

"We've had a lot of these sorts of disruptions and there's a political point that must be gotten across; what we see here tonight is a glimpse of what Iran would be like if the current opposition seizes power.... And it is indicative that the people who see themselves here as the representatives of this opposition, the minute a communist gets up and

Workers Vanguard



Iranian muslims march under slogan from Koran in Washington, D.C.

beginning of this century or with its support to the CIA-orchestrated coup returning the current shah to power in 1953 was left unexplained.

Several of the Midwest forums were purposefully disrupted by Maoists and Iranian students. At Roosevelt University on October 13 and again at the University of Wisconsin at Madison on October 16, Muslim students and one or another faction of the ISA appeared, raised a hullabaloo and proceeded to call the cops on the SYL! This act was not only deeply unprincipled but stupid as well. The police in this country are notorious for their eagerness to use any excuse to attack "foreign troublemakers" like the ISA. What better pretext could be given them than a loud squabble between leftists on campus? Calling the cops in such situations is an invitation to the bourgeois state to victimize the vulnerable Iranian student movement as well as the U.S. left.

At Michigan State University in East Lansing on October 18 pro-Albania Stalinist ISAers and Muslim students ejected for trying to disrupt the talk being given by *Young Spartacus* editor Samuel Lewis drew police intervention by loudly chanting anti-shah slogans outside the room where the forum was being held. Rather than give the cops an excuse to arrest Iranian students, the SYL chose to disband the meeting. At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor ISAers and Muslims were joined in their disruptive activities by members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)—youth group of the RCP. As at Michigan State, disrupters who attempted to shut down the meeting were escorted outside, where they pounded on the door, chanted loudly in an unsuccessful attempt to drown out the speaker and generally

tries to present his viewpoint, they try to disrupt and slander us with the CIA-agent accusation. What's very clear is that were we in Iran today where the social power of pro-Islamic elements is that much greater, we would not walk out of this room alive. So we're going to finish this forum."

The "Left" Face of Islam

For all their incessant squabbling about the nature of the "national bourgeoisie," Chinese foreign policy, etc., the deeply-divided Iranian left have without exception affixed their seal of approval to the Muslim leaders. Today, when the crumbling of the shah's regime has brought every shade of opposition into the streets; when Iranian workers have launched a strike wave—from which the mullahs have ostentatiously taken their distance—there is a pressing need for a clear proletarian class line. Those who genuinely seek to aid the Iranian masses in their struggle against the shah's despotism have a responsibility to unmask the reactionary nature of the religious leaders and not paint them in pretty "progressive" colors.

The Iranian left is prepared to support any opposition to the shah, from whatever quarter and no matter what its motives. This popular front with the Koran is justified by the Stalinist dogma of "anti-imperialist" unity: the subordination of the oppressed to assorted militarists, bourgeois politicians and petty-bourgeois nationalist demagogues.

Trotskyists distinguish *military* support to bourgeois nationalist forces when they come into conflict with imperialism or pose a democratic opposition to bonapartism from *political* support to these anti-proletarian forces. The former is a necessary expedient for unlocking the class

struggle, the latter is simply class treachery. In the case of Nicaragua, for instance, we militarily support the Sandinista rebels while recognizing that these petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois forces will be no more "friends of the working people" than Somoza. But Khomeini's followers are neither a progressive nor democratic opposition to the shah's rule. In fact on many social questions they uphold more backward positions than those of the current dictatorship.

A leaflet produced by the "Left Platform" group in Chicago is representative of leftist political apologies for the mullahs: "What in actual fact we are witnessing today in Iran is not a backward religious movement but a progressive political movement determined to overthrow the yoke of the shah's regime and its foreign masters, for the attainment of real and comprehensive social, economic and political change."

In reality the mullahs are not reluctant participants in a mass plebeian revolt which is essentially outside their control. Nor are they the moderate figureheads behind which a revolutionary explosion is brewing. Instead it is the mullahs who have determined the political thrust of the demonstrations and given them the unmistakable odor of clericalism.

Bolsheviks do not simply shun mass movements of the oppressed if they are temporarily influenced by religious elements. But the demonstrations in Iran today are in no sense similar to the workers' march on the tsar's palace under the leadership of Father Gapon—the initial actions of the 1905 Russian revolution. Father Gapon was not representative of the clerical establishment and as an isolated individual quickly faded into obscurity after 1905. That is not about to happen to Ayatollah Khomeini, the idol of the current protests and the recognized leader of millions of Shi'ite Muslims.

The Muslim preachers, it is true, play upon the popular hatred of the shah's blood-soaked rule. But they do not therefore become the spokesmen for elementary democratic demands. Despite the fact that the Russian workers in 1905 initially supported a Russian Orthodox priest, from the start they demanded a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, the eight-hour workday, and the amelioration of working conditions. While Russian revolutionaries actively participated in this revolutionary uprising and were able to gain the leadership of the soviets, this was never accompanied by any fantastic upholding of the Russian Orthodox "progressive clergy."

In contrast to the demands advanced in the Russian revolution of 1905 what are the slogans of this Iranian "democratic" opposition? In the February 1978 Tabriz revolt they were: "Victory to the just rule of Islam"; "We are adherents of the Koran, we don't need Rastakhiz [the shah's political machine]"; "Death or Hejab [modesty, i.e., the veil]"; and "Death or Khomeini."

Iranian leftists also make much ado about the demonstrators' "anti-imperialism." The overturning of Coca Cola trucks, the destruction of movie houses and liquor stores, the constant railing against "pornography"—the ISAers dignify each of these acts of blind hostility to every aspect of Western culture with an anti-imperialist label. *Resistance*, the tabloid newspaper published by ISAers allied with the Revolutionary Communist Party, complains that the Iranian people are "subjected to vulgar movies, alcohol, carbonated chemicals, and international financial gambling at the expense of our entire way of life." The pro-Albanian *Toufahn* group makes the even more ludicrous claim that the shah is "preparing the grounds for further imperialist plunder by means of imposing junk commodities of imperialist

continued on page 10

NOVEMBER 1978

In the past couple of years there has been a massive social-democratic ideological attack on Leninism, concentrated in the phenomenon known as Eurocommunism. It is rather significant that the Spanish Communist Party dropped the term Leninism, but nonetheless kept the term Marxism. The clear implication is that Leninism is in some sense a temporary historical aberration from Marxism. And the United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel in tailing after the Eurocommunists is also glorifying the organizational principles of classic social democracy, i.e., Kautskyism. Thus, while narrow and historic, the subject we're addressing has a place in living political struggles—particularly among groups claiming the Marxist and Leninist tradition.

This talk is basically on the subject of why, on the organizational question, Marx was not a Leninist, or rather, why the concept of a vanguard party was absent in the period of classical Marxism. Marx states somewhere—in the *Grundrisse*, I believe—that when you have trouble answering a question, perhaps it is the question that is at fault. I think this talk touches on an area where this applies. That is, the notion that there is some general organizational question which allows for generalizations would be incomprehensible for Marx and Engels. Their ideas on the organizational question were highly

during 1852-64 and his role in the First International (1864-72) are far more complex.

