

# Young Spartacus

NUMBER 69

25 CENTS

X-523

DECEMBER 1978/JANUARY 1979

## No to Khomeini's "Just Rule of Islam"!

# For Workers Revolution to Overthrow the Shah!

December 4—After a quarter century of rule by torture and bloody repression, Iran's shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi may now be facing the final showdown with a Muslim-led movement determined to overthrow him. The military government headed by General Gholam Reza Azhari announced that all religious processions and even mosque services held without permission would be outlawed during the Islamic month of mourning, Moharram, which began on December 2.

This measure has been seized on by Ayatollah Khomeini, the exiled patriarch of Iran's Shi'ite Muslims, as the signal for a campaign of mass demonstrations in defiance of martial law. Khomeini appealed to his followers in the name of a *jihad* against the shah, telling them they must be prepared to die in order to defeat him. Thousands of Muslim students and workers streamed from mosques into the streets of Teheran on the eve of Moharram. Similar protests were reported in other cities such as Isfahan, Shiraz and Bushire.

World attention is now focused on the anticipated battles between the shah and the followers of the mullahs during the remainder of Moharram. In particular the major showdown between the autocracy and the advocates of a theocratic state is expected to come on December 11, the Shi'ite holy day of Ashura. Each year the faithful go into the streets on this day to mark the anniversary of the death of Mohammed's grandson Hossein 1,300 years ago by flagellating themselves with chains. There could be no more graphic example of the reactionary showdown between the shah's reign of terror and fundamentalist Islam than to have the current regime confronted by masses of the faithful engaged in a pre-feudal religious rite.

And yet this is just what's in store. Chanting "allah we akhbar" ("god is



Demonstrators in Teheran burn portraits of the shah and his family.

great"), the demonstrators, many of them clothed in white burial robes as a sign of their willingness to accept martyrdom, have marched unarmed through the streets. Riot troops armed with machine guns and backed up by tanks have mowed them down by the hundreds. While the government claimed that only twelve persons had been killed in the first two days of clashes, a BBC report quoted one doctor's estimate that 700 were dead.

The shooting of hundreds is the action of a desperate tyrant who knows that his only chance to survive now is to unleash massive repression. But even these measures seem unlikely to succeed in quelling the outrage which has left the Pahlavi monarchy with but two bases of support. Only the army officer corps and his U.S. imperialist sponsors still stand behind the shah, and the "light of the Aryans" is nervously looking over his shoulder these days to make sure that the generals are still there. The day may not be far off when even the gold-braided assassins who run his empire will desert the shah to join the opposition, or if that proves impossible, to follow the millions of dollars they have stashed away in safer havens out of the country.

The possibility that the U.S. imperialists, who are heavily committed to backing the shah as a loyal bulwark against the Soviet Union, would intervene to prop up his tottering regime cannot be lightly dismissed. Despite Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" blather, the U.S. government has never wavered in its support for the shah since the day that a CIA-sponsored coup put him in power in 1953. We oppose all U.S. aid, arms or advisors to the bloody-handed shah!

As revolutionary Marxists we eagerly await the day when the shah receives the

just reward for his 25 years of brutal terror, preferably directly at the hands of some of his "humble subjects." But we do not support the overthrow of this bloody-handed reactionary by forces which may well prove to be even more reactionary. Marxists cannot ignore the fact that the current mass uprising is overwhelmingly dominated not by democratic, much less socialist, forces but by the established hierarchy of the official state religion.

### A Proletariat Beheaded

Iran is not like Paraguay or Botswana, countries so backward that fundamental social change depends on the success of proletarian struggles in the more advanced neighboring countries. If it were, perhaps the dominance of the mullahs over the anti-shah upsurge would have neither the same import nor such potentially disastrous consequences. But Iran, in fact, is the home of the largest and most powerful working class in the region, a working class which has several times in the post-World War II period taken the lead in explosive social struggles.

The urgent task confronting Iranian revolutionaries today is the reforging of an independent proletarian axis around which to rally the working masses against both the shah's dictatorship and the reactionary Islamic clergy, who currently dominate the opposition. In the 1945-46 rebellion centered among the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijani workers and again in the nation-wide struggles of 1951-53 which impelled the nationalization of the oil industry by the bourgeois nationalist Mohammed Mossadeq, the working class was in the vanguard. But the continuity of Iranian proletarian struggle was broken, not only by the bloody repression at the

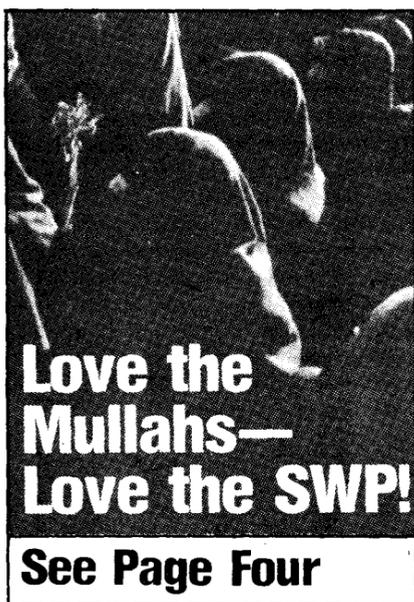
hands of the U.S.-sponsored dictatorship but by the betrayals of Iranian Stalinists.

The pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) party, the hegemonic leadership of the first two waves of workers' struggles since the war, not only misled its followers into political dependence on the "progressive" nationalist Mossadeq, but was badly discredited by the counterrevolutionary, pro-shah stance adopted by its Kremlin mentors. The Maoist groupings which subsequently attracted the allegiance of Iranian leftist students have similarly been compromised by Peking's "peaceful coexistence" with, and even outright political support for, the tyrant of the Peacock throne.

Today the militant workers who have launched massive economic and political strikes in Iran are without a broad-based, independent proletarian leadership. Into this vacuum have stepped Khomeini and the Muslim mullahs. The Koran fundamentalists have their strongest hold over the petty-bourgeois bazaar merchants and the backward and oppressed peasants. But they also maintain considerable influence over wide sections of the working class, especially the textile and construction laborers fresh from the farms. Even the highly-skilled oil workers, relatively more liberated from the yoke of religious obscurantism, have not been totally free of the xenophobic chauvinism which infects the mullah-led movement.

Thus, for example, the mullah lovers among Western radicals have attempted to portray the oil workers' demand for the expulsion of all foreign workers simply as an "anti-imperialist" slogan. But the anti-foreigner campaign is aimed not only at the American supervisors but potentially against the thou-

continued on page 8



**Love the  
Mullahs—  
Love the SWP!**

**See Page Four**

## British Spartacist Denounces Anti Nazi League Scabs

# Mobilize British Labor to Fight the National Front

"When I first came into politics... the common term of opprobrium or abuse for your political opponents was, of course, to call them a fascist... What is most interesting in Britain in the last four or five years is that there has been an evaporation of that use of the term 'fascist' as a general term of abuse and a greater precision in what people understand to be fascism. One of the reasons for that is quite simply, social being determines consciousness. When you see two thousand thugs march down a street chanting 'The reds, the reds, we've got to get rid of the reds,' or 'The National Front is a White Man's Front,' then you begin to understand what fascism is and how it differs and how importantly it differs from just ordinary run-of-the-mill right-wing yobs which abound in any class society."

With these words comrade James Flanagan of the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) opened the Spartacus Youth League forum "Mobilize British Labor to Fight the National Front" held at Barnard College, New York on November 16. Quoting electoral statistics from the past four years, he outlined the dramatic growth of the fascist National Front (NF) since 1974.

In the British general election of October 1974 the NF took 113,000 votes. By the time of the local government (municipal) elections of spring 1977, that figure had more than doubled to 250,000 votes nationally. In London alone the fascists polled 119,000 votes in 91 constituencies, beating the Liberals—the junior party of British capitalism—in 33 areas, and taking up to 20 percent of the vote in certain parts of the mainly immigrant East End. While those votes do not constitute a hardened base of organized support for the NF, they nonetheless testify to the seriousness of the fascist threat and the urgency of mobilizing Britain's well-organized labor movement against it.

The question most obviously posed by these developments is—why Britain and why now? Recalling Trotsky's capsule analysis of fascism as the last resort of a desperate bourgeoisie faced with the prospect of its own overthrow, comrade Flanagan, a former member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the Irish Commission



Lewisham, August 13, 1977: National Front marchers recoil from anti-fascist demonstrator.

of the Workers Socialist League, sketched the deep social decay and critical condition of capitalism in Britain. With 1.5 million workers unemployed, with wages held down as inflation continues at 8-9 percent, and with social services cut to the bone, leaving the already depressed inner cities even more barren, the social conditions which spawn fascist movements already exist in Britain.

Moreover, the bourgeoisie is faced with a strong, undefeated working class which in the past has fought against and defeated attempts to make them pay for the current crisis—from the 1969 revolt which crushed the Labour government's anti-union Bill ("In Place of Strife"), through the 1974 miners strike which felled the Conservative Heath government, right over to the Ford workers who just recently punched a hole in Labour's wage controls. For the bourgeoisie the situation looks bleak:

"Labour hasn't worked; the Tories haven't worked; a Labour-Liberal coalition hasn't worked. The prospects in store for them are weak, hung

parliaments, minority governments supported by minority parties. Ultimately what they have to look for as a way of getting out of this situation is some sort of strong state—take on the unions, beat the unions and resolve it in that way. And that importantly is where the fascists come in."

Clearly, evolution in such a direction would mean a qualitative escalation in the level of class struggle in Britain, and the development of a perilous situation in which the alternatives posed would be socialist revolution or fascist barbarism. Britain is as yet some distance from that, but the recurring clashes between the fascists and the left foreshadow greater battles to come.

### The Battle of Cable Street

The willingness of the British bourgeoisie to opt for a fascistic solution is shown by events of the past. During the crisis-racked 1930's, when the German bourgeoisie turned to Hitler's brown-shirts, there arose in Britain a fascist movement—Sir Oswald Moseley's British Union of Fascists (BUF)—which

won significant support from sections of the bourgeoisie. The *Daily Mail* (a leading capitalist daily), for example, had as its headline in the issue of 15 January 1934, "Hurrah For the Fascists."

Clad in blackshirts, Moseley's bands held a series of meetings throughout England during the 1933-36 period, aimed at terrorizing immigrant groups and crushing the unions. ("We've got to get rid of the Yids" was one of their chants, a slogan emulated by the National Front of today.) In June of 1934 they held a 15,000 strong indoor rally at the Olympia building in London, beating up would-be hecklers in the audience and demonstrating openly their vicious determination to silence all their opponents.

As the real character of Moseley's movement became clear, the working class began to fight back. In June 1936, a BUF meeting in the coal mining town of Tonypandy in South Wales was broken up and the fascists were driven out of the area. But it wasn't until a couple of months later that the decisive blow was struck against Moseley, in what became known as "The Battle of Cable Street"—named after the site in London's East End where the BUF was routed. The events of the day were described by comrade Flanagan:

"So the culmination came on the 4th of October 1936. Moseley had organized for that day a demonstration to march into the East End of London right through a heavily Jewish area. This was a deliberate provocation in much the same way as Hitler's fascists had marched through Altona, a working-class area of Hamburg just four years earlier. The reaction of the Labour Party tops and the trade-union leaders to this decision was that they weren't going to do anything about it.... The Communist Party of Great Britain, which today likes to pose as being the champions of the fight against the fascists in 1936, as the leaders of Cable Street, also advocated that people not go there. They said there is a rally to take place in Trafalgar Square the same day and people should go and march there.

"As it was the Communist Party eventually made it over. Under pressure

*continued on page 11*

## Bolshevik Success in NYC Elections

This fall a rather unique message resounded through lower Manhattan carried over loudspeakers, at meetings, on thousands of leaflets, brochures, palm cards, on posters glued to lamp-posts, in newspapers and on the radio. That message: For A Socialist Fight To Save New York!

The Spartacist Party candidate for assembly, Marjorie Stamberg, campaigned hard to rally the people of NYC to nothing more or less than revolutionary solutions to the agonizing problems which face this city. We gave it to people straight—the banks, the utilities, Big MAC, the Democrats and the Republicans are bleeding New York dry and the working class and the oppressed ghetto masses are suffering the worst.

We didn't peddle any "tax the rich" gimmicks, no "garden of eden" ecological utopias—just genuine unadulterated

communist politics. That message did not fall on deaf ears. On election day from the mostly black and Latin municipal housing projects in Chelsea to the gay bar quarter of Greenwich Village to Cooper Square, the former stronghold of "flower power," the voters in surprisingly large numbers responded. Stamberg received 909 votes or more than 3.2 percent of the vote.

The election results were particularly gratifying as they showed that where the Spartacist Party campaign captured the imagination of many voters, the warmed-over liberal reformism of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Communist Party (CP) received significantly less support. Stamberg received a higher percentage of the vote than any leftist candidate running in NYC. The SWP and CP gubernatorial candidates received a higher percentage of the vote

in the 64th Assembly District than in any other district in Manhattan, which nevertheless amounted to only 1.6 percent respectively or only half of Stamberg's total.

