

Young Spartacus

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FEBRUARY 1979

Butcher Shah Flees—Mullahs Terrorize Leftists

Iran: The Workers Must Rule!

JANUARY 24—After a year of massive strikes and tumultuous demonstrations, the despised shah of Iran, self-styled “king of kings” and “Light of the Aryans,” fled the country on January 16 on board his personal Boeing 707. The sophisticated weaponry of his U.S.-equipped military and the sadistic terrorism of his CIA-created SAVAK secret police were not enough to save the regime of this blood-drenched dictator. Throughout Iran jubilant demonstrators representing nearly every segment of society poured into the streets to celebrate the downfall of the Pahlavi dynasty. But while the rejoicing continued, a new and potentially fiercer struggle for power had begun. Who will replace the shah?

The civilian government headed by Shahpur Bakhtiar that the shah left behind commands virtually no respect from either the military or the masses in the streets. The question is not whether this government will be deposed, but rather when, and by whom. Within hours of the shah's departure the new government had already been challenged by both the hard-line militarists and by the Muslim opposition headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

On January 17 troops stationed in the southwestern city of Ahwaz heard the news that the shah had fled and that Bakhtiar was now their commander-in-chief. They ran amok—and indiscriminately slaughtered over 100 unarmed civilians. Army chief of staff general Abbas Qarabaghi defended this wanton mass murder, claiming that the soldiers had been “provoked” and had in no way acted contrary to orders!

It is indicative of the impotence of the Bakhtiar government that criminals like Qarabaghi have been retained and even promoted. The military are quite rightly scornful of Bakhtiar's ability to pose as an alternative to Khomeini. The absence of an attempted coup is due not to any



At January 19 Teheran march Khomeini supporters suppressed leftist slogans.

sense of loyalty to the present government, but to the unreliability of the conscript ranks of the armed forces. The generals may still brave a split in the army, even if it reaches into the officer corps, plus massive popular resistance, in order to launch one last desperate attempt to drown all opposition to their authority in blood.

The Danger of Khomeini

The movement under the control of the Muslim religious establishment (the *ulema*) in no way offers a “progressive” alternative to the rule of the military. The program of Khomeini is thoroughly

reactionary. The reimposition of the veil and the forced seclusion of women; the revival of brutal Koranic “justice”; clerical control over all legislation and persecution of “heretics” like the Bahais and Zoroastrians are only part of what the Muslim leaders have in mind. The military regime installed by the Pakistani *ulema* in 1977 provides a stark example of what an Islamic state holds in store for the toiling people. The press is censored and errant journalists are flogged in the name of Muslim puritanism. All public meetings, student protests and trade unions are banned. The Baluchi and Paktuni national minorities

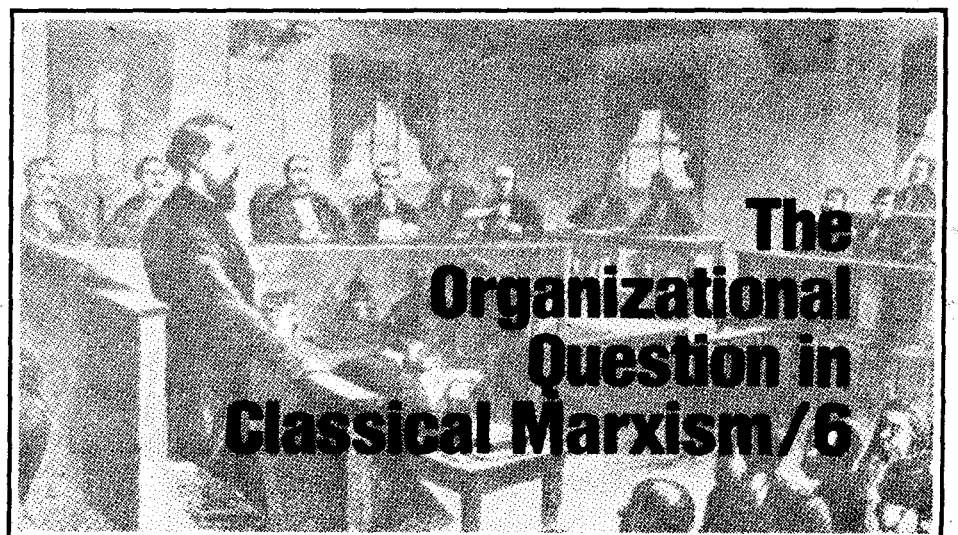
are persecuted. And of course, leftists are routinely jailed, tortured and murdered.

Khomeini stands for the overthrow of the shah—not of his repressive state apparatus. What this religious reactionary fears most is the destruction of the army which would create conditions of “chaos.” Khomeini knows he will need the shah's officer corps to suppress the left, the workers movement, the religious minorities and any and all potential opponents of his Islamic Republic. This high priest of Shi'ite Islam wants to

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SYL Polls 9 Percent In SF State Elections

SAN FRANCISCO—Running for student office under the banner of the hammer and sickle and championing a revolutionary working-class program, candidates of the Spartacus Youth League at San Francisco State University recently polled a substantial nine percent of the vote. In the December campus elections SYL presidential candidate Aloha Keylor drew 133 votes and vice-presidential candidate David Ellison, 89. Phyllis Chumley and Meg Grulich, who ran for representative-at-large spots, took 163 and 159 votes respectively. SYLer Alden Cavanagh was elected as Humanities representative, polling 59 votes while running unopposed.

SF State students who cast their ballots for the SYL were voting for a slate that clearly differed from the usual motley assortment of parochial, power-seeking student careerists. A central focus of the Trotskyists' campaign was the call to drive ROTC, the FBI and the CIA off campus—at a time when these murderous agencies feel emboldened enough to openly recruit. Highlighting our opposition to "the use of university facilities as a training ground for anti-communist, anti-working-class terror" the SYL's campaign statement called on students to "prevent the training of an elite officer corps for the imperialist army (ROTC) and to stop the CIA/NSA/FBI's recruitment of agents to more efficiently kill worker militants and leftists throughout the world." From Berkeley to Kent State to Columbia University the SYL has taken the lead in demanding that the spies and

hired thugs of U.S. imperialism be run off campus.

The only left-wing slate in the elections, the SYL has a long record of militancy at SF State, dating back to 1971. The SYL initiated the united front demonstration in 1975 which successfully prevented Nazi leader Allen Vincent from spewing his fascist filth of race hate and genocide on the campus. While the liberals and the reformists of the fake-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance wailed about the "rights" of these vermin, the SYL mobilized over 200 workers and students demanding "No Platform for Fascists!" And when the SF State administration launched its witchhunting attempt to victimize the left in the wake of the anti-Nazi militancy, it was the SYL which led the vigorous and successful campaign to defeat the administration attack.

SYL candidates hit hard at the blatant discrimination against working-class and minority youth in the capitalist university. The elections themselves provided a clear-cut example: nearly a dozen candidates were disqualified for failing to meet race and class-biased grade requirements! The SYL's program also denounced the racist Bakke decision, a rallying point for the right-wing offensive against the democratic rights of minorities. We counterposed to both the racist status quo and tokenist minority quotas the demand for open admissions with state-paid stipends for all.

Students attending the lectures of Communist Party (CP) leader Angela Davis—teaching in the Women's Studies Department—got a chance to learn



SYL slate in SF State student elections.

something about communist politics when SYL candidates confronted Davis on the history of her party's betrayals. For instance, Davis was repeatedly unable to answer the SYL's indictment of the CP's defense of the nuclear family, the major institution of women's oppression under capitalism, or for joining the imperialists' racist anti-Japanese witchhunt during World War II. At the end of the semester, as "sister" Davis urged students to vote for "progressive" women Democrats in the

California elections, the SYL posed the need for a *workers party* to fight for a workers government.

The SYL's vote totals demonstrate that among the students at SF State the revolutionary proletarian politics of the SYL has genuine support. We have no illusions in the power of student government, but we will use our newly-won position in the Associated Student Senate as a platform for our communist program and a rallying point for militant struggle. ■

Iran...

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pressure the army so that officers loyal to himself will come to power.

Khomeini has called on his followers "to cooperate with the part of the army that has rejoined the people to avert chaos and disorder" (quoted in *Washington Post*, 18 January). One of his closest aides, Sadegh Ghotbizadeh, explained that it will only be necessary to dump 25 or 30 generals.

To gain the support of the officer corps, however, Khomeini must quiet their fears of "anarchy in the streets." The mullahs' need to discipline the enraged masses is sharply posed by the numerous popular attacks on the hated secret police, SAVAK, and summary executions of its agents. Khomeini quickly forbade these elemental outbursts of popular vengeance, and Ghotbizadeh flatly ruled out the use of special tribunals to try the SAVAK torturers. Instead he demanded that the masses must "cooperate with security officers who are striving to preserve law and order" (quoted in *New York Times*, 18 January)! The plebeian masses' determination that the SAVAK criminals not escape their just punishment gives revolutionaries the opportunity to mobilize the population independently of the Muslim hierarchy.

Khomeini's drive for power has been carefully orchestrated. A mammoth march on January 19 led by mullahs chanting "God, Khomeini, the Koran—this is our national motto" was clearly a show of strength. This demonstration was meant to portray Khomeini as the infallible "messenger of Allah" and was not just an anti-Bakhtiar protest.

Now that their common enemy has been removed from the scene, the coalition between the bourgeois-nationalist National Front and the mullahs is eroding. First it was announced that Karim Sanjabi and another Front leader would be included in

Khomeini's "Council of the Islamic Revolution." Then an aide to the ayatollah declared that further collaboration with Sanjabi was out of the question. Now it appears that the precondition for receiving a seat on the "non-party" Council is that Sanjabi resign from the National Front.

While Bakhtiar claims to have won the grudging toleration of the less militant wing of the *ulema*, represented by Ayatollah Shariatmadari, Khomeini's denunciations of the new government have not slackened. Khomeini has argued that the mass strikes and demonstrations he has decreed have exposed the Bakhtiar regime as illegitimate. Khomeini's return from exile in France will indeed mean the beginning of the end of the Bakhtiar government, one way or another.

The Iranian toiling masses have no illusions that the rule of the shah's generals without the shah will be better. There are, however, widespread illusions in the beneficent rule of Khomei-

ni's mullahs. Yet the social program of the Islamic opposition, especially its commitment to feudal enslavement of women, is even *more reactionary* than the shah's superficial "modernizing" regime. While all manner of opportunists tailed Khomeini, the international Spartacist tendency was unique on the left in giving no support to the religious opposition. Instead we raised the slogan: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!"

Khomeini Followers Terrorize the Left

Events are rapidly confirming our contention that this movement of clerical reaction puts the Iranian left in mortal danger. The 19 January issue of *Le Monde* contains a graphic account of the opening salvo in a Muslim crackdown at Teheran University:

"On the other hand, the political and religious discussions which have been going on incessantly since the opening of the university have created an unhealthy climate of tension inside the campus. The debate at first concerned the topic of the Islamic Republic and the role and action of Khomeini. Now it is simply about whether such discussions can take place at all. The religious groups maintain, in effect, that as long as the Islamic Republic has not been installed such discussions are useless and dangerous, because they fragment the opposition which should be united under the banner of Khomeini. The lay forces, representing a whole gamut of leftist and Marxist groups, object that by then it will perhaps be too late to discuss....

"The discussions would probably have taken place peacefully if it were not for the action of religious groups from outside the university, who, organized in small shock brigades, attempt to prevent them from taking place. On Wednesday we saw one of these groups race through, disrupting everything to cries of 'la hizb, illa hizb Allah' ('No party but the party of Allah!'); the discussion groups got back together immediately after they had brutally passed through. One student who protested too energetically against these rather undemocratic procedures was beaten right under our eyes with fist

blows and kicks and then tossed off the campus."

Le Monde also reports that ostensibly Marxist leaflets and wall posters have been ripped up, while the *Washington Post* states that on January 17 leftist and Muslim students at the University engaged in a bloody two-hour battle.

During the demonstration on January 19, a correspondent "saw pro-Khomeini marshals wearing yellow armbands stop five Communist groups from joining the march. The gate crashers were forced to roll up their banners and carry pictures of the religious leader. All along the route, Khomeini partisans ripped Communist posters from walls" (*Newsweek*, 29 January).