Toward the First International

A common biographical understanding of Marx is that after the dissolution of the Communist League in 1852 he retired to the British Museum for the next 12 years. He then emerged and, by some inexplicable process, took over the leadership of the newly-formed First International. In fact, Marx did not become a hermetic socialist scholar, but retained three points of organizational support after 1852.

In Britain, the Chartist movement in its last phase (1852-58) was strongly influenced by Marx, whose articles regularly appeared in its press, the *People's Paper*. The Chartists' authoritative leader, Ernest Jones, can be considered as

Ferdinand Lassalle, one of the few "red '48ers" who was not driven into exile and remained active in Germany throughout the 1850's.

By the time the First International came into being, however, two of these three points of support had disappeared, leaving Marx with a substantially weaker organizational following than he had enjoyed in the 1850's. The most important organizational loss Marx suffered in this period was not in Britain but in Germany. Since the absence of a significant Marxist movement in Germany in the 1860's had a profound effect

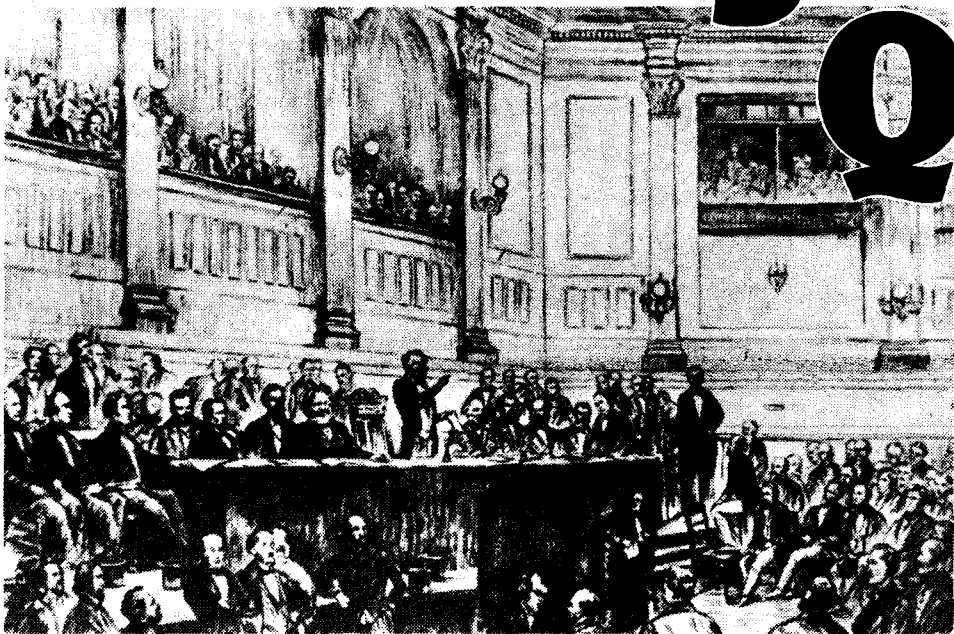
unconstitutionally between 1862 and 1866.

Faced with the most serious crisis in Germany since 1848, Lassalle supported Bismarck against the liberal opposition. He maintained that the national unification of Germany was so important that it should be supported even if this meant overriding bourgeois-democratic institutions. In return for supporting Bismarck against the pacifistic/liberal opposition, Lassalle demanded state support to producer cooperatives and universal suffrage. In short, Lassalle was advocating that progressive national tasks be undertaken by a left-nationalist bonapartist government. (Marx's first application of the term bonapartist beyond the French name-carriers was in relation to Bismarck.) Lassalle's position in some respects anticipated Stalinist policy in backward countries. If one seeks a contemporary analogy to Lassalle's relation to Bismarck, one thinks of the Indonesian Communist Party's attitude toward Sukharno or the Indian Communist Party's attitude toward Indira Gandhi.

Marx regarded Lassalle's program as in part utopian (demanding that the impotent Prussian state bureaucracy

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The Chair will be taken at Half-past Eight P. M.
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The Organizational Question in Classical Marxism



Founding meeting of First International, London 1864.

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition, Part XIV

empirical, differing radically from country to country and even within each country from period to period.

In Britain, for example, Marx from the middle of the 1840's until his death always fought for an independent workers political party, however small, however embryonic. In the United States, on the other hand, with Marx's approval, his followers entered and operated as a faction within the Republican Party of John C. Fremont and Abraham Lincoln. In Germany Marx generally criticized his followers Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel from the left—even threatening to publicly denounce the German Social Democratic party unless they expelled some notorious right-wingers.

The question of why Marx's organizational outlook was not "Leninist" is, however, a false one—one completely abstracted from the historical evolution of the communist movement. The Menshevik historian Boris Nicolaievsky and the neo-Kautskyan George Lichtheim, for example, see in the formation of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) a repudiation of revolutionary vanguardism and an anticipation of modern-day social democracy. A number of social-democratic writers have also argued that the transition from the Communist League to the First International signified the deradicalization of Marx's political outlook. In reality, both Marx's activity

a follower of Marx in this period, certainly as much as Liebknecht and Bebel in a later period. In the reactionary period which followed the revolutions of 1848 the Chartist movement continued its disintegration. It was only when Jones came out for the fusion of the Chartists with the bourgeois radicals in 1858 that Marx decisively broke with him and never again had a direct organizational following in Britain.

Marx's other points of support were of German origin. Marx maintained a semi-formal association with a number of radical German exiles in London, several of whom (George Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner) played major roles in the First International. The most important of these was Liebknecht who returned to Germany in 1862 after 12 years as part of Marx's circle of collaborators. In addition Marx counted on the support in Germany itself of

on the subsequent factional situation in the First International, this question deserves some consideration.

Marx's Failure in Germany in the 1860's

The period of the First International coincided with Bismarck's wars of national unification—against Denmark in 1864, Hapsburg Austro-Hungary in 1866 and Louis Napoleon's France in 1870-71. It was the national question which dominated the political life of Germany in this period, concretely in the serious conflict which arose between Bismarck and the bourgeois liberals. The latter feared an aggressive militarist policy and resisted increased expenditure to modernize the army. Bismarck reorganized the army against the will of the liberal majority of the lower house of the Prussian Assembly, and so ruled

finance socialist cooperatives) and in general reactionary. He argued that it was necessary for German socialists to direct *at least* equal fire at Bismarck and the liberals, and in fact to make the semi-absolutist government the main enemy. Marx maintained that the establishment of a bourgeois-democratic government was more important than the unification of Germany, although the latter was certainly historically progressive. On this question Marx broke decisively with Lassalle in 1862.

Lassalle then built a mass workers organization, the German Workers Union, without and in a sense against Marx. He also entered into secret negotiations with Bismarck. Lassalle was killed in a duel in 1864, the same year as the founding of the International (after which the German Workers Union amended its constitution to

EDITOR'S NOTE: As a special feature Young Spartacus has been publishing the presentations on the origins of Marxism that have been given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at various educational gatherings of the SYL.

The current installment, the first of three on the Organizational Question in Classical Marxism, represents the conclusion of the series on Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition and the bridge to the series on Lenin and the

Vanguard Party, which was published in Workers Vanguard. The three articles on this topic are based on a public presentation by comrade Seymour in New York City on July 15 of this year.