It is interesting that the SWP which masquerades as the best fighters for democratic rights for homosexuals, while capitulating to dangerous illusions of "gay power," was trounced by Stamberg in those parts of the district with the highest concentration of homosexuals. The Spartacist campaign on the other hand stressed the importance of the labor movement taking up the fight for democratic rights for all oppressed sectors of the population. At a demonstration protesting the defeat of Intro 384 (a gay rights bill) by the NYC Council shortly after the campaign, Stamberg was continually approached by well-wishers asking how

she had done in the election.

The election results must prove a particularly bitter pill for the electoral cretinists of the SWP to swallow. Having just written a sterile polemic chastising the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League as "an American sect head[ed] for outer space," the SWP saw us beat the pants off them in our first venture into the electoral arena in ten years. By their own logic the SWP should stupidly write off 909 voters in the 64th Assembly District as somehow similarly worthy of intergalactic voyage.

While votes in an election cannot be equated with leading the working masses in concrete struggles against the bourgeoisie, they do nonetheless attest to our capacity to address the real burning social issues of our society without tailoring our program for liberal consumption. ■

## The Divestment Conference That Wasn't

# Reformists Sell Anti-Apartheid Struggles Short

"Divestment" is now even less a "movement" than it has been. Hurting for any independent base of support, the November 17-19 Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) Conference attracted predominantly the memberships of various left groups. If they had planned another routine liberal anti-apartheid jamboree—they were to be disappointed. The conference held at New York University erupted into a sharp confrontation between the social democrats of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA)—champions of liberal respectability—and a New Left/Maoist bloc advocating all-out support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist "liberation forces" operating in southern Africa.

With endorsements from almost every left organization in the country, prominent liberals, nationalists and a bourgeois politician or two, the conference was certainly organized to be the usual: a bare minimum of political discussion, the planning of some action to keep the "movement" alive and maneuvers between competing reformists for control over the organizational shell. All went well as long as the various ostensibly socialist groups masqueraded as nothing more than naive campus activists. But when the existing political differences over how best to pressure U.S. imperialism to "fight apartheid" came to the fore, the unity of the opportunists speedily unraveled.

### Liberal Well-Wishers and the Divestment Dead End

It's hard times all over for the would-be mass leaders of the "divestment movement." All the talk about "education" as a central aim of the NYC conference means simply that the illusion of affecting the struggle against the white-supremacist regimes in some real fashion have worn thin.

Thus, an obvious problem for divestors: what happens when your trustees go ahead and cleanse themselves? After U. Mass. Amherst dumped its South African related stocks, divestment activists discovered it was difficult to interest students in further anti-apartheid protests. So tokenist, so distant from any struggle which touches the imperialist presence in southern Africa is divestment that it goes down embarrassingly smoothly with boards of trustees and boards of directors. Tailored to fit the current political climate

of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, there is substantial bourgeois tolerance if not actual support to showcase displays of moral righteousness—in fact, the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League (CP/YWLL) "Campaign for Two Million Voices" boasts the endorsement of a couple of black Democratic Party politicians.

Even in South Africa there is general disenchantment with these utopian schemes, as *Time* magazine (18 September 1978) reports:

"These steps scarcely add up to anything like a general U.S. corporate retreat—nor should they. In South Africa itself, such a withdrawal is a strategy favored mainly by some white liberals and middle-class black activists. Though they often talk pullout in public, the black militants within the labor force are far more pragmatic in private. A black union leader told [*Time* correspondent] McWhirter: 'I would say companies should withdraw. But if they did, it would be death for all of us.'"

The attempt to pressure U.S. imperialism into a diplomatic, military and economic boycott of the apartheid regime is, as we have long maintained, the real focus of the divestment forces. All of the action proposals presented to the conference have as their central demand a U.S. boycott: sell the stock, mobilize the UN, make good on the "human rights" rhetoric! Reactionary and utopian, this call has nothing to do with revolution in southern Africa (presumably simply the problem of the "African people themselves"). A real blow against apartheid would be for the American labor movement to force multinationals (e.g. Ford) with South African operations to recognize black unions. Lip service was paid at the conference to "bringing the unions in" on the anti-apartheid struggle—most notably by divesting their stock portfolios of any holdings linked to South Africa.

The Spartacus Youth League intervened in the conference workshops with a real program for serious militants: mobilize the working class in solidarity with their class brothers and sisters in Africa, labor action to force recognition of black trade unions, hot-cargo all military goods to South Africa, international labor solidarity against apartheid repression! Not appeals to the racist peanut boss Carter but a fight in the trade unions! It is not South Africa but the very state to which the divestors appeal that is the chief reactionary force

### Spartacus Youth League Statement to NYC Divestment Conference November 17-19, 1978

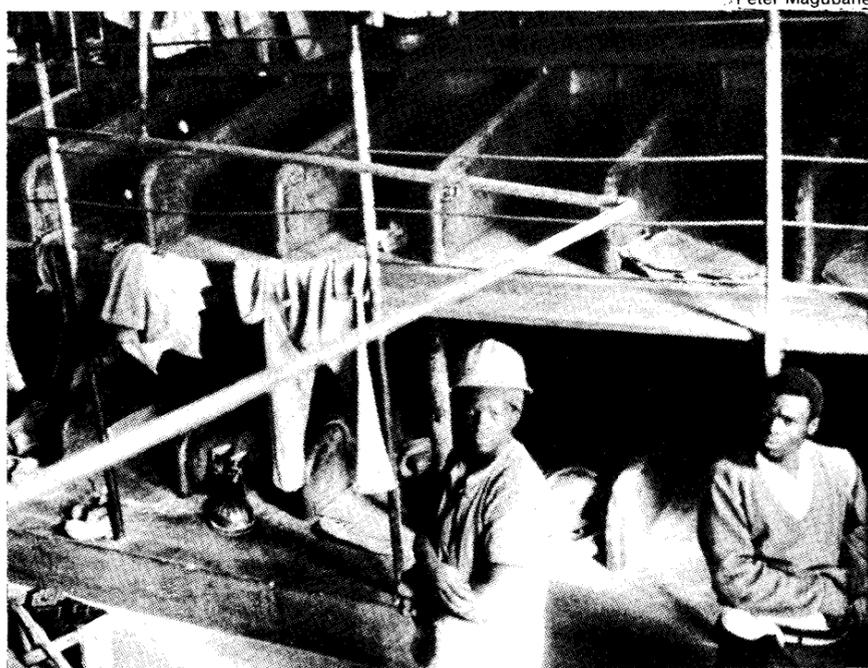
In South Africa, the intense racial oppression is inextricably linked to and based on cheap black labor in the mines, factories and on the farms.

The tactic of divestment to fight this vicious system is at bottom little more than empty moralizing by foreign liberal well-wishers and is basically a substitute for those tactics based upon the revolutionary perspective of the black-centered, working-class struggle for power in southern Africa. The Spartacus Youth League, while hardly opposed to "divestment" as such recognizes its empty quality which in the best case merely gives less scrupu-

lous investors a better deal.

Serious militants, while not flinching from auxiliary tactics including armed struggle, must center the fight against apartheid on the social power of black labor. Key to this fight are the following tactics:

1. Labor action, including strikes, against the multi-nationals to force them to recognize black unions and eliminate all aspects of apartheid in their operation.
2. Hot-cargoing of all military goods bound for South Africa.
3. A fight to free all victims of apartheid repression.



Peter Magubane

### Johannesburg gold miners' barracks.

in the world today: The Main Enemy is at Home!

### South African Nationalists

The conference organizers hoped to up their credentials as champions of anti-white-supremacist unity by including in the agenda presentations by representatives of various "liberation movements." Even this backfired as rival organizations engaged in a polemical free-for-all. In fact, the head-on clash between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) during the afternoon workshop sessions prefigured the upcoming conference fight. The ANC charged that the PAC's rabid "African socialist" nationalism was synonymous with race hate in which "the only good white man is a dead man." The PAC speaker explained with the victory of the "African majority," "everybody there will have to culturally toe the line" and the South African Indian population could stay "as long as their loyalty is to Africa only." In other words—communist political opponents, national minorities and workers strikes "disloyal to Africa" would be suppressed by a PAC regime.

The ANC speaker pointed to the PAC's historic ties to the Angolan FNLA and UNITA and attributed the ANC/PAC split to the ANC's willingness to ally with South African "Coloureds" (mestizos), Indians and "progressive" whites. This brought forth an infuriated response from PAC representatives who denied they had a blanket opposition to the white and Asian population in South Africa and claimed that both the PAC and the Organization of African Unity had reversed their support to the FNLA and UNITA "on the basis of new facts."

Countering the ANC salvo, the PAC hinted at the dangers of "Soviet domination" in the ANC's fraternal relationship with the South African Communist Party. This of course perked up the Maoists in the audience who were eagerly awaiting the opportunity for an "anti-Soviet social imperialist" offensive. But the ANC was out to "out-respectable" the PAC. While accepting aid from the "socialist countries," the ANC assured the audience that the bulk of its money came from Scandinavia. (Even Drake Koka, the leader of the

Black Allied Workers Union and not a participant at the workshop got dragged into the mud-slinging. An anonymous leaflet entitled "Who is Drake Koka?!" appeared charging that Koka's union front had failed to oppose apartheid for a several year period and that Koka was somehow in cahoots with the Ford Motor Co.)

While the class character of a state headed by either the ANC or the PAC would be the same—both have as their goal a neo-colonialist regime by definition dependent on Western capital—the ANC aspires to the model of the MPLA in Angola while the PAC looks to Nyerere's Tanzania. The fight was a clear indication of the impact of the internationalization of the Angolan civil war in 1975. When the formerly anti-Portuguese guerilla armies of the FNLA and UNITA became the pawns of U.S./China supported South African invasion against the Soviet/Cuba backed MPLA, mindless enthusiasm for "all Third World Struggles" became impossible.

### Falling Out Among Thieves

Given the dwindling independent participation in the divestment dead-end, the very real political questions posed by Angola in 1975 and Ethiopia

*continued on page 9*

## Young Spartacus

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

Editorial Board: Samuel Lewis (editor), Bonnie Brodie, Mary Jo McAllister, Marc Rogier, Michael Weinstein

Production manager: Helen Kirkpatrick  
Circulation manager: O. Stephens

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 925-4295 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

## Fake Trotskyists Plead:

# Love the Mullahs— Love the SWP!



There is something downright offensive about having to debate the question of the attitude of the workers movement toward religiosity and clericalism. The line between Marxism and religious obscurantism was drawn long ago—over 140 years ago Marx penned the capsule summary of religion as the “opium of the people.” It is not as if the Marxist movement did not stand by the gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, not the least of which was the separation of church and state. So it is with a sense of outrage that we have to cross swords with an ostensibly Marxist organization, let alone one that claims the mantle of Trotskyism, over the attitude of revolutionists toward a reactionary drive for a theocratic state.

At issue in this case is the anti-shah revolt raging in Iran. With the shah's rule visibly tottering, the question of who shall rule is posed daily on the streets of Teheran and other centers of protest. At present, the overthrow of the shah's blood-drenched tyranny would deliver Iran to the Shi'ite Muslim preachers who dominate the opposition—in particular the exiled high holy man Ayatollah Khomeini. The organization which has rushed to the defense of the Khomeini-led movement is none other than the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), long-time debasers of the revolutionary tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

On the face of it one is hard pressed to conceive of the Bolsheviks, who had to battle the influence of the Khomeinis of their time in Soviet Central Asia, having to argue with their opponents in the workers movement whether the veil or the binding of feet was progressive or reactionary. One need not be any kind of Marxist but simply faithful to bourgeois democracy to understand that an Islamic republic is no “progressive” alternative to the shah's tyranny, but an historical throwback which promises to be no less reactionary than the current regime.

Nevertheless, smarting under the criticism of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, the SWP has once again risen to the defense of clerical obscurantism. One of their house intellectuals, David Frankel, has produced a reply, “Iran: Is Struggle Against Shah's Tyranny Reactionary?” (*Militant*, 8 December). Whereas only a few weeks before, the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* described our tendency as headed for “outer space,” now it seems necessary to politically answer “that small sect that falsely advertises itself as the true representative of Trotskyism in the United States.”