Stalinist Betrayals Strengthen Reaction

The shah collided with the mullahs in the course of his attempt to transform Iran into a sub-imperialist power. Like other bonapartist "modernizing" rulers in the Near and Middle East he attempted to impose state control over religious offices and revenues. He also attempted to emulate a few of the more cosmetic secularizing reforms carried out in a much more serious manner in the 1920's by the Turkish bourgeois nationalist Kemal Ataturk.

But given the Persian monarchy's archaic multi-national empire, the shah's modernization campaign was more akin to the abortive efforts of the 19th-century Ottoman sultans than to anything done by Ataturk. In their fight to maintain their privileged caste position and religious authority the mullahs could exploit the manifold contradictions of the so-called "White Revolution": the uneven economic development which brought inflation that ground down the merchants of the bazaar, a stronghold of Muslim traditionalism; the agrarian "reform" which took land from the *ulema* but which left

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Young Spartacus

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

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Lessons from History

On the Petty-Bourgeois Boys and Girls

Lenin once remarked that each generation must find its own road to revolutionary politics. The youthful recruits of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party of 1905 were in many respects different from those who flocked to the banner of Bolshevism in 1917. The experiences of the activists who lived through the industrial turmoil of the 1930's in the U.S. were not the same that shaped the youth in the aftermath of World War II. Each generation must go through its paces and be taught in the class struggle. There must be the inevitable sorting out of those who will become cadres of the revolutionary party and those who will drop away.

This testing process is particularly important for those who come to the working-class movement from the campuses, especially in the U.S. Attracted to Marxist politics primarily on the basis of abstract ideas rather than through the course of actual struggle against the capitalists, students are particularly vulnerable to the pressures of bourgeois society. To the "now" generation of the 1970's, born into a country that lacks any mass organized expression of independent working-class politics, the realities of class struggle can seem very distant indeed. The 1970 postal workers' wildcat was without sequel for more than half a decade—for youth, an eternity. With the notable exception of the heroic 110-day coal miners' strike of 1978, today's students have hardly witnessed, much less participated in, the most elemental battles between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Even the street skirmishes, building occupations and mass meetings that marked the heyday of the New Left are mostly alien to the freshmen and sophomores in the universities.

The question of the role of students and intellectuals in the vanguard party is by no means either new or particular to America in the 1970's. From the Bolsheviks to the Spartacist League revolutionary organizations have drawn heavily on this strata for the formation of an initial cadre. And in each period of the communist movement fights have been waged not against intellectuals, but "intellectualism" and the world view of the petty bourgeois not broken from the self-centered and essentially despairing politics of his class. For instance, the 1940 Shachtman/Burnham opposition in the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) bore out in the negative Leon Trotsky's worry about the petty-bourgeois youth's tendency toward dilettantism. With the sharp turn to the right of liberal public opinion after the Hitler-Stalin pact, the overwhelming majority of the SWP's student youth fled the revolutionary party to eventually take up new "careers" as liberal ideologists, academics and just plain renegades.

We have reprinted here excerpts from the works of both Trotsky and James P. Cannon (principal founder of American Trotskyism) which outline the fundamental attitude of proletarian revolutionists to this problem. While written for the benefit of the revolutionaries of several generations ago, they are extremely rich in lessons for the proletarian fighters of tomorrow.

The question at issue is the attitude of proletarian revolutionists to educated members of the petty-bourgeois class who come over to the proletarian movement. This is an important question and deserves clarification.... We are quite well aware, as Marx said, that "ignorance never did anybody any good," and we have nothing in common with vulgar prejudices against "educated people" which are cultivated by rascally demagogues to serve their own ends.... On the other hand, we are not unduly impressed by mere "learning" and still less by pretensions to it. We approach this question, as all questions, critically.

A radical and courageous change is necessary as a condition of success. The paper [Socialist Appeal] is too wise, too scholarly, too aristocratic for the American workers and tends to reflect the party more as it is than to prepare it for its future.

Of course, it is not only a question of the paper, but of the whole course of policy. I continue to be of the opinion that you have too many petty-bourgeois boys and girls who are very good and devoted to the party, but who do not fully realize that their duty is not to discuss among themselves, but to penetrate into the fresh milieu of workers. I

Our movement, the movement of scientific socialism, judges things and people from a class point of view. Our aim is the organization of a vanguard party to lead the proletarian struggle for power and the reconstitution of society on socialist foundations. That is our "science." We judge all people coming to us from another class by the extent of their real identification with our class, and the contributions they can make which aid the proletariat in its struggle against the capitalist class. That is the framework within which we objectively consider the problem of the intellectuals in the movement....

Lenin, Trotsky, Plekhanov, Luxemburg—none of them were proletarians in their social origin, but they came over to the proletariat and became the greatest of proletarian leaders. In order to do that, however, they had to desert their own class and join "the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands." They made this transfer of class allegiance unconditionally and without any reservations. Only so could they become genuine representatives of their adopted class, and merge themselves completely with it, and eliminate every shadow of conflict between them and revolutionists of proletarian origin. There was and could be no "problem" in their case.

The conflict between the proletarian revolutionists and the petty-bourgeois intellectuals in our party, as in the labor movement generally in the whole world for generation after generation, does not at all arise from ignorant prejudices of the workers against them. It arises from the fact that they neither "cut themselves adrift" from the alien classes, as the Communist Manifesto specified, nor do they "join the revolutionary class," in the

full sense of the word. Unlike the great leaders mentioned above, who came over to the proletariat unconditionally and all the way, they hesitate half-way between the class alternatives. Their intelligence, and to a certain extent also their knowledge, impels them to revolt against the intellectual and spiritual stagnation of the parasitic ruling class whose system reeks with decay. On the other hand, their petty-bourgeois spirit holds them back from completely identifying themselves with the proletarian class and its vanguard party, and reshaping their entire lives in a new proletarian environment. Herein is the source of the

repeat my proposition: Every petty-bourgeois member of the party who, during a certain time, let us say three or six months, does not win a worker for the party should be demoted to the rank of candidate and after another three months expelled from the party. In some cases it might be unjust, but the party as a whole would receive a salutary shock which it needs very much. A very radical change is necessary.

—from a letter by Leon Trotsky to James P. Cannon dated 27 May 1939, reprinted in *The Struggle For a Proletarian Party*.

"problem" of the intellectuals....

The American movement has had very bad experience with intellectuals. Those who have appeared up to date have been a pretty shabby crew. Adventurers, careerists, self-seekers, dilettantes, quitters-under-fire—that is the wretched picture of the parade of intellectuals through the American labor movement as painted by themselves....

The genuine Marxist intellectuals who come to us will understand the cardinal point of our doctrine, that socialism is not simply a "moral ideal,"... but the necessary outcome of an irreconcilable class struggle conducted by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. It is the workers who must make the revolution and it is workers who must compose the proletarian vanguard party. The function of the Marxist intellectual is to aid the workers in their struggle. He can do it constructively only by turning his back on the bourgeois world and joining the proletarian revolutionary camp, that is, by ceasing to be a petty bourgeois. On that basis the worker Bolsheviks and the Marxist intellectuals will get along very well together.

—James P. Cannon, *The Struggle For a Proletarian Party* (1943)

First and foremost, you have to understand that students do not constitute a distinct and unified group in society. They fall into various groups, and their political attitude closely corresponds to the one prevailing in these various groups in society. Some students are radical-oriented; but of these, only a very tiny number can be won over to the revolutionary party.

The fact is that very often radicalism is a sickness of youth among what are actually petty-bourgeois students. There

is a French saying: "Avant trente ans revolutionnaire, apres canaille"—Under thirty a revolutionist, thereafter a scoundrel. This expression is not heard only in France. It was also known and used in connection with the Russian students in the prewar period. Between 1907 and 1917 I was living in exile, and I traveled around a lot, giving speeches to the various colonies of Russian students abroad. All these students were revolutionary in those days. During the October Revolution in 1917, 99 percent of them fought on the other side of the barricades.

You find this radicalism among youth in every country. The young person always feels dissatisfied with the society he lives in—he always thinks he can do things better than his elders did. So the youth always feel they are progressive—but what they understand by progress varies quite a bit. In France, for example, there is both a radical and a royalist opposition. Naturally this radicalism includes a certain number of healthy oppositionist forces, but for the most part it amounts to what can only be called careerism.

Here we have the real psychological motor force. The young feel shut out; the old take up all the space, and the young can't find any outlet for their abilities. They are dissatisfied quite simply because they themselves are not sitting in the driver's seat. But as soon as they are sitting there, it's all over with their radicalism.

It's like this: gradually these young people move into the available posts. They become lawyers, office heads, teachers. And so they come to look upon their earlier radicalism as a sin of their youth, as a simultaneously repulsive and charming error. As a result of this memory of his own youth, the academician comes to lead a double life throughout his entire life. What it is, is that he himself believes that he still possesses a kind of revolutionary idealism, and in reality he retains a certain liberal veneer. But this veneer is only a coating for what he really is—a narrow-minded, petty-bourgeois social climber, whose real interests boil down to his career....

The revolutionary student can only make a contribution if, in the first place, he goes through a rigorous and consistent process of revolutionary self-education, and, in the second place, if he joins the revolutionary workers' movement while he is still a student....

He must realize that he is coming into the workers' movement as a *learner* and not as a *teacher*. He must learn to subordinate himself and do the work that is demanded of him, and not what he wants to do. The workers' movement for its part must regard him with the greatest skepticism. A young academician must first "toe the line" for three, four, or five years, and do quite simple and ordinary party work. Then, when the workers have confidence in him and are completely certain that he is not a careerist, then he can be allowed to move up—but slowly, very slowly. When he has worked with the workers' movement in this way, then the fact that he was an academician is forgotten, the social differences disappear. [emphasis in original]

—Leon Trotsky, "On Students and Intellectuals," *Writings* [1932]

Last October marked the tenth anniversary of the first Civil Rights march in the city of Derry, Northern Ireland. In the following article Paul Lannigan, who participated in the 1968 struggles as a member of the Healyite Socialist Labour League in Derry and is today a member of the Spartacist League/Britain Central Committee, discusses the events and analyses the failure of the left to put forward a programme of proletarian class struggle. The article is based on a presentation given by Comrade Lannigan to a Spartacist League public meeting in London on October 27, 1978.

Reprinted from *Spartacist Britain*

Anyone familiar with the left-wing press in Britain and Ireland can hardly have missed the dutiful marking of the end of a decade of upheaval in the Six Counties by almost all of the ostensibly revolutionary groups. Articles entitled "10 Years in the North of Ireland" or "Derry: Ten Years After" have proliferated. Some of the authors have tried to rewrite history; others, notably prominent participants in the Derry events like Eamonn McCann, have sought to apologise for not doing what they know should have been done; while still others have merely gone through the motions, giving perfunctory nods to acknowledge the existence of this troublesome island off the west coast of the Isle of Man.

