

Young Spartacus

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Southern Africa:

Smash White-Supremacist Regimes!

During February mass protests again erupted in the black townships of South Africa. After months of continual provocation by the brutal South African cops, thousands of black high school students have again taken to the streets to protest the victimization of anti-apartheid militants by the white-supremacist regime of prime minister B.J. Vorster.

The recent round of militant demonstrations was sparked when the South African school authorities scheduled examinations so as to penalize black students for class time missed during the period of the anti-apartheid upsurge last summer and fall. On February 9, the scheduled day of the examinations, thousands of black students gathered at their segregated schools and burned their exam papers and booklets in protest.

At Orlando High School in Soweto 2,000 students seized the school and brought the examinations to a halt. When the police charged, the black students managed to repulse one brutal attack but soon were forced out of the building and were dispersed with tear gas. At Meadowlands High School in Soweto the South African cops charged into a crowd of 1,000

demonstrating students, arresting at least one student leader.

In the ensuing days confrontations between black demonstrators and the cops spread throughout the townships. Despite the imposition of a school-hours curfew, the anti-apartheid demonstrations in Soweto continued, as the students demanded a halt to the examinations, the abolition of the separate system of "bantustan" education and the release of all anti-apartheid militants arrested since the upsurge began eight months ago.

"Unshakeable" Apartheid Shaken

Unlike the Sharpsville massacre, which set back the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa for over a decade, the fierce repression of the Vorster regime has not been able to bludgeon the rebellious black masses into submission. Already the revolts in the black townships have opened fissures in the facade of apartheid.

Last month the South African Catholic Church roundly condemned the "social and political system of oppression" in South Africa and in the

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Rhodesian regime today is herding black villagers into Vietnam-style "strategic hamlets."

Victory to Ann Arbor AFSCME Strike!

ANN ARBOR, February 24—As we go to press the strike of over 2,300 campus workers at the University of Michigan (U-M) here has entered its second day. But already the administration has unleashed a vicious union-busting drive.

Today four strikers were injured as scab trucks and buses attempted to break through union picket lines. Meanwhile, campus and city cops tried to disperse pickets to clear the way for scabs; one union member has been arrested and others pushed and shoved by the club-wielding cops.

The custodians, hospital aides, mail carriers, cafeteria and maintenance workers represented by

Local 1583 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) set up picket lines around all major campus buildings after voting down U-M's contract "offer" by a four-to-one margin Tuesday night. The administration's proposal of a paltry 55-cent wage increase with no improvement in benefits and a reduction in cost-of-living protection has forced the union to strike for the first time since 1971.

While the majority of AFSCME members have stayed out of work and Teamsters are honoring picket lines, the administration unfortunately has been able to mobilize some U-M students into a scab labor

force. Many dorm food service operations and university buses are being staffed by paid student "volunteers." In addition, the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) voted down a motion by a union militant to respect AFSCME picket lines, and most of its members have continued working in struck buildings.

The student scabbing and backstabbing by fellow union members must be stopped. While many students have refused to work scab jobs, they also should not continue to attend classes. By crossing picket lines, they are breaking a labor action—and can only be regarded as scabs. The GEO and all

other campus employees must stay out in support of the striking AFSCME local. Despite the sell-out policy of AFSCME bureaucrats who urge other workers to "help" the strikers by staying at their jobs, *picket lines mean "don't cross," and a strike means "shut it down!"*

The SYL at U-M has been daily walking the picket lines in solidarity with the AFSCME strike. We have joined the strikers in their efforts to stop scab trucks and will continue to struggle to win students to side with the striking U-M workers. No Scabbing—For a Campus-Wide Strike to Support the AFSCME Workers!

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Editorial Notes:

Stalinists Glorify Dracula

Poems, paintings, sculptures and scholarly studies have recently been produced in Rumania to glorify "a knight of justice and freedom who would never forgive an oppressor of the people" and "who upheld good, strictly observed order."

In Stalinist Rumania such adulation is routinely lavished upon President Nicolae Ceausescu; slavish sycophants pen "anonymous" poems hailing the Stalinist strongman as "a man whose eyes are like the sun after a storm with great and kind heart who has the soul of a poet and a mind broader than the horizon."

But this time the "knight of justice and freedom" lionized by the Bucharest regime is not Nicolae Ceausescu. It refers to none other than Dracula! According to the *New York Times* (13 February 1977) the Rumanian government recently commissioned a spate of artistic productions and historical tributes to celebrate the quinquennial anniversary of the death of Vlad Dracula—the infamous fifteenth-century Prince of Wallachia whose despotic and sadistic rule became legendary and later inspired the novelist Bram Stoker to fictionalize the blood-thirsty Vlad as the "vampire" Dracula.

Despite his "rehabilitation" by the Rumanian Stalinists, the historic Dracula was no "knight of justice and freedom." Known as Vlad the Impaler, Dracula (which in Rumanian means "Little Devil") secured his place in history as a result of his mass terror unleashed against Germans in Transylvania and recalcitrant boyars (the nobility). Several contemporary sources relate that soon after he was installed as *voevod* (warrior prince) by the Hungarians in 1456 Dracula impaled 500 boyars on spikes at one of his royal banquets. Another account describes how on St. Bartholemew's Day in 1460 Dracula impaled 30,000 residents of the Saxon town of Amlasch. In 1475 the Bishop of Erlau recorded that during the reign of Dracula as many as 100,000 people were impaled or otherwise tortured to death (at that time the total population of Wallachia numbered no more than 500,000).

While conceding that Dracula was indeed cruel, the recent Rumanian works stress that the Wallachian *voevod* nevertheless "had a clear-cut political goal in mind that justified his methods" (quoted in *New York Times*, 13 February). Dracula is praised above all for his role in militarily combating the invasions of the Ottoman Turks. Writes leading Rumanian historian Stefan Stefanescu:

"A fighting pattern that we nowadays call a people's war was born out of the will to defend the freedom of his people... Vlad also teaches a major political lesson: Love for the fatherland, undaunted support for the high ideals of the people, represent a material force capable of curbing the surge of even the mightiest power."

It is not coincidental that this glorification of Dracula as the symbol of Rumanian resistance to great-power domination comes at a time when long-standing reactionary territorial disputes between the Bucharest regime and the neighboring deformed/degenerated workers states have flared anew. Recently, both Hungary and Bulgaria have made annexationist claims on Rumanian Transylvania and Dobruja, respectively.

More significant have been the growing tensions between Rumania and the Soviet Union. Ever since 1963, when Rumania balked at Russian plans for its economic integration into the Soviet bloc with mainly an agrarian role, the Moscow bureaucracy has been at odds with the maverick regime in Bucharest, which since 1957 has refused to allow Soviet troops to be garrisoned within Rumania, which was the only Warsaw Pact member to refuse to send troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968, and which staunchly advocates Titoist "poly-centrism" and "Eurocommunism." During the past year Moscow and Bucharest have sharply escalated their rival claims to the territories of northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, both of which were annexed by the USSR in 1940 following the Stalin-Hitler pact (*New York Times*, 31 May 1976).

Yet at one time or another all these Stalinist regimes have dredged up "national heroes" from the past to justify and popularize their current anti-proletarian, anti-internationalist policies. The work of the Stalinist "red professors" has nothing in common with an objective historical study



Fifteenth-century German woodcut depicts Dracula's reign of terror.

of particular feudal absolutist rulers. Genuine Marxist historical analysis recognizes that within the framework of the development of feudalism some

monarchs must be credited with having accomplished historically progressive acts. But Stalinist historiography is devoted above all to nationalist glorification. Peter the Great played a certain progressive role in Russian feudal history; but Lenin never glorified him or any Tsar.

In contrast, Stalin, after the rise of fascism in Germany, sought to revive and politically exploit anti-Germanic chauvinism in the USSR. It was in this atmosphere of retrogressive Russian nationalism that in 1938 Sergei Eisenstein and Sergei Prokofiev produced their joint cinematic-symphonic tribute to Alexander Nevsky, who had become a symbol of Great Russian resistance to the Germanic "huns." Despite the reactionary policies of Stalin the Trotskyists in the USSR and internationally never ceased to unconditionally defend the USSR from imperialist attack (as we do today for all the deformed/degenerated workers states). Communists can have nothing but contempt for "Marxist-Leninists" who hark back to medieval power politics. Instead, we take our stand on proletarian *internationalism*—the only reliable basis for mobilizing the workers of the world to defend the gains of October.

It reveals a great deal about the Bucharest regime that Ceausescu and the Stalinist clique monopolizing political power in Rumania seek to bask in the bygone "glory" of the butcher Dracula. Maintaining its political stranglehold over the disfranchised workers and peasants through an iron-fisted authoritarian regime, the Rumanian Stalinist bureaucracy very likely feels a historical affinity for Dracula's "strictly observed order." When the Rumanian workers overthrow the parasitic, usurping Stalinist bureaucracy through political revolution, the new soviet power will once and for all return Dracula to the dust bin of history. ■

Bible Thumping and Book Banning

Last month a biology textbook which expounds the Biblical claptrap about the so-called "divine origins" of the human species was approved for use in public schools by trustees of the Dallas Independent School District in Texas. According to school board president Bill Hunter, the book "recognizes that both evolution and [divine] creation are philosophical concepts or theories" (quoted in *New York Times*, 28 January 1977).

Written by an outfit called the "Creation Research Committee" and published by the Zondervan Corporation, which prints and distributes religious tracts, the textbook, entitled *A Search for Order in Complexity*, is to be placed in sixty biology classes in the Texas school district. Designed as a "research source," the textbook will be "explained" to teachers in training sessions this summer and, if included on the next approved textbook list of the Texas Board of Education, could become the principal biology text for the entire school district.

Meanwhile, in "progressive" Long Island, New York, the Island Trees school board recently banned 9 of 11 books that had been temporarily removed from the public school system last February 'as allegedly "objectionable, vulgar, anti-Christian, anti-Semitic and degrading to women" (quoted in the *New York Post*, 29 July 1976). Included among the "educationally unsound" books are *The Best Short Stories of Negro Writers* by Langston Hughes, *Soul on Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver, *Slaughterhouse Five* by Kurt Vonnegut Jr. and Pulitzer-Prize winner *The Fixer* by Bernard Malamud. The Island Trees school board voted to allow students to read Oliver La Farge's *Laughing Boy* and—with written permission from parents—Richard Wright's *Black Boy*.

Although the Long Island book banning created an uproar in the community—prompting several outraged students to institute a lawsuit against the school board and causing some families to move from the district—the Island Trees action is by no means an isolated incident. Attempts to ban particular books from public schools have

recently occurred in 11 states. Among the publications under fire in one instance was the *American Heritage Dictionary*!