Trotsky's response to attacks on the theory of permanent revolution—“nothing but trash and hack-work everywhere”—is a somewhat generous appraisal of this new assault on the very foundations of a Marxist world view. For the SWP the leadership, program and goals of a movement mean nothing. It's the action that counts. And the

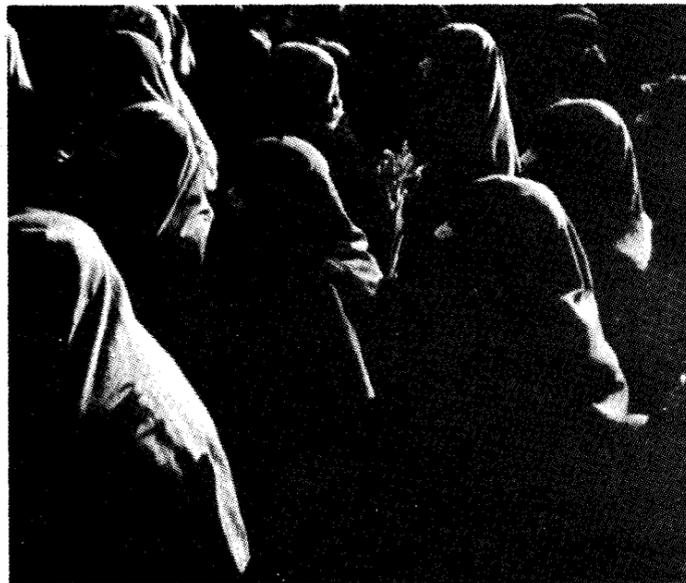
religious leaders have delivered on that score—mass action in the streets. It is of little importance to the SWP that this movement looks to the 7th century A.D. as their model for a social order and seeks to enforce the Koran-ordered seclusion of women from any productive role in economic or civic life.

By tapping the deep hatred of the masses for the shah the clerics do not thereby become the spokesmen for elementary democratic demands. The ulema opposes the very demands which constitute an elementary democratic program—legal equality for women, land to the tiller, separation of church and state, and a constituent assembly elected through universal suffrage. There is no organized force in the current protests that represents even a bourgeois-democratic opposition to the monarchy (as the Kadets did to the tsar, or even Mossadeq to the shah) except the feeble National Front which is currently totally subordinate to and taking its cues from the holy man Khomeini.

### Distortion and Distaste

Frankel summarizes the SWP's attack on the SL/SYL as follows:

“Uniting the masses in a common struggle against the shah's regime is the



prerequisite for further advances in Iran. And it is precisely around the democratic demands that the Spartacist League holds in such contempt that such a united front can be built.”

The entire question of some farcical “united front for democracy” is just so much sand in the eyes of the ignorant. To have a united front fighting for democratic rights there must be just that—democratic rights at stake in the fight. The calls for an *Islamic* state, for the freeing of only *Islamic* prisoners, the chants of “Death or the Veil” for women all run counter to everything that Marxists stand for—but Frankel conveniently avoids mentioning any of these.

Why is it that the woman question (or

for that matter the word “woman”) never appears in Frankel's article? For the SWP, which likes to parade about as a god-sent “Trotskyist” emissary to feminism, the omission of any mention of the forcible encloakment of women protesters in the medieval *chador* (veil) is striking. In a country where women have never attained even the formal equality granted them under bourgeois democracy, to try and avoid this question is sheer treachery.

But for Frankel, having now written several apologies for the SWP on Iran, omitting what is best left unsaid is second nature. Frankel assures us that, “Every progressive social force, every forward-looking element, every fighter for human liberty has joined together to oppose the shah's savage regime.” Can it be that *Militant* readers really believe that the authoritative leader of the protests (Khomeini), who has stated that his sole point of reference is the time of Mohammed, is “forward looking”? But then again Khomeini's name conveniently appears nowhere in the text of the article.

Particularly despicable is Frankel's clumsy “editing” of a November 17 *Workers Vanguard* article to “prove” that the SL and SYL do not support democratic demands. Frankel quotes

Syigma y Gamma

SWP respectfully silent on mullahs' call: “Death or the Veil.”

the article's observation that, “the leftist students and striking workers seem united to the bourgeois liberals and Muslim clergy by a common ‘democratic’ program directed against the shah.” Conveniently omitted are the following paragraphs which develop this point, explaining that in reality “There is no common denominator between the demands of the mullahs and those of the strikers. The Muslims call for an *Islamic* republic.”

Contrary to this childish falsification *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* have continuously raised democratic demands such as the freeing of victims of the shah's terror, the lifting of martial law and the call for a sovereign, secular constituent assembly. More important-

ly we have also argued that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can guarantee the eradication of the monarchy and the realization of other democratic tasks (e.g., land to the tiller, women's rights).

### What Do the Mullahs Want?

Unfortunately for Frankel, facts are stubborn things. The SWP's own press contains plenty of evidence to prove that Khomeini's “Islamic social order” has no more room for any variety of leftist than Qaddafi's Libya or Zia's Pakistan. The 27 November issue of *Intercontinental Press* features an illustrative interview with a student activist from Teheran in which he describes a campus political rally:

“The leftist students had put up red banners and their slogans around the football stadium, where the speech was to be given. All the religious students and professors walked out, saying they were not going to sit under red flags. “We wanted a solidarity week, but right away we faced a probable split, the exact opposite of our aim. So the leftist students were urged to take down the red banners.”

“It was also suggested that the religious students could put their banners up too, that there would be nothing wrong with having both. But the religious leaders wouldn't buy that.”

“Other leftist students joined.... One of their slogans was really good. It was, ‘Greetings to militant Khomeyni,’ to show the sympathy and support of the leftist students for Khomeyni.... But the religious students did not like even that.”

And regarding the religious students' demands, he explains, “They know they should have a party, so they want a ‘God's party.’ They do not want to allow any other party. And they say the only leader should be Khomeyni.”

The suppression of all “infidels” and atheists would only be one task of an Islamic “republic.” And it is the SWP which defends the cultural suppression which is a significant part of the Muslims' program. Frankel assures us that the attacks on liquor stores, movie theaters, etc. are not prompted by religious bigotry, but are militant “anti-imperialist” blows against “symbols of the oppressor.” Frankel backs this up by deliberately confusing the political demands of the striking workers with the prejudices of the rampaging theology students, pious shopkeepers and backward unskilled laborers who are the core of Khomeini's support.

However, it is not only our tendency which recognizes the fundamentalist religious basis for these attacks. According to the “Report of the Patriotic Muslim Students of Tabriz on the Tabriz Uprising”: “Several cafes and sandwich shops were also named among the damaged shops. All of such cafes and shops sold alcoholic beverages. The fact that alcohol is an intoxicating agent and that the Quran has banned its consumption justifies the above actions” (*Review of Iranian Political Economy and History*, June 1978).

In feigning horror over our defense of

anyone's right to see movies, enjoy a drink, engage in consensual sexual activity and purchase the literature they wish, the *Militant* article deliberately misses the point. The issue is not the civilizing influence of Pepsi Cola but the establishment of another medievalist enclave which bars any contact with Western culture. The model for the Iranian demonstrators is that of Islamic clericalism across the Middle and Near East; Frankel might as well argue the blanket censorship exercised by the Saudi oil princes is the result of "deepgoing anti-imperialist struggle."

Such puritanism is significant as symbolizing the preservation of archaic pre-capitalist Islamic society and is linked to that society's oppression and enforced seclusion of women. As has already been pointed out, the SWP has scandalously ignored precisely this facet of Khomeini's "Islamic social order." When he asserts that "the Iranian workers and peasants do not desire a return to the Middle Ages," Frankel suppresses what the mullahs and their petty-bourgeois followers see as a model: the holy city of Qom, which actually has reverted to the 7th century! Not only is Western cultural "contamination" repressed, so are all rights for women—every woman in Qom must put on the veil.

Worse yet is the SWP's revoltingly complacent refusal to consider the parallels of Pakistan, where clerical reaction led a "mass movement" which forced the establishment of an Islamic military dictatorship, or of Indonesia, where the mullahs whipped up another "mass movement" which aided in the slaughter of half a million leftists.

### "Down with the Shah"

Political arguments are the rare exception in SWP polemics. Frankel appears quite at home concocting positions to attribute to us. His charge that our opposition to the mullahs "has echoed the line of the capitalist media" could have come straight from the Stalinist school of falsification. The Spartacist tendency's opposition to the bloody Pahlavi dynasty and its American imperialist backers has been clear and consistent—unlike the SWP's, ever responsive as it is to the pressure of liberal-bourgeois opinion. (Similarly, the article asserts out of the blue that, "the Cuban revolution is another movement that the Spartacists decided not to support." The SL/SYL position on Cuba is the same as the Trotskyist position toward the other Stalinist deformed/degenerated workers states: unconditional military defense against imperialism, irreconcilable opposition to the parasitic bureaucracies and a call for workers political revolution.)

With all their bluster about the downfall of the shah, the SWP neglects to mention that little more than a year ago it took great pains to polemicize against the demand "Down with the Shah" as an ultraleft excess. The anti-shah slogan might have disturbed the liberal bourgeois politicians (such as former attorney general Ramsey Clark) which the SWP's pet Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) is designed to attract. It was CAIFI, backed to the hilt by the SWP, which took its opponents in the Iranian student movement before the courts of the U.S. bourgeoisie—leaving them open to possible deportation and death in Iran.

Where were these "most consistent" fighters of the shah in November 1977 when the most militant anti-shah demonstration in the U.S. protested the dictator's White House visit? Nowhere to be seen, the SWP perhaps felt their internationalist duty best fulfilled by avoiding nasty confrontations with the cops, right-wing fanatics and SAVAK agents who attacked the protest. Or perhaps it was simply that the anti-shah movement was then too "isolated" for the SWP to bother with; now that a *bourgeois opposition* has emerged in Iran with a few "democratic" catch-

phrases interspersed among the praises to Allah, the SWP feels more comfortable joining in with the "Down with the Shah" slogan.

### Gapon and Khomeini

In addition to distortions of the Spartacist program, Frankel does some of his own rewriting of the events in Russia to justify the SWP's support to the mullahs. Using the 1905 revolution—in which a demonstration of workers led by a Russian Orthodox priest, Father Gapon, triggered a proletarian upsurge, mass strikes, workers soviets and an armed insurrection—Frankel tries to argue that Khomeini's role today is similar.

But the quote Frankel produces from Trotsky destroys the analogy: Gapon was "in a perplexing manner placed by history at the head of the working masses for several days." His influence quickly waned, proving to be no obstacle to the independent organiza-

themselves from the workers strikes. The movement which Gapon found himself at the head of rallied around the basic democratic demands of the 8-hour day, the freeing of tsarist political prisoners, the constituent assembly and the *separation of church and state*. Khomeini's drive for a theocracy, however, is openly counterposed to the secularization of the state.

In point of fact, Trotsky's writings on the 1905 revolution convey the overwhelmingly proletarian character of the movement from the very beginning and Gapon's incapacity to change this:

"...Gapon's priestly robe was only a prop in that drama; the protagonist was the proletariat. The proletariat began with a strike, united itself, advanced political demands, came out into the streets, drew to itself the enthusiastic sympathy of the entire population, clashed with the troops and set off the Russian revolution. Gapon did not create the revolutionary energy of the workers of St. Petersburg; he merely

Indonesian Communists before they were slaughtered?

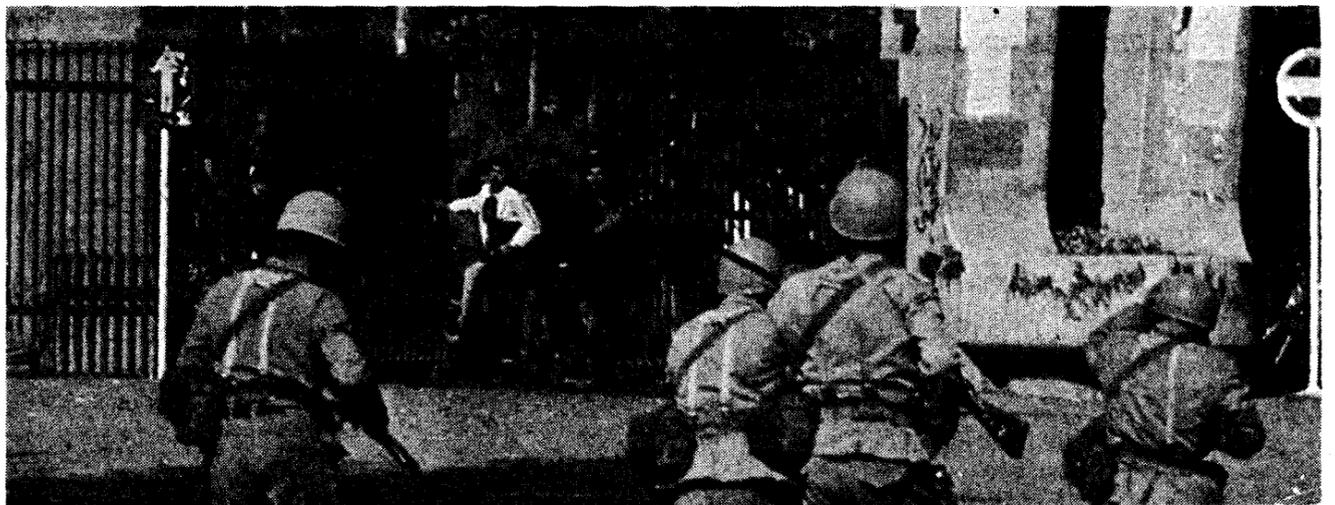
### SWP and Menshevism

The Frankel article does have a discernable political thread: "Of course, if a pro-capitalist government—religious or not—is formed in the future, revolutionists will oppose it. But the real struggle in Iran is against the imperialist-backed tyranny that actually exists right now." This is of course a rehash of the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of "two-stage" revolution; the "main enemy" is fascism, imperialism, feudalism, what have you. A mobilization against the Iranian bourgeoisie and reactionary clergy by the toiling masses can wait—for the "future."