In this series comrade Seymour has set out to demonstrate how Marx and Engels assimilated the political world views and experiences of the preceding generations of revolutionary militants who struggled to achieve an egalitarian-collectivist social order by ensuring the

triumph of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In stressing the living continuity of the Jacobin communist tradition and its shaping influence on the young Marx and Engels, the series debunks the currently fashionable New Left/academic interpretation of Marxism as simply a self-contained armchair derivation from Hegelian philosophy.

Preceding articles in the series have covered: the Great French Revolution and how Jacobin communism was

prohibit the president from dueling). There followed a brief period of factional anarchy replete with bizarre and humorous incidents. One conference, for example, voted to condemn a rival factional leader as "an irrecoverable idiot." However, under the leadership of J.B. von Schweitzer, the Lassallean movement regrouped and thereafter existed as a strong, centralized mass organization through the Franco-Prussian War. The national unification of Germany under Bismarck's Prussia as a result of that war destroyed the Lassallean's basic *raison d'être* and so led to their disintegration.



Frederick Engels.

The same year that Marx split with Lassalle, Wilhelm Liebknecht returned to Germany from his long London exile. This should have given Marx a loyal supporter in Germany, though one less capable and far less influential than Lassalle. Despite Liebknecht's historic reputation as a loyal, if sometime aberrant, follower of Marx, this did not in fact happen. Liebknecht differed fundamentally with Marx on the critical national question, although he remained personally loyal.

After a brief entry into the Lassallean movement, Liebknecht split from it (with Marx's approval) in 1865. He did not thereupon seek to build a Marxist organization, a German section of the First International or any kind of proletarian-socialist party. Rather he joined the People's Party and became one of its leading agitators. This party had a working-class auxiliary, the Union of German Workers' Societies, whose leader was a young carpenter, August Bebel. Thus originated the famous Liebknecht/Bebel political partnership.

The People's Party was a South German-based liberal-bourgeois party whose basic program was opposition to Bismarckian Prussia's drive to unify Germany. It was the main expression of a tendency known as "South German federalism." In contrast to Liebknecht, Marx supported German unification (while maintaining political opposition to Bismarck). Marx and Engels concluded from the defeat of the revolutions of 1848 that a strong proletarian movement would arise only as a consequence of the economic development of central Europe. They judged the national unification of Germany as central to economic progress and, concomitantly, to expanding the ranks of the working class.

Whereas the Lassalleans went so far as to give political support to Bismarck in order to unify Germany, Liebknecht/Bebel were politically allied with the non-Prussian bourgeois opposition to Bismarck's unification campaign.

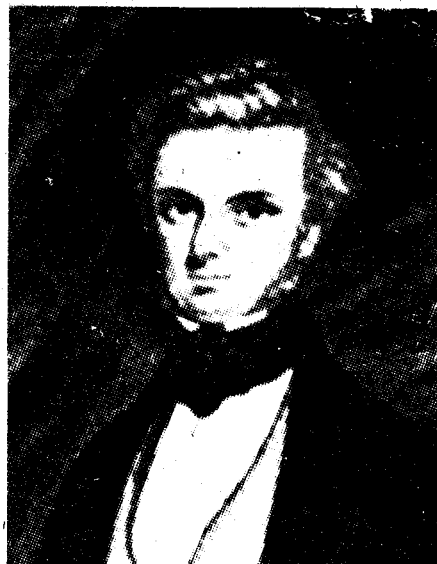
Marx/Engels were no more sympathetic to Liebknecht's South German federalism than to Lassallean pro-Bismarck left-nationalism. Writing to Marx in 1868, Engels expressed his repugnance at Liebknecht's political line: "I dislike Liebknecht's tabloid to the highest degree. Nothing but hidden South German federalism" (quoted in Günther Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany* [1963]).

Following the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Liebknecht demanded that Bismarck give up the fruits of victory and restore to the South German states their previous independence. Marx regarded this program as both fantastical and historically retrogressive. He refused to give political support to Bismarck against the Prussian liberal opposition, but he steadfastly militarily supported Bismarck's Prussia against those foreign states hostile to German national unification.

"Misfortune and Carelessness"

Marx's policy on the national question set him against both rival mass working-class movements in Germany in the 1860's—Lassalle's and Liebknecht/Bebel's. It was only after the Franco-Prussian War took the contentious national question off the agenda that the Liebknecht/Bebel party generally followed Marx's program.

Thus prior to 1870 Marx had experienced a series of organizational setbacks which followed a definite pattern. On three separate occasions younger followers broke with him and built mass workers movements on a program which Marx considered opportunist. In 1848 the Communist League activist Stefan Born disregarded Marx and built a mass trade-union organization on an apolitical,



Ernest Jones.

economistic program. In 1862 Lassalle broke with Marx in the direction of left-nationalist bonapartism. And in 1866 Wilhelm Liebknecht turned his back on Marx (though only temporarily) and threw himself into the liberal anti-Prussian movement.

There's a scene in Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* where a grand dame confronts her niece's suitor and questions him about his parents. He answers that he's an orphan, to which she replies: "To lose one parent may be considered a misfortune, to lose two smacks of carelessness." For Marx to lose one follower, who then builds a mass workers organization, may be considered an historical accident; to lose

three—one in 1848, one in 1862 and a third in 1866—indicates that more profound historical causes are at work.

Marx's program was so far ahead of the actual development of the German workers movement, still largely composed of artisans, that he could not gain mass support. Thus, at every critical point Marx's more ambitious followers sought popular support by taking an opportunist short-cut. It was only after 1870, when in a sense the preliminary tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had been completed, that it was possible for Marxism to achieve a mass organizational expression in Germany.

Thus during the period of Marx's ascendancy in the First International he had no real base in Germany (although his formal position was as secretary for Germany). Marx's principal source of support in the First International was the British trade unionists, who were not even socialists. This seemingly paradoxical situation of liberal trade unionists supporting a German communist against rival European socialists had a profound influence on Marx's view of proletarian class consciousness and its evolution.

Organizational Bases of the First International

It is important to note that Marx did not become the towering figure of the First International until 1871-72, and then it blew apart. Marx was a (as opposed to *the*) leader of that organization which rested on two bases of support: a section of the British trade unions and the French *mutualiste* societies. In its first years, the internal life of the International was dominated by the radically different nature and political outlook of these two workers movements.

The International was initiated by the British trade unions for primarily economic rather than political struggle. By the 1850's trade unionism in Britain had developed to the point where scabbing by British workers was rare. Therefore it became a standard practice for employers to import foreign labor to replace strikers or to contract out to continental firms to replace lost production. Such international strikebreaking was particularly common in the great metropolis of London and in those industries, like construction and light manufacture, where technology was fairly uniform throughout western Europe.

For the British, the International was viewed primarily as a means of preventing strikebreaking. The core of the International was the London building trades. Its growth and extension were closely correlated with its success in preventing foreign scabbing. For example, the International got a big boost in the spring of 1866 when the London Amalgamated Tailors, who were not affiliated to it, went on strike. The International effectively frustrated attempts to bring in foreign tailors at which point the London Tailors and other related unions affiliated to the International.