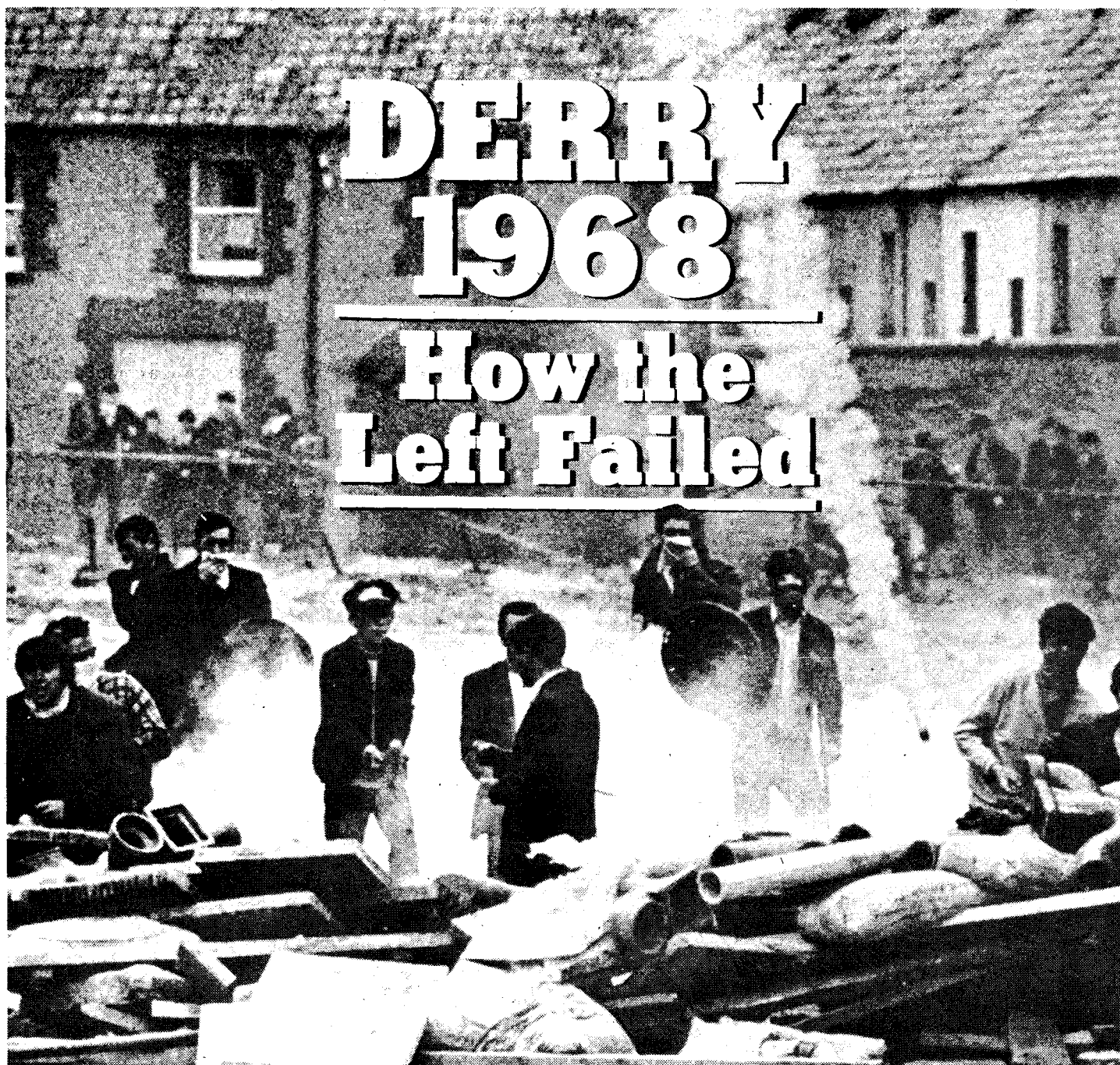
The Spartacist League has a different reason for addressing the events of 1968 in Ireland and their aftermath. We believe that our tendency has a programme which can be applied to unravel the tangled knot of national/communal, social and religious conflict that is the stuff of Irish politics. Our programme, summed up in the slogan "Troops out now—not Orange against Green, but class against class," points to the crucial need for a proletarian struggle against both imperialism and all forms of nationalism as the key to the resolution of the democratic and socialist tasks in Ireland.

Working-class unity in Ireland, considered a grotesque and utopian pipe-dream by the "socialists" of the British left, cannot be regarded as merely desirable for an effective fight to defeat imperialism and establish a workers state in Ireland. Particularly in the twentieth century, the attempt to create any kind of governmental regime in Ireland has necessitated the consent of the Protestant community. The attempt by the British Liberals to impose a neo-colonial "Home Rule" solution on Ireland in 1912 foundered on the rocks of northern Unionist opposition. As recently as 1974, the social power of the subjectively pro-imperialist Loyalist bloc was again demonstrated in the Ulster Workers Council strike, which defeated the Sunningdale proposals for a "power-sharing" executive and a federal Council of Ireland.

Our considerations are thus fun-



Civil rights movement protesters in Derry, 1968.



damentally practical. Without the splitting of the Protestant community along class lines, the possibilities for a successful indigenous proletarian revolution in Ireland are virtually nil.

We are not blind to the difficulties of achieving this goal of working-class unity. However we are not of that school of petty-bourgeois pessimists who see only the problems. The history of the working class in Ireland is not merely one of sectarian divisions. There is also a fine tradition of united working-class struggle established by the 1907 Belfast shipyard strike wave, or the 1919 engineering strike. Even since partition, which significantly hardened the communal divisions, there have been important instances of united working-class action; the most important was the Belfast Outdoor Relief Workers strike in 1932. In this major struggle, Protestant and Catholic workers not only struck together but fought together in riots against the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). It took an eight-day curfew to quell these street battles.

Derry 1968 was not another Belfast 1932. The Protestant and Catholic workers were not engaging in joint mass struggles. However it is clear that in 1968 it was possible for revolutionaries to penetrate both sections of the working class and, by drawing on and transcending the different traditions of struggle, to create the basis for a party which could provide a way out of the impasse in Ireland.

Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Firstly it is important to examine the origins of the Civil Rights movement. The sharpness of the upheaval in Derry came out of the deep sense of grievance felt by its majority Catholic population over various acts by the Unionist government during the 1960's. The permanent economic depression which hung over Derry (unemployment was 16 per cent, and for males 25 per cent) was exacerbated by the consciously discriminatory policy of the Unionist government in favour of the predominantly

Protestant areas of the Six Counties. An example was the siting of Northern Ireland's second university in the small Protestant town of Coleraine, although Derry was a natural choice because of its size and because there had been a University College in the city since 1865.

Measures like this served to increase the resentment of the Catholics in Derry. The nature of the political structure added to this resentment: a majority of the electorate voted anti-Unionist and yet a Unionist Corporation was consistently elected. This was accomplished by the gerrymander: an electoral ward of 14,000 voters elected 8 councillors, while two wards containing a total of 8,000 voters elected 12 councillors. This effective disenfranchisement of the 70 per cent Catholic population was maintained by the refusal of the Corporation to house Catholics, particularly outside their own ward. Housing was politically very important since non-householders were not allowed to vote in local elections. This housing policy reached a low in 1967, when no houses at all were built in the city.

Housing was in fact the spark which set light to the situation. The first Civil Rights demonstration, in Dungannon in August 1968, came after the allocation to a 19-year-old Protestant girl of a house in which a Catholic family had been squatting. This was quickly followed in October by a demonstration in Derry, organised by left-wing activists in the Derry Housing Action Committee.

Everyone expected that the march would pass off peacefully, like the Dungannon one. But October 5, 1968 was to be the occasion of the most violent shake-up in Ireland since partition and the civil war. The Minister of Home Affairs banned the demonstration. People were thus quite tense; but the atmosphere was more festive than martial as we marched along Duke Street. Even when we came to the RUC tenders which blocked our path to the Craigavon Bridge, most people sat down in the road and sang civil rights songs. Then the sky fell in.

The police baton-charged. A cordon of police along the back of the demonstration blocked the path of fleeing demonstrators. This experience changed people's worldview more than 10,000 lectures on the state ever could. From then on street corners, fish shops and bookies' shops were all arenas of the hottest political debate. It was an incredibly fertile period for the development of a socialist organisation.

However as soon as the "lefts" like Eamonn McCann, who had played a key part in organising the October 5 demonstration, realised the extent of the explosive discontent they had inadvertently tapped, they immediately abdicated their position of leadership in favour of a group of "responsible" Catholic businessmen. The latter intervened virtually unopposed to form the Citizens Action Committee (CAC) at a meeting in the City Hall on October 9. These gentlemen immediately proceeded to remove all the latent class content of the movement. The CAC leaders pushed a line of pacifism and respectable anti-Unionist unity, calling off a planned march and substituting a mass sit-down protest in Guildhall Square.

"One Man, One Job"

The original demands of the Civil Rights protests were "One man, one job," "One man, one vote" and "One man, one house." These demands clearly had a democratic edge against the anti-Catholic discrimination of the Northern Ireland state. Moreover, in the early stage of the struggle the "jobs" demand was generally understood to mean the need for *more* jobs, not for throwing Protestants out of work and giving their jobs to Catholics. Similarly with housing. The demands, while vague, were thus potential focuses for a class-wide fight for social equality against the capitalists.

There was a widespread recognition among the protesters that many Protestants lived in even worse conditions than some working-class Catholics. For instance, on the Protestant Shankhill Road in Belfast in 1969, 97 per cent of

the houses had no indoor toilets and almost as many had no hot water.

For those sages who regard the Protestants as a labour aristocracy or as a "white settler caste" it appears that the difference between outside toilets and swimming pools is academic. Their hygiene must be on a par with their political insight. What these people do not understand is that the system of discrimination also involves political patronage.

Thus in order to get good jobs and houses, Protestant workers had to vote Unionist, restrain any militancy over wages, job conditions, etc. The disparity in wage levels between Northern Ireland and Britain for the same job in the same firm shows the effect that this system has had on the possibilities for working-class action of any kind. And this has not been completely lost on Protestant trade unionists. A meeting of predominantly Protestant shop stewards in Belfast in 1965 called for an end to discrimination on religious grounds. The various splits in the Unionist monolith over the last few years reflect in a distorted way these class tensions.

However, in 1968 any possibility of intersecting this feeling and organising a united working-class struggle was wasted by the "lefts" in Derry. The formation of the CAC gave the mass movement a liberal democratic pan-Catholic colouration, with demands like "One man, one job" fading rapidly into the background or taking on an anti-Protestant connotation. When one of the two Protestants on the CAC, Claude Wilton, stood for election in 1969, the popular slogan was "vote for Claude, the Catholic Prod," identifying him with the Catholic side against the Protestants.

Class Struggle or Pan-Catholicism?

I was then a member of the Socialist Labour League (SLL—later League for a Workers Vanguard) in Derry, and this group, while small, had some possibility of fighting for class unity in this period. The SLL's social base in Derry was mainly Catholic, while in Belfast it consisted mainly of Protestant trade unionists. Our attack on the Civil Rights movement was not, however, centred on its supra-class, anti-Protestant character but on its limitations as a protest movement.

There was one concrete case which

that we did not see the CAC as the key obstacle to it. Thus we did not use this strike action as a way of splitting the pan-Catholic alliance.

The SLL, except in one case when it led a strike of dockers and shirt factory workers against RUC repression in Derry, was generally peripheral and too small to make a strong impact, particularly given its flawed and abstract programme. However, Eamonn



Bernadette Devlin McAliskey.

McCann and his co-thinkers in People's Democracy (PD—originally a loose student organisation in Queen's University, Belfast) have a much greater responsibility for what happened to the civil rights struggle. In his well-known book about the Derry events, *War and an Irish Town*, McCann himself expresses rather well what he did wrong, albeit with a reformist perspective:

"If any group had fought consistently—from within or without the civil rights movement—or both—for such a programme, the all-class Catholic alliance, which is what the civil rights movement became, could not have held together. And such a programme, hardly the normal stuff of Northern Irish politics, would not have attracted immediate mass support; but it might have enabled those of us in Derry at least to go on talking to Protestants in the Fountain in 1969. At any rate the matter was never put to the test. No such group existed or emerged."

Despite the fact that the programme McCann refers to does not transcend social-democratic reformism, he does seem to have learned something. But not so. After ten years of annually beating his

McCann describes the craven capitulation of the left rather well:

"By the middle of 1969 'the left' was established as those who were most impatient and most willing to run risks, who wanted to go along the same road as the moderates, but further, faster. It was not at all established that the left wanted to go along a different road."

—*War and an Irish Town*

Burntollet and the Bogside

In January 1969 People's Democracy organised a march from Belfast to Derry which maintained the spirit and programme of pan-Catholic pacifism. This march was a complete adventure, organised with a conception of self-martyrdom. PD took a group of students through the most backward Orange country areas of the north, with an explicit policy of non-violence. They went to what McCann proudly called the "lunatic extreme" of allowing the marchers to be beaten to a pulp by Protestant followers of the fanatical reactionary Reverend Ian Paisley, without so much as an attempt at self-defence.

At this stage Protestant workers were not generally being mobilised against the Civil Rights protesters; it was mainly rural and lumpen elements who stood behind Paisley. But PD's pacifist antics were completely self-defeating; they were no way to win respect—let alone support—among the Protestant working class.

The rally in Derry at the end of the march dissolved into riots sparked off by the news of Paisley's attacks. The riots were the occasion for the most violent RUC rampage to date. Vigilante squads were set up to defend the Catholic Bogside after this display of Orange state repression, and barricades went up for the first time—soon to be dismantled at the instigation of the CAC. The riots continued up through July, both against provocative Loyalist parades and against the RUC. They peaked with intense battles against the RUC on the occasion of the Loyalist Apprentice Boys march on August 12, which as an "annual parade" was exempt from a ban on marches. These battles led directly to the introduction of British troops.

But with a radically different perspective from the prevailing pan-Catholic liberalism and pacifism, it would have been possible to build an

section of the workers against the police and against sectarian attack. We think that those who attack the Fountain are against the working class, that we should defend the Fountain against these kinds of attacks." That approach could have begun very early on to still the communal side of the Catholic protest movement and to keep open the possibility of united class action with the Protestant workers.