Socialists adamantly oppose both the arbitrary censorship of books by the public-school authorities and the introduction of religious tracts into secular education. The separation of the church from the state is a fundamental bourgeois-democratic demand which Marxists have always supported (appearing as a demand in the program of the Bolshevik Party). The proselytizing of religion—"the opiate of the masses" (Marx)—is antithetical to scientific, rational education. Any state aid to parochial schools, or any religious intrusion in public education—from textbooks like *A Search for Order in Complexity* to evangelical groups appearing at compulsory school assemblies (common in the South)—must be opposed. Catechizing, worship or any other religious observance should remain a private affair, conducted when public school is in recess. We call for free compulsory public education in co-educational and racially desegregated quality schools (see "Parochial Schools Conciliated," *Young Spartacus*, September 1975).

At the same time, we recognize that under capitalism the public educational system functions in the interest of the ruling class. Attempts at censorship by the bourgeois education officials invariably are reactionary, reflecting the race prejudices and class bias which pervade and at many levels are institutionalized in the bourgeois public-education system.

Moreover, book banning campaigns usually are linked to or fuel broader social reaction. For example, when the New York Civil Liberties Union intervened last July in the Long Island book-banning case, the Island Trees school board attacked the ACLU for defending "Communist subversives."

The reactionary thrust of such book-banning movements was even more graphically demonstrated in the West Virginia school boycott initiated

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Young Spartacus

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Elizabeth Kendall
Steve Green
Irene Gardner

Production manager: K. Johnson
Circulation manager: M. Sanders

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New York City

"Cultural Exchange" Cloaks SAVAK Surveillance

End CUNY Complicity with Shah's Terror!

NEW YORK CITY—On December 7 the *Phoenix*, a student newspaper at the Queens College campus of the City University of New York (CUNY), unveiled a sinister agreement between CUNY and the National University of Iran (NUI).

Under the provisions of the "Program of Cooperation Between the National University of Iran and the City University of New York," which was signed into effect on April 2, the Shah of Iran will funnel hundreds of thousands of dollars into CUNY to finance "cultural and academic" activities.

But in return for his "munificence" the "King of Kings" requested one "favor." The "Program of Cooperation" stipulates: "As far as possible, to maintain a list of graduate Iranian students in the United States with a view of employing them for the National University of Iran."

Such a listing of Iranian students would serve only one purpose: facilitating the work of the SAVAK (Sazman Amniyat va Keshvar—Iranian State Security Organization). Considerable evidence continues to ac-

cumulate indicating that the Shah maintains a network of his gestapo agents in this country to spy on Iranian students, especially those who engage in anti-Shah protests.

In an article entitled "Defend Iranian Students Against Cop/SAVAK Repression!" the December issue of *Young Spartacus* noted:

- In an interview several months ago the Shah flatly admitted that his agents were lurking in this country to "check up on anybody who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country, which is the role of any intelligence organization."

- Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson also reported that "SAVAK agents hound and harass Iranians in the United States, with full knowledge and sometimes the assistance of the C.I.A."

- U.S. Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Alfred Atherton, confirmed the presence of SAVAK agents here and stated that their mission was "to check on potential terrorists."

The Spartacus Youth League stands

opposed to any agreement between the Iranian government and an American institution which would collect data on Iranian students living in this country and turn such information over to the Shah. When deported to Iran, opponents of the butcher Shah face hideous tortures and draconian repression. In addition, information about dissident Iranians abroad frequently leads to harsh repression for their relatives in Iran.

We do not advocate liberal "cultural" boycotts; calling for the severing of all academic, cultural and athletic ties with countries under repressive regimes as a principle is nothing more than a moral gesture (see "Boycott 'Ipi Tombi'?" *Workers Vanguard*, 4 February 1977). But the CUNY/NUI "Program of Cooperation," established in suspicious secrecy and funded almost entirely by the Shah, is not simply a program for "cultural exchange." It performs ominous spy functions for the bloody Iranian regime and must be terminated now!

END CUNY COMPLICITY WITH NUI/SAVAK!

FOR FULL U.S. CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR ALL IRANIAN STUDENTS!

Public Education: Separate and Unequal

Much in the news lately have been stories about the enormous inequalities and inadequacies within the public school system, which have only been exacerbated by the capitalist fiscal austerity drive of the past several years:

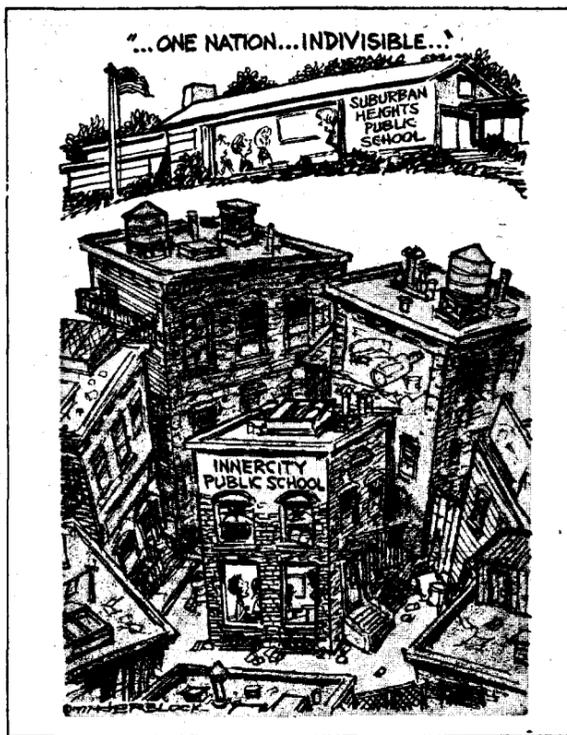
Item: Recently the State of New York announced a proposal to institute minimum proficiency exams in high school to ensure that students are not graduated until they have learned to read.

Item: Last month an 18-year-old high school graduate in Long Island created an uproar in his community when he sued the local school board for having graduated him an illiterate.

Item: For several months public schools in three Oregon districts have been closed after tax-squeezed voters defeated education funding measures on the ballot.

Item: In late February the U.S. Office of Education estimated that 23 million Americans are unable to read material as basic—and important—as train schedules.

It is in this context that considerable media attention and controversy has been devoted to the recent California Supreme Court ruling which declares that



Herblock/NY Post

the funding of public school education through local property taxes violates the equal-protection clause of both the U.S. and California constitutions.

As socialists, we oppose all class-biased and racially discriminatory privileges in educational opportunity. Thus, we are opposed to educational funding based on local property taxes. Instead, we call for all public schools to be funded at the national level. In addition, all social services—from welfare to health care—should be federally funded.

Public education can only be discriminatory as long as it is financed through taxation of very different "publics." For example, the public school systems in ghettos like Harlem and Watts are notoriously decrepit and under-financed, while high schools in relatively affluent suburbs like Scarsdale and Beverly Hills are often superior to many community colleges. A survey published in the *New York Times* (11 March 1973) quantified the great disparities between public school districts within each state: on the average the richest districts in each state have a taxable property base per pupil *seventeen times* as large as the poorest.

But the California court decision will not re-

sult in any significant change in the *status quo*. Several weeks ago California officials unveiled an allegedly sweeping scheme for school "decentralization" which supposedly would eliminate the inequalities declared unconstitutional by the court. However, to the extent that the proposal is not simply vague rhetoric about community initiative, the "decentralization" scheme does not call for the elimination of property-tax funding; it merely proposes reallocation of state education subsidies in order to narrow per-pupil spending differences to a "reasonable figure" in 85 percent of the state districts (*New York Times*, 14 February 1977).

Moreover, the California state court ruling very likely will be appealed and overturned by a higher court. In fact, the United States Supreme Court in a 1973 decision (*Rodriguez v. San Antonio Independent School District*) already has rejected the position that funding through local taxes violates the equal-protection clause of the Constitution, since education is not a "fundamental right" (*New York Times*, 17 February 1977).

Yet even federal funding of public school education is not sufficient to provide equal access to educational facilities. As long as the schools remain segregated, no amount of federal aid will ensure equal educational opportunities for all. It is necessary to demand an end to residential segregation and to support busing, a measure which, although limited, enforces the democratic right of black people to equality in public education. Furthermore, we demand that busing be extended to include the relatively superior suburban schools.

Not only has the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against attempts to prohibit property-tax funding of education, but the courts have recently taken measures to stall and even reverse school desegregation. Most significant has been the U.S. Supreme Court ruling last month which directed lower courts to "give further attention" to desegregation orders in Austin and Indianapolis, arguing that "discriminatory 'intent,' not just discriminatory effect" must be demonstrated (*New York Times*, 26 January 1977). Such a major legal shift opens the door to the "separate but equal" standards overturned more than two decades ago in the "Brown v. Board of Education" decision. Today, as then, any Supreme Court ruling on desegregation will remain a dead letter unless the working class mobilizes to fight for free, integrated quality public education.

FOR FEDERALLY FUNDED EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES!
DESEGREGATE THE SCHOOLS—IMPLEMENT AND EXTEND BUSING!

Book Banning...

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by white, self-ordained Fundamentalist preachers in 1974. Initially directed against allegedly "dirty," "Godless" and "Communist" literature anthologies (which included selections from e.e. cummings, Malcolm X and Allen Ginsberg) the book-banning forces by the following year had linked up with anti-abortion and anti-busing crusaders and even held joint rallies with the degenerate fascist scum of the Ku Klux Klan.

Our attitude to these reactionary efforts to replace Darwin with Genesis was well put more than fifty years ago by an early Communist Party journalist who covered the famous Scopes "monkey trial" in Tennessee. In the *Daily Worker* (20 June 1925) he wrote:

"Religion is based on blind faith. Science is knowledge gained and verified by exact observation and correct thinking. Capitalism is not fighting those sciences which it needs in its business. It is fighting the science of sociology, with which Marx armed the workers and in the hands of the great revolutionary engineer, Lenin, opened the door to the new original society, where ignorance as well as exploitation will be treated like a criminal." ■

Protests Provoked at Northwestern

Racist Prof. Denies Nazi Genocide

In the past month a storm of outrage and protest has been focused on Northwestern University (NU) professor Arthur R. Butz.

The controversy arose when the campus newspaper revealed that Butz, an associate professor in electrical engineering, had written a book attempting to whitewash the Nazi genocide of Jews during World War II. Butz' book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, claims that the genocidal destruction of six million Jews never happened and is merely "a pack of lies" fabricated by the Zionists during the war to build support for the state of Israel.

The *Daily Northwestern* disclosure precipitated a flood of letters from students and faculty who were incensed by Butz' repulsive apology for German fascism. The student government heatedly debated condemning Butz' book, and petitions were circulated throughout the school, one of which appeared as a full-page advertisement in the campus paper.

Meanwhile, numerous articles in the Chicago dailies drew national media attention to the campus uproar, provoking a barrage of phone calls from irate NU alumni, community residents and several survivors of the Nazi holocaust. Three state senators sent telegrams demanding that NU take "immediate action" on the professor's work.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at NU distributed a leaflet protesting the vile lies of this apologist for Hitler's crimes. We have also held a forum on campus to discuss the nature of fascism and the strategy to fight it.