The British trade unionists were by no means narrowly economist in their general outlook. Most were radical democrats who fought for the franchise—the majority of British workers did not get the vote until 1867. They solidarized with the Polish national



Ferdinand Lassalle.

liberation struggle against tsarist Russia and they agitated for the North in the American Civil War (when the British ruling class sympathized with the slave-holding South). However, the British leaders of the International viewed it primarily as an extension of trade unionism and not as an international workers party. In British politics, most of them supported Gladstone's Liberals and particularly its radical wing led by Richard Cobden and John Bright.

Some accounts describe the origins of the First International as an agreement between British and French trade unions. However, the term "trade union" is a misnomer for the Proudhonist *mutualiste* societies. In the France of Napoleon III there were no state-backed social welfare measures. If a worker was long unemployed or seriously ill or mutilated, he and his family could literally starve to death. Therefore, there was a tendency for workers organizations to provide the kind of social insurance which is today associated with welfare-state measures. Throughout western Europe, the early organizations of workers and artisans took the form of burial societies to pay for funerals and similar social support.

For the Proudhonists, the *mutualiste* societies were also and more importantly embryos of producer cooperatives which were to completely replace capitalist production. Like many of the early socialist sects (Owenites, Lassalleans), the Proudhonists believed in the "iron law of wages." Since real wages were supposedly fixed, they did not believe that either wages or working conditions could be improved through collective bargaining and opposed strikes as a self-defeating tactic—although they had sufficient class consciousness not to break them.

On almost every major question of the day the Proudhonists were thoroughgoing reactionaries. Proudhon (who like Lassalle died in 1864 shortly before the founding of the International) was a male chauvinist and an outright racist who supported the South in the American Civil War in the name of white European supremacy. The Proudhonists carried their anti-statism to the point where they refused to make economic demands on the government. Thus they opposed the demands for a legally-enforced eight-hour day and for free, universal compulsory education.

That the principal organizations of the French working class in the 1860's

continued on page 8

continued in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the French democratic opposition and how it underwent a profound political differentiation from the Carbonari Conspiracy and the 1830 revolution to the Blanqui putsch of 1839; British Chartism and how it reached its revolutionary climax; the origins of the Communist League and how it developed through factional struggle between the utopian millennialism of Weitling and the passive

propagandism of Schapper; the political development of Karl Marx before 1848 and how he formulated a unique strategic conception for pushing the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the prologue of the socialist revolution; the French revolution of 1848 and how the counterrevolution triumphed through a class differentiation within the victorious revolutionary-democratic forces; the defeat of the German revolution of 1848 through the capitulation of bourgeois democracy to monarchism; and

the post-1848 radicalization of Marx's political world view leading to the formation of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists.

Back issues of Young Spartacus containing the preceding articles in the series "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" are still available and may be obtained at 25 cents per issue from: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013.

Marx...

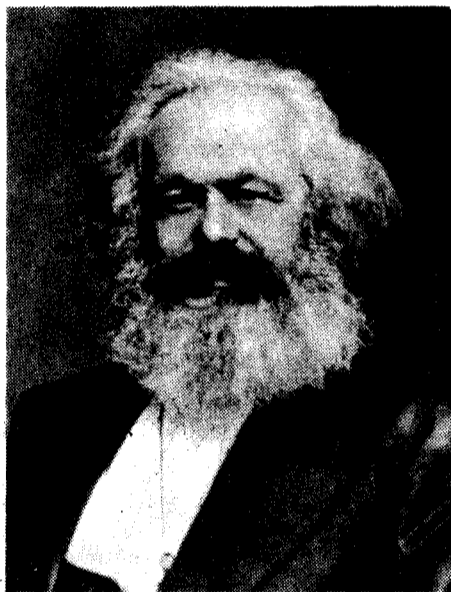
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held these reactionary economic, political and social views was not an historical accident, the mere result of the influence of a quirky radical theorist. Proudhonism was the organic expression of a pre-industrial artisan-proletariat doomed by the progress of capitalist economic development. Proudhon was not a collectivist, but rather looked to a society in which small groups of workers would operate their own factories or farms. By contrast, the British trade unionists, whatever their liberal-reformist illusions, represented an economically viable class and so did not aspire to turn the clock back to a pre-industrial society.

Marx's Tactics

Marx was invited to participate in the founding of the International Workingmen's Association because he was the best-known German leftist exile in Britain. He had in the past stayed away from the various exile "internationals," but this time, he realized that mass organizations were involved on both the British and French sides.

Interestingly, Engels was unenthusiastic about Marx's involvement with the newly-formed international organization. He thought it was more import-



Karl Marx.

ant for Marx to finish writing *Capital*. He also believed that the forces involved were too politically heterogeneous to constitute a viable organization. Writing to Marx (7 November 1864) he commented:

"Besides, I surmise that this new Association will very soon split into theoretically bourgeois and theoretically proletarian elements, as soon as the question is made more precise." [our translation]

—Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Band 31 (1965)

In the long run—but only in the long run—Engels' prognosis proved correct. (Engels generally tended to be more of a factionalist than Marx. Because of his combative and acerbic style, many people regarded Engels as Marx's evil genius. One exception was Engels' mother, who remained convinced to her dying day that Marx had seduced her son into a communist career.)

Marx was very much aware that he was dealing with liberal democratic workers, not revolutionary socialists. He wrote to Engels (4 November 1864) about the difficulties of drafting a founding document for the organization:

"It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. In a few weeks the same people will be holding meetings for the franchise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* [strong in substance, weak in form]."

Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (1975)

How Marx achieved this can be seen from a key passage in the *Inaugural Address*: "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of



SPD Reichstag leaders of 1890's: Wilhelm Liebknecht standing third from left, August Bebel seated below him.

the working classes." Although this can be interpreted as the dictatorship of the proletariat, most British trade unionists would see it as a call for the franchise (which they still did not have).

How did a communist achieve leadership of left-liberal trade unionists? Marx did so by not raising a communist program but rather by bringing forward immediate economic and democratic demands—the eight hour day; free, universal education; universal suffrage in Britain; the independence of Poland, etc. The advanced elements among the British trade union leaders (men like George Odger, Benjamin Lucraft and Robert Applegarth) already supported these demands and thus did not have to alter their basic political outlook to collaborate with Marx.

Most people incorrectly assume that the First International was socialist. The International never advocated either a collectivist economic system or the collectivization of industrial capital. The Brussels Congress of 1868 adopted a program for the nationalization of land (actually a radical bourgeois-democratic measure) and of the mines, railroads, etc. But this was as far as it went. The First International should be described as a radical laborite, rather than a socialist, organization.

Early Socialism and the First International

As previously noted, in its first years, the basic factional division in the First International was between the British trade unionists, generated by Marx, and the French Proudhonist *mutualistes*. The Proudhonists were decisively defeated at the 1868 Brussels and 1869 Basle congresses, centrally over the question of land nationalization to which they were opposed. The Basle Congress marked the apex of Marx's influence over a more-or-less unified organization.

From a contemporary vantage point, the factional line-up in the First International may appear unusual, even unnatural. The Proudhonists were, after all, opposed to the capitalist system while the British trade unionists were not. Yet Marx aligned himself with the liberal trade unionists. Marx's bloc with liberal British trade unionism takes on even more significance when one considers that the other major European socialist tendencies (Lassalleans, Blanquists) refused to participate in the First International.