Troops and the Left

But the Irish left had a very different perspective. People's Democracy's pacifism and liberalism very quickly revealed its natural corollary of reliance on the bourgeois state. When the Belfast-to-Derry march finally hobbled, battered and bruised, into Derry's Guildhall Square, PD leader Michael Farrell called for the intervention of a United Nations peacekeeping force to protect the Catholics!

Eight months after Farrell made his call, an imperialist "peacekeeping" force was indeed sent to Ireland: the British army. The Catholic population was intensely relieved when it arrived, as they'd been facing three continuous



Ian Paisley.

days of police and B-Special riots. And the gentlemen of the left in Ireland naturally couldn't find it in themselves to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops—though they were very outspoken against imperialist intervention in Aden.

In Britain the International Socialist, in their usual "principled" fashion, reacted to the proximity of the issue and to the consciousness of the Catholic masses by supporting the sending of imperialism's armed thugs. They said that troops would give a valuable "breathing space" (an unfortunate turn of phrase) to the Catholics. And they cut out the regular slogan in the "Where We Stand" box in *Socialist Worker* which called "For the withdrawal of British troops from abroad," changing it to "Support for all national liberation movements" without explaining the switch at all.

The International Marxist Group refused to call outright for the withdrawal of the troops, simply advising sagely that "The Bogside will learn that the British army will not protect them from the B-Specials." To its credit the SLL, both in Ireland and in Britain, put out a call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. It has to be understood that imperialist intervention can never create a solution in the interests of the working class or the oppressed, in Northern Ireland or anywhere else. After a brief honeymoon when cups of tea were brewed for the troops the illusions of the Catholic masses were completely smashed, particularly by the Falls Road curfew in July 1970, when people were forced to stay in their houses for three days.

The National Question and the Class Question

McCann drew the obvious lesson from the installation of the troops that one major problem with the Civil Rights

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British patrol in Derry; majority of British left initially refused to call for immediate withdrawal of British troops.

opened up particularly good possibilities for raising the class question: a busmen's strike in Derry in 1969, in which we were strategic in leading a largely Protestant workforce out on strike against the introduction of one-man buses. Here was a perfect issue for raising the call to defend and win jobs for all workers through an end to discrimination and work-sharing at full pay. Moreover, this was an issue which the CAC would never have touched. However our calls for class unity were so formal and abstract

breast over his sins, McCann still doesn't recognise that broad supra-class movements are roadblocks in the fight to win even democratic demands. Today, writing in the pages of *Socialist Review*, he supports the Anti Nazi League Carnival. Perhaps in ten years' time McCann will be apologising for his mistakes on the ANL. Like the ANL, the CAC was a means for the liberal bourgeoisie to defuse, divert and prevent any real action by the working class in defence of its interests.

organisation which could cut across the communal divide. One of the first deaths from sectarian violence was that of a Protestant worker named King who was killed in the Protestant Fountain area of Derry in early 1969. He had a heart attack after a Catholic crowd beat him up at the entrance to the Fountain.

In those circumstances it would have been crucial to say to the people who were defending the Bogside against the RUC: "We're for a working-class defence force, we're for defending every

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition, Part XVI

The Organizational Question in Classical Marxism

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 last 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 and is now available in pamphlet form. The three articles on this topic are based on a public presentation by comrade Seymour in New York City on July 15 of last 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.

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

gresses. However, there was a definite continuity between these congresses and the more structured, post-1900 International.

The founding congress in Paris in July 1889 of what became the Second International was a historic accident in the sense that its participants did not intend to establish a new international socialist organization. However, this unexpected outcome had deep historic causation, the objective economic need for greater collaboration between the various nationally-based labor movements and the growing strength of the Marxist current within the European working class, especially in Germany.

The Second International in Engels' Time

Curiously, the Second International (like the First) was initiated by the British trade unions, again for limited economic aims. The British Trades Union Congress wanted to launch a campaign for a legally-enforced eight-hour day and recognized that this would be difficult to attain unless Britain's major competitors (France, Germany, Belgium) also enacted similar legislation. In 1887 the British Trades Union Congress therefore issued a call for a European-wide workers congress to agitate for the eight-hour day. This call was aggressively taken up by the virulently anti-Marxist French reformist party, the Possibilists, led by Paul Brousse.

The Second International began as a tactical maneuver by the Marxists, headed by Engels, to prevent a bloc between their French reformist oppo-

socialists, added to the confusion by hopping from one congress to the other to maximize their impact.

Nonetheless, it was clear that the Marxist-organized congress represented the predominant force among continental socialists. As previously indicated, during the 1880's the term "Marxist" became almost a synonym for proletarian socialist. The bourgeois press and Possibilists labeled all the participants of this congress "Marxists," although many, such as the French Blanquists and eclectic Belgian Socialists, clearly were not. In a letter (17 July 1889) to his German-American collaborator Friedrich Sorge, Engels noted that the "Marxist" character of the congress out of which came the Second International was in good part exaggerated:

"If the two congresses side by side only fulfilled the aim of displaying the opposing forces—the Possibilist and London [Hyndmanite] cliques on the one hand, the European socialists (who, thanks to them, are regarded as *Marxists*) on the other—so as to show the world where the real movement is concentrated and where the fraudulent, then that is quite enough." [emphasis in original, our translation]

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 37 (1967)

Superficially the factional struggle in the new international movement seemed to take off from where that in the First International ended. The anarchists and reformist socialists attacked the Marxists, while both parties sought the support above all of the British trade-union leaders, the strategically important neutrals. However, the balance of forces in the early 1890's was radically different from that in the early 1870's. In 1871-72 the Bakunin-organized opposition was able to destroy the International. By the 1890's the Marxists were strong enough to isolate and eventually expel the anarchists and to overwhelm the pretensions of the French Possibilists to be a leading force in the continental workers movement. When Engels was elected co-chairman of the 1893 Zurich congress, this was not simply a personal tribute, but a recognition of the real authority of Marxism in the European workers movement.

The Marxists secured a major victory in the Second International the year following Engels' death when at the 1896 London congress the anarchists were expelled. The actual resolution expelling them, originally drawn up by German Social-Democratic leader August Bebel, made support for parliamentary participation a condition of membership. The British trade-union leaders were naturally resistant to excluding any working-class tendency solely because of its political doctrines. Most of them were won over to expelling the anarchists because of the latter's disruptive and often buffoonish behavior, rather than from any desire for a more programmatically homogeneous International.

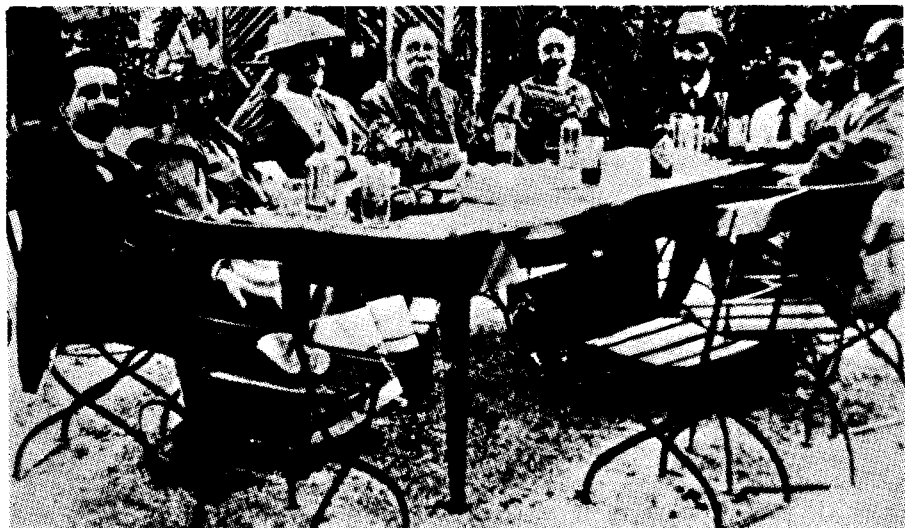
The exclusion of the anarchists had an important and probably unfortunate effect on the Second International. The International was defined on its left—against anarchism—but not on its right. The non-socialist British trade-union leaders, who supported the bourgeois Liberal Party, remained an important component of the Socialist International. In the decades before World War I

many subjectively revolutionary militants turned to anarcho-syndicalism in reaction to parliamentarist reformism and trade-union economism. It was only with the great regroupment which created the Communist International in 1919 that the best elements of anarcho-syndicalism were won to revolutionary Marxism.

One aspect of the Second International, especially in its first period, has a significant bearing on the absence of the vanguard party principle in classic



Wilhelm Liebknecht speaks at 1872 Leipzig congress.



Engels (fourth from left) relaxes at 1893 Zürich Congress with German Socialist leaders Clara Zetkin (on his left), August Bebel (fourth from right) and Eduard Bernstein (far right).

We tend to view the Second International as it was in the decade before the outbreak of World War I—as the great arena of struggle between reformist and revolutionary social democracy. However, the character of the International and balance of forces within it in its first period (1889-96)—the last years of Engels' life—were quite different from those after 1900. In one sense it is misleading to say that the Second (Socialist) International was founded in 1889 since only in 1900 did it acquire a standing executive body, the International Socialist Bureau. Before that its organizational existence consisted solely of a series of biennial con-

gresses and the British trade-union movement. Engels wanted to demonstrate to the British trade unionists that the Marxists and their allies, and not the Possibilists and theirs, represented the mainstream of the continental workers movement.

Thus, in July 1889 in Paris there were two rival congresses, one organized by the Marxists, the other by the Possibilists. This produced a certain amount of organizational hijinks. Organizers from the Marxist congress went to the train station to meet British trade unionists, few of whom spoke French, and led them to their own meeting. The anarchists and some center elements, like the Belgian

Marxism. The Second International (like the First) was a mixed party/trade-union formation. In fact the 1896 London conference was officially called the International Socialist Workers' and Trade-Union Congress. The uneven development of the British labor movement had the effect of retarding a clear understanding of the different forms of working-class organization and their specific roles. In the late nineteenth century the British trade-union movement was the strongest proletarian organization in Europe as well as being in the most important capitalist country. Engels' main interest in the Second International was to influence the British labor movement through the continental Marxist parties. At the same time the British workers movement was the most politically backward in Europe, still supporting the bourgeois Liberal Party. The strategic need for the Marxist parties to collaborate with the British trade unions blurred the distinction between the voluntary, programmatically-based political organization of the working class and its inclusive economic organization, a distinction which for Leninists is crystal clear and vitally important.

Material Limitations to Organization

Engels' death in 1895 marks the end of the period of classic Marxism. We shall therefore attempt a summary analysis of the classic Marxist approach to the organizational question. It is important once again to emphasize that we are attempting to generalize in an area where Marx/Engels themselves did not. The political category of "the organizational question" would have been quite alien to Marx/Engels' thinking.

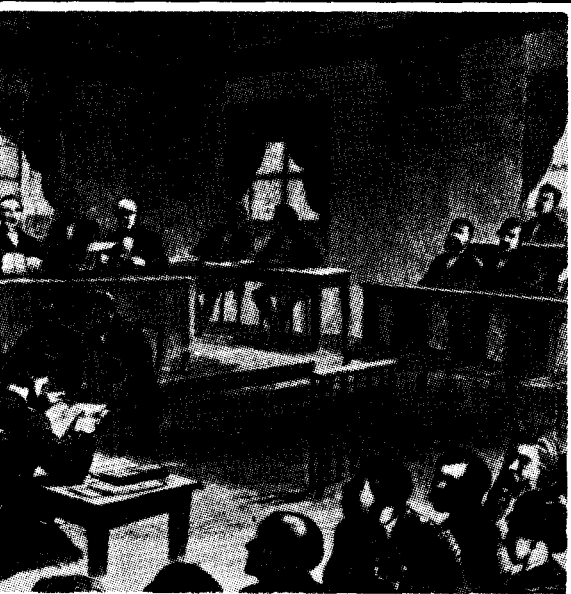
Their positions on organizational matters were highly empirical, differing



Question

radically from country to country and from period to period. For example in Britain from the 1840's on, Marx/Engels stood for an independent working-class party however small. Yet in the United States during the Civil War era, the Marxists operated as a faction in the Republican Party of Fremont and Lincoln. And in 1878-81 Marx enthusiastically supported the Russian terrorist People's Will organization.

It is also important to call attention to certain material limitations to Marx/



zig anti-socialist trial.