"Propaganda Fantasies"

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century maintains that Hitler's infamous "final solution" was merely a plan to have "all Jews within the German sphere of influence deported to the East," although "perhaps as many as one million Jews" perished in concentration camps "as a result of disease and starvation." Butz asserts:

"The Jews of Europe suffered during the war by being deported to the East, by having had much of their property confiscated and, more importantly, by suffering cruelly in the circumstances surrounding Germany's defeat. They may have even lost one million dead."

Another passage contends that even the gas chambers can be "explained" away.

"The 'gas chambers' were wartime propaganda fantasies... The factual basis for these ridiculous charges was nailed with perfect accuracy by Heinrich Himmler, in an interview with a representative of the World Jewish Congress just a few weeks before the end of the war:

"In order to put a stop to the epidemics, we were forced to burn the bodies of incalculable numbers of people who had been destroyed by disease. We were therefore forced to build crematoria, and on this account they are knotting a rope for us."

Butz further argues that, aside from typhus epidemics which allegedly "killed hundreds of thousands" and starvation "resulting from Allied encirclement," conditions at the hellish concentration camps were not so bad.

"The working hours at Auschwitz were those standard for German concentration camps: eleven hours per day, six days a week, with extra work on Sunday mornings in 'emergencies.' As a large establishment Auschwitz was able to supply relatively diverse rec-

reational activities: concerts, cabaret performers, movies and athletic contests. There was even a brothel for the male prisoners."

Butz applauds another book similar to his own for its "remarkably bold and forthright general defense of the German nation," expresses his outrage at the "scandal of the continued imprisonment" of Nazi murderer Rudolf Hess, and whines that some prisoners "brutalized" their SS guards after the Allies captured the camps.

The revolting filth being propagated in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* is a provocation and an outrage against the victims and survivors of the death camps—countless Jews, leftists, workers, Russians, gypsies and others condemned to death by the fascist butchers—as well as against the workers movement and all the oppressed. Although the literary style is more sophisticated than Nazi hate sheets, Butz' book echoes the same swinish garbage that is pushed by virtually every fascist grouping today.

Yet Butz claims he is not a member of the Nazi party or any other fascist group. Although it is not immediately clear whether Butz is in fact a representative or supporter of a fascist organization, there are strong indications that he may well be. *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* is published in Britain by Historical Review Press, which is associated with the fascist National Front. The sole distributor of the book in the U.S. is Liberty Bell Publications, a fascist outfit which describes itself as "Christian nationalist." In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* Butz himself states that he "had help" in writing his book, but he won't say who helped him. And the American Nazi Party is using the book in a fundraising drive.

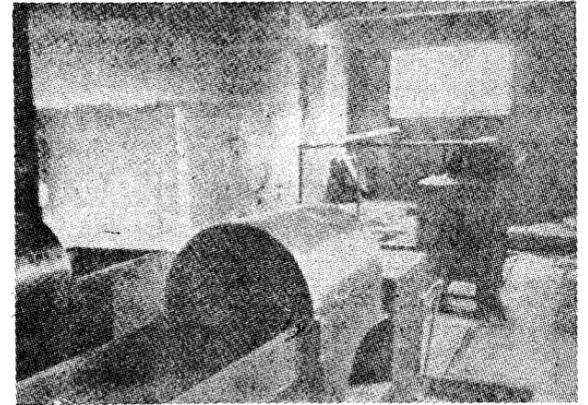
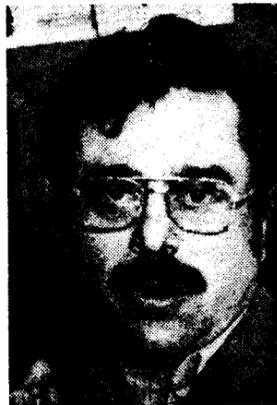
What Is Butz?

The indignation and protest directed at *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has been widespread—and fully justified. But a number of debates have been generated over different proposals for protest action against Butz. How should socialists combat Butz' poisonous cover-up of Nazi genocide?

It has been pointed out that in the past students have protested racist professors like William Shockley and Arthur Jensen. These men have become notorious for their theories that black people are genetically intellectually inferior to whites.

Yet, unlike Butz, Shockley and Jensen are establishment ideologues who present pseudo-scientific theories to justify the racist status quo. In fact, the American Association for the Advancement of Science has just gone so far as to name Jensen a fellow for his so-called "research contributions to the field of testing and individual differences and, in particular, for his studies of features of intelligence testing" (*New York Post*, 24 February 1977). Jensen, Shockley and their ilk came to the fore precisely because they represented the right-wing social motion of the Nixon administration: the dismantling of Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs, the cut-back in other social programs and Nixon's appeal to "law and order."

At Yale in 1974 the Revolutionary Communist Youth (predecessor of the SYL) was active in the protests against



Nazi-apologist Arthur Butz (top left) claims Hitler's gas chambers (top right) were "wartime propaganda fantasies."

Statement of Rudolph Hoess, Former Camp Commandant of Auschwitz, at Nuremberg Tribunal (April, 1946):

"I have been closely associated with the administration of concentration camps since 1934, serving at Dachau until 1938; then as Adjutant in Sachsenhausen from 1938 to 1st May 1940, when I was appointed Commandant of Auschwitz. I commanded Auschwitz until 1st December 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed there by gassing and burning, and at least another half-million succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total dead of about 3,000,000...."

"Mass executions by gassing commenced during the summer of 1941 and continued until the autumn of 1944.... The 'final solution' of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all the Jews in Europe.... He [the camp commandant at Treblinka] used monoxide gas and I did not think that his methods were very efficient. So when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which was a crystallised prussic acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from three to fifteen minutes to kill the people in the death chamber, depending upon the climatic conditions.

"We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about one half-hour before we opened the doors and removed their bodies. After the bodies were removed our special commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses. Another improvement we made over Treblinka was that we built our gas chambers to accommodate 2,000 people at one time, whereas at Treblinka their 10 gas chambers only accommodate 200 people each.... Children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work. Still another improvement we made over Treblinka was that at Treblinka the victims almost always knew they were to be exterminated and at Auschwitz we endeavored to fool the victims into thinking that they were to go through a delousing process...."

"We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all the people living in the surrounding area knew that the exterminations were going on in Auschwitz...."

—Burton C. Andrus, *The Infamous of Nuremberg* (1969)

Con Artist Hikes Tuition at BU ...Again

BOSTON—On February 3 over 250 students demonstrated against the latest proposed tuition hike at Boston University (BU). The hike is the seventh in as many years and will bring BU's tuition to \$3830, a sum which approaches the levels of the Ivy League elite schools. Fewer and fewer youth can afford the "privilege" of a BU education.

This latest increase lines up neatly with BU president John Silber's conception of a university open only to a "natural aristocracy." For several years Silber has been insisting that it is economically necessary to reduce enrollment at BU—an obvious justification for capitalism's generally reduced need for university-trained technicians and teachers during a period of economic stagnation.

Silber's views especially enraged many students because of a *Boston Globe* exposé last fall which revealed that for some time Silber has been engaged in large-scale financial chicanery. Silber—who now receives an \$80,000 annual salary and \$60,000 a year maintenance allowance (which

pays for a live-in maid and butler), lives in a rent-free BU-furnished, 20-room mansion, drives a BU car and owns four BU-paid insurance policies (one for \$1 million)—has systematically lied about the amount of financial surplus which BU has generated for the past four years. Although the school has a total of \$7.8 million in the bank, the announced figures totaled only \$487,000 (*Boston Globe*, 9 November 1976).

While a small fortune sits in the bank, Silber has repeatedly pleaded poverty—and laid off workers, refused raises, fought unionization and raised tuition annually. Yet his response to the *Globe's* article was positively brazen: "The way we've expressed it [the surplus]—that's bunkum, and you caught on to that" (*Boston Globe*, 9 November 1976).

At a meeting called to organize a protest against the tuition hike and cutbacks the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) proposed a united-front demonstration based on the slogans, "No Tuition Hike, No Cutbacks, No Layoffs," and pointed to the com-



SYL spokesman protests proposed tuition hike at B.U. rally.

mon interests of workers and students in fighting the attacks of the administration. But the Student Union (SU), a clique of campus-parochialist student bureaucrats, opposed the last two demands. Their objection was that such slogans might "alienate" many students.

However, a subsequent meeting voted in favor of the SYL's proposal and agreed to distribute a flyer to advertise the rally. But the leaflet that was produced contained more than the slogans of the committee. It "motivated" the demands by stating, "The tuition hike is not justified because the money is there."

When this violation of the united-front motion was brought to our attention, the SYL was forced to disassociate itself from the leaflet. Our opposition to the tuition hike does not depend on the the repletion of BU's coffers; we don't care if the university doesn't have a penny—students, faculty and campus workers must not be forced to bear the burden of capitalism's economic re-

cession! Rather, the SYL calls for an end to all tuition and for open admissions with a full living stipend paid by the state.

Over the past several years the BU administration has fought the campus unions, framed up campus leftists and attacked the democratic rights of student organizations. Last fall the SYL was threatened with suspension as a campus group for distributing a leaflet entitled "Silber's Elite Democracy: Racist, Anti-Working Class." More recently the administration attempted to withhold funds from the SU's newsletter, the *Exposure*.

These blatant attacks underscore the necessity for ousting these academic administrators for the bourgeoisie, and placing the university under the democratic control of the campus workers, students and faculty. Moreover, private schools like BU must be nationalized and funded at the federal level. This program can only be realized through mobilizing students in alliance with labor; then this bastion of bourgeois academia can truly be opened to all. ■

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Black Marines Victimized for Clash with KKK

LOS ANGELES—On January 27 United States Marine Corps recruiters ventured onto the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) hoping to enlist "a few good men." When they arrived at the Placement and Career Planning Center, however, they were greeted by a spirited demonstration against military recruitment on campus. The protest had been called by the Committee Against Racism (CAR), the academic-liberal front group of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), and was joined by a contingent from the Spartacus Youth League.

Also protested at the demonstration was the recent victimization of 14 black Marines arrested at Camp Pendleton on November 13 for clashing with a group of white Marines who apparently had been holding a meeting of the fascist Ku Klux Klan (see "Marine Brass Covers for Klan," *Workers Vanguard*, 10 December 1976). Over the past year the KKK has been openly organizing on the Marine base, which is 20 percent black. Recent Klan provocations have ranged from vicious assaults on black Marines to an attempted firebombing of the offices of the Urban League in nearby Ocean-side. Moreover, after the clash between the black and white Marines a search of the room adjoining the scene of the attack turned up a cache including KKK membership lists, fascist propaganda and various weapons.