The Lassalleans refused to participate because they opposed Marx, centrally, but not only, over the German national question. The Blanquists refused to participate in part because they would have nothing to do with the Proudhonists and in part because they saw little value in such a broad and consequently politically heterogeneous organization. (After the Paris Commune the Blanquist exiles in London did join the International.)

Blanqui's criticism of the First International is worth considering because it sheds light on Marx's evolution away from Jacobin communist conceptions. A leading student of Blanqui's ideas here sums up his view of the International:

"...he felt there was ultimately little hope in the International which was hemmed in by an imperceptible circle of ambitious factions and 'illusions of organization.' Its vacillating policies would furnish no sure leadership for the masses and, in fact, only reflected the progress of popular opinion without contributing to that progress."

—Alan B. Spitzer, *The Revolutionary Theories of Louis Auguste Blanqui* (1957)

Superficially, this may appear to be a Leninist criticism of the First International; actually it is a Jacobin communist criticism. Blanqui presumed that the masses would be drawn into revolutionary struggle through the broad bourgeois-democratic movement. The task of the communist party was defined in the left wing of the imminent bourgeois-democratic revolution.

By the 1860's Marx sensed that the era of bourgeois-democratic revolutions in western Europe had passed. The working class would have to overthrow capitalism on the basis of its own organizational strength. The workers movement had to build itself up from its present organizational weakness through partial economic and democratic struggles. In turn, the communists had to shift the axis of their intervention from the radical bourgeois-democratic movement to the labor movement.

Marxists today consider liberal trade unionism à la Walter Reuther as a more politically backward tendency in the workers movement than those which formally reject the capitalist system (social democracy, Stalinism, anarcho-syndicalism). However, it would be wrong to project a similar schema back into mid-nineteenth century Europe. The British liberal trade unionists were not more politically backward than the Proudhonists, Lassalleans, Blanquists, etc. The latter represented a dying artisanry which generated utopian-escapist ideologies or, in the case of Blanquism, was rooted in the radical bourgeois-democratic milieu. Thus Marx's immediate program was more acceptable to the British trade unionists than to the contemporary socialist/anarchist organization.

Marx was deeply impressed by the fact that mass workers organizations in the most advanced country, despite their non-socialist character, supported his program. He saw in this fact a confirmation that his doctrine was the wave of the future, the inevitable product of the modern workers movement. Throughout this period Marx counterposed the "real workers movement" to the primitive socialist sects. Thus on November 23, 1871 he wrote to a German-American supporter, Friedrich Bolte:

"The International was founded in

order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a really militant organization of the working class.... On the other hand the International could not have stood its ground if the course of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real working-class movement always stand in inverse proportion to each other. Sects are (historically) justified so long as the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary....

"And the history of the International was a *continual struggle of the General Council* against the sects and amateur experiments, which sought to assert themselves within the International against the real movement of the working class." [emphasis in original]

—Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (1975)

Marx's optimistic belief that divisiveness was a symptom of the immaturity of the working class (which had been overcome through the International) turned out to be false. Less than a year after Marx wrote these words, the First International was destroyed in a witches' sabbath of factionalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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) 621-5138

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

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

Given the gross discrepancy between the living standards of whites and blacks, this "integration" of Rhodesian society cannot even be called cosmetic.

Of course the legal and constitutional gyrations of Ian Smith are entirely beside the point, even in assessing the "internal settlement." The fact that the armed forces are untouched by Smith's alleged reforms is alone sufficient to guarantee that Muzorewa & Co.'s role will be entirely farcical. Thus, when the protocol seemingly due his three black partners has become too inconvenient, Smith has shown himself quite willing to dispense with formality. When a Muzorewa associate, Minister of Justice Byron Hove, was fired for remarks critical of Rhodesian jurisprudence, Muzorewa was not even informed—although under the terms of the "internal settlement" the good bishop was entitled to a veto over the firing. Furthermore, Smith's three stooges were not informed of the massive July 29 raids on refugee camps in Mozambique until after they had already begun.

Flnkeys and Chickens

The bourgeoisie's barometer of success for the "internal settlement" is not its phony democratic image which nobody takes seriously, but its ability to stem the guerrilla offensive. Imperialism is interested in stabilizing southern Africa in order to place a cap on Soviet influence in that region, an influence which is founded almost entirely upon the availability of insurrectionary forces to be armed against the legacy of colonialism. Smith's February gambit depended in large part upon the degree of support his black collaborators enjoyed among the present and potential recruits to the Patriotic Front.

When the agreement was signed in February, Muzorewa, who headed the United African National Congress, was consistently greeted by massive demonstrations of blacks and Sithole was claiming control of 4,500 guerrillas in the bush. (Jeremiah Chirau, a tribal chief long on Smith's payroll, never had much credibility.) The association of these three sellouts with a patently fake "representative" government has certainly not enhanced their authority. Sithole's claim to the allegiance of the ZANU movement he once led has proved to be an entirely empty boast; emissaries sent by him to ZANU have been executed by the guerrillas.

Muzorewa seems to be the most popular of the various black leaders. It is estimated that in an election he would receive 50 percent of the votes of blacks who would actually participate (although one year ago this figure was placed at 80 percent). Nevertheless, he owes a good deal of this popularity to his position in the Methodist Episcopal Church and not to any particular political authority. "Muz's" election as head of the United African National Congress in 1971 was based upon the fact that he was the least offensive of the various candidates and was not asso-

ciated with any particular faction.

Muzorewa's credentials as a militant are extremely suspect. While ZAPU and ZANU were being driven into exile, the bishop was attending bible colleges in Missouri and Tennessee. His decreasing authority since entering into tandem with Smith are accompanied by increasingly vocal doubts about his intellectual acumen. For example, his reaction to the alleged end of racial discrimination in Rhodesia was, "It makes me so happy I could jump off the roof."

If the internal settlement was meant to stem the advancing guerrillas, it must be judged an abysmal failure. The threats of universal conscription among blacks to uphold white rule has driven

from any of the various political/guerrillaist groupings. For the history of the opposition to white rule is a sorry string of betrayals. And as the sweet smell of governmental power becomes stronger more such betrayals can be expected.

The center of imperialist hopes for a pro-Western Zimbabwe is Joshua Nkomo. Despite the fact that Nkomo's ZAPU is the principal recipient of Soviet arms, these hopes are probably not misplaced. Indeed there is hardly a more disreputable character than Nkomo to be found among the diverse petty-bourgeois nationalists of Africa. The original statement of principles of the Rhodesian African National Congress

Streeky—Camera 5



Smith and Sithole in Washington, D.C.

thousands to the recruiting camps of ZANU and ZAPU. In addition, both the attacks on the white farms and urban centers and the government's heavy-handed retaliation are escalating. All white travel outside the urban areas is now done in armed caravans and even housewives are being trained in the use of automatic weapons.

The question of Rhodesia's future is very directly a military one. It is this aspect which bodes most poorly for the future of white rule. Rhodesia is not South Africa where the white population numbers in the millions and has roots extending back for three centuries. A large percentage of Rhodesia's 250,000 whites have been there for 15 years or less and a majority hold passports from other countries. They went to Rhodesia to live in colonial grandeur; now that this life is threatened they are departing in droves at the rate of 1,500 a month. The overwhelming numerical force of blacks and the resort of whites to flight fortunately mean that white-supremacist Rhodesia is not long for this world.