Engels' organizational activities, limitations which are perhaps not so obvious one hundred years later. It has become something of an aphorism in the SL that the international Spartacist tendency can exist as a small, democratic-centralist, homogeneous propaganda organization only because of the jet plane, long distance telephone and photocopier. It is also possible because wages in unionized industrial jobs are sufficiently high in North America that militants are able to provide enough money to extract a significant surplus for international activity.

But Marx and Engels did not have these technical/financial resources at their disposal. The First International could exist as a more-or-less centralized organization only because of financial contributions from the non-socialist

British trade unions. If—after the collapse of the First International in the 1870's—Marx had wanted to set up a narrow, centralized Marxist international, he could not have possibly done so. At most, Marxists from various countries could have had a conference every few years. But for Marx in London to actually administer a centralized international party, with sections in Germany, in Spain, in the United States, etc. was so far beyond financial/technical possibility, that it would have been an inconceivable project for that reason alone.

There is another material limitation to Marx/Engels' organizational activity which is easy to overlook because it is of a historical, rather than a technical, nature. Marx's and Engels' lives were finite. Therefore, they faced a real conflict of time between their basic theoretical researches and direct organizational activity and leadership. One of the main reasons Marx liquidated the First International in 1872 was because he decided it was more important to complete *Capital* than to try to hold together the now faction-ridden, disintegrating organization. There are more than a few testy letters from the old Engels to the German Social-Democratic leaders complaining that they're wasting his valuable time with second-rate matters. He believed, rightly so, that it was more important for him to finish editing *Capital*, and to complete his work on the origins of the family and state, than to intervene in most of the organizational/tactical disputes in the various Marxist parties.

And Marx/Engels' literary work was not simply a matter of writing out self-contained ideas. They had to develop their ideas through massive empirical research. For example, after the age of fifty both men learned Russian, a difficult language to learn. They sensed that the social revolution in Russia would be very different from that in Western Europe and wanted direct access to economic and sociological data from the tsarist empire.

Just as the international Spartacist tendency depends on a certain financial/technical basis, so it depends on a theoretical basis inherited from Marx/

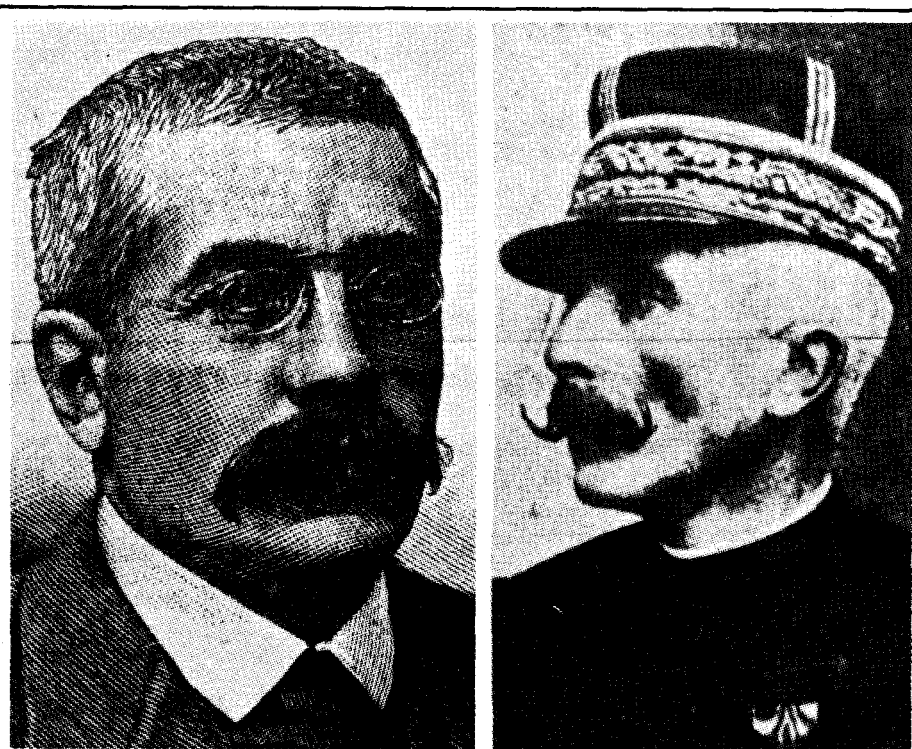
Engels' work. The years that Marx spent in the British Museum library means that we do not have to replicate his intellectual labors. The tasks and priorities of Marxists today are not the same as those of Marx and Engels. Our task is to realize in practice the program for which they provided the theoretical foundations.

Trotsky touched on this question in his polemics against the rightist petty-bourgeois Burnham/Shachtman opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party in 1940. Questioning the validity of Marxism, this opposition advocated rethinking the premises of scientific socialism. Trotsky replied that while Marxism was certainly not the final stage of human understanding, the task of socialists was to carry out the revolution,

but of the people themselves coming to him. And it is upon this that Marx's specific influence, so extremely important for the movement, reposes." [emphasis in original]

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (1975)

The key phrase here is "the best people in all the working-class movements." Engels is referring to established workers' leaders, not rank-and-file militants in rebellion against their leadership. He and Marx believed and acted according to the belief that through a patient pedagogical approach they could win over a number of workers' leaders and through them acquire a mass following for their program. To use a contemporary Trotskyist term, Marx/Engels'



Class traitor Alexandre Millerand (left) and a fellow member of the French cabinet, General Gallifet, the butcher of the Paris Commune.

not to transcend the Marxist world view: "Further development of scientific thought will undoubtedly create a more profound doctrine into which dialectical materialism will enter merely as structural material. However, there is no basis for expecting that this philosophic revolution will be accomplished under the decaying bourgeois regime, without mentioning the fact that a Marx is not born every year or every decade. The life-and-death task of the proletariat now consists not in interpreting the world anew but in remaking it from top to bottom. In the next epoch we can expect great revolutionists of action but hardly a new Marx." [emphasis in original]

—In *Defense of Marxism* (1970)

Winning Over the "Best People"

An important statement of Marx/Engels' approach to the organization question is found in a letter (25 October 1881) by Engels to the then-young German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein:

"By theoretical and practical achievements Marx has gained for himself such a position that the best people in all the working-class movements in many countries have full confidence in him. At critical junctures they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best. This position he holds in Germany, in France, in Russia, not to mention the smaller countries. It is therefore not a case of Marx forcing his opinion, and still less his will, on people

central organizational tactic was regroupment *at the top*. The main political reason that they did not seek to establish a Marxist international was to avoid posing themselves as organizational opponents and competitors to workers' leaders whom they expected to win over in time.

Except in Britain, this approach to building the Marxist movement was successful. For example Jules Guesde, the leader of French Marxism, was a 35-year-old mass workers' leader when he first began to collaborate with Marx in 1880. Guesde came to Marxism after a long political career, first as a bourgeois radical, then as an anarchist and then as an eclectic socialist. Likewise, August Bebel was already a mass leader in the late 1860's when Wilhelm Liebknecht won him to socialism and brought him into contact with Marx. At that time Bebel was head of the Unions of German Workers' Societies, the proletarian auxiliary of the radical-democratic People's Party.

Interestingly, Georgi Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, was not a mass leader when he became an adherent of scientific socialism in the early 1880's. He was a populist intellectual leading a very small exile propaganda group. It is

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Leaders at 1910 Copenhagen congress of the Second International included both Rosa Luxemburg and arch-reformist Emile Vandervelde.

Report From the YSA Convention

Reformists Without a Cause

PITTSBURGH—The Miller-lovers and mullah-lovers of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]) held their annual convention here at the end of December. The big news was that things aren't all that rosy these days for the aspiring social democrats of the SWP/YSA. Their weekly paper, the *Militant*, is going to be shorter and their factional/"theoretical" magazine, *Intercontinental Press*, is being cut back to a biweekly. Despite low sales and much grumbling about the vacuous content of the YSA's own *Young Socialist*, talk of dumping the paper was staved off for the moment by a price increase. With recruitment trailing off dramatically, the YSA convention drew only about 600.

The inevitable sunshine-and-lollipop "next year we'll be twice as big" rhetoric was there. But as YSA leaders vied with each other to find the gimmick to put the organization on the map, the prattle about an "ever growing" YSA in an "increasingly radicalizing period" was just so much whistling in the dark.

What "Mass Movement" Now?

More than one YSA organizer must have left the conference in a state of acute anxiety. The presentations offered a bewildering array of "mass movements" for the YSA to best-build: surely divestment is where the action is... or if not divestment, then nukes, or Cuba, or ERA marches. Why not just flip a coin? The SWP/YSA has been looking for the next big break ever since their social-democratic appetites were whetted when their slavish courtship of the liberal bourgeoisie in the anti-Vietnam-war movement succeeded in getting a real U.S. senator onto the platform of an SWP front group. Countless attempts to conjure up similar "mass movements" have followed: Boston busing, where the SWP/YSA told black people to rely on the capitalist cops and troops to "protect" them; South Africa "support work" as the best builders of impotent divestment schemes to save liberal consciences; the NAACP; NOW; ecology coalitions; Soviet "dissidents"—you name it, the SWP has tried it.

The SWP has also made a lot of noise about its recent "turn to the working class," the better to woo left-talking bureaucrats like the Miners' Arnold Miller. The decision to begin significant trade-union implantation was made at a time when the petty-bourgeois movements were disintegrating, and dove-tailed with the SWP's loathsome best-builder act on behalf of Ed "Respect the No-Strike Pledge" Sadlowski in the Steelworkers. While not so much as one report on the progress of the "turn" was presented to the YSA convention, trade-union bureaucrats have been moved prominently forward on the list of endorsers of divestment days and ecology crawls—a working-class orientation, YSA style.

Opening day proved to be difficult for the hacks running the convention. First they were hit by hotel schedules advertising along with their own event an SYL conference room directly adjacent to their facilities. After much pulling of hair, gnashing of teeth and threats to remove the SYL from our room, exasperated YSA leaders complained to hotel management. That did not work, and throughout the day the only heated political arguments to be heard in the conference vicinity came from Parlor D, the SYL room.

Meanwhile, Susan Berman was busily polemicizing against the Spartacist position on Iran in her report on the

"World Political Situation." No fewer than ten times in the course of her speech, Berman denounced the Spartacist League as the "vanguard" of the slogan, "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" Delegates from the floor followed suit, and of the eight speakers our reporter heard, five took pains to denounce Spartacist "sectarianism." Only a few months ago the YSA refused to raise the "ultraleft" demand "Down with the Shah" for fear of alienating liberal support for the SWP-backed Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Now the SWP/YSA political weather-vanes are among the shrillest apologists for the mullah-led opposition.

The Spartacist League's straightforward position—that the reactionary clerical "Islamic state" which Khomeini hopes to establish is no less an enemy of the Iranian proletariat than the blood-drenched shah's monarchy—is anathema to the opportunists because it is Leninist, because it draws the *class line* (see article in this issue). The SWP/YSA's sub-Menshevik position was laid out unashamedly in the convention report: "We will unite with *anyone* against the shah!" They seem to mean it; when a false report reached the convention that the shah had fled, a Pittsburgh radio station interviewed a CAIFI spokesman and quoted her as saying she was returning to Iran to "help in the construction of the new government!"

The unquestioned highlight of the conference was the reading of greetings from Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. Mr. Hooks was more correct than he probably realized when he congratulated the YSA for a "significant contribution to the democratic ethic at home and abroad." Indeed, the SWP now rivals the reformist Communist Party as would-be spokesman for "consistent" bourgeois democracy. An organization with a shred of revolutionary fiber would wince at such words coming from the minimalist NAACP (and most likely would never get them). So tied to the Democratic Party is the NAACP that major capitalist corporations see fit to back it financially (*New York Times*, 7 January)—among them ITT, notorious for its dirty work in the 1973 Chilean coup. The YSA did not wince; they applauded wildly for several minutes. To a reformist, praise from an influential bourgeois spokesman is like money in the bank.

Aside from this publicity coup, there wasn't much to cheer about. After two years as the "best fighters" for divestment, the YSA still has little to show for it. What's left of the East Coast divestment "movement" split into opposing camps at the November NECLSA Conference in New York (see "Reformists Sell Anti-Apartheid Struggle Short," *Young Spartacus* No. 69, December 1978/January 1979). Referring to the split, a YSA spokesman comforted his comrades: "We shouldn't be defensive. We didn't stack the conference. We did build the hell out of it." Never known for fire-and-brimstone militancy, the YSA's "tasks" in the divestment milieu were bluntly put by a Berkeley delegate: "Now we have to argue with the radicals to let the liberals in... we have to get people to just demonstrate and not take over buildings."