It follows that the *Militant* has of late adopted the Maoist/popular-frontist rhetoric: "anti-imperialist," "struggle of the Iranian people," or "every progressive social force" (similar borrowings were made from the Cuban Stalinists to justify the SWP's support to the barbaric Ethiopian junta).

This is most openly expounded in an article by Fred Feldman entitled, "Lessons of Russian Revolution for Fight Against Shah's Tyranny" (*Militant*, 1 December). It is the February 1917 revolution, the only one directly mentioned by name, that takes center stage in Feldman's rewrite of the history of the Russian Revolution. The October Revolution which conquered proletarian state power is presented by Feldman as something of an afterthought, a pleasant supplement to the democratic gains of February.

The shah's last bases of support: (left) with Carter on November 15, 1977 in Washington, D.C. SWP was conspicuously absent from demonstration protesting butcher shah's visit. Troops (below) converge on Teheran University protesters.



tion of the proletariat; the lowly priest was an incidental figure.

There is nothing incidental about Khomeini's role. His position in the Muslim religious hierarchy is equivalent to the Russian Orthodox patriarchy or the Catholic papacy. Far from being an isolated individual swept up in the floodtide of events, he is directing the flow through his authority as prelate of millions of Shi'ite Muslims. His leading role in opposition to the shah for the last fifteen years has been so strengthened and his popularity increased to the point that even self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" like the SWP have hailed his actions as "progressive."

Gapon by contrast was a front man in the tsarist trade unions which were heavily infiltrated by worker cadres of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. These were workers organizations set up by the tsarist state to stave off a workers revolution. The Gapons proved to be transient historical figures, left behind as the social democrats came to the fore. Gapon led the procession in January, a few months later Trotsky was head of the Petersburg Soviet.

Khomeini's base is plebeian in the main, but not proletarian. His followers in the Teheran bazaar refused to join in the October strike wave—they reopened their shops precisely to disassociate

released it to his own surprise....

"January 9 would not have taken place if Gapon had not encountered several thousand politically conscious workers who had been through the school of socialism. These men immediately formed an iron ring around him, a ring from which he could not have broken loose even if he had wanted to. But he made no attempt to break loose. Hypnotized by his own success, he let himself be carried by the waves."

—Trotsky, 1905

In Iran the question is *not* one of the masses' identification with an historically transient figure, but—as we have repeatedly stressed—one in which the mullahs have set the tenor and determined the political character of the protests. It is the clergy as an organized political body that are calling the shots.

We will be interested to see if the SWP's Iranian allies carry out the *Militant's* injunction to "win the leadership of such a movement by participating in it and helping to advance the struggle for its demands..." Will they join in the ritual mourning of the ceremonies of Muharram, the current focus of opposition to the shah, which involve self-mutilation and flagellation? Will their female comrades join the movement to enforce a return to the veil? Will they aid in the construction and repair of mosques, as did the

For these latter-day Kautskys the constituent assembly becomes the central axis of the Revolution. Here is how Feldman summarizes the Bolshevik strategy:

"They counted on the independent mobilization of the workers, peasants, and soldiers to topple the tsar—not the liberal pretensions of the capitalist parties. They called for an end to Russian participation in the imperialist war and for the immediate division of the land among the peasants. And they campaigned for the speedy convocation of the constituent assembly to assure the replacement of the tsarist regime by a democratically chosen one. "In order to fight for these demands the Bolsheviks called for extending the soviets, factory committees, and other organs developed by the masses in their struggle throughout the country. They urged the working class and peasantry to rely on these, their own organs."

But even this restatement of Menshevism has little to do with the SWP's position on Iran. By contrast the Mensheviks' capitulation to the liberal bourgeoisie smells sweet as a rose. The current opposition in Iran is a reactionary clerical-led one which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the democratic opposition to the tsar. A more appropriate analogy would be if the Russian Orthodox clergy had gone into

continued on page 9

# The Organizational Question in Classical Marxism

As we have seen, Marx's tactics in the First International were conditioned by his belief that the political maturation of the workers movement would do away with divisiveness in its ranks and the influence of what he termed sects. Marx's base of support, primarily from British trade unionists and German exiles, confirmed his view that a unified proletarian socialist movement was the logical course of historical development. Although Marx's backers in the factional battles of the International were not socialists, their rejection of primitivist utopian nostrums laid the basis for supporting Marx against retrogressive political currents, particularly Proudhonism.

At the Basel Congress of 1869 Marx decisively defeated the Proudhonists. The Congress also marked the apex of Marx's influence over a more-or-less unified International Workingman's Association (First International). However, Marx's victory over the anti-statist *mutualisme* (cooperativism) represented by the Proudhonists was short-lived and in a sense illusory.

As it turned out, anti-statist cooperativism was not peculiar to the French followers of Proudhon but was rather the organic expression of an artisan class in the process of being destroyed by the progress of industrial capitalism. These independent skilled workmen aspired to become small masters and held capitalist society responsible for their forced assimilation into the ranks of the proletariat. They rejected the Marxist program of state collectivization because it ran counter to their actual social existence and aspirations conditioned thereby.

Ironically, the Basel Congress also witnessed the first appearance in the International of the Russian anarchist Michael Bakunin, who carried forward the doctrine of anti-statist cooperativism in a more radical and factionally successful form. Bakunin was a political adventurer who had hitherto operated in bourgeois-radical circles rather than the workers movement. He joined the First International only in 1869 when it seemed to have become the dominant expression of European radicalism. While everything I have read about Bakunin indicates that he was a first-rate political buffoon, he did manage to head a primitivist current in the International and thus challenge Marx's leadership authority.

Thus, the factional struggle between Bakunin and Marx in the First International showed a clear geographical demarcation. Bakunin's International Social-Democratic Alliance was based in Italy, Spain, southern France and the French-speaking mountainous regions of Switzerland. Marx's main support came from the British trade unions, increasingly from Germany and also from German immigrants in the United States. In short, Bakunin's support came from the most economically backward countries represented in the International, Marx's from the most economically advanced.

## How the Paris Commune Exploded the International

The uneven development of European capitalism provided the general sociological basis for the factional

## Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition, Part XV



But when the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the bronze statue of Napoleon will come crashing down from the top of the Vendôme Column.

—Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*

struggle between Bakunin and Marx. However, the actual fight in the First International was decisively affected by the Paris Commune of March-May 1871 which, to use Engels' phrase, exploded the "naive conjunction of all factions." The Commune led to the collapse of the International not directly and immediately but rather through a complex series of interactions. Strictly speaking, it was not the Commune itself, but rather Marx's impassioned defense of it in *The Civil War in France* written immediately after its fall, which began the terminal factional crisis in the International.

*The Civil War in France* represents, I would argue, the culmination of Marx's career as a revolutionary politician. It also represents a deepening of his revolutionary views, especially on the nature of the state. Thus, *The Civil War in France* was radically different from all other documents which Marx wrote for the First International. In these earlier documents he deliberately tried to present positions acceptable to the great majority of the International's members, centrally the British trade unionists. By contrast, *The Civil War in*

*France* was distinctly Marxist, presenting a view of the state and revolution radically different from that of the left-liberal British trade unionists, Proudhonists, anarchists, Lassalleans, etc.

Surprisingly, *The Civil War in France* was unanimously adopted by the General Council, the International's leading body. This initial unanimous approval represented in part solidarity with the recently-martyred Communards and in part trust in Marx's judgment on such questions. With hindsight, I believe Marx erred tactically in having *The Civil War in France* adopted as the official International position. He thereby committed the International's leadership to positions which not only did they not agree with, but didn't really understand. However, it is likely that Marx himself didn't realize how very Marxist *The Civil War in France* was.

The publication of *The Civil War in France* brought the International and Marx instant notoriety. The revolutionary threat embodied in the Paris Commune touched off bourgeois hysteria comparable to the "anti-Jacobinite" campaigns 80 years earlier

and the red scare following the Bolshevik Revolution. Marx's passionate and powerful defense of the Commune turned the fury of bourgeois reaction against the International. The International was immediately blamed for organizing the Commune, although in reality there was virtually no organizational tie at all. Marx became a household name overnight. The bourgeois press blew Marx up as the demiurge of the European revolution, who sitting in London could command thousands of fanatical communists to assault governments from Madrid to St. Petersburg. Marx himself was bemused by his sudden notoriety. As he wrote (18 June 1871) to his friend Ludwig Kugelmann:

"It [*The Civil War in France*] is making the devil of a noise and I have the honour to be at this moment the best calumniated and most menaced man of London. That really does one good after a tedious twenty years' idyll in my den."

—Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann* (1934)

## Marxism and the International

Before the publication of *The Civil War in France*, the International was not—and was not seen as—a Marxist organization, and this in two senses. One, it did not have a communist program. The International never called for collectivization of industrial capital, going no further than the nationalization of land and public utilities such as railroads, canals, etc.

Secondly, the overwhelming majority of leading figures in the International did not view themselves as followers of Marx, politically or organizationally. In fact, when Marx suddenly became publicly notorious in late 1871, many of the British trade unionists in the International said they had been unaware that he was a communist. And this was undoubtedly true. They may have read Marx's topical journalism in the 1850's, but not the *Communist Manifesto*.

The leading British trade unionists who were the core of the First International, men like George Odger, Benjamin Lucraft, Robert Applegarth and John Hales, were mass leaders of organizations whose members were not even socialists. They collaborated with Marx on a strictly equal footing. The leading British trade unionist John Hales asserted in response to the accusation that Marx was the dictatorial leader of the International:

"...there are no official subordinates to Dr. Marx on our Council. He is secretary for Germany, and would as

## Introduction

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

The current installment, the second of three on the Organizational Question in Classical Marxism, represents the con-

clusion of the series on Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition and the bridge to the series on Lenin and the Vanguard Party, which was published in Workers Vanguard. The three articles on this topic are based on a public presentation by comrade Seymour in New York City on July 15 of this year.

In this series comrade Seymour has set out to demonstrate how Marx and Engels assimilated the political world views and experiences of the preceding generations of revolutionary militants

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

Preceding articles in the series have covered: the Great French Revolution

little dream of interfering in English affairs as I should in German."  
—quoted in Henry Collins and Chimen Abramsky, *Karl Marx and the British Labour Movement* (1965)

Like the British trade unionists, the main continental leaders of the International viewed themselves as *peers* of Marx, not followers. For example, the leader of the section in German-speaking Switzerland, Johann Philipp Becker, collaborated closely with Marx in the first period of the International, then supported Bakunin for a time, and then returned to Marx's side in the final factional showdown. Similarly, the leader of the important Belgian section, Cesar de Paepe, played an intermediate role in the Marx-Bakunin fight.

### Tactics and Strategy

Marx and Engels had initially disagreed on the question of participation in the First International. Engels maintained that the political heterogeneity of the assembled groups would prove to be its political undoing. Marx, however, was apparently more impressed with the involvement of the central mass-based political and union organizations of Europe and felt that the International would provide political access to the key proletarian centers of Europe. The difference between Marx and Engels on this question was a *tactical* one: would this be just another of the exile "internationalists" (as Engels maintained) or would this be an organizational vehicle for their program?

Marx's belief that the natural evolution of the advanced sectors of the working class would result in the acceptance of his program led him to put off unfolding his full communist program in the First International in order to maintain his bloc with the British unionists and German exiles. The Paris Commune, however, superseded the question of tactical alliances in the First International—and in a sense the First International itself. The Commune was, as Marx expressed it in *The Civil War in France*,

"essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour."

This posing of the *strategic* question of proletarian state power exploded the tactical alliances that Marx had put together in the International. In fact the prominence he gained by his defense of the Communards (and by his criticisms of some of their half-hearted policies) brought Marx's ideas far more currency than had the entire period of the International. Thus while Marx's evaluation of the social weight of the International's component parts was correct, in the long-term historical sense Engels' prediction proved all too true.

The immediate impact of the publication of *The Civil War in France* was the resignation in protest of two of the leading British trade unionists, George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft. The other left-liberal British trade unionists did not resign, but many withdrew from active involvement in the International. Others, notably John Hales, came to support the Bakunin-led opposition to Marx.

Many of the International's leading activists, both in Britain and on the

continent, deeply resented Marx's public image as the great, towering leader of the organization. Bakunin was able to exploit this resentment in order to put together a rotten-bloc opposition ranging from Spanish anarcho-terrorists to liberal British trade unionists to American radical feminists. By late 1871 the International had degenerated into an orgy of uncontrollable, all-sided factionalism/cliquism. Marx/Engels' main polemic against the Bakunin-led opposition, *Fictitious Splits in the International* (written in early 1872), would make our accounts of the multifaceted, tendency-ridden, endless factionalism of the United Secretariat today look like child's play.