Following the incident the 14 black Marines have been held virtually incommunicado at the Pendleton brig, although one has since been released after turning state's evidence. Two of the black Marines have already pleaded guilty to the charges of assault and conspiracy to commit assault,

but the remainder continue to maintain that the attack was justified. If convicted, the black Marines could each receive the maximum sentence of 70 years imprisonment.

In contrast, the whites involved in the incident have received a very different treatment from the Marine brass. Despite the fascist provocations on and near the base over the past months the military authorities at Camp Pendleton have turned a blind eye to the KKK activities. Even following the November 13 clash and the discovery of KKK literature and membership lists the brass simply maintained a stonewalling indifference. Only when David Duke, a national ringleader of the KKK, arrived in town and flamboyantly boasted of his organized forces at the base did the Marine brass finally make a token response for the sake of public relations; the 16 Marines whose names had appeared on the seized KKK membership list were discreetly transferred to other bases.

As communists we are opposed on principle to every manifestation of racial discrimination, even within the elite, all-volunteer armed forces of the bourgeoisie. Thus, we defend the black Marines at Camp Pendleton who have been victimized for the sole "crime" of reacting to fascist provocations. Unlike the American Civil Liberties Union, which presently is divided over defending the fascists at Camp Pendleton, we do not recognize any "rights" for fascist scum (see "Why We Do Not Recognize 'Free Speech for Fascists'," *Young Spartacus*, May and June 1976).

Nor do we call upon the capitalist authorities to ban the fascists, as does PL with its slogan, "Jail the



Klan." As in the past we point out that any "anti-extremist" measures adopted by the capitalist state will inevitably be used more frequently and severely against leftists and antifascist militants than against ultrarightist terrorists like the KKK. The call for the bourgeois authorities to curb the fascists fosters a dangerous reliance upon the capitalist state. Not only does PL spread illusions about the class character of the capitalist state, but these reformists have now gone so far as to launch a petition campaign demanding that imperialist chief Jimmy Carter "End Racism."

In contrast, the SYL maintains that the fascist threat can be effectively combatted only through the formation of defense based on the mass organizations of the working class and black community. In the past the Los

Angeles cops have done nothing to stop fascist provocations against black people and terror attacks against leftists. Likewise, the Marine Corps brass at Camp Pendleton has revealed the extent to which the military authorities are willing to tolerate and even cover for fascist forces in the armed forces. In the final analysis the fascist threat will be defeated only through smashing the capitalist system which in its decay fosters the fascist excrement.

**DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST THE VICTIMIZED BLACK MARINES AT CAMP PENDLETON! —NO DEFENSE FOR THE KKK!
FOR LABOR / BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST AND FASCIST ATTACKS!
MILITARY RECRUITERS OFF CAMPUS! —DOWN WITH THE BOURGEOIS ARMY!**

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the last few years political controversies over the class character of the Soviet Union have loomed large on the American left. The political attitude that the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is a new "capitalist class" has become more prevalent—even somewhat faddish—within petty-bourgeois radical milieu.

No longer are pseudo-Marxist theories of so-called "Soviet imperialism" confined merely to "State Department" socialists, "Third Camp" social democrats and sundry anarcho-libertarian New Leftists. Recently several pro-Peking tendencies have felt compelled to elaborate upon the Maoist epithets against "Soviet social-imperialism"; these Maoists have concocted often developed theories of "Soviet state capitalism" as part of their attempt to rationalize China's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR. When the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy sided with American/South African imperialism against the Soviet-backed/Russian-led MPLA forces during the Angolan civil war, the Revolutionary Communist Party even attempted to demonstrate that Cuba was no less "capitalist" than the USSR.

In opposition to all such "theories" which contend that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been completely liquidated in Russia, the SYL upholds the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state: a post-capitalist state based on proletarian-collectivist property forms that must be unconditionally defended from imperialism but ruled by a usurping bureaucratic caste that must be overthrown through workers political revolution.

The following is the second part of a three-part article which refutes the "state-capitalism" thesis and demonstrates its reactionary political implications. The first section of the article, which appeared in the February issue of *Young Spartacus*, described how the planned economy of the USSR operates (focusing on the role of enterprise profit) and explained why the law of labor value does not hold sway in the Soviet economy. This article, which will be concluded in the next issue of *Young Spartacus*, is an edited transcript of a presentation given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SYL east coast educational gathering in December 1975. The entire article will be included in the forthcoming SYL pamphlet entitled *Trotskyism vs. Maoism: Why the USSR is Not Capitalist*.

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I want to devote the remainder of this talk to an analysis of the "state-capitalist" position held by the British International Socialists (IS), the rather sizable and reformist "Third Camp" tendency led by the ex-Trotskyist Tony Cliff and loosely linked to the social-democratic International Socialists group here. With the exception of the Maoists, the Cliffites are today the most influential "state-capitalist" tendency which we must politically confront.

Nevertheless, I find it somewhat somewhat embarrassing to have to polemicize against so shoddy a theory as Cliffite "state capitalism." His major work, *Stalinist Russia: A Marxist Analysis*, relies upon a crude and demagogic exploitation of the widespread ignorance of Marxist economic theory. Cliffite "theory" is based upon a blatant and willful re-definition of scientific Marxist terminology; that is, Cliff substitutes conventional usage for the precise and delimited meanings which have been given Marxist economic terms. Moreover, Cliff also resorts to substituting one economic category for another; in

ON THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE USSR

THE ANTI-MARXIST THEORY OF "STATE CAPITALISM"

A TROTSKYIST CRITIQUE

particular, he systematically confuses use-value and exchange-value.

Terminological Charlatanism

There are two key re-definitions in the Cliffite theory of "state capitalism"—that of economic competition and that of accumulation. For Marx, competition, insofar as it relates to capitalist economic relations, has a precise meaning: it is the competition of private capitals over commodities (exchange values) in the market.

Unable to demonstrate "the interaction of many capitals" (what Marx termed the "essential character" of competition) in the Soviet economy, Cliff simply re-defines "competition," making this synonymous with any kind of political-economic rivalry or conflict. In his major exposition of the "state capitalism" theory Cliff declares:

"But as competition with other countries is mainly *military*, the state as *consumer* is interested in certain specific *use-values*, such as tanks, airplanes and so on. Value is the expression of competition between independent producers..." (emphasis ours)

—*Stalinist Russia: A Marxist Analysis* (1955)

This is nothing but a clumsy terminological sleight-of-hand. In Marxist economic theory "independent producers" signify *private capitals*, not nation-states, and "competition" involves exchange-values in the *market*, not the arms race.

Cliff continues to heap error upon error:

"Russia's competition with the rest of the world is the expression of the elevation of use values to an end, and serving the ultimate end of victory in competition."

Of course, in all societies where economic scarcity prevails there is always competition for material wealth and productive resources. But to identify capitalism with generalized competition for use-values leads directly to ridiculous conclusions. For example, the Cheyenne and Sioux tribes frequently competed for hunting grounds, and European feudal

landowners often bid up their daughter's doweries to secure a royal marriage. According to Cliffite "theory" such pre-capitalist economic phenomena presumably would represent "inter-imperialist war" and "capitalist competition"! So, this Cliffite nonsense about Soviet "capitalist competition" is nothing more than calculated terminological confusion.

The other key re-definition of Cliffite theory is that of economic accumulation. Again, there is a gross confusion of exchange-value with use-value. This is Michael Kidron, a leading Cliffite:

"[The Soviet bureaucrats] are under as oppressive a compulsion to fast economic growth as is any similarly placed class elsewhere. They need to be as clearly motivated to ensure growth as their counterparts abroad; and if their criterion of success has been the volume of gross *physical output* rather than *money profits*, the distinction is one of detail not essence." (emphasis ours)

—"Maginot Marxism: Mandel's Economics," *International Socialism*, April-May 1969

Now, I could sit here literally for days and quote passages from Marx proving that the *essence* of capitalism is precisely that economic surplus must manifest itself as exchange-value, as money-profit and money-capital. For example, in analysing "the compelling motive of capitalist production—money making" Marx wrote:

"... the circular course of capital... is distinguished by the following features:

"1. It appears as the *circuit of money-capital*, because industrial capital in its money-form, as *money capital*, forms the starting-point and the point of return of its total process... It expresses furthermore that *exchange-value*, not *use-value*, is the determining aim of this movement." (emphasis ours)

—*Capital*, Vol. II, part 1, chapter 1

Moreover, the Cliffite identification of the maximization of use-value ("the volume of gross physical output") with that of exchange-value is fundamentally false. Under capital-

ism the maximization of the exchange value of the means of production periodically comes into conflict with real economic growth. Capitalists do not strive to maximize the total volume of exchange value; rather, they seek to maximize the rate of profit: the ratio of surplus-value to the value of the means of production. That is why under capitalism the falling rate of profit is the central factor arresting the development of the productive forces.

But reading Cliff or Kidron one gets the impression that capitalism always maximizes real economic growth. What Marx called the "slaughtering of the values of capital" (concretely manifested in falling stock market prices), associated with economic depressions and crises, has no place in the Cliffite schema of the capitalist dynamic.

The Class Struggle: Workers Versus Accumulators?

To the extent that "Third Camp" organizations have an attractive power, it is despite the intellectual shoddiness of their analyses of the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states. The *real* appeal of Cliffite "state capitalism," like the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" of the American IS, is an analysis of capitalism from the standpoint of trade unionism. Such tendencies have been able to gain a certain significance in the English-speaking world, where the relatively low level of class struggle has made trade-unionist economism prevalent and where the concept of the workers state as a *weapon* appears remote.

The real political content of Cliffite and Shachtmanite theories is the notion that the basic conflict in society is between the direct producers and their consumption needs and the administrators and their accumulationist desires; it is the conflict between higher wages now and economic accumulation. When you read Cliff or Shachtman, this is their vision and the gut-level source of their appeal: "These guys are taking my wages and building factories with it. It doesn't matter who they are, it doesn't matter what the system is. They are making *me* poorer."

Let me read typical quotes from Cliff and from Shachtman, and you will see that this is the appeal of all the diverse "Third Campist" theories. You will also notice that one cannot tell that Cliff is describing "state capitalism" and Shachtman is writing about a non-capitalist "bureaucratic collectivism."

This is Cliff:

"The increasing rate of exploitation, the increasing subordination of workers to the means of production in Russia, accompanied as it is by the great production of guns but not butter, leads to an intensification, and not a lessening in the oppression of the people."

—*Stalinist Russia: A Marxist Analysis*

And here is Shachtman:

"Modernization was undertaken not with the aid of capital derived from the exploitation of labor in the past and elsewhere, but by means of an extraordinarily harsh exploitation of living indigenous labor in field and factory. This demands a regime which does not brook the slightest resistance from the producer..."