Den of Thieves

Imperialist schemes for Rhodesia are by no means dependent upon the survival of a white-supremacist citadel. Despite the militant reputation enjoyed by Mugabe and Nkomo among most U.S. leftists, the probability is that a pro-Western alignment can be hatched

(ANC) which Nkomo led affirmed "complete loyalty to the crown as the symbol of national unity." At the 1961 constitutional conference at Salisbury, Nkomo and Sithole led the delegation of the National Democratic Party, the ANC's successor, and accepted a constitution which legitimized white supremacy in return for 15 parliamentary seats. The 1961 constitution made the "internal settlement," which Nkomo denounces as the "greatest sellout in history," look like the French Revolution.

The origins of the ZAPU/ZANU split lie not so much in Nkomo's consistent tendency to accommodate colonialism as in his undying penchant for personal bureaucratic rule. Nkomo's initial response to the banning of ZAPU in 1962 was to urge its executive to join him in exile in Dar es Salaam, claiming (falsely) that this strategy had the backing of Julius Nyerere. Shortly thereafter, rather than face an impending political fight in Tanganyika, Nkomo surreptitiously returned to Salisbury and proceeded to denounce those outside Rhodesia as obviously not serious about struggling against colonialism.

Currently Nkomo has given ample evidence that his turn to guerrillism has not affected his style. After declaring last year that "we intend to finish [Smith]," Nkomo proceeded to secretly meet with the racist leader in Zambia last August. Nkomo's partner in the Patriotic Front, Robert Mugabe, was not informed of the meeting. Despite Nkomo's militant rhetoric and his avowals that "we mean to get that country by force and we shall get it," he is a frequent guest in London on jet trips provided by Lonhro, an important multinational corporation.

Mugabe, for his part, has officially adopted "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung-Thought" and ZANU is the favorite guerrilla group of those pillars of "African Socialism," Julius Nyerere and Samora Machel. While Mugabe has ruled out U.S. participation in an "all-party" conference as a punishment for Smith's Washington visit, this prohibition does not apply to the presumably legitimate interests of what Mugabe

calls "the only colonial power," Britain. In 1976 Mugabe explained his preference for dealing with British imperialism rather than the U.S.: "It is the responsibility of Britain as a colonial power and of no one else to grant us our right to self-determination" (*New York Times*, 30 October 1976).

The various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists switch "ideologies" and allegiances at the drop of a hat. According to the bourgeois press only a few years ago, Muzorewa was the "militant bishop" fronting for the Soviets and Sithole an anti-white "fanatic." Lately, the "Maoist" Mugabe found it expedient to befriend "Soviet social imperialism" via Castro.

What Next?

During Smith's visit to the U.S. numerous demonstrations were staged across the country. Among the most popular chants, one which met almost universal approval from the American fake-lefts, was "Down with Rhodesia! Up with Zimbabwe!" The hodgepodge of conflicting ambitions and strategic interests involved in the struggles in southern Africa guarantee only that just about any outcome is possible. For as white rule approaches its ignominious end, the form that "Up with Zimbabwe" will take is anything but clear.

Smith's black front men do not possess any significant military apparatus which would allow them to consolidate a regime should Smith fall and the white-officered army disintegrate. Mugabe's ZANU has an estimated 6,000-9,000 troops in Rhodesia, but his forces are depleted, having to date done the lion's share of the actual fighting. Nkomo, on the other hand, had committed only ten percent of his 11,000 troops to the actual guerrilla fight (perhaps saving the rest for the anticipated battle with Mugabe) and his Soviet-armed forces are held to be better equipped.

A factor of great importance should the final outcome in Rhodesia be determined in a civil war is the tribal question. The tribal affiliations of Rhodesian blacks are divided among two major linguistic groups: Shona, which is spoken by 75 percent of the population, and Ndebele comprising 14 percent. Nkomo has the disadvantage of being a Kalanga, a tribe which was originally Shona speaking but was absorbed by the Ndebeles. Mugabe is Shona speaking and has virtually no Ndebele representation in his leadership. Despite its apparent homogeneity, however, ZANU has been severely weakened by internal fighting. When ZANU national chairman Herbert Chitepo was assassinated in 1975 all evidence pointed to the ZANU guerrilla high command. As a result ZANU suffered a bloody split along the lines of the various Shona-speaking tribes that resulted in at least 200 deaths and left behind a sordid history of internal purges and bloodshed.

Omens of tribal-based showdowns are already visible. There have been frequent reports of clashes between ZANU and ZAPU and both groups are currently trying to stake out territory in the areas of the others' tribal base for an impending military showdown. Moreover, Nkomo's secret meeting with Smith at the behest of Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia brought forward threats from Mugabe's backers, Machel and Nyerere, that they would not allow Mugabe to be out-manuevered.

The decisive question immediately is the intervention of imperialism. While there is certainly a groundswell of support for Smith in both Washington and London, the basic imperialist plan is unaltered. Both Carter and British prime minister Callaghan would like an all-party conference to wrest the sort of concessions from Smith that would draw Nkomo into an expanded and more stable internal settlement while isolating Mugabe's tired armies. How-

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Young Spartacus

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Campus Left Under Attack at Berkeley

BERKELEY—The student government at the University of California at Berkeley campus has mounted a McCarthyite attack against the funding of campus left groups. Dominated by "Common Sense"—a right-wing grouping which ran on a platform of close collaboration with the administration—the heads of the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) have made good on their promise to be "non-political": i.e., do the administration's dirty work in barring access to university funds and facilities.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)—all of which have received funding in the past—were initially slated to receive no money for the current year. While the SYL and YSA were eventually granted token funding in an obvious last minute attempt to buy off protest, the student Senate completely axed the RCYB from the budget under the pretext, supplied by a "radical" would-be student bureaucrat, of the RCYB's crass anti-homosexual prejudices. In fact, these student politicians

were using the RCYB's reactionary stand on this question to justify an attack on the RCYB for the "crime" of being ostensible revolutionaries.

The Berkeley incidents occur in the context of an even more ominous smear campaign launched by the *Free Triton*, a right-wing rag at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD) which normally limits itself to crackpot "laissez-faire" economic schemes. In June, just as the UCSD student government was considering budget requests, these "libertarians" (bankrolled by local businessmen) charged the UCSD YSA with using university funds for national YSA activities. As the *Free Triton* tells it, the financial records with which they documented their charges were the result of "the mysterious delivery of a cardboard box on top of the *Free Triton*..." The box contained not only the UCSD YSA's ledgers, cancelled checks, etc., but internal YSA documents and correspondence, a membership list and even the itinerary of the 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.

As in the past, it is left to the SYL to

point the way forward to fight anti-communist harassment. Two years ago at Berkeley, when a ROTC-uniformed ASUC vice-president attempted to make submission of membership lists mandatory for campus groups applying for office space, the SYL launched a successful protest campaign. Most recently, the Sandor John defense campaign at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus successfully defeated the administration's attempt to ban an SYL spokesman from the campus as an "outside agitator."