The final factional showdown of the International came at the Hague Congress of September 1872. In the preparations leading up to it Marx/Engels out-generated Bakunin, who proved an inept tactician. For example, the Italian anarchists were so hostile to the International they split before the congress. Marx's support, however, was also quite politically heterogeneous. The French Blanquists supported Marx against Bakunin because they believed in a strong, centralized organization and in the importance of state power in the transition to socialism. The British trade unionists who supported Marx did so out of a loyalist, conservative attitude toward the International, not a commitment to a socialist program. Significantly, Marx's collaboration with these trade unionists did not survive the collapse of the International.

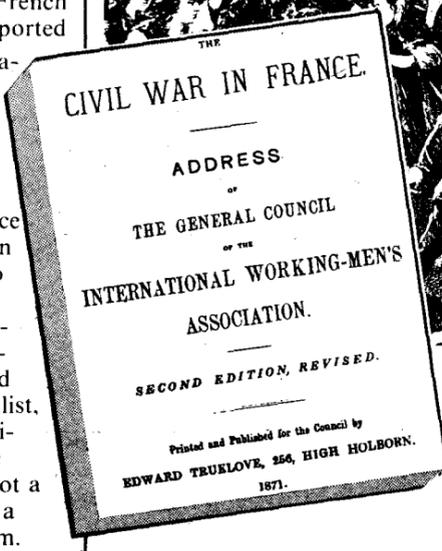
Three out of the six days of the Hague Congress were taken up with disputes over delegate credentials—i.e., who was entitled to vote. This in itself showed that the organization had in large measure already disintegrated. Marx had a majority on most major questions, but it was not solid. Bakunin was expelled from the International for financial chicanery and his top lieutenants for disrupting the organization. But the congress refused to expel the Spanish Bakuninist delegation, since this would clearly violate the accepted principle that the International was open to *all* working-class tendencies.

Even before the Hague Congress Marx had decided to withdraw from the International's leadership because he felt that the great effort involved was no longer worth the results. The relative strength of the Bakuninists and their allies at the Hague Congress evidently convinced Marx in favor of liquidating the organization altogether. In a surprise move, Engels proposed that the seat of the General Council be transferred to New York City. This proposal

narrowly passed, but the vote cut right across the basic factional divisions. The Blanquists voted against Engels' motion because they wanted a strong organization while some of Bakunin's supporters voted for it precisely because they did not. The decision to move the formal leading body 3,000 miles away from its main organizational activity was the de facto end of the International Workingmen's Association eight years after it was founded.

### Lessons of the First International

Marx (though perhaps not Engels) clearly over-estimated his authority in the International. For example, in an 11 September 1867 letter to Engels, he wrote inspiredly:



Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.

—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*

"Meanwhile our Association has made great progress.... And in the next revolution, which is perhaps nearer than it appears, we (i.e., you and I) will have this powerful engine in our hands." [emphasis in original]

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

Needless to say, Marx's belief that he would control the International during the next European revolutionary situation turned out to be wrong.

Marx's leadership of the International in the late 1860's was derived from his ability to define a consensus acceptable to both the left-liberal British trade unionists and the majority of continental working-class radicals (except the Proudhonists). When the Paris Commune caused Marx to put his revolutionary communist views to the fore, his leadership of the International was attacked from many sides.

The basic lesson which Marx and Engels drew from the last period of the International was that it isn't possible to lead an organization, except conjuncturally, when the large majority of its activists do not adhere to one's program and political outlook. In a letter (12 September 1874) to the leading German-American Marxist, Friedrich

Sorge, Engels assessed the historic significance of the International and commented on the future of organized Marxism. This is one of the key documents of classical Marxism on the organizational question.

Engels begins by noting that the unity of the International in its first phases was conditioned by the weakness of the European workers movement which was only beginning to recover from the catastrophic defeats of 1848:

"It [the International] belonged to the period of the Second Empire [of Napoleon III], during which the oppression reigning throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal polemics to the workers' movement, just then reawakening. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletari-

at could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy and Denmark had only just come into the movement or were just coming into it. Actually in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very unclear everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, Proudhonism was too weak to be able to trot out its particular hobbyhorses, Bakunin's new balderdash had not so much as come into being in his own head, and even the leaders of the British Trade Unions thought the programme laid down in the preamble to the Rules gave them a basis for entering the movement."

—*ibid.*

Engels then went on to explain how the Paris Commune destroyed and was bound to destroy this fragile unity:

"The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was without any doubt the child of the International intellectually, although the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International to a certain extent was quite properly held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Every trend wanted to exploit the success for itself. Disintegration, which was inevitable, set in."

Engels concludes by observing that any attempt to replicate the old inclusive International would be undesirable and probably impossible. He projects that after a preparatory period a new international would be established on a formally communist (Marxist) program:

"In order to produce a new International after the fashion of the old, an alliance of all proletarian parties of all countries, a general suppression of the labour movement, like that which prevailed from 1849-64, would be necessary. For this the proletarian

continued on page 10

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

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

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

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

## Carter...

(continued from page 12)

The only item which is sure to show a budget increase for 1980 is, of course, the "Defense" appropriation. Carter has promised the U.S.' NATO allies that he will boost the war budget by at least 3 percent per year and the 1980 figure will jump from \$112 billion to \$123 billion.

The inauguration of Carter's new austerity measures is a break with traditional Democratic Party policies of liberal deficit spending and "friend of labor" posturing. When Jimmy Carter ran against Jerry Ford in 1976 he was certainly no welfare-state liberal—but he still portrayed himself as the champion of broad social programs to "put our people back to work" against Ford's belt-tightening rhetoric. Now it is Carter who, as satirical columnist Russell Baker put it, is turning into "Jerry Carter," tightened belt and all.

### Labor Bureaucrats and Wage Limits

The chief effect of the guidelines will be to provide the union bureaucrats with a ready-made excuse to offer their ranks for failing to fight for hefty wage increases and full cost-of-living raises. Real wages have been steadily falling and layoffs and factory shut-downs continued to ravage key industrial sectors such as steel and auto. The Carter administration's obvious weakness during the coal strike and the manifestly anti-labor guidelines will not get the trade-union tops off the hot seat. For these labor traitors the guidelines are not enough. Behind a smokescreen of outraged bluster AFL-CIO chief George Meany's opposition to the guidelines is nothing but an argument for full-scale mandatory wage controls to take the responsibility for inflation-caused pay cuts off the bureaucracy altogether.

U.S. workers have clearly not reconciled themselves to living with 6 percent unemployment (far higher among minorities and youth) and double digit inflation. Although 1978 was not a major bargaining year for the biggest unions, the level of labor strife was extremely high. The year began with the miners' strike. Only bureaucratic sabotage headed off a New York City transit strike in the spring. Wildcats shut down major Post Office facilities on both coasts during the summer. Pulp and paper workers struck 12 Northwest firms in August and when fall arrived so did a strike wave of impressive proportions. California Teamsters took on the giant grocery chains. Public employees and teachers walked out in every part of the country. New York City printing trades workers walked picket lines for 88 days from August to October and railway clerks tied up the country's rail traffic for a week in September, defying court injunctions.

From the invocation of the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" bill against the miners to the tacit threat of National Guard intervention against a nationwide postal strike, Carter's government has not hesitated to use repressive measures in every one of the major nationwide contract disputes. Now he has declared open season on the standard of living of the working class with wage guidelines and the obvious threat to institute mandatory controls should the "voluntary" measures fail to contain wage gains.

Meanwhile the labor fakers are valiantly trying to save him the trouble. Teamster capo Frank Fitzsimmons, whose master freight agreement expires in March, has okayed the guidelines with some "adjustment." Rubber Workers president Pete Bommarito says he "could live with" 7 percent if prices stabilize, despite the fact that merely to extend the URW's contract would mean exceeding the guideline by 2.3 percent over three years. Notorious strikebreaker Doug Fraser of the United Auto

## Santa Cruz

# SYL Teamster Strike Support

SANTA CRUZ—The four-month-long strike of 3,500 Teamster drivers and warehousemen against several major California supermarket chains ended recently in defeat. The Teamster bureaucrats sabotaged the strike from the outset: trying to contain the militancy of their membership, they refused to allow strike action against the stores to be extended nationwide. And finally they colluded with the employers in ramming through a sellout "settlement": binding arbitration of the unresolved issues and no amnesty for strikers.

This strike was the occasion for one of the most vicious anti-labor assaults the Bay Area—long a union stronghold—has witnessed in decades. The bosses carried out their offensive against the strikers with a vengeance, employing tactics reeking of the bloody strike-breaking battles of the 1930's. They mobilized the cops and the courts against the strikers. There was massive scabberding and numerous arrests and assaults on pickets. In August one warehouseman, 25-year-old Randy Hill, was knocked down and killed by a scab who slammed his car right into the picket line.

This strike—the major labor confrontation in the area—gave the newly-constituted Santa Cruz Organizing Committee of the SYL an opportunity

to engage in exemplary strike-support work. SYLers helped to bolster picket lines at retail outlets, while stressing the urgent need for the winning strategy of mobilizing the entire California labor movement behind the strike. Effective mass pickets and the hot-cargoing of struck goods by the powerful Teamster union and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union could have turned this strike around.

For their part, the Communist Party (CP), the Stalin-cultist Communist Labor Party and the New Left-remnant Peace and Freedom Party hatched a labor support committee which limited itself to consumer boycotts—which they themselves proceeded to foul up. On October 27, this committee called a picket line outside a new Lucky supermarket (one of the struck chains) near Santa Cruz. As part of the promotional hoopla for its grand opening, the store's management had had coupons printed in a local paper advertising free chickens for all shoppers. The offer not only attracted hundreds of local residents, but was too tempting to be passed up by the bargain-hungry CP and Peace and Freedom Party. To the astonishment of SYLers on the picket line, members of these organizations scabbed on their own pickets by strutting across the line to redeem their coupons for the chick-

ens! Confronted with this cravenly cynical action, members of the CP claimed they were going to donate the chickens to striking farmworkers in nearby Pescadero and, in any case, redemption of the coupons objectively hurt the capitalists, who were losing money on the proposition!

And for the Santa Cruz SYL, the strike-support work stands as a confirmation of the politics which led to the formation of the Organizing Committee. Many of the SYL members are young militants who had been won away from the Chicano nationalism of the campus MEChA chapter to the working-class perspective of the SYL. They came to recognize that MEChA held nothing more for Chicano activists than to become the next layer of the Chicano petty bourgeoisie and, inevitably, to be swept into the ranks of the Democratic Party. The evolution of every nationalist current—from the Black Panther Party to the La Raza Unida party, as well as Caesar Chavez' farmworkers movement—which has beaten a path into the Democratic Party testifies to this trajectory.

And as for the CP... we have always known that they will sell out the interests of the working class under the slightest pressure, but now it seems that the going rate is 59¢ a pound! ■

Workers, who negotiates a new contract in the summer, has backed the guidelines while hoping that they will be loosened up by the time he sits down to bargain.

Nevertheless, the bureaucrats don't necessarily have the last say on the wage limits. If Carter had only to worry about their cooperation he wouldn't have mandatory wage controls waiting in the wings. But already machinists have struck at one plant in Minneapolis in defiance of a company attempt to enforce Carter's limit. And the memory

WV Photo



Solidarity demonstration with 274 Bridgeport teachers jailed in an "illegal" September strike.

of the miners' 38.8 percent raise over three years is a constant reminder that union militancy can successfully defy government intimidation and bureaucratic betrayal.

The trade union bureaucracy, in its top layer a product of struggles waged thirty or more years ago, is today a highly brittle caste with little authority among a rank and file which is heavily black in key industrial unions and which after the experiences of the past ten years can clearly be won to more militant policies. Any serious class struggle immediately threatens to escape the grip of the Meanys and Frasers just as the miners' militancy made their

discredited leader Arnold Miller the most hated figure in the coal fields during last winter's long and bitter strike.

Some of the canner bureaucrats, such as Fraser and Machinists' head "Wimpy" Winpisinger, have moved to distance themselves from Carter's blatantly anti-labor policies and preserve some shred of a "militant" cover. Fraser made a splash when he stomped out of the president's Labor-Management Advisory Group protesting a "one-sided class war" on the part of the capitalist members of the body. He then proceeded to make noise about the notion of a labor party—only in order to mobilize labor support behind millionaire Ted Kennedy, who, not coincidentally, is also the choice of the "socialist" Winpisinger.

The thousands of unionists who will confront their class enemies on the picket lines in the coming months will be fighting with one hand tied behind their backs so long as the capitalist ruling class maintains its monopoly in the political field. In a time when the power of the bourgeois government is blatantly marshaled against the trade unions and when the minuscule differences between Democrats and Republicans have seemingly disappeared entirely it is more than ever necessary that the American workers build a political party of their own.