"As Russia has shown, it is quite possible in this way to promote the industrialization of the economy. The price paid is the maintenance of an autocratic privileged class at the top and an exploitation and disfranchisement at the bottom unrelieved by the existence of any of the rights required for dissent and resistance."

—forward to Leon Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* (1967)

I believe that the real theory of Cliffite "state capitalism," as well as of Shachtman's "bureaucratic collectivism," can be summarized as

follows. The industrialization of a backward country requires a rate of accumulation that the workers will not accept under conditions of proletarian democracy. Thus, industrialization requires a totalitarian regime; since the Stalinist bureaucracy is an agency for accelerated accumulation imposed from above upon the workers, it is an exploiting class.

"Third Camp" Economism Against Bolshevik Russia

In our movement there is a tendency to regard "Third Campism" first and foremost as a Stalinophobic departure from Trotskyism. While historically accurate, I think this is too narrow a conception of the vast political differences.

I would argue that the political conceptions which have become central to the Cliffites and Shachtmanites would have led them into opposition to Lenin and Trotsky from the onset of the Bolshevik Revolution. Projecting the Cliffite/Shachtmanite tendency backwards, these "Third Campists" in 1921 would have been in the syndicalist Workers Opposition which Lenin and Trotsky fought, and later in the 1920's, after the Stalinist political counterrevolution, they would have been in the Tomsky wing of the Bukharin faction. With Cliffite politics there is no way one could have supported the economic policies of the Left Opposition; the Trotskyists, who during the late 1920's were dubbed "super-industrializers" by the Bukharanite Right Opposition, never called for the

period one would have an isolated, but relatively powerful, bloc of revolutionary workers states. I do not believe such a situation would eliminate our political differences with the "Third Campists" over the "Russian question." Undoubtedly the form of these differences would change, but decisive differences will remain. Why?

I believe that underlying the revisionist theories of the "Third Camp" tendencies is a semi-anarchist denial that state power—and therefore the economic resources available to a workers state—is an important proletarian weapon. I believe that this lies at the heart of our differences and transcends the specific question of the nature of Stalinism.

The clearest statement of this position that I know is by Chris Harman, a leading Cliffite. In defending the Cliffite position that the USSR became "state capitalist" with the imposition of the first Five Year Plan, Harman strongly implies that an isolated and backward workers state can borrow against the coming world revolution in the form of a high-consumption, low-accumulation economic policy:

"Until 1924 not economic and military competition with the West, but spreading of the revolution was seen as the basis for establishing socialism in Russia."

—"The Inconsistencies of Ernest Mandel," in *Readings on 'State Capitalism'* (published by the British International Marxist Group)

Lenin would never have written anything like this, because he never

salaries and for recourse to the widespread use of piece-rates.

One of Lenin's overriding concerns was not to permit the civil war and the isolation of the Soviet workers state from leading to the disintegration of Russian industry and the consequent petty bourgeoisification of the Russian proletariat. This is Lenin addressing the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922:

"...our heavy industry is still in great difficulties... We must economize now though it is often at the expense of the population... We must do this, because we know that unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up an industry at all; and without an industry we shall go under as an independent country. We realize this very well.

"The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough; and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumer goods—this, too, is not enough; we also need heavy industry." (our emphasis)

—"Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution," in *Collected Works* (1966 ed.), Vol. 33

Industrialization as a Proletarian-Revolutionary Policy

One can get to the heart of our fundamental differences with the "state-capitalist" tendencies if we ask why Lenin and Trotsky regarded the development of industry in the USSR as not at all counterposed to,

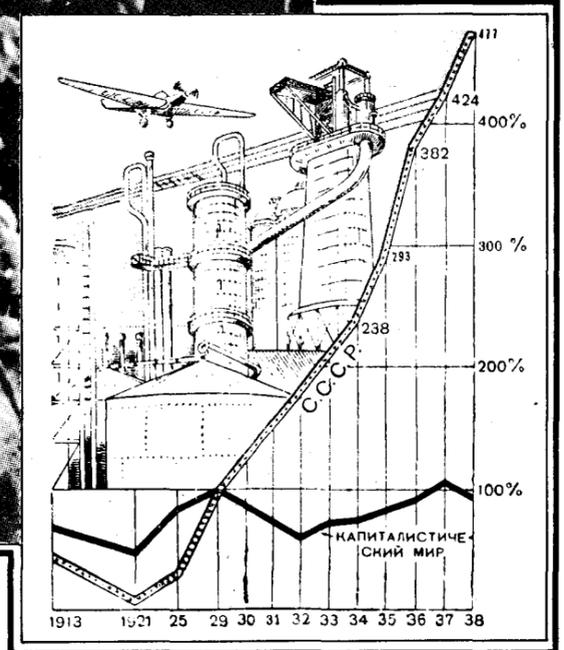
olutionary war, in which military intervention by the USSR might have been decisive. Thus, in 1920 Lenin was willing to attempt to conquer Poland in order to create a more favorable military situation for the German revolution.

Let us assume that in the early 1920's there was a successful German revolution, but as a result of imperialist military intervention, the rest of Europe remained capitalist. In an isolated German-Russian soviet bloc the need to spread the revolution would have been no less urgent; the tensions and conflicts between consumption and accumulation would have been much less severe than in isolated and backward Russia, but they would not have disappeared. (Interestingly, in his *New Economics* Preobrazhensky discussed the economic problems created by just such a projected situation.) Undoubtedly the backward elements of the German proletariat would have resisted the massive transfer of resources to the Russian peasants (in 1924 Germany was poor relative to its past).

On the other hand, let's say that the German revolution failed, as it did, but that the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 succeeded. In such a situation a Chinese workers state could not have survived, even in the short run, without the transfer of considerable industrial resources from Russia to a society even more economically backward; even discounting imperialist military intervention, there almost certainly would have been a trade boycott of the Sino-Soviet workers states. The USSR would have had to economically carry



Under bureaucratic rule of Stalin (left), Soviet workers (center) endured extreme labor regimentation and speed-up, with millions sent to forced-labor camps. Yet its collectivized property forms enabled the USSR to achieve unparalleled economic growth while the advanced capitalist countries were wracked by the world depression (chart right).



maximization of wages at the expense of state accumulation. For example, when in 1927 the Stalin/Bukharin regime reduced the work day from eight to seven hours as a demagogic maneuver against the Left Opposition, Trotsky and the Left Opposition opposed this action as detrimental to the Soviet economy.

Let's project forward and assume for a moment that Trotskyist parties come to power in the Soviet bloc through workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. In addition let's assume that these political revolutions do not immediately provoke socialist revolution in the capitalist West, so that for a

counterposed the economic and military strength of the Soviet Union to spreading the revolution internationally. On the contrary, during the early years of the Russian workers state some of the most bitter factional struggles within the Bolshevik Party—and between the Bolsheviks and other tendencies within the Russian workers movement—were generated by Lenin's single-minded effort to impose a centralized and efficient economic apparatus. It was against considerable opposition that Lenin fought for the replacement of delegated workers management by one-man management, for the employment of bourgeois experts drawing high

but a necessary element of, an international revolutionary perspective. There are actually several different reasons.

To begin, Lenin and Trotsky were not pacifists. When Marshal Tukhachevsky advocated conquering Europe with the Red Army, Lenin and Trotsky vehemently rejected such a course. But Lenin and Trotsky never assumed that the European, and specifically the German, revolution would have a nationally-limited character. Since a successful German revolution would very likely have provoked intervention by France and Britain, backed by the U.S., one of the variants of the German revolution was a European-wide rev-

a Chinese workers state. Thus, the economic and military strength of the Soviet Union was an essential component in any serious world-revolutionary strategy.

Moreover, there were a number of defensive reasons why the industrialization of the Soviet Union was important. Industrialization means more than building more factories and installing more machinery; it also involves the expansion of the proletariat relative to other social classes and a general raising of the cultural level of the toiling masses. What would a high-wage, low-accumulation policy have meant for the dictatorship

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Southern Africa...

continued from page 1

face of government threats announced that all-white Catholic schools would be opened to black students in January (*New York Times*, 11 February 1977). Although the school integration would be only token—the tuition is simply too exorbitant for nearly all South African blacks—the unexpected move was widely regarded as a challenge to the system of apartheid. Moreover, on February 11 the Catholic Church issued a "Declaration of Commitment" in opposition to apartheid.

No less have the revolts in the townships sent tremors throughout the South African economy, much to the concern of the bourgeoisie. Since the eruption of the black anti-apartheid protests, unemployment has soared, inflation is on the rise and foreign capital investment has plunged. For example, from a net inflow averaging \$184 million per month, the volume of foreign funds dropped to an outflow of \$4.6 million per month following Soweto (*New York Times*, 30 January 1977). Such economic dislocations are grist to the mill for the section of the South African bourgeoisie which recognizes that the apartheid system is economically irrational and a brake upon its imperialist ambitions.

In response to the continuing eruptions of militant anti-apartheid protests the Vorster regime has enacted special "emergency" measures. Under their provisions the government

has the right to censor both the domestic and foreign press in South Africa and to order the military evacuation of any region of the country. Already the Vorster regime is reducing the reserve periods of military duty and broadening its methods for calling up reserves so as to ensure the means to mobilize much of the white population against a black uprising.

Rhodesia On Its Last Legs

Meanwhile, in Rhodesia the final curtain is about to fall on the white-supremacist regime of prime minister Ian Smith. With the collapse of the British-sponsored Geneva talks, the door to a negotiated Rhodesian settlement has been slammed in the faces of the rival petty-bourgeois nationalist forces, which for the moment are loosely allied in an uneasy military lash-up known as the Patriotic Front. With no new opportunity in sight for renewed diplomatic maneuvering with the Smith regime and the British imperialists the black groups in the Patriotic Front have been forced to step up guerrilla operations, even if only to pressure for renewed negotiations.

During the past few weeks and months black Rhodesian youths by the hundreds have been leaving their villages and schools and crossing the borders into the neighboring black-ruled states to join one or another of the nationalist guerrilla organizations. In the single month of December more than 2,000 black youth reportedly left Rhodesia. In addition to a wave of new recruits the Patriotic Front forces have also been receiving more—and better—arms and military

supplies from the Soviet bloc. Although its forces remain relatively raw and inexperienced, the Patriotic Front forces have been able to open four military fronts against Salisbury.

The escalation of the military pressure of the Patriotic Front forces has put a severe strain on the 20,000-man Rhodesian government forces, which are stretched thin and increasingly vulnerable to the more well-equipped guerrilla units. Draft reserves now include men over 38 years of age, and housewives are also being armed. Although half of the Rhodesian armed forces consists of well-paid black soldiers the white supremacist regime of Ian Smith will not risk drafting blacks and thus has stretched itself to almost the limit of what 270,000 Rhodesian whites can provide militarily.