The Left Face: Cuba

The YSA's uncritical adulation of Castro's Cuba played a larger role in the South Africa presentation than ad nauseum accounts of "building divestment coalitions." The Cuban revolution was bombastically hailed at every

opportunity in the conference. Today the YSA basks in the reflected glory of Cuba's military exploits in Africa—when Castro's main role is providing the military wherewithal to the Ethiopian Derg in suppressing the just national struggles of the Eritreans and Somalis. But where was the YSA during the confrontation between the U.S./South Africa and the USSR/Cuba/MPLA in Angola in 1975? The SWP/YSA hid behind neutralism to refuse to extend military support to the MPLA until this backhanded support to U.S. imperialism became an embarrassing scandal.

Promises of another "mass movement" to come ushered in a hilariously confusing discussion on the nature of the Cuban regime. The YSA ranks' discomfort with the push on Cuba was evident at the educational given by Fred Feldman. One YSAer wondered aloud if it might not be more correct—given the Cubans' political backing of the Allende popular front in Chile and their line that the MPLA in power is "socialism" in Angola—to characterize the Castro regime as "centrist" rather than "revolutionary." Feldman retreated to doubletalk: that either term could be "stretched" to include Castro but that "revolutionary" was the tactically wiser characterization! Another delegate worried about how one was supposed to work within the Cuban CP since it is at least "rhetorically" hostile to Trotskyism.

As Feldman stumbled through the discussion period, unanswered questions following one another in quick succession, the SYL observer attempted to give some answers. She was immediately interrupted by the chair and reminded of her "observer" status. After all, why did the SWP bureaucratically expel the founding Spartacist cadres in the first place?—surely not in order to have the Trotskyist position of political revolution in the deformed workers states raised at a YSA conference 15 years later!

YSA "Internationalism": No Nukes for the USSR!

Some YSAers were probably rather skeptical by the time Fred Halstead presented his candidate for the next "mass movement": the "new peace movement" against nuclear power, which he claimed would outstrip the anti-Vietnam-war movement in mass character. Still, YSAers are joining anti-nuke coalitions as fast as they do NOW chapters.

YSA internal discussion bulletins have reflected the organization's tailism of the petty-bourgeois utopian anti-technology milieu with kooky contributions on "Animal Liberation," "Close Encounters of the Nuclear Kind," "In Defense of Matriarchy" and "Nuclear Pollution and Revolution," which combines a polemic against our Marxist stand in favor of technical progress with praise of Stone Age man for his "dynamic balance with the environment"! At the convention, the YSA reaffirmed its desire not to be outdone in anti-Sovietism by the anti-Communist anti-nuke forces, for whom the Soviet Union is an "imperialist superpower" which should be divested of its considerable nuclear resources. When one hapless delegate nervously suggested that calls for disarmament and for across-the-board plant closures of nuclear power facilities should not be directed toward the deformed workers states—recalling the generally invisible SWP/YSA formal position in defense of these states—he was met with shocked silence and raised eyebrows, and rapidly set straight. As for disarma-

ment, the *Militant* has already denounced the Kremlin for being insufficiently conciliatory to U.S. imperialism in the SALT talks! One YSA honcho drove the point home: "If we were running the Soviet Union we would initiate it [disarmament]." To sell out defense of the Soviet Union is a crime against the working class; to sell it out, as does the YSA, for nothing, can only be described as two-bit revisionism.

The SWP was prominent among those who scoffed and gloated when we said, in an article on *Workers Vanguard* going biweekly, that the present period is generally one of relative quiescence in the U.S. But since ignoring reality does not change it, the SWP/YSA are having the problems of just such a period—shrinking recruitment, financial troubles, the inability to maintain their publications at the same frequency and length. Jumping from one "movement" to the next like so many frenzied rabbits will not set the masses in motion. We are confident, however, that when dramatic eruptions in the class struggle do take place—like the heroic 110-day miners strike last winter—the SWP will be caught with its pants down, on the wrong side. Last time around it was covering for Arnold Miller, the most despised man in the coalfields. In Iran today it is touting the reactionary mullahs, who are busy demanding the forcible imposition of the veil as the symbol of the subjugation of women. To subjectively revolutionary youth, they offer nothing but a career in betrayal. ■

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Iran...

(continued from page 2)

the mass of peasants just as destitute as before and the token legal rights for women which enraged devout Muslims but actually benefitted only a tiny number of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women.

How is it that Khomeini's Muslim fundamentalism and demagogic populism have acquired such a hold over the Iranian masses? It is not simply the social backwardness of much of Iranian society but the historic inability of the Iranian left to provide revolutionary leadership in the struggle against the shah. The Stalinist Tudeh party betrayed the proletarian upsurge of the 1940's, breaking the 1946 oil workers' strike, in the service of the Soviet bureaucracy's diplomatic maneuvers. In the early sixties, when the USSR began to sell arms to, and buy natural gas from, the shah, the Tudeh party became apologists for the regime, advocating the "reform" rather than the overthrow of the autocracy. A whole generation of youth, repulsed by this betrayal, turned to Maoism. But they in turn became cynical apologists for such "state to state" relations when Peking consummated its alliance with the shah in 1971. The guerrillaists, who had written off the Iranian proletariat as hopelessly terrorized and corrupted, then made a "turn" to the working class—on the basis of class-collaborationist "anti-imperialism."

Iranian Student Left: Apologists for Khomeini

All wings of the Iranian left student movement, which is dominated by Maoist/nationalist politics, have given their support to the mullahs in their opposition to the shah. In every case they attempt to justify this disgusting—and suicidal—class collaboration by suppressing the reactionary program of the anti-shah opposition and playing up Khomeini as an "anti-imperialist." But Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" is as false as that of the Saudi oil sheikhs who merely pressure their imperialist patrons into paying more for their oil while cutting off Saudi Arabia from any Western cultural influence. A number of the Iranian Maoist groups see the attacks by Khomeini's followers on symbols of "Western decadence" as somehow striking a blow against imperialist domination of Iran in a grotesque intersection of Koranic fundamentalism and Red Guard-style cultural nihilism.

But what motivates the Iranian student left's support to Khomeini even more than this idealist nonsense is the notion that the victory of Khomeini over the shah will automatically open up the situation to their advantage. Thus if they have any criticism at all of Khomeini it is that his holy war is insufficiently organized! The pro-Albanian Federation of Iranian Students in the U.S., for example, gently chides Khomeini for not having a party "with a strict program and discipline" and worries about "Islam's inadequate theoretical framework" (*Martyrs' Square*, November 1978).

This suicidal idiocy ignores not only Khomeini's social program but his reliance on the military and his demonstrated appetite to crush the left. The Confederation of Iranian Students National Union (CISNU), Left Platform, which claims to stand for a working-class perspective after having broken from guerrillism, admits that the religious opposition is fundamentally petty-bourgeois. But they claim that "If there is a small minority of anti-progressive religious elements in the opposition, they do not in any way represent the majority of religious opposition" (*Resistance*, December 1978). Unfortunately for the CISNU Left Platform this "small minority" includes Khomeini, who is on record as advocating the segregation of the sexes,

the execution of thieves and the suppression of communists!

SWP: "Consistent Democrats" Back Khomeini

The Maoists' commitment to the Stalinist strategy of the popular front and two-stage revolution has led them to support a reactionary opposition to the shah. However, the pseudo-

suddenly discovered he is something less than a consistent democrat:

"Even Ayatollah Khomeini, the nationalist Muslim religious leader who had previously been the most intransigent in his opposition to the shah, has announced that he has 'selections in mind' for leaders of a future government.

"But this decision should be made only by the Iranian people, after the fullest possible discussion and debate. No one group or individual, no matter how

Abbas—Gamma Liaison



Burnett—Contact



Top: Teheran students topple statue of hated autocrat. Bottom: Troops fraternization with mullahs spells disaster for Iranian workers, leftists.

Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has embraced Khomeini just as enthusiastically as the Maoist-Stalinists. To justify their support to the religious opposition, the SWP and other ostensibly Trotskyist groups have likened Khomeini to figures like Chiang Kai-shek in the 1925-27 Chinese revolution, with whom Leninists could make a united front (i.e., engage in common military action) against reactionaries.

Chiang Kai-shek, although just as demagogic as Khomeini, was forced to fight against the feudalists, who were backed by the Western imperialists. But Khomeini stands for the reimposition and strengthening of feudal institutions (e.g., return of lands to the Islamic hierarchy) and effectively supports outlawing the communists. Now that the shah is out of the way, Khomeini's followers are terrorizing student leftists. Far from being bourgeois nationalist, Khomeini's movement is analogous to a clerical-fascist party, such as ruled Austria in the 1930's. In fact the pro-German Austrian Nazis (opposed to the clerical-fascist regime) demanded the separation of church and state, thus making them more formally democratic than Khomeini on this fundamental question!

Now that Khomeini's reactionary plans for Iran are openly coming to the fore, the SWP has tried to distance themselves a little from him. They have

prestigious, should be allowed to limit that discussion."

—*The Militant*, 12 January

With phony naiveté the *Militant* feigns surprise that Khomeini doesn't want free elections with all parties allowed to contest for government office. We have maintained from the very beginning that the ayatollah's program is anti-democratic. An Islamic Republic means by its very nature that secular, especially ostensibly Marxist, parties cannot constitutionally come to power. Khomeini is against popular sovereignty and claims that his own

right to rule over the Iranian people derives from Allah.

In any case, the SWP's recent, oh-so-deferential criticism of Khomeini is puerile bourgeois liberalism having nothing to do with revolutionary politics. These reformists have, in advance, endorsed the plebiscite that Khomeini will undoubtedly use to legitimize a military-backed Islamic theocracy. The *Militant* of 26 January announces that, "Immediate elections to a constituent assembly—no matter what regime is in power—are necessary so that the Iranian people can freely discuss and decide the issues facing their country" (our emphasis).

In classic Menshevik fashion the SWP raises only purely bourgeois democratic demands to be acted on by this constituent assembly, as if the tasks of giving land to the tiller, breaking the imperialist hold on Iran and liberating Iran's oppressed nationalities could be accomplished without a workers revolution. The SWP thus concocts a two-stage schema in which Khomeini plays his "progressive" part by ousting the shah.

The international Spartacist tendency upholds Trotsky's position that, "It is impossible merely to reject the democratic program; it is imperative that in the struggle the masses outgrow it." We therefore fight for a *sovereign, secular* constituent assembly, not in order to cover for Islamic bonapartism or to build a discussion club, but as a means of advancing the class struggle and to draw the peasantry and oppressed nationalities behind the proletariat's leadership. The struggle for a revolutionary constituent assembly will be a struggle against the mullahs. There can be no "united front" with Khomeini for the simple reason that his anti-democratic goals are directly counterposed to the interests of the working class and its allies.

For a Trotskyist Party in Iran!

The crying need for revolutionary working-class leadership in Iran today was the theme of a forum given by *Spartacist* editor Charles O'Brien in New York City on January 20:

"For a Leninist vanguard such as the international Spartacist tendency, our basic position is the recognition that what remains is the future 1917 of Persia. All the preconditions, economic and social, are there and have been there for fully 50 years, at least since the October Revolution. But what is lacking is precisely a party. What is key to the party is the crystallization of a nucleus—no matter how small it may be at first—of Iranian militants, many of whom are out of the country, who will be able to see clearly the need to separate the Marxist forces from reactionary Islamic clericalism, and who can begin to rally around the communist program....

"Without the crystallization of those cadres there will be endless military coups, there will be endless Mossadeqs, but there will be no Iranian October. What our task is now, above all, is to recruit those Iranian militants, to build a world party that those Iranian militants can be part of, so that when future class battles come, the working class will not rally around the red flag of Shi'ite Islam but will rally around the red flag of communism."

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Derry...

(continued from page 5)

movement was that it didn't raise the question of the border, of partition. But, lacking a working-class perspective, he simply moved from tailing bourgeois liberalism to tailing the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Provisional IRA. That's a development which typifies much of the guilt-ridden British/Irish left.

For us, neither the southern state nor the northern Orange statelet can in any sense be seen as an ally of the working class. Both states deny a whole series of democratic rights: one guided by pro-imperialist Protestant communalism, the other by Catholic bigotry. Vorster in South Africa once said "I would give up all my legislation for one article of the Special Powers Act in Northern Ireland." But the southern state has an equally vicious Offences Against the State Act.