Teamsters, Clothing Workers, Auto Workers, construction trades unionists and many others will put Carter's austerity program to the test in 1979. The Democratic Party administration elected with union funds and union votes has proved not to be a dime's worth different than the budget-slashing Republicans. Last winter's dramatic miners' strike showed the need for a concerted struggle against the companies, cops, government and Democratic Party-loyal labor skates to stop anti-union drives. The lesson of the miners' strike is the need to build an independent workers party by breaking labor from the twin parties of capital, Democrats and Republicans. Smash Carter's Pay Guidelines! Dump the Bureaucrats! For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions to Fight for a Workers Government! ■

## Iran...

(continued from page 1)

sands of Palestinians, Indians, Koreans and Afghans who make up a substantial section of the workforce. Moreover, reports of a renewed oil workers slowdown as we go to press indicate that, unlike the previous strikes, this job action was at the direct behest of Khomeini.

### Clergy and Shah

The shah is certainly one of the most despicable despots of the twentieth century, but the Islamic clergy was quite content with his rule until 1963 when he outraged their religious piety by carrying out a token "liberalization" which threatened their extensive land holdings and modified slightly the traditional Islamic enslavement of women. Khomeini does not, as is sometimes claimed, advocate replacing the shah's dictatorship with a democratic republic but with the "just rule of Islam," which is to say, the restoration of the feudal privileges of his parasitic priestly caste. A crucial part of Khomeini's scheme to roll back even the phony "modernization" carried out by the shah is the call for the restoration of clerical veto power over civil authority as embodied in the 1907 amendment to Iran's 1906 constitution.

Iran today presents to the world the obscene spectacle of the clerical landlords leading the landless peasants against the king who had promised land reform but only carried it through far enough to enrage the landlords without satisfying the landless. Equally obscene is the spectacle of a movement which proclaims itself "democratic" leading a campaign against the rights of women. The French utopian socialist Fourier's observation that the status of the rights of women is the best index of the progress of society is as true today as in the 19th century. And the attitude toward women of the Islamic opposition is the best possible proof that Khomeini's movement is utterly reactionary. "Death or the Veil" is the slogan of Muslim demonstrators who would like to remake all of Iran in the image of the "holy city" of Qom where women are stoned if their *chadors* (veils), the

symbol of female bondage, are considered immodestly short.

Khomeini's "just rule of Islam" would institutionalize religious intolerance. The Society of Iranian Clergymen based in the holy city of Mashad has raised the demands for the revocation of "all non-Islamic laws," freedom only for "religious prisoners," the removal of "all Baha'is" (a minority religious sect) from government office and the restructuring of education to conform with the "true principles of Islam" (quoted in *MERIP Reports*, October 1978). In addition *Business Week* (11 December) reports that Muslim mobs in the streets have singled out the businesses of wealthy Bahais to burn.

### For Workers Revolution!

Only the program of revolutionary Trotskyism represents the way out for the Iranian masses, counterposed to both Islamic reaction and the savage oppression of the "modernizing" shah:

- Carter's "Human Rights" means the shah's butchery! No U.S. intervention in Iran! No U.S. military aid to the shah! For international working-class solidarity: hot cargo all military goods bound for Iran!
- For the right of self-determination for the Azerbaijanis, Kurds and all oppressed nationalities in the shah's empire! For full linguistic and cultural rights for all nationalities!
- Land to the tiller! Expropriate the holdings of the large landowners, the clergy and the royal family! Expropriate foreign agribusiness! To free the peasantry from the stranglehold of usury, cheap credit for small landholders!
- For full democratic rights for women! Off with the veil! Abolish all restrictive family laws! Abolish all anti-abortion laws! For equal access to education and employment!
- Win over the ranks of the army, the sons of workers and peasants, to the side of the working class! No confidence in "anti-imperialist" officers!
- Down with the shah's martial-law regime! Smash SAVAK! For popular tribunals to try the SAVAK torturers! Free all victims of the shah's white terror!
- Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For a sovereign, secular constituent assembly! For a workers and peasants government!
- For a Trotskyist party in Iran! For the reforging of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

## SWP...

(continued from page 5)

opposition over the Stolypin land reforms, for example, and some of the Mensheviks wanted to enter into a bloc with the patriarchy.

### Workers Revolution: The Only Answer

For years Stalinists and nationalists of all stripes have portrayed Mossadeq, overthrown by the shah in 1953, as some sort of revolutionary democrat because of his nationalizations in the oil industry. But this strikebreaking bourgeois anticommunist pales before the likes of Khomeini. In their quest to be where the

Abbas—Gamma/Liaison



Indonesian leftists await execution in mass grave, 1965.

action is, the SWP strives for the unachievable: to make Islamic clericalism "progressive." And if the triumph of the mullahs assures another Islamic paradise akin to Pakistan today, Saudi Arabia, Libya or post-1965 Indonesia, so be it.

The dim outline of a proletarian axis can be seen in the massive strike battles waged by the Iranian workers. When the oil workers shut down Iran's central industry, raising a series of democratic and economic demands, the strike's impact was felt not only in Teheran, but throughout the world. In many cases the strikers have held back from joining the religious protests; at the same time,

Khomeini's followers in the bazaar hate and fear the workers' upsurge. But the workers were also the last to bring their immense social power into play against the shah. There is no independent proletarian political leadership, no force advancing a program for workers rule.

The SWP's response to the strike wave clearly showed their appetite for betrayal, expressed as it was through the *Militant's* insipid, semi-political journalism. Again and again they assimilated the strikes to the "movement," merging the working-class struggles into the mass of the "people." A proletarian alternative to Khomeini is completely alien to them.

The future of the shah's despotic rule is hanging in the balance. The vast machinery of repression has proved unable to quell the immense outbreaks of popular hatred for the regime. With the crisis of the Iranian monarchy the possibility for the proletariat to deal with all its oppressors is posed. Now is the time for the Iranian workers to smash through the rotten class rule of both the Pahlavis and the mullahs, sweeping away all the miserable poverty, the torture chambers, centuries of religious superstition and oppression, the grinding exploitation of imperialist-dominated Iranian capitalism. And the victory of the powerful Iranian proletariat could be the spark for socialist revolution in the entire region. ■

## Divestment...

(continued from page 3)

today, and the split among the nationalist organizations, the "business as usual" facade of the conference exploded at the final plenary session. An alliance of the SWP/YSA, the CP and assorted liberals took on the variegated Maoists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) and Communist Youth Organization (CYO) together with several local campus New Leftist clots.

The latter backed a resolution based on the slogans "Victory to the Liberation Movements!" and "Economic Sanctions Against South Africa." The SWP/liberal alliance put forward an amendment to delete these slogans and replace them with demands limited to sanctions and divestment. The SWP/YSA fought at all costs to avoid any declaration of support of any type to the ANC, PAC or the Rhodesian guerrillas

fighting against Smith—just as during the Vietnam war they refused to make any statement of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. Their call for an "anti-apartheid movement that can win millions to our side," is in fact an appeal to liberal bourgeois politicians worried about the stability of the apartheid system. In its desire to adapt to sentiment among sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie who seek to pressure South African capitalism into making a few reforms, the SWP/YSA does not even raise the call to smash the apartheid regime! The *Militant* (1 December) "explains" this in the name of hands-off benevolence:

"Only the African masses, in the course of their struggle can decide which groups represent their aspirations. For Americans to single out one or another liberation group to support, regardless of its strength at any particular time, is a violation of the right of Black Africans to choose their own leaderships."

The Maoists and New Lefters, who merely seek to pressure the very same politicians only with a more "militant" protest movement, lost the amendment vote to the YSA. When a second attempt to insert support for the "liberation movements" was blocked as well, the Maoists threatened a walk-out of the conference and the rest of the plenary agenda was suspended. Conference participants were treated to the spectacle of several hundred Maoists lined up on either side of the auditorium demanding a full political discussion and complaining about the trampling of their democratic rights—in effect red-baiting the SWP/YSA for (unlike themselves?) not being true "independents." The SWP sat smugly by, having maintained organizational control of this latest "coalition." As for the gangsterist WVO and RSB (who had previously engaged in a bit of "political struggle" by knocking over one another's literature tables) their posing as victims of bureaucracy and political suppression rings hollow.

The Maoists' posture as left anti-imperialist militants had no more substance to it. For Maoists who—along with China—supported the South African invasion of Angola and refused to call for the military defeat of imperialism against the Soviet-backed MPLA or who tolerate the Chinese bureaucracy's long-standing friendship with the shah of Iran, their "anti-imperialist credentials" were definitively lost when they accepted and apologized for China's alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The ex-Trotskyist SWP/YSA tried to simply argue for "unity" and merely ducked the question of support—military or political—to the nationalists. The only attempt to cover their left flank was the speech given by Tony Thomas in which he hailed the "revolutionary force" of Castro's Cuba in Africa. As an SYL spokesman at the plenary session pointed out, the SWP's support to Mengistu and the Ethiopian Derg (the brutal oppressors of Eritrea) along with their scandalous pro-imperialist "neutrality" in Angola makes their claim to be spokesmen for anti-imperialist struggle as ludicrous as that of the Maoists.

To those serious about fighting against the brutal racist regimes in southern Africa, the road forward is in the long and hard fight to mobilize the muscle of South Africa's powerful black proletariat in alliance with the international working class to smash apartheid's chains and overthrow the white supremacist regimes. Not even the assembled "sell-the-stock" enthusiasts of the left could muster any interest in yet another round of divestment activism. The sandboxes of NECLSA's ilk will not and cannot be anything but a string of sub-reformist gimmicks pushed by an unsavory kaleidoscope of ostensible "socialists" who have already fundamentally betrayed the most basic anti-imperialist and internationalist principles. ■

## Simple Simon SWPer Says:

# Vote Out Unemployment

It seems the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is out to verify Stalin's dictum that paper will take anything that's written on it. Hard on the heels of its "Bill of Rights for Working People," which packed all the gusto of a constitutional amendment for socialism, came its "emergency jobs bill" gimmick (see "SWP Hucksters Peddle Phony Jobs Bill," *Young Spartacus* No. 68, November 1978)—an audacious proposal for the bourgeois state to abolish by decree the unemployment inherent to capitalism. Apparently, however, for SWP election candidates the big time of election interviews on television is the time to abandon all restraint and unabashedly reveal their reformism in all its glory.

Thus when Cecil Lampkin, SWP candidate for governor of Illinois, was interviewed on public television on October 25, he didn't need to elaborate the various clauses of the "emergency jobs bill" to explain the SWP's program. His "simplified" answer to

unemployment was... banish it with a referendum:

"If I were to simplify it, I think we believe in democracy, economic democracy—that is, the economic decisions that affect each and all of our lives should be made democratically. For example: somehow, somewhere, someone decided there should be ten percent unemployment. I think that if we were to take a referendum in this country and ask the majority of people in this country, 'Should there be ten percent unemployment?' the vote would be overwhelmingly 'No.' And that would be a democratic decision, and then it would be the duty of the government or what have you to take the steps to eliminate and alleviate unemployment."

It's a wonder nobody thought of this before! Who needs a revolution and a planned economy when you can have a referendum?

Such simplified social democracy is of a piece with the social-patriotic propaganda à la Dick and Jane that was part of the SWP's "socialist campaign" for school board in San

Francisco. As reproduced in the November 3 *Militant*, this features a big drawing of coloring book figures holding a sign that says: "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need, and the Navy has to hold a bake sale to buy a ship." (In grown-up talk, let's get the bourgeois state to shuffle its "priorities" and put "human needs" before the imperialist war machine.)

For the SWP, which to date still maintains the fig leaf of Trotskyism and military defense of the Soviet Union, election time is an opportune occasion for "popularizing" its program. All talk of revolution, internationalism and the need to do away with the bourgeois state is conveniently dropped, "simplified" or altogether forgotten. The infantile "simplified" slogans raised in Illinois and California are but a pale reflection of what the aspiring grown-up Eberts, Scheidemanns and Noskes would look like if their social democracy ever really hit the big time.

# BU Strikers Take On Madman Silber

Young Spartacus

When the proud families of Boston University (B.U.) students arrived at the George Sherman Union on November 4 they were undoubtedly surprised to discover that they had to wade through several inches of garbage and cross a picket line in order to participate in Parents Weekend activities. Unfortunately, however, it was not only these parents who crossed the lines of the Buildings and Grounds (B&G) workers during the week-long strike.

The strike by B&G workers, which began on November 1, was a response to yet another move by B.U.'s lunatic president John Silber to submit all sectors of the university to an increasingly arbitrary and despotic rule and to solve B.U.'s financial problems at the expense of its student body and staff. In this particular case, the administration sought the right to capriciously alter work schedules, restrict sick leaves and mandate heavy labor.

The union-busting Silber has run roughshod over virtually every sector of B.U. He has attempted to break unions, censored and, in some cases, destroyed student publications, trampled democratic rights and sent tuition through the roof.

From the onset of the strike the Spartacus Youth League emphasized the need for a united response to Silber—otherwise the B&G strike would be left to rot in isolation. While perfunctory resolutions of support were

passed by the campus unions and a strike support committee established by the campus left, the university generally functioned as per usual with most classes meeting. And this situation met with the general approval of the majority of those who allegedly supported the strike.