Unlike the RCYB, which not only refuses to engage in joint defense work with its left opponents but seeks to silence its critics with thug attacks, the SYL advocates non-sectarian, united-front defense against administration harassment. Unlike the reformist YSA, which seeks to maintain its respectable image by offering the most timid, liberal opposition to attacks on its democratic rights, the SYL not only stands for militant protests but for the abolition of the bourgeoisie's campus administration and for placing the universities under student/teacher/campus worker control. ■

Stamberg...

(continued from page 12)

SWPer Miliner tried to maintain that "It was not true, as the Spartacist League claims, that there was a march against a synagogue that took place in Crown Heights." The Daughtry-led movement, he said, was simply a mobilization against police brutality. The CP spokesman at first attempted to duck the issue entirely (claiming it wasn't important, simply an issue for debate among "Trotskyites"), but when pressed indicated his support for the anti-semitic march, merely terming the target "inappropriate."

It is not surprising that both the SWP and the CP fell in line behind Daughtry and tried to pass off his marches to end "Hassidic control" of the police and grab a larger share of the poverty funds as protests against police brutality. The politics of these reformist outfits are only a shade to the left of the traditional pork-barreling politics of Daughtry and the black Democratic hacks that flocked to his meetings in Crown Heights. But in the context of the disintegration of New York City and the ruthless slashing of social services, these politics can only pit one sector of the population against another building towards explosive racial confrontations as was seen in Crown Heights.

The nationalism and reformism of the SWP and CP lead them to tail after the black preachers and nationalist demagogues even as they lead the black masses toward suicidal race war. But for socialists, communalist ethnic violence is not half a step toward class struggle; it is in fact counterposed. It was only the Spartacist League that called for an end to the rising cycle of ethnic violence in Crown Heights and opposed the vigilante squads—both Hassidic and black—posing instead the need for a city-wide campaign to jail the killer cops. There can be no concerted fight against the banks, the capitalists and the politicians who are responsible for the rotting ghettos of New York City so long as the wrath of minorities is diverted into hostility and violence against other ethnic communities.

Labor Must Fight!

The Spartacist Party brochure lays out the basis of this campaign:

"We know well that the socialist revolution is not just around the corner. But neither is it some election pipe-

dream. It is the culmination of a struggle for power—working-class power—not just in New York but throughout the world. And since it is necessary, it is necessary to begin. "Can it happen here? Perhaps we will begin in this great, unique city—the financial center of U.S. imperialism. A victimized city—seen from the lily-white "middle America" suburbs and the halls of Congress as a city of "foreigners" and "welfare cheats," a city of Blacks and Latins run by Jews and Italians—New York is the crisis of capitalism in every American city more clearly revealed, more racially inflamed. That's why New York can be the revolutionary motor of America or its counterrevolutionary model of destruction."

Our campaign is not one of phony gimmicks or appeals to capitalism but a clear and simple program for class struggle—a socialist fight to save New York City. Vote Spartacist! Vote Stamberg! ■

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 9)

ever, even if such a conference took place, it would undoubtedly falter on the decisive question of whose army will form the nucleus of the new state power. For the imperialists any number of arrangements are acceptable within this framework, including support to Nkomo alone or to a Muzorewa/Mugabe bloc based on Shona fraternity.

Smith, to the contrary, hopes that a breakdown in negotiations will force the U.S. and Britain into increased military aid and even intervention to prop up the white-supremacist regime. Foreseeing tribal warfare and possible Cuban intervention, the current liberal outlook advocates direct British intervention, with American backing to ensure a smooth "transition" and arbitrate between Smith, Nkomo and Mugabe. Furthermore, the British newspaper *Observer* (30 July) reported that "Britain and the United States are preparing for an international rescue force to safeguard the lives of 200,000 white settlers in Rhodesia—should the deteriorating security situation lead to a collapse of the Rhodesian interim government." Thus the black nationalists' fawning on the imperialist powers paves the way for direct Western military intervention.

Military Victory to ZAPU/ZANU!

The ultimate loser in all these maneuvers will undoubtedly be the

Rhodesian black masses. The remnant of white rule in Africa is a barbaric anachronism which must be defeated. We therefore oppose all negotiations with Smith and call for military victory to the ZAPU/ZANU guerrillas. However, the likely outcome of such a victory—the spectre of an Angola-style tribal-based conflict—is hardly an attractive one. Such a conflict can only result in a bloodbath followed by the ascendancy of some despot in the mold of a Machel or Angola's Neto. As in all backward countries, bourgeois nationalism will lead only to new forms of imperialist exploitation, albeit with black intermediaries. But when these nationalist demagogues are in power, they will no longer be able to blame white colonialism alone for the oppression of Rhodesian workers and peasants.

The real solution to the oppression of the southern African masses is the expropriation of imperialism by a workers and peasants government. This requires the intervention of Trotskyist parties based primarily on the five million strong black proletariat of South Africa, to lead forward a socialist revolution against the imperialist plunderers and their black front men. ■

Koka...

(continued from page 4)

proletariat to the interests of the black petty-bourgeois aspiring nationalists. The nationalism of Koka the trade unionist is no different from that of the strikebreaking, anti-working-class regimes in Angola and Mozambique. Koka's kinship to the capitalist rulers of Mozambique leads him to excuse the exportation of thousands of slave-wage contract laborers from Mozambique to South Africa under the same conditions that existed under Portuguese colonial rule. According to Koka: "this thing will go on for some time... We [the BPC] have not done much because of the poverty of these countries." The BPC/BAWU are thus ready to consign these workers to this hideous exploitation by apartheid in the name of the exigencies of Samora Machel's "socialism."

Koka's backers, the social democratic Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) have not breathed a word of criticism of his anti-working-class nationalism. Like Koka, the SWP/YSA deny the centrality of the

U.S. working class in giving genuine aid to the embattled South African masses. Nor do they see the centrality of the black proletariat of South Africa. They have nothing in common with the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency which stands on a program of international labor solidarity for the anti-apartheid struggle. While we unconditionally defend Drake Koka, the leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council and all other victims of apartheid repression, revolutionaries struggle to mobilize the black proletariat for a black-centered workers and peasants government and give no political support to Koka and the BPC. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 5)

culture, by misleading public opinion, promoting degeneracy..."

Those who accept the insane proposition that imperialist super-profits and the brutal exploitation of the Iranian proletariat are made possible by the consumption of Coca Cola must therefore believe that Saudi Arabia, one of the bastions of U.S. imperialism's control in the Middle East, has somehow cleansed itself of imperialist domination. There one finds Committees for the Commendation of Virtue and the Condemnation of Vice roaming the streets shutting down shops at prayer time, attacking youths with long hair and flogging those found drinking alcohol in public. And of course public movies, nightclubs and discotheques are banned by the Saudi oil sheiks.

The Iranian mullahs also fall into step with the Saudis' puritanism by advocating the forced seclusion of women. Marx and Engels often quoted the utopian socialist Fourier's observation that the position of women was an index of the depth of oppression and backwardness in a society. And in Iran the veil, which seals women from participation in public life, is a symbol of their isolation and oppression and a visible indictment of the social reaction codified in Islamic law. The demonstrators' call for the continuation of this grotesque symbol of oppression speaks volumes about the "democratic" character of the religious opposition.