The Rhodesian government has no hope for survival other than appealing for some international support. It is now more than ever attempting to equate black majority rule with genocidal atrocities against the white population and with "Communist domination." For example, the Salisbury regime has whipped up a demagogic scare campaign over the brutal murder of seven white missionaries in February, seeking to present such indefensible murders as the fate of all whites in a black-ruled Rhodesia.

Lacking any outside military support, the Smith regime has decided to entrench and militantly defend the ramparts of white supremacy. Smith is seeking to isolate as much of the black population as possible from guerrilla infiltration by brutally herding hundreds of thousands of black Rhodesians into special "protected villages" reminiscent of the "strategic hamlets" created by the U.S. imperialist armed forces in Vietnam. In addition, Rhodesia has launched a series of military raids into Mozambique and Botswana that have wiped out entire villages "suspected of harboring guerrillas." Within Rhodesia, police round-ups of "suspected terrorists" have become even more indiscriminate, and recently Smith staged a show execution of eight black youth in Salisbury.

In a last-ditch attempt to create the basis for some token black political participation in the government Smith has fostered the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO). Its founders are two tribal chiefs, Kaiser Ndiweni and Jeremiah Chirau, who until the recent formation of ZUPO held lucrative posts in the Smith regime.

Not surprisingly, ZUPO is the most overtly collaborationist of all the rival black nationalist formations, reserving its polemical fire for guerrillas who raise arms against the Salisbury regime. ZUPO claims to be for black majority rule in Rhodesia, but rejects the elementary democratic principle of "one man, one vote" as simply "counting sheep" (quoted in *Africa*, February 1977). So deep is the hatred of the black Rhodesian masses for the white-supremacist rulers in Salisbury that so far ZUPO has succeeded in winning only the support of the puppet tribal chiefs, who are interested above all in maintaining their \$320-a-month government paychecks (*New York Times*, 18 February 1977).

Smash the White Supremacist Regimes—For Socialist Revolution in Southern Africa!

White supremacist rule in Rhodesia is clearly living on borrowed time. With the geographically dispersed white population outnumbered 20-to-1 by the blacks, and lacking any foreign ally willing to militarily intervene in Rhodesia, the Smith regime simply cannot long withstand an escalating guerrilla war. The white population in Rhodesia stands in qualitatively the same relation to Rhodesian society now as prior to its secession from the United Kingdom in

1965. (Even the Unilateral Declaration of Independence was prompted by the opposition of the Rhodesian whites to the prospect of a British transfer of power to create a black-ruled neo-colony.) The white settler population is not deeply entrenched in Rhodesia; a large proportion of the white population consists of post-1965 immigrants from South Africa and Britain. In December alone, 1,158 whites simply pulled up stakes and left Rhodesia for good.

In the present military conflict between the white supremacist regime and the nationalist Rhodesian forces we give military support to the black nationalists, while at every step trenchantly opposing their *bourgeois* program and leadership. We call for the destruction of the white-supremacist regime in Rhodesia, but give absolutely no political support to the *bourgeois* Rhodesian regime which each rival nationalist force seeks to establish and dominate. Despite their occasional "socialist" or populist rhetoric the Rhodesian nationalists once in power will consolidate a bonapartist regime as capable of tribalist massacres and anti-working-class terror as the black governments of Kenya or Uganda.

But South Africa is not Rhodesia. The apartheid regime in South Africa cannot be overthrown simply through guerrilla insurgency based in the rural bantustans or even backed by neighboring black African states. Unlike the whites in Rhodesia the South African whites can not be militarily defeated or displaced simply through black nationalist military action. In South Africa the whites are one fourth of the total population; they are an industrially developed, technologically advanced and nuclear-armed caste with no place else to go. The destruction of apartheid requires a strategy which seeks to split and at least neutralize a section of the white population of South Africa.

Only through resolute struggle against the racial and class oppression of the South African black population can the class struggle which has been chained by apartheid be unlocked. A Trotskyist party in South Africa would intervene in the anti-apartheid struggles to fight for a program of democratic and class demands, including an end to all police-state laws and immediate release of anti-apartheid political prisoners, the abolition of the pass laws, the establishment of racially integrated trade unions and the abolition of discriminatory wage rates, the elimination of the contract labor system, and end to all public and residential segregation, the right of blacks to form legal trade unions and political parties, independence for Namibia and an end to all the Bantustan schemes, and the convocation of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal direct suffrage.

In the course of struggle for these anti-apartheid and class demands the revolutionary party will forge ties of invincible class solidarity and will prepare the masses of South Africa for the revolutionary struggles which culminate in the creation of a workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat. ■

Solidarity with NYC School Strike

NEW YORK CITY, February 24—Yesterday 2,500 maintenance workers walked off their jobs throughout the New York public school system. Called out by Local 74 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) the striking workers were joined by 1,000 firemen and stationary engineers in Local 94 of the International Union of Operating Engineers. In addition, the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association has pledged to respect the maintenance workers' picket lines.

During the morning of the first day of the strike over 1,000 workers demonstrated at Board of Education headquarters in Brooklyn. Both Locals 74 and 94, which traditionally reach parallel agreements, have worked without a contract since last June 30. Seventeen hundred workers—40 percent of the local—have been laid off by the Board of Education during the last 18 months, as New York's financial crisis has gouged into every sector of city labor and services.

One of the locals' central demands is that all of these laid off workers be rehired. Other demands include a 20 percent wage increase over the next two years and an upward adjustment in the cost-of-living allowance. (As of today, the Board of Education had made no bargaining proposal whatsoever, insisting that the city had no money to meet the union's demands.)

Although Locals 74 and 94 are relatively small, they have the capacity to shut down the entire New York City public school system. The lack of heat and accumulating garbage in the schools have already forced the city to cut back the entire system to half-day schedules, while several schools have been forced to shut down completely. When the union struck in 1974, 80 percent of New York's schools were compelled to close after only three

days.

A city-wide school strike would represent an important first step to united labor action by all the municipal unions and would pose the need for a general strike against the devastating cutbacks and layoffs. Especially crucial to an extension of the strike is the solidarity of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). This was underscored by the action of teachers at Mark Twain Junior High School in Coney Island, who refused to cross picket lines and thereby caused district school officials to cancel classes for the day.

Once again, however, UFT labor faker Albert Shanker has since ordered teachers to scab on the strike, scuttling the early demonstrations of rank-and-file solidarity. Time after time traitors like Shanker, Matthew Guinan of the Transit Workers Union and District 37 top Victor Gotbaum have sold out their ranks to the cutthroat New York bankers who are bleeding the city white. All have foisted wretched contracts on their members and have repeatedly stemmed rising tides of militancy. It is these "labor lieutenants of capital" who represent the key obstacle to a massive mobilization against layoffs and cutbacks. They must be ousted and replaced by a class-struggle leadership.

From the beginning of the strike the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has walked union picket lines and distributed leaflets calling for victory to the strike and urging students to demonstrate their support by joining the picket lines. The SYL is committed to building student support for the strike and we will continue to demonstrate our solidarity with the strikers.

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Chicago

Prof. Denies Genocide...

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Shockley's reactionary views. While Progressive Labor Party (PL) made a major campaign out of calling Shockley a fascist and shouting him down when he spoke, we insisted that Shockley was not a leader of a fascist movement, but a right-wing academic ideologue whose "theories" could and must be discredited and "silenced" by trenchant, scientific criticism—the way Marx discredited the reactionary economist Malthus.

However, when a "debate" was set up at Yale between Shockley and William Rusher, the editor of the rightist *National Review*, the RCY regarded it as nothing more than a forum for two reactionary ideologues to advocate the forced sterilization of black people. Thus, the RCY stood in solidarity with the sentiments of those who disrupted this disgusting spectacle.

Moreover, for Marxists there is a key distinction between these reactionary ideologues and those who are neck-deep in planning the crimes of the bourgeoisie, such as University of Chicago (UC) professor Milton Friedman. In 1975, when it was revealed that he had brain-trusted the barbarous austerity measures of the bloody Chilean junta, the SYL initiated a campaign to drive Friedman off campus.

The SYL has organized rallies, demonstrations and teach-ins at UC and elsewhere to protest and expose Friedman, not for his conservative "free-enterprise" economic theories, but for his active collaboration with the murderous Pinochet regime. This collaborator should not be accorded any more rights to "academic freedom" than would be granted to the Chilean generals.

Arthur Butz is not an academic ideologue like Shockley or Jensen; his disgusting whitewash of Nazi terror has no scientific pretense and demands no historical refutation—its history is written in blood. Socialists have nothing to debate with this lawyer for the murderers of six million Jews. Nor is Butz a Milton Friedman. It does not appear at this time that he has been actively involved in repression of the oppressed.

If Butz were to involve himself in fascist activities or mobilizations (e.g., speaking at a Nazi rally), or even if he were simply to elaborate his crackpot cover-up of the Nazi holocaust into full-blown fascist propaganda (e.g., echoing the genocidal ravings of the Nazis or KKK), the SYL would seek to drive this rat off campus. Moreover, regardless of any subsequent action on his part, if the present accusations that Butz is a member of a fascist organization prove to be true, we would likewise campaign to ensure that this man never gets a

platform from which to spew his filthy slime. In any case, we will not tolerate Butz' provocative and insulting filth. For our part, we would solidarize with any militant protest against Butz.

At San Francisco State University in 1975, the SYL initiated a united-front rally to protest the appearance of the National Socialist White Peoples Party at a political science class. Students, left groups and trade-union opposition groups joined the picket line. As a result, the Nazis were prevented from speaking and then driven off campus completely.

Fascists like the National Socialist White Peoples Party and the Ku Klux Klan are armed thugs dedicated above all to murderous, terrorist action against racial, ethnic and religious minorities and the labor and socialist movements. They seek to lead a political mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat to defend capitalism through the destruction of the organizations of the working class and the denial of their democratic rights.

Although the fascists are an insignificant factor in the U.S. today, these vermin work for the moment when the bourgeoisie must turn towards them to maintain its class rule. The fascists must be suppressed before they have a chance to grow. As the SYL stated in its leaflet to NU students:

"We recognize no democratic rights for fascists. There is nothing to debate with these racist monsters. Action must be met with action! The fascists must be smashed by the working class!"

At Northwestern, PL, as well as the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade and a host of others (including NU regent Newton Minnow), have called upon the administration to take action against Butz. The SYL is opposed to the demand that the bourgeois university administrators fire this apologist for Nazi genocide; the precedent of political firings makes it far easier for the university to launch such attacks on leftists.

In addition, this demand perpetuates the illusion that it is possible to isolate and sanitize the university from society as a whole. The university administration is the direct agent of the ruling class and has no more interest than its capitalist masters in protecting workers, students and oppressed minorities from reactionary forces. Indeed, as documented by Howard Blum in *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America*, the U.S. authorities are responsible for the wholesale cover-up of Nazi war criminals living in this country.