Thus, members of the Peking-attendant Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) crossed picket lines to set up a literature table on the first day of the strike. The strike support committee, which included the RSB, the maverick Maoist Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and the rad-lib *Exposure* collective, similarly met behind picket lines. In addition, this committee issued leaflets which condoned working for the university as long as work normally done by B&G was left untouched.

The character of the strike support committee was apically revealed during a pathetic attempt at militancy, a confrontation with Silber which followed a November 2 rally. Face to face with Kenmore Square's most notorious tyrant, these supposed radicals could do no more than offer Silber a bullhorn and effectly debate him for 45 minutes. In a similar vein, strike support by other campus unions was limited to a one hour extension of lunch on November 7, while a rally was held on campus.

Such spinelessness is even more contemptible in light of Silber's exertions to bust the strike. He threatened to



Silber addresses strikers, student supporters behind wall of cops.

dock the pay of faculty honoring picket lines, asked students to report classes not held, and threatened "permanent replacement" of offending professors. In these efforts, Silber received the support of the pathetic sycophant Student Union president Ken Menges who attempted to organize student garbage removal squads and who demanded that the academic deans "develop a university-wide response" to those faculty refusing to teach.

The strike ended with acceptance of

substantially the same package that had been rejected at its onset although the university was forced to make a few concessions. That a total defeat was avoided is testimony to the solidarity of the B&G workers who struck over the strenuous objections of their union leadership. The B&G strike is once again proof of the need for a united campaign to drive madman Silber off campus and replace the entire administration with student/teacher/campus worker control of the university. ■

## Marx...

(continued from page 7)

world has now become too big, too extensive. I believe, the next International—after Marx's writings have produced their effect for some years—will be directly Communist and will proclaim precisely our principles.... [our emphasis]

Engels' belief that the development of the European workers movement would lead in time to a Marxist international rested on two premises. Marx/Engels recognized that their principal opponents in the workers movement, the Proudhonists and Bakuninists and also, in a different way, the Blanquists and Lassalleans, were objectively based upon the *underdevelopment* of European capitalist society and of the industrial proletariat. They therefore believed that the development of capitalist society would in itself reduce the significance of those competing socialist tendencies rooted in the artisan-proletariat and/or the radical bourgeois-democratic movement.

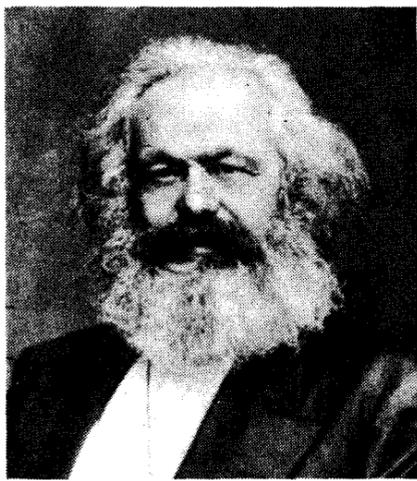
Secondly, especially in light of the faction-ridden last period in the First International, Marx/Engels recognized that the majority of European working-class radicals did not understand their doctrines, even in elementary form. Thus, they foresaw a relatively lengthy period of propagandistic and pedagogical activity as a precondition for the establishment of an international Marxist party.

(One has an echo of Engels' 1874 organizational schema in Rosa Luxemburg's famous 1904 criticism of Lenin. She argued that the creation of a centralized Marxist workers party in Russia must be preceded by a loose movement of propaganda circles. In this she advocated a mechanical replication of the experience of the Marxist movement in the 1870's and 1880's.)

### "Marxism" After the First International

The Second International founded in 1889 both did and did not realize Engels' 1874 projection that the next international would openly proclaim Marxist principles. To understand this seeming paradox it is necessary to consider what exactly Marxism meant to advanced workers in the 1870's and 1880's.

Classical Marxism basically defined itself in opposition to three tendencies in the workers movement: liberal trade unionism, *mutualisme* and anarchism. Against the liberal trade unionists, centrally in Britain, Marx posed the need for an independent workers party opposed to all the parties of the propertied classes. From the 1850's on he and Engels fought to break the British trade unionists from the Gladstonian Liberals. For example, a resolution which Marx/Engels presented to an 1871 conference of the First International in London stated:



Karl Marx.

"...against this collective power of the propertied class the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes...."

—The General Council of the First International 1870-1871 (1964)

Secondly, classical Marxism defined itself against *mutualisme* (Proudhonism) which stood for the immediate abolition of the state and all centralized political authority and the institution of an economy based on independent producer cooperatives. The Bakuninist anarchists shared the mutualist conception of a future society and the Lassalleans, in a different way, also favored producer cooperatives to state collectivization. Against this Marx advocated a collectivized economy administered by a workers state as a transition to communism.

In addition to the question of the

future organization of society, Marx fundamentally opposed the anarchists' strategy and tactics in the workers movement. He upheld the need of the workers movement to fight for immediate, partial economic and democratic gains. Therefore, he opposed the anarchists' abstention on principle from parliamentary elections, their rejection of a legal eight-hour day, of protective labor legislation for women, etc.

In the 1870's-80's a "Marxist" was generally considered one who advocated state collectivization through the attainment of political power by a workers party and also recognized the importance of immediate struggles for economic gains and democratic rights. In this period many working-class leaders arrived at these very general programmatic positions quite *independently* of Marx's direct organizational or even intellectual influence. Such working-class leaders found themselves in a situation comparable to a character in Moliere's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* who, upon being informed that he's speaking prose, proudly exclaims: "I have spoken prose all my life." In the 1870's-80's a number of European workers' leaders were informed by their liberal or anarchist opponents or the bourgeois press that they were speaking "Marxism."

Marx's genius was such that even before the revolutions of 1848 he *anticipated* the organic programmatic expression of the modern industrial working class. Thus, the program which Marx fought for in the First International, often unsuccessfully, was later adopted by mass workers organizations without direct Marxist involvement.

This phenomenon was seen most clearly in France. In the 1860's Marx was not able to make any real headway against Proudhonist hegemony in the French workers movement. In 1879 a representative congress of French labor organizations held in Marseilles adopted a program of the state collectivization and an independent workers party. There was no direct Marxist involvement in this decisive congress, an historic turning point for the French workers movement. After the Marseilles congress the leading French collectivist socialist, Jules Guesde, went to London to consult with Marx about a program for the new party. Marx worked up a

brief program and Guesde returned to Paris with it. However, Guesde disguised Marx's authorship of this document for fear that French workers wouldn't support a program written by a German!

Marx and Engels were, of course, aware that in conventional parlance "Marxism" was becoming synonymous with proletarian socialism and that many, if not most, of those who called themselves Marxist did not in reality fully adhere to their doctrines. The theoretical premises underlying the Marxist program—dialectical and historical materialism—were almost unknown in the 1870's and only gradually gained currency thereafter. And significantly, the question of the relationship of the bourgeois state to the socialist transformation of society was an area of great confusion within the Marxist movement. We now know that there was a long-standing dispute between Marx/Engels and the Bebel/Liebkecht leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party over the socialist reformability of Bismarck's state.

In the period leading up to the Second International, the conventional concept of Marxism had acquired a very broad political meaning. That is why the "Marxist" hegemony in the Second International was in good part illusory.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## PUBLIC OFFICES:

### Marxist Literature

#### BAY AREA:

1634 Telegraph (near 17th St.), 3rd Fl., Oakland Ca. Phone: 835-1535. Open Friday, 3:00-6:00 p.m. and Saturday, 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.

#### CHICAGO:

523 Plymouth Court, 3rd Fl., Chicago, Ill. Phone: 427-0003. Open Tuesday, 4:00-8:00 p.m. and Saturday, 2:00-6:00 p.m.

#### NEW YORK:

260 West Broadway (near Canal St.), Room 522, New York, N.Y. Phone: 925-5665. Open Monday through Friday, 6:30-9:00 p.m. and Saturday, 1:00-4:00 p.m.

# Britain...

(continued from page 2)

from the local Communist Party, from the Independent Labour Party of Fenner Brockway and the working class of that area, they actually did turn out. The result was that something like a quarter of a million workers—some estimates put it as high as half a million—turned out to prevent Moseley's fascists from marching through the area. The London police had mobilized 6,000 of their foot division and the entire mounted horse division but they weren't able to cut a path through the crowd."

Comrade Flanagan then cited an account of the battle by the man who later became a Communist Party member of Parliament from the East End. In his book, *Our Flag Stays Red*, Phil Piratin recalls:

"It was obvious that the fascists and the police would now turn their attention to Cable Street. We were ready. The moment this became apparent the signal was given to put up the barricades. ... Supplemented by bits of old furniture, mattresses, and every kind of thing you expect to find in box-rooms, it was a barricade which the police did not find easy to penetrate. As they charged they were met with milk bottles, stones and marbles. Some of the housewives began to drop milk bottles from the roof tops. A number of police surrendered. This had never happened before, so the lads didn't know what to do, but they took away their batons, and one took a helmet for his son as a souvenir."

## Cable Street and Today

A direct consequence of the Cable Street rout was a marked decline in fascist activity in that period. Since the late 1960's/early 1970's, however, the fascist movement in Britain has re-emerged as a force to be reckoned with. Grouping together different fascist sects to form the National Front (NF), NF leaders John Tyndall and Martin Webster have begun building what the latter once referred to as "a well-oiled Nazi machine in this country." Particularly since 1974, the NF has combined electioneering with provocative street marches through largely immigrant areas as a means of winning support. And since 1974 the left has mobilized in attempts to deny the fascists any platform for spewing their race-hate filth.

As comrade Flanagan put it, the spirit which motivated the left,

"and which drew a large number of people into politics at that time was 'No Platform for Fascists'—we must prevent the fascists from meeting wherever they try; a wholly admirable, supportable sentiment. But what they transformed that into was military-style confrontations when the balance of forces wasn't suitable for actually crushing the fascists and what it degenerated into was a series of drawn-out inconclusive brawls, not with the fascists but with the state, the police..."

The high-point of this type of struggle came on August 13, 1977 in the London borough of Lewisham, when 5,000 anti-fascist demonstrators gathered to stop a 500-strong NF march through this largely West Indian area. Very rapidly, the counter-mobilization became a confrontation with the police who produced riot equipment for the first

time ever on the British mainland. (Riot gear is of course a familiar sight in Northern Ireland.) The seriousness of this confrontation, which involved a quarter of the entire London metropolitan police force, stung the bourgeoisie, who were quick to go on a red-baiting offensive against the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the main force behind the demonstration. Labour leaders likewise joined in the witchhunt, denouncing the SWP as "red fascists" (*Morning Star*, 17 August 1977).

For the most part, however, the left's counter-demonstrations consisted of adventurist street confrontations with the fascists. Opportunistically ducking out of the difficult task of fighting within Britain's powerful labor movement for leadership prepared to mobilize the unions against the NF, the left tried to substitute itself for the organized working class. And while they were refusing to fight for trade-union defense squads to crush the fascists, they criminally called on the bourgeois state to deal with the Front.

Precisely how stupid and dangerous appeals to the capitalist state are was confirmed in two incidents during this period. In June 1973, the United Secretariat's (USec) French group, then called the Ligue Communiste (LC), engaged in an adventurist confrontation with cops and members of the fascist *Ordre Nouveau* in Paris, while simultaneously calling on the state to stop the meeting. As a result the LC was banned ("impartially," of course, along with the fascists). In June 1974 the British USec group, the International Marxist Group (IMG), likewise got involved in a brawl with British police in London's Red Lion Square outside an NF meeting the IMG had previously called on the government to stop. In the course of the confrontation the police truncheoned to death a young IMG supporter, Kevin Gately.

Although the SWP at first defended its Lewisham actions, it soon capitulated to the pressure and was instrumental in launching the Anti Nazi League (ANL)—a popular-frontist bloc with liberals, Labour Party "lefts" and other "respectable" figures, which shuns street confrontations with the fascists in favor of social-patriotic appeals to "anti-Nazi" (anti-German) sentiments within the British working class, calls for state bans, and "magic" carnivals to halt the National Front. The creation of this strictly legalist, pacifistic outfit—the right opportunist flip-side of the SWP's previous left adventurism—predictably led to an abdication of any serious struggle against the fascists.

As comrade Flanagan made clear in his talk, the question of a revolutionary strategy to fight the National Front revolves around the question of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy and the Labour Party, the mass reformist party of the British working class. The common thread between adventurist street confrontations and wretched appeals to the state is a refusal to take on the question of defeating Labourism, in both its trade-union and parliamentary forms, through intransigent political

battle to win over its proletarian base. When the reformist and centrist left appeal to the state to ban fascism they address themselves to the same Labour Party officials who send out the cops in droves to protect the fascist rallies. The task is to mobilize the masses of British unionists, the Labour Party's rank and file, to deal a death blow to the fascist scum.