That the various wings of Iranian Stalinism should feel a kinship with the mullahs is not surprising: it is an expression of an intersection on social/cultural questions. The ISAers' nauseating apologies for the Islamic degradation of women is a case in point where Stalinist puritanism—which glorifies the nuclear family and advocates rigid norms of "decency"—dovetails with the socially-backward code spelled out in the Koran. Social reaction is the heritage of Stalinism: in the USSR, Stalin's consolidation of power as the result of the strangulation of a liberating proletarian revolution saw the steady reversal of the socially progressive measures the Bolsheviks had introduced to combat women's oppression. The USSR under Lenin and Trotsky was committed to the struggle against every form of social oppression (including Muslim domination in Soviet Central Asia). Stalin, on the other hand, turned to the reactionary forces of traditional Russian society to maintain bureaucratic social control as the political counter-revolution roared into full gear.

That's Right—Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!

Revolutionary Marxists must point to the reactionary character of the mullahs and reaffirm the traditional communist hostility to all forms of religious obscurantism, the "opiate of the people." A military bloc between revolutionary proletarian forces and Islamic groupings would be possible if such groupings were part of a genuine democratic opposition to the shah or to imperialist intervention.

Young Spartacus

Vote Spartacist! Stamberg for Assembly!

A Fighting Socialist Campaign in NYC Elections

In the last month, thousands of New Yorkers have encountered a revolutionary socialist program which speaks to the real needs of the embattled city population. Soap-boxing on street corners, distributing campaign literature at union headquarters, stumping on the campuses and on the picket lines, the Spartacist Party has raised the call for "A Socialist Fight to Save New York!" For almost a quarter of a century liberal Democrat William Passannante has represented New York City's Greenwich Village/Chelsea district in the State Assembly. This year Marjorie Stamberg—Spartacist candidate—has challenged capitalist politics-as-usual in the 64th Assembly District.

Stamberg won a place on the November ballot by a petition drive which gathered over 3,300 signatures, more than twice the number required by undemocratic election laws. Since that time the Spartacist candidate has spoken at soap-box rallies in every corner of the district, bringing New Yorkers the central theme of her campaign: only the mobilization of the powerful city labor movement under militant leadership can save the working people of New York from the onslaught of the banks and their friends in the Democratic Party.

Stamberg has taken her labor-centered campaign to the picket lines of striking newspaper unionists, solidarizing with their struggle against the job-slashing offensive of the Publishers' Association. She has been the only candidate to protest the city government's attempt to extort more than half a million dollars a year from the National Maritime Union by revoking the property tax exemption of the seamen's union hall.

On a key issue for thousands of Village/Chelsea residents, Stamberg has strongly supported equal rights for homosexuals, calling on the labor movement to take the lead in the struggle for civil rights. At a City Hall demonstration in favor of Intro 384, the New York City "Gay Civil Rights Bill," Stamberg headed a large Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) contingent under the banner: "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights for Gays!"

For three years Chase Manhattan, Citibank and the rest, abetted by the capitalist politicians like Beame and Koch, have pillaged and looted the financial capital of U.S. imperialism. 60,000 city jobs have been lost, city wages frozen for three years, union pension funds robbed and social services cut to the bone—all so that the bankers could continue to collect their millions in interest payments from the impoverished city government.

The union bureaucracy—Shanker, Gotbaum & Co.—have worked hand-in-glove with their political bosses in the Democratic Party to ram "austerity" measures down the memberships' throats and keep the city labor unions as quiet as possible in the face of ever more cuts and layoffs. It is their betrayal which has allowed the bourgeois politi-

cians to run New York City into the ground virtually unopposed.

Marjorie Stamberg has campaigned on a program to halt the devastation of the city through militant labor action, calling for cancellation of the city debt and expropriation of the banks and the bloodsucking utility monopolies. In order to arm the labor movement to fight for these demands Stamberg has linked them to the need to dump the sellout labor bureaucrats and build a workers party, a party independent of

munist International and the Trotskyist movement. The SL today models its campaign on these traditions. The Bolshevik Central Committee's instructions to its representatives in the Duma in 1912 sum up the usefulness and the limitations of bourgeois electoral activity even today.

"The Duma tribune is, under present conditions, one of the best means for enlightening and organizing the broad mass of the proletariat.

"It is for this very purpose that we are sending our deputy into the Duma, and

When asked about the Ford Foundation-backed union-busting campaign ostensibly waged in the name of the minority communities, Miliner crowed, "We broke those picket lines and if they carry out another strike against the black and Puerto Rican community, we'll help break their picket lines." Here the SWP shows itself up as scabs for petty-bourgeois black hustlers and poverty pimps, the aspiring Tom Bradleys of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. As the Spartacist candidate

Young Spartacus



Marjorie Stamberg campaigning in Greenwich Village.

the Democrats and committed to the fight for a workers government.

Reform or Revolution?

The Spartacist Party's participation in the 1978 New York State election marks the first time in ten years that a revolutionary candidate has appeared on the ballot in the U.S. There have, of course, been dozens of candidates put up for national, state and local office by groups such as the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP), but their campaigns have been anything but revolutionary.

Communists seek, when possible, to use the platform of an election campaign or even certain political offices to make the revolutionary program known to the widest possible audience. Elections are times of heightened political interest and large numbers of people who would not otherwise be exposed to revolutionary politics can be reached through socialist campaigns.

There is a long tradition of revolutionary electoral work, from the pre-World War I left-wing socialists and the Bolshevik Party to the early Com-

we charge him and the whole Social-Democratic fraction of the Fourth Duma to make widely known our demands from the Duma tribune and not to play at legislation in the Fourth Duma."

—quoted in A. Badayev, *The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma*

The Candidates Debate

In a candidates' debate at the School for Marxist Education on October 19, Stamberg directly confronted the CP and SWP, both of whom are fielding slates of candidates in this year's New York State elections. While Stamberg outlined her program for the labor movement to lead a fight against the cutbacks and layoffs, neither Jay Shaffner, the CP's stand-in for gubernatorial candidate Jarvis Tyner, nor Ken Miliner, an SWP congressional candidate, had a thing to say about the labor movement in New York today! Their only comment on the unions was to come out in hard support of out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski in the Steelworkers union and to justify their scabbing on the 1968 New York City teachers strike in the name of "community control."

responded, this is a program for handing over minorities and the poor to the Democratic Party and the "community" demagogues. The key question is the fight to link the struggles of oppressed minorities to the immense social power of the labor movement.

Given the explosiveness of racial tensions in New York, the central issue in the debate was the menacing racial confrontation in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn this summer. The cycle of ethnic violence reached a flashpoint when the police murdered black community leader Arthur Miller in broad daylight and only days later a black youth, Victor Rhodes, was set upon by a vigilante patrol of Hassidic Jews. The murder of Miller could have resulted in mass protests against the killer cops. But the maverick nationalist demagogue, Reverend Herbert Daughtry, seized upon the beating of Rhodes to channel the outrage of the black community against the Lubavitcher Hassidim and led a 4,000-strong demonstration to the local synagogue.

In an incredible display of nationalism and political dishonesty,

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