So when in August 1969 southern troops were moved to the border we would have opposed their intervention, just as we vehemently opposed Britain's intervention. We reject the programme of a united capitalist Ireland, either as a "progressive step" or as a satisfactory goal, because that could offer nothing to the Protestant workers but a reversal of the terms of oppression—at best making them second-class citizens in a united Republic. To advance such a programme in 1969 and 1970, just like today, was to guarantee that Protestant workers would be pushed away from any possibility of unity with the Catholic masses and back into the arms of their "own" bourgeoisie.

But without confronting the national question and defending the right of both communities to exist, calls for class unity can only be abstract and empty incantation. This was precisely the problem with the SLL at that time. The national question was a distant part of the maximum programme which was not allowed to interfere with the daily economic questions; and when the SLL finally addressed it they came down on the side of Green nationalism.

The lack of an organisation fighting for an anti-nationalist working-class programme has been dearly paid for since 1968. Thus, rather than being split along class lines, the Civil Rights movement eventually fragmented along predictable, but not predetermined, lines. Karl Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that:

"The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seemed engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the

spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language."

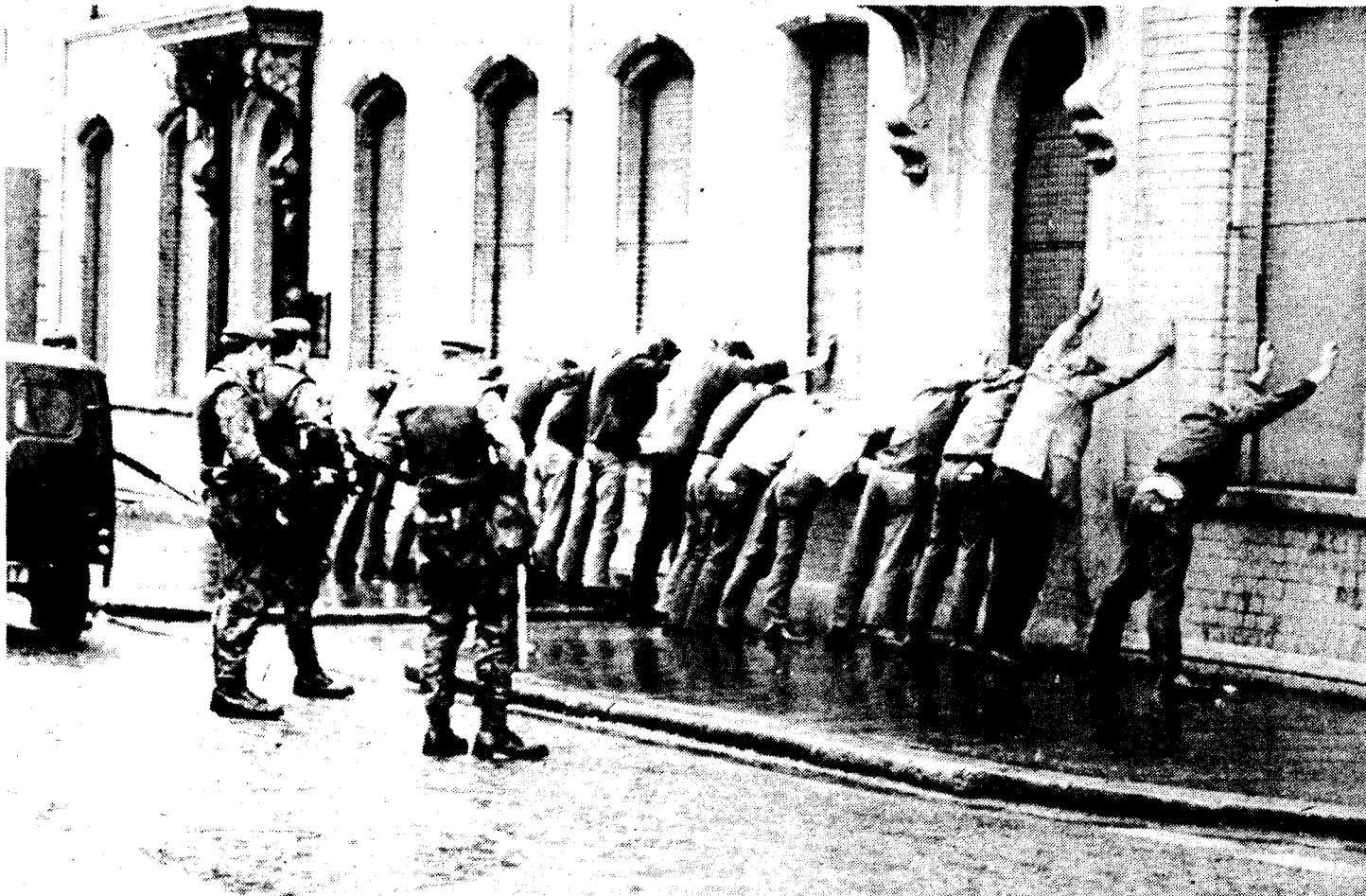
So the streetfighters of 1969 became Republicans, exchanging the stone and petrol bomb for the gun. The Catholic working-class youth of the North, potential cadres of a proletarian vanguard party, saw no alternative in their struggle against imperialism than the

The underlying truth that there can be no democratic solution to the Irish question without the consent of the Protestants helps explain the craven approach of the Provisionals, who fight not so much to defeat imperialism as to bring it to the negotiating table. Hence they refuse to call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops, preferring to ask for a "declaration of intent" to withdraw by Britain. In addition, the Provos continually seek negotiations with reactionary Unionist leaders,

which, to say the least, comes nowhere near addressing the overall needs of the working class.

Against the bankrupt "tradition of the dead generations" which is Republicanism, we have a different tradition. Our programme is based on the need for the kind of united class struggles against the bourgeoisie that occurred in Belfast in 1932. That means a fight for a conscious leadership which can address the question of sectarian violence alongside the fight to get the British

Hardy—Gamma



British troops round up "suspected IRA members"; "I would give up all my legislation for one article of the Special Powers Act in Northern Ireland," said South Africa's Vorster.

petty-bourgeois nationalist Provisional IRA.

When you look at the number of personally courageous militants who have died in the service of this historically defunct cause, you realise that there has been a tremendous waste. Republicanism contains a backward-looking romanticism—the idea that each generation must give up some of its sons "to die for their country." And this warped, deformed tradition leads the working masses *nowhere*.

In Ireland, even more than most semi-colonial countries, the struggle for a bourgeois nationalist solution to the national question is an entirely futile one. The partial and deformed completion of the national revolution in 1921 undercut the social base that a nationalist organisation would need to defeat imperialism in the North, and partition hardened the division between the Catholics and a million-strong, heavily-armed Protestant majority in the North which had no desire for unity with the new Free State.

seeing them and not the Protestant workers as potential allies.

1838 and 1938

Various left groups tell us that the programme of 1938, the Transitional Programme of Leon Trotsky, is out of date. I would say that the programme of 1838, the bourgeois programme of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Movement, along with all its later cousins, is out of date.

Before 1972, the programme of the Provisional IRA and of People's Democracy—the programme that many Republican militants laid down their lives for—was nothing more than the abolition of Stormont. So Stormont was abolished—but, with nothing to replace it, that simply meant direct Westminster rule in the North. And today the only significant movement in the Catholic ghettos is around the demand for political status for Republican prisoners, pending a general amnesty. That's a minimum programme

troops out, by building anti-imperialist, anti-sectarian workers defence squads.

That means a leadership which will fight for a socialist solution to unemployment, bad housing and the poverty-level standard of living in Northern Ireland, through raising transitional demands like a sliding scale of wages and hours, an end to all discrimination in housing and employment and a programme of socially-useful public works. A leadership which will break down the communal barriers, tearing Protestant workers from their reactionary Orange masters just as it breaks Catholic workers away from their rulers and misleaders, north and south, the Green bourgeoisie and the nationalists.

The struggle to build an organisation fighting for such a programme will not be easy. However, unlike the Republicans and their acolytes, our politics will enable us to take advantage of future Derry 1968's in the fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. ■

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Marx...

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significant that the Russian Marxist workers movement, unlike the German or French, was built up from propaganda circles rather than created through the recruitment of established mass leaders who brought their following with them.

Opportunism in the Nineteenth Century

Marx/Engels' approach to winning the confidence of "the best people in all the working-class movements" implied that the existing workers' leaders did not constitute a corrupt, privileged bureaucratic caste, but in the main consisted of honest, self-sacrificing individuals devoted to the workers' interests. They believed that many of the workers' leaders who rejected Marxism did so because of lack of experience or knowledge or from misconceptions which could be corrected. Except for the British trade-union leaders, this was a valid enough generalization.

This is not to say that opportunism did not exist in the workers movement of Marx/Engels' time or that they did not strenuously fight it. For example, in 1879 Marx/Engels threatened to publicly break with the Bebel/Liebkecht leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD) unless they expelled some extreme right-wingers.

However, these right-wing oppositionists were *not* conservative bureaucrats nor labor reformists in the contemporary sense. They were a petty-bourgeois grouping around a wealthy philanthropist, Karl Höchberg, who openly advocated replacing the SPD's proletarian socialist program with a purely bourgeois-democratic one. In other words, the Höchberg opposition stood for reversing the decision of the Eisenach Congress ten years earlier and transforming the SPD back into the People's Party of the 1860's once again.

Faced with this, Marx/Engels stated in a "circular letter" to Bebel, Liebkecht et al. (17-18 September 1879) that petty-bourgeois opponents of proletarian socialism should not be in a proletarian socialist party:

"If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are chock-full of bourgeois

and petty-bourgeois concepts. In such a petty-bourgeois country as Germany these concepts certainly have their justification. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If these gentlemen constitute themselves into a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party they are quite entitled to do so; one could then negotiate with them, form a bloc according to circumstances, etc. But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, seems to have come. How the Party can tolerate the authors of this article in its midst any longer is incomprehensible to us. If however the leadership of the Party were to fall more or less into the hands of such people, the Party would simply be emasculated and it would mean the end of proletarian pluck." [emphasis in original]

—*Ibid.*

Marx/Engels' fight against the Höchberg group in the SPD was characteristic of their fight against opportunism in general. The question of an independent socialist working-class party was itself a central issue separating classic Marxism from opportunism. During the nineteenth century right-wing opportunist elements in workers parties almost invariably stood for liquidating these parties back into bourgeois radicalism. Thus the right-wing tendencies in British Chartism, from the 1840's until its final disintegration in 1858, all advocated organizational fusion with the Radicals. With the disappearance of Chartism, Marx/Engels' main fight with the British trade-union leaders was to break with the bourgeois Liberals and establish an independent workers party.

On the continent in the decades following the defeated revolutions of 1848, the socialist movement was so weak and persecuted that hardened careerists generally opted for careers in bourgeois politics. A number of Communist Leaguers of 1848 became bourgeois politicians in Bismarckian Germany, notably Johannes Miquel, a leader of the National-Liberal party who became Prussian minister of finance. (Marx even extracted favors from turncoat "red '48ers" by threatening to expose their past.) Similarly, Georges Clemenceau, leader of the French Radicals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, began his career as a Blanquist.

In the second half of the nineteenth century France, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, etc. were not stable bourgeois parliamentary democracies. Mass-trade-union movements did not exist in these countries and all workers' leaders were subject to persecution and imprisonment. In short, the social basis for a powerful labor bureaucracy and for reformist "socialist" parties did not exist (with the partial exception of Britain).

The transition between nineteenth-century forms of opportunism in the workers movement and those of the twentieth century occurred in the 1890's. When the French Socialist Alexandre Millerand entered a bourgeois government in 1899, he opened up a new epoch of opportunism in the workers movement. Before 1899 it was not so uncommon for *ex*-socialists to become ministers in bourgeois governments. But the French ruling class wanted Millerand not as an individual renegade, but precisely as the representative of a working-class, ostensibly socialist party.

With Millerandism begins modern reformism, the administration of the bourgeois state by a stratum of labor leaders, who thus become active and conscious counterrevolutionaries. This fundamental change in the relation of the leadership of the workers movement to capitalist society occurred *after* the period of classic Marxism.