## No Support to the ANL!

From the outset, the Spartacist League/Britain refused to tail after the ANL, uniquely denouncing it as a



Cable Street, 1936.

popular-frontist formation which would soon lead to outright betrayal. On September 24 this analysis was confirmed. On that day 2,000 NFers marched through London, while the ANL took some 80,000 would-be anti-fascists miles off in the opposite direction to a carnival in Brixton (in South London)! Only about 1,500 leftists—including the SL/B, who turned out one of the largest single organized contingents—refused to go carnivaling, and went instead to the East End. As it was their forces were pitifully inadequate to stop the fascists who, protected by the usual ranks of police at their side, marched triumphantly into the area. (For a more detailed account see *Spartacist Britain* No. 5, October 1978.)

Interestingly, after comrade Flanagan had concluded his presentation of the ANL's betrayal, two British defenders of the ANL rose to support its decision to go ahead with the Carnival. The Spartacists were "far too damning" of the ANL, they maintained, and "wrong-headed."

"in suggesting that the Anti Nazi League should have called off a mass demonstration in order to respond to a small counter-demonstration called in another part of London..."

In his summary, Flanagan took issue with this classic reformist argument, virtually identical to the ones used to try to keep the working class away from Cable Street in 1936:

"So what happened with the Anti Nazi League? They heard a month beforehand that the fascists were marching through the east of London. This is not just an ordinary demonstration. It was a march against communism when the reds were away, through the most oppressed area of London where the minorities lived. They said they were going to be there and that night they were. 'There are no "no-go" areas for us in London,' they said, 'we can march where we want, and we will terrorize this area.' And that's what they did. Then later that night they rampaged down nearby Brick Lane.

"So the purpose of our sharpness is to actually say: yes, there was a class line on that day. The people who went to the Carnival were scabs, and people who went to Brick Lane were not. There was a class line, and it was very, very clear..."

"You see they marched off in the opposite direction. Now you would think their response to that might be: 'Oh god, we balled up,' or something like that. 'We're sorry, you know, but...' But they didn't. *Socialist Challenge*, the paper of the International Marxist Group, had on its back page:

yes, we were right! We were right to go, they said, to the Carnival. We were right to leave the black community of the East End defenseless.

"Tony Cliff, now, was more honest in *Socialist Worker*. He was more honest—he said: 'If the Anti Nazi League Carnival had been diverted from Brixton, then the ANL would have disintegrated.' And that's why they didn't go to the East End but went to Brixton. Because they didn't want to lose the support of Lord Avery, or Peter Hain, or Jonathan Dimpleby, Panorama reporter for the BBC. They didn't want to lose the support of those people, because they're respectable, because they want mass influence.

"Mass movements are important

AP

things. But there's an interesting thing that Trotsky said years and years ago: mass movements are of different characters. The pilgrimage to Lourdes is a mass movement. So was the imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union a mass movement. The bombing of Hanoi was a mass movement. The Anti Nazi League Carnival was also a mass movement, but so was Cable Street in 1936. And that's the spirit we stand on. That's what we say should have happened. On that day, the Communist Party wanted to go to Trafalgar Square. But they at least made it over to the East End and the fascists were routed. The SWP and the IMG can't even claim that. We said in the issue of *Spartacist Britain* which appeared after this that September 24 has drawn the line. Make your choice."

## Spartacus Youth League Directory

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

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

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

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

**Cleveland:** SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

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

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

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

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

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

**Santa Cruz:** SYL, Box 2842, Santa Cruz, CA 95063

## Trotskyist League of Canada

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

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

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

## Workers Vanguard

MARXIST WORKING-CLASS BI-WEEKLY OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

—includes *Spartacist*—

24 issues \$3

Introductory offer (6 issues) \$1

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10001

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

YSp 69

**SUBSCRIBE NOW!**

## Young Spartacus

MONTHLY NEWSPAPER OF THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

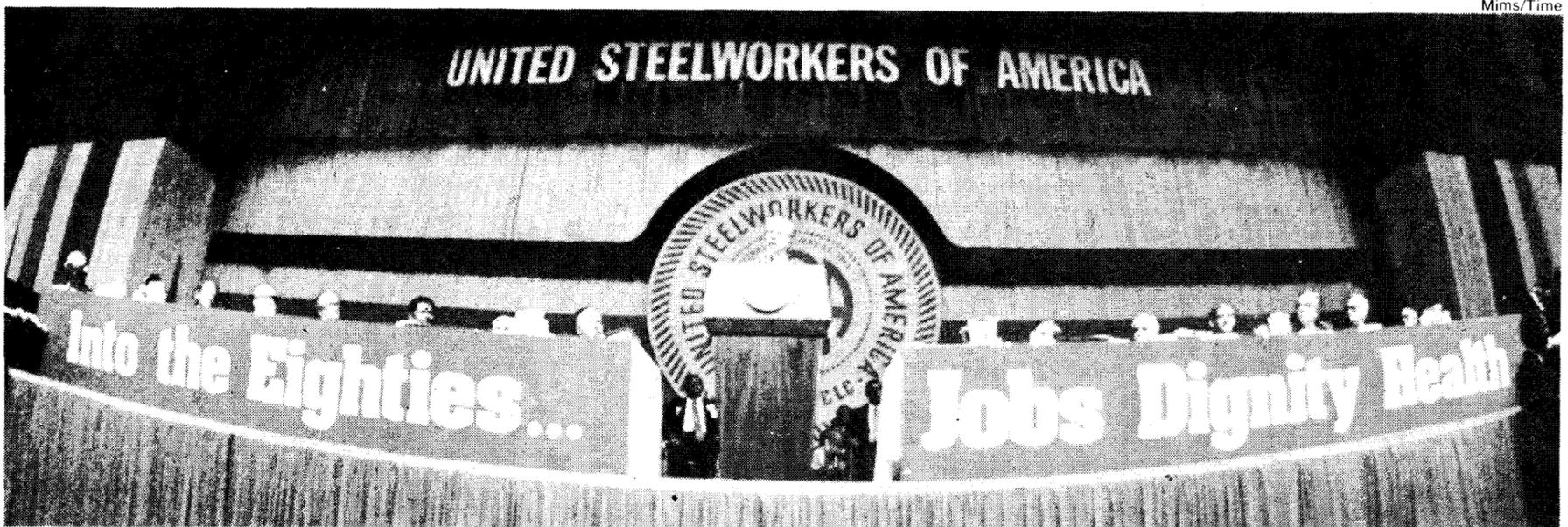
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

YSp 69

**SUBSCRIBE NOW!**

\$2/one year (9 issues)

# Young Spartacus



Peanut boss Carter speaking at Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City in September.

## Miners Fever Hovers Over 1979 Contract Battles

# Carter Courts Recession

A Gallup poll taken in early August found that only 39 percent of the American people held a "favorable" opinion of Jimmy Carter's performance as president. Although his sponsorship of a spurious "separate peace" in the Near East between Egypt and Israel has temporarily boosted Carter's popularity, the political future of the Georgia peanut boss is questionable at best. The black and labor constituency which put him in office has turned against him. The overwhelmingly Democratic Congress can barely muster enough support for the Democratic president to pass his priority legislation. Carter's chances of avoiding a one-term presidency now seem directly tied to the ever-slimmer chances of avoiding a severe economic recession in 1979.

The illusions which Carter's "outsider" image inspired in the electorate in 1976 wore off quickly once the "born again" president took office. His media-manufactured reputation as an anti-Washington establishment politician had attracted the half-hearted support of voters whose only solid commitment was to cynical and apolitical apathy. The drawn-out defeat in Indochina and the scandal of Watergate have fostered such widespread cynicism about politics that only an estimated 37 percent of the eligible voters even bothered to cast a ballot last month. This figure, as the *Economist* (11 November) pointed out, puts the U.S. above only Botswana in a global ranking of electoral enthusiasm among "democratic" countries.

The "outsider" label was always phony. Carter was, in reality, the first-round pick of David Rockefeller's "Trilateral Commission" of elite think tankers, among them Cyrus Vance, Zbigniew Brzezinski and others now in Carter's cabinet. It was their anti-Soviet schemes which Carter translated into the language of "human rights" diplomacy, a policy which the Administration's whole-hearted support to the bloody-handed shah of Iran and other neo-colonial despots has exposed as a threadbare cover for cold-war anti-communism.

The most disillusioned among Carter's 1976 backers are the black voters whose 90 percent Democratic loyalty may well have provided him the

margin of victory over Jerry Ford. In return for their support the "ethnic purity" president has given oppressed blacks precisely nothing. In fact, the social services which have been the traditional sop of Democratic politicians to the black ghettos are being cut back to the tune of \$5 billion this year and \$15 billion in 1980. This move has drawn howls of outrage from the black Democrats whose own careers depend upon brokering for federal funds and maintaining a legion of followers among the poverty pimps and "community" hucksters.

The trade-union bureaucrats who mustered their membership behind Carter's candidacy two years ago are finding it hard to convince American workers of the benefits derived from this "friend of labor" administration. Every item on their legislative agenda, from common situs picketing to the "Labor Reform Bill," has gone down to defeat in the Democratic Congress.

If the traditional Democratic constituencies are disenchanted with Jimmy Carter, the U.S. ruling class is equally displeased. The explosive miners' strike of last winter, in which a militant rank and file defied the courts, cops, federal government and their own sellout leadership for 110 days and halted the coal operators' union-busting offensive, was an object lesson in the class struggle for both the American workers and bourgeoisie. With the threat of massive layoffs on the horizon and with a weak Administration trying to push through an anti-labor austerity program, 1979 will undoubtedly be a year of intensified class battles. Carter's capitalist masters know that they cannot afford an epidemic of "miners fever" in the U.S. working class and now doubt that Carter has the ability to squelch the struggles of labor's rank and file.

Thus Carter's announcement of wage and price guidelines only touched off a further run on the dollar internationally and lower closings on the stock market domestically. With the political climate such that his other measures were not taken seriously, Carter was forced to turn to massive foreign borrowing to prop up the dollar and tight money policies at home. While a recession next year may well have been inevitable; the

Administration's fiscal policies only exacerbate the conjunctural tendencies in that direction.

### Recession Ahead in 1979

The context for the coming labor struggles is an economy which most bourgeois economic commentators now agree is quite likely heading for recession in 1979. The capitalist mouthpieces are only now facing up to the fact that the U.S. economy's recovery from the depression of 1974-75 was extremely weak and based not on a real upturn in capital investment but on an unprecedented consumer borrowing binge. The growth of massive consumer debt was encouraged by inflation which greatly cheapened real interest rates on auto, home and other installment loans.

Now, however, the spending spree is over. The volume of consumer goods sold remained flat between August and October and capital spending, stagnating at an estimated 2 percent growth rate for 1978, will not take up the slack (figures cited in *Business Week*, 13 and 27 November 1978). Carter's recent moves to raise interest rates will only accelerate the cutback in consumer spending and quicken the onset of the inevitable downturn in the capitalist business cycle. As *Business Week* (13 November) warned before Carter's new tight money measures went into effect: "if it [the Federal Reserve Bank] tightens the credit reins further, a recession as bad as—or far worse than—that of 1974 may follow since it will be more costly, if not impossible, to sustain the borrowing spree."

Carter's wage guidelines, budget cutbacks and interest rate hikes are the policies of an administration which is consciously courting a depression in order to put the cost of halting the decline of the dollar on the back of the working class. That the Administration knows exactly what it is doing was made clear by Carter-appointed anti-inflation "czar" Alfred E. Kahn's clear statement several weeks ago that if Carter's program does not work out according to his optimistic projections, the result will be a "deep, deep depression."

For months the U.S. government allowed the dollar to fall precipitously

against foreign currencies in an attempt to increase export competitiveness. But the price of improving the U.S. balance of trade in this way was a tumbling stock market, the threat of an OPEC oil price rise and inflation which has now reached the 10 percent level. Accordingly, last spring Carter made a half-hearted turn away from the policy of "malign neglect" of the dollar (see "Behind the Dollar Crisis" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 204, 5 May 1978). But only in the last two months has the Administration moved in earnest to reverse the former policies.

The first step was the announcement on October 24 of the "Phase II" wage and price guidelines in which Carter urged the unions to keep their wage and benefit increases to 7 percent in 1979, a figure far below the inflation rate. The "price guidelines" are completely phony, allowing companies, in wage-price administrator Barry Bosworth's words, to "interpret the standards for themselves." The wage guidelines, on the other hand, are formally more restrictive than Nixon's infamous wage controls because they include all benefit increases and not just pay boosts in the 7 percent limit.

No one, however, takes the 7 percent figure seriously. Existing labor contracts have built in much higher raises in pay and fringes and Bosworth is now planning some "softening" of the limit on benefits. But even though the 7 percent figure will most likely not last through the first round of contract negotiations, this is nonetheless a weapon aimed at labor to hold down wages.

The companion fiscal policy to Carter's wage guidelines came with the announcement of deep cuts in the 1980 budget. As one anonymous "top Administration official" put it: "We are not going to maintain current services. We will have to cut some programs, delay others, and terminate some" (*Business Week*, 13 November 1978). On the chopping block are Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) jobs, housing funds, sewage treatment and even some supposedly "uncontrollable" expenses such as Medicare, Social Security and federal pensions.

*continued on page 8*