Numerous appeals have been made by weak-kneed liberals to members of the administration to express "their personal sense of outrage"; others have voiced their defense of Butz' "right of academic freedom." But the SYL has nothing but contempt for this scurrilous apologist for Nazi terror. ■

"State Capitalism"...

continued from page 7

of the proletariat in the USSR during the 1920's?

Had the policies of Bukharin/Tomsky prevailed in the USSR, one would have had a small industrial proletariat earning relatively high wages, far higher than peasant incomes. Consequently, peasants would have flocked to the cities in far greater numbers than the slowly growing industry could absorb. In the USSR during the mid-1920's the problem of urban lumpenism had already manifested itself. There's a good novel, *The Thief* by Leonid Leonov, describing the lumpen milieu under the New Economic Policy. The social structure of Russia in the 1920's (though not the regime) was far more conducive to capitalist restoration than in the USSR today.

Finally, there is the well-known problem of the Russian peasantry during this period. If Soviet industry fail-

ed to provide the peasants with industrial and consumer goods at prices comparable to their levels under Tsarism, there would be a strong tendency for the peasants to breach the state monopoly of foreign trade through dealings with the petty traders. Consequently, there would have developed in the USSR a mercantile bourgeois class tied, on the one hand, to the peasant masses and, on the other, to foreign capital—an obvious locus of counterrevolution.

Thus, the program of the Left Opposition for accelerated industrialization was designed in part to counter the growing strength of reactionary social classes under the Stalin/Bukharin regime. The defense of the historic conquests of the October Revolution from the outset and their extension throughout Europe could only have been subverted by a perspective derived from Cliffite/Shachtmanite economism.

[TO BE CONCLUDED]

Chilean Junta Collaborator Target of L.A. Protest

Young Spartacus



LOS ANGELES, February 9—About 150 demonstrators gathered outside the Beverly Wilshire Hotel here tonight to protest the appearance of Milton Friedman, architect of the Chilean junta's mass-starvation austerity measures and recipient of the Nobel Prize for his "studies" on such capitalist "rationalization" plans.

The demonstration was organized by the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity (LAGLAS)—a local political hodge-podge which has included virtually every leftist organization in L.A. outside of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). Having earlier rejected an SL/SYL proposal for a united-front protest against the Chilean junta and its brain-truster Friedman, LAGLAS tried to limit the chants at the demonstration to classless slogans, such as "Chile Si, Junta No," "Free All Political Prisoners" and the ever-popular "The People United Will Never Be Defeated." In a moral gesture fully in keeping with its "non-sectarian" liberal politics, LAGLAS highlighted the protest against the \$1,000-a-plate dinner by handing out portions of "pan amasado," the traditional bread of Chile.

Although supporters of various "socialist" groups—including the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, the *Guardian* news-

paper and the Mandeliste Socialist Union—marched in the picket line, only the SL/SYL contingent counterposed to LAGLAS' nationalism and moralism a revolutionary perspective for smashing the murderous junta, raising such slogans as "No Popular-Front Illusions, For Workers Revolution," "Free All Class-War Prisoners," and "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile." When most of the demonstrators joined in these chants, LAGLAS mobilized its reformist lackeys to shout them down.

What LAGLAS cannot hide, however, is the SYL's leadership in exposing Friedman's collaboration with the Chilean junta. Across the country, over the past year or so, the SYL has confronted this reactionary ideologue, not only by denouncing his crimes against the working class, but by raising a revolutionary program to bury the capitalist system he so ardently defends. Through its impotent display of simple moral outrage, LAGLAS attempted to cover for the responsibility of Allende's Socialist Party and the Chilean Communist Party in tying the proletariat to its class enemy in the *Unidad Popular*. As the Spartacist contingent chanted, "The Working Class Must Not Forget—The Popular Front Made Pinochet!" Protest Milton Friedman! Smash the Junta through Workers Revolution!

Spartacus Youth League Directory

Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, 4th floor Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 769-6376

Bay Area: SYL, c/o SL, Box 23372, Oakland, CA 94623, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 227, Boston U. Station, Boston, MA 02245, or call (617) 492-3928 or 254-4236

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

Cleveland: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 281-4781

Detroit: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 869-1551

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

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 413-0160

Madison: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704

New York: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

Philadelphia: SYL, c/o SL, Box 13138, Philadelphia, PA 19101

Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 291-8993

China/Shah...

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of East Azerbaijan Province bordering on the Soviet Union, the Shahanshah issued a militant call to get prepared for a national and patriotic war against aggression."

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is willing to solidarize with the butcher Shah and to applaud his demagogic call for a *jihad* against "Soviet social-imperialism" at the first sign of muffled grumbling from the Moscow Stalinists about Iranian arms build-up. To be sure, the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy has pursued its own "detente" deals with the Shah that are no less treacherous than those of China; in the past, the USSR has supplied the Shah with large quantities of arms (Fred Halliday, *Arabia Without Sultans*).

But the interests of the international proletariat demand the unconditional defense of the Russian degenerated workers state, no less than China and the other deformed workers states. The military machine of the Shah represents one more spear of imperialism aimed at the USSR and the collectivist economic system established through the October revolution. The counterrevolutionary, usurping Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR—as in China—must be overthrown, but only through a workers political revolution which establishes soviet democracy on the basis of the nationalized property.

How China "Aids" Anti-Shah Rebels

Pro-Maoist Iranian students who mistakenly cling to the illusion that the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is a revolutionary leadership often claim

that China pursues a revolutionary line separate from its "state-to-state" relations. But the evidence once again demonstrates just the opposite.

At no point has the Chinese bureaucracy given either material aid or even propaganda support to the persecuted, clandestine leftist forces in Iran. No less than the USSR, China has demonstrated its willingness to sacrifice leftists on the altar of "detente."

Only months after China sealed its deal with the Shah in 1973, Bizhan Jazani, a militant of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas (killed by SAVAK two years later), pointed out how Moscow's "detente" with the Shah "has worked to the disadvantage of the movement" and added that the "establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and the expansion of economic cooperation will result in a similar trend and its effects are already apparent" (*Armed Struggle in Iran: The Road to Mobilization of the Masses*, 1973).

Even more revealing was China's withdrawal of military support to the PFLO guerrillas immediately following its "detente" deal with the Shah. When Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei visited Teheran in 1973 for high-level diplomatic discussions with the Shah he assured the Iranian regime that Peking no longer was aiding the Omani rebels.

According to the *Kayhan International* (18 June 1973), "He [Chi Peng-fei] welcomed Iran's military build-up, backed Teheran's policies toward the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and, according to informed sources, told the Iranian authorities that Peking was in no way involved in subversion and would do nothing to promote revolts in the Persian Gulf region." Subsequently the Shah himself acknowledged that China indeed had "completely" ceased aiding the Omani guerrillas (quoted in *Le Monde*, 25 June 1974).



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CHINA BACKS ARMS BUILD-UP



Logical response to regional hegemony—Chi

by AMIR TAHERI

MONARCH RECEIVES CHI TODAY

Iran's bourgeois press hails Peking's support to Shah in 1973.

In the past the PFLO has avoided making any statements about the termination of Chinese support, thereby leaving the door open for renewed aid in the future. But the PFLO has been more candid in speaking with its Russian benefactors.

In an interview with the pro-Moscow *People's World* (5 February 1977) given in December 1976, Saleh Abdullah, a representative of the PFLO on tour in the U.S., gave the following reply to the question, "Who has supported the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman internationally?":

"Abdullah: In the beginning it was the Chinese. But this soon changed after the Chinese came forth with their 'Third World Policy.' This policy calls for China to refuse to support a movement directed against a Third World country, even if that country is reactionary like Oman and Iran.

"The main support we receive comes from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Cuba and Democratic Yemen."

China and Cuba, the regime which emerges likewise can maintain its bonapartist position only by denying the proletariat political power, even though the new state is consolidated on proletarian property forms. Despite its demagogic rhetoric against "Soviet revisionism" the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has demonstrated its eagerness to strike deals with the imperialists and their junior partners and to betray the struggles of the masses.

As communists we stand in solidarity with the struggles of the left opponents of the Shah and call for the military victory of the PFLO against the Iranian and other expeditionary forces in the Gulf. But we seek to win the most dedicated and heroic of these fighters to the understanding that only a Bolshevik-Leninist party can provide the program and leadership capable of rousing and leading the oppressed masses forward to the Iranian October. ■

Break with Nationalism!

Despite differences over Chinese foreign policy most ISA militants share a common nationalist perspective defined by illusions in the "guerrilla road to power" through a "two-stage revolution." Such a perspective leads directly to support for the so-called "patriotic" Iranian bourgeoisie and landowners and even the "progressive" *mullahs*, thereby politically subordinating the proletariat to the "democratic" exploiters from the very outset of the struggle.

Serious militants in the ISA would do well to assimilate the fundamental lessons of the Russian revolution. As the experience of the National Front of Mossadeq demonstrated, in Iran today there is even less historical basis for a so-called "national-democratic revolution" (as schematically differentiated from socialist revolution) than in Russia from 1905 to 1917.

It was not the February revolution, but the October revolution that laid the basis in Russia for tackling the bourgeois-democratic tasks of sweeping agrarian reform, an end to imperialist exploitation and elimination of national oppression. And the October revolution was not made by—but in struggle against—political tendencies advocating quasi-guerrillaist "armed struggle" (the Narodniks) or multi-class political blocs with the "progressive" Russian bourgeoisie (the Mensheviks).

Experience has shown that popular-front regimes in the "Third World" usually end in a bloodbath for the masses (as in Iraq, Indonesia, Chile). At best, petty bourgeois forces under Stalinist or left-nationalist leadership can create nothing more than anti-proletarian, bonapartist regimes. Even the most "radical" so-called "Third World" regimes such as Iraq remain under the domination of world imperialism, maintain a political stranglehold over the working masses and often suppress national minorities with genocidal ferocity.

When such nationalist formations are forced to break with capitalist property relations, as occurred in

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Support Unionization at J.P. Stevens!

NEW YORK CITY, February 24—During the past few weeks student-support committees have been formed on numerous campuses to back a campaign to unionize thousands of textile workers in the South. Yet the union organizing drive is not new. For the past 13 years the United Textile Workers, and now the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, have been struggling to organize the 44,000 workers employed by the J.P. Stevens company, the second largest textile manufacturer in the U.S.

In the past J.P. Stevens has viciously fought unionization drives by victimizing union supporters, using wiretapping and other "dirty tricks" against union organizers and closing plants. Since 1965, J.P. Stevens has been found guilty of violating the National Labor Relations Act 15 times—more than any other company in U.S. history!