Marx/Engels believed that opportunism in a mass workers party would be episodic and correctable. Furthermore, they thought that really hardened opportunists would in one way or another desert the workers movement entirely for bourgeois politics. However, with the integration of a stratum of labor leaders into the bourgeois state apparatus, these parties become intrinsically anti-revolutionary, become *bourgeois* workers parties. Therefore, the proletarian revolution depends on the political victory of a separate revolutionary party over the bourgeois workers parties. The Leninist concept of the vanguard revolutionary party is a fundamental extension of classic Marxism for the present epoch, when capitalist society is defended by a bureaucracy based on the organized working class.

Conclusion

In 1895 Engels attempted to summarize the history of the workers

movement from 1848. His analysis was quite optimistic. He recognized that the objective economic conditions for a European socialist revolution did not exist in 1848, but had been created since then. He further related this economic development to the growth of Marxism in the workers movement:

"... the struggle between these two great classes [the bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat], a struggle which, apart from England, existed in 1848 only in Paris and, at the most, in a few big industrial centres, has spread over the whole of Europe and reached an intensity still inconceivable in 1848. At that time the many obscure evangelists of the sects, with their panaceas; today the *one* generally recognized, crystal-clear theory of Marx, sharply formulating the ultimate aims of the struggle. At that time the masses, sundered and differing according to locality and nationality, linked only by the feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, helplessly tossed to and fro from enthusiasm to despair; today the *one* great international army of Socialists, marching irresistibly on and growing daily in number, organization, discipline, insight and certainty of victory." [emphasis in original]

—Engels' 1895 introduction to K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850* (1972)

The vanguardist Communist League of 1848 was predicated on the belief that the imminent bourgeois-democratic revolution would lead directly to the socialist revolution. When Marx/Engels were forced to abandon this perspective, they foresaw a lengthy preparatory period in which the workers movement would build itself up into a force powerful enough to overthrow capitalist society. However, this development of the workers movement also produced a new social stratum, a conservative and ultimately counterrevolutionary bureaucracy.

In 1848 the Marxists fought to win the leadership of the revolutionary masses away from the bourgeois radicals. Since 1914 Marxists have fought to win the leadership of the working class from the social-democratic and later Stalinist bureaucrats. What links the Communist League of 1848 to the Communist International of 1919 to Trotsky's Fourth International in 1938 to the international Spartacist tendency today is the struggle to secure the political independence of the working masses, who are being betrayed by their historically established leaderships. ■

At Peace and Freedom Party Convention:

CP Stung by SYL Intervention

SANTA CRUZ—In the sunny hills of this California college town, a safe distance from the vicissitudes of the class struggle, the Peace and Freedom Party, that ghost that haunts the New Left graveyard out here, held its statewide conference on November 25. The majority of the conference participants busied themselves with lists of "tax the rich" gimmicks, but the liberal reformists and their "people before profits" platitudes drew an unexpected revolutionary challenge from the Santa Cruz Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at a panel discussion entitled "How Can Socialists Take the Offensive Against the Right Wing?"

Among panelists from the Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party and Communist Labor Party, the representative of the wretchedly reformist Communist Party (CP) set the tone with a practiced Stalinist rehash of the need for "left-center unity" and support to "progressive" Democrats to fight the reactionary right. But it was the political intervention of the SYL that dominated the discussion.

The CP's West Coast newspaper, the *People's World*, has a well-deserved

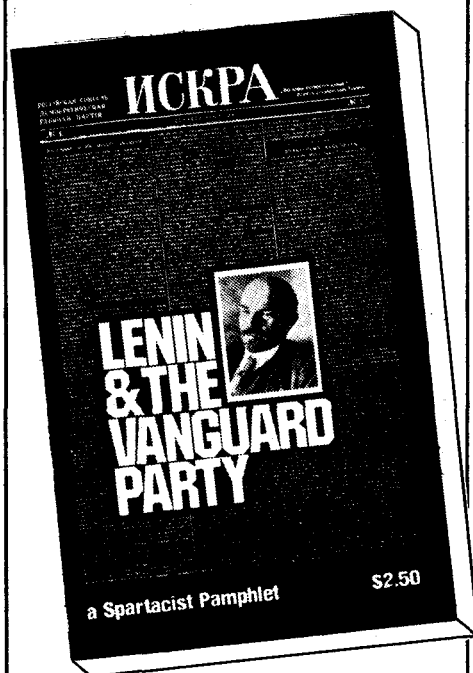
reputation for slander and self-serving dishonesty. But for once, in the issue of 16 December, the Stalinist hacks wrote the truth about the Trotskyists. They accurately reported that speaker after speaker from the SYL called for "rejecting 'unity with the liberals' in preference to what they called the 'independent strength of the working class'.... Members of the Peace and Freedom Party later commented that they could work with any of the nine groups attending the meeting except for the Spartacists." Right! Only the SYL called for a break with both capitalist parties and hammered home the truth that the fate of the working class will be decided not by the ballot box but on the battle lines of the class struggle. And for that the workers need their *own* party.

The CP makes no bones about the fact that its "unite to fight the right" rhetoric is simply a rationalization for class collaboration. For decades their position has always been one of support for the Democrats—from FDR to LBJ to Jimmy Carter. It's no secret that fully a third of the CP's own central committee voted for McGovern in 1972 instead of their own candidate Gus Hall. When confronted with its betrayals and crimes

against the working class by the SYL at Santa Cruz, the CP spokesman could only respond feebly that "the Party" had made many, many mistakes in the past but that they had learned from those mistakes. But the pages of the *People's World* and *Daily World* continue to trumpet support for the likes of Democrats Ron Dellums of Oakland, John Conyers of Michigan and Cleveland mayor Dennis Kucinich. This old recipe for defeat is still being served up as the only "practical" response to the clear and present danger of an increasingly aggressive right wing.

The Peace and Freedom Party itself is a motley collection of New Left leftovers, beachcombing anarchists, social democrats and eco-freaks. To peddle the politics of this swamp of dilettantes and reformists as a genuine break with class collaboration and the Democratic Party would be a complete fraud. What the Spartacist League wrote at the time of the founding of the California Peace and Freedom Party in 1968, when it represented a mass petty-bourgeois mobilization against the Vietnam war, remains true today: "The road to peace and freedom lies through *working class* political action." ■

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Young Spartacus

Hands Off the ISA!

No Asylum for the Bloody Pahlavis!

LOS ANGELES—As the first planeload of fleeing Pahlavis touched down, its occupants no doubt hoped that they had escaped the angry demonstrations which had plagued the now-deposed "dynasty" during its final days in Iran. Their expectations were rightfully dashed when a militant and spirited contingent of 2,000 Iranian students marched through Beverly Hills on January 2, giving the royal refugees an appropriate "welcome." When a smaller crowd approached the palatial mansion of Princess Shams Pahlavi, the Beverly Hills police and the Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies on the scene went berserk. Newspapers throughout the U.S. carried the horrifying photos of frenzied cops slamming their squad cars into the demonstrators at 40 miles per hour. Forty Iranian students were injured and seven were arrested on the spot.

The cops had been caught unprepared by the size and militancy of the demonstration. They considered a mass arrest of the marchers, but decided against it, according to reporters, for "logistical" reasons. Instead the cops pelted demonstrators with rocks and tear gas canisters. The police fired at least two shotgun blasts while water hoses were turned on the crowd as the brush surrounding the mansion ignited. A sheriff's department spokesman admitted that at one point the order was given to drive squad cars into the demonstrators and "put it [the cars' accelerators] to the floor." Bodies went flying—one woman was dragged 20 feet by a deputy's car and another had both legs crushed under the wheels.

This was not the first time that L.A. cops have viciously assaulted anti-shah protesters. Only last September 1 the police attacked 400 peaceful marchers. Thirty demonstrators were hospitalized and more than 165 were arrested as club-



L.A. cops slam into anti-shah protesters at Beverly Hills demonstration.

swinging cops rioted in front of the *Los Angeles Times* building.

Carter/Bell Launch Witchhunt

What was the "official" response to the January 2 demonstration in this country of "human rights," this "land of the free, and the home of the brave"? The day after the protest, the L.A. city council voted unanimously to call for the federal government to "terminate, suspend and discontinue" the visas of Iranians convicted of being "unlawfully involved" in the "riotous confrontation" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 January). The next day U.S. attorney general Griffin Bell announced that "all participants in such violence will be deported to the extent the law permits or requires." Bell reportedly got on the case personally after a furious Jimmy Carter gave the orders via radiotelephone from Air Force One while returning from the Guadeloupe summit conference.

The U.S. government is going all out this time. A massive crackdown on anti-

shah militants is underway. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents are raiding the homes of Iranians demanding to see their passports. No effort is being spared to locate demonstrators who are being fingered from videotapes taken of the march. More than 300 Iranians have been "surveyed" for visa violations according to the *Los Angeles Times* (13 January). Already, more than 50 have been arrested—all of whom face possible deportation.

This well-orchestrated manhunt is a conspiracy, ranging from the White House down to the local cops (who have always worked fist in glove with the shah's notorious secret police, the SAVAK). Its purpose is to disrupt the activities of anti-shah Iranians and to victimize the members of the several wings of the Iranian Students Association (ISA). With the shah himself reportedly en route to the U.S., the Justice Department is particularly anxious to suppress any future militant anti-shah protests.

The capitalist press has voiced no moral outrage at the bloody crimes of the Pahlavi regime. Thousands of unarmed civilians have been gunned down in the streets of Iran's major cities. Anti-shah demonstrators have been crushed by tanks as troops rampage in an orgy of violence and murder. The shah's prisons are overflowing with militants—those lucky enough to have survived the infamous tortures that are the stock in trade of the SAVAK. The kept journalists of the U.S. ruling class cry for the "poor little 90-year-old lady" who just happens to be the Queen Mother. But the determined opponents of the shah who get run over by L.A.'s "finest" are denounced as violence-prone crazies! The Iranian students, you see, have reneged on their "responsibilities" as "guests" of the shah's best friend, the U.S. government.

No Asylum for Butcher Shah! Hands Off the ISA!

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) has quickly responded to the ominous anti-ISA

hysteria. The L.A. SL/SYL issued a call for a united-front demonstration around the demands, "No Deportations—Hands Off the ISA—Drop the Charges!" and "No Asylum for the Butcher Shah and His Supporters!" Although every ostensible socialist group was asked to participate, all except one, the Revolutionary Socialist League, refused. Despite this flagrant display of criminal sectarianism, 40 demonstrators set up a spirited picket line on January 10 outside of the INS offices.

Ten days later, the very same organizations that boycotted the SL/SYL-sponsored demonstration held their own rally. A half-hearted attempt by several Stalinist groups to censor the marchers' slogans failed, and the SL/SYL raised the Trotskyist call: "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" Our contingent, the largest at the demonstration, drew the class line as well with the chant: "Islamic State No Solution, Fight for Workers Revolution!"

The shah and his entourage hope to escape from the just anger of the masses in Iran who are clamoring for the Pahlavis' lives. They expect to settle down in \$600,000 hillside mansions in southern California—that watering hole for deposed dictators like Vietnamese war criminal Marshal Ky (who now runs a liquor store in affluent Huntington Beach). While perhaps awaiting their return to power in Iran, the Pahlavis will be paying their bills with the billions that they have extorted from bleeding Iran's working people.

The very presence of the blood-drenched Pahlavis is an outrageous affront to the working people of whatever country they might "vacation in." Wherever they may seek refuge let them be greeted with massive demonstrations and protests! Simple justice demands that these criminals and their hired thugs in the SAVAK be put before people's tribunals in Iran where the relatives of the murdered and the tortured can best judge their guilt and fix the punishment that they so richly deserve. ■

A Greeting Fit for a Shah

"An Austrian marshal, Haynau had crushed the [1848] Hungarian revolution with a brutality which had made him an archetype of the reaction; and when it was reported that he was to visit England, [the revolutionary Chartist leader] Harney appealed to the working class to protest, though without much hope. Events provided a welcome surprise. When the marshal visited Barclay and Perkins' brewery on Bankside, work stopped and the brewery men welcomed their guest by dropping a truss of hay on him and chasing him into the street, heavily pelted with manure. Here a crowd of lightermen and coalheav-

ers took up the pursuit. Down Bankside ran the marshal, his clothes torn, his moustachios being violently pulled, covered with fresh volleys of dung thrown by the angry mob shouting "Down with the Austrian butcher!" After being routed out from a temporary refuge in the dustbin of "The George" public house, Haynau finally found protection upstairs, from whence he was eventually rescued by a strong force of police and rowed to safety across the Thames. He left England within a week."

—from A.R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge* (1958)