But J.P. Stevens would rather pay fines to the government than pay higher wages to its workers. The unorganized workers at J.P. Stevens earn 31 percent less than the average wage in the industry. Moreover, they must work in violation of federal health and safety standards; as a result of the extreme dust in the plants (over three times the levels allowed by federal regulations) thousands of J.P. Stevens workers suffer from "brown-lung" disease (byssinosis). A victory for this unionization drive will be an important step forward in organizing the masses of unorganized workers in the South and a victory in the struggle against runaway shops.

In their efforts to attract student support for the organizing drive union officials have placed great emphasis on appeals for

a consumer boycott of all J.P. Stevens products. Such union boycotts should be honored. But the tactic of a consumer boycott can not substitute for class-struggle labor action and solidarity. Since approximately 48 percent of the company's goods are transported to other manufacturers and not to consumers, reliance on a consumer boycott could at best produce only minimal results.

The impotence of the consumer boycott as a *strategy* was tragically demonstrated in the case of the United Farm Workers (UFW) of Cesar Chavez. The UFW threw virtually its entire resources into organizing consumer boycotts of lettuce, grapes and Gallo wine. Although the UFW and its boycott became something of a *cause célèbre* among liberals and enjoyed considerable public support, the UFW's "great boycott victory" of 1970 was quickly and easily reversed. In 1973, without winning a single representation election and without a single union meeting, the Teamsters maneuvered with the growers to "represent" thousands of farm workers, thus eliminating the UFW hiring hall. The UFW failed to regain these contracts because Chavez *rejected* the methods and weapons of united labor action. What is needed now is action by the organized labor movement to refuse to handle J.P. Stevens goods. Although the textile industry is largely unorganized, the apparel industry is unionized. In fact, J.P. Stevens products are handled by apparel workers who belong to the Amalgamated union!

The SYL calls on all students to support the J.P. Stevens workers. Victory to the Organizing Campaign!

Boston Demo Protests Spy Agency Recruiters



BOSTON—Last month students at Harvard University and Boston University opened their campus newspapers and came across a seemingly innocuous ad entitled "NSA Speaks Your Language," offering careers for students with language skills in Russian or Chinese. Few who read the ad probably knew much about its sponsor: the National Security Agency (NSA). Even more secretive than the CIA, the NSA has a budget twenty times that of the CIA and has played a central role in imperialist counter-insurgency operations around the world, from tracking down Che Guevara in Bolivia to conducting the counter-

revolutionary Phoenix Program in Vietnam.

Immediately following the announcement of NSA interviews the Spartacus Youth League issued a call for a united-front demonstration on February 16 to expose the imperialist spy agency and protest its recruitment. At the demonstration held outside the recruitment site in Boston an SYL contingent formed a picket line and chanted slogans such as "Avenge the Murder of Che Guevara, Abolish the NSA!", "Chile, Korea, Vietnam—the NSA has blood on its hands!" and "Vorster, Smith, NSA—Workers Revolution Will Sweep them Away!"

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-Correction-

In the February issue of *Young Spartacus* we reprinted a statement received from a campus union activist who had resigned from the Clericals for a Democratic Union in Ann Arbor and who solidarized with the SYL. However, the editor's introduction to the letter contained a factual error. It stated: "Following the heavy handed decertification of the union by the UAW International, many CDU activists have foundered in political demoralization and disorientation." In fact, the decertification was a result of a local union membership vote, although the bureaucratism of the UAW tops contributed to the demoralization and anti-union sentiment in the ranks of Local 2001.

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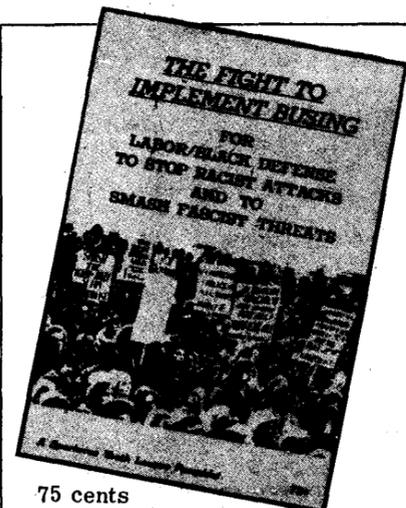
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Young Spartacus

As Iranian Monarch Massacres Leftists

Peking Urges Arms to Shah

One of the hotly debated political issues dividing the different wings of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) continues to be the "detente" between People's China and the police-state regime of the Shah of Iran.

Ever since 1973, when the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy began to openly hail the totalitarian Teheran regime for building a military counterbalance to so-called "Soviet social-imperialism," pro-Maoist Iranian students have been saddled by the contradiction between the slogan, "No Arms to the Shah!," and the foreign policy of their Peking mentors.

Recent developments in China have only sharpened the political differences among the Iranian Maoists. Despite attempts to rationalize the revolving-door purges and fierce intra-bureaucratic feuding since the jailing of the "gang of four" last October, Chinese foreign policy has reflected no so-called "two-line struggle." As before, the Stalinist jackals ruling in Peking subordinate the interests of the working masses in the Middle East and internationally to diplomatic maneuvers in the interest of "socialism in one country."

Peking's Pilgrimage to the Peacock Throne

During November a delegation of the National People's Congress of China paid a "friendly visit" to Teheran and met with both the Shah and Iranian prime minister Hoveyda (*Peking Review*, 26 November 1976). According to the official Hsinhua news agency, this "was an important delegation sent abroad by the Chinese people [sic] after they had shattered the plot of the anti-party 'gang of four'" (*Hsinhua Bulletin*, 1 December 1976).

But support for the Shah and his military ambitions was not one of the crimes of the so-called "gang of

four." On the contrary, the Peking delegation reaffirmed the same reactionary policy toward the Shah followed by the Chinese regime when "the anti-party 'gang of four'" were in power. At the banquet reception in Teheran, Ulanfu, head of the Chinese delegation and Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress, declared:

"We are happy to note that under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, the Imperial Government of Iran has made efforts to strengthen Iran's defense capabilities and build up the country, while at the same time it has actively strengthened Iran's unity and co-operation with other countries in this region and other third world countries, rendering each other support, thus making a useful contribution to the joint anti-hegemonic cause of the people of all countries."

—*Peking Review*, 26 November 1976

But the power which is responsible for strengthening Iran's defenses is none other than that well-known champion of "anti-hegemonic causes"—U.S. imperialism! Iran purchases more United States military hardware than any other single country and accounts for half of all U.S. arms sales overseas.

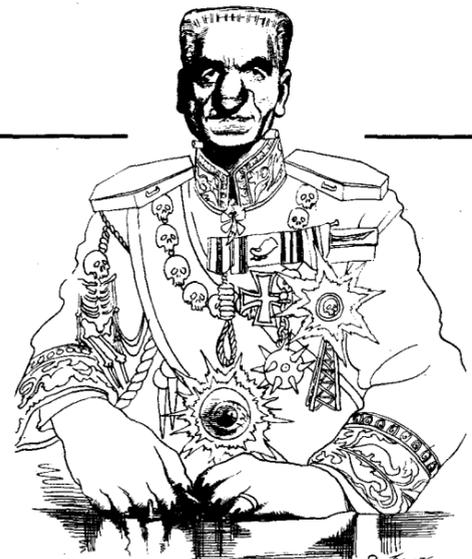
Since 1972 the Pentagon has poured \$10.4 billion in sophisticated weapons systems into Iran (*U.S. Military Sales to Iran*, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 1976). Last August the Shah and then Secretary of State Kissinger agreed on another \$10 billion in arms to Iran by 1980. According to the *Washington Post* (27 October 1976) the Shah's recent arms purchases "have made Iran one of the best armed nations in the world." While the Shah may entertain great power ambitions, his role under the still prevailing "Nixon Doctrine" is to police the Middle East for U.S.

"We are happy to note that under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, the imperial Government of Iran has made efforts to strengthen Iran's defense capabilities and build up the country...."

—*Peking Review*,
26 November 1976

"In the beginning it was the Chinese [who "supported the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman"]. But this soon changed after the Chinese came forth with their 'Third World Policy.' This policy calls for China to refuse to support a movement directed against a Third World country, even if that country is reactionary like Oman and Iran."

—Saleh Abdullah, a representative of the nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, in an interview with the pro-Moscow *People's World*, 5 February 1977



D. Lavine/NY Review of Books

imperialism and keep the Gulf an American lake.

Where the Shah Directs His "Main Blow"

Unlike the Stalinist parasites in Peking leftist militants in Iran are not "happy to note" that the Shah has been able to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the regime. Only one day after the arrival of Ulanfu and the Chinese delegation, for example, Iranian "security" forces in Teheran gunned down in the street two alleged members of the Organization of Mojahedeen [Combatants] of the People of Iran and arrested seven others (*ISA Resistance* [Chicago], February 1977).

Peking Review never "notes" such

repression against leftist (and often Maoist) militants in Iran. Nor does the Chinese regime ever raise a word of protest against the barbaric torture of political prisoners in the dungeons of the Shah.

Likewise, the nationalist guerrillas in Oman struggling against the feudal regime of Sultan Qaboos are not "happy to note" the "unity and co-operation" between the Shah and the Omani regime. At the request of the Sultan a 3,000-strong expeditionary force of Iranian soldiers invaded Oman in 1973 to crush the insurgency led by the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO).

The same month that the Chinese sent their delegation to Teheran the Gulf countries sent their foreign ministers to the Omani capital of Muscat for a conference on how to develop their "unity and cooperation." The underlying purpose of the conference was made clear by Sultan Qaboos in his opening remarks: "The Sultanate of Oman is the front line of defense in the Gulf. If Oman fell then the rest of the countries in the area would be threatened by communist invasion or domination" (quoted in *Middle East*, January 1977).

It is the counterrevolutionary crusade of the Shah and the Persian Gulf feudalist sheiks and sultans which China supports in the name of "the joint anti-hegemonic cause." Thus, *Peking Review* (4 February 1977) saluted the Muscat conference, "The first meeting of the Gulf countries foreign ministers in November was an inspiring new step in their joint struggle against hegemonism."

To underscore the point, the *Peking Review* statement went on to laud recent arms purchases by the Shah:

"The Soviet propaganda machine clamoured that Iran had 'no justification' for buying arms to reinforce its defences. In meeting the Shahanshah of Iran on instructions from his Kremlin bosses, the Soviet ambassador blatantly declared that the Soviet Union was 'uneasy' over Iran's purchases of weapons.... Then, in the capital

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On February 19 over 150 demonstrators gathered in Washington, D.C., to protest recent atrocities committed by the Iranian regime. Called in the name of the Iranian Students Association (ISAUS), the demonstration, which included a march with two rallies in front of the White House and the Iranian Embassy, demanded an end to the torture and murder of political

prisoners in Iran, a halt to the harassment of Iranian students in this country, and an end to CIA collaboration with SAVAK (the dreaded secret police of the Shah). A contingent from the Spartacus Youth League participated in the demonstration at the Iranian embassy and solidarized with the anti-Shah